

**The Zhou Identity:
Its Construction, Perception and Development in the Early
Western Zhou (1045—978 B.C.)**

By

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Abstract

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This thesis investigates how the collective “Zhou identity” was formulated and experienced by various groups of people living in the Zhou territory at the beginning of the Western Zhou period, from the reign of King Wu to King Kang (1045—978 B.C.). It examines a wide range of archaeological materials including bronze ritual vessels, bronze weapons and ceramics from sites either under the Zhou court’s direct control, or those whose occupants had political ties with the court. It analyzes and presents the data using distribution maps, quantitative tables and inventories, as well as visual analyses.

The Zhou identity is the individuals’ experience of participating in the Zhou military, ritual and dietary system so that the individuals project themselves as an integral part of those systems.

In examining the Zhou identity, two main questions are addressed. First, what policies did the Zhou court of the early Western Zhou period initiate to establish and promote a Zhou identity? Second, how effective were these policies? The central court established a royal Zhou military, ritual and dietary system, requiring participants to use the same weapon to fight in the same way, and to use the same ritual set to perform rituals in the same way, as well as to use the same ceramic set to cook and eat in the same way. When inhabitants join these systems, they would visually and behaviorally become a Zhou member, therefore experiencing and embodying the Zhou identity in the military, ritual or dietary context. However, these measures of the Zhou court were not entirely effective; many did not participate, or engage fully, in some or all of the new systems. Their experience of the Zhou identity was situational, contextual and not permanent.

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I remember vividly in 2013, during the first week of my enrollment in Oxford, Professor Rawson greeted me with a firm handshake, followed by a question “who are you?” Perhaps a coincidence, but this question continued to stay in my mind for the rest of my D.Phil. I became vastly interested in the topic of identity, partly because I was fascinated by the unknown in the Zhou culture, but equally important, I wanted to find out who I was and the role I play in my family, among my friends and in the society today. This thesis has helped me tremendously in understanding not only the Western Zhou but also myself and the world I live in.

The journey searching for the Zhou and self-identity was not an easy one, but fortunately I have never been short of great care, support and love. Therefore I would like to express my gratitude to all the people who have inspired, guided and encouraged me to find the answers. Without them, this thesis would not have been completed, and I would not have become who I am today.

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them. Nonetheless, I remain incredibly grateful for their care, time and effort. I hope that this thesis only marks the beginning of a great journey to learning more about the ancient and contemporary world, as well as others and myself.

Abbreviations
(in footnote citations, bibliography, tables and figures)

Anyangshi	Anyangshi bowuguan 安阳市博物馆.
Anyangshi wenwu	Anyangshi wenwu gongzuodui 安阳市文物工作队.
Anyangshi wenwu kaogu	Anyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 安阳市文物考古研究所.
Baojishi	Baojishi bowuguan 宝鸡市博物馆.
Baojishi kaogu	Baojishi kaogu gongzuodui 宝鸡市考古工作队.
Beijing daxue	Beijing daxue kaogu wenbo xueyuan 北京大学考古文博学院
Beijing daxue kaoguxue	Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi 北京大学考古学系
Beijing shangzu	Beijing daxue kaogu xuexi Shangzu 北京大学考古学系商组
Beijingshi	Beijingshi wenwu yanjiu suo 北京市文物研究所.
Beijingshi wenwu	Beijingshi wenwu guanlichu 北京市文物管理处.
Dezhou	Dezhou xingshu wenhuaju wenwuzhu 德州行署文化局文物组
Dongxiafeng	Dongxiafeng kaogudui 東下馮考古隊.
E'erdusi	E'erdusi bowuguan 鄂爾多斯博物館
Fengxiangxian	Fengxiangxian bowuguan 凤翔县博物馆
Fufengxian	Fufengxian bowuguan

Fufengxian wenhua	扶风县博物馆. Fufengxian wenhua guan 扶风县文化馆
Gansusheng	Gansusheng bowuguan wenwudui 甘肃省博物馆文物队
Gansusheng kaogu	Gansusheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 甘肃省文物考古研究所
Gansusheng wenwu	Gansusheng wenwu gongzuodui 甘肃省文物工作队
Guyuanxian	Guyuanxian wenwu gongzuozhan 固原县文物工作站
Hebisheng	Hebisheng wenwu guanlichu 河北省文物管理处
Henansheng	Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所
Henansheng luoshanxian	Henansheng luoshanxian wenhua guan 河南省罗山县文化馆
Henansheng xinyang	Henansheng xinyang diqu wenguanhui 河南省信阳地区文管会
Hongdongxian	Hongdongxian wenhuaguan 洪洞县文化馆
Huangpoxian	Huangpoxian wenhuaguan 黄坡县文化馆
Hubeisheng	Hubeisheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆
Hubeisheng wenwu	Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所
Jiyangxian	Jiyangxian tushuguan 济阳县图书馆
Liaoning	Liaoning daxue lishixi kaogu yanjiushi 辽宁大学历史系考古教研室
Lingtaixian	Lingtaixian wenhuaguan

	灵台县文化馆
Luoyangshi	Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui 洛阳市文物工作队.
Luoyangshi di'er	Luoyangshi dier wenwu gongzuodui 洛阳市第二文物工作队
Neimenggu	Neimenggu zizhiqu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 内蒙古自治区文物考古研究所
Pengxian	Pengxian wenhuaguan 彭县文化馆.
Pingdingshanshi	Pingdingshanshi wenguanhui 平顶山市文管会
Qian'anxian	Qian'anxian wenwu guanlisuo 迁安县文物管理所
Qingyang	Qingyang diqu bowuguan 庆阳地区博物馆
Qingzhoushi	Qingzhoushi bowuguan 青州市博物馆
Qinshihuang	Qinshihuang bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇兵马俑博物馆
Shaanxisheng	Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陕西省考古研究院.
Shaanxisheng kaogu	Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所
Shaanxisheng wenguan	Shaanxisheng wenguan hui 陕西省文管会
Shaanxisheng wenhua	Shaanxisheng wenhua guan 陕西省文化馆
Shaanxisheng wenwu	Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陕西省文物管理委员会
Shaanxisheng wenwudui	Shaanxisheng bowuguan wenwudui 陕西省博物馆文物队
Shandong daxue	Shandong daxue lishixi kaogu zhuan ye

Shandong daxue lishixi	山东大学历史系考古专业 Shandong daxue lishixi kaogu jiaoyanshi 山东大学历史系考古教研室
Shandongsheng	Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 山东省文物考古研究所
Shandongsheng changwei	Shandongsheng changwei diqu wenwu guanlizu 山东省昌潍地区文物管理组
Shanxisheng	Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所.
Shanxisheng dahekou	Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo dahekou mudi lianhe kaogudui 山西省考古研究所大河口墓地联合考古队
Shanxisheng gongzuo	Shanxisheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui 山西省文物工作委员会
Shanxisheng wenwu	Shanxisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省文物考古研究所
Shigushan	Shigushan kaogudui 石鼓山考古队
Sichuansheng	Sichuansheng bowuguan 四川省博物馆
Suizhoushi	Suizhoushi bowuguan 随州市博物馆.
Tangshanshi	Tangshan shi wenwu guanlichu 唐山市文物管理处
Tielingshi	Tielingshi bowuguan 铁岭市博物馆
Xia Shang Zhou	Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjia zu 夏商周断代工程专家组
Xianyangshi	Xianyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸阳市文物考古研究所
Xiaogan	Xiaogan diqu bowuguan 孝感地区博物馆

Xinglongxian	Xinglongxian wenwu guanlisuo 兴隆县文物管理所
Xunyixian	Xunyixian bowuguan 旬邑县博物馆
Yongcheng	Yongcheng kaogudui 雍城考古队
Zhengzhoushi	Zhengzhoushi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 郑州市文物考古研究所
Zhongguo	Zhongguo shehui kexue yanjiuyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所
Zhongguo anyang	Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo anyang gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古研究所安阳工作队
Zhongguo erlitou	Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Erlitou gongzuodui 中国科学院考古研究所二里头工作队
Zhongguo fenghao	Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo fenghao gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古研究所丰镐工作队
Zhongguo fengxi	Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo fengxi fajuedui 中国社会科学院考古研究所沔西发掘队
Zhongguo jingwei	Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo jingwei gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古研究所泾渭工作队
Zhongguo keji	Zhongguo kexueyuan yanjiu shengyuan kejishi yu keji kaoguxi 中国科学院研究生院科技史与科技考古系
Zhongguo kexueyuan	Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所
Zhongguo lishi	Zhongguo lishi bowuguan

	中國歷史博物館
Zhongguo wugong	Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo wugong fajuedui
	中国社会科学院考古研究所武功发掘队
Zhoukoushi	Zhoukoushi wenhuaju
	周口市文化局
Zhouyuan	Shaanxi zhouyuan kaogudui
	陕西周原考古队

(I)
Major Bronze Vessel Types of the Shang and Western Zhou period
 And examples of variations*



*Only types mentioned in the dissertation are shown. Not all variations are shown here. Drawings after Rawson 1988, pp. 228-238; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古研究所安阳工作队 2009, pp. 15-40; Huang Mingcong 黄铭崇 2013, pp. 1-82.

(II)

Major Ceramic Types of the Shang and Western Zhou period

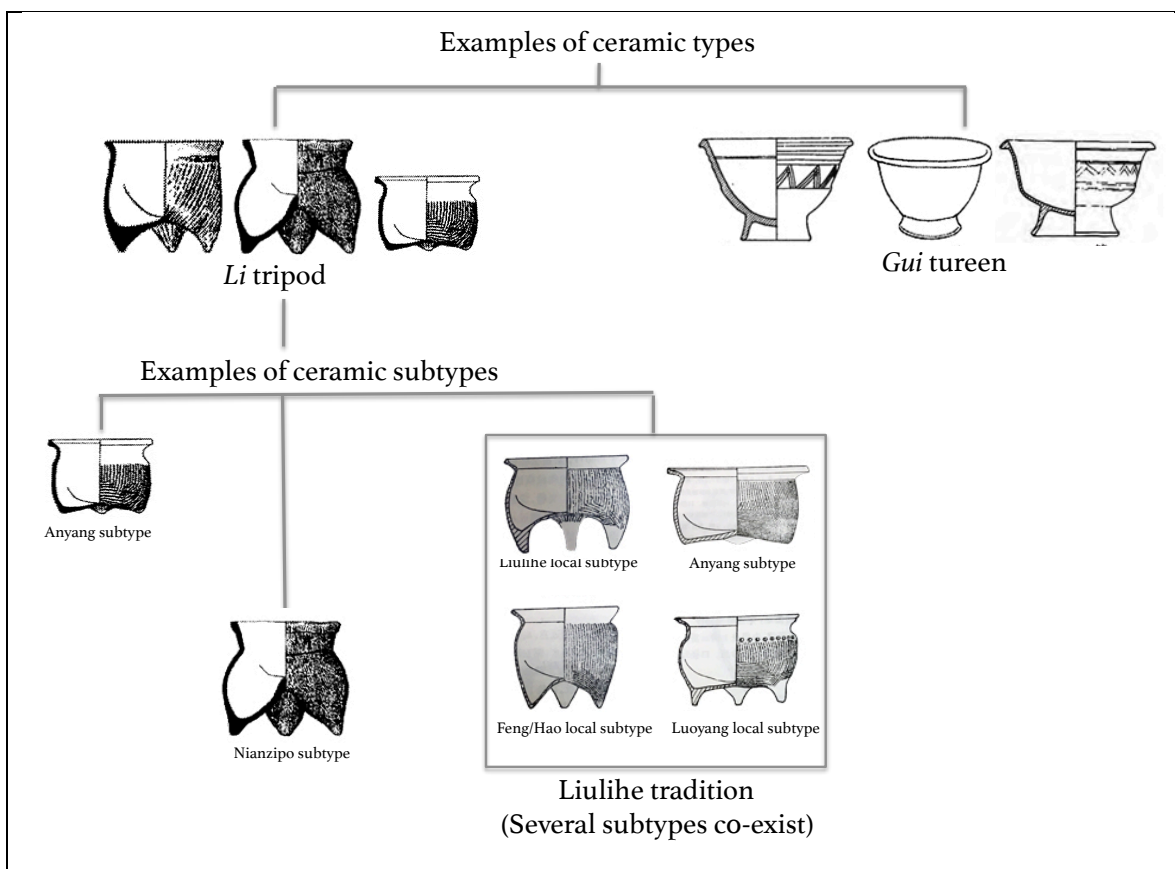
And examples of variations*



*Only types mentioned in the dissertation are shown. Not all variations are shown here. Images from Beijing daxue kaogu wenboyuan 北京大学考古文博院, Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 2001, Fig. 33; Anyangshi bowuguan 安阳市博物馆 1986, pp. 713-716; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所 1987; Xu Tianjin 徐天进 1990, Fig. 6; Zhongguo shehui kexue kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所, Yang Xizhang 杨锡璋 ed. 2003, pp. 572 (Fig. 8-23); Liang Xingpeng 梁星棚 2002, Fig. 2-5; Ye Wansong 叶万松, Yu Fuwei 余扶 1985, pp. 834-842; Luoyang shi wenwu gongzuodui 洛阳市文物工作队 1999a; Beijing daxue kaogu wenboyuan 北京大学考古文博院 and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 2001, pp. 4-21.

(III)

Ceramic Types, Subtypes and Traditions



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The Zhou Identity: Its Construction, Perception and Development in the Early Western Zhou (1045—978 B.C.)

Chapter 1 Introduction

In the past decades, an impressive number of burials and architectural sites dated to the Western Zhou period (1045—771 B.C.) have been unearthed. Associated archaeological reports have also begun to document the findings by context. The rapid increase in the archaeological remains and the change in the reporting approach have enabled archaeologists to deepen their understanding of the excavated objects, as well as of the complexity and development of the Western Zhou communities. With new evidence, new perspectives and methodologies become possible to use; traditional understanding is challenged and revised.

One important aspect of the Western Zhou regime that remains understudied is the formation and development of a “Zhou identity”—a sense of belonging to the Zhou regime, embodied and projected by inhabitants living under the Zhou rule. Although “identity” is a modern term, it can be used to describe and investigate the already existing social activities, interactions and participation of the Zhou people in various social groups. Using “identity” as a perspective, one can understand more comprehensively the political and social development of the Western Zhou communities, for example, the power consolidation of the Zhou court, the alliance and tension between the court and regional powers. The topic of identity has rarely been considered by previous and recent scholarship on the Western Zhou archaeology, yet it is essential for grasping the extent of control that the central court had over various regions at the beginning of the Zhou years.

It is also a crucial key to understanding how various groups developed politically and socially after the establishment of the Zhou regime.¹

To fill in the missing gap, this dissertation investigates how the collective “Zhou identity” was formulated and experienced by various groups of people living in the Zhou territory at the beginning of the Western Zhou period.² It focuses on the short time span from immediately after the Zhou’s conquest of the Shang dynasty to around seventy years later; in other words, from the reign of King Wu to King Kang (1045—978 B.C.).³ It examines a wide range of archaeological material including bronze ritual vessels, bronze weapons and ceramics from sites either under the Zhou court’s direct control, or those whose occupants had political ties with the court. It analyzes and presents the data using distribution maps, quantitative tables and inventories, as well as visual analyses.

This dissertation is one of the first works to discuss in depth the creation and development of a “Zhou identity” during the Western Zhou period. It highlights the need to rethink the living experiences and sense of belonging of the people when the Zhou regime was first established. In addition, it examines the Zhou archaeology from a macro perspective by juxtaposing archaeological objects from multiple regions of the Zhou territory. Unlike previous studies that often focus on a particular region or site, this thesis draws suitable and strong conclusions for understanding the larger picture of the Western

¹ The importance of identity development in social communities is perhaps more immediately apparent when one contemplates on current-events in modern-day societies (for example, Brexit and the Catalonia’s bid for independence, Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong). Similarly, in ancient societies, the identity of individuals and social groups played an important role in shaping the political and social development of a society or regime.

² The “Western Zhou” is a modern convention used to distinguish the first half of the Zhou dynasty from the second half, named “Eastern Zhou” (771—256 B.C.), during which the royal Zhou regime collapsed and individual states proclaimed independence despite the continuing practice of certain royal Zhou rituals. Loewe and Shaughnessy ed. 1999, pp. 13-15.

³ There are several proposed dates; the dissertation follows the dates proposed by Edward Shaughnessy. Shaughnessy 1991, pp. xix; appendix 3, pp. 217-287. Shaughnessy establishes the dates based on astronomical and textual (inscriptions and transmitted texts) evidence.

Zhou regime. The methodology of this research can be applied to understand the identity development of other ancient Chinese societies in future studies.

The following three sections of the introduction chapter provide the research background and define the research question. The first part elaborates on the geopolitical and historical context of the early Western Zhou regime. Building on the background, the second part defines the research question and delivers the central argument. The third lays out the organization of the dissertation.

1. Geopolitical and historical background

1a. Establishing the Zhou regime

The people who formed the Zhou regime are still a mystery today; yet as more and more recent archaeological findings suggest, they were very likely a conglomeration of various outsider groups whose origin and culture were different from those occupying the Central Plain, where major dynastic activities occurred [Map 1].⁴

Several accounts in the received texts are often referred to by archaeologists and Sinologists for hints on the origin of the Zhou group.⁵ For example, the *Shijing* 诗经 (the *Book of Songs* or *Book of Poetry*), a transmitted text with 305 poems dated to between

⁴ The Central Plain is a modern convention that generally refers to the area covering modern-day Henan, the southern part of Hebei, the southern part of Shanxi and the western part of Shandong. Many Chinese historians also call this domain the Central Kingdom. This paper, while calling into question the political biases behind such term, uses it simply to indicate more quickly and precisely a geographical area. In addition, the “outsider group” generally refers to the groups of people living or active outside of the Central Plain. Linduff 1995, pp. 133-145. Jessica Rawson also suggested that the Zhou leaders were “outsiders” having strong ties with western Shaanxi, which was outside of the Shang political sphere. Rawson 1989, pp. 71-95. Other scholars discuss the possible origins and locations of these groups. See Zhang Changshou and Liang Xingpeng 1989, pp. 1-22; Zou Heng 1980, pp. 353; 1988; Xu Xitai 1979, pp. 50-59.

⁵ As received texts often contain information of the Western Zhou dynasty formulated much later. It is important to question and take precaution of the credibility and authenticity of the relevant events, dates and contents described. Nonetheless, these texts are sometimes used as initial clues or hints for archaeologists, which lead to archaeological discoveries.

1000 B.C. and 600 B.C., includes a non-contemporaneous and semi-legendary account titled “Sheng min 生民 (Giving Birth to Our People)” detailing the Zhou’s origin.⁶ Interpreting the account, many such as Linduff point out that the founding figure of the Zhou group named Hou Ji 后稷 first settled his people in a location possibly within the sphere of the Central Plain where they practiced agriculture and led a sedentary lifestyle.⁷ Later development of the Zhou group is described in the *Zhou benji* 周本纪 (Basic annals of Zhou) section of the *Shiji* 史记, an early record of history from the time of the mythical Yellow Emperor to the end of the second century B.C., and traditionally accepted to have been initiated by Sima Tan 司马谈 (the Grand Astrologer, died 110 B.C.) and completed by his son and successor, Sima Qian 司马迁.⁸ Analyzing the account, Shaughnessy and Linduff both interpret that the Zhou group moved from the Central Plain to somewhere outside of the sphere, where they likely adopted or were

⁶ The *Shijing* includes four parts: *Feng* 风 (or *Guo feng* 国风, Lessons from the States), *Xiao ya* 小雅 (Minor Odes of the Kingdom), *Da ya* 大雅 (Greater Odes of the Kingdom), *Song* 颂 (Odes of the Temple and the Altar). For an introduction of the *Shijing* and the four parts, see Loewe 1993, pp. 415- 423. The “Sheng min” is included in the *Da ya* section. The poems and translations are published online: <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry>. For printed version, see Waley 1937, pp. 241-243. (*Maoshi zhengyi* “Sheng min,” 17/1, 1a-20b). Shaughnessy argues that the poem was probably written toward the end of the Western Zhou period. Based on the account, he explains the legend describing that the ancestry of the Zhou people can be traced back to a woman named Jiang Yuan 姜嫄, meaning “The Jiang (People’s) Progenitress.” Jiang gave birth to Hou Ji 后稷, after stepping in the footprint of Di 帝, the high Power of the Shang Pantheon. Jiang first placed Hou Ji in a country lane where the oxen and sheep kept him warm, then in the forest and on ice, where the birds covered him with their wings. When Hou Ji began to make the steps into the world, he learned the nature of plants and handed down to the people the crops he grew and the knowledge of growing them. He became the founding figure of the Zhou people. Shaughnessy 1999, pp. 299-302.

⁷ For a discussion of the account, see Linduff 1995, pp. 133-145; Hsu and Linduff 1989, pp. 33-67.

⁸ The *Shiji* 史记 consists of 130 *zhuan* 传 (essays). The *zhuan* are not organized chronologically, but in five groups: (a) 12 *zhuan* or *ben ji* 本纪 (basic annals) of the dynastic rulers (b) 10 *biao* 表 (tables) providing a chronological concordance of the rulers of the different pre-imperial states, genealogies of the noble families during the first century of the Han period (c) 8 *shu* 书 (documents) as historical surveys concerning subjects that were considered important for good governing (d) 30 chapters of *shijia* 世家, or hereditary families (e) 70 *zhuan* 传 (traditions or biographies) of prominent figures. For discussion of the parts, see Hulsewé 1993, pp. 405-414.

exposed to a nomadic and pastoral way of life.⁹ From there, according to another poem titled “Mian 緜” in the *Da ya* 大雅 section of the *Shijing* 诗经, before the group attacked and defeated the dynastic Shang based in the Central Plain, it migrated again to settle in Qishan 岐山 (Zhouyuan 周原) in the central Wei 渭 River valley of Shaanxi 陕西.¹⁰ Supporting the importance of Qishan as a pre-conquest Zhou center, Li Feng provides and examines contemporaneous oracle bone inscriptions recording the pre-conquest Zhou court’s political and ritual activities in the region.¹¹

Despite having doubts on the authenticity of the event details, inspired by the accounts, previous archaeologists have made meticulous attempts to locate and identify the Zhou group’s settlement and material culture at the three mentioned stages (within and outside of the Central Plain, then Qishan), yet they have encountered enormous difficulties. First, among numerous local material cultures found near or within Qishan and dated to the pre-conquest period, archaeologists have not been able to decide which

⁹ The Basic annals of Zhou records that Hou Ji’s son, Baku 不窋 and the Zhou people were living “among the Rong 戎 and Di 狄” barbarians. Many interpret this to mean that the Zhou group has given up their agricultural lifestyle for a nomadic way of life. Nienhauser et al. 1994, pp. 55. In the “Mian 緜” poem of the *Da ya* 大雅 section in the *Shijing* (discussed later in the paragraph), the poem also begins by describing the nomadic lifestyle of the Zhou group. See footnote 6 for citation. For further discussion of the account, see Shaughnessy 1999, pp. 300; Linduff 1995, pp. 133-145.

¹⁰ Zhouyuan (literally the Zhou’s plain) is inclusive of the region of Qishan. The account records that the leader of the Zhou group at the time was called Gu Gong Danfu 古公亶父. The poem is accessible online: <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/mian>. See also Waley 1937, pp. 248-9 (*Maoshi zhengyi* “Mian,” 16/2, 18a-20a). Other accounts include the poem “Gong Liu 公刘” in the *Da ya* 大雅 section of the *Shijing* 诗经. Waley 1937, pp. 244 (*Maoshi zhengyi* “Gong Liu,” 17/3, 5a-b); online: <http://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/gong-liu>. *Shiji* 史记: Shaughnessy 1999, pp. 292-351.

¹¹ The oracle bone inscriptions are found in Zhouyuan. It is debatable whether they were made by the Shang diviners or the Zhou group. The practice of divination and creating oracle bone inscriptions were also not typical. (Argued in Chapter 4) However, these inscriptions suggest that the Zhou group were present and active in the Qishan region before the conquest. Li Feng 2013, pp. 118-119. However, Xu Tianjin suggests that there is no direct archaeological evidence demonstrating that Zhouyuan was the main center, or the so-called “capital,” despite the Zhou group’s presence. His argument is presented in Lei Xingshan 2010, pp. 239.

particular one (ones) belonged to the Zhou group.¹² For example, Hu Qianying pinpoints at the “Jingdang” type archaeological culture found within Qishan, while Wang Zhankui regards the Zhengjiapo-type material culture to be more probable; Lei Xingshan argues instead that all material cultures found in Qishan except the Liujia-type belonged to the Zhou group.¹³ Second, archaeologists have compared the typological features of the ceramic vessels from these various local cultures in Qishan to those dated earlier and found further away from the Central Plain, in the hope of tracing the typological origin of the Qishan cultures and possibly locating the whereabouts the Zhou group before it migrated to Qishan. For example, Yin Shengping and Ren Zhoufang suggest the material culture at Zhengjiapo, while Zhang Changshou and Liang Xingpeng pinpoint at the Doujitai culture; Li Feng argues for the Nianzipo culture instead.¹⁴ Many other archaeological cultures from locations in Gansu, Shaanxi, Shanxi and even Shandong have been proposed, however, none of the available archaeological evidence could suggest convincingly that the ceramic vessels in any of these proposed locations had direct link to those around Qishan.¹⁵

¹² The sites in Zhouyuan that archaeologists examine include the Wangjiazui 王家嘴 culture, Hejiacun 贺家村 culture and Licun 礼村, etc. Lei Xingshan 2010.

¹³ Hu Qianying 2000; Wang Zhankui: see Lei Xingshan 2010, pp. 264 footnote 3; Lei Xingshan 2010, pp. 265. I think these proposals are not entirely convincing because within a single site or burial in Qishan that these archaeologists look at, multiple archaeological types co-exist. It is absurd to pinpoint at one particular type amongst others and suggest its relation to the Zhou group. The co-existence of the types are often neglected or un-explained. In addition, oftentimes, the definition of these archaeology cultures based on typology is not clearly or explicitly provided. The same vessel can be subjectively classified into different types by different archaeologist.

¹⁴ Yin Shengping and Ren Zhoufang 1984, pp. 42-49; Zhang Changshou and Liang Xingpeng 1989, pp. 18. Li Feng 2013, pp. 113-116.

¹⁵ For a short summary of various proposals, see: Li Xueqin and Meng Shikai 2012, pp. 29-35; Lei Xingshan 2010; Zhang Changshou and Liang Xingpeng 1989. Recent archaeological investigations have suggested with more certainty traces of the pre-conquest Zhou activities in the valleys between the Wei and Jing Rivers; the earliest of the sites are located further up north. Linduff 1995, pp. 133-145. Based on ceramic typology, the various controversially proposed cultures that could possibly be the origin of the pre-conquest Zhou include Doujitai 斗鸡台 culture, Nianzipo 碾子坡 culture, Xindian 辛店 culture, Guangshe

In fact, many archaeologists such as Li Xueqin, Linduff, Zhang Changshou and Liang Xingpeng suggest that, more plausibly, the pre-conquest Zhou group at its various stages had never been a mono-ethnic group with a unique material culture; it could possibly be composed of various communities from scattered locations with different lifestyle, whether agricultural or pastoral, and with different material traditions.¹⁶ Suggested groups contributing to the formation of the pre-conquest Zhou people include the ones from Nianzipo 碾子坡 in Shaanxi, Guangshe 光社 at Shanxi, Xindian 辛店 and Siwa 寺洼 at Gansu, etc. [Map 2].¹⁷

In any case, when moved to and settled at Qishan, the group calling itself the Zhou was further consolidated. Based on archaeological surveys and bronze inscriptions, Wang Shimin and Khayutina observe that two other major royal residencies at Feng 沔 and Hao 鎬 were also established at the opposite banks of the Feng River near its confluence with the Wei River in Shaanxi [Map 3].¹⁸ According to several received texts, including the “Da ming 大明 (Great brightness)” poem of the *Da ya* 大雅 section in the *Shijing* 诗经 and the *Shi ji* 史记, in early 1045 B.C., the Zhou troops led by King Wu confronted the Shang army at Muye 牧野.¹⁹ They broke through the defense line of the

光社 culture, Siwa 寺洼 culture, etc. See also Li Feng 1991, pp. 265-284; Zhang Changshou and Liang Xingpeng 1989, pp. 1-23; Wang Wei and Xu Lianggao 2000, pp. 285-310.

¹⁶ This idea has become more and more accepted recently. Linduff 1995, pp. 134; Li Xueqin and Meng Shikai 2012, pp. 29-35; Zhang Changshou and Liang Xingpeng 1989, pp. 1-22.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Wang Shimin identifies the two locations as “capitals” based on archaeological surveys completed in the 1950s. Wang Shimin 1958, pp. 63-70. I borrow Maria Khayutina’s term “royal residencies” to name and describe Feng and Hao, instead of the term “capital.” Khayutina 2010b, pp. 1-73.

¹⁹ The account in the *Shijing* is available online: <https://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/da-ming>. For the account in *Shiji*, see Nienhauser et al. 1994, pp. 60. The battle at Muye was not the only military event, other received texts such as the *Shiji* and *Zhushu jinian* 竹书纪年 (Bamboo Annals) also describe the battlefields fought elsewhere leading up to the conquest. For summary of these events, see Shaughnessy 1999, pp. 307-308. For analysis of the locations of the battlefields, see Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu 1980, pp. 46-59. For introduction of the *Zhushu jinian*, see Nivison 1993, pp. 39-47. There are in general four dates proposed for

Shang soldiers and won this decisive battle.²⁰ They advanced further and conquered Yin 殷, the Shang capital in present-day Anyang.²¹ Attesting to the occurrence of the conquest with archaeological evidence, Rawson notes that in Shaanxi, around the time after the conquest, a dramatic increase in the use of bronzes, in the burial of bronzes, and in the appearance of bronze vessel types new to the region but similar to the Shang ones from Anyang can be observed.²² In addition, the sudden increase in the use of writings, as shown in inscriptions on ritual vessels is also another sign of the Zhou court's conquest and take-over of the Shang regime.²³

After the initial conquest, according to Shaughnessy and other Sinologists' interpretation of the transmitted text *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周书, under the leadership of the Duke of Zhou, who stepped into power after King Wu died, several Shang polities and

the Zhou's conquest of Shang. The first is 1122 B.C., based on Liu Xin's (46B.C. –23 A.D.) "Santongli" incorporated into *Hanshu* by Ban Gu. The second date is 1027 B.C., recorded in the Ancient Bamboo Annals (quoted in Pei Yin's commentary on *Shiji* dated to the fifth-century A.D.) which reads that the time between Zhou's conquest and the reign of King You was 257 years. The third and fourth date is proposed and accepted more recently. David Nivison and Edward Shaughnessy claim to narrow the range down to 1045 B.C., and David Pankenier and the "Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project" endorse on the other hand, the date 1046 B.C. While not rejecting the possibility of any of the four dates, this paper follows the date proposed by Nivison and Shaughnessy. See Nivison 1983, pp. 46-47; Shaughnessy 1991, pp. 217-236; Pankenier 1992a, pp. 272-297; Pankenier 1992b, pp. 498-510; Xia Shang Zhou 2000, pp. 48-49.

²⁰ The battle of Muye, told in the "Da ming 大明" chapter of *Shijing* 诗经, was presented from the Zhou perspective. According to the narration, the Shang armies were unwilling to fight; their troops were disorganized and weak. Many believe that that Zhou confronted and defeated the Shang army with chariots, and that the last Shang king Di Xin retreated to the Deer Terrace 鹿台 pavilion and committed suicide. There have been debates about how violent the battle was. In the "Wu cheng 武成" chapter of *Shangshu* 尚书, the blood of the dead soldiers was said to have formed a blood steam large enough to float the pestles of the mortars. Yet on the other hand, some Confucian moralists, who considered King Wu of Zhou to be a man of the utmost virtue, refuse to believe that King Wu had caused so much bloodshed. This paper is generally critical about the authenticity and accuracy of both the *Shangshu* and *Shijing*. With a moralistic bias perhaps related to Confucius' teaching intentions, the two texts do not necessarily reflect an objective, well-rounded picture of the Western Zhou; the accuracy of the details in the possibly selective presentation of the historical events is also under question. Though acknowledging the importance and usefulness of certain information revealed in the texts, this paper will refrain itself from adapting and citing the details without doubts and reservation. Shaughnessy 1993, pp. 376-389; Loewe 1993, pp. 415-423.

²¹ Ibid. The story was narrated in "Shifu" (Great capture) chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周书. See also Shaughnessy 1980-1981, pp. 57-61. For introduction of the *Yi Zhou shu*, see Shaughnessy 1993, pp. 229-232.

²² Rawson 1999, pp. 385.

²³ Ibid., pp. 387.

communities closely linked to the Shang also came under the Zhou rule, for example the Qi 齐 polity in present-day Zibo 淄博, and the Lu 鲁 polity at Qufu 曲阜, Shandong.²⁴ Archaeological discoveries, for example the remains and inscriptions found at the Lu polity at Qufu, also support the presence of these further conquests.²⁵ Such a series of military events marks the complete fall of the Shang dynasty and the birth of the dynastic Zhou. Within decades after its establishment, the Zhou regime continued to expand its territory through extensive military campaigns.²⁶ As Li Feng observes, it eventually conquered most of the middle and lower Yellow River valley, as far as the Shandong peninsula in the east. It also reached westward to the Liupan 六盘 Mountains, northward to the Yan 燕 Mountain and southward to the Huai 淮 River and the middle section of the Yangtze River [Map 4].²⁷

²⁴ The *Yi Zhou shu* is a compendium of passages on the Western Zhou that were not included by Confucius among the one hundred chapters of the Book of Documents. For introduction of the text, see Shaughnessy 1993. The conquest of the Shandong area did not occur immediately after the fall of Yin. According to the “Shifu” chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*, right after the conquest, King Wu deputed his brothers Guanshu Xian 管叔鲜, Caishu Du 蔡叔度 and probably Huoshu Chu 霍叔处 to rule over the former Shang capital and nearby areas, together with Di Xin’s son, Wu Geng 武庚. Not long after, King Wu died; these three brothers joined Wu Geng and rebelled against the Duke of Zhou, who stepped in to interfere with the heir Song (later King Cheng). The Duke of Zhou suppressed the eastern rebellion; killed Guan Guanshu Xian and Wu Geng, and sent Caishu Du into exile. The campaign also went further to conquer more areas in the east. The assigning of land and establishment of states mentioned happened after this rebellion. Loewe and Shaughnessy ed. 1999, pp. 311-312; pp. 309-311.

²⁵ For excavations at Qufu, see Shandongsheng 1982. For a detailed account on the archaeological discoveries and the relevant bronze inscriptions, see Li Feng 2006, pp. 66-76, 300-342. See also Li Feng 2008, pp. 31-33.

²⁶ The Zhou managed to secure a few locations in the South. However, it was not without a price. The Zhou troops met strong resistance when they attempted to attack the middle Yangzi region. In a major campaign led by King Zhao (977/75-957 B.C), nearly half of the Zhou soldiers were estimated to have died. Beginning from the reign of King Mu (956-918 B.C), after barely surviving a major severe foreign attack, the Zhou had stopped its territorial expansion and gave priority to border defense and internal affairs. Li Feng 2006, pp. 3.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 2, 32-35. Again, it is questionable whether the Zhou had full control over this entire territory. In various regions such as the Yu polity and the Yan polity, the Zhou sent its officials to oversee the area; but in certain locations, the Zhou only maintained influences through inter-clan marriage or other diplomatic means. For details, see Khayutina 2010a, pp. 1-50.

Aside from the already existing western residencies Feng 丰 and Hao 镐, the Zhou regime under King Cheng (1042/35-1006 B.C) established the eastern residency, Chengzhou 成周, at present-day Luoyang 洛阳.²⁸ Contemplating the central court's intention, Shaughnessy suggests that, the main objective was to protect the Tongguan 潼关 Pass, the chief entrance to the western residencies, or the original Zhou base at Qishan 岐山 (Zhouyuan) in the Wei River valley.²⁹ These residencies, where the Zhou king periodically resided and with a high concentration of central court officials and aristocrats, can be looked at as the “metropolitan” areas.

To govern the peripheral regions, Shaughnessy further elaborates that King Cheng sent his own patrilineal relatives to establish the local ruling authority, especially in strategically crucial areas in the north and south of the Yellow River [Map 5].³⁰ The king's brother Tangshu Yu 唐叔虞 founded the Jin 晋 polity at Tianma-Qucun 天马-曲村 near in the Fen River valley of Shanxi.³¹ His uncle, Kangshu Feng 康叔封 ruled the Wei 卫 polity in the heart of the former Shang capital in Henan.³² Another brother of King Cheng, Ying Hou 应侯 was to guard the Ying 应 polity near Pingding Shan 平顶山 in central Henan 河南.³³ His cousin Bo Qin 伯禽, the eldest son of the Duke of Zhou, was given the Lu 鲁 polity at Qufu 曲阜 in Shangdong 山东.³⁴ For the area near modern

²⁸ Loewe and Shaughnessy ed. 1999, pp. 311-312.

²⁹ Ibid. Maria Khayutina uses the term “Zhou-under-Qi” to refer to the Zhou base in Zhouyuan. Khayutina 2010b, pp.1-73. This thesis uses simply “Zhouyuan” to indicate the western residency.

³⁰ Loewe and Shaughnessy ed. 1999, pp. 312.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

Beijing, another relative, the half-brother of the Duke of Zhou, Shao Gong Shi 召公奭 was given the responsibility to establish the Yan 燕 polity.³⁵

Besides the mentioned polities controlled by the lords who belonged to the King's patrilineal clan with the surname Ji 姬, as Khayutina suggests, there were many other peripheral polities governed by lords from other clans and hence with other surnames.³⁶ Huang Mingchong further points out that they were possibly clans that were somewhat associated with the Zhou king and his clan—they probably helped the king fight against the Shang and were rewarded land afterwards.³⁷ Examples include the Yu (弓魚) polity in Baoji 宝鸡 and the Peng 棚 polity at Hengshui 横水. The lord of Yu, Yu Bo (弓魚)伯 was married to Jing Ji 井姬 from the Ji clan.³⁸ Because of exogamy practiced at that time, the Yu lord could not have been a Ji-clan member.³⁹ Similar to Yu Bo, the lord of Peng was also married to Bi Ji 毕姬 from the Ji clan, hence revealing the non-Ji identification of the Peng lord.⁴⁰ In addition, some other clans had previously submitted themselves to the king for peace and protection and were granted the permission to keep their own land. For example, as Huang Mingchong argues, the Shi 史 clan which controlled the region in modern day Tengzhou 滕州, Shangdong during the late Shang period, chose to cooperate

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Khayutina 2010a.

³⁷ Huang Mingchong 2012.

³⁸ The consort's clan identification is recorded in eight bronze inscriptions cast by Yu Bo from burial BRM2 at Rujiazhuang 茹家庄, for example that on the Jing Ji *ding* cauldrons with squared base and handles and the *gui* tureen. For inscriptions of these bronze vessels and other ones in the assemblage, see Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 360-384.

³⁹ For exogamy practices, see Khayutina 2010a, pp. 1-50.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Inscriptions on five bronze vessels from Shanxi Hengshui 山西横水 tombs M1 and M2, including the *gui* tureen, *pan* water basin and *yan*, reveal the clan of Bi Ji. Ji Kunzhang, Song Jianzhong and Tian Jianwen 2006, pp. 45-49.

with the Zhou regime and remained in power.⁴¹ At Qianzhangda village 前掌大村 in Tengzhou, Shandong, bronze vessels inscribed with the Shi clan emblem were found in various large-scale burials, some dated to the late Shang period while others the early Western Zhou.⁴² Tombs of the Shi family members such as M11 yield thirty-two bronze vessels, including eight *ding* cauldrons, fitting with the usually large quantity seen in burials of high-ranking Zhou officials.⁴³ These inscribed vessels and burials revealing important social status indicate that the Shi clan very likely ruled the area continuously since the Shang era and throughout the early Western Zhou under the permission of the Zhou court.⁴⁴

1b. The Zhou political structure and the king's power

One must not consider the entire territories in between the named polities and residencies, as well as within the far-ends of the Zhou conquests to be completely under the Zhou control. Due to a lack of archaeological discoveries, the vast areas in between the known polities and residencies remain unidentified; their political affiliation with the Zhou court is also unknown. In most regional polities ruled by the non-Ji clans, the degree of the Zhou court's political influence is also questionable. For example, as

⁴¹ Huang Mingchong 2012, pp. 628-629. See also Zhongguo 2005.

⁴² In the archaeological report, the dating of each tomb is based on typology of the burial goods, particularly that of the ceramics, tomb features and mortuary practices. For the dates of each burial, see: Ibid., pp. 509-528.

⁴³ Many of the bronze vessels such as *ding* cauldrons from M11 contain inscriptions of the Shi clan sign, indicating that the tomb occupant was probably a member of the clan. The author of the excavation report compares the bronze set of M11 with that of the late Shang tomb M160 at Guojiazhuang 郭家庄, Anyang, M1046 at Anyang, Yu polity tomb M23, etc. He determines the social status of the tomb occupant based on the comparison; based on the presence of a large amount of bronze weapons, the author suggests that the occupant was a high-ranking warrior commander. See: Ibid., 529-533.

⁴⁴ During the middle to late Western Zhou, the area was ruled by the Xue family, a descending branch of the Shi clan. See: Huang Mingchong 2012, pp. 628-629. The link between the Xue and the Shi clan is revealed in the inscriptions of a bronze *ding* cauldron 薛侯鼎. See: Wang Entian 1983, pp. 43-47.

mentioned, despite officially submitted to the Zhou regime, the Shi clan in fact continued to govern the area at Qianzhangda 前掌大, Shandong. In regional polities ruled by the Ji-clan members, the lords also enjoyed full self-governing rights; the local government had the right to legal punishments, civil administration, finance and military authority.⁴⁵

In fact, the binding medium between the central court and most regional polities was not the Zhou court's financial sponsorship, nor its exercise of legal and military authority, but a series of ritual acts. The periodic performance of rituals by the Zhou king and the regional lords confirmed and consolidated their relationship as ruler and subject. During the early Western Zhou period, as Khayutina observes, the Zhou king routinely moved around Zhouyuan, Feng/Hao and Chengzhou, and also certain secondary royal residences including Pangjing 莽京 and Zheng 郑 (modern-day location of both unidentified).⁴⁶ For example, as revealed in the Mai zun 麥尊 inscription, dated to the reign of King Kang or Zhao and commissioned by an official under the lord of the Xing polity, the king was recorded to have hosted the lord of Xing in Zongzhou 宗周 (or Hao).⁴⁷ From there, they traveled together to Pangjing to dine, performed rituals, rode a boat and hunted somewhere nearby. Then the king arrived at a place named Gan, and the

⁴⁵ Li Feng 2003, pp. 115-144.

⁴⁶ In Maria Khayutina's paper, her main objective is to argue that the Zhou regime, particularly during the early to middle period, was not as territorially centralized as previous scholars have suggested, and that none of the metropolitan spots can be considered as a "capital" since the Zhou king was unwilling to or incapable of establishing a fixed and ultimate meeting point for himself and his guests, including governmental officials, regional lords and non-Zhou representatives. Khayutina 2010b, pp. 1-73.

⁴⁷ The inscription records details of a reception of a regional lord and his activities with the Zhou king. Although Shaughnessy regards the account to be about the investiture ceremony of lord of Jing, Khayutina suggest that the investiture, mentioned briefly at the beginning of the inscription, is the preceding event of the major described one instead. The inscription is published in Jicheng no. 6015. See chapter 2 for discussion on bronze inscriptions and the Jicheng, and Chapter 4 for discussion on the Mai zun. Maria Khayutina considers Zongzhou to be highly likely Hao. The translation of the Mai zun is provided in Khayutina 2010b, pp. 1-73. Shaughnessy 1991, pp. 318.

lord was given an abundance of gifts.⁴⁸ The Mai *zun* inscription provides an example of the king's regular tours across multiple locations; during his journey he summoned and hosted regional lords at a certain residency, or he required the lords to accompany him for some part of the remaining journey. Revealed in the inscription, during a reception, the king performed rituals and bestowed gifts to his visitors. Analyzing the inscription, Khayutina argues that these receptions are not of administrative or bureaucratic importance, but a political one; they confirm and demonstrate the king's authority to summon, supervise and host the lords.⁴⁹

Besides rotating between the royal residencies in the metropolitan areas, as Khayutina further demonstrates, the Zhou king went on frequent inspection tours to the regional polities.⁵⁰ In the inscription of the Yi hou ze *gui* 宜侯矢簋, commissioned by the lord of Yi and possibly dated to the reign of King Kang, the king is said to have inspected tokens of the Shang conquered by King Wu and King Cheng, then continued to inspect the eastern polities and arrived at Yi (possibly near the Yi River in central Henan).⁵¹ Analyzing the inscription, Khayutina notes that at the Yi polity, the Zhou king behaved as the host of the place; there he greeted Ze and commanded him to become the lord of the polity.⁵² In other inscription examples, such as the Yi *he* 义盃 dated to the middle Western Zhou, the king is recorded to have arrived at the Lu polity, where he assumed the role of the host; he treated the regional lords with a feast and hosted an archery

⁴⁸ Khayutina 2010b, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁹ It is important to note that, as Khayutina has observed, the king's summon of regional lords to pay regular visits to the various royal residencies in the metropolitan areas of the Zhou seem to appear only on early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. It is likely that after the early period, the regional lords became unwilling to do so because of declining loyalty or of the difficulty to match with the schedule of the constantly moving king. Khayutina 2010b, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Translation taken from Khayutina 2010b, pp.15-16. Jicheng no. 4241.

⁵² The role of a host is also probably revealed from the position of the king at the Altar (facing south). Khayutina 2010b, pp.16.

contest.⁵³ In these situations where the Zhou king enters the domain practically ruled by the regional lords, the king's behavior as a host is a significant gesture reaffirming his status and authority. By being the host and having the ability to grant ruling rights to the lords, the king demonstrates that the land belongs to the Zhou regime and hence to him. By allowing the king to do so, the lords show their submission.

The governing independence of the regional lords, the constant mobility of the king, the need to routinely confirm his superiority through receptions and ritual performances all indicate that the Zhou regime, contrary to traditional belief, did not have centralized power and absolute control over its territories. At the beginning of the Zhou establishment, the Zhou court relied heavily on the voluntary cooperation of the regional lords. Rather than a top-down, pyramid-like political hierarchy, the early Zhou political structure can be thought of as web of political affiliations, with the Zhou court or the Zhou king being the major figure and initiator, connecting and interacting with the regional lords; some of whom more intensely and positively affiliated, while others only superficially acquainted.⁵⁴

1c. Diverse demographics

Already mentioned, establishing the Zhou regime, the Zhou king appointed regional lords to rule over the peripheral areas. The setup of a regional polity and the appointment of the regional ruler brought significant changes to the local demographics.

For example, according to Li Feng's analysis of the Ke *lei* 克罍 inscription, in the case of

⁵³ Khayutina 2010b, pp. 25-26, Jicheng no. 9453.

⁵⁴ Rawson discusses the concept and functioning of a political network built upon the practice of rituals and the use of bronze ritual vessels. Rawson, "Networking central China and the steppe: jade, bronze and chariots." Conference, Oxford University, Oxford, 24 March, 2017.

the Yan polity, when the king appointed his official Ke 克 to succeed Shao Gong Shi as the lord, he granted Ke six clan groups, some of which not indigenous, to settle at Yan.⁵⁵ In another analyzed case, the king offered Ze 矢 to govern the Yi 宜 polity at today's Yangzhou 扬州 in Jiangsu 江苏, providing him not only the king's men, but also some servants and seven Elders (*bo* 伯) from elsewhere in the western part of the Wei River valley.⁵⁶ The relocation of clans and communities must have inevitably resulted in cultural mixing between the local groups and immigrants of different origins. Clan-diversity became a characteristic in regional areas. Such a policy can perhaps be seen as the Zhou court's strategy to dilute potential tension between the king's ruling clan and the locals, but at the same time, the settlement of multiple other clans could result in further cultural conflicts and uneasiness.

Even in metropolitan areas, immigrants of non-Ji clans and of other regions also settled in with the Ji royals and aristocrats. Many, such as Ye Wansong, Zhang Jian and Li Defang, argue that a large Shang community was moved probably from the Shang capital Yin in Anyang to Zhou metropolitan locations.⁵⁷ For example, in Chengzhou 成周 (Luoyang), burial features commonly used by the Shang royal and elite members in

⁵⁵ See Li Feng 2008, pp. 241-243. The establishment of the Yan polity is also recorded in the inscription of the Ke *lei* 克罍. For discussion of the inscription, see Yin Weizhang 1990, pp. 66-77. The six clan groups recorded are the Qiang 羌, Ma 马, Zha, Yu, Yu 馭, Chang 长. Li Feng suggests that, for example, the Qiang clan was considered by scholars specializing in oracle bone inscriptions to have been located originally somewhere in the southern Shanxi 山西 and eastern Shaanxi 陕西 (probably even further west). The Ma group was probably in southern Hebei and the Chang in the mountains of eastern Shanxi, and the Zha group possibly somewhere near the Shang. For certain, these are just potential original locations of the groups; no archaeological evidence or other written records define their whereabouts or origin precisely. Li Feng 2008, pp. 242 and footnote 14.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 238-241. The command of the king is recorded in the inscriptions of the Yihou Ze *gui* 宜侯矢簋. For discussion of the inscription, see Tang Lan 1956, pp. 80; Ma Chengyuan 1988, pp. 35. Archaeologically, not much is discovered or known about the Yi polity.

⁵⁷ Ye Wansong, Zhang Jian and Li Defang 1991, pp. 70-76.

Anyang such as waist pits, ramps and sacrificial humans are largely present.⁵⁸ Clay molds used to cast bronze vessels also resemble the shape of Anyang bronzes, such as the *jue* 爵 wine goblet.⁵⁹ Underneath the housing foundation of the bronze-casting foundry, twelve circular pits with sacrificial human and animal remains were found, following the metropolitan Shang ritual practices.⁶⁰ Ye Wansong suggests that many of these Shang-like finds could be attributed to Shang immigrants of various classes. He also speculates that the craftsmen who formerly cast bronze vessels for the Shang royals were employed by the Zhou royals and relocated to Zhou metropolitan areas.⁶¹

Moreover, clans with other surnames often intermarried with the Ji clan, resulting in the migration of diverse non-Ji groups into metropolitan places, and the relocation of Ji-clan members to peripheral locations. Based on the bronze inscription records, Khayutina shows that several spouses of a few generations of Zhou kings came from the Jiang 姜(羌) clan.⁶² Ji-surnamed principalities nearby the capitals such as the Wei 卫, Xing 邢, Guo 虢 and Jin 晋 polity also took wives from the Jiang clan.⁶³ Besides the Jiang, other clans such as Ren 妊, Ji 妃, Gui 媯 Ying 嬴 and Yin 殷 are recorded to have marital arrangements with the royal Ji-clan.⁶⁴

2. Research question and central argument

⁵⁸ Similar to ceramic pots, Shang-style burial customs do not necessarily indicate the Shang ethnicity of the tomb occupants. However, in this case, consider the presence of many other archaeological evidence showing similarities with those from Anyang, it is possible that some Shang immigrants moved to Luoyang. Guo Baojun and Lin Shoujin 1955, pp. 91-116.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Khayutina 2010a, pp. 8-10.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

2a. Defining the research question

At the dawn of the dynastic Zhou, the Zhou court was confronted with a premature and fragile regime. The Zhou people, having come from multiple communities from a wide variety of clan, cultural and geographical backgrounds, did not have a shared history and unity. The vast conquered territory and the decentralized political structure gave room to regional independence and revolts. With the establishment of royal residencies and regional polities, the relocation of the clans and regional groups became frequent, further disrupting the local demographics and intensifying cultural tensions. The Zhou court had an extremely difficult yet crucial task. It needed its people to become “the Zhou people” and to share the same sense of belonging; in other words, it had to construct a “Zhou identity” and make the conquered embody it. The task was essential; failure to do so would result in conflicts and wars between localities, or rebellions from local to state level demanding independence. The Zhou regime would collapse soon after. However, this is more easily said than done, because for example, the people at Yin (former Shang capital) had for a very long time considered themselves to be the Shang inhabitants; the localities at present-day Shangdong, Jiangsu and Gansu, etc. had also long developed their own culture and traditions.

Considering all the above, the research question this dissertation raises is that, what measures did the Zhou central court initiated to install and consolidate a “Zhou identity” in various parts of the Zhou territory, and how extensive and effective were these measures, especially during the early Zhou years?

2b. Central argument

As the research question comes in two parts—what the Zhou court’s measures were and their effectiveness, the central argument is also divided into two. First, this thesis argues that, to shape and consolidate the “Zhou identity,” the Zhou court created a new Zhou ritual, military and dietary system. The intended result was that, by participating in these systems, the regional elites would acknowledge and project themselves as members of the Zhou regime, hence taking up a royally initiated “Zhou identity.”

Second, the thesis argues that, however, these measures brought by the Zhou court were only effective to a certain extent. Different regions show varying degrees of participation. Even for those elites who fully joined the new Zhou ritual and military system, their embodiment of the “Zhou identity” was situational. Beyond the ritual and military level, most regional elites remained locally focused in aspects of daily life, such as in their dietary context.

3. Organization of the dissertation

To support and illustrate the central argument, the following chapters of the dissertation examine a range of archaeological materials to decipher the military, ritual and dietary system created by the Zhou court, as well as to analyze their effectiveness.

Chapter 2, “Concept of Identity, Literature Review and Archaeological Data,” defines the “Zhou identity” generally as individuals’ projected sense of belonging to the Zhou community. The embodiment of this identity requires an individual to experience himself or herself being a member of the Zhou group. The chapter turns to

anthropological, psychological and archaeological theories and explores the theoretical grounding for the concept of identity. It then reviews works in archaeology and more specifically, in Western Zhou archaeology, which are related to the central argument. It also introduces the categories of archaeological materials examined in all chapters, answering why they are crucial evidence to support the central argument, and what their limitations are.

Chapter 3, “The Zhou Military System—Analysis of the Bronze *ge*” argues that the Zhou court established a new Zhou military system for the elites and lesser elites to participate in. The system includes the new Zhou armies as well as a standardized dagger-axe as weapon, which entails a standardized way to fight. By having the militants join the new military system, the Zhou court intended to recruit them into the Zhou community. However, such a scheme was only effective to a certain degree. Indeed, the bronze *ge* found throughout the Zhou territory reveal that a large-scale standardization of the dagger-axes was underway. Nonetheless, many regional elites and lesser elites preferred local weapon types; they did not fight in the royal Zhou way. They also did not join the royal armies but the regional ones.

Chapter 4, “The Zhou Ritual System—Analysis of the Bronze Ritual Vessels” examines the bronze ritual vessel sets found in various Zhou regions. The chapter argues that the Zhou central court created a new ritual system for the elites to participate in, by attempting to standardize both performing and funerary rituals involving the bronze vessels. The vessel sets found in burials throughout the Zhou territory altogether demonstrate a general tendency to include more food serving vessels than wine ones,

contrarily to the common late Shang set.⁶⁵ The new Zhou set also eliminates the wine vessel *gu*, a crucial type in the Shang set appearing often in pair with another wine vessel *jue*. The preference for food vessels and the elimination of certain wine vessels indicate that ritual performances using these vessels must also have been altered and standardized.⁶⁶ However, the Zhou court's measure was also not entirely effective. In specific regions, the elites still preferred their own local sets, or made alterations to the standard set. They likely did not follow the royal manner of performing rituals, hence not participating fully in the Zhou ritual community as Zhou members.

Chapter 5, "The Zhou Foodways—Analysis of the Ceramics" looks at the ceramics from different Zhou regions. The chapter argues that the Zhou court made initial efforts to standardize the ceramic sets (but not types) so as to establish a Zhou dietary system for all inhabitants to participate in. However, the regulation was not extensive and effective enough. Inhabitants in many local regions still preferred their own sets and types. As ceramics indicate the users' foodways, that is, how they prepare and consume food and the kind of food eaten, locally oriented ceramic sets and types suggest that the inhabitants from various Zhou regions remained local in the dietary context. Even for those elites who participated fully in the ritual and military context, they had a stronger sense of belonging to the local community in dietary situations.

Chapter 6 "Conclusion" ends the dissertation by evaluating the identity experienced by the Zhou inhabitants. Combining observations from previous chapters, it defines what the "Zhou identity" entails in the military, ritual and dietary context. Region

⁶⁵ Chapter 4 discusses further that the preference for food vessels over wine ones has been widely acknowledged.

⁶⁶ Rawson suggests that a change in the vessel types indicates also the change in the relevant ritual performances. Rawson 1989, pp. 87-93; 1999; 2004, pp. 4-11.

by region, it provides an overview of the extent of “Zhou-ness” embodied by the inhabitants. Judging from the living experiences of the people, it determines whether or not a region truly belongs to the Zhou regime. The chapter then challenges current understanding of the political landscape of the early Western Zhou, by revising the roles and functions of different regions, as well as the modes of interactions between the regional lords and the Zhou court. Finally, it reiterates the identity model and methodology used in this dissertation, in the hope of inspiring future research on the identity development in societies of ancient China.

Chapter 2

Concept of Identity, Literature Review and Archaeological Data

This chapter addresses the methodology and approach of the dissertation. It provides the theoretical groundwork for later discussions on the “Zhou identity,” and introduces the archaeological data examined. It also elaborates on how it intends to apply identity theories to interpret the data. Relevant publications are reviewed to support the methodology, and to illustrate the shortcomings in the current understanding of the Zhou identity.

The chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part explores the notions of “identity” by providing definitions specific for the purpose of this thesis. By referring to previous literature, it examines the application of identity in archaeology, as well as the theoretical framework surrounding the identity concepts. The second part reviews publications on the identity development of other ancient communities, in order to reference their understanding of the concept to support that of this thesis. It also points out the aspects different from that argued in this thesis, so as to further clarify what identity is or is not in this thesis. In addition, it also critiques the rare studies investigating social identity in the Western Zhou period. It points out that some research goes in the same direction as this thesis, but with certain shortcomings or limitations. The third part introduces the archaeological data considered in this thesis. It provides a brief overview of the material cultures in different parts of the Zhou territory during the early Western Zhou period. It focuses mainly on the visual or stylistic aspects of the artifacts. Then it describes the bronze inscriptions, which are crucial evidence for later chapters. It

discusses the nature, function and limits of the inscriptions and explains their use in this thesis.

1. Concept of identity

1a. Identity

The term “identity” has been used widely by writers in multiple fields.¹ Depending on the purpose of the writer, it is defined differently and has varied implications. In other words, identity is a concept that cannot and should not be described in black and white terms. Nonetheless, within the context of this thesis, identity is close to being an individual’s “sense of belonging” to a social group.² Borrowing the understanding of Hagerty from the field of psychology, identity or a sense of belonging is the “experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment.”³ Several essential components constitute to this concept of identity. First, identity is an experience. It is an understanding gained by living through a certain period of time or a series of events. Second, it is formed, perceived and projected through the individuals’ actions, which are in fact interactions with other individuals—how they relate and connect with each other. Third, it is highly dependent on the presence of a network or system in which the individuals are situated. The identity of the individuals does not exist in a vacuum; it is

¹ Discourses on identity have become a widespread academic interest roughly since the mid-1980s. For examples of such discourses, see Rouse 1995; Hall 1996.

² Knapp, Diaz-Andrue and Lucy all suggest that identity is closely linked to a sense of belonging to certain groups and not others. Knapp 2008, pp. 34; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, pp. 1.

³ Hagerty et al. 1992. Hagerty also writes that a system can be a relationship or organization, and an environment can be natural or cultural. See also Anant 1996.

formulated and changeable according to the situation and social structure in which the individuals participate at a specific moment.⁴

In the case of the early Western Zhou elites, a “Zhou identity” is the sense of belonging to the Zhou regime. It is the individuals’ experience of actively participating in the Zhou ritual and military system, to an extent that the individuals see themselves as part of the regime. For example, some regional elites were able to embody a Zhou identity because they shared the experience of performing the same rituals and combating with the same techniques. However, the elites’ identity changes when they are looked at from the perspective of a different social structure. They also embodied a local identity by joining the local system of living (section 1c. discusses overlapping identities). Their experiences of eating the same food, using the same utensils, wearing the same kind of clothing as other locals allow them to obtain strong ties with the local community.

Some may argue that identity, as a sense of belonging, is problematic because archaeologists have no way to find out how individuals feel and think; material remains cannot possibly reveal whether or not a person felt that he or she belonged to a social group. However, this thesis is not exploring the subjective feelings of the individuals, but rather their actions visible and understood through archaeological material. It is from the perspective of the archaeologists, examining the individuals’ social behaviors, that this thesis determines to what extent the individuals belonged, or did not belong to a community. In other words, the concept of identity adopted by this thesis is a sense of

⁴ Many hold a similar view that identity is situational and fluid. For example Knapp explains that identity “may be seen as a construction, always in process; it is conditional and lodged in contingency.” Knapp 2008, pp. 32. See also Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, pp. 2.

belonging projected to archaeologists through a person's living experiences and physical involvements, and not internal emotions.⁵

Considering the many concurrent definitions and deliberation on the concept, this section also clarifies, within the context of this thesis, what identity is not. It is not the type of generic identity defined by territorial boundaries or based on a genetic analysis. For example, the thesis does not automatically assume that a Ji-clan member living in the royal residency had a sense of belonging to the Zhou regime. Unlike many other studies, it does not simply refer to the individual with such a background as a "Zhou person." In addition, identity is not one based on the ownership of an object associated with a certain culture or geographical location.⁶ For example, a bronze dagger-axe in a Yan polity burial with counterparts from the Northern Zone does not necessarily suggest the northern origin of the tomb occupant. In the royal residencies, the discovery of ceramic *li*-tripods with prototypes from the late Shang capital Anyang does not demonstrate directly that the Shang descendants had moved and settled in the regions.

Moreover, identity is not ethnicity. An ethnic group, according to the social psychologist Elsie Smith, may be defined as "a reference group called upon by people who share a common history and culture, who may be identifiable because they share similar physical features and values and who, through the process of interacting with each other and establishing boundaries with others, identify themselves as being a member of that group."⁷ Breton and Pinard further suggests that an individual does not belong to an

⁵ See also footnote 30. That said, I believe that there are many overlaps between what is projected through the individuals' actions and what the individuals think. For example, a person who votes at an election, to a large extent, must feel that he or she belongs to the nation or community.

⁶ Many archaeologists repeatedly warn against doing so, suggesting that "pots" do not equal "people." For example, Hodder 1978; Shennan 1989; Cameron 1998; Insoll 2007.

⁷ Smith 1991.

ethnic group by choice; he or she must be born into such a group and becomes related to it through emotional and symbolic ties.⁸ Considering these definitions, the Zhou identity is not an ethnicity, because the people who founded the Zhou regime or who were ruled by it did not share a common history, or cultural origin. The Zhou identity is even an artificial one constructed first by the Zhou ruling authorities and promoted to the people. People were not born by default into the Zhou group; on the contrary, intentional choices and efforts had to be made to become a Zhou member.

Although archaeological studies frequently define identity as ethnicity, it is a dangerous approach. As Goody criticizes, “the term ‘ethnic’ has become a cant word in the social sciences and often in everyday speech, where it is frequently used in a blanket fashion to refer to any collective grouping with a semblance of homogeneity, in situations of conflict or positions of subordination... Ethnicity covers all as well as covering up all.”⁹ Besides, unlike the identity defined in this thesis, ethnicity involves the subjectivity of an individual that is difficult or impossible for archaeologists to decipher. As Diaz-Andreu suggests, ethnicity emphasizes the individuals’ perception—who they think they are and their emotional attachment to what they would subjectively define as an ethnic group.¹⁰ Such a perception cannot be reconstructed with archaeological material.

1b. The formation and implications of identity

Identity, as defined in this thesis, is social; it requires the individuals’ interaction with others and the presence of a social network. However, in order to create a collective identity, each individual within the social group must first embody the understanding and

⁸ Breton and Pinard 1960.

⁹ Goody 2001, pp. 8.

¹⁰ Diaz-Andreu 1998, p. 212.

values of this identity in himself or herself. In other words, a social identity is formed both at the group and at the individual level. To better comprehend the concept of identity, this dualism requires further exploration. This section, referencing classic and recent studies on identity, investigates how the social identity is thought to have been formed and transformed within the dualism. It also evaluates what it means for the individuals to have a collective identity.

Early works on identity tend to focus on the individual aspect. They relate identity more to the individuals' ego and personality, and less to their sense of belonging to a social group. Among the earliest modern writers to have written about identity is perhaps John Locke, who discusses in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) the concept of identity, defining it as the consciousness of the self that can be transferred from one soul to another.¹¹ By separating the soul from the self, Locke uses the term "identity" to question previous Cartesian and even Augustinian theory defining the soul as personal identity; he also challenges the Christian concept of the soul and its unity with the consciousness of the self. Locke's definition and understanding of identity is not applicable for the purpose of this thesis, however it must be acknowledged that he is one of the first to invest identity with great social potential, by linking the concept with religious and hence social beliefs and behavior. Building on Locke's theory, later scholars begin to explore the meanings and implications of identity. They go even further to suggest that identity is not at all restricted to the internals of the individuals, i.e. the brain, the soul, the consciousness, etc., but it exists between the person and the society. Many start to write about how the society as a whole looks at and handles the issue of

¹¹ He defines that a man's "Identity...consists in nothing but a participation of the same continued Life, by constantly fleeting Particles of Matter, in succession vitally united to the same organized Body." Locke 1689, pp. 137.

race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, etc., and how these collective views and actions affect the individuals' identity, as well as defining their relation to and role in the society.¹²

However, it was only in the 1950s that the psychologist Erik Erikson attempted to set solid boundaries and definitions to the term “identity.” Finding a middle-ground among all popular and professional ideas of the term discussed in past and contemporary times, he writes that identity is “a process ‘located’ in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture, a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of those two identities.”¹³ He understands identity as a process combining two aspects—one defined by the interior development of an individual, his personality and ego; and another characterized by the individuals' link to the society, requiring the persons' active participation and interaction with others.¹⁴ Erikson's definition encourages many scholars from different fields to apply identity in their work. Among them, the sociologists are most interested in the second aspect of the definition, which examines the individuals' identity with respect to the society. Some such as Nelson Foote and Peter Berger establish a new school of thought, arguing that identity comes only from the external, and that it must be socially bestowed and sustained.¹⁵ Berger denies the possibility of forming an identity (or sometimes referred to as “self” by him and his fellows) without the influence of the society—“looked at sociologically, the self [identity] is no longer a solid,

¹² The aspects of “identity” involving an individual and the society include: one's ethnic and religious identity (e.g. Herberg 1955, pp. 24-31, 40-44), regional identity (e.g. Woodward 1958), national identity (e.g. Morton 1961). For a more complete summary and review of the development of the concept “identity” and of the published literature on various aspects of identity, see Gleason 1983.

¹³ Erikson 1980, pp. 22. He argues that forming one's identity takes time; one has to go through eight stages of biological maturation, and to find one's self and role by interacting with the society.

¹⁴ Erikson's concept of the ego and personality derives from the Freudian “id, ego and superego” model. Following the Freudian tradition, he insists that despite the important part of interacting with the outside world, the “identity” occurs, or in his words, “locates,” in the deep psychic structure of an individual.

¹⁵ Foote 1951; Berger 1963, pp. 100-106.

given entity...It is rather a process, continuously created and re-created in each social situation that one enters, held together by the slender thread of memory.”¹⁶ In other words, to these sociologists, identity does not have a fixed form; it is continuously shaped and re-shaped by the social situations that the individuals enter. It is also a culmination of how the individuals interact in previous situations.¹⁷

The distinction between the two schools has rapidly developed and has grown further apart; debates involving multiple disciplines continue today arguing whether identity is formed internally with the help of external factors (the Eriksonians), or it is constantly created and altered externally somewhere in the interaction between an individual and the society (Foote and Berger).¹⁸ While acknowledging the importance of such a discourse, the purpose of this section is not to engage in this debate, but to reference these discussions of identity so as to understand what it meant for the individuals living under the Zhou rule to have a collective Zhou or local identity. The thesis takes a larger interest in the aspect of identity more closely linked to the society in which the individuals participate. It agrees with the stance that the individuals’ identity,

¹⁶ Ibid. Philip Gleason, in retelling the development of the term “identity,” explains that many sociologists refer to “identity” as “self” at the beginning of their academic research. One group labeling itself the symbolic interactionists in the 1940 was particularly interested in how the self-consciousness of the individual is shaped by his or her social interaction, mediated through shared symbolic systems. The term “identity” was not used at first by the group in analyzing social interaction; the founding fathers, Charles Cooley and George Mead label it “the self.” In the 1960s, “identity” had gradually become a technical term for the symbolic interactionists then. Scholars of the group such as Erving Goffman and Peter Berger played a significant role in shifting the terminology from “the self” to “identity.” For detailed explanation of the history of this group and its use of “identity,” see Gleason 1983.

¹⁷ See footnote 4 for scholars and archaeologists with such a view. In addition, Rowlands also believes that identity arises from interactions between the individual and society, and may be altered depending on the social circumstances. Rowland 1994, pp. 132.

¹⁸ Referring to the same debate, Knapp gives an overview of the academic movements concerning identity with a slightly different perspective. He divides the schools of thoughts into three main categories. He writes that traditional anthropologists regard identity as a fixed, stable and creative entity. (Keller 1992, pp. 141) Modernists see identity as “more mutable, personal and self-reflexive, and so the boundaries of possible identities expanded.” Post-modernists further promote the concept of disperse identities. Similar to what this thesis proposes, this school of thought argues that people embody different identities as social situations demand. (Jameson 1984). Knapp 2008, pp.32.

formulated by their participation in social situations, can be joined together with the identity of others and produce yet another collective identity.

In more concrete terms, this collective identity is defined by the social psychologist Henri Tajfel as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group...together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.”¹⁹ Others have reworked this definition to highlight the depersonalized representation of the self and its omnipresence in the social group. For example, John Turner articulates the social identity to be “a shift towards the perception of self as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as a unique form.”²⁰ According to him, a social identity can be regarded as a depersonalized identity supported by the common features, such as values, beliefs, lifestyle, etc. shared and embraced by all individuals in a social group.

The set up of this identity requires several components. In Tajfel’s opinion, the first is the members’ awareness of their membership. The second is that this awareness entails connotations. The third component consists of an emotional investment upholding the membership.²¹ In the context of the Zhou regime, embodying a Zhou identity would mean that the inhabitants in the Zhou land were aware of their participation in the Zhou systems; that they learned the implication of such membership including the Zhou rituals and political beliefs, and the techniques to fight, etc. In addition, they were to be attached to such membership, not giving it up easily and quickly. Once sharing the social identity,

¹⁹ Tajfel 1981, pp. 255. Following Tajfel, Hall also considers the knowledge, value and significance attached to membership in a social group as the main requirements of a social identity. Hall 1997, pp. 30.

²⁰ Turner et al. 1987, pp. 50.

²¹ Tajfel 1982, pp. 2.

Tajfel argues, any individual in this social group would view himself or herself indistinguishable from others in the group; he would also view other members within the same group as interchangeable with one another.²² Therefore, for members of the Zhou community, sharing a Zhou identity would mean that they consider themselves no different from other people under the Zhou rule based on the common features they share. The same can be said for sharing a local identity.

1c. Overlapping identities

Rather than being a member of simply one social group, individuals often participate in multiple communities and therefore embrace several identities. These communities are usually not entirely exclusive of each other, but of a different scale. For example, an elite of the Ji-clan from the Jin polity can have strong ties with his local community, but at the same time considers himself a member of the Zhou regime. Therefore, as already mentioned, the individuals' identity depends highly on how the social group is defined, or the particular social situations they are in (e.g. at a local communal feast vs. reception hosted by the Zhou king). This thesis does not aim to tell apart which individuals belong to the Zhou regime and which to the local communities only. Rather, it investigates which individuals projected a *stronger* sense of belonging to the regime in certain situations, and which to the local network.

²² Tajfel argues that the part of the identity characterized by personality and the perception of self remains present, but subsidiary and dominated by the other part, which is social and group-oriented. Others such as Swann et al., propose that in social situations, the personal and social part would fuse together, prompting a highly pro-group personal and collective behavior and motivation. Stronger ties with other group members can be observed as well. See Swann et al. 2012.

1d. Social framework of identity

Already touched upon, identity is dependent on the individuals who interact with others, and of a social system in which the individuals participate. These individuals who perform actions can be thought of as “agents,” and their actions or capacity to act as “agency.” The social system can be described as “structure,” an inalienable term to agency.²³ Referencing Andrew Gardner’s idea, identity can be considered as the medium between agency and structure.²⁴ Identity is the drive that prompts agents to act in a certain way within the structure; in some situations, identity is the motivation that causes the agents to act differently, hence reshaping the agency and structure. Elaborating on this framework of identity, this section examines the agency and structure with regard to how identity functions.

Agency, despite common misinterpretations, is defined by Giddens and reiterated by Gardner as “something that people ‘have’—a capacity for acting in a particular, self-conscious way. It can also be said that agency is what people ‘do’—the particular way they engage in the world through a flow of interactive practices.”²⁵ Combining these two qualities, Elliott further describes agency as “active involvement” of an individual.²⁶ On the other hand, a structure, in the words of Giddens, only exists “as the reproduced conduct of situated actors with definite intentions and interests.”²⁷ It is established as a result of ongoing social relationships and repeated interactions between individuals.

²³ Gardner 2007, pp. 18; see also Gardner 2004, pp. 3-7; Dobres and Robb 2000, pp. 4-6.

²⁴ Gardner 2007, pp. 18. Gardner writes that “Identity comes into this—more straightforwardly—as a key symbolic medium through which agency and structure interrelate. Actors deal with the world in terms of classifications of similarity and difference—which are what identities reduce to—and it is primarily in these same terms that structure ‘acts back’ on them.” Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 18. Gardner refers to Giddens for the definition, see Giddens 1984, pp. 9 and Giddens 1979, pp. 55.

²⁶ Elliott 2001, pp. 2; Gardner 2007, pp. 18.

²⁷ Giddens 1993, pp.134. See also Dornan 2002.

Within this structure, individuals' actions are routinized and actors act out their internalized habits. In the case of the Zhou regime, the actors (the Zhou king and his officials), when placed in the Zhou political structure, acted out their internalized acts; for example, the officials greeted and interacted with the king as his subjects in a routinized manner. Giddens' structuration theory opposes Bourdieu who, in his concept of *habitus*, argues that the individuals' actions and capacity are restricted by their structure.²⁸

Giddens emphasizes that every individual act is based on a "practical consciousness" that involves continual and detailed reflexive attention even when performing the most mundane habits.²⁹ Therefore, individuals have the capacity to reflect upon the content and meanings of their everyday actions. This capacity, in turn, gives room for individuals situated within a supposedly fixed structure to alter their actions and habits, ultimately changing the structure.

Giddens' emphasis on the duality of structure and agency—that they are mutually constitutive, is crucial to this thesis.³⁰ This dissertation does not simply look at how individuals acted within the established structure of the Zhou regime, but instead, at how the actions of certain individuals (e.g. Zhou king, regional lords) created or redefined a certain Zhou structure. The early Western Zhou is a period when long-standing Shang structures collapsed, and new ones emerged. The conquest of the Shang resulted in the elimination of the Shang king and aristocracy. The Zhou court, establishing regional polities, created a new social hierarchy featuring interactions between the Zhou king and

²⁸ Some argue that Bourdieu's ideas remain constrained by a latent structuralism. Gardner 2007, pp. 40; Jenkins 1992, pp. 91-98.

²⁹ Giddens defines practical consciousness as "non-discursive, but not unconscious, knowledge of social institutions." Giddens 1979, pp.24. See also Dornan 2002.

³⁰ Gardner 2007, pp. 43. Gardner follows Giddens' "duality of structure," found in Giddens 1984, pp. 25-27. For further discussion on the duality, see Wenger 1998, pp. 65-71.

the regional lords. Under such a circumstance, the capacity of certain individuals to reflect upon and reject traditions, as well as to establish new ones plays a prominent role in reshaping the structure.

Some scholars have criticized that Giddens falls short in his detailed account of intentionality. For example, Jennifer Dornan critiques that, in Giddens' practical applications of structuration theory, he leaves little room for complex motivations and desires of the individuals.³¹ In fact, Giddens explicitly states that his theory does not refer to the intentions of individuals in doing things, but their capacity in doing them.³² Gardner defends Giddens by writing that a key property to his structuration is the routinization of rules and the reproduction of habitual actions; these performances can be carried out through the unintended consequences of practices.³³ In other words, the emphasis of his model is on doing things but not on individual intentionality.³⁴ In response to the debate, this thesis proposes that identity can fit right into Giddens' model in supplying an additional layer of human motivation. Identity can be a human drive to explain why actors (agents) do certain things to follow the rules of the structure, or why some actors act differently and alter the existing structure. For example, the Zhou court established a new Zhou military system requiring all soldiers to fight in the same way. Such a military structure and actions are prompted by the Zhou court's intention to install a sense of belonging amongst the participants, so that the Zhou regime is further consolidated. On the other hand, the regional elites' local identity motivates them to act against the central court's attempt to regulate their everyday dietary habits.

³¹ Dornan 2002, pp. 308. Dornan refers to Giddens 1991.

³² Giddens 1984, pp. 9.

³³ Ibid, pp. xxii–xxv, 1–28, 35–83; Gardner 2007, pp. 45.

³⁴ Ibid, pp. 45.

1e. Role of archaeological material

Archaeological objects reflect users' actions and interactions with others, thereby revealing the agency and structure that the users are involved in. The differences in the excavated objects give hints to the variations in the associated social activities.³⁵ These variations in social practices—often answering questions about who are or are not involved, and who act in the same or different way, are key to understanding how social identities are formed, negotiated and experienced.³⁶

To spot the differences in social practices through analyzing the objects, a system distinguishing the relevant deviations in the objects is key. Traditional approaches classifying the artifacts into various types according to the formal or aesthetic characteristics are not helpful, as distinctions are often subjectively made and do not suggest clear technological processes or the social behaviors of the producers and users.³⁷

³⁵ Contemplating on the concept of difference in both material and social practices, Knapp refers to Meskell's study and writes that "the concept of difference—as used in marking identity or separating our social vectors (Meskell 1999, pp. 67)—is crucial for creating distinctive settings for human action, and distinctive kinds of action are the very ones that may be perceived archaeologically." Knapp 2008, pp. 35. For a similar view, see Joyce and Claassen 1997, pp. 7.

³⁶ Several archaeologists express the same view. For example, Knapp writes that, "archaeology clearly has a crucial role to play in understanding how different experiences and the diversity of material culture may be used to construct social identities." Knapp 2008, pp. 35. Gardner also writes "the role of identities in shaping different kinds of agents and, through them, different kinds of structures will thus be explored through an archaeology of actions or practices—that is, what people do. An emphasis on practice follows from the relationship model of agency outlined above [discussed in this section of the thesis], and is based on the idea that it is possible to understand that people are from what they do, not just what they think." Gardner 2007, pp. 19. For a similar stance, see also Thomas 2004, pp. 191. In addition, according to Gardner, the key, linking social practices and identity is the consideration of the "qualities of presence and absence associated with different activities—that is, how the people who are co-present in a particular interaction might be part of larger but more abstract communities." The role of archaeological material is hence, to allow archaeologists "to understand how artifacts materialize the connections between individuals and groups, but also to appreciate that these connections are dynamic and flexible." Gardner 2007, pp. 204.

³⁷ The traditional system distinguishing the difference between artifacts is sometimes referred to as "style." In the 60s and 70s, heated debate about "style" emerged. The discussions including what style entails, how to analyze and categorize objects based on style. For example, Binford defines style as the formal characteristics of the objects visible to anyone including the producers, users or archaeologists. Binford 1962, pp. 220. For a brief summary, see Gardner 2007, pp. 64.

Rather than a strictly formal approach, this thesis categorizes artifacts (bronze dagger-axe, bronze and ceramic vessels) by their differences in production techniques and usage, or in other words, by their “technological style.” Borrowing the term and concept of Terry Childs, “technological style” refers to “the formal integration of behaviors performed during manufacture and use of material culture which, in its entirety, expresses social information.”³⁸ Contrary to the decorative and aesthetic aspects, the technological style is a series of visual attributes that highlights the artifact’s production and usage, as well as revealing the social context of the producer and user. It focuses on the functional side of the artifact; a change in the technological style directly affects how the vessel is manufactured and used. By distinguishing the artifacts according to their technological style, the differences in the social practices among the users and producers can be spotted; their social identities can be understood. In general, functional categories, as Gardner argues, develop a more socially meaningful typology of practices, providing the appropriate link between objects and identities.³⁹

Nonetheless, not all functional differences bring changes to social practices and mark social boundaries. For example, examining Luo architecture, Dietler and Herbich find that the change from round to rectangular houses does not have any effect on the

³⁸ Childs 1991, pp. 332. In developing his concept, Childs refers to theories on style by Sackett 1977, 1982, 1985, 1986; Wiessner 1983, 1984, 1985, 1989 and Lechtman 1977. For summary and review of his concept, see Franck 2010. I am quite hesitant to use the term “style,” as its ambiguity and subjectivity have been questioned by previous scholars. However, Childs defines style not in the conventional and traditional way which focuses on the qualitative and visual elements, but “as active in society and residing in the process of making and using an object.” (Childs 1991, pp. 332-333) Therefore, “style” in his opinion, is the visual expression that conveys social messages, and not the aesthetics and personal renderings of the producer. For discussions on other relevant theories relating to the social and technological aspects of a “style,” and their application in archaeological studies, see Stark et al. 1998.

³⁹ Gardner 2007, pp. 67.

locals' social practices and relations.⁴⁰ Focusing on African pottery production processes, Gosselain notes that only some of the many aspects of the pottery technology relate to the demarcating of social groups.⁴¹ This thesis only focuses on the aspects of functional and technological style that are relevant to the variations in social behaviors and identities. These aspects are explained further in each of the later chapters.

1f. Standardization

In some cases, while variations in artifacts are linked to the drawing of boundaries in social practices, hence the embodiment of different social identities; similarities are related to the sharing of the same identity. This section elaborates on, in the context of the thesis, how standardization of archaeological objects leads to the interpretation that the Zhou court intended and attempted to install the same Zhou identity onto the inhabitants living under the Zhou rule.

Standardization, defined by Prudence Rice, can be characterized as achieving a relative degree of homogeneity in a product's appearance or production process.⁴² It implies that the artifacts are made by individuals using only the same or limited range of materials and formalized techniques.⁴³ When technological homogeneity is present in the artifacts, the associated social practices are also likely standardized. For example, the preference for a homogenous type of ceramic *li*-tripod in late Shang Anyang corresponds to the tendency to cook food in similar ways.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Interactions and community hierarchy are reinforced instead by the spatial location of the houses, regardless of their shape. Dietler and Herbich 1998.

⁴¹ Gosselain 2000.

⁴² Rice 1991, pp. 268.

⁴³ Rice 1987, pp. 202.

⁴⁴ Frank 2010.

Standardization can occur both unintentionally and purposefully.⁴⁵ For example, a homogenous ceramic shape can be a result of the unintentional, natural optimization of the potters' craftsmanship improved over time.⁴⁶ The use of new mechanical tools or techniques can also bring standardizing effects to the products, which is often not the original intention of the craftsmen.⁴⁷ However, in many instances, standardization is a purposeful process; it is initiated by either the producers or by a managerial institution.⁴⁸ For example, potters homogenize the ceramics intentionally to accommodate the customers' demand for an aesthetically unified and recognizable product with specific dimensions or volume.⁴⁹ Cost-cutting concerns and resource availability are also important drives to standardize the artifacts.⁵⁰ On the other hand, as many scholars suggest, standardization is initiated not just out of economic or environmental needs, but also as an instrument to gain power. For example, Rice and Service both argue that since standardization often involves the management of complex divisions of labor, the control of such a production is a source for the political elites to acquire power.⁵¹ Peter Peregrine also proposes the occasions in which political elites intentionally employ craftsmen to

⁴⁵ Costin and Hagstrum 1995, pp. 622. have separated the underlying driving forces behind standardization into intentional (technological, morphological, and stylistic) and mechanical (unconsciously introduced by potters). This thesis considers also the large social-political factors as driving forces. More recent studies have focused on socio-political dimensions, and have greatly added to our understanding of the variety of factors contributing to standardization.

⁴⁶ Berg 2004; for improved skills, see Longacre 1999.

⁴⁷ For the use of similar tools, see Arnold 1991.

⁴⁸ Service 1975; Rice 1981; Arnold and Munns 1994.

⁴⁹ Longacre 1999; Arnold and Nieves 1992; Costin and Hagstrum 1995.

⁵⁰ Resource management: Rathje 1975; cost-cutting: Costin and Hagstrum 1995, pp. 622.

⁵¹ Rice 1981, pp. 223. Rice remarks that the practice of production may or may not be under the control of stratified elites, but if it is controlled by emerging elites, then that control can be a source for the elites to acquire power. It is often proposed that the need to manage increasingly complex divisions of labor would have promoted the emergence of political elites and managerial institutions. Service 1975; Rice 1981; Arnold and Munns 1994.

create personal ornaments of a certain kind to further enhance social status, legitimizing political power.⁵²

Considering all the above motivations, this section proposes that the standardization of ritual vessels and bronze dagger-axes was carried out intentionally by the Zhou central court for the ultimate purpose of consolidating political power. However, unlike many other cases, the central court did not obtain power through controlling the production or distribution of homogenized artifacts, but by manipulating standardized objects to regulate social behaviors. Once social practices, such as ritual performances and military training are homogenized, social boundaries can be drawn, the Zhou identity established and embodied, and finally the Zhou regime is consolidated.

Some may doubt whether or not the Zhou court was conscious of the vessel and weapon standardization, and think that the technological styles of these artifacts may simply be homogenized unintentionally or coincidentally. However, one sees the Zhou court's intentionality by noticing the drastic change in the technological styles of bronze dagger-axes from the late Shang to the early Western Zhou period. Chapter 3 discusses that a popular Shang dagger-axe type were reduced largely in numbers during the early Western Zhou period. It also shows the total elimination of this type in regions around Anyang. Similarly, chapter 4 demonstrates that the popular late Shang ritual vessel pairing—the *jue* and *gu* is largely removed from the early Western Zhou vessel sets. These sudden and radical changes could not have occurred naturally without premeditated initiation. Elaborated in the two chapters, the scale of standardization is also a large one that regional needs or preferences could not account for. The enormous scale and intensity of the standardizations all suggest that the Zhou court was the drive and

⁵² Peregrine 1991.

initiator behind them; the Zhou authorities were well aware of the effects and meanings that standardization brings. The Zhou court may not have been conscious of the term “identity” formulated only in modern times, but it certainly regulated its material culture and social practices on purpose, intentionally drawing social boundaries.

2. Literature review

Publications on the identity development of ancient societies have emerged in the recent decades. These works explore the notions of identity in the context of archaeological studies. They also tackle explicitly, through the study of archaeological objects, how certain social identities developed and were embodied. They provide a fresh lens to interpret data, resulting in a new understanding of the ancient political, social and cultural landscape. However, the interest in identity studies is rarely seen in Chinese archaeology; few concentrate on such a topic and even fewer focus on the Western Zhou period.

This section aims to give an overview of some of the major existing works on the identities of ancient communities, including those from different regions of the world and time period. The concept of identity and the methodology for analyzing artifacts elaborated in these publications are of significant value to this thesis; they demonstrate the need and advantages to use such a perspective to study the Western Zhou communities. They also support and defend the methods of this thesis. In addition, this section also reviews the few available works discussing the social identities in the Western Zhou period. It evaluates their findings and questions certain ideas and approaches.

2a. Literature on other ancient societies

This thesis takes inspiration from the theoretical stance proposed in *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (2007) by Andrew Gardner. The book aims to use the soldiers in the late Roman Britain as a case study to explore and advance broader theoretical issues in archaeology, most noticeably the concept of identity. Heavily influenced by Giddens' structuration theory, the book incorporates the concept of structure and agency as the backbone behind the construction and functioning of any social identity. Explained earlier in section 1d and 1e of this chapter, Gardner pinpoints at the duality of agency and structure—how they are mutually constitutive, and regards identity as “a key symbol medium through which agency and structure interrelate.”⁵³ Identities, he argues, play the role of shaping different agents (or individuals); through affecting how agents act, identities ultimately shape also the social structure of the agents. Gardner's argument fits well with the stance of this thesis, that identity can be the motivation or drive to make agents act in a certain, or different way, therefore strengthening or altering the structure. Such an understanding on the role and framework of identity is important because it illustrates how, for the Zhou central court, establishing a Zhou identity was fundamental to the proper launching and maintenance of a new Zhou political structure.

In the book, Gardner also emphasizes the social potential of archaeological objects—that they reflect social practices. His analysis of the artifacts moves beyond traditional approach of treating objects as closed entities, but considers them to be part of a larger system of social interactions. His understanding of the nature of archaeological

⁵³ Gardner 2007, pp. 18.

material is in line with this thesis, which uses excavated objects to reconstruct the living experiences of individuals. Social boundaries can be drawn only through these reconstructed actions, and not through the closed physical features of the artifacts. Moreover, already mentioned in section 1e, Gardner rightly cautions the use of typological analysis to determine the associated social practices. He urges archaeologists to apply a functional-based categorization of the objects to better demarcate similarities and differences in the individuals' behaviors.⁵⁴ Only by focusing on the functional aspects can one find the appropriate link between the objects and the users' social identities.⁵⁵ In light of his suggestion, this thesis goes further to define explicitly the functional approach used to examine and classify early Zhou weapons, ritual vessels and ceramics.

Another main importance of this book is that it demonstrates the value of the concept of identity in archaeological studies. Using such a lens to interpret archaeological data, Gardner manages to challenge the traditional understanding of the late Roman Empire and its military in Britain. He advocates the perception of the Roman army not simply as faceless cogs in a war machine, but as individuals who were also father, lover, local boy, comrade, bully, etc. bound into a social organization.⁵⁶ Having deconstructed the known Roman army, he rebuilds the understanding of it by considering the multiple social façades of the soldiers with material evidence.⁵⁷ Gardner's work shows the potential of identity studies in getting closer to decipher the individuals so as to better comprehend the community they belonged to.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 67.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 67.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 19.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 32.

In *Becoming Roman—the Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (1998) by Greg Woolf, the author's understanding of cultural change is useful for this thesis. Woolf's main objective is to explain the process through which the Gallo-Roman culture emerged in Gaul in the third century A.D. He investigates how individuals living in the Gallo provinces gradually became "Roman." Becoming Roman, he argues, should not be thought of in terms of "Romanization"—a process deeming Rome civilization superior and enforcing a single readymade culture onto the natives.⁵⁸ Rather, to be Roman is to embrace a set of cultural forms, both material and behavioral, that are constantly in the process of being created and altered by all people within the Roman Empire.⁵⁹ In other words, Roman culture was formed under mutual interactions as well as under a convergence of people and cultures from Rome and the conquered provinces. Gallo-Roman culture was created similarly. Becoming Roman in Gaul, the Gauls did not seek to be more alike others in Rome, but they acquired the cultural markers such as the Roman ethos, wine, architecture etc. and made them local.⁶⁰

Although the Roman Empire is fundamentally different from the Zhou regime, whether in terms of political structure, physical scale, or military life. Wolf's rejection of "Romanization" is worth referencing when considering the interactions between the Zhou central court and the inhabitants from regional polities. The Zhou court's promotion and installation of the Zhou systems—formalized ways to perform rituals, to use weapons and

⁵⁸ Wolf explains the approach and limits of "Romanization" in Wolf 1998, pp. 1-23.

⁵⁹ Wolf writes that, "it is meaningless to ask, then, how Roman (let alone how Romanized) were the Gauls. Those Roman aristocrats who had taken on themselves the burden of regulating civilization had defined Roman culture in such a way that it might function as a marker of status, not of political or ethnic identity." Ibid., pp. 240.

⁶⁰ To illustrate his argument, Woolf in the first three chapters examines the broader issues of cultural change, including Roman imperialism and Roman notions of civilization, in theory and practice. In the remaining chapters, he identifies and analyzes the cultural change in Gaul by considering separate types of sources—epigraphy, Gallo-Roman cities, the countryside, patterns of consumption and religion.

to prepare food, were not enforced upon the regional locals as envisioned in the process of Romanization. Rather, regional elites had the possibility to either follow the official practices, or to make them suited for local purposes. The reaction of the provincial locals must not be thought of as a form of total submission or resistance.

In his book, Wolf does not explicitly unwrap the meaning of Roman and Gallo-Roman identities. However, his subtle exposure of what identity entails needs to be addressed, as there are fundamental differences between his view and that of this thesis. Distinguishing these differences helps to further clarify the concept of identity proposed in this chapter. To Woolf, a Roman identity is a big umbrella term under which a diversity of cultures and local identities exist.⁶¹ It has no static quality as its connotations are flexible—anyone living within the Roman Empire can be said to have a Roman identity. To be Roman is to have the rights and resources to take part in shaping the Roman culture. The identity is linked directly to the territorial boundaries of the Empire. However, a Zhou identity, as explained earlier, is the projected sense of belonging to the Zhou regime. It involves a fixed set of social practices initiated by the central court; to be a Zhou person, one must be engaged in exactly these practices and understand their symbolic meanings. Instead of tolerating plurality and change, the Zhou identity emphasizes homogeneity both in social behavior and material culture. Hence, not everyone within the conquered territory is considered a Zhou member; one has to voluntarily earn the Zhou identity with active effort. Moreover, compared to the Roman

⁶¹ Wolf's idea is revealed implicitly in his writings. For example, on the notion of the Roman imperial empire, he writes that "Modern analysts might prefer a more inclusive notion of imperial culture, one perhaps that embraced the experience of the excluded majority. Yet even from that viewpoint the uncivilized Gauls have their counterparts in the uncivilized masses of every province, and also of Italy. The Gallic provinces, in this respect, were as Roman—but also as un-Roman—as any part of the empire." *Ibid.*, pp. 241.

identity portrayed in Wolf's book, the Zhou identity is much more situational. A regional elite can only be a Zhou member in the social situations where he performs the Zhou practices. In another occasion where he leads a local way of life, he is rather a local member. Whereas for Wolf, a Gallo-Roman is always considered Roman regardless of the social situation he is in, because the traditional Gaul life is incorporated into, and contributes to the Roman culture.

The differences in the views on identity are likely a result of different objectives. Unlike Wolf's work, this thesis is not interested in exploring what it means to be a "Zhou person," or a local person living under the influence of the Zhou regime. Rather, having a clear set of definitions on the Zhou identity and local identity, this thesis sets out to analyze the individuals' negotiation and switching between the two identities in various social situations.

In *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity and Connectivity* (2008), Knapp's discussion on the general definitions of identity and its application in archaeological research is insightful as well. Recognizing the dualism in a social identity, he finds a way to reconcile the collective identity with that of the individuals. He regards social identity to be "an individual's internalization of a group's shared norms and values"⁶² and that identity "arises from interactions between the individual and society and may be altered repeatedly in changing social situations."⁶³ He also considers identity to be closely linked to a sense of belonging to certain groups and not others.⁶⁴

Reviewing the archaeological studies which determine the identity of ancient people, Knapp criticizes that many works equate individuals' identity with merely the

⁶² Knapp 2008, pp. 32.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 33. He also cites Rowlands 1994, pp. 132.

⁶⁴ Knapp 2008, pp. 34. He refers to the research of Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, pp. 1.

visual representation of an object, and not the social behaviors and structures behind.⁶⁵

He argues that, for example, a group identity is not about what one puts on or around one's body, for that can simply be an ideological construct.⁶⁶ Instead, the identity is about how it is worn and the postures, gestures and social structures involved.⁶⁷ He urges archaeologists to understand the individuals' identity through examining their actual lived experiences.⁶⁸ With such an approach, in archaeological studies, material culture is used to reconstruct the experiences of the people, ultimately drawing social boundaries to distinguish their identities.⁶⁹

In addition, Knapp rightfully says that identity designates a very broad category; for example, one's public identity includes vectors such as age, sexuality, class and gender.⁷⁰ Therefore, any work concerned with the concept of identity needs to clarify the specific elements that it intends to focus on. In particular, for his purpose, he explicitly separates social identity from ethnicity, and warns that ethnicity remains a largely intangible and problematic concept.⁷¹ For Knapp, ethnicity has become a blanket term that covers everything relevant to defining what makes people who they are.⁷² Its definitions are so broad, vague and fluid that its direct use does not generate concrete comprehension of the people and society. However, he does not reject the use of ethnicity altogether. Instead of defining what ethnicity is and which people belong to which ethnic group, he urges archaeologists to first explain how social boundaries were established,

⁶⁵ Knapp 2008, pp. 34.

⁶⁶ Knapp 2008, pp. 34. Pollock and Bernbeck (2000) and DiPaolo Loren (2001) also criticize the approach of equating visual representations directly with identity, without considering the individuals' social actions.

⁶⁷ Knapp 2008, pp. 34. Knapp also refers to two studies with a similar stance. See Fisher and DiPaolo Loren 2003, pp. 226-227; Diaz-Andreu and Lucky 2005, pp. 9.

⁶⁸ Knapp 2008, pp. 34.

⁶⁹ Ibid, pp. 35.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 31.

⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 31.

⁷² Ibid, pp. 35-36.

stabilized and maintained.⁷³ Fitting with Knapp's approach, this thesis begins by explaining that it aims to explore the social-political aspect of identity in the Western Zhou context. It also differentiates these concerned aspects of identity from ethnicity. Moreover, it explores how the Zhou and local identities were constructed and developed, instead of taking their existence for granted.

Furthermore, Knapp has a generally similar view as this thesis on the role that identity plays in the structuration (structure and agency) framework, however he expresses it with a different set of theoretical vocabulary. His ideas derive from his response and criticism of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*—the humans' disposition to generate patterned behavior.⁷⁴ When humans reshape existing structural conditions, he argues, *habitus* is not enough to account for the full process of structural negotiation and transformation. Knapp implicitly suggests the lack of human intention and self-awareness in *habitus* when it mediates between social structures and human actions. Identity, in his opinion, compensates for the shortcomings of *habitus*. Referencing Blake's study on identity formation (1999), Knapp reiterates identity as a practice of "self-definition" which emphasizes that individuals have the ability to categorize people and the self-awareness to identify themselves as belonging to certain categories of people.⁷⁵ Such an emphasis is similar to that of this thesis, as in both works, identity can not only make

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 63-64.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 45. Defining *habitus*, Bourdieu writes, "the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structure." Bourdieu 1977, pp. 26-27. Revisiting Bourdieu's definitions, Knapp writes that "*habitus* involves those unconscious, often subliminal and internalized *dispositions* towards certain perceptions and practices that may generate patterned behavior." Knapp 2008, pp. 42.

⁷⁵ Blake 1999. Blake's approach to identity is based on the notion called "dynamic nominalism" developed by Ian Hacking. The key element to dynamic nominalism is that "categories of people come into existence at the same time as kinds of people come into being to fit those categories, and there is a two-way interaction between these processes" (Hacking 1995, pp. 247). Blake 1999, pp. 36.

individuals behave according to the standards of their social category, but can also motivate them to behave differently in order to reshape, leave or join a category.

However, while this thesis regards identity as a human understanding or motivation, Knapp goes further to consider identity as a practice, more specifically the practice of self-description and self-categorization. The result of such a difference is that, while for this thesis, identity can be a supplementing device to the structuration mechanism; for Knapp, it being a practice collapses both structure and agency, since he argues that self-categorization only makes sense if these two principles are one.⁷⁶ Such a distinction is perhaps due to the differences in the analytical perspectives used in this thesis and Knapp's work. For Knapp, his analysis of ancient communities is not agent- or structure centered, but rather he prioritizes individuals' interactions.⁷⁷ For this thesis, while social interactions remain the key to understanding the individuals and society, they are effectuated and contextualized within a larger framework of structure, agents and agency.

Material Culture, Power and Identity in Ancient China (2017) by Xiaolong Wu is one of the very few publications focusing on the identity development in ancient China. In the book, Wu looks at the artifacts from the Zhongshan state (in today's Hebei province) dated to the Warring States period (476—221 B.C.), with the purpose of establishing a connection between power and identity. He argues that the Zhongshan King Cuo constructed a cultural identity in order to consolidate his political power. Through the architectures, sculptures and inscriptions he commissioned, King Cuo also intended to maintain the constructed cultural identity even after his death, so that the political order he built would continue to last. Discussing the identity that the Zhongshan

⁷⁶Wu Xiaolong 2017, pp. 45.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 45.

king established, Wu analyzes bronze artifacts, ornaments, inscriptions and funerary structures.

Despite focusing on a different time period and political state, the goal of Wu's book is in many ways similar to that of the first half of this thesis, which is to determine how the Zhou authorities created a Zhou identity. However, upon a closer look, the book differs fundamentally from this thesis in various aspects including its concept of identity and approach to understand identity using archaeological material.

Wu does not explicitly define "cultural identity" or "identity." In fact, his understanding of these concepts seems to be blurred and misleading. The cultural identity he refers to is rather a label or identification of the Zhongshan political regime. It is a term he uses to describe the political mechanism in the Zhongshan state, telling it apart from other neighboring states. In addition, although as a cultural identity of the entire state, it concerns only the political power and hierarchy of the ruler and elites, and not at all the aspects of their daily or private life. It also neglects entirely the individuals from the non- or lesser elite class. In addition, unlike what this thesis and many researches suggest, Wu's identity is not a fluid situational process, or a sense of belonging embraced by the individuals. Instead, it concerns more about what others see the Zhongshan ruler and elites as, or what they represent.

Moreover, throughout his book, Wu mentions "ethnic identity" repeatedly but he seems to confuse it with "cultural identity," making the two terms interchangeable. For example, he first regards "Huaxia" or "Chinese," as well as the "Rong" and "Di" people from the north of the Central Plain as ethnic groups.⁷⁸ Referencing theoretical literature, he correctly points out that these ethnicities or ethnic identities are a subjective and

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 19, 23.

situational construct, highly dependent on ongoing process of social life.⁷⁹ However, later in the book, he starts calling the “Huaxia” and “non-Huaxia” a culture or a cultural identity, without properly clarifying the differences between ethnicity and culture.⁸⁰ The fluidity, social qualities and subjectivity he invests in these ethnicities also seem to have diminished when they are regarded as “cultures.” For certain, a “culture” can be defined in many different and flexible ways, but as previously mentioned, his understanding of a culture or a cultural identity is problematic. Therefore, interchanging the two terms in his case easily results in confusion and inadequate conclusions. For example, when Wu argues that a Zhongshan cultural (or political in fact) identity is established by the king, it remains unclear whether a Zhongshan ethnicity also emerged.

Furthermore, the book is a material-centered work that focuses on issues of representation. Instead of deciphering the construction of a Zhongshan identity, its actual purpose is to explore how artifacts represent an identity, or more correctly an identification of the Zhongshan regime. It suggests that “material objects can be viewed as emblems or symbols of political power,” and that artifacts “often acted as carriers or reminders of political messages...”⁸¹ For example, it regards the bronzes as instruments to promote the political ideologies of the Zhongshan King Cuo. The bronze vessels with innovative and unique designs reveal King Cuo’s conscious choice as a powerful patron. They also demonstrate the tightened government control on workshops and the quality of craftsmanship. They helped persuade the viewers that Zhongshan was as powerfully and culturally sophisticated as the larger neighboring states.⁸² In other words, this book

⁷⁹ Ibid, pp. 21.

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 180-181.

⁸¹ Ibid, pp. 6.

⁸² Ibid, pp. 148.

concentrates mainly on the agency of artifacts.⁸³ It investigates how objects impacted on the viewers' impression of the Zhongshan regime, and how they consolidated the Zhongshan king's power to rule. Such an approach to materials is entirely different from that of this thesis, which regards objects as a reflection of the individuals' social behavior. This thesis is less about the agency of objects, but rather about the agency and actions of individuals, prompted by their sense of belonging and revealed through their material use.

If Wu's objective is in fact to understand the material symbolism and agency, then he undoubtedly brings valuable insight. However, if he intends to determine how an identity (not identification) is constructed by the ruler and asserted to the elites, then his material-centered approach is dangerous. Discussed earlier in this chapter, the individuals' social identity is formed in the process of their interactions and not within their objects. Objects are a material reflection of the users' social behavior. Therefore, to understand the individuals' identity through artifacts, one must not focus on the artifacts themselves, but how the artifacts were used and interacted with. In other words, to draw social boundaries and decipher identities, one must first reconstruct the living social experiences of the individuals with the excavated material. Although Wu writes that he considers the objects within their social context, and he does so to a certain extent; he does not discuss how the king and elites used the bronze vessels to perform rituals, or how they fought with the weapons, or how they wore certain belt plaques and ornaments. Wu's approach ignores the social experiences of the individuals; the identity that he narrates is ultimately a superficial one, pointing at what the king and elites would like to portray themselves as, and not how they actually lived and who they actually were.

⁸³ For citation and definition of agency of objects, see: Hodder 2003; Tilley 2001.

2b. Literature on the identity of the Western Zhou period

Very few publications touch upon the topic of the Zhou identity; or equally important, discuss how this identity developed. Most scholarship seems to have taken for granted the establishment of the Zhou; as if it belongs to a naturally occurring sequence of historical dynasties that were destined to happen. Most studies on the Western Zhou regime neglect the initial oppositions and differences among the conquered people, the difficulties of the founders to construct and promote an entirely new political ideology; their investigations and observations of the Zhou regime are mainly based on the assumption that everyone was already part of the Zhou.

Four recent works do intentionally address the topic of the Zhou identity. In “The Great Migration: Inception of the Zhou identity,” Shu-hui Wu equates the Zhou identity with ethnicity. By looking at the migration of clans, their warfare and intermarriage, he investigates the ethnical accretion of the Zhou right before it established the dynasty.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, his arguments and evidence are deeply problematic. First, following Confucius’ beliefs, Wu suggests that being “Zhou” is equivalent to being “Chinese.”⁸⁵ He calls the legendary qualities that the Zhou leaders carried, namely virtues and civility exemplified by King Wen of Zhou, the “Chinese-ness.” However, this concept should for certain not be applied to the discourse of the Zhou identity. “Chinese-ness” is simply an ideology constructed much later with very loose and ambiguous definitions with regard to ethnicity and culture. In adapting Confucius’ ideas, Wu neglects that Confucius examines

⁸⁴ Another problematic term that Wu uses but are not mentioned in this critique is “Hua-xia.” Similar to “Chinese-ness,” “Hua-xia” is also an ideology that is constructed later with loose and vague implications. Wu Shu-hui 2011.

⁸⁵ Wu suggests that before the founding of the Zhou, the Zhou leaders “had already laid a unique Chinese cultural pattern for generations in the millennia to follow.” In other words, the Zhou leaders initiated the quality and pattern that would later be considered “Chinese.”

the Zhou through the political and cultural lenses of his time; the Zhou had no access to later ideas of “China” and “being Chinese.” These ideologies do not help explain how the Zhou leaders and the people envisioned the Zhou regime and the associated identity then.

Second, Wu argues that the pre-conquest Zhou people were mostly from non-Central Plain ethnic groups, but they intermingled with descendants of the Yellow Emperor (a mythological deity who was thought to have founded the legendary Xia dynasty dated before the Shang one).⁸⁶ In doing so, Wu argues that the pre-conquest Zhou regime began to develop elements of “Chinese-ness,” namely the devotion to benefiting the people, incorporating them into its identity.⁸⁷ Wu’s idea is extremely misleading because he provides no archaeological or any actual evidence to support his assumptions of the Zhou clan—where it originally lived, its ethnic composition and culture, its marriage arrangement with the Central Plain people, etc. He simply takes these unproved and even archaeologically incorrect supposition from transmitted records that were written much later than the Western Zhou period, for example, Sima Qian’s *Shiji* 史记 (Han Dynasty, 206-220 A.D.) and *The Bamboo Strips of Chu* (from the Warring States, 475-221 B.C.) in which the authenticity and accuracy of historical events and information are not confirmed. He also has no evidence to support the claim that the pre-conquest Zhou obtained the virtuous and civil qualities from the descendants of the Yellow Emperor. In fact, it is simply inappropriate to label ethnic groups with stereotypical and unattested qualities.

In addition, according to Wu, the Zhou court was determined to unify two communities, the “Chinese”—(themselves and the Shang descendants) and the “non-

⁸⁶ Allan 1984. Yellow Emperor mentioned in *Shiji* 史记. See Hulsewé 1993 for introduction of *Shiji* 史记.

⁸⁷ Wu Shu-hui 2011, pp. 428.

Chinese” groups at the periphery. It had the policy to assimilate the outsiders and transform them into being more “Chinese” by force or acculturation.⁸⁸ Again, besides incorrectly labeling the Zhou inhabitants as “Chinese,” and the non-Zhou people as “non-Chinese,” Wu provides no actual evidence to indicate the forceful and aggressive policy of the Zhou court to transform the outsiders. He assumes that by the time the Zhou regime was established, all people living under Zhou had come to claim only one identity and ethnicity—the Zhou (or in his words, the “Chinese”). In short, Wu fails to address properly the identity of the people living under the Zhou regime, presenting a factually and theoretically incorrect interpretation of the pre-conquest Zhou history.

Other works exploring the Zhou identity are much more supportive of this dissertation’s central argument, despite some ideological differences. In “Materializing Identity—A Statistical Analysis of the Western Zhou Liulihe Cemetery” (2012), Yitzhak Jaffe conducts a visual and statistical analysis of the Liulihe cemetery with the goal of materializing the identity, or more specifically, the ethnic identity of the cemetery occupants. Contrary to traditional archaeological practice, which assigns an ethnic identity to the occupant based on the burial features or objects buried, Jaffe examines the mortuary locus as a whole, considering not only a single element from the tomb but the overall assemblage.⁸⁹ He concludes that, “no single style of burial was used by the Western Zhou-period occupants of Liulihe cemetery. On the contrary, the burial style found at Liulihe was comprised of combinations of various forms of identity markers.”⁹⁰ These markers include the typical Shang and Zhou bronze vessels, burial customs, and pottery, as well as Northern style bronze weapons and gold bracelets. In such a case, it is

⁸⁸ Wu Shu-hui 2011, pp. 439.

⁸⁹ Jaffe 2012, pp. 63.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

impossible to pinpoint the ethnical or regional origin of each occupant. However, it could be confirmed that in the Yan polity, there existed a tendency towards preserving differences among groups of people, and adopting each other's material culture.⁹¹

Jaffe's observation and conclusion go along well with the position this dissertation takes. Discussed also in the next section of this chapter, he correctly notes the diversity of identity markers in the Yan cemetery and urges archaeologists not to assign an ethnic identity based on one or some of the markers. He also rightfully argues that the material culture and ethnic composition of the Yan polity is much more complex than is previously considered. Nonetheless, despite deconstructing the traditionally known ethnic identity of the Yan polity inhabitants, Jaffe does not set out to suggest what exactly the ethnic identities of the people are. His omission is likely due to his analysis centered on materials themselves but not regarding the social behaviors seen through the materials. As he himself criticizes the traditional archeological approach of directly equating "pots" to "people," his method to reach the conclusion suggesting that a variety of materials indicate a diversity of ethnicities is equally problematic.⁹² Jaffe's approach shows the limits to deciphering an identity (including ethnicity) and to understanding its construction and development.

A portion of Jaffe's paper involves a critique of an earlier observation by Sun Yan and her interpretation of the same cemetery. In "Bronzes, mortuary practice and political strategies of the Yan during the early Western Zhou period" (2003), Sun suggests that the

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² In his conclusion, he writes that the material examples in Liulihe "illustrate the complexity of assigning identity and clearly defined characteristics solely on the basis of material culture. Far from displaying direct and simple links between 'pots and people,' collective identity at Liulihe emerges as a constant renegotiation of boundaries between different groups." Jaffe 2012, pp. 63. In other words, the collective ethnic identity in Liulihe, in his opinion, is a combination of various ethnic groups, whose boundaries are fluid and constantly negotiated.

Zhou had actively penetrated into the local system, ultimately aiming at eliminating local elite culture.⁹³ Her evidence is the presence of many typical Zhou elements such as Zhou metropolitan-style bronze vessels and burial practices.⁹⁴ Disagreeing with Sun's point of view, Jaffe points out that Sun simply focuses on the similarities between the Yan and metropolitan Zhou and ignored the rest of the burial assemblage.⁹⁵ Indeed, as his investigation shows, the objects attributed to the royal Zhou culture are not mutually exclusive with non-Zhou elements. In fact, the abundance of metropolitan Zhou elements cannot be used to indicate Zhou court's cultural penetration and domination; for it can also be a sign of cultural co-existence and diversity.⁹⁶ Nowhere is there evidence to suggest that the Zhou central court had succeeded in suppressing local culture and identity. Yet dangerously, many scholars follow Sun's approach and as a result, they easily believe that the central court left no room for local traditions, and that a local identity was not preserved.

Sun Yan, in another paper "Material Culture and Social Identities in Western Zhou's Frontier: Case Studies of the Yu and Peng Lineages," written ten years after the paper mentioned above, investigates how the Yu and Peng polity, occupied by non-Ji lineage-based social groups and individuals, constructed and negotiated their identities.⁹⁷ She examines the associated bronze inscriptions, stylistic features of bronzes and pottery, as well as burial practices such as tomb orientation and structure, treatment of the body as

⁹³ Sun 2003.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Sun also explains for the presence of Shang elements. For tombs illustrating similarities with that of the late Shang, she claims that they demonstrate the Zhou's relocation of some Shang elite immigrants to Yan, and such is a political strategy of the Zhou to undermine the power of the Yan local elites, and to disintegrate their traditions.

⁹⁵ Jaffe 2012, pp. 62.

⁹⁶ See also Jaffe 2017.

⁹⁷ Sun 2013, pp. 53.

well as the choice and placements of mortuary goods.⁹⁸ By contrast with her position on the Yan polity, she concludes that in the Yu and Peng polity, there was an embodiment of complex but local identities in both regions during the Western Zhou:

The Yu lineage focused on preserving and expanding their distinctive cultural traditions. Aided by their emerging ability to cast bronze, the Yu created distinctive bronze vessels and manipulated the Zhou writing system to justify newly created vessel types. The Peng lineage, on the other hand, choose a different language, and using Shang and Zhou bronzes, mortuary practice and even pottery to redefine their material culture and reconstruct their cultural identity.⁹⁹

In other words, the markers of the royal Zhou identity—the language, bronze-casting techniques and stylistic preferences, etc. were known in both states. However, such a royal system did not come to dominate the locals' way of life. Rather, it was adopted and manipulated by the Yu and the Peng polity, although in different ways, to preserve and enhance their own regional identity. Sun's report fits with the central argument of this dissertation; it demonstrates that under the Zhou rule, diverse local identities were given room to develop and prosper. In the case of the Yu and Peng polity, the polities even altered the royal system implying the Zhou court's ideals for local purposes. As conclusion, Sun urges that the “identity construction during the Western Zhou was a complex process that needs to be examined within the context of larger power structures and cultural and political interactions between the Ji Zhou and other groups.”¹⁰⁰ In fact, this is what the dissertation aims to achieve. Only in this way can the phenomenon observed in the Yu and Peng polity, or even other regions be properly explained and understood as a whole.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 69.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

3. Archaeological data

This thesis examines three major types of archaeological material—bronze dagger-axes, bronze ritual vessels and ceramics. Because of their quantity, generally good preservation and availability in excavation reports, these artifacts are the best material evidences supporting the argument of this thesis. Equally important, they reflect different kinds of important social behavior—ways to fight, to perform rituals and foodways, all of which are helpful for distinguishing social boundaries. Studying the artifacts, one understands more comprehensively the complexity of social interactions, both on the state and local level, as well as between individuals and groups. The objects hence reflect the individuals' embodiment of different collective identities (whether the Zhou or local identity) in various social situations. Chapter 3-5 discuss in further detail the corresponding archaeological data, including the context in which the artifacts were found, how they were produced and used, etc. Appendix I also provide the background geographical information and the excavation history of most of the sites considered in this thesis.

Aside from these three material categories, other artifacts are also reflective of the social actions of the individuals living under the Zhou rule, and thus useful for demarcating social identities. For example, jades and bead ornaments can be used to understand how individuals dressed themselves.¹⁰¹ Horses and chariot fittings are sources for reconstructing how elites traveled, paraded or even fought.¹⁰² However, despite their usefulness, these materials are not considered extensively within the limited scope of this

¹⁰¹ Rawson 2013; Huang Tsui-mei 2012.

¹⁰² Wu Hsiaoyun 2013.

thesis. Nonetheless, the thesis hopes to inspire future studies on the Western Zhou identities to examine these artifacts.

Before discussing the social interactions reflected in archaeological material (in later chapters), this section aims to provide a brief overview of the archaeological objects found in the Zhou territories dated to the early Western Zhou period. It focuses on the objects' physical or visual features and demonstrates the presence of diverse material cultures. In many early Zhou sites, often within a single burial assemblage, artifacts with counterparts from material cultures located elsewhere are displayed together. Occasionally, on one object, visual elements traceable to different material traditions co-exist. Focusing on the objects themselves, this section aims to be a background introduction to archaeological data discussed in the next chapters. Some of the artifacts are mentioned again in later chapters while others not.

3a. Material diversity

Glancing through the excavated materials throughout the Zhou territory, one easily has the impression that a variety of material cultures co-existed. Throughout the Zhou territory, artifacts in the style of metropolitan Shang (Anyang), local or foreign (outside of the Zhou political realm) can be spotted in burials or residential sites.¹⁰³ For example, at Zhangjiapo 张家坡 located within the royal residences Feng and Hao, a number of burials such as M89 have waist pits and sacrificial human remains, both of

¹⁰³ By calling the style of an object in the “metropolitan Shang style,” I refer to the particular physical or visual attributes of the object that resemble what is commonly and typically seen in Anyang burials dated to the late Shang period. There is not a definite “Shang style,” as artifacts found in Anyang also display characteristics traceable to a variety of material traditions. However, there are features that are common and appear frequently in the site; they can be considered as typical Anyang elements.

which are typically seen in Anyang dated to the late Shang period.¹⁰⁴ However, these tombs are not exclusively Anyang-like. In M89 just mentioned, *li* 鬲 tripod vessels in various non-metropolitan Shang styles are excavated; some are characterized by joined lobes and a short collar 连裆鬲 [Figure 1], commonly seen in Zhou metropolitan areas, whereas others have a long collar and pronounced lobes 高领袋足鬲 [Figure 2], similar to those from the Baoji area west of Zhouyuan.¹⁰⁵ In addition, at the residential settlement immediately next to the burials, at least two variations of ceramic *li* vessels were found, indicating again the co-existence of multiple material traditions.¹⁰⁶

In regional polities governed by the Ji clan, similar phenomenon of material diversity is observed as well. For example, in the Jin polity, elite burials at Tianma—Qucun 天马—一曲村 that are suggested to have belonged to generations of Jin lords and their spouses yield an abundance of objects with Zhou metropolitan, local and even

¹⁰⁴ A waist pit is usually round or rectangular in shape, located underneath the area where the waist of the tomb occupant is. Zhongguo 1999; Thote 2009; Lu Guoquan and Hou Jirun 2009. The authors of this article argue that M89 should be dated to the early Zhou period, instead of late Shang or pre-conquest Zhou.

¹⁰⁵ As many have argued, one must not assign an ethnicity directly to an archaeological culture. However, many scholars have attempted to identify the clan origin of these separate types yet because the area had always been co-occupied by various groups, who also intermingled with each other by means of marriage and cultural exchange; no concrete proposed matching has been agreed upon most scholars. For example, Zou Heng argues that the Ji 姬 clan used the *li* tripod vessel with joined lobes (*liandang li* 连裆鬲), whereas the Jiang 姜 clan made the *li* tripod with pronounced separated lobes (*fendang li* 分裆鬲). Zou Heng 1980, pp. 297-355. Some argue that only the *liandang li* 连当鬲, used by the Ji 姬 clan, represent the pre-conquest Zhou culture. This vessel type is associated with the *li* vessels from Nianzipo 碾子坡 and Zhengjiapo 郑家坡; its distribution goes from Zhouyuan to as far east as the Zhangjiapo 张家坡. After the conquest, such type became universal in Shaanxi area, hence corresponding to the population movement and settlement of the Zhou people throughout Shaanxi after the conquest. However, some propose an opposing view, arguing that the *fendang li* 分裆鬲, was perhaps a product of the ancestors of the Zhou. Su Bingqi identifies this *li* type with the one in the extreme west at Doujitai 斗鸡台 in Baoji. Yet a third view insists that this *li* type belonged to the Jiang 姜 people, who intermarried with the Ji clan. In fact, a large quantity of the *fendang li* has been found in the Zhouyuan areas associated with the Liujia culture, which is not easily related to the pre-conquest Zhou. For a summary of the mentioned views, see Rawson 1999, pp. 378-381. Chapter 5 discusses in further detail the ceramic types of the pre-conquest and early Zhou period.

¹⁰⁶ The finds at the residential area were not as rich and well published as those at the burials. Very few ceramics were reconstructed and recovered from the potshards in waste pits. Shaanxi sheng wenwu 1964.

foreign elements.¹⁰⁷ M114 and M113 are argued to be the burial of the Ji-clan Jin lord and his wife during the early Western Zhou period.¹⁰⁸ In M114, the typical Anyang sacrificial pit with human remains was found [Figure 3], yet bronze ritual vessels commonly seen in Zhou metropolitan areas with some bearing the inscription in Zhou royal format were also excavated [Figure 4].¹⁰⁹ In M113, aside from the Zhou metropolitan style vessels such as the *ding* 鼎 cauldron and *gui* 簋 tureen [Figure 5], a bronze *shuang er guan* 双耳罐 double-handled jar whose features probably originated from the Qijia culture or even as far as from the Central Eurasian steppes was also found [Figure 6].¹¹⁰ In addition, in both M114 and M113, Zhou metropolitan ceramic *li* tripods (with joined lobes) were buried together with *san zu weng* 三足瓮 urns characterized by three bulbous legs [Figure 7]. The distinctive urn shape is recognized by some to have shared the cultural root of the Zhukaigou 朱开沟 material culture or cultures further northwest towards the Steppes.¹¹¹ The excavated objects from the Ji-clan lord and his spouse present a vivid impression of material diversity. Furthermore, in the Yan polity, which was also governed by Ji-clan members, multiple traditions co-existed as well in the burials. Already discussed by Jaffe (see section 2), Anyang or Shang and metropolitan Zhou style pottery, Northern style bronzes weapons and gold bracelets form the

¹⁰⁷ Again, there is not an absolute “Zhou metropolitan style.” Chapter 5 reveals that multiple ceramic styles were present in the metropolitan areas—the Zhou royal residencies. However, one can regard the most common ones—the *li* tripod with joined lobes conveniently as the Zhou metropolitan type. There are of course many subtypes under this category that are regional or site-specific. Chapter 5 discusses these common types and distinguishes the variations in detail.

¹⁰⁸ Khayutina 2010.

¹⁰⁹ Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001.

¹¹⁰ Ibid; Rawson 2013. For discussion of Qijia culture and pottery, see Liu Li and Xingcan Chen 2012, pp. 322-333.

¹¹¹ Khayutina 2010. Khayutina explains that Zhukaigou culture was named after the Zhukaigou site in Yijinhuoluo 伊金霍洛 banner, Yikezhao 伊克昭 County of Inner Mongolia. The *san zu weng* is a typical vessel of the culture.

pluralistic mortuary combination in the Liulihe 琉璃河 cemetery, with each distinctive element not exclusive of the other.¹¹²

In other regional polities governed by the non-Ji clans, such as the Yu polity, the degree of material diversity was even greater than in metropolitan areas. For example, in Zhuyuangou 竹园沟 tomb M13 of the Yu lineage head, Zhou metropolitan style bronze vessels such as the square-based *gui* 簋 tureen and numerous *ding* 鼎 cauldrons with inscriptions in royal-formats [Figure 8] were buried alongside bronzes illustrating regional features, for example the tubular *you* 卣 vessels [Figure 9] with counterparts found in Baicaopo 白草坡 tombs further northwest in Gansu.¹¹³ In addition, objects such as the mace head, the highly decorated bronze axe [Figure 10], willow leaf-shaped sword [Figure 11] and bronze discs *pao* 泡 share similarities with those from the Hexi Corridor and the Steppes.¹¹⁴ The accompanying ceramic jars with pointed base [Figure 12] were considered by many archaeologists to be local, unseen in metropolitan regions. As Jessica Rawson suggests, this type of locally made pottery even exhibits similarities with the jars from Xinjiang and Siberia.¹¹⁵ In fact, the variations in mortuary objects seen in M13 are not fully representative of the full diversity available in the Yu burials. For example, in another Zhuyuangou burial M1, a double-handled jar [Figure 13] shows Steppe

¹¹²Jaffe 2012, pp. 62.

¹¹³Gansusheng 1977.

¹¹⁴Rawson 2013.

¹¹⁵Ibid. On the other hand, the excavators and many archaeologists argue that the pointed-base pottery share stylistic similarities with ceramics from the Bashu 巴蜀 material culture in Sichuan. Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.

influences, while the single-handled jar exhibits features of pottery from the northwest, such as Pingliang 平凉 and Wudu 武都 in Gansu.¹¹⁶

Near the Zhuyuangou cemetery, in the residential settlements at Rujiazhuang 茹家庄 dated to the late Shang and early Western Zhou period, pottery of multiple traditions were also found in three ash (garbage) pits. Although the shattered pieces are mostly unrecoverable, quite a number of *li* tripod vessels with separated lobes and a long collar 高领袋足鬲 [Figure 14], commonly seen in the Baoji area (non-metropolitan Zhou), were recognized. Such a type has not been seen in Zhuyuangou burials but was common in the settlement districts.¹¹⁷ Besides the tripod, in the ash pits, a larger number of two jar types were excavated; one with pointed bottom as discussed above and the other one with flat base [Figure 15].¹¹⁸ Like the pointed-tip jar, the jar with flat base is also thought to be a locally oriented type uncommon in metropolitan areas.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Excavators suggest that such vessel types fit particularly well into the Siwa 寺洼 or Anguo 安国 pottery type in areas of Gansu including Pingliang 平凉, Qingyang 庆阳, Zhuanglang 庄浪, Wudu 武都. Similar looking jars were also found in nearby burials at Mengyugou 蒙峪沟. Ibid., pp. 452.

¹¹⁷ Also not seen in the nearby Zhifangtou burials (dated to the early Western Zhou), which belonged to the Yu state as well. Ibid., pp. 8-9. The type has been a subject of heated debate. Many have tried to identify the ethnic group who owned and produced the vessel. The type first appeared in the pre-conquest Zhou period and was found mainly in the Guanzhong 关中 area (lower Wei 渭 river valley) centered around Baoji 宝鸡, spreading north to Pingliang 平凉 of Gansu, east to the western edge of Xi'an. Proposed owner groups include the Qiang 姜 (or 羌) clan who resided in the area and who intermarried with the Ji-clan, a branch of the Ji-clan who also resided in the area since the pre-dynastic Zhou period, as well as members of the Siwa 寺洼 culture from Gansu. Although significant, it is not in the main interest of this thesis to join the debate; rather for now, the thesis intends to present this *li* tripod as yet another material variety available in the Yu state.

¹¹⁸ The excavators further divide the pointed-base jars into several sub-categories according to their clay composition and overall shape. See: *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Though not entirely convincing, some archaeologists have used this observation to demonstrate that the Yu ruling clan was not indigenous; they moved from elsewhere to govern the area under the order of the king, hence bringing their own material culture and as a result, the Yu-clan pottery co-existed with the native one. There have been many proposals on where the Yu-clan might have come from. One is that it belonged to a clan active under the Shang. The evidence used was that a number of bronze vessels with Shang family-clans inscribed were found in the Yu state cemetery; the Yu clan was suggested to be one of these families. However, this proposition does not seem feasible because as recent studies have shown, the inscribed vessels were likely to have been obtained from the conquered Shang family and given to the Yu elites as war trophies. Another popularly supported option is that the Yu clan came from somewhere near

The great variations in stylistic origin and geographical distribution of these vessels demonstrate material plurality in the Zhou territory. Locally oriented objects are often seen to have co-existed with metropolitan Zhou and Anyang-style ones, sometimes even those with exotic elements. The material diversity observed throughout the Zhou territory demonstrates the presence and high frequency of direct or indirect contacts between people familiar with different material cultures. It also shows that stylistic elements in the artifacts are very often exposed, exchanged, copied or appropriated by communities from different regions. However, material differences in themselves cannot demarcate differences in identities; the diverse material cultures only provide hints that multiple identities were possibly embodied. Building on these observations, this thesis deciphers further the social interactions of the people, so as to investigate their similarities and differences.

3b. Bronze inscriptions

Another type of archaeological data considered in this thesis is the inscription cast on bronze ritual vessels dated to the early Western Zhou period. Bronze inscriptions are crucial to this thesis, especially in chapter 4 on the Zhou court's new ritual system. They open a window to understand the Zhou court's policies on ritual performances and the regional elites' official responses, all from their own writing. In using them as evidences, this thesis emphasizes that the inscriptions (including their content) are themselves

Sichuan. The evidence used is the mentioned ceramic jar with pointed tip. Other evidences used include records from transmitted texts, the appearance of bronze mask and weapons with Bashu features in the elite tombs, etc. However, these are not indeed convincing arguments. As this thesis is critical about assigning ethnicity or tracing ethnic origin based on a single or small number of excavated objects. Further, as demonstrated, the elite tombs are not exclusively burying objects with Bashu features. The inclusion of these objects may well have been a gesture showing appreciation for exotic objects. See: Rawson 2013a; Yin Shengping 1995, pp. 25-36.

material created and used in particular contexts.¹²⁰ It does not take the inscribed contents simply as “historical facts,” but rather, it considers the factors under which the inscriptions became socially meaningful to the producers and users. The factors include who commissioned the inscriptions, reasons for commissioning them, and who the potential viewers were, as well as the political stances of both parties etc. This section aims to elaborate on the nature of the bronze inscriptions, as well as their social context. It demonstrates the inscriptions’ extent of usefulness and limits, and explains their functions.

Most fundamental of all, bronze inscriptions were only commissioned by the elites who were involved in the politics of either the central court or the regional polities. A large number of them record a wide range of matters including military campaigns, ancestral worships, the receiving of gifts from the Zhou king, the Zhou court’s political and bureaucratic measures, interactions between the central and local elites, etc. An example is the Ran fang *ding* [Figure 16], which bears an inscription of thirty-four characters describing a military campaign under the Duke of Zhou 周公 against the eastern powers—the Eastern Yi 东夷, Elder of Feng 丰 and Pugu 蒲古 in the first years after the Zhou defeated the Shang.¹²¹ On another example, the De *ding*, the inscription commemorated De’s receiving of cowries as gifts from the king.¹²² On the Mian *fu*, the inscription reveals the appointment of Mian as the supervisor of land, responsible for

¹²⁰ To a certain extent, this thesis follows Gardner’s approach of treating text as material. Gardner argues that in analyzing text, one must not simply take its content literally, but instead, place the text within its original social context. Gardner 2007.

¹²¹ For full translation and interpretation of the inscription, see Shaughnessy 1991, pp. 45-49. Although the main discussion is about the question of authenticity; Shaughnessy argues that it is authentic.

¹²² The inscription reads: “The king awarded De cowries, twenty strands 王易(锡)德贝十朋.” See: *ibid.*, pp. 81.

forests, marshes and pastoral lands in the suburb of Zheng.¹²³ Because of the large amount of information documented, Chinese archaeologists have relied heavily on the inscriptions to decode the history of the Western Zhou period. One of the most famous cases that demonstrates their usefulness is the record [Figure 17] on Shiqiang *pan* 史墙盘 (dated to shortly before 900 B.C.), which recounts the history of the family Qiang, paralleled by an account of the royal Zhou family history.¹²⁴ The descending order of the Zhou kings and their accomplishments are confirmed because of this inscription.¹²⁵ However, some archaeologists warn about the total reliance on the inscriptions to reconstruct Zhou history. Falkenhausen argues that the bronze inscriptions must be understood primarily as relics of ritual activities; they are the messages written primarily for the ancestors. Whatever the content is, he emphasizes that the most significant function that the inscriptions carry is to facilitate a communication between the living and the ancestors. In other words, in his opinion, the inscriptions should be viewed rather as “religious” or ritual documents than accurate historical records.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Li Feng argues that the inscriptions were not simply cast for the purpose of ritual events. Instead, he sees a much larger social context and reasons supporting the creation and use of the inscriptions. He provides examples showing that the bronzes, indicated by their inscriptions, were used not only for worshipping, but domestic feasting, solicitation of friends and colleagues’ amusement, etc. He urges for a more diverse nature and function

¹²³ See Li Feng 2008, pp. 306. The Chinese translation reads: “王才(在)周, 命免作司徒, 司冥还林众虞, 众牧.” See: Li Yujie 2003, pp. 198.

¹²⁴ For full translation and interpretation of the *pan*, see: Shaughnessy 1991, pp. 1-4.

¹²⁵ See: Li Xueqin 1978.

¹²⁶ Falkenhausen 1993.

of the vessels and inscriptions; the specific use of them would depend on the occasion, patron and motivation for casting.¹²⁷

Several scholars also call attention to the potential biases in the content of the inscriptions. Matsumaru takes particular interest in the producer and ownership of the inscribed bronzes. He argues that most inscriptions related to the Zhou royalty were composed by the royal scribes of the central court. He also stresses that, although paid by their owners, they were probably cast at the royal foundry in highly regulated formats. If his speculations are true, then the inscriptions may have reflected the standpoint of the Zhou central court and not of the individuals who commissioned or owned them.¹²⁸

Although many aspects of Matsumaru's ideas are left unexplained or are not entirely convincing, he reminds archaeologists to avoid assuming that the inscriptions, indicating the name of the owner, must have been composed by the owner and hence expressed his views about the Zhou politics.¹²⁹ Michiharu, engaging in this discourse, responds that the inscriptions were documents used by the vessel owners who had received favors or orders from the Zhou court to swear their loyalty to the Zhou king. The function of the inscriptions was to secure the close ties between the individuals and the king through recording a series of giving and receiving favors and orders. Hence, he argues that the

¹²⁷ Li Feng 2008, pp. 14-17.

¹²⁸ Matsumaru Michio 1977. For brief summary of his arguments in English, see: Li Feng 2008, pp. 11-12.

¹²⁹ If Matsumaru's argument is valid, it is most likely applicable to the very early period of the Western Zhou. As other scholars such as Li Feng has noted that the bronze inscriptions in regional states such as the Yu State dated to the early Western Zhou are essentially indistinguishable from those in the metropolitan areas. However, a number of Yu state inscriptions dated to the middle Western Zhou show striking contrast in calligraphy and content. Li observes that they were generally scribbled, revealing the lack of writing knowledge and appreciation of the metropolitan writing system. Studying two bronze ding vessel commissioned by the Lord of Yu for his wife, he points out that out of the 24 characters, 5 are unreadable, another 5 can only be understood by making educated guesses. These bronzes were hence likely to be commissioned and cast in regional foundry without going through the royal scribes. Li Feng 2002.

inscriptions, served as a demonstration or test of loyalty, must have been initiated by the owners themselves.¹³⁰

Considering all the above opinions, this dissertation takes a relatively less black and white stance on the nature and function of the bronze inscriptions. It is essential to understand that, no available contemporaneous sources, even bronze inscriptions, provides a clear account of the context in which the bronze vessels in general were used, and in which the bronze inscriptions were composed, inscribed, announced or viewed. No source reveals exactly how the bronze vessels carrying inscriptions were engaged in an occasion, for example their placement at the venue, the procedure to use them during the activity, and the particular personnel permitted to handle them, etc.¹³¹ Without definite evidences, it is therefore difficult to put forward with certainty both Falkenhausen's and Li Feng's argument on the nature and use of the inscriptions. Nonetheless, the dissertation deems Li Feng's stance arguing for a wider social context beyond simply a ritual one more feasible. As the inscriptions he lists out show a large range of non-“religious” associations. For example, the inscriptions on the Mai *fangding* 麥方鼎 indicates that the official Mai was given the material bronze for the purpose of following his ruler, the Lord of Xing, in a military campaign and for organizing a feast to entertain his friends. In this case, bronze vessels and inscriptions were probably cast out of the given bronze as material evidence to secure loyalty and as food containers to serve guests.

¹³⁰ Michiharu 1987, pp. 13-76. A brief summary of his arguments are given in English in Li Feng 2008, pp. 11-12.

¹³¹ The *Zhou li* 周礼 mentions the details, however it is a non-contemporaneous text (not known before Former Han). For introduction of the text, see Boltz 1993, pp. 24-32. Some bronze inscriptions do mention specific purposes for casting the designated bronze vessels, for example to worship the ancestors. However, no details such as the manner to worship and to use the vessels or inscriptions were provided. It is also not clear whether the mentioned purposes could apply to all other existing bronze vessels and inscriptions.

In another example, on the Shoushu Huanfu *xu* 兽叔奭夫盥, the inscriptions record that the bronze vessel was again used to serve four types of grains to honorable guests.¹³²

Although supporting Li Feng's view, this dissertation does not undermine the ritual function of the bronze vessels and inscriptions. In fact, a large number of inscribed bronzes were created primarily for ritual purposes. In their inscriptions, many of them are labeled “*zunyi* 尊彝,” a term commonly interpreted as “sacrificial vessels,” suggesting that these inscribed vessels were created to be used in ritual ceremonies. In addition, some inscriptions, such as the ones on the bronze bells Jingshu *zhong* 井叔钟, also include a prayer asking the ancestors to grant good fortune, revealing their ritual-based nature.¹³³ However, other inscribed bronze vessels very likely served both ritual and other functions; the dissertation suggests that Li Feng and Falkenhausen's ideas on the bronzes and inscriptions' nature and use should not be exclusive of each other. That is to say, the bronzes and their inscriptions by default might all have been intended for the ancestors; yet they could also take up other functions alongside the ritual one. It is possible that the mentioned *fangding*, *xu* and other inscribed bronzes, after being cast, were first presented to the ancestors in a ritual ceremony. Then, they were re-used in other occasions and contexts, for example during a banquet as food and liquid containers, or during a social gathering as trophies for entertainment and amusement, or during a political and military campaign as material evidence for diplomatic ties, land and material transactions with other elites.¹³⁴ In addition, the nature and function of the bronze inscriptions may have gradually changed throughout time, as inscriptions cast during the middle and late

¹³² Li Feng 2008, pp. 14-15.

¹³³ Li Feng 2002, pp. 295.

¹³⁴ Examples of bronze inscriptions used to serve as permanent record of land transaction after a war between two polities is transcribed and analyzed in Li Feng 2011.

Western Zhou became increasingly longer, in greater detail and more diverse in topics covered. The inscriptions may have slowly changed to become more bureaucratic and socially oriented.

Regarding Matsumaru and Michiharu's debate on the composer of the inscription content, the dissertation deems that both argued cases existed, but the proportion of centrally versus regionally composed and cast inscriptions changed over time. During the early Western Zhou period, a large number of inscriptions reflecting the Zhou royal calligraphic and grammatical style were found throughout the Zhou land, even in regional polities beyond the metropolitan core; the inscriptions were thus very likely composed by royal scribes and cast by the royal foundry then distributed outwards. Possible reasons to account for such an observation could be that the central court intended to standardize ritual vessel production as one of the measures to formalize the new Zhou ritual system and to achieve centralized control. In such case, the inscriptions would reveal royal perspectives rather than that of the locals or the regional elites. However, towards the middle Western Zhou period, more and more inscribed bronzes were produced directly in regional foundries supervised by regional elites thus reflecting their own perspectives.¹³⁵ For example, the inscriptions on two middle Western Zhou bronze *ding* commissioned for his wife by the Lord of the Yu polity, Yubo, were composed and cast locally because they reflect a general lack of knowledge of royal writing. The inscriptions are almost illegible with numerous mistakes and distorted calligraphic forms.¹³⁶

The above discussion is essential for the purpose of this dissertation because it reveals the usefulness and limits of using bronze inscriptions or inscribed bronzes as

¹³⁵ Li Feng 2008, pp. 11-12.

¹³⁶ Li Feng 2002.

material sources or evidences. As inscriptions were likely used in more than one contexts, and had social implications beyond the ritual ones, they reveal information more comprehensive and diverse than were previously thought, for example the relations between the central court and the regional lords or among the elites—how they were established, maintained or destroyed through war, marriage, material exchange and bureaucratic matters. The understanding of these relations and interactions contributes to the knowledge of the ways through which the Zhou identity was promoted, communicated and perceived. However, there underlies a danger of using the inscriptions without completely understanding all contexts involved. Doubts about the absolute accuracy of the inscription content and the appropriateness to view them as historical documents must be cast, particularly because during the early Western Zhou period, bronzes seem to have been much more ritually than bureaucratically oriented.

When citing the bronze inscriptions, this thesis refers to the published compendia, the *Yin Zhou Jinwen Jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (referred to as Jicheng or JC in this thesis).¹³⁷ Together with another compendia, the *Jinchu Yin Zhou Jinwen Jilu* 近出殷周金文集录, a rough total of 13,000 bronze inscriptions are recorded, of which about half are dated to the Western Zhou period.¹³⁸ The two compendia are made available online in a database titled *Yin Zhou Jinwen Ji Qingtongqi Ziliaoku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫 (referred to as the AS database below), maintained by the Bronze Script Workshop of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.¹³⁹ Instead of consulting the printed

¹³⁷ Zhongguo 1984-1994.

¹³⁸ Vogt 2012, pp. 26. Liu Yu and Lu Yan 2002.

¹³⁹ <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/> (last accessed March 2018). The AS database includes not only the bronze inscriptional records from the two compendia, but also many more bronzes that have been discovered after their publication.

volumes of the Jicheng, this thesis turns to the AS database for information on the bronze inscriptions. In all chapters, the Jicheng number of the bronze inscriptions is indicated in brackets. In addition, as some of the inscribed characters on the bronzes cannot be transcribed into modern Chinese characters, the thesis relies on the customized font or rubbings of the characters provided by the database. In other cases where the transcription of certain characters is heavily debated, this thesis also follows the version given by the database. Moreover, bronze vessels bearing the inscriptions are often called differently by previous scholars. This thesis uses the most commonly called name or the one provided in the database.

4. Chapter summary

This chapter serves as the backbone of the thesis. It provides the theoretical direction for the next chapters to follow. It also analyzes and reviews existing literature on the identities of the ancient societies so as to demonstrate its stance and tendency towards certain schools of thought. In comparing and contrasting the concepts explored in these works, this chapter clarifies what identity, for the purpose of this thesis, entails and how it is applied to study the social identities in the early Western Zhou period. It also points out that in recent years, identity studies have slowly emerged in Chinese archaeology. Although bringing valuable insights, their concepts and approaches leave room for improvement. Finally, the chapter introduces the archaeological data—the material diversity observed throughout the early Zhou territory, as well as the social

context of the bronze inscriptions. Such an introduction function as the background information of the excavated materials considered and discussed in chapters 3-5.

The term “identity” has no fixed definition. In fact it is a label so broad and vague that any archaeologist focusing on the identity development of a society must refine and clarify its definitions and implications, tailoring them to fit his or her objective. There are many possible ways to define and study the social identities of the people living under the Zhou territory. However, this thesis intends to associate identity as a physical expression of the individuals’ belonging to a social group. Such a sense of belonging is projected by the individuals’ social actions—their experience of actively participating and involving in a series of interactions exclusive or definitive to a social group. The identity, despite embodied within the individuals, is formed in the process of social behaviors. In addition, it is also situational. The individuals can embrace multiple identities; the identity of the individuals projected depends highly on the social situations that they are in, as well as their actions at a specific moment.

Archaeological materials are tools to reconstruct the social behaviors of the individuals. Through examining the reconstructed actions, archaeologists are then able to draw social boundaries between the peoples who acted similarly and differently, hence determining their social identities within that context. Similarities and differences in social practices among people can be understood by observing those in the technological and functional features of the artifacts. The physical features relevant to how object was made, used and interacted with indicate the social association of the involved individuals. A main purpose of this thesis is to understand the socially meaningful homogeneities and variations in objects.

Many works in Chinese archaeology fail to grasp this social potential of archaeological materials. In turn, without reconstructing the actions of the individuals, their analysis of the individuals' identity remains superficial and incorrect. They did not provide a clear understanding of how people may have actually lived out their daily lives. They therefore do not decode the identity experienced by the ancient people. This thesis aims to correct these errors and gear identity studies towards a better direction.

Chapter 3

The Zhou Military system—Analysis of the Bronze *ge*

This chapter investigates one of the efforts that the Zhou court initiated to create and promote a “Zhou identity,” as well as the results of the measures. It argues that the Zhou court established a new Zhou military system for the armed individuals capable of combating in a battle, allowing them to experience and embody the Zhou identity. The system includes the new Zhou armies, the requirement to use the same type of weapon and to fight with the same techniques. By joining the system, armed individuals would be able to live and fight as a member of the Zhou regime, differentiating themselves from the Shang and other fighters. However, the Zhou court’s policy was not fully effective. Not all armed individuals participated fully in the system. For example, some did not join the royal Zhou armies. Only some carried the same weapon and fought in the same way required by the Zhou court. Many remained locally oriented in the military context.

To illustrate the above arguments, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first discusses the new Zhou armies. It also looks at the level of participation of the armed individuals. The second introduces the most common weapon—the bronze dagger-axe and explains how the differences in technological styles reflect the different ways to fight. The third and fourth part survey and examine the bronze dagger-axes dated to the early Western Zhou period and found throughout the Zhou territory. While the third part focuses on the dagger-axes of the lesser elites, the fourth concentrates on those of the elites. These two parts show that the Zhou court’s effort in regulating the bronze weapon and hence combat techniques was underway. However, the effectiveness of the regulation

varied in different regions. The armed individuals in some regions projected a stronger sense of belonging to the Zhou regime, while others less.

1. The new Zhou armies

This section introduces the early Western Zhou military armies, as understood from the bronze inscriptions. It explains that, by joining the Zhou armies, the armed individuals would be able to live as a Zhou soldier, hence experience the Zhou identity. Finally, it also elaborates on the effectiveness of this strategy.

The Zhou armies were newly established by the Zhou court; it departs in many ways from the Shang ones. For example, the Zhou military covers a much larger area.¹ It is also more organized with a higher degree of quality control regarding the soldiers. Contrarily, studying the late Shang oracle bone inscriptions, Lin Yun points out that most of the Shang soldiers were male civilians who formed clan-based armies and fought for the Shang regime only when needed.² He also suggests that although there were professional soldiers, they existed in small numbers.³

The new and more powerful Zhou troops were founded primarily out of military needs. The rapid expansion of the Zhou territory and the maintenance of the conquered regions required large, strong and loyal troops. Nonetheless, the Zhou military was also

¹ Although the exact extent of the area covered by the Shang and Zhou armies is not known, the Zhou territory is vastly larger than that of the Shang one. It is reasonable to assume that the military web of the Zhou regime is larger than that of the Shang court. The bronze inscriptions analyzed in the next paragraphs also reveal the possible regions covered by the Zhou armies, which are already beyond the entire territory controlled by the Shang court.

² Lin Yun 1998, pp. 148-156. Oracle bones are turtle shells or cattle scapula used by the Shang diviners. When making divinations, the diviner applies intense heat source to hollows bored at the front or back of the shell or scapula, then interprets the cracks. Inscriptions regarding the divination results are then engraved. As divinations concern often with warfare and political development of the regime, information on the Shang military are sometimes included. Chapter 4 discusses further the Shang oracle bone inscriptions.

³ Ibid.

an instrument for the Zhou court to promote a Zhou identity to the armed individuals. When the armed individuals from across the Zhou territory joined the Zhou armies, they lived like a Zhou member, and became less likely to revolt against the regime.

1a. The Six and Eight Armies and the Zhou identity

Some bronze inscriptions reveal that the Zhou central court had direct control over two royal armies, namely the Six and Eight Armies (“六自” and “八自,” also transcribed as *liu shi* 六师 and *ba shi* 八师 in modern Chinese).⁴ These armies might not have been fully developed during the early Western Zhou period, since bronze inscriptions mentioning them appear more frequently and in greater detail only in the middle to late period; however, they certainly had been set up before or not long after the Zhou was founded out of military needs.⁵

In the middle and late Western Zhou inscriptions [Table 1], for example that of the Yu *ding* 禹鼎 (2833) dated to the reign of King Li 厉王, the Six Armies are sometimes referred to as the “Western Six Armies 西六自.” Based on this indicated direction, scholars attempt to interpret the whereabouts of the Six Armies. Guo Moruo 郭

⁴ The character “自” is not used in today’s Chinese, the pronunciation is unknown. The name “Six and Eight Armies” are taken from Li Feng’s translation. See Li Feng 2008, pp. 50.

⁵ A survey of all inscriptions dated from the early to late Western Zhou that mention the two armies is published in Shang Yantao 2013, pp. 24-25. Li Feng observes that early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions do not provide enough information to suggest a reliable reconstruction of the Zhou governmental and military structure. However, as he explains further, because the largest group of commemorative inscriptions dated to this period concerns mostly with warfare, the early Zhou must have already developed some sort of military organization. Ibid., pp. 49-50. Many have debated about the exact period during which the two armies were set up. Shang Yantao suggests that the Six Armies were founded earlier than the Eight Armies, probably sometime right before or immediately after the Zhou was founded, as the far west was of a constant threat to the Zhou regime. The earliest bronze inscription mentioning the Six Armies is on the 戣贮簋 Zhao Zhu *gui* (4047), dated to the early Western Zhou. On the other hand, he argues that the Eight Armies were certainly set up after the Zhou’s conquest of the Shang, or the founding of the Zhou, most likely during the reign of King Cheng 成王; as it was then when the Zhou needed a military to monitor the conquered Shang people and the local groups formerly associated with the Shang. Shang Yantao 2013, pp. 45-47.

沫若 argues that the armies were based somewhere to the west of Chengzhou 成周 (Luoyang), whereas Li Xueqin 李学勤 suggests that they were active in the further western part of the Zhou land.⁶ On the other hand, the Eight Armies were sometimes inscribed as the “Yin Eight Armies 殷八自,” as seen in the Bo Mao Fu *gui* 伯懋父簋 (4238) from the reign of King Mu 穆王. Interpreting the occasional addition of the name “Yin,” Li Xueqin 李学勤 and Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 suggest that the Eight Armies were active around the areas of the former Shang capital, Yin.⁷ Furthermore, a few bronze inscriptions, for example that on the lid of the Hu *hu* 卣壶 (9728) refer to the Eight Armies as the “Chengzhou Eight Armies 成周八自,” leading Luo Kun 罗琨 and Zhang Yongshan 张永山 to argue that the Armies were in fact based in Chengzhou (Luoyang), with the purpose of monitoring the eastern part of the Zhou land, particularly Yin.⁸ Although not agreeing on the exact locations of the Six and Eight Armies, most scholars seem to concur that the Six Armies were in charge of the western part of the Zhou territory, whereas the Eight Armies in the eastern part, with the dividing point likely being Chengzhou (Luoyang).

In terms of the armies’ composition, many suggest that the Six Armies were made up of six smaller military units, each of them stationed at different military posts across the western part of the Zhou territory, including areas near Zhouyuan, Feng 丰 and Hao

⁶ Guo Moruo 1978-1982, pp. 101; Li Xueqin 1987, pp. 207-210. See also Yu Shengwu 1964, pp. 152-155; Xu Zhongshu 1959, pp. 53-65.

⁷ Li Xueqin 1987, pp. 207-210; Xu Zhongshu 1959, pp. 53-65.

⁸ Luo Kun and Zhang Yongshan 1998, pp. 315. There are also some scholars who argue that the Chengzhou Eight Armies and Yin Eight Armies were in fact two different military entities. See Xu Zhongshu 1959, pp. 53-65; Liu Yu 1998, pp. 228-251.

鎬.⁹ The same applies to the composition of the Eight Armies; eight division units were placed throughout the eastern regions such as near Chengzhou and Yin.¹⁰ Investigating these units, Yu Kai 于凯 observes that in bronze inscriptions [Table 2], certain place names are marked with an additional label “自,” transcribed as “*shi* 师” in modern Chinese.¹¹ For example, on the Li *gui* 利簋 (4131) dated to the early Western Zhou, the inscription mentions, “the king is at Lan *shi* 王在阑师...”¹² On another early Western Zhou vessel Lü *ding* 旅鼎 (2728), the inscription indicates a place named Zhou *shi* 盩师; the Zuo Ce Zhi *ding* 作册寔鼎 (2504) inscription also mentions a location called Xiu *shi* 朽师. By matching many of the locations marked with “*shi*” to places with a similar modern name and with geographical clues from other bronze inscriptions, Yu makes suggestions of where many of the “*shi*” locations could possibly be. Based on his findings, he argues that they are mostly distributed around the formerly Yin-related areas to the northeast of Chengzhou, as well as around the northwestern part of the Zhou land, hence coinciding with the areas of which the Six and Eight Armies were in charge.¹³ He then speculates that these “*shi*” locations were in fact the military posts at which smaller units of the Six and Eight Armies were stationed, and after which the units were named.¹⁴

It is not for certain whether or not Yu has accurately pinpointed at the various “*shi*”

⁹ Zhang Pingzhe 1995, pp. 9-13.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Yu Kai 2004, pp. 23-28.

¹² For a survey listing all bronze inscriptions mentioning place names with “*shi*” attached and their possible location, see *ibid.*; Shang Yantao 2013, pp. 36-38.

¹³ This is an early Western Zhou distribution; in later periods, more “*shi*” locations were set up to the southeast of Chengzhou and the southern part of the Zhou land. See Yu Kai 2004, pp. 23-28. In addition, the character “*shi*” often contains a military connotation in the Western Zhou context. The position titles of Zhou military leaders often include the character. For example, *da shi* 大师 was the title for the highest ranking military leader possibly in charge of the Six and Eight Armies; *shi* 师 was the title for the military official ranked below *da shi*. Li Daoming 1992, pp. 64-70; Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu 1986.

¹⁴ Ibid.

locations, however, it seems feasible that the Six and Eight Armies may not have been two individual armies that were stationed at a fixed location, rather, they can be regarded as two military webs formed by smaller units positioned at a number of military posts or “*shi*” in the western and eastern part of the Zhou territory.

Contemplating on the military posts of the two Armies, Yu argues that they in fact were “districts with military functions 军事功能区” that were specifically designed by the Zhou court to support the living of the soldiers and to serve military purposes.¹⁵ Yu suggests that on one hand, each military post was managed by a bureaucratic system similar to that found at other non-military local areas; three administrative divisions namely the *situ* 司土, *sima* 司马 and *sikong* 司空 were set up to take care of the land, the horses and the labor force or the soldiers.¹⁶ These divisions ensured that certain soldiers took part in herding and agricultural production aside from their military training, so that the entire district was self-sustainable.¹⁷ On the other hand, the military post was unlike other local districts or regional polities ruled by the lords, as it was under the Zhou king’s

¹⁵ Ibid. Before Yu’s observation, two traditional schools of thought have been developed, both noting the posts’ close association with agricultural activities. The one initiated by Yu Shengwu argues that the soldiers of the two Armies were in fact part-time farmers, who, aside from their military training, took part in agricultural productions, so that the stationed military post was completely self-sustainable. The other school represented by Yang Kuan suggests that the soldiers of the two Armies were in fact full-time farmers from areas nearby the military posts. In Yang’s opinion, only when in need, the farmers from local families would gather around the post to form an army unit. While agreeing with Yu Shengwu’s observations on the soldiers’ engagement with agricultural activities, Yu Kai criticizes that such model, eliminating all structural and administrative similarities shared with other local areas, follows too closely the one from later periods with no solid evidence. In disagreeing with Yang’s theory, Yu Kai points out the unproven assumption of the farmers’ identification and their place of origin. He also argues that it was unreasonable to simply equate the military hierarchy to the district hierarchy, that the unit leader could not have been the village leader. See: Yu Shengwu 1964, pp. 152-155; Yang Kuan 1964, pp. 414-419; Yang Kuan 1965, pp. 525-528.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Nonetheless, I suggest that women and families were likely present in these districts. Although no available inscriptions mention their role in these *shi* locations, in a number of military-oriented sites such as Shaolingyuan and Beilü (which may or may not have been one of the *shi* posts), burials of women and children were found, though in smaller number than that of the adult males.

direct control. Major official positions were assigned by the king; the soldiers followed only the commands of the king or his representatives.¹⁸

Although the units of the two Armies may have had fixed military stations (“*shi*”) already discussed, this dissertation suggests that the participating soldiers were of a rather mobile nature. First, they were led by the Zhou king or his commanders to fight battles in different regions, as seen in the inscription of the Zhao Zhu *gui* 陵貯簋 (4047) of the early Western Zhou, recording that the Zhou king sent his son to lead the Six Armies to defeat the invading Chao people 巢人. Second, after a battle, certain units of the Armies sometimes moved from their original *shi* to a different one. In the inscription of the Bo Mao Fu *gui* 伯懋父簋 (4238), Bo Mao Fu, the son of the lord of the Wei polity, was said to have led the Yin Eight Armies to suppress the Yi 夷 people in the East; the Eight Armies departed from 𤟖*shi*, but moved to Mu *shi* 牧师 after the battle.¹⁹ Although the lack of other available early Zhou inscriptions provides no further confirmation of the Armies’ mobility between military posts, it is highly possible that, because of constant warfare at different regions during this period, various units of the Armies moved from one station to another so as to engage in a battle; or that, certain number of soldiers within a unit were moved to join another unit out of strategic reasons.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ “𤟖” is not available in modern Chinese transcription. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the lord of Wei was called Kang Shu Feng 康叔封. His son, Bo Mao Fu was also named Kang Bo Mao 康伯髦. Sinologists have been debating on the interpretation of the character “*yi* 夷.” Largely dependent on the context of the text, the character indicates a geographical location when appears together with a place name; it refers to a specific group of people named Yi who probably lived close to the Zhou royal center. Many others also argue that it refers to all the non-Zhou people in a broad sense or people who did not corporate with the Zhou authorities. No definite conclusion has been reached. For a summary of the debate, see Shang Yantao 2013, pp. 217-219. In addition, Mu *shi* 牧师 possibly refers to Muye. It is unclear where exactly 𤟖*shi* was, but likely somewhere in the eastern part of the Zhou territory, nearby Yin. Ibid., pp. 40.

Because of the mobile nature of the Armies, the soldiers very likely were a mix of people from different regions of the Zhou territory. Many proposals concerning who the soldiers of the Six and Eight Armies were have been made, including the Ji-clan members, the defeated soldiers who previously fought for and belonged to the Shang, as well as the local people from the areas nearby each *shi*; many scholars also suggest that the Armies were made up of all the above.²⁰ However, regardless of where the soldiers came from, once recruited into the Armies, they were likely to experience and embody mainly the Zhou identity. The soldiers had to live according to the framework set by this identity; they had to move from their hometown to the assigned military post, which was a district designed specifically for the soldiers. There, they began to live a structured military lifestyle with all activities emphasizing their role as the Zhou royal soldier; they received training and orders from officers appointed by the king or the court. They farmed or herded to support their own unit, hence enhancing the presence of the military community. The mobile nature of the two Armies stripped away the soldiers' attachment to a fixed location and its local culture; their lifestyle and living structure reinforced further their projected sense of belonging to the larger-than-local Zhou military, which remained as the invariant amidst their constantly changing surroundings.

1b. Clan armies and local identity

However, not all armed individuals joined the royal armies. Instead, many participated in the regional, clan-based armies, hence were more locally focused. Certain bronze inscriptions show that, a number of clans ruling or living in regional areas both

²⁰ For a brief summary of the existing proposals, see *ibid.*, pp. 26-30 or table 1-2.

close to and away from the royal residencies formed their own clan-based army (*zujun* 族军).²¹ For example, inscribed on the Ming Gong *gui* 明公簋(4029) dated to the early Western Zhou, the Zhou king commanded Ming Gong 明公 to send three clans (*san zu* 三族) to defeat the Eastern *guo* (*dongguo* 东国).²² On Ban *gui* 班簋 (4341) dated to the middle Western Zhou, the Zhou king also commanded his officials Wu Bo 吴伯 and Lü Bo 吕伯 to bring their clan members to follow Mao gong 毛公 for a military conquest in the east.²³ In other words, clans, or “*zu* 族” were also considered as semi-independent military units subject to the direct control of the head of the clan. Studying the clan armies, Zhu Fenghan 朱凤瀚 suggests that the leading elites and soldiers were not full-time professionals, but were instead clan members sharing the same kinship who had the capability to fight and were equipped with weapons. Their military status was dependent on their social status within the clan hierarchy.²⁴ Contemplating on the army composition, Zhu further writes that the armies were led by high-ranking members of a clan, but consisted of lesser-elite clan members as well as the other non-elites who were given to (during an investiture or other ceremonies) or associated with the clan.²⁵ In terms of the army population, Lin Yun suggests that each clan army is of a different size, depending on the number of adult male available in the clan.²⁶ Nonetheless, as most adult males would be considered eligible for participating in the clan army, the total number was likely rather large.

²¹ Zhu Fenghan 2004.

²² The location of the Eastern *guo* is under debate. *Guo* could refer to a polity, a general region, or a clan group. Most agree that it is located somewhere in Shandong or southern Hebei. It is also likely not under the political control of the Zhou regime.

²³ Shang Yantao 2013, pp. 50.

²⁴ Zhu Fenghan 2004, pp. 397.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Lin Yun 1998.

Despite occasionally joining forces with the royal armies, the clan armies were not a centralized but rather regional-based group under the strong influence of the regional powers. Because the part-time soldiers were mostly living at a fixed location, their primary concern was their clan and the local communities instead of the central court and the larger-than-local Zhou regime. Relatively, these armies then developed a stronger sense of belonging to their clan or region.

1c. Section summary

In sum, out of military needs, the Zhou court established the royal Six and Eight Armies during the early Zhou years. Equally important, these two armies were part of the court's policies to recruit armed individuals into the Zhou regime, encouraging them to live and fight as a loyal Zhou soldier. In doing so, the armed individuals would experience and embody the royally initiated Zhou identity.

However, such a scheme was only partially effective. Many regional armed individuals joined not the royal armies, but the local clan-based armies instead. The clan armies consisted mainly of clan members related by blood and lived in close proximity to each other within a region. They were under the command not of the Zhou king or court officials, but the head or high-ranking members of the clan. They fought only for the Zhou regime, or with the royal armies when needed. Therefore, soldiers of the clan armies developed a stronger association with their local or clan community.

2. The bronze *ge*

Besides setting up the new Zhou royal armies, the Zhou court also initiated weapon standardization, hence homogenizing the armed individuals' equipment and how they fight during a battle. The Zhou court had the plan to implement the regulation throughout the Zhou territory, so that not only the soldiers of the royal armies would be subject to the scheme, but also those of the clan-armies.²⁷ Such an initiation was crucial to further structuring and strengthening the power of the Zhou military. Yet equally important, it would enable the armed individuals to gain a Zhou military identity. This section introduces the common weapon of the time, the bronze dagger-axe, or *ge* [Figure 18]. More efficient than other bronze weapons possessed exclusively by the elites such as the large axe (*yue* 钺), the bronze *ge* found in burials throughout the Zhou political sphere provides insights into how military personnel of different social status perceived and experienced a Zhou sense of belonging.²⁸

2a. Military association

The bronze dagger-axe, or *ge* was a common weapon during the Western Zhou period; a large number of used *ge* have been found in burials throughout the Zhou territory.²⁹ Its appearance in these tombs also strongly indicates the occupant's association with the Zhou military. For example, in many weapon-yielding burials in Zhouyuan, the military status of the deceased is confirmed by the accompanying bronze vessel inscriptions. In M1 of Zhuangbai 庄白 at Fufeng 扶风 within Zhouyuan, a bronze

²⁷ Unfortunately, with currently available sources, it is not possible to archaeologically distinguish the royal armies from the clan-armies.

²⁸ For discussion on the *yue*, see Du Naisong 1983, pp. 66-70.

²⁹ Unless specified (e.g. many from the Yu polity), the *ge* examined in this thesis were for practical use. Many of the excavated *ge* shown worn signs.

ge and two other weapons were found [Figure 19].³⁰ On one of the vessels, the Dong *gui* 鬲, buried alongside the weapons, the inscription records that the tomb occupant Dong Bo 鬲伯 led the Zhou Armies under the king's command to fight against the invading Huai Rong 淮戎 people, thus suggesting his status as a military personnel.³¹ In addition, besides owned by elite armed individuals (defined by the presence of bronze vessels in burial), the bronze *ge* was also used by the lesser-elites, or soldiers. In these burials of the lesser-elites, no bronze ritual vessels and elaborate accompanying goods are found. Instead, only a bronze *ge* was placed alongside a humble set of ceramics [Figure 20] or small burial items such as bronze ornaments *pao* 铜泡 and cowries.³²

2b. Bronze *ge* types of the late Shang period

The bronze *ge* is not a Zhou invention; while its origin is unknown, already in the Erlitou [1700—1500 B.C.] and Erligang period [1500-1300 B.C.] a very small number appeared.³³ Yet it was during the middle to late Shang period when *ge* became increasingly popular. The following are several *ge* types available during the late Shang period around Anyang, classified according to their differences in the technological style

³⁰ Luo Xizhang, Wu Zhenfeng and Luo Zhongru 1976, pp. 51-60.

³¹ For discussions of the inscription and Dong Bo, see Xin Yihua 2001, pp. 55-57. Other bronze vessel inscriptions from the same tomb mention a few other names besides Dong Bo. However archaeologists have generally agreed that the tomb belongs to Dong Bo and not others. See also Luo Xizhang, Wu Zhenfeng and Luo Zhongru 1976, pp. 51-60.

³² Section 3a and 4a define further the elites and lesser-elites.

³³ Examples of bronze *ge* were found in Yanshi 偃师 dated to the Erlitou period. Zhongguo erlitou 1976, pp. 259-263. For other early examples, see Jing Zhongwei 井中伟 2011, pp. 24. It is not for certain whether or not the *ge* originated from the Central Plain. Some have linked it to the stone axe from the Longshan culture, while others have suggested a link to the jade *ge* from Shimao 石峁, whereas four bronze *ge* dated to the Erligang period or earlier have also been found in Zhukaigou. Shen Rong 1993, pp. 78-84; Dai Yingxin 1988, pp. 154-162; Yang Xizhang 1986, pp. 64-71.

[Figure 21].³⁴ Many of the late Shang types appeared again in the early Zhou period; the Zhou armed individuals inherited the weapon designs with some adjustments made.

- Type A:

This type is the most typical one used in Anyang. It is considered in this thesis to be heavily associated with the late Shang regime.³⁵ Figure 22-24 shows respectively a *ge* from tomb M30 in Dasikong 大司空, M97 in Guojiazhuang 郭家庄 and M54 in Huayuanzhuang east 花园庄东.³⁶ All three examples from sites in Anyang are characterized by a rather straight, long and slim blade with a pointy tip, as well as a flat, rectangular grip sometimes with one perforation in the center.

- Type B:

Another common late Shang type, as seen in Figure 25-27, all of which from Yinxu Xiqu 殷墟西区, is characterized by a slightly curved blade and a flat, curved grip often with decorations.³⁷ Yet because of its decorative nature as well as the often brittle and poor quality of bronze, many argue that this type was not intended for use in actual combats.³⁸

- Type C:

Besides the above two commonly seen types, some other less popular ones from Anyang display stylistic elements from outside of the Central Plain. For example, as seen in Figure 28-30 from Liujiiazhuang 刘家庄 and Guojiazhuang 郭家庄, type C is a socketed-*ge* that share similarities with those found in the Northern Zone, as seen in Map 6 from

³⁴ This is my own categorization. Nonetheless, the typology is made with other published typologies in mind. For definitions and discussions on the concept of “technological style,” see Chapter 2.

³⁵ There was not an official standard Shang type. The association with the Shang regime is based on its quantity and frequency of appearance in Anyang burials. This type is generally the most commonly preferred one by the Shang armed individuals.

³⁶ Zhongguo 1998, pp. 46.

³⁷ Zhongguo anyang 1979, pp. 27-146.

³⁸ Shen Rong 1992, pp. 69-75.

Suizhong Fengjia 绥中冯家, Qian'an Xiaoshandong Zhuang 迁安小山东庄 and Faku Wanliu 法库湾柳.³⁹ The socketed feature can possibly be traced back to the Andronovo or the Karasuk culture in the Eurasian Steppes.⁴⁰ As it appeared suddenly in considerable numbers during the late Shang period, it was likely introduced into the Central Plain along with the horse-and-chariot.⁴¹ However, such a type enjoyed a short-lived popularity; its appearance declined rapidly at the beginning of the Zhou era.

- Type D:

The *ge* characterized by a wide triangular blade with a perforation near the rectangular grip, as seen in Figure 31-33 from the Wuguan 武官 tomb and Yinxu Xiqu 殷墟西区, was very likely introduced from the Shu 蜀 region of today's southwestern China around Sichuan [Map 7].⁴² A large number dated to the Shang period were discovered in Shaanxi Chenggu 陕西城固.⁴³ In very few occasions in the Central Plain, a slimmer and longer version of the mentioned type was found, for example at Luoshan Tianhu 罗山天湖 (Figure 34).⁴⁴ Counterparts of such a variation are seen in the Shu 蜀 region at Pengxian

³⁹ The Northern Zone generally refers to the vast area between the steppe and the Central Plains. In other studies, the region is sometimes called the Northern Frontier or the Northern Bronzes Complex. For introduction and discussion on the Northern Zone, see Shelach 2009, pp. 28-30; Rawson 2017, pp. 2-3; Rawson 2015, pp. 46-47. Sites indicated in map: Zhongguo 1998, pp. 49; Zhongguo anyang 1988, pp. 880; Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 44; Zhongguo anyang 1988, pp. 875-881; Wang Yungang, Wang Guorong and Li Feilong 1996, pp. 51-55; Tangshanshi and Qian'anxian 1997, pp. 58-62; Liaoning and Tielingshi 1989, pp. 1076-1086.

⁴⁰ The link is nonetheless under debate. Linduff 1998, pp. 627; see also Chernykh 1992, pp. 219.

⁴¹ No socketed-*ge* was found in the earliest horse-and-chariot burials in Anyang. However, as Wu Hsiaoyun suggests, the chariots were introduced from the Steppe into the Central Plain, other northern weapons types such as short knife with animal headed pommels were exposed to the Central Plain communities, and these very likely include the socketed-axes. Wu Hsioyun, 2013, pp. 29-56.

⁴² Zhongguo 1994, pp. 311.

⁴³ Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 29-31; Zhao Congcang 1996, pp. 3-26; Tang Jinyu, Wang Shouzhi and Guo Changjiang 1980, pp. 211-218; Wang Shouzhi 1988, pp. 3-9; Li Ye and Zhang Liwen 1996, pp. 73-75; Yang Xizhang 1986, pp. 64-71.

⁴⁴ Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 31.

Zhuwajie 彭县竹瓦街 [Map 7], but dated later to the early Western Zhou period.⁴⁵ This variation is hence likely a version that integrates characteristics of the popular *ge* types from both Shu and Anyang, circulated in between the two regions as a result of direct or indirect interactions.

- Type E:

An extremely small number of *ge* with a protruded wing-shaped structure between the blade and the grip are found in a few sites such as Anyang Qijiazhuang 安阳戚家庄 and Yinxu Xiqu 殷墟西区 (Figure 35-37).⁴⁶ Such a type is seen in larger numbers from the western regions including Baoji, parts of Gansu and the Shu area, many of them even decorated with motif of an animal head (Figure 38-39).⁴⁷ It is likely a regional production that spread eastward to Anyang.

In fact, during the early Zhou period, counterparts of the above two mentioned types (D, E) were available also in the northern part of the Zhou territory as well as in the Northern Zone outside of the Zhou land. For example, a *ge* with a protruding wing-like structure is buried in M1193 at Liulihe [Map 6]; a *ge* with wide triangular blade is uncovered at Xinglong Henancun [Map 6].⁴⁸ This type might have been brought, or made known to the north either through the Central Plain or more likely, along the Arc.⁴⁹

- Type F:

⁴⁵ Wang Jiayou 1961, pp. 28-31; Sichuansheng and Pengxian 1981, pp. 496-499; Jing Zhongwei 2006.

⁴⁶ Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 35.

⁴⁷ Jing Zhongwei 2006; Gao Xisheng 1996, pp. 38-51.

⁴⁸ Beijingshi 1995; Xinglongxian and Wang Feng 1990, pp. 57-58.

⁴⁹ Jessica Rawson has shown that the designs of various weapons such as the openwork scabbard and a small sword in the shape of a willow-leaf are shared in regions along the Arc. The Arc is generally defined as the wide borders of land between the eastern steppe and today's China. Others such as Tong Enzheng name the area as "crescent-shaped region." The terms "Northern Zone, Northern Frontier or the Northern Bronzes Complex" are also used to refer to roughly the same region. For definition and discussions on the Arc, see Rawson 2017b, pp. 375-388; Tong Enzheng 1986, pp. 17-43; Shelach 2009.

Another *ge* type, characterized by a widened tang (or *hu* 胡) and often with narrow rectangular perforation (or *chuan* 穿), is found in Anyang in small quantities. This type became the dominant one during the Western Zhou period, and is considered in this thesis to be the “royal Zhou standard” *ge*.⁵⁰ Figures 40-42 show examples from Liujiazhuang 刘家庄, Guojiazhuang 郭家庄 and Xujiqiao 徐家桥 respectively.⁵¹ This type is possibly an adaptation of the bronze *ge* originally used by the locals in areas west of the Central Plain.⁵² For example, at Fengxiang Zhihui West village 凤翔指挥西村, bronze *ge* of this type in considerable numbers dated to the pre-conquest Zhou, or in other words, late Shang period were found.⁵³

2c. Bronze *ge* types and fighting techniques

Understanding the various *ge* types and their availability during the Shang and the Zhou dynasty is important because each design requires a different posture and technique of the user in order to function efficiently. The availability of multiple *ge* designs hence reflect the presence of diverse fighting methods in different regions. While inheriting most of the mentioned late Shang *ge* types, many of the Zhou armed individuals across the Zhou territory preferred to carry the last mentioned type F. This development indicates a tendency initiated by the Zhou court to standardize the way of fighting and training, differentiating the Zhou military from the Shang troops. Already discussed in

⁵⁰ There was not an official royal standard type. Such a description is based on the quantity found in the Zhou territory dated to the early Zhou period, as well as the high frequency of appearance in many sites of military importance, ie. Luoyang. This type is generally the more commonly preferred one in the Zhou burials.

⁵¹ Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 33.

⁵² The origin of type F is unknown. However, the Zhouyuan region displays a higher proportion of type F during the pre-conquest Zhou period. Nonetheless, other types are present in varying numbers.

⁵³ Yongcheng, Hanwei and Wu Zhenfeng 1982, pp. 15-38. According to the reports, 13 *ge* belonging to the pre-conquest Zhou period were excavated from Zhihui West village; many of which are type F.

greater detail in Chapter 2, the regulation was very likely initiated by the Zhou court, as the scale of the regulation is large, widespread and intense beyond the local level.⁵⁴ The drastic increase and spread of the bronze dagger-axes after the Zhou conquest must have been related to the central court's policies.⁵⁵ Sudden and complete elimination of Shang weapon elements in various regions (discussed later) also reveals a strict and intentional weapon regulation, rather than a naturally developed tendency.

Illustrated in a number of bronze inscriptions and excavated contexts (Figure 43-45), when in use, the bronze *ge* was tied to a shaft (or *bi* 秘) likely in wood or bamboo. Shen Rong 沈融 suggests that, generally a hole was cut through the shaft just narrow enough to insert part of the *ge*; straps possibly in leather were then used to stabilize the *ge* and the shaft.⁵⁶ In the battlefield, as type A popular in the Shang period has often a long and straight blade with a sharp tip, it was probably best used to penetrate the enemy's body from the tip [Figure 46], by swinging the *ge*-shaft towards one's left or right side (similar to how one swings a tennis racket). Alternatively, one could swing the *ge*-shaft perpendicularly downward (similar to how one splits firewood with an axe) against the enemy's head or shoulder area [Figure 47]. In addition, as the blade design of the socketed *ge* (type C) is in many ways similar to that of type A, the techniques for making a strike may be similar.

⁵⁴ Please see Chapter 2 section f.

⁵⁵ Not many bronze weapons have been found in sites at the outskirts or outside of the Central Plain, dated to the pre-conquest Zhou period. Bronze dagger-axes appeared only during the early Western Zhou period.

⁵⁶ Shen Rong 1992, pp. 69-75. Although Shen Rong suggests several ways of inserting the *ge* blade into the shaft; his arguments on how the *ge* design may affect the way of fighting and vice versa are rather useful. However, certain details of his proposals are questionable. For example, he suggests that the *ge*-blade of the Erlitou period were inserted into the *ge*-shaft by splitting open the entire far end of the shaft instead of cutting a narrow hole. It is difficult to imagine that with this method, the *ge*-blade can be tightly secured onto the shaft during a combat and that the split at the shaft would not be extended when the weapon is in use.

On the other hand, with a different design, type F popular during the Zhou period facilitates a different posture and strategy to attack. The lower edge of many type F blades is curved (Figure 48-49), which enables the *ge* to function almost as a hook. One could then attack the back or side of the enemy more easily even when fighting face to face [Figure 50]. Because of the blade structure, the physical damage brought to the struck enemy would also be more severe than when using the mentioned type A. In addition, the upper side of the blade of many *ge* type F is tilted slightly upward [Figure 51-52]. This feature enables a person to attack by pushing the entire upper edge of the *ge*-blade forward towards the enemy; a strike using the upper edge becomes powerful [Figure 53]. When attacking with such a technique, the widened tang plays a significant role by supporting and fixating the *ge* against the shaft, lowering the possibility of the *ge* tilting or falling off.

Furthermore, being vastly different in design, type D requires a very different fighting technique. Almost all of type D are characterized by a relatively round, less pointy tip of the blade; such a feature suggests that the person does not strike the enemy mainly with the end tip, but the upper and lower edges of the blade. As the blade is in a wide triangular shape, the person attacks only by sliding the upper or lower edge of the blade towards the enemy [Figure 54]. To facilitate the sliding of the blade edge, the individual probably swings the *ge*-shaft sideways with the wrist, instead of the arm. The person could also cut the enemy by lifting the *ge*-shaft high up, strike perpendicularly downwards and pulls the shaft towards oneself, so that the head or shoulder area of the enemy is slit. Alternatively, because of the relatively heavier and larger size of the blade, the person could also harm the enemy by hitting him with the blade. For a more powerful

strike using the mentioned postures, the *ge* shaft is possibly shorter compared with that of the other types.

Moreover, bronze *ge* were used not only when fighting on the ground, but also from chariots.⁵⁷ Type F facilitates chariot fighting most efficiently [Figure 55-56]. Its design enables one facing the chariot's direction of travel to attack with a proper posture, simply by extending the *ge*-shaft from the person's side and pushing it forward or pulling it backward (as a hook).⁵⁸ Contrarily, while facing the direction of travel, the Shang-preferred type A, type C and D would require an uncomfortable posture to make a side swing in order to attack the enemy at either side of the chariot. The limited frontal space hindered by the horses leading the chariot would also make the swing difficult. These probably explain why, at the beginning of the Zhou years when increasing number of chariots were used in battles, the Zhou court saw the need to choose type F over other types.⁵⁹

The above postures and ways to fight are reconstructed based on the design and technological features of the bronze *ge*. For sure, because of the absence of other major supporting sources, the reconstructed postures and ways to fight analyzed above may not be absolutely accurate. For example, very little skeletal analysis has been done to reveal traces of trauma caused by weaponry and to decipher how the weapon was used.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Rawson 2015, pp. 37-97; Wu Hsioyun 2013, pp. 29-56; Mao Hongdong, Han Lu and Yang Ding 2014, pp. 32-34.

⁵⁸ For certain, as many type F has pointy tips, piercing the enemy with the tip (just like with type A) is also practical. I am simply suggesting that type F facilitates more possible ways of fighting, many of which are advantageous when riding a horse-and-chariot.

⁵⁹ About one hundred Shang chariots and seven hundred Zhou (including early, middle and late Western Zhou) chariots were excavated. Wu Hsiaoyun 2013, pp. 1; Wu Hsiaoyun 2009, pp. 211-231.

⁶⁰ Plenty of skeletal studies in Europe are conducted to examine trauma evidences, in order to decipher the kind of weapon used in battlefields, and the techniques used. For example, see Holst et al. 2018, pp. 5920-5925; Nicklisch et al. 2017, pp. 1-30. Unfortunately, almost all skeletal analysis of the Zhou period are

Nonetheless, rare and occasional archaeological discoveries support the speculated fighting techniques. In one instance, a human skull unearthed from a late Shang tomb M745 at the Baijiafen 白家坟 site in Anyang is shown pierced with a broken piece of bronze *ge* [Figure 57].⁶¹ According to the analysis of Tang Jigen, the male victim was struck frontal with the tip of the *ge* pierced into the top of his head.⁶² Other traces on the skull also show that he was struck at the back of his head, and at the forehead. Tang also recalls the trauma evidences seen on the skeleton at the upper body and shoulder area.⁶³ Tang's reconstruction of how the bronze *ge* (most likely type A, the most popular late Shang type) was used fits with that of the thesis, that the weapon was swung perpendicularly downward towards the enemy's head or shoulder. In addition, *ge* is traditionally referred to by Chinese archaeologists such as Guo Baojun 郭宝钧 and Ju Wancang 巨万仓 as "*goubing* 勾兵," literally meaning "hook-weapon."⁶⁴ It is analyzed by many to function as a hook to pull the enemy. Such an analysis is based on several transmitted texts elaborating on the *ge*. For example, the *Kaogongji* 考工记 (Records of the Scrutiny of Crafts), a section from the *Zhouli* 周礼 (Rites of Zhou) and compiled during the late Spring and Autumn or Warring States period, records that the *ge* functions as a hook.⁶⁵ These later texts most likely refer to the type F *ge*, as it was not only the most popular type during the Western Zhou period, but also the precursor of the *ge* from the

done with the purpose of finding out the racial origin, physical appearance and types of disease carried by the buried. Almost none focus on trauma evidences.

⁶¹ Details of the tomb are not published but the skull is in the collection of the Yinxu Museum in Anyang. Tang mentioned the tomb and showed the image of the skull in his public lecture. See Tang 2018.

⁶² In his account, Tang Jigen was also the excavator of the said tomb. Unfortunately, no formal analysis of the skeleton is published. Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Guo Baojun 1961, pp. 111-118; Ju Wancang 1988, pp. 6-9.

⁶⁵ The sections elaborates on the *ge* and *goubing*, written as "勾兵." The text is available online (see section 71): <https://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/dong-guan-kao-gong-ji/zhs#n37390>. For introduction of the *Zhouli* and the *Kaogongji*, see Boltz 1993, pp. 24-32.

Warring States and even the Qin, Han period.⁶⁶ Therefore, these textual sources, although from a much later period, indirectly support the claim of this thesis on how type F *ge* functioned.

In any case, whether the above reconstruction of the *ge*-use was absolutely accurate or not, the analysis demonstrates that the technological features of the bronze *ge* go hand in hand with how a person combats. When intending to unify the way all soldiers fight, the Zhou court must first standardize the weapons they carry. In doing so, the Zhou soldiers became visually and behaviorally distinct from the Shang and other troops, hence social boundaries were drawn and the Zhou identity promoted and experienced.

3. The bronze *ge* of the lesser-elites

Bronze *ge* was not exclusively found in the burials of the elites. A considerable number of *ge*-yielding tombs along the Wei River are small in scale, and contain only a modest set of ceramics, occasionally with some cowries, bronze bosses or other small items. These are the burials of the soldiers from the lesser-elite class.⁶⁷ This section examines the *ge* types found in lesser-elite tombs dated to the early Western Zhou period, in order to demonstrate that weapon standardization initiated by the Zhou court was underway, and that the lesser-elite armed individuals were beginning to experience a military Zhou identity. However, it also points out that the standardizing scheme was not fully in effect; certain regions still preferred their own local weapon types.

⁶⁶ The *ge* from the later periods in general show many similarities in the technological features with that of the type F *ge*. The later ones mostly have longer tang and more perforations.

⁶⁷ The elite and lesser elite class are defined more explicitly in the next sections (3a. for lesser elites and 4a. for elites). I use the term “lesser-elite” instead of “non-elite” because it is possible that lower or the lowest class inhabitants were not even allowed or could not afford to be buried after death. The term “lesser-elite” is used primarily to single out a special class of people whose burial assemblages are unlike the usual elite class with an abundance of bronzes and burial goods.

3a. Approach

A survey has been conducted by looking through all available and published burials dated to the early Western Zhou period (reign of King Wu to King Kang) and located within the Zhou territory, in order to single out the lesser-elite tombs yielding bronze *ge* [Table 3]. To be considered a lesser-elite burial, the tomb must not contain bronze ritual vessels or chariot fittings, both widely regarded as possessions of the elites. It remains difficult to categorize a large number of tombs, since they have been heavily looted or destroyed, leaving behind no ritual vessel and chariot fittings or little burial items alongside the bronze *ge*. In such cases, when possible, the scale of the tombs, the type and quantity of the remaining goods become the major defining factors; those in a reasonably small scale and with rather scarce accompanying goods poor in quality are regarded as a lesser-elite tomb. Considering existing debates and criticism, the survey follows the dating of the excavation reports, except that of the Changping Baifu 昌平白浮 site, as most scholars today would agree that it is dated to the middle Western Zhou.⁶⁸

Based on the survey, a map [Map 8- 8.5] has been created showing the geographical distribution of the bronze *ge* from the lesser-elite burials. It also shows the exact number of *ge* from each site, as well as their stylistic type by copying and pasting the image of each *ge* when it is published onto the map. The ones in dark colors represent the *ge* whose image is not published; nonetheless, the shown opaque *ge* is based on the description provided in the report, revealing the structure of the blade and grip, whether

⁶⁸ Beijingshi wenwu 1976, pp. 246-258.

or not they have an extended tang (*hu* 胡) and the number of narrow perforation (*chuan* 穿) on the tang.

There are certain limitations to this approach. First, the shape of the opaque *ge* is entirely dependent on the descriptions provided in the excavation report, hence it is subject to the observations of the excavators. Each report follows a different typological methodology when categorizing the excavated *ge*; for example, some group the weapons according to the shape of the blade, while some to the structure of the grip. Therefore, the opaque *ge* shown on the map are meant only as a possible reference to the actual appearance of the *ge*. Nonetheless, showing them on the map is useful because the scale and quantities of weapons from each tomb or each site are better visually indicated. Second, most of the tombs are dated by comparing the stylistic features of their respective ceramics with those in other sites whose dates have been confirmed. For example, the Shaolingyuan 少陵原 burials are dated to the early Western Zhou period because most of the clay objects are typologically similar to those from the early Zhou burials in Zhangjiapo and Zhouyuan.⁶⁹ The danger of using such dating methodology is that it neglects the possible delay when a design or an idea travels from one region to another. However, as this chapter looks at the bronze *ge* buried not just within the first few, but fifty to seventy years of the Zhou establishment, despite the possible dating discrepancy, most of the weapons probably still belong to the early Western Zhou period.

3b. Observations

⁶⁹ Shaanxisheng 2008, pp. 712-717.

As seen in the map [Map 8], most of the lesser-elite burials yielding bronze *ge* are located along the Wei River. At the western outskirts of the Zhou sphere is a cluster of burial sites:

1. The western cluster—Xujianian 徐家碾, Yujiawan 于家湾, Lingtai Baicaopo 灵台白草坡 and Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟.

Further east, five sites at Zhouyuan also appear in a cluster:

2. The Zhouyuan cluster—Sunjia Nantou 孙家南头, Zhihui Xicun 指挥西村, Hejia 贺家, Huangjiahe 黄家河 and Beilü 北吕.

The other cluster is found at or near the royal residences Feng and Hao:

3. The Feng/Hao cluster—Gaojiabao 高家堡, Zhangjiapo 张家坡, Keshengzhuang 客省庄, as well as Shaolingyuan 少陵塬.

In addition, several individual sites are found mostly along the Yellow River—one burial at the Jin polity in Tianma-Qucun 天马曲村, and a few at Luoyang Beiyao and Anyang Liujiashuang 安阳刘家庄. Another site is in the north, at the Yan polity in Liulihe 琉璃河.

3c. Presence of Standardization

Overall, with the exception of the western cluster, a considerable level of *ge* standardization can be observed. The majority of the unearthed bronze *ge* belonging to the lesser elites are type F, as they contain a widened tang and at least one perforation [Map 8.2 to 8.4]. However, the width of the tang and the number of perforations vary. The length and width of the grip and the blade structure, i.e. curvature at the upper and lower edge, also vary. Despite these differences in details, the techniques required to use remain the same, reflecting a generally standardized way of fighting.

Moreover, a large number of the bronze *ge* throughout the Zhou territory were intentionally broken or bent before they were buried.⁷⁰ In a few sites, such as Huangjiahe and Shaolingyuan, small parts of the *ge*, usually the grip or the tip, were often placed in the tomb in lieu of an entire weapon. The intention to regulate such a ritual becomes even more apparent when one examines and compares the burial assemblage accompanying the *ge* in various sites. The ceramic combinations and other items seem to vary greatly across different regions. Tombs within the Zhouyuan cluster usually exhibit only a ceramic *li* tripod, a bronze *pao* ornament and clamshells; occasionally small lacquer wares and bone objects [Table 3 no.5-9].⁷¹ However, at Zhangjiapo, Keshengzhuang and Gaojiabao, most of the sets include not only a clay *li* tripod, but also a *gui* and *guan* [Table 3 no.10-12]. Other objects are more varied; many contain jade ornaments, while some have cowries and others a bronze boss (*pao*) or stone ornaments.⁷² In Shaolingyuan, the common ceramic set again contains only a *li* tripod [Table 3 no.13]. Judging from the ceramic combination and other accompanying items, at least two systems of burial sets were in play, and yet universally, all of the burials contain a *ge* that was often regulated to be in broken condition. Since such a level of weapon and burial homogenization is large in scale and beyond regional tastes or needs, a state-level mechanism was needed to initiate, promote and implement the standardizing policies. Therefore, the authority behind was very likely the Zhou central court.

⁷⁰ The reason for such a ritual is unknown, although some speculate that it was a security measure to prevent future enemies from obtaining the weapons when in need; some believe that it is a way to show off military victory or wealth. For example, see Luoyangshi 1999, pp. 367-368.

⁷¹ Two burials (IM1 and IM7) in Beilü contain also a clay *guan*. Luo Xizhang and Zhang Tianen 1984, pp. 30-41.

⁷² The bronze boss or *pao* is a small, round and shield-like ornament. They are related to the horse-and-chariot equipment. They appear in large numbers in the Shang and Western Zhou period on horse harnesses or on rims of chariot boxes. For introduction and discussion of the bronze boss, see Wu Hsiaoyun 2013, pp. 31.

Contrarily, at the western cluster, the majority of the *ge* belongs to type D [Map 8.1], suggesting that a visually distinct army with a different combat technique was in place. At Zhuyuangou, many of the *ge* are strictly mortuary objects (*mingqi* 明器)—their small size and poor quality reveal that they were produced for burial purposes only. Such high proportion of *mingqi* is not seen anywhere else within the Zhou territory. With such a sharp difference in weapon type as well as the burial rituals involving the *ge*, lesser-elite soldiers from the western cluster might not have been under the direct control of the Zhou court. They might not have experienced and shared the Zhou military identity with the rest from the Zhou land.

In summary, Map 8 to Map 8.4 showing the distribution of *ge* buried in lesser-elite tombs reveals that, except in the western cluster, early stages of standardization was underway along the Wei and Yellow River. The technological features of the weapons were intentionally regulated. The signs of an organized Zhou military group involving the lesser elites are apparent. The participants of this group may have come from diverse backgrounds, or were living in a context where cultural exchanges were frequent. Nonetheless, a standardized *ge* and hence a unified way of fighting began to help the soldiers to live and project their identity as a Zhou soldier.

In addition to promoting and establishing a military Zhou identity, standardizing weapons bring many practical and immediate benefits. For example, it facilitates the possibility of replacement, borrowing or exchange of weapons between the soldiers. When a soldier's weapon is broken or destroyed during a battle, he would immediately be able to pick up a replacement *ge*, and use the same techniques he is familiar with to continue fighting. Furthermore, weapon standardization allows efficient repairing of

weapons. Extra *ge*-shaft in bamboo or wood can be prepared in advance so that when the shaft is broken during a battle, fixing a new one onto the *ge* would be immediately possible. If the weapons are not standardized, much more time and craftsmanship would be required to customize each individual shaft. Moreover, standardization enables better enforcement of combat strategies in the battlefield. As mentioned, certain *ge*-types are not particularly suitable for chariot fitting. Soldiers carrying a type A or D *ge* cannot attack the enemies properly from both sides of the chariot, resulting in the failure of certain attack strategies. Extra organizational effort would be needed before the battle to single out the soldiers whose weapons are incompatible with the chariots or certain strategies.

Such practical and immediate benefits of having standardized *ge* would further strengthen the military capability and efficiency of the Zhou armies. Considered together with the goal of consolidating a Zhou identity among the armed individuals, it is not difficult to understand why the Zhou court was motivated to undergo such large-scale standardization, and that it was essential to carry out the scheme already during the early Zhou years.

3d. Level of standardization

Although weapon standardization was generally enforced among the lesser elites, the scheme was not fully effective in all Zhou regions. A number of soldiers from some regions still carried foreign, or local types. One can investigate the effectiveness of the scheme by looking at the proportion of the Zhou court-preferred, or royal type F against other available types region by region [Map 8- 8.4].

At the Zhouyuan cluster [Map 8.2], diversity in *ge* type is easily noticeable. Besides the twenty-three type F *ge*, some type D are found in Zhihui West Village (one *ge*) and in Beilü (two *ge*); two type C are also found in Hejia and Beilü (one each). In addition, one type A was unearthed at Beilü. The diversity suggests that while weapon regulation was underway in the region, it was not very effective. The possible reason was that frequent direct or indirect interaction, such as war or material exchange with peoples from the Shu and the Northern Zone occurred, resulting in the obtaining or adaptation of foreign weapon types. The weapon diversity could also reflect the nature of the pre-conquest Zhou group as a conglomeration of different peoples with different weapon preferences settling down at Qishan 岐山.

Furthermore, dagger-axes at sites near Feng and Hao [Map 8.3] are not fully homogenized. At Keshengzhuang, three type A, four type E and an additional type D were found. At Shaolingyuan, roughly two *ge* can be categorized as type A, while the rest are type F. However, unlike the typical type F from other regions of the Zhou land, many of the type F from Shaolingyuan are characterized by a much shorter tang; many even have no perforation. Such a variation of type F (called type F-1 from now on) reveals a local preference and alteration. The features of this variation are likely inspired by those of the popular Shang type A, with no tang or perforation. The presence of this local variation may suggest that the soldiers had relatively more frequent interactions with the former Shang troops, resulting in the exposure to and copying of type A. It may also show that some of the soldiers who formerly fought for the Shang were recruited by the Zhou court and relocated there. Such a variation was produced and used to facilitate the transition from fighting with Shang techniques to Zhou ones. However, as this variation

has a blade with the upper edge slightly tilted upward, as well as a curved lower edge, it still functions more similarly as the usual type F. The postures and techniques required remain similar.

At Anyang Liujiashuang [Map 8.4], near the site of the former Shang capital, only type F and F-1 were found. The availability of type F-1 suggests that movement of standardization similar to that in Shaolingyuan [Map 8.3] took place. The two sites could also possibly share the same source of weapon production. Moreover, the total absence of the popular Shang type A at Liujiashuang reflects the Zhou court's intentional tactic of eliminating any remnants and reminders of the Shang regime in the region, as a way to suppress nostalgia or potential rebellions.⁷³

At Liulihe [Map 8.4], most of the *ge* belong to type F, while two are type F-1. In addition, one type A were found. The small extent of diversity suggests that weapon standardization was also underway at Liulihe, yet a small number of the armed individuals still fought differently. Furthermore, noticeably, no socketed type C is found, revealing an intention to avoid the integration of northern elements. This is perhaps a strategic measure to eliminate the local or northern fighting techniques and sense of belonging among the soldiers.

With only currently available material, it is unclear where all the discovered *ge* were made, and whether or not they shared the same metal source, or came from the same workshop. At the few sites where a larger quantity of bronze *ge* have been excavated, such as Beilü [Map 8.4] and Shaolingyuan [Map 8.3], no bronze foundry was found.

However, as different cluster of sites show a generally different proportion of type F to F-

⁷³ This could possibly be a policy made in consideration of the rebellion of the Zhou king's three brothers and the son of the last Shang king. The rebellion was suppressed by the Duke of Zhou. For the details, see Chapter 1 footnote 24.

1 and other kinds, there were likely multiple regional-based workshops producing and distributing a specialized kind to nearby localities. Nonetheless, since no bronze *ge* look identical, the weapons were for certain not mass-produced, nor cast based on the same model. Hence, the standardization of *ge* types, though in effect, seems to have been loose at the production level. It is likely that craftsmen casting the *ge*, or the local commissioner, had the freedom to adjust and choose between variations.

The diversity of *ge* types available in different Zhou regions reveals that the Zhou court's scheme to standardize the weapon as well as the way of fighting was not fully effective. Already mentioned, the production was not strictly regulated; variations and types continued to be cast. The Zhouyuan region show the lowest level of homogeneity, while Liujiazhuang near the former Shang capital reveals the highest extent. In other regions such as Feng/Hao and Liulihe, local variation (type F-1) based on type F developed. Therefore, because of the less effective standardization in place, some lesser elite soldiers in these regions may not have fully embodied a Zhou military identity.

4. The bronze *ge* of the elites

Throughout the Zhou territory, bronze *ge* were found in relatively large numbers in elite burials, defined by the presence of bronze ritual vessels and elaborate accompanying goods.⁷⁴ Similar to the *ge* owned by the lesser elites, the elite ones also reveal the presence of weapon standardization. However, the elite *ge* types are much more diverse; more types or variations appear in one site, as well as within one burial. In addition, the elites seemingly had a higher tolerance in obtaining or using foreign-type weapons. Moreover, bronze *ge* in some regions were not the only buried weapon. In these

⁷⁴ The elite burial is further defined in the next section 4a.

places, *ge* were not necessarily the dominant weapon for fighting or showing military leadership, resulting in a less Zhou-oriented military identity.

4a. Approach

The same approach as in section III is used to survey the distribution of the published elite, *ge*-containing tombs dated to the early Zhou period and throughout the Zhou land [Table 4]. To be considered an elite tomb, the burial has to contain at least one bronze ritual vessel, or bronze chariot fitting.⁷⁵ In cases where the tombs have been disrupted or looted, the tomb size, presence of features such as a burial ramp or accompanying horse-and-chariot pit as well as the quality and quantity of other burial goods become the determining factors.

Based on the survey, a map [Map 9] is generated indicating the location within the Zhou territory where elite burials with bronze *ge* were found. Separate maps [Maps 9.1 to Map 9.40] are created to show the quantity and technological features of the bronze *ge* from each tomb of each site. The published image of each *ge* is copied and pasted onto the maps; the opaque ones illustrate the described features of the ones whose images are not shown in the excavation report. The maps also list out the number of *ge* whose images and descriptions are not shown in the report.⁷⁶

4b. Observations

As seen in the map [Map 9], elite burials containing the bronze *ge* are wide spread across the Zhou territory. A large number of sites are located not only along the Wei and

⁷⁵ Wu Hsiaoyun demonstrates that chariot fitting is also a material symbol for the elite's social status. Wu Hsiaoyun 2013.

⁷⁶ There are a few limitations to this approach, same as those of the lesser elites. Please see section 3a.

Yellow River where the royal residencies were, but also at the territory of the regional powers; as north as Liulihe 琉璃河 (Yan polity), south as Hubei Lutaishan 湖北鲁台山, east as Tengzhou Qianzhangda 滕州前掌大 and west as Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟 (Yu polity). Despite the widespread distribution, several clusters of sites can still be identified. A very high concentration of them is situated at the western side [Map 9.1-9.15]:

- **Baoji group [Map 9.1- 9.6]:**

Yuquan village 峪泉村 [Map 9.1, Table 4 no.1]

Daijiawan 戴家湾 [Map 9.2, Table 4 no.2]

Shigushan 石鼓山 [Map 9.3, Table 4 no.3]

Zhuyuangou 竹园沟 [Map 9.4- 9.6, Table 4 no.4]

- **Zhouyuan group [Map 9.7- 9.9]**

Fufeng Yuntang 扶风云塘 [Map 9.7, Table 4 no.5]

Shaoli 召李 [Map 9.7, Table 4 no.6]

Qijia 齐家 [Map 9.8, Table 4 no.7]

Hejia 贺家 [Map 9.8, Table 4 no.8]

Hongwei village 红卫村 [Map 9.9, Table 4 no.9]

Meixian Chequan village 眉县车圈村 [Map 9.9, Table 4 no.10]

- **Shaanxi-Gansu group [Map 9.10- 9.15]**

Lingtai Baicaopo 灵台白草坡 [Map 9.10- 9.11, Table 4 no.11]

Lingtai Yaojiahe 灵台姚家河 [Map 9.12, Table 4 no.12]

Qingyang 庆阳 [Map 9.12, Table 4 no.13]

Heshui Xihuachi 合水西华池 [Map 9.13, Table 4 no.14]

Guyuan 固原 [Map 9.13, Table 4 no.15]

Dongshan 洞山 [Map 9.14, Table 4 no.16]

Xunyi 旬邑 [Map 9.14, Table 4 no.17]

Tongchuan Chengguan 铜川城关 [Map 9.15, Table 4 no.18]

Near Feng and Hao, unlike the distribution of lesser-elite sites, only a small number of *ge* are found at a few places:

- **Feng-Hao group [Map 9.15- 9.18]**

Gaojiabao 高家堡 [Map 9.15, Table 4 no.19]

Zhangjiapo 张家坡 and Keshengzhuang 客省庄 [Map 9.16- 9.17, Table 4 no.20]

Huaxian Dongyang 华县东阳 [Map 9.18, Table 4 no.21]

Instead, a large quantity of *ge* are found in Beiyao 北窑, near the eastern royal residency at Luoyang, with singular ones scattered around:

- **Luoyang group [Map 9.19- 9.26]**

Beiyao 北窑 [Map 9.19- 9.24, Table 4 no.22]

Wunüzhong 五女冢 [Map 9.25, Table 4 no.23]

Zhongyao village 中窑村 [Map 9.25, Table 4 no.24]

Laocheng 老城 [Map 9.26, Table 4 no.25]

Chengtang Huayuan 城唐花园 [Map 9.26, Table 4 no.26]

Aside from these clusters, individual sites are found at areas belonging to the regional powers:

- Tianma-Qucun 天马-曲村 of the Jin polity 晋国 [Map 9.27- 9.28, Table 4 no.27]
- Junxian Xin village 浚县辛村 of the Wei polity 卫国 [Map 9.29, Table 4 no.28]
- Liulihe 琉璃河 of the Yan polity 燕国 [Map 9.30- 9.31, Table 4 no.29]
- Tengzhou Qianzhangda 滕州前掌大 [Map 9.32- 9.33] (Table 4 no. 30)
- Taiqinggong Zhangzikou 太清宫长子口 [Map 9.34, Table 4 no.31]
- Pingdingshan 平顶山 of the Ying polity 应国 [Map 9.35, Table 4 no.32]
- Yejiashan 叶家山 of the Zeng polity 曾国 [Map 9.36- 9.37, Table 4 no.33]

Certain sites not exactly within the known regional territories include:

- Hebei Xizhang 河北西张 [Map 9.38, Table 4 no.34]
- Shanxi Yongningbao 山西永凝堡 [Map 9.38, Table 4 no.35]
- Zhengzhou Waliu 郑州洼刘 [Map 9.39, Table 4 no.36]
- Hubei Lutaishan 湖北鲁台山 [Map 9.40, Table 4 no.37]

4c. Presence of standardization

Overall, the bronze *ge* from the elite burials reveal a general level of standardization; type F is the dominant type. This reflects the beginning of standardizing ways of fighting, hence the tendency to share a universal military Zhou identity. In addition, burial customs involving the *ge* was highly regulated. Across the Zhou sphere, with the exception of Zhuyuangou [Map 9.4- 9.6], Guyuan [Map 9.13] and Qianzhangda [Map 9.32- 9.33] at the Zhou periphery, all sites display a large number of *ge* that were intentionally broken or bent before they were buried. Many of the tombs also contain small broken parts, possibly symbolizing the entire weapon. In most tombs, the *ge* were placed on the *ercengtai* (raised platform in the tomb) near the head or arm area of the tomb occupant. A few exceptions include Baicaopo and several burials at Liulihe, in which the *ge* is placed at the waist area; at Tengzhou Qianzhangda, the *ge* is often placed within the coffin close to the arm of the deceased.⁷⁷ Despite these exceptions, when juxtaposed against the large variety of burial goods exhibiting regional preferences, the regulation of *ge* burials seems extensive and thorough. Again, the scale of such a regulation indicates that the Zhou court was the mechanism behind.

4d. Level of standardization

Although weapon regulation was underway, compared to the lesser-elite tombs, the scheme was overall less effective. While certain regions show strict weapon regulation, many others reveal a medium to large extent of *ge* diversity in the elite

⁷⁷ Gansusheng 1977, pp. 99-130; Beijingshi 1995; Zhongguo 2005.

inventory, suggesting that the elites from these regions fought with regional techniques or had a taste for foreign weapons.

Before examining the weapon diversity region by region, it is important to note that, many of the Zhou elites did not necessarily carry the *ge* and fight hand-to-hand against the enemy.⁷⁸ Hence, standardizing the elites' *ge* did not bring many practical and immediate benefits (explained in section 3c.) to the strength and efficiency of the Zhou armies. The Zhou court may not have been as motivated to implement the elite weapon regulation as it did to the lesser elites. The *ge* appearing in the elite tombs may in fact symbolize the elite's control of lower-ranking soldiers armed with *ge*. Since lesser-elite soldiers likely came from diverse background and carried local weapon types, owning a weapon in the same type may help the elites to better lead and recruit the lesser elites. Another possibility is that, some of the *ge* were war trophies obtained by the elites and included in the burial assemblage symbolizing their military victory in a certain battle against foreign groups.⁷⁹ All of these are potential factors contributing to the higher acceptance of or desire for foreign or regional looking *ge*. In the following, the section first analyzes the few regions showing a higher extent of dagger-axe standardization, then those with a medium and low extent.

Ge standardization was the most thorough at Luoyang Beiyao [Map 9.19- 9.24, Table 4 no. 22]. Most of the excavated *ge* belong to type F (around 171).⁸⁰ Nonetheless, a

⁷⁸ Rawson 2015, pp. 37-95.

⁷⁹ This is a follow-up on Huang Mingcong's argument that the Zhou elites obtained bronze ritual vessels from the defeated Shang families and used them as war trophies. This chapter suggests that besides ritual vessels, bronze weapons were also taken and distributed to the Zhou elites who participated in the battle against the Shang. Huang Mingcong 2012, pp. 1-82; 607-670.

⁸⁰ The numbers are only general calculations based on Table 4, as many of the *ge* are not published, or are in broken condition. The same goes for all numbers indicated in this section.

small number (17) are the variation F-1. Some other *ge* types in small numbers are also available:

- One *ge* not meant for practical use but mortuary purposes (*mingqi*) was found in M78.⁸¹
- Eight type A can be seen in M346, M155, M214, M676, M440, M370, M51, and M216
- One type D is found in M155
- Two type E are also seen in M347 and M66
- Two type C are found in M155 and M210

The very small number of minor *ge* types reaffirms the strict weapon regulation at Beiyao; the low tolerance for weapon diversity can perhaps be explained by the intention to create a model image of the Zhou army at Beiyao, the most important military base of the early Zhou regime.

The strict control of weapon types at Beiyao seemingly had an effect on the regional polities nearby. Various sites located at the center of the Zhou territory such as Shanxi Yongningbao [Map 9.38, Table 4 no. 35], Junxian Xincun of the Wei polity [Map 9.29, Table 4 no. 28] and Zengzhou Waliu [Map 9.39, Table 4 no. 36] all display a similar *ge* inventory, containing mainly type F and F-1.

Nonetheless, at Tianma Qucun [Map 9.27-9.28, Table 4 no.27] a slightly larger extent of *ge* diversity can be observed. One type E is found in M6243. Roughly five *ge* belonged to type A. On the other hand, at Junxian Xincun [Map 9.27] immediately next to Anyang, no type A can be found. Such absence is repeated in the previously mentioned Liujiazhuang site of the lesser elites [Map 8.4], and again reaffirms the proposition that the Zhou regime forbade all Shang military elements in the immediate Anyang area.

⁸¹ Possibly more in poorer bronze quality can be considered as *mingqi*.

The same system of elimination is seen in the eastern region around Shandong, believed by many scholars to have been heavily influenced by the Shang regime. At both Tengzhou Qianzhangda [Map 9.32- 9.33, Table 4 no. 30] and Taiqinggong Zhangzikou [Map 9.34, Table 31], none of the *ge* belong to type A. However, despite the tight regulation on type A, there exist many other types. At Qianzhangda, available types include:

- Two type C from M201
- One *ge* from M38 with a large blade in irregular shape.

The later *ge* possibly derived its shape from weapons in the Northern Zone, as seen in Figure 10. These *ge* types suggest contact, whether directly or indirectly through other regional powers, with foreign groups in the north.

- Two type D from M18 and M120,
- Two type E *ge* from M18 and M21

Considering the distances between Shandong and the western region, some of these foreign looking weapons were possibly obtained by local elites through indirect exchanges. They might also have been brought to the region from the Qishan area during the Duke of Zhou's military campaign conquering the east. These *ge* show that as long as the *ge* were not Shang-associated, there remained possibilities for regional and exotic preferences in the Shandong region. In other words, the Zhou court's standardization scheme was not too extensive there.

Towards the central west of the Zhou territory, the level of standardization varies from site to site. For example, Zhangjiapo [Map 9.16- 9.17, Table 4 no. 20] at Feng/Hao has an inventory that looks rather similar to that of Luoyang Beiyao; though in small

quantity, the *ge* are mainly type F (8). Only a small number of the type A (4) and C (2) were found.

On the other hand, a larger extent of *ge* diversity is seen in Zhouyuan. Although a large proportion belongs to the type F, discussed in section 2b, such a type was originally the local style from the Fufeng area. The preference for type F may not have been the result of weapon standardization but the continuous usage of the local type. In addition, M1 at Fufeng Hejia [Map 9.8, Table 4 no.8] stands out to be completely different. The *ge* in the tomb belong to type A, C and D. These observations suggest that despite being a royal residency, elites at Zhouyuan enjoyed a high level of freedom to display foreign or local military objects, or remained faithful to their place of origin.

Burials in the south reveal a certain level of standardization. At Yejiashan of the Zeng polity [Map 9.36- 9.37, Table 4 no.33], the most common *ge* belongs to type F. Whereas at Pingdingshan of the Ying polity [Map 9.35, Table 4 no.32], only two such typical kind is found. However, the southern sites were open to obtaining and displaying foreign or exotic weapons. Both sites accepted type D and E. A number of northern or steppe-style weapons were also found at both sites; one willow leaf shaped sword was found at Pingdingshan, whereas at Yejiashan, three such swords, one *yue* (Figure 58) and one socketed axe as well as a mace head (Figure 59) were found in the burials. The foreign weapons show that the armed individuals had direct or indirect interactions with the western parts of the Zhou territory as well as the Shu region. These interactions allowed the possibility of passing along northern or steppe-related designs or objects circulated in the Arc area into the south, particularly to Yejiashan. These findings suggest

that the southern armed individuals were able to fight in the royal Zhou-associated way, but at the same time, they could also fight differently with the acquired exotic weapons.

Towards the north, the level of standardization is weak. At Liulihe, only decent quantities (9) of type F appear in its inventory [Map 9.30- 9.31, Table 4 no. 29]. These *ge* were likely used to indicate that the Yan polity was capable of fighting in a royal Zhou-associated way, unlike from their neighbors. Nonetheless, the Liulihe site was situated in, or immediately next to a northern material context, which focuses on displaying northern style weapons instead of *ge*. Socketed axes, daggers with a leaf-shaped blade and small bronze knives embellished with animal heads or jingles at the tip of the hilt, are all examples of common weapons found in the northern inventory.⁸² For example, not far from Liulihe at Xiao Shandongzhuang in Hebei [Map 6], a burial dated to the early Western Zhou contains not only two northern-style socketed *ge* with downward-curved blade and a rounded tip, but also two axes, one of which is socketed.⁸³ With such a weapon inventory, battles were probably fought differently in the north. Therefore, armed individuals at Liulihe very possibly also fought with northern techniques at times. In fact, northern and local style weapons are included in the Liulihe assemblage. The *ji* in M52 with swirling ends (Figure 60) is linked to the northern bronzes. M52 and M53 also contain northern-style swords in willow-leaf shape (Figure 61). M52 and M253 yield openwork scabbards as well (Figure 62). When compared to the central or eastern regions such as the Jin polity or Luoyang Beiyao, the proportion of *ji* and *mao* to *ge* in Liulihe is significantly higher.⁸⁴ The relatively large quantity of other weapon forms diminish the importance of the bronze *ge* as the dominating military object. The bronze *ge* at Liulihe

⁸² Rawson 2017, pp. 375-388; Gideon 2014, pp. 10-31.

⁸³ Tangshanshi and Qian'anxian 1997, pp. 58-62.

⁸⁴ Beijingshi, 1995.

may have lost its symbolic function as a testimony to the elite's membership in the Zhou army. Like the bronze ritual vessels, they may have been taken up by the elites as an exotic object to legitimize their wealth and power in their own locality.

The Shaanxi-Gansu group shows also a low level of *ge* standardization. All sites in the group have an inventory similar to that of the Zhouyaun cluster. This means that, while weapon homogenization was underway, it was not fully effective; many elites had the freedom to display various weapon types, hence possibly fighting with different techniques. Moreover, at Baicaopo, the burials display quite a range of northern style bronze weapons. In M1, a socketed *ge* with a mace head-like object attached has a similar long blade in oval shape possibly derived indirectly from prototypes found in Transbaikal region and the Minusinsk Basin.⁸⁵ Other weapons include a large axe or *yue* (Figure 63), four northern-style swords, one of which also has an openwork scabbard, as well as two *ji* and a large quantity of arrowheads.⁸⁶ It is possible that the local elites here had the knowledge of how to fight in the royal Zhou-associated way, but preferred other ways of fighting. Because of its similarity with the northern inventory, Baicaopo likely participated in a non-Zhou fighting system that spread across the Arc area, connecting the western edge of the Zhou territory to the northern side.

The Baoji cluster shows three levels of standardization—from high to low. First, at Yuquancun [Map 9.1, Table 4 no.1], the *ge* assemblage contains a high proportion of type F (5/6), indicating an intense weapon homogenization. Second, at Shigushan [Map 9.3, Table 4 no.3], a new type (called type D-2 from now on) mixing features of type D and F appears; three *ge* have a wide triangular blade, but with the lower edge of the tang

⁸⁵ Lin Yun 1986, pp. 237-273.

⁸⁶ Gansusheng 1977, pp. 99-130.

widened. This is likely a result of frequent fighting in the royal Zhou way but adapting to the weapons of the enemies likely from the Shu region. Moreover, burial rituals involving the *ge* at Shigushan and even nearby Daijiawan [Map 9.2, Table 4 no.2] are regulated. Many *ge* are intentionally bent or broken before being buried.

Third, the Zhuyuangou site [Map 9.4- 9.6, Table 4 no.4] indicates a low level of standardization. The bronze *ge* at Zhuyuangou reveals mainly local, or Shu characteristics. A large number of them (94) belong to type D. The inventory shows that a rather high level of *ge* standardization was enforced in the Zhuyuangou region, however, not by the Zhou court. It also illustrates that the army at Zhuyuangou did not share a Zhou military identity. In fact, according to the excavators, as most of the discovered type D *ge* were buried either next to the tomb occupant's head or around the waist, the length of the *ge*-shaft would not have been too long, and this type of short *ge* was most likely not used on the chariot at all.⁸⁷ In addition, most unusual at Zhuyuangou is the presence of numerous *mingqi* (mortuary) *ge*, all belonging to type D.⁸⁸ They suggest that a different burial ritual was practiced. In such a case, the bronze *ge* probably had a different symbolic and ritual implication both in the battlefields and in burials. Furthermore, the weapon inventory displays various northern-style weapons, for example, almost all the *ge*-yielding tombs display one or more willow-leaf shaped sword. Besides, openwork scabbards, a mace head (Figure 64) as well as a large and elaborately decorated axe with a cap in the shape of a human head (Figure 10) are found. With these weapons, armed individuals there joined instead the non-Zhou fighting system spread across the Arc region.

⁸⁷ Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 434.

⁸⁸ The *mingqi ge* are all much smaller in size; their edges have not been polished, whereas many other *ge* show signs of use, particularly on the blade. See *ibid.*, pp. 431.

In summary, the extent of regulation was the most salient in Luoyang and regions closest to it. However, surprisingly at the royal residency Zhouyuan, regulation over the *ge* features decreases. At the outskirts of the Zhou territory, standardization also becomes less apparent; a larger *ge* variety with local, western or northern characteristics can be noted. The armed individuals at these regions were exposed to different fighting methods and weapons; they may have at times fought for the Zhou regime, but at other times became enemies with the Zhou troops and fought differently. At the furthest edges within or outside of the Zhou land, burials in Zhuyuangou, Guyuan, Laoniawan and Xiaoshandong do not submit at all to the usual royal Zhou *ge*-system. Judging from these observations, a military-oriented Zhou identity was experienced the most in Luoyang and nearby regions. The armed individuals' sense of belonging to the Zhou regime decreases at Zhouyuan and over distance; it is replaced by an association to local or non-Zhou communities.

5. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has two main goals. The first is to investigate the Zhou central court's policies in creating a Zhou military identity and promoting it to the armed individuals throughout the Zhou territory. The second is to evaluate the effectiveness of the policies.

The chapter shows that, in recruiting armed individuals to become a Zhou member, the central court set up two royal Zhou armies—the Six and Eight Armies whose structure, quality and scale depart from that of the Shang troops. The Armies can be considered as two military webs, with posts spread across the western and eastern part

of the Zhou territory. Joining the Armies, soldiers with different background moved from their hometown to the assigned station. There, because they were trained to fight as a royal Zhou armed individual and lived in the designated Zhou military lifestyle, they experienced and embodied the Zhou identity. As a result of frequent warfare, the soldiers were mobile, moving from one station to another to engage in battles, as well as joining forces with other Zhou armed individuals. The constantly changing environment eliminated the possibility of the soldiers gaining a stronger sense of belonging to a local region.

However, such a policy was only effective to a certain extent. Many armed individuals did not join the two royal armies, but instead the local and clan-based military groups. Controlled by the head of a clan, the local armies were formed by soldiers who were members of the same clan, as well as who lived in the same region. These armed individuals hence had a much stronger association to their local community; their lifestyle and military training were also different from those of the royal Zhou soldiers. Therefore, they did not necessarily experience the Zhou identity in the military context.

Furthermore, another policy implemented by the Zhou court to promote the Zhou identity is the standardization of the dagger-axe. Since different design of the dagger-axe requires different posture and technique to use, homogenizing the technological features directly unify the armed individuals' way of fighting. When the armed individuals carried the same type of weapon and fought in the same way, social boundaries could be drawn, distinguishing them both visually and behaviorally from the Shang and other troops.

The surveys of all published bronze *ge* dated to the early Western Zhou period shown in the chapter demonstrate that, *ge* standardization was indeed underway. There

was a general tendency to use type F *ge*, characterized by a widened tang with perforations over other kinds. Within the Zhou land, the highest extent of weapon regulation on the dagger-axe of the elites occurred in Luoyang Beiyao. Whereas for the lesser elite ones, the strictest control is seen in Liujiazhuang near the former Shang capital in Anyang. In addition, the burial rituals related to the dagger-axe were also universally regulated. Such an observation shows that, in many Zhou regions, armed individuals were beginning to fight in the same way and to embody a Zhou military identity.

However, the Zhou court's scheme was not entirely effective. Although a general tendency to use the same weapon type can be observed, there exist many exceptions; diverse weapon types were still present in particular localities. Regions beyond or at the far-ends of the Zhou territory such as the Yu polity and Xiao Shandongzhuang in Hebei, etc. did not participate at all in the weapon standardization scheme. The armed individuals there even fought very differently and with other forms of weapon. Within the Zhou land, considering the *ge* of both elites and lesser elites, the Zhouyuan region shows the lowest level of homogeneity, meaning that armed individuals there did not have a unified combating technique. Other metropolitan regions including the royal residencies Feng/Hao allow diverse *ge* types to co-exist with the royal-preferred type F. In certain northern, southern and western sites, local or exotic weapons types form a considerably large proportion. This suggests that armed individuals in these localities were exposed to multiple fighting methods, and were frequently switching between them. The not entirely effective standardization program indicates that in many Zhou regions, many armed individuals embodied only a partial or minimal Zhou identity.

At the dawn of the dynastic Zhou, the regime was still at a fragile state. Therefore, not only was it crucial to consolidate the Zhou court's military power, but it was also essential to make sure that the armed individuals throughout the Zhou territory remained loyal. Against such a background, the set up and promotion of a military-related Zhou identity was important. When the armed individuals considered themselves as members of the Zhou regime, they were less likely to revolt. This chapter examines the numerous policies enacted and implemented by the Zhou court and evaluates the results. In doing so, it demonstrates the importance of the bronze dagger-axe as a tool in understanding the military and socio-political development of the early Western Zhou period. Previous studies only focused on establishing the typology of the weapon, with the purpose of better dating the associated burials or mortuary objects. In addition, it also points out the presence of *ge* standardization in various regions and evaluates the extent of the regulation. Standardization of bronze weapons in other periods such as the Qin era (221-206 B.C.) has been widely studied, but rarely that of the Western Zhou times.⁸⁹ This thesis is one of the first to point out the presence of weapon regulation and to analyze its significance. Furthermore, the chapter also brings into light the lesser elite soldiers, a social group barely known or studied in the field. Moreover, the chapter provides a fresh lens to look at previous inscriptional studies on the Zhou Armies, by applying the findings to contemplate on the Zhou identity.

⁸⁹ For example, see Li 2012, 2014, pp. 126-140.

Chapter 4

The Zhou Ritual System—Analysis of the Bronze Ritual Vessels

Already explained, the early Zhou regime was in a fragile and underdeveloped condition. To consolidate the regime, the Zhou central court would have to spend tremendous effort in preventing local powers from revolting or gaining independence.¹ The Zhou court would have to find a long-term solution to make the regional elites embody the Zhou identity, and hence remain loyal and compliant for generations. This chapter explores one of the initiatives the Zhou court took to achieve such a goal. It also evaluates the effectiveness of the measures.

In the following sections, the chapter argues that ritual practices were one of the Zhou court's key solutions. It suggests that, almost immediately after the conquest, the Zhou authorities created a new ritual system featuring the worshipping of *tian* (Heaven) and ancestors, and a bronze vessel set required for the worship. The new system was constructed to demonstrate that the Zhou king was the legitimate ruler. Most importantly, it was intended to encourage the regional elites, by participating in the new system, to gain an understanding that they were part of the Zhou regime. A successful implementation of the system would result in the elites' loyalty as Zhou members and their recognition of the Zhou king's superiority.

However, the chapter also argues that the result of the implementation was not as satisfactory as intended. A close examination of the bronze ritual vessels used in various

¹ Besides setting up the three systems (to be discussed in this thesis), I consider the sending of patrilineal relatives to rule over various conquered regions, as well as the king's regular inspection tours, etc. as part of the efforts spent to prevent local revolts. An example of a local revolt is recorded in the "Shifu" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*. The conflict was in the end suppressed by the Duke of Zhou. The account is described in Chapter 1 footnote 24.

regions reveals that many local elites did not comply with the Zhou regulations on the new ritual vessel set, and therefore may not have worshiped the ancestors in the designated royal Zhou way. Not sharing the ritual practices, these elites experienced a partial or minimal sense of belonging to the Zhou regime.

To illustrate the above arguments, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part investigates the first key component of the new Zhou ritual system—the royal ritual practices. It explores the notion of “ritual” and introduces the two prominent features of the new royal ritual practices—the worshipping of *tian* (Heaven) and ancestors. Then it discusses the Zhou authorities’ take-over and reinvention of the Shang’s ritual practices, explaining why the Zhou royal rituals were new and different. The chapter then elaborates on how the reinvented rituals were designed to establish and promote the Zhou identity, ultimately consolidating the Zhou sovereignty.

In the second part, the chapter explores another key component of the new ritual system—the royal Zhou ritual vessel set. It discusses what contributes to a royal Zhou ritual set by examining the bronze vessels found in a number of metropolitan and regional burials. Then it suggests that the standardization of such a Zhou ritual set was not implemented thoroughly in many other regions by surveying all bronze vessels found in and around the Zhou territory. Finally, it discusses how such an incomplete implementation reflects a medium to low sense of “Zhou identity” embraced by many regional elites.

1. The new Zhou ritual practices

1a. Concepts of “ritual”—definitions

As this chapter focuses heavily on ritual practices, a discussion on the notions of “ritual” is essential. “Ritual,” using Catherine Bell’s perspective, is a course of action invented, executed and assumed to be the way things really are.² For example, on one’s birthday, the blowing off of a lit candle on a cake is a ritual as the action is executed with an assumption that it has always been *the* way to celebrate birthdays. Proposing marriage with a ring is a ritual because it is an act invented and then later assumed to be *the* way one proposes. Any human activity can become a ritual, particularly when it triggers the perception that it is distinct and the association it engenders is special.³ Thus, the “ritualization” of a human activity depends not only on the specifics of the activity itself, but also on the participants, the viewers and their perception. A ritual, or a “ritualized act,” as Bell claims, “must be understood within a semantic framework whereby the significance of an action is dependent upon its place and relationship within a context of all other ways of acting.”⁴ In other words, a ritual is only “ritual” when it is analyzed within a framework of meanings generated by the relations and interactions of the people involved. With such a definition, many courses of actions carried out by the Zhou king or the elites can be considered as a ritual. For example, the bestowing of gifts by the Zhou king to an appointed official in an investiture is a ritual because, judging from the frequency mentioned in inscriptions, it was the standard action performed in such an

² Bell 1992, pp.170. Bell is a scholar specializing in Chinese religions and ritual studies. She uses the term “ritualization” to distinguish the more abstracted idea of what ritual is and what it means socially to perform a ritual, from the more practical aspects of ritual, such as the procedures and the kinds of actions. I follow Bell’s ideas on “ritual” because she is among the few who see “ritual,” or “ritualization,” to be highly political or social, instead of religious-based. In other contexts, for example in Medieval Europe, many rituals were arguably more religiously than politically founded; other scholars often draw examples from such a context to discuss “ritual.” In the early Zhou context, however as later sections of this chapter will argue, rituals were used as a political tool to consolidate the power to rule, less so as an instrument to transmit religious beliefs.

³ Bell 1992, pp. 220.

⁴ Bell 1992, pp. 220.

occasion.⁵ When it is placed within the context of people relations (Zhou king vs. his official), special meanings are generated—the king honors his official and rewards him for his work in advance; the king confirms materially the official appointment. Another example is the bestowing of gifts by the Zhou king to a participating official during or right after a royal hunt.⁶ Again, it is a ritual as the act was a routine practice; when put in a semantic framework, the gift giving demonstrates the king's recognition and praise of the official's hunting skills. In fact, the royal hunt is often interpreted by many scholars to be of military importance; it was a type of military drill enhancing the capability of the participants in capturing or killing the target, as well as in following the military commands of the king.⁷ Within such a context, the bestowing of gifts indicates the king's

⁵ The bestowing of gifts is frequently mentioned in inscriptions documenting an investiture. Examples include: Yin *gui* 殷簋 (NA840), Dou Bi *gui* 豆闭簋 (4276), Lü Fu Yu *pan* 吕服余盘 (10169). For a list of Zhou inscriptions on gift giving during investitures, see Li Feng 2008, Table 4, pp. 202-212. A translated example (By Li Feng) is recorded in the late Western Zhou Hu *gui* 虎簋 inscription (JL: 491): It was the thirtieth year, fourth month, first auspiciousness, *jiaxu*, the King was in the New Palace in Zhou, and he arrived in the grand chamber. Mishu 密叔 entered and accompanied Hu 虎 to his right, assuming position. The King called out to the Interior Scribe and said “Command Hu with a document.” [He] said, “In the time of your grandfather and father, they served the former king and were in charge of the Tiger Servants. Now [I] command you and say, replace your grandfather and father and assist (*pi* 𠄎) Shi Xi in charge of Masters of Horses and Charioteers, and the Masters of Horses and Charioteers in the Five Cities. Do not dare not to be good at your affairs. I award you a pair of dark kneepads, a scarlet demi-circlet, a black jacket with *jing*-hem, and jingle-bells and pennant with five suns, with which to conduct your affairs.”...Li Feng 2008, pp. 194-195.

⁶ A number of early Zhou inscriptions mention the Zhou king participating in a royal hunt and his act of bestowing gifts to officials. For example, the Jiao *ding* 交鼎 (2459) records: 交从𠄎(狩), 逌即(?)王, 赐贝, 用作宝彝. (The Zhou king is said to give cowries to Jiao, who followed his request to hunt.) The Qi *you* 启卣 (5410) records: 王出獸(狩)南山, 𠄎𠄎山谷, 至上侯𠄎川上, 启从征, 谨不𠄎, 作祖丁宝旅尊彝, 用𠄎鲁福, 用夙夜事. (The Zhou king is said to have hunted at Nanshan (the southern mount) and rewarded Qi who followed him to the hunt with gifts.)

⁷ The royal hunt existed already during the Shang dynasty. The Shang and Zhou royal hunt are often studied together. For example, see Meng Shikai 1983, pp. 204-222. Terms and tactics use for battle-fighting such as those concerning the organization of troops (*buzhen* 布阵), the use of chariots and the capturing of targets, etc. appear in both the Shang oracle bone inscriptions and Zhou bronze inscriptions describing the royal hunt. The similarities in word use have prompt scholars to associate the royal hunt with military training. See Meng Shikai 1989, pp. 309-319.

potential entrusting of soldiers and military power to the rewarded official in the case of war.⁸

The above examples illustrate the general concept of “ritual,” particularly in the Western Zhou context. These examples would all be considered as part of the new Zhou ritual system, created to engage and recruit the regional elites. However, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss every Zhou ritual and its semantic framework. In the following sections, the chapter intends to explore the most essential one in the new ritual system—the *jisi* 祭祀 (worshipping and offering).

1b. Concepts of “ritual”—the Zhou *jisi* (worshipping and offering)

Among the many rituals practiced by the Zhou elites, the *jisi* 祭祀—rituals involving the worshipping of spirits and the offering of food or beverages to the spirits, are the most important for the purpose of this chapter.⁹ They are fundamental and crucial to the establishment and strengthening of the Zhou regime; they are also the most comprehensive rituals for installing a Zhou identity among the elites. This section introduces the key elements of the *jisi*, explaining the special meanings generated when the *jisi* acts are performed. These elements and meanings are essential for developing the arguments in the next sections.

⁸ For full discussion on gift-giving in the Western Zhou, see Cook 1997, pp. 253-294.

⁹ I use the term “spirits” instead of deities because the Zhou rituals are not entirely religion-based (explained in later sections). I do not think that the Zhou worshippers considered all the worshipped as divine or sacred as “deities” usually are in a religion. In addition, following the definition of “ritual” discussed earlier, the *jisi* activities are rituals because when the act of offering food or beverages is performed, special meanings between the worshipper and worshipped are generated. Communication between the two is created; the worshipper expresses respect and voices out the wishes or questions, with the hope that the worshipped answers. The offering act thus is a confirmation of the exchanges between the two; it is also an expression of the worshipper’s sincerity and advance gratitude.

The Zhou *jisi* activities can be categorized into two main kinds based on the spirits worshipped—the rituals worshipping *tian* (Heaven) and the ancestors.¹⁰ *Tian*, in the Zhou context, was the highest being in control of all; at times it was also personified as a deity.¹¹ As the highest being or deity, *tian* was directly connected to the Zhou political sovereignty; it was believed to have the power to continue or terminate the courses of a political regime. The Mandate of Heaven (*tianming* 天命), which is the doctrine legitimizing the Zhou king's right to rule “all under Heaven” was claimed by the Zhou king to have been given by *tian*.¹² The Zhou king, as seen in several bronze inscriptions, also assumed the title *tianzi* 天子 (the Son of Heaven).¹³ With such an intimate connection, the worship of *tian* was practiced exclusively by the Zhou king; the king was also the only medium facilitating the communication between *tian* and the living.¹⁴ Pankenier, studying the cosmo-political background of the time, further provides

¹⁰ Qin Jianwen also makes the same categorization. Qin Jianwen 2004, pp. 1-6. In his article, when elaborating on the worship of *tian*, Qin mentions *di* 帝, assuming that *di* and *tian* are interchangeable. I do not agree with this assumption. My stance is explained in the next section.

¹¹ The notion of *tian* has been widely studied. For example, see Chen Mengjia 1956, pp. 580-582. Other scholars have suggested that *tian* may be related to ancient Tengrism, with one of its chief beings named the Sky or Heavenly-Father. *Tian* may have been a borrowed word or concept. For example, Du Erwei 1983; Zhu Fenghan 1993, pp. 209-210.

¹² All early Zhou inscriptions mention the *tian* in association with the Mandate of Heaven, or the Zhou king's or court's right to rule. It seems that although as a highest form of being, *tian* was not like other High God in a religion as it rarely had the impact or influence over other non-political matters in the daily lives of others. See the next section in the chapter for further discussion. Li Feng also discusses that the Mandate of Heaven was probably only given to King Wen. Subsequent kings, in order to continue to receive the Mandate, had to prove their legitimacy by being genealogically linked to King Wen, and by committing to virtuous conduct and fulfilling the Heaven's will. Li Feng 2013, pp. 143. In addition, according to the observation of Martin Kern, all early Zhou inscriptions refer to the Mandate as “*da ling* 大令,” literally translated as the Great Mandate. The phrase “*tianming* 天命 or *tianling* 天令,” literally translated as the Mandate of Heaven only appear in the middle to late Zhou period. However, judging from the inscriptional context, the Great Mandate (*daling* 大令) was also given to the Zhou king by *tian*. Kern 2008, pp. 148.

¹³ Early Zhou inscriptions referring to the Zhou king as *tianzi* include Rong *gui* 荣簋(4121), Xiao Chen Shou *gui* 小臣守簋 (4179, 4180), Jing *gui* 静簋 (4273), Mai *zun* 麥尊 (6015), etc.

¹⁴ For discussion on the Zhou king's religious role, see Kern 2008.

an astronomical base for the emergence and acceptance of this concept.¹⁵ He suggests that the conjunction of the five major planets in the solar system in 1095 B.C. was visible to from the Zhou royal residencies, and was likely taken to be a convincing sign of the Mandate of Heaven.¹⁶ In general, the worshipping of *tian* was aimed at demonstrating a continuous connection between *tian* and the Zhou king, as well as at ensuring the promises of prosperity and military success of the regime.

The full details of the worship are not recorded in the inscriptions. However, some specifics are occasionally revealed. An example of an early Zhou bronze inscription recording the Zhou king's worship is seen on the Tianwang *gui* 天亡簋 (4261):

乙亥，王又大豐，王凡三方，王祀於天室，降，天亡又王。衣祀於王不顯考文王，事喜上帝，文王德才上。不顯王乍省，不肆王乍庸，不克，乞衣王祀。丁丑，王鄉大宜，王降亡勛爵退橐，隹朕又蔑，每启王休於尊簋。

Translation:

On the *yihai* day, King [Wu] performed the great *feng* rites, offering to the three directions.

The King made offerings at Tianshi [Taishi], then descended. Tian Wang assisted the King in performing the *yi*-panoply of the sacrifices to his illustrious father King Wen, and in serving and delighting the *di* above. King Wen's virtue is on high.

The greatly brilliant king acts as overseer; the great succeeding King [Wu] carried on, bringing an end to the Yin kings' sacrificial rounds.

On the *dingchou* day, the King held a feast to the sacrificial viands; the King descended to award [Tian] Wang...[clause unclear].

Receiving these rewards, I hasten to extol the King's beneficence on this precious *gui*-tureen.”¹⁷

¹⁵ Pankenier 1995, pp. 121-176. See also Li Feng 2013, pp. 142.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ This is a translation based on several existing versions. Editions are made in consideration of current debates on certain characters and translated meanings, as well as my own understanding. Versions considered in: Cook and Goldin 2016, pp.14-15; Vogt 2012, pp. 198.

The inscription describes one instance of the worship. The ceremony was a large-scale and highly organized one. In terms of location, it took place at Tianshi (or Taishi), which some have interpreted to be the Chamber of Heaven or the Great Hall,¹⁸ while many have argued to be Mt. Taishi 太室山 (today's Mt. Song 嵩山) in Dengfeng, Henan.¹⁹ If “Tianshi/Taishi” indeed refers to the mountain, it was most likely not the only location where such kind of ritual was performed. Nonetheless, as Lin Yun 林沄 suggests, in this particular instance, King Wu possibly had just returned to Luoyang after conquering the Shang regime and chose Mt. Taishi for the worship because the mountain was in close proximity to Luoyang and Zhengzhou, the former Shang core.²⁰

Besides worshipping *tian*, the Zhou king also gave offerings to his ancestors (the previous Zhou kings).²¹ The mentioned Tianwang *gui* 天亡簋 (4261) records that after worshipping *tian*, King Wu descended the mountain or chamber and performed rituals to worship his deceased father, the former Zhou king (King Wen). Another example is on the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839), dated to the reign of King Kang, which records that the Zhou king (King Kang) performed the ritual called *di* 禘, one type of ancestral worship involving animal sacrifices to worship the previous kings (King Zhou, King Wu and King

¹⁸ For example, Cook and Goldin 2016, pp.14-15; Vogt 2012, pp. 198.

¹⁹ Some scholars have transcribed “*tianshi* 天室” as “*dashi* 大室” or “*taishi* 太室” instead. There have been many debates on what “*tianshi* 天室” means. I follow the more generally accepted interpretation, which is that *tianshi* refers to a geographical location, most likely the Mt. Taishi. One of the main reasons is that, in the inscription, the king “descended” from “*tianshi*” after the ceremony, hinting that it is likely an elevated landscape. However, I think that *tianshi*, if located in Henan, is certainly not the only location for worshipping *tian*; another feasible place would be the Zhou ritual base in Zhouyuan. See Lin Yun 1993, pp. 24-29. Others have also interpreted *tianshi* to be a structure, hence translating it as “grand chamber.” The structure can possibly be a room used specifically for the worshipping of *tian*, or a room within a temple, or a room belonging to the vessel commissioner named Tianwang 天亡. See Yu Shengwu 1960, pp. 34-36; Sun Zhichu 1980.

²⁰ Lin Yun 1993, pp. 24-29.

²¹ See also Li Feng 2013, pp. 144.

Cheng).²² Unlike the worship of *tian*, the royal ancestral worships were held in ancestral temples. Unfortunately, no early Zhou inscriptions describe the details of the temples in association to the rituals.²³ Nonetheless, inscriptions from the Ze Ling *zun* 矢令尊 (6016) and Ze Ling *fangyi* 矢令方彝 (9901), both dated to the reign of King Zhao (middle Zhou period), state that the king performed ancestral worships at the Zhou Kang *gong* 周康宫 (Palace of Kang in Zhouyuan), interpreted as the ancestral temple of the previous king, King Kang.²⁴ Similar structures very likely existed during earlier times serving the purpose of making offerings to royal ancestors.²⁵

Ancestral worship was not exclusively practiced by the Zhou king. An abundance of ancestral rituals were accessible to the Zhou elites, examples include the practices named *yi* 衣, 醕 and 辜 (no pronunciation available for the latter two characters as they

²² The ritual *di* 禘 has the same pronunciation in Chinese as the Shang high god *di* 帝. The two are not to be confused as they are different in written character. In addition, it is commonly thought that the *di* ritual was at first exclusively performed by the Zhou king. During the middle to late period, such kind of ritual was open to all elites. An example is the middle Zhou inscription on the Da *gui* (4165), which records that Da performed the *di* ritual to worship his father.

²³ Few inscriptions mention the structures which are generally interpreted as ancestral temples; the structures include the Temple of Zhou (*zhoumiao* 周庙) and the Great Chamber (*taishi/dashi* 太室/大室). For the Temple of Zhou (*zhoumiao* 周庙), see the inscription of Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2831), Wen *ding* 鬲 (2739). For *taishi/dashi* 太室/大室, see Yu *gui* 敌簋 (4166), Jing *gui* 静簋 (NA1795). However, in these inscriptions, the structures are used for other administration purposes instead of for ancestral worships. It is possible that the structures served various purposes; it is also feasible that the functions and role of the structures changed or became more defined only in the later period.

²⁴ Both bronzes were originally dated to the early Western Zhou. However, Tang Lan argues that since the Palace of Kang in Zhou was dedicated to King Kang, the bronzes with inscriptions recording mentioning such a structure must be built after the reign of King Kang (middle Western Zhou). Tang Lan 1962, pp. 15-48. See also Li Feng 2013, pp. 144-145 on the Palace of Kang, which he calls the Kang Temple.

²⁵ Many middle to late Western Zhou inscriptions mention the structures and locations of the ancestral worships. They include the Temple of Zhou (*zhoumiao* 周庙), the offering temple (*xiangmiao* 享庙) and the Great temple (*taimiao* 太庙 or *damiao* 大庙). However, except the Temple of Zhou (*zhoumiao* 周庙), none of these structures are mentioned in early Zhou inscriptions; it is not certain whether they existed before the middle Zhou period. In the two early Zhou inscriptions mentioning the temple of Zhou, ancestral worships are not performed. In addition, as Jessica Rawson has demonstrated through the study of bronze ritual sets, a ritual reform occurred during the middle Zhou period. It is possible that the reform brought new changes to the structures and locations, procedures, etc. of the ancestral worships. Martin Kern also notices the dramatic increase in the number of inscriptions (from roughly 13 to more than 200) mentioning the temple structures for ancestral worships during the Middle Zhou. The temple system likely only became fully developed or systematized during the middle Zhou period. See Rawson 1988, pp. 228-238; Kern 2008, pp. 158-161.

are not available in modern Chinese), all of which differ in the time and location, offerings and procedures of the performance.²⁶ A large number of bronze inscriptions also mention that the corresponding bronzes were cast to offer (during an unspecified kind of ancestral worship) to the commissioner's ancestors.²⁷ Table 5 provides some early Zhou examples, one of which include the Feng *ding* 丰鼎 (2625), which records that the king rewarded Feng 丰 some cowries, Feng then cast the bronze vessel to offer (worship) to his father Ding 丁.

The specifics of the Zhou elites' ancestral worships, such as the exact procedures, speeches (if any), the required postures and actions of the participants cannot be reconstructed with currently available sources.²⁸ However, certain basic understanding of the rituals is revealed in some bronze inscriptions. For example, in the process of performing these rituals, bronze vessels were used.²⁹ Many inscriptions label the corresponding bronze vessel as “*yi* 彝,” a character commonly interpreted as “ritual item

²⁶ Yi mentioned in; 鬯[not transcribed] mentioned in Mai *zun* 麥尊 (2626); 彝[not transcribed] mentioned in Tian Wang *gui* 天亡簋 (4261). The ritual types of the Zhou have been widely studied. However, most of the works rely heavily on transmitted sources and many do not agree on the specifics of the rituals, for example, whether or not some of them were exclusive to the Zhou kings, or whether or not some of the names were indeed referring to the same kind of ritual. See for example, Liu Yu 1989, pp. 495-521; Wen Shufa 2000, pp. 110-115. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to go into detail discussing every ritual related to ancestral worship. The aim here is to identify and provide some examples of ancestral worship, and to show that the abundance of rituals reflects the importance of worshipping one's ancestors during the Zhou time.

²⁷ A small number of the inscriptions also indicate that offerings were made to ancestresses such as the mother and grandmother of the commissioner.

²⁸ Many current works elaborate on the procedures of various rituals, however, they all rely on transmitted texts such as the Book of Poetry (*shijing* 诗经) and the Rites of Zhou (*zhouli* 周礼). Bronze inscriptions often mention only the name, or specify the purpose of the ritual performed, but do not provide the details. For a list of the ritual names related to ancestral worship, see Liu Yu 刘雨 1989, pp. 495-521.

²⁹ One interpretation on how the food and wine served in the bronze vessels reach the worshipped is based on a inscriptional record from the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (JC 3144): 有柴烝祀无敢[酉夔], meaning that the burning of firewood enables one to offer the smoke produced to the worshipped. Perhaps similarly, the steam produced while cooking food and warming up wine enables one to symbolically make the offerings to the worshipped. For example of such an interpretation, see Liu Yu 刘雨 1989, pp. 495-521; Qin Jianwen 秦建文 2004, pp. 1-6.

or vessel.”³⁰ On the early Zhou Zhong *yan* 中甗 (949), the inscription includes the phrase “*yong zuo fu yi bao yi* 用作父乙宝彝,” meaning that “[bronze was] used to create a precious *yi* 彝 for [the commissioner’s] father Yi.” In this case, the bronze *yan* 甗 was cast to be a ritual vessel for ancestral worship. In addition, when offered to the ancestors, the bronze vessels very likely contain food and wine offerings. Remnants of food or animal bones are sometimes found on the surface of the excavated bronze vessels.³¹ Traces of alcohol beverage are also occasionally found in bronze wine vessels.³² The most common food offerings, according to the inscription survey of Wen Shufa include cattle and sheep.³³ Common alcoholic beverages, according to the observation of archaeologists and sinologists such as Wang Hengyu and Sterckx, were ales produced from the fermented product of germinated grains mixed with steamed rice and water.³⁴ Furthermore, the elites went to their own ancestral chamber to perform the rituals; in the inscriptions, with a name different from the royal temples, the architecture is referred to

³⁰ The meanings and connotations of “*yi* 彝” have been widely studied and accepted. The character does not indicate the specific type of ritual, but is a rather generic term. For a review of previous literature on the character, see Wang Guo Wei 2001.

³¹ Remnants of cooked food likely with grains were found in a middle Western Zhou bronze *gui* from M1011 of the Peng polity at Shanxi Hengshui 山西横水. Yang Yimin et al. 2012, pp. 67-71.

³² Remnants of alcoholic beverages have been found in wine vessels from burials dated to various periods—from the late Shang to Warring States (roughly 475—221 B.C.). A middle Western Zhou tomb M1011 from the Peng polity at Shanxi Hengshui 山西横水 displays a bronze *he* and *zhi* with organic residue. Researchers suggest that the vessels originally contained certain kind of fermented beverages made from grains. Zhongguo keji and Shanxisheng wenwu 2008, pp. 108-110. See also Khayutina 2010c, 2017.

³³ The understanding of the kind of food and beverages served in the bronze vessels are based on the information provided in the bronze inscriptions. The organic traces in certain excavated vessels are not found frequently enough to establish a general understanding. They are also not always analyzed. Wen Shufa 2000, pp. 110-115. The food offerings here refer to the animals cooked or served in the bronze vessels during a ritual ceremony. They are also found buried together with the vessels. Residues or bones have been found within the excavated bronzes. In addition, at several ritual related sites such as the architectural foundation likely used for ritual purposes, animal bones have also been found buried within the site. Many have argued that these animals were slaughtered during a ceremony, some of which could be related to ancestral worships. The common animals types from the site include cattle, sheep and horse, similar to those found at the burials. Pigs are rarely found in the elite sites, but were a common type during the Shang dynasty. Liu Yiting 2014, pp. 58-64. Nonetheless, bronze vessels could also be used for feasting purposes. Cook 1997, pp. 253-294.

³⁴ Wang Hengyu 1993; Sterckx 2011, pp. 14. See also Poo 1999, pp. 132-134.

as “*zongshi* 宗室 (ancestral chamber).”³⁵ For example, on the early Zhou Tai Bao *ding* 太保鼎 (2372) and Guo Bo *gui* 过伯簋 (3907), Tai Bao and Guo Bo are said to have cast a *yi* 彝 (ritual bronze vessel) to offer in the *zongshi* 宗室.

1c. Reinventing the Shang *jisi*—the new Zhou ritual practices

The Zhou court did not invent any of the discussed *jisi* activities; as many scholars have suggested, it took over many of the Shang practices when establishing the regime.³⁶ The inherited traditions include numerous kinds of rituals worshipping the high god and ancestors, the offering of food and beverages contained in bronze ritual vessels. However, opposing traditional understanding, the chapter suggests that the Zhou process of taking over the Shang traditions went far beyond mere mimicking. In fact, the Zhou authorities initiated a large-scale simplification and alteration of the inherited rituals, eventually turning them into a new Zhou system.

Before elaborating on the changes brought by the Zhou court to the inherited ritual traditions, it is essential to discuss briefly the inscriptional sources and evidence used to understand the Shang rituals—the oracle bone inscriptions. Although writings were also cast onto the Shang bronze vessels, they are often in the form of a clan emblem, or an insignia indicating the vessel owner’s name, hence providing little

³⁵ Martin Kern suggests that *zongshi* 宗室 is the ancestral chamber for the Zhou elites, but not the king, to make offering to ancestors. Kern 2008, pp. 159.

³⁶ The take-over of Shang rituals has been widely discussed and acknowledged. For example, Jessica Rawson makes such an observation by investigating the continued use of Shang vessels and motifs during the early-middle Zhou period. Rawson 2018. Whereas Liu Yu has come to the same conclusion by examining the repeated rituals mentioned in Shang oracle bone inscriptions and early Zhou bronze inscriptions (Liu Yu 刘雨 1989, pp. 495-521). However, it is important to note that most scholars would agree that the Zhou authorities did not completely copy the Shang rituals, although few elaborate on the differences and almost none suggests a reason for the differences.

information.³⁷ For example, Figure 65 (1320) shows the insignia of Lady Fuhao (the consort of the Shang king, Wu Ding) cast on a bronze *ding* from her tomb. Figure 66 shows another clan emblem of family Yachou 亚丑 on a *fangzun* 方尊 (square-base *zun*). Instead, ritual details are documented on oracle bone inscriptions. During or after the Shang royal members performed a certain ritual to worship the high spirits, their diviners would make divinations.³⁸ The purpose was to determine whether the spirits are satisfied with the worship, or whether the elites would be granted their wishes, or in many cases, to have the spirits foretell the outcome of upcoming events. To make a divination, the diviner applies an intense heat source to hollows bored at the back of the oracle bone—a turtle shell or cattle scapula, then interprets whether the cracks resulted from the heat are auspicious or not.³⁹ The concerned subject matter, the kind of ritual performed before the divination, crack interpretations and forecasts are then incised next to the cracks as a divination record.⁴⁰ Figure 67 shows an example of a divination record, which documents that the Shang king read the cracks and proclaimed, “Auspicious. We will receive this harvest.” Observing the surface of the turtle shell, a heat source was pressed into the ten hollows (five on the right and five on the left); the T-shaped cracks are on the other side of the turtle shell.⁴¹ A large number (over 200,000) of incised oracle bone fragments have

³⁷ Occasionally a terse phrase is cast indicating the commissioner’s temple name and that he or she cast the bronze ritual vessel.

³⁸ About 120 diviners whose names are known served the last nine Shang kings. Around 10 major diviner groups are identified by modern scholars based on their periods of activities, writing styles, divination forms and topics. The Shang king also played a major part in the divination process. After the diviners produced and interpreted the cracks, the king would pronounce his forecast, determining whether the crack is auspicious or not. For the practice of divination, see Keightley 2008, pp. 236-238; Keightley 2015.

³⁹ Keightley 2008, pp. 236-237. For the preparation, drilling of and incising onto the oracle-bones, see Keightley 1985, pp. 12-21.

⁴⁰ The incised writings and cracks are sometimes filled with colored pigments. When they were no longer useful, the oracle bones would be buried in storage pits in the temple palace area. Keightley 1985, pp. 12-16.

⁴¹ This is also the example used by Keightley 2008, Figure 4.2 and 4.3, pp. 238-239. (Inscription label: HJ 9950b)

been collected and excavated from Xiaotun, the late Shang's major religious and administrative center.⁴² The enormous corpus enables a comprehensive understanding of the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Shang elites.

When assimilating the Shang ritual practices, the Zhou court underwent a process of large-scale elimination and simplification. One of the measures was the reduction of the use of oracle bones.⁴³ Compared to the large Shang corpus, a much smaller number of fragments (around 17,000 turtle shell pieces) dated to the Zhou period are available; only about 280 of them are incised with writings.⁴⁴ Most of the pieces are found only in concentrated areas of Zhouyuan, and very occasionally in other regional locations.⁴⁵ The limited number and location suggest that the Zhou court very possibly diminished the frequency of divination; it was no longer a necessary routine during an ancestral or spiritual worship. In addition, most scholars agree that the Zhou diviners used different techniques and tools to chisel the hollows and incise on the oracle bones.⁴⁶ Li Xueqin even points out that the calligraphy, placement and structural arrangement of the

⁴² Keightley 2008, pp. 236. For example, the 1973 excavation at Xiaotun 小屯 found 4800 pieces of oracle bone inscriptions. *Zhongguo anyang* 1975, pp. 27-46.

⁴³ I suggest that the reduction was initiated by the Zhou court. During the Shang dynasty, the production of oracle bone inscriptions and the act of divination were highly structured and accessible only to the king and few officials. When inheriting the tradition, the Zhou king or the court officials were reasonably the few personnel to have access, knowledge of and right to make any alteration. Discussed later in the section, the scale of the reduction was so large and efficient that, a mechanism as powerful as the Zhou court was needed to enforce such a measure.

⁴⁴ Xu Xiyi 1987, pp. 8-9; Cao Wei 2002, pp. 1-5. The number of cattle scapula is unknown. The total number comes from a 1987 and 2002 publication. The number up to date is not known as many fragments found in the past decade are not published. For certain, the actual number today would have been more. However, so far most of the oracle bones found in the past decade are reported to be in single digits. For example, 1 incised turtle shell and 5 cattle scapula have been excavated in Qijia village, Zhouyuan. Cao Wei 曹玮 2003, pp. 43-49. In addition, most of the incised oracle bones are also too fragmented to provide any legible or interpretable information.

⁴⁵ The oracle bones were mainly found in two pits H11 and H31 at the large-scale architectural foundation in Fengchu, Zhouyuan, interpreted to be a royal ancestral temple. Cao Wei 2002; Xu Xiyi 1987. Other locations include Feng/Hao, Changping Baifu, Shanxi Hongzhao, Xingtai. Li Xueqin 1981, pp. 7-12.

⁴⁶ One of the scholars include: *ibid*.

inscriptions are different from the Shang ones.⁴⁷ These fundamental differences suggest that the diviners were not the same group of people who worked for the Shang court.⁴⁸ With different divination tools and even diviners, the Zhou court very likely altered also the manners and procedures to make divinations. Observing the almost extinct oracle bone inscriptions, Goldin concludes that, "...soon after the establishment of the Zhou dynasty [there] must be a testament to fundamental changes in the dominant world view."⁴⁹ When a major ritual activity of the Shang regime was largely reduced, or significantly altered, the activity itself and the Shang ideology behind may have possibly undergone essential changes as well.

In addition, the Zhou court eradicated many kinds of rituals worshipping ancestors and high spirits. According to two separate analysis of Zhao Cheng 赵诚 and Chen Nianfu 陈年福, who examine the oracle bone inscriptions of the late Shang, more than a hundred different names or manners of ritual practices worshipping ancestors and other high spirits are recorded.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the bronze inscriptions of the Zhou period, based on the study of Liuyu 刘雨, list out only 40 to 48 rituals.⁵¹ Although the actual number may have been more including those not recorded in the inscriptions, the enormous difference between the variety of Shang and Zhou rituals indicates the presence

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Some scholars even argue that the Zhou divination practice did not share the same root with the Shang one, that it was a tradition developed separately and co-existed with the Shang divination practice even during the late Shang period. See *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Goldin 2017, pp. 127.

⁵⁰ Zhao Cheng 1998; Chen Nianfu 2001.

⁵¹ Liuyu 1989, pp. 495-521.

of an intentional and rigorous ritual simplification. Observing such a change, Wen Shufa 文术发 even suggests further that the early Zhou court carried out a reform.⁵²

Besides terminating a large number of rituals related to ancestral worship, the Zhou government also abandoned a common Shang practice worshipping nature spirits such as the spirit of a certain river or mountain. In the Shang religion, according to the studies of oracle bone inscriptions by Keightley and Zhu Fenghan 朱凤瀚, these nature spirits are not as powerful as the high god, but nonetheless have the power to interfere with the activities heavily dependent on the weather, such as harvest outcomes and flooding control.⁵³ Occasionally, certain spirits are personified to be somewhat ancestral-like; ancestral titles, for example “High Ancestral River (*gao zu he* 高祖河)” are given.⁵⁴ The ancestral ritual *di* 禘 is sometimes performed to worship the nature spirits to request for rain and good harvests.⁵⁵ The rituals worshipping the spirits often took place at various locations in the nature or countryside such as at a certain riverbank, or a mountain.⁵⁶ However, the nature spirits were not worshipped routinely and rigorously, as were the ancestors.⁵⁷ During the late Shang period, as Dong Zuobin 董作宾 argues, a religious movement emerged, diminishing the importance and frequency of worshipping the nature spirits.⁵⁸ The Zhou court very likely picked up the movement but actualized it

⁵² Wen Shufa 2000, pp. 110-115. Wen uses the term religious (宗教) to describe the reform. While I agree that the Zhou's elimination and alteration can be regarded as efforts in carrying out a reform, I would not go as far as defining it as a religious reform. With currently available sources, it is difficult to fully understand the Zhou people's beliefs and thoughts. It is only possible to regard the worship as a form of ritual, or ritual performance.

⁵³ Keightley 2004. Zhu Fenghan 1993, pp. 191-211.

⁵⁴ Keightley 2004, pp.8.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Wen Shufa 2000, pp. 110-115.

⁵⁷ Keightley 2004, pp. 7.

⁵⁸ Zhang Bingquan 1978, pp.463.

further by terminating completely the worship and even belief in the nature spirits; as no bronze inscription mentions any of the spirits, let alone the worship of them.⁵⁹

Furthermore, the Zhou court replaced the Shang's highest supernatural power *di* 帝 (the high god) with their own *tian* 天.⁶⁰ Discussing such a change, Li Feng also observes that, "it seems evident that after the conquest the concept of God went through significant reworking."⁶¹ In Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, *di* is often mentioned as the highest being; the Shang people believed that *di* had the ultimate power to ensure fruitful harvests and battle victories, as well as to interfere with every activity in the daily life.⁶² However, as explained in the previous section, as seen in the Zhou bronze inscriptions, *tian* became the highest and most powerful form of being during the early Zhou. Analyzing the replacement based on inscriptional and textual evidence, Li Feng also concludes that after the Zhou conquest, "God [his term for Shang *di*] lost his omnipresent power over both human and natural worlds, a power that was taken over by Heaven [his term for the Zhou *tian*]."⁶³ With currently available sources, it is not certain whether "*tian*" replaces "*di*" simply as a term, but refers to the same high god, or whether "*tian*"

⁵⁹ These eradication were also aimed at gaining a higher control of ritual practices in general; less spirits to worship means more attention to *tian* and the ancestors, the two officially endorsed high spirits. As the number of ritual locations was narrowed down, the Zhou court could also more easily supervise and regulate the rituals performed. The Zhou bronze inscriptions reveal that most of the Zhou rituals were performed at more metropolitan sites such as Zongzhou 宗周 (Qishan), Chengzhou 成周 (Luoyang) or around Feng and Hao.⁵⁹ Within these sites, they also took place in easily controlled and confined locations such as the ancestral temples or chambers.⁵⁹ The pick of metropolitan sites and confined spaces instead of the remote countryside had a political advantage. These preferred locations allow ritual performances to be officiated and politicized—rituals could no longer be a religiously oriented activity executed in isolation in the wild, but a political one that required the attendance of political audiences such as court officials and regional elites. It also acted as propaganda in action, promoting and broadcasting the Zhou political ideals to and amongst the elites.

⁶⁰ This is a highly debated topic, nonetheless, I will discuss my stance, supported by other scholars' evidence and writings.

⁶¹ Li Feng 2013, pp. 143.

⁶² Guo Moruo is among the first to observe the superiority of *di* in the Shang belief through studying oracle bone inscriptions. Guo Muoruo 1982, pp. 324, 320.

⁶³ Li Feng 2013, pp. 143.

represents an entirely different concept and is in fact a different deity.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, as Creel points out, the Shang-preferred term *di* hardly appears in the Zhou bronze inscriptions; it is intentionally eradicated.⁶⁵ The elimination of Shang's high god signals the Zhou's rejection of the Shang belief and Shang titles; the installment of *tian* as the new high god demonstrates the Zhou court's intention to claim the inherited belief system a Zhou one.⁶⁶ Deliberating the Zhou court's alteration, Li Feng further writes that the Zhou conquest, inclusive of the establishment of the Zhou ritual system, was in fact an ideological or even psychological war.⁶⁷

Besides installing its own high god, the Zhou court also redefined the “ancestors.” The Shang elites, as Keightley argues, viewed their “ancestors” as a generic group; the royal dead were highly impersonalized with no individuality.⁶⁸ Royal ancestors were assigned with generic temple names (*ri ming* 日名), combining a kin term such as *fu* 父

⁶⁴ There are three major arguments concerning *tian* and *di*. First, some suggest that *tian* and *di* are interchangeable, that they refer to the same deity. Second, some think that *tian* and *di* originally represent the same high spirit, yet later evolved to denote two different spirits. Third, others think that *tian* and *di* are two different forms of being. They suggest that while *di* is a high spirit developed “locally,” probably somewhere in the Central Plain, *tian* is a concept developed or borrowed from outside cultures. See Chen Xiaofang 2004, pp. 116-119. Robert Eno also points out that *tian* could be a sky-god already existed in the Shang religion, but it was then very different from the concept of the Shang *di*. Eno 1990, pp. 181-189. Most scholars make the above arguments by citing transmitted sources, which are mostly compiled much later than the early Zhou period and may not be reliable. The chapter suggests that, with currently available sources, it is not possible to understand clearly the similarity and distinction between the two concepts. Yet most importantly, the term *di*, familiar and preferred by the Shang people, is purposely rejected in Zhou times.

⁶⁵ *Di* only appears once in early Zhou inscriptions—on the Tian Wang *gui* “*Si xi shang di* 事喜上帝” (delighting the *di* above). The process of eradicating the term *di* was not completed overnight, hence the overlapping of both terms (*di* and *tian*) is observed during the early Zhou. The Tian Wang *gui* is also dated to the early period of the early Zhou. Most scholars who argue that *di* often appears in the Zhou context refer to the *di* seen in transmitted texts. For example, see Chen Xiaofang 2004, pp. 118-119.

⁶⁶ The exclusive right to worship *tian* legitimized the Zhou king's superiority in the political hierarchy. The already discussed Tian Wang *gui* reveals that, *tian* terminated the Shang king's right to worship and assigned the Zhou king to be the rightful ritual performer, all because of the Zhou king's exceptionally virtuous leadership. The switch of such a right hence resulted in the successful conquest of the Shang and the establishment of the Zhou. As revealed in the inscriptions, King Wu took over and reinvented the Shang king's ritual, then “normalized” the take-over by stating that *tian* was impressed by King Wu's virtue. By carrying out the rituals once belonged to the Shang king, the Zhou king redefined the power hierarchy, manifesting his legitimacy to conquer and to rule.

⁶⁷ Li Feng 2013, pp. 142.

⁶⁸ Keightley 2004, pp.26-27.

(father) or *zu* 祖 (grandfather/ancestor) with a *gan* 干 term (“stem” suffix like the numbers from 1-10) such as *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *bing* 丙 and *ding* 丁 etc.⁶⁹ Examples of temple names include *fu jia* 父甲 (father Jia) and *zu ding* 祖丁 (grandfather/ancestor Ding). To distinguish one ancestor from the other who share the same temple name such as *zu ding* 祖丁 (ancestor Ding), numerical titles are added to indicate the generational order of the ancestors, for example *san zu ding* 三祖丁 (third ancestor Ding) is a generation before *si zu ding* 四祖丁 (fourth ancestor Ding).⁷⁰ In addition, since the *gan* term in the temple names are also the labels of the ten days in a Shang week, the ancestors were worshipped on the day of the week corresponding to their temple names. For example, on the *jia* 甲 day of the week, offerings would be given to all ancestors whose temple name is *fu jia* 父甲 (father Jia), or *zu jia* 祖甲 (ancestor/grandfather Jia). With such a naming system, Keightley argues that the ancestors were no longer remembered by their personal names and were not worshiped as specific individuals but a generic group.⁷¹ In other words, in the “making” of an ancestor, personality and individual achievements did not seem to matter; rather, it was simply one’s dead status that fulfills the qualification.⁷² The impersonal naming system also creates unfamiliarity between the dead and the living;

⁶⁹ One can also think of the suffix as similar to the alphabetical order (a, b, c, d etc.). Some *gan* terms, for example Jia, Yi and Ding, were more popular than other as they were considered more auspicious. Ibid, footnote 48. There are also other descriptive prefixes like *da* 大 (Great), *xiao* 小 (Lesser) which are honorific titles reserved mostly for previous generations of kings. Ibid., pp.12 for a list of the *gan* terms, see royal genealogy in ibid., Fig 1.

⁷⁰ Ibid. In the case of the Shang royal lineage, there are roughly 23 generations of ancestors, and all would have to use one of the ten *gan*-terms for their temple names. Ibid., pp.12.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 26-29.

⁷² Ibid.

such a distance intensifies the mythical aspect of the ancestors and further enhances their supernatural power.⁷³

Contrarily, the Zhou elites had a tendency to make their ancestors highly personal. As Wen Shufa suggests, they did not dedicate ritual performances to ancestors of all previous generations, but mainly to the most recent three (parents, grandparents and great grandparents).⁷⁴ He points out that on Western Zhou inscriptions, the transcribed character “*zu* 祖,” generally interpreted by many to be either the grandfather or simply an ancestor, refers mainly to the commissioner’s grandfather. His reason is that many of the “*zu*” are indicated together with personal names. While some may argue that the character in many inscriptions is accompanied by a *gan*-term, these *gan*-terms are in fact mostly limited to *ding* or *yi*, and are not as diverse and comprehensive as those recorded in the Shang oracle bones. This means that the Zhou elites did not follow the Shang tradition of assigning all ancestors with all *gan*-terms and worship them accordingly. Therefore, the inscribed “*zu Ding*” or “*zu Yi*” very likely refers to the grandfather Ding and grandfather Yi only, instead of a distant ancestor Ding or Yi. In fact, a large number of bronze inscriptions of the Zhou period (some examples in Table 5) contain the record of a Zhou elite commissioning bronze vessels for the purpose of worshipping his grandfather or father and no one beyond. For example, an early Zhou inscription on the Zuo Ce Zhe *zun* 作册折尊 (6002) records that the vessel was cast to worship the commissioner’s father Yi 乙, without mentioning previous generations of ancestors. Some of the inscriptions even provide the actual name of the worshipped, further

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 27.

⁷⁴ Wen Shufa 2000, pp. 110-115.

individualizing them.⁷⁵ For example, the inscription on the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839), dated to the reign of King Kang, records that the Zhou king (King Kang) performed rituals involving animal sacrifices to worship King Zhou (also known as King Wen, his great grandfather), King Wu (grandfather) and King Cheng (father). Another inscription on the Da Yu *ding* (2837) also calls the worshipped Grandfather Nangong 祖南宮.⁷⁶ The third inscription on the Gang Jie *you* 岡劫卣 (5385) records that the vessel was cast to worship the commissioner's grandfather Fou 缶 (not a *gan*-term).

In addition, the Zhou king and elites were also keen in mentioning and celebrating the achievements and personality (morality) of their recent ancestors. For example, Li Feng explains that the Mandate of Heaven was only granted once to King Wen; no subsequent Zhou kings could claim the status of the Mandate recipient.⁷⁷ In order to inherit the power and claim the legitimacy to rule, besides emphasizing his genealogical association, the king must act virtuously and follow the footsteps of his ancestors (previous kings).⁷⁸ Against such a background, the virtue of King Wen and other preceding kings were highly emphasized and celebrated.⁷⁹ Although early Zhou inscriptions do not provide complete information, a number of later ones emphasize the importance to regard one's ancestors as role models and to follow their footsteps. For

⁷⁵ Quite a number of them still follow the Shang tradition of assigning temple names 日名 to the worshiped father or grandfather, as explained in the previous footnote (for example, father Yi 父乙 or grandfather Ding 祖丁), however some begin to use personal names, for example grandfather Nangong 祖南公 in Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (2837) and grandfather Fou in Gang Jie *you* 岡劫卣 (5383). I see the early Zhou as a transitional period where the Zhou elites were experimenting with the inherited rituals. The most important to note is that, they began to dedicate ancestral worships to a single ancestor and record personalized dedication with writings on bronzes, which is not a common practice during the Shang period.

⁷⁶ The inscription records, “王曰:而, 令汝盂型乃嗣祖南宮!..” See also Khayutina 2017.

⁷⁷ Li Feng 2013, pp. 143.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ For detailed discussion on the association between the king's virtue and his legitimacy to rule, see Eno 1990, pp. 23-27.

example, the Fansheng *gui* 番生簋 (4326) dated to the middle-late Zhou, records that Fansheng 番生 does not dare to not follow his father and grandfather's virtuous behavior. In the Qiang *pan* 墙盘 inscription (10175), Qiang also praises his ancestors, who served King Wu, for their loyalty and virtues.⁸⁰ Therefore, in the new Zhou ritual system, "ancestors" were plausibly reinvented as morally distinguishable individuals; an ancestor's power and success no longer depends on being mysterious and unknown, but rather on the lifetime achievements and virtuous behavior.⁸¹

Taking over many of the Shang ritual traditions, the Zhou court went beyond mere imitation. The large-scale elimination and major alteration of the inherited practices resulted in a brand new Zhou ritual system that is fundamentally different from the Shang one. Elements and certain frameworks of the Shang rituals remained, but only to make the Zhou system seem familiar and long-standing. Nonetheless, already mentioned and argued by various scholars, these reforms must have brought significant changes to the new Zhou worldview or ideologies. In establishing a new system of ritual practices and even embracing a different ritual concept behind, the Zhou court established a royal Zhou identity in the ritual context for the elites to experience. Such a Zhou identity entails a

⁸⁰ For idiomatic but rather accurate translation of the Qiang *pan* inscription, see Cook and Goldin 2016, pp. 98-99.

⁸¹ No examples of inscriptions dated to the early Western Zhou are available, however I believe that this trend, or belief about the ancestors started to develop already during this period. The Zhou ancestral worship emphasized the importance to follow the footsteps of one's ancestors; the continuous practice of the ritual ensures that generations of descendants become less likely to disobey and revolt against the Zhou king or his regime, an act considered immoral and a departure from the path set by their ancestors. Failure to follow one's ancestors not only would result in a damaged reputation, but one would also not be considered and worshipped as an ancestor after death. It is not a coincidence that the theme of praising one's ancestors among the regional elites appear even more frequently in bronze inscriptions during the middle to late Zhou period, as the descendants of the regional lords did not share their ancestors' experience of founding the Zhou regime together with the king. Following the ancestors' will and behavior then became the key to keep these later generations of the regional rulers loyal and put within the Zhou power hierarchy.

clear set of ritual practices and ideologies, fundamentally different from those of the Shang ones.

1d. A ritually bound Zhou community

The frequent practice of the Zhou rituals would create a community of elites who share the same ritual traditions, hence embodying the Zhou identity. It is important to consider again the enormous size of the Zhou territory and the regime's dependence on the regional lords who enjoyed relatively high degree of autonomy. These two factors posed a potential threat to the maintenance of the Zhou regime. A sense of belonging and community needed to be created and shared among the Zhou court officials and the regional powers to prevent any groups from seeking independence or revolting against the regime. The Zhou ritual practices, under this circumstance, became the binding medium. Deliberating on the function of ritual, Bell writes that ritual acts are "effective in grounding and displaying a sense of community without overriding the autonomy of individuals or subgroups."⁸² The new ritual system may have started off simply as a set of new rules, but if the central court and the regional elites repeatedly engage themselves with the new practices, they would begin to form a ritual network and eventually become accustomed to belonging to this artificially constructed Zhou ritual community, and interact as members of the Zhou regime. In such a situation, they would experience and embody a royally initiated "Zhou identity" and the Zhou sovereignty would be consolidated.

⁸² Bell 1992, pp. 221-222.

Already during the early Zhou years, a number of inscriptions reveal the active participation of various regional elites in the new ritual system.⁸³ For example, the inscription on the early Zhou vessel Mai *zun* 麥尊 (6015) records that, after accompanying the king in his visit to several locations, the Lord of Xing was bestowed with an abundance of gifts. When he returned to his region, in honoring the king and his benevolence, he performed reverent ceremonies to repose his father, the deceased Lord of Xing. He also performed filial sacrifices to his father.⁸⁴ Similarly, another inscription from the Lu Hou Xi *li* 魯侯熙鬲 (648) also documents that the Lord of Lu named Xi commissioned the vessel to make offerings to his father, the deceased Lord of Lu. These inscriptional records show that already during the early Zhou period, not only the elites from metropolitan locations, but also the regional lords were practicing ancestral worship on their own. In practicing the Zhou rituals, they accepted their Zhou membership, and gradually earned a sense of belonging to the network connected through rituals.⁸⁵ As rituals were performed frequently, the repeated courses of action acted as constant reminders to the elites of their membership. The performed rituals also became an intentional manifestation of the elites' submission to the Zhou sovereign and the Zhou king.

Unfortunately, with currently available sources, it is not possible to determine completely the extent to which the Zhou elites adapted the new Zhou ritual practices, and hence to evaluate the effectiveness of such a policy. Only the ones who took up the royal Zhou manner of worshipping the ancestors would inscribe on the bronzes and record their

⁸³ Table 5 shows examples of Zhou elites making offerings of bronzes to ancestors. It is not certain whether some of these elites resided in metropolitan areas or in regional locations.

⁸⁴ For literal translation see Khayutina 2010b.

⁸⁵ Rawson, "Networking central China and the steppe: jade, bronze and chariots." Conference, Oxford University, Oxford, 24 March, 2017.

ritual activities. Nonetheless, one may get a glimpse of the elites' engagement by examining another important element of the new Zhou ritual system—the ritual vessel set. As Jessica Rawson observes, the ritual vessel set is interdependent on the way rituals were performed.⁸⁶ A large number of elites using the new Zhou ritual set would imply a high engagement rate among the elites with the new Zhou ritual practices, and vice versa.

2. The new Zhou ritual set

Besides the ritual practices, another key part of the new Zhou ritual system is the new ritual vessel set. The Zhou court intended to reinvent a new ritual set for the elites to use by standardizing the available vessel types and combinations in a set. Such an alteration not only determines how the set looks like, but also directly affects how rituals were performed. It enabled the Zhou court and the elites to distinguish the new Zhou ritual system both visually and behaviorally from the Shang one, hence fortifying the Zhou identity in the ritual context.

2a. Definition of a “set” and the included vessel types

Before analyzing the new ritual set, it is essential to define a “set” and introduce the usual vessel types found in a set. Based on Rawson's concept, a bronze ritual vessel set is the combination of different bronze vessel types based on observable rules and used at a specific occasion at a specific place.⁸⁷ The formation of the set is inseparable from its contexts—where and how the vessels were used or presented together, and by whom.

Figure 68 shows an example of a ritual vessel set. Found in the early Western Zhou burial

⁸⁶ Rawson 1988.

⁸⁷ The concept and definition of a “vessel set” come from Jessica Rawson. Rawson 1998.

at Gaojiabao in Shaanxi Jingyang, the set is characterized by the combination of the food vessels *ding-gui-yan* and wine vessels *jue-zun-you-he*, as well as water vessel *pan*.⁸⁸

Although these vessels were assembled and displayed in the burial setting, they show the range of vessel types owned or used by the tomb occupant at any specific moment during his lifetime. Such a range defines a set. Explaining further the concept, Rawson uses the tool set as an analogy, “breakage or purchase might randomly subtract from or add to the set and enable the owner to make fewer or more categories of turned object. A set is thus a functional group, determined in part by ownership and by all the variables which that implies.”⁸⁹

Within a set, multiple vessels are present; they are commonly categorized into various types according to their technological shape and function (Introductory Image I). The *li* tripod, *ding* caldron and *gui* tureen were used to contain food, whereas the *jue* goblet, *gu*, *zhi* and *zun* were used to serve beverages, most likely alcoholic ones.⁹⁰ In addition, the *he* and *pan* are most likely water vessels.⁹¹ The shape of different types is visibly different; the technological procedures required to produce them also vary.

2b. Standardization of ritual vessel set

Throughout the Zhou territory, excavated bronze vessels reveal the Zhou authorities’ attempt to standardize the vessel sets, turning them into the new Zhou set. Already discussed in detail in Chapter 2 section 1f, the standardization was unlikely a result of a naturally developed tendency of the elites, but an intentional initiation by the

⁸⁸ Rawson 1998, fig. 21.1, pp. 229.

⁸⁹ Ibid, pp. 115.

⁹⁰ Rawson 1988.

⁹¹ Ibid.

Zhou court. The sudden and radical changes could not have happened without premeditated initiation and organization. Demonstrated in this section, the scale and intensity of the standardization all require a larger-than-local mechanism behind.

The standardization can be analyzed in two parts. First, there was generally a preference for food serving vessels over wine ones. Second, the combination of the food vessel *ding* and *gui* replaced the wine one consisting of one *jue* and *gu* as the dominant and recurring pair in the new Zhou set. These two observations have been long established, however, very few scholars have attempted to link them with the Zhou elites' participation rate in the Zhou ritual system.

To fully understand the change, one should first examine the common vessel set of the late Shang in the former political and ritual center Anyang. The set combination has been widely studied by archaeologists; Guo Baojun 郭宝均 is among the first to suggest that wine serving vessels were favored and emphasized in the set of the Anyang elites.⁹² According to Liu Yiman who surveys the bronze vessels found in higher-end elite burials in Anyang, the number of wine vessels is about two-thirds of the total vessel number, and that of the food vessels is less than one-third⁹³. According to the research of Yang Xizhang 杨锡璋 and Yang Baocheng 杨宝成, at the core of the late Shang set is the pair of *jue* and *gu*.⁹⁴ Based on the vessel inventory by Liu Yiman, out of all the 129 Anyang burials dated to the late Shang (Yinxu phase I-IV), 114 tombs contain at least one *jue-gu* pair.⁹⁵ A fairly large number—55 of these tombs, likely belonging to lower-class elites, have no other bronze vessels but a pair of *jue* and *gu* (Figure 69). The number

⁹² Guo Baojun 1981.

⁹³ Liu Yiman 1995, pp. 395-412. The higher-end elite burials that Liu looks at all contain more than six bronzes.

⁹⁴ Yang Xizhang and Yang Baocheng 1995.

⁹⁵ Liu Yiman 1995, pp. 395-412.

of pairs also generally corresponds to the social status of the tomb occupant. Medium to large-scale tombs such as M331 and M18 in Xiaotun, M160 in Guojiazhuang contain three to more than ten such pairs (Figure 70), whereas as mentioned, usually only one pair is found in much smaller and humbler tombs. In addition to the *jue-gu* pair, other vessel types can be found in the Anyang sets. Throughout different phases of the late Shang, higher-end elites whose tombs reveal more than three *jue-gu* pairs seem to follow a more conservative and stable set pattern.⁹⁶ All of them contain the wine vessels *jia*, *zun*, *you*, as well as the food vessels *ding*, *gui* and *yan*, though in varying amount (for example, see Figure 71). On the other hand, the sets of lower-class elites with only one *jue-gu* pair show diverse and irregular arrangements of other vessels.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, at the very end of the late Shang (Yinxu phase III and IV), the food vessel *ding* and *gui* began to appear more regularly as a pair accompanying the *jue* and *gu* (for example, see Figure 72).⁹⁸

The Zhou court, reinventing the ritual set, must have picked up on the late Shang developing *ding-gui* pair but went further to make it a main feature of the Zhou set. Some may cast doubt on the presence of such a pairing and look at the number of *ding* and *gui* separately, instead of in pairs, because their numbers do not in all instances match as pairs (e.g. 3 *ding* and 2 *gui*). However, such an approach is not suitable for examining the ritual sets in the early Western Zhou period, but rather only in the middle to late Western Zhou phases. During the later periods of the Zhou regime, most of the *ding* and *gui* within a tomb do not come in even numbers. On the contrary, with some exception, most of the early Zhou *ding-gui* seem to come in pairs, especially in lower-end elite tombs.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

To understand the initial Zhou court's attempt to redefine and standardize the ritual set, one should look at the bronzes found in Zhouyuan. The region is considered by many scholars to be an important Zhou ritual center because of the presence of large-scale architectural foundations likely used for ritual purposes.⁹⁹ Although all tombs of the Zhou kings have yet to be found, generations of Zhou elites and court officials resided in the region were buried there together with their ritual vessels. Table 6 shows the twenty-four excavated and published elite (bronze-containing) tombs from Zhouyuan, dated to the early Western Zhou. Altogether, 54 food vessels and 46 wine ones were found. Although the difference in number is rather small, when compared to the late Shang food-wine vessel proportion (less than one-third versus two-thirds), the switch in the early Zhou is drastic. When looking at the food-wine vessel proportion within each burial, one notices again the preference for food vessels. Out of the 24 tombs, only 6 have a higher proportion of wine vessels; 12 display higher preference for food bronzes and 6 belongs to the 50/50 range.¹⁰⁰

In addition, a change in the vessel combination can be noted. The *ding-gui* pair becomes the most common combination; some larger tombs display a *li* and/or *yan* together with the pair. Certain smaller tombs contain no other vessels but one or two *ding*. Except in only one tomb, the Shang favored *jue-gu* pair is not seen. Replacing the *jue-gu* pair is the combination of *jue-zhi* and/or *zun* and/or *you*. With one exception, the *gu* also seems to have been erased from the inventory. For quick reference, a generalized ritual set pattern (vessel combinations) of the lower and higher-end elites are provided at the top of the table.

⁹⁹ For example, Li Feng 2008, pp. 159-160. Also in Yuntang.

¹⁰⁰ If the percentage difference between food and wine vessel percentage in a burial is less than 15%, the burial is put into the 50/50 category.

The same and even more unifying pattern can be observed in the published elite burials of the Jin polity at Tianma-Qucun, dated to the early Western Zhou [Table 7].¹⁰¹ The Jin polity was ruled by patrilineal members of the royal Ji-surnamed lineage and was closely connected to the central authorities. Within the twenty-nine burials, there are 100 food vessels, excluding those with unclear uses, and only 28 wine vessels. None of the burials individually exhibit a higher percentage of wine vessels; 27 tombs have significantly higher proportion of food bronzes than the wine ones, and 2 has a 50/50 proportion.¹⁰² The *ding-gui* pair is also the most recurring combination; 17 burials display at least one such pair. The other 12 without the pair are mostly smaller tombs; 10 of them nonetheless contain no other vessels but one *ding*. Commonly accompanying the *ding-gui* pair are two other food vessel types, *li* and *yan*. These two types, in varying amount, appear frequently in burials that display more than one *ding-gui* pair. For example, in M6214, two *ding-gui* pairs are accompanied by 1 *li* and 1 *yan*. In all burials, the Shang-favored *jue-gu* pair has been completely eliminated; not a single *gu* is found in the inventory. Burials displaying wine vessels generally contain a *zhi*, and/or *jue*, *zun*, *you*, similar to those seen in Zhouyuan.

The close examination and comparison of the early Zhou burials from Zhouyuan and Tianma-Qucun reveal the Zhou court's attempt to standardize and establish the royal Zhou ritual vessel set, generalized below:¹⁰³

- Lower-end elite: *ding* or *ding-gui*
- Higher-end elite: *ding-gui* (in pairs)-*yan-li* + *jue-zhi-zun-you*

¹⁰¹ The general ritual set patterns of the lower and higher-end elites are provided at the top of the table.

¹⁰² If the percentage difference is less than 15%, the burial is put into the 50/50 category.

¹⁰³ It is important to note that this is a generalized vessel combination, based on the data in Table 6 and 7. Sets in individual tombs may display slight differences from the listed set pattern. There are also some exceptions; a few tombs do not necessarily follow the standards.

In addition, both sites emphasize the *ding-gui* pair as the core of the vessel set. Both also reveal an intentional elimination of *gu*—a key wine vessel in the Shang set. These conspicuous changes reflect a fundamental change in details of the rituals involving bronze vessels. It is important to note that the vessels within one tomb were likely not used altogether at once during a ritual performance, as they were probably cast and accumulated at different periods during the lifetime of the tomb occupant, then buried together. However, the switch in vessel preference and the general disappearance of the *gu* type for certain indicate a change in the fundamental essence of the rituals. Food likely became the main ritual offerings to the ancestors; performances that required the use of *gu*, or the even of the *jue-gu* pair were largely terminated.¹⁰⁴

2c. Effectiveness and extensiveness of the standardization scheme

Despite the Zhou court's attempt, the policy on the ritual vessel set was only effective in certain areas such as the mentioned Zhouyuan and the Jin polity, but not so much in others such as Henan and Shandong. In areas where the implementation was not as thorough, the elites likely did not fully participate in the new ritual network, hence gaining a minimal sense of Zhou membership in the ritual context.

By region, Table 6-38 lists out all well published bronze-containing burials dated to the early Western Zhou, all of them were either kept intact or were not too severely looted according to the excavation report. The tables show the ritual vessel set—the vessel types and quantity, as well as the food-wine proportion of each tomb. At the top of the tables for the sites with more than two burials, a generalized ritual set pattern is also

¹⁰⁴ Rawson suggests that a change in the vessel types indicates also the change in the relevant ritual performances. Rawson 1989, pp. 87-93; 1999; 2004, pp. 4-11.

provided. Based on the tables, Map 10—10.12 are made to illustrate first, the location of the sites considered; second, within each site, the proportion of tombs yielding more food or wine vessels, or 50/50. By comparing and juxtaposing the results with those of Zhouyuan and Tianma-Qucun, one can then determine whether or not the new Zhou ritual set was thoroughly implemented in various regions.

2c (i). Table 8-10—Yan polity (Liulihe) and northern Zhou sphere

The new Zhou ritual set was fairly thoroughly promoted at the Yan polity. The vessel assemblages from burials at Liulihe appear to be rather standardized. In the 8 available early Zhou elite tombs, 40 food and 24 wine vessels were found. Echoing the preference, in 5 out of the 8 burials, the proportion of food vessels is higher than that of the wine bronzes. The most common recurring pair is again the *ding* and *gui*, accompanied often by a *li*. Three smaller tombs contain no wine vessels but the *ding-gui* pair. Similar to Zhouyuan and the Jin polity, no *gu* is found throughout these burials. The most common wine vessel pairing in larger burials also appears to be the *jue-zhi-zun*-and sometimes *you* combination.

The situation was different further up north. 8 burials were found in Jixian, Qian'an and Chenshantou; their sets seem highly standardized at first glance. All of which contain no wine vessels; almost all of them display a *ding-gui* pair. Nonetheless, some of these sets may merely be an imitation of the new royal Zhou set, losing the original Zhou ritual connotation. For example, QXM1 at Chenshandou contains two northern-style socketed bronze *ge*, and an earring made with turquoise. These accompanying objects are unusual compared with those from metropolitan locations such

as Zhouyuan, Jin and even the Yan polity, which are characterized by an abundance of ceramics and jades. Such a difference suggests that the Zhou ritual, cultural and burial context may not have existed at Chenshantou. Therefore, the food vessels were likely not used for ritual purposes, but were collected as “exotic” objects.¹⁰⁵ The local elites probably did not participate in the new Zhou ritual network; superficially mimicking the Zhou elites, they used the pair to compete for status within their community.

2c (ii). Table 11-13 —Wei polity (Junxian Xincun) and Xizhang, Xingtai

The Wei polity at Junxian Xincun belongs to the Zhou ritual network. The burial site is predominated by food vessels; a highly standardized Zhou set, the *ding-gui* pair and a *yan* are found in the 2 tombs. *Gu* is also not found.

In contrast, the elites at Xizhang and Xingtai, close to the former Shang capital Anyang, participated in the ritual network to a small extent. The burials are predominated by wine vessels. Nonetheless, *ding-gui* pair is present at Xizhang; the *jue-gu* pairing of the late Shang remains absent. At Xingtai, the Zhou wine pairing *jue-zhi-zun* is also in place.

2c (iii). Table 14-16—Lu polity (Qianzhangda) and other Shandong sites (Zhuanglixi and Liutaizi)

The Lu polity remained unaffected by the new ritual vessel implementation. At Qianzhangda, all of the 23 burials are predominated by wine vessels. 147 wine vessels and only 40 food bronzes are found from the tombs. Although the *ding-gui* pair is commonly seen in the sets, in this context, it is likely a late Shang-oriented pairing as it

¹⁰⁵ For discussions on exotic items, see Rawson 2013a; Rawson 2013b.

appears together with the Shang-favored *jue-gu* pair. Commonly accompanying the *jue-gu* pair are the wine vessels *zhi* and *zun*.

On the other hand, the elites at Zhuanglixi in close proximity to Qianzhangda were likely influenced by the Zhou set. In the 2 burials, only 1 wine vessel is found. Although the *ding-gui* pair appears in only one tomb, the Shang-favored *jue-gu* combination is absent. *Gu* is also not seen. Similar observation can be made regarding the Liutaizi tomb.

2c (iv). Table 17-19—Henan region (Zhangzikou, Shangcai, Huozhuang and Nihe)

Most of the elites from the Henan region did not necessarily follow the new set arrangement. All 4 burials from Zhangzikou, Nihe, Shangcai and Huozhuang contain more wine vessels than food ones. Altogether, 62 wine vessels and 37 food vessels were found. Burials at three sites—Zhangzikou, Shangcai and Nihe likely follow a Shang-oriented tradition, as they display the *jue-gu* pair. However Huozhuang exhibits the Zhou-preferred vessel pattern. From the tomb, *gu* is eliminated; the wine vessel pairing becomes the royal Zhou-preferred one with *jue*, *zhi* and *zun*. The *ding-gui* set also appears.

2c (v). Table 21—Luoyang

Unfortunately, almost all elite sites at Beiyao in Luoyang are severely looted. At the outskirts, the vessel pattern appears rather Shang-oriented. 7 out of 9 burials contain more wine bronzes than food ones. The core pairing is also the Shang-favored *jue-gu*

with accompanying *zhi* and *zun*. Nonetheless, the largely destroyed and incomplete data at Luoyang makes the overall observation of standardization in the region unachievable.

2c (vi). Table 22—Feng and Hao (Zhangjiapo and nearby)

Elites at Zhangjiapo and nearby sites such as Keshengzhuang, Puducun and Huayuancun etc., to a certain or small degree, participated in the new Zhou set implementation. 20 burials have a higher proportion of food vessels, whereas 11 are dominated by wine bronzes; 4 have 50/50 proportion. Nonetheless, the total number of food and wine vessels is rather similar; altogether, 58 food and 51 wine vessels are found in the region. The reason for such close difference is that, the burials dominated by food vessels are mostly smaller tombs containing one *ding* and occasionally one *gui*; whereas the tombs with a higher proportion of wine bronzes are mainly larger tombs with a larger amount of wine vessels. These large burials mostly follow the Shang *jue-gu* pattern, with additional vessels such as *zun* and *you*. In other words, at the Zhangjiapo region, tombs of high-end elites display Shang-oriented sets, whereas lower-end elites took up the new Zhou vessel set.

2c (vii). Table 23-27—Gansu and Ningxia region (Lingtai, Yujiawan, Qingyang, Heshui and Guyuan)

Burial sites in Gansu are fairly Zhou oriented. Out of the 9 available sites, 5 display a higher proportion of food vessel, whereas 2 of wine bronzes; the other 2 have 50/50 ratio. Altogether, 29 food vessels and 21 wine vessels are found. The most common vessel set contains a *ding* and *gui*, and occasionally a *yan*. At Lingtai, the wine

vessel set is characterized by the pairing of *jue*, *zhi* and/or *zun*; no *gu* is found. However, at Yujiawan and Qingyang, a *jue* and *gu* becomes the usual pairing.

2c (viii). Table 28—Yu polity (Zhuyuangou and Rujiashuang)

Burials from the Yu polity and nearby sites show a rather high degree of participation in the new Zhou ritual network. Altogether, 104 food and only 42 wine vessels are found. Out of the 16 available tombs, 9 contain more food vessels than wine ones; 4 vice versa and 3 are in the 50/50 range. The *ding-gui* pair is the core combination; larger and elaborate tombs often contain more of such pairs. Smaller burials such as 98BYM5 and 98BYM6 display no other bronzes but the pair. With only 1 exception, the Shang-favored *jue-gu* pair is largely eliminated and replaced by the common Zhou pairing of *jue* with *zhi* and/or *zun*.

Although taking up the new Zhou set, a number of higher-end elites also incorporated unusual vessel types with local characteristics into their sets. Examples include the *pu* from Zhuyuangou M13 and the elephant-shaped *zun* from Rujiashuang M1. These non-metropolitan objects demonstrate that local rituals may have been added to the standardized Zhou ones, or that the Zhou rituals may have been partly incorporated into the local ones. In addition, some burials also display miniature bronzes, suggesting that these elites developed their own context and uses of bronze objects.

2c (ix). Table 29—Zeng polity (Yejiashan)

Vessel sets from the Zeng polity at Yejiashan seem to be in the initial transitional phase. Altogether, 70 food and 54 wine vessels are found; the difference is not as stark.

Out of the 9 burials, 3 contain more food than wine bronzes, 2 are more wine-dominant and 4 have a 50/50 ratio. All 4 higher-end and more elaborate tombs take up both the Shang and Zhou-favored sets, although the number of *ding* and *gui* is always larger than that of the *jue* and *gu*. Other smaller burials are more Zhou-oriented; they display the *ding-gui* pair with occasional *yan* and *li*. They also eliminate the *gu*; the usual wine pairing is also *jue* with *zhi* and/or *zun*.

With such a pattern, it is likely that lower-end Zeng elites participated fully in the Zhou ritual network, while higher-end elites performed both Shang and Zhou rituals. It is also possible that they collected Shang-favored *gu*, presenting them in the Shang pattern as a way to show wealth and prestige, rather than for actual ritual use.

2c (x). Overall impression.

The new Zhou ritual set seems to be extensively promoted, reaching a vast territory. However, a closer look reveals that it was not thoroughly implemented. The Zhou set is commonly seen in the metropolitan Zhouyuan and in the regional polities ruled by members of the royal Ji clan namely the Jin, Xing and Yan polity. Some polities ruled by non-Ji clans such as the Yu and Zeng polity incorporated local or typical Shang bronze types into their royal-Zhou standard sets. They did so likely for other social purposes, hence altering the original royal Zhou ritual connotations. Vessel assemblages from Henan, Shandong and parts of Shanxi remain largely Shang-oriented and unaffected by the new sets. A number of sites in Hebei and Jiangsu probably took up the royal Zhou sets as mere imitation.

Significantly, although the new ritual set was a top-down policy initiated by the Zhou king or the central government, the actual implementation seems to work from bottom-up. The sets of lower-end elites are overall much more standardized and royal Zhou-oriented than those of the higher-ends. Noticeably, even at Zhangjiapo, a highly metropolitan site, higher-end elites display a large quantity of wine vessels in Shang-favored arrangements.

Therefore, the actual rate of the elites' participation in the new Zhou ritual network was probably lower than what previous scholars generally believed. The elites' ritual involvement was not only situational, but it also heavily depended on their geographical region and social class. Each elite, under different circumstances, seemed to have considerable freedom to determine whether to be a committed member in the Zhou ritual network.

3. Chapter conclusion

This chapter argues that, establishing and promoting the Zhou identity, the Zhou court set up a new Zhou ritual system. The system includes two main elements—a fixated way to worship *tian* (Heaven) and the ancestors, as well as the use of a ritual vessel set with designated rules on vessel combinations. When the elites accepted and participated in the new ritual system, they would have performed rituals and used the vessel sets in the royal Zhou way, hence experiencing and embodying the Zhou identity in the ritual context.

Both the ritual practices of worshipping the *tian* and ancestors, as well as the use of ritual vessels were not invented by the Zhou regime. Instead, the central court inherited

the Shang ones, altered them and reinvented them as the Zhou's own tradition. For example, the Zhou authorities replaced the highest being in the Shang religion with the its own term or being "*tian*." They also redefined the "ancestors" by focusing on the deceased's personality, virtue and achievements. Furthermore, they simplified and eliminated many of the inherited rituals. The reinvention of Shang ritual traditions was significant for the establishment of a clear, distinguishable Zhou identity. It allowed the elites practicing the royal Zhou rituals to ritually and behaviorally distinguish themselves from the Shang and other non-Zhou elites.

In addition, the Zhou court took over the Shang's use of ritual vessels but adjusted the details in order to create a new ritual vessel set exclusive for the Zhou royal use. The Zhou authorities eliminated the wine vessel pairing (*jue-gu*) popular during the late Shang period and emphasized instead the importance of owning and displaying food vessels (*ding* and *gui*). Such a change reflects also a major alteration in the rituals performed and the ingredients or objects required.

However, the seemingly rigorous ritual change was not implemented thoroughly. Though judging from the bronze inscriptions, the number of elites who did not worship the ancestors in the designated Zhou way is unknown. Those not participating would not have cast a ritual bronze vessel or commissioned inscriptions recording the ancestral worship as required by the Zhou ritual system. A close look of all well published early tombs throughout the Zhou territory reveals a far-reaching yet not entirely thorough standardization of ritual vessel set. Although lower-end elites generally show a higher commitment to using the royal Zhou set, all elites' participation was flexible and situational. For many, maintaining an association to one's local community and networks

remained as salient as, or even more important than, establishing the link to the Zhou court.

The Zhou ritual practices and the ritual vessels are among the most studied topics in Chinese archaeology. However, few works progress beyond the understanding of the rituals and the bronzes themselves. Moreover, many works examine the ritual vessel assemblage of the early Zhou. They focus on distinguishing the difference between the late Shang and the early Zhou sets; but rarely use the assemblage as a measuring tool to determine the elites' level of participation in the Zhou ritual system. By investigating the Zhou identity, the chapter brings new insight into the ritual and political development of the early Zhou regime.

Chapter 5

The Zhou Foodways—Analysis of the Ceramics

Discussed in previous chapters, the Zhou court attempted to create a Zhou ritual and military system to recruit members to the Zhou community. Though not entirely effective, it also attempted to standardize bronze ritual vessels and weapons throughout the Zhou territory. Similarly, it intended to establish a dietary system, in order to make the participants experience a Zhou identity.¹ In doing so, the Zhou authorities regulated the everyday ceramics, as they are interdependent on the ceramic users' *foodways*—diets, ways of cooking, eating and sharing food.² However, such a scheme was not effective. The regulation was of a minimal scale; it was neither thorough nor far-reaching.

To illustrate the above arguments, this chapter is divided into five parts. The first part argues how a new Zhou dietary system (or foodways) would enable the participants to gain a sense of belonging to the Zhou regime. The second introduces how clay vessels generally determine and reflect the users' foodways, demonstrating why the Zhou court would intend to homogenize the ceramics as an effort to establish a Zhou dietary system. The third part examines the ceramic sets found within and around the Zhou territory, pointing out that the central government's overall effort to regulate the ceramic sets was present, but not too prevailing. It also discusses the ceramics types and subtypes found throughout the Zhou territory region by region, and points out the lack of standardization

¹ Unfortunately, bronze inscriptions or other excavated sources do not provide enough direct information on the dietary traditions of the time. Nonetheless, the everyday ceramics are an important source for reconstructing the foodways, and demonstrating the presence of the Zhou court's regulation. It is uncertain whether the Zhou government regulated peoples' dietary habits first, then the ceramics, or vice versa. It is also possible that the regulation of both occurred at the same time. Nonetheless, as later section shows, a change in the ceramics reflect a change in the foodways of the owners, hence demonstrating the presence of the Zhou court's effort in establishing a new Zhou dietary system.

² This section uses the term "foodways" to refer to dietary habits, food and related activities; definition is provided in the next section.

in ceramic types and subtypes. The fourth part concludes that the failure to implement the standardization scheme indicates that most early Zhou communities remained locally oriented in terms of food cooking and serving. Within such a context, they did not embody a Zhou identity.

1. Foodways and the Zhou identity

The term “foodways” is commonly used in anthropological and sociological studies. The definition provided by Marta Axelson is particularly suitable for the purpose of this section. She writes, “a culture’s foodways are exhibited by what substances are considered edible as well as the activities related to food selection, procurement, distribution, manipulation, storage, consumption, and disposal.”³ Applying Axelson’s definition to the case of the Zhou regime, a new Zhou foodways involve a unified way to cook, serve and consume food. The Zhou court intended to establish the new foodways for elites and even non-elites to participate in. Once joining the system, participants would begin to experience the Zhou identity, as they would behave in the same Zhou dietary manner. With more loyal Zhou members joining, the Zhou regime would hence be further consolidated. This section elaborates on how foodways are key to establishing and promoting a Zhou identity.

Diets and culinary activities of individuals are strongly intertwined with their community identity. Investigating the food culture in early China through received texts,

³ Axelson 1986, pp. 345-363. Elaborating further, Axelson writes, “One way of studying a culture’s foodways is to examine the food-related behavior (commonly called food habits) of individuals within a society, because their behaviors are reflections of the culture. By definition then, food-related behavior is ‘the way in which individuals or groups of individuals, in response to social and cultural pressures, select, consume, and utilize portions of the available food supply.’” Ibid. Publications cited: Bass, Wakefield and Kolasa 1979, pp. 1. Guthe and Meade 1945, pp. 13.

Sterckx points out that food habits were treated as markers of cultural otherness; judgments of a person's identity were made based on the types of products deemed edible, his or her etiquette and cooking customs.⁴ Certain food taboos and cooking techniques, for example the eating of raw meat or the resistance to cook food with fire, were singled out as features of "barbarism" by the early Chinese.⁵ In addition, food was commonly used as a political means to recruit members into a community. For example, in the writing of Jia Yi 贾谊 (201-169 B.C.), a scholar in politics of the Western Han dynasty, Jia suggests that broiling or roasting meats in eating house on the borders of the Han empire would effectively attract the Xiongnu into cultural submission.⁶

The foodways of individuals from a community are affected by the norm of that community. This understanding has been widely explored by previous scholars. For example, in Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, he argues that the individuals' taste for food is entirely dependent on their life experiences structured by their social class.⁷ Dickens views cultural causes as the main factors determining one's food related preferences.⁸

On the other hand, the food activities and diets of the individuals continuously strengthen and reshape their understanding of the community.⁹ As Sterckx argues, food

⁴ Sterckx 2011, pp. 20.

⁵ "Barbarism" is from the viewpoint of the ancient Chinese as recorded in received texts. Ibid. Examples of "barbarian" foodways are provided in Ibid., pp. 20.

⁶ Jia Yi's writing is analyzed by Sterckx. Ibid., pp. 21. This is the stance taken by Jia Yi and not Sterckx. The writing is an example of a political thought and strategy proposed by an early Chinese person.

⁷ Bourdieu 1984. Bourdieu defines *habitus* as "an individually unique schema of unconsciously internalized dispositions" see Bourdieu 1977, pp. 72. Nonetheless, as Bourdieu views *habitus* as both structured and structuring, some scholars argue that he leaves room for individuals to intentionally affect larger social structures. For review, see Dornan 2002, pp. 303-329.

⁸ The "culture," in Dickens' opinion, is shaped and a result of environment conditions, social determinants and personal factors. Environment conditions include as climate, technology, food availability; social factors include friends, relatives and family members. Personal determinants include age, education. Situational factors include income and employment. Dickens 1965, pp. 427-430. For summary and review of Dickens' theory, see Axelson 1986, pp. 345-363.

⁹ This observation fits well with Antony Giddens' theory. He views the individuals as agents capable of shaping and reshaping the structure or community in which they function. Giddens 1979, 1991, 1993. For

culture offers an important lens through which people interact and hence identities are shaped.¹⁰ Though much less discussed, some recent sociologists have arrived at the same observation. For example, in the book investigating the modern foodways in the United States, the editors Linda Brown and Kay Mussel argue that foodways are key to building and sustaining the continuity of a group identity. Foodways, according to them, “bind individuals together, define the limits of the groups’ outreach and identity, distinguish in-group from out-group, serve as a medium of inter-group communication, celebrate cultural cohesion, and provide a context for performance of group rituals.”¹¹ In one chapter of the same book, Susan Kalčík explains further how foodways define and strengthen the community identity.¹² Discussing ethnic foodways in America, she argues that foodways serve as an effective symbol to signify a group identity. As food is heavily charged with emotions and is facilitated by social events, like a language or dialect, it is a powerful symbol carrying information about the group and interactions of the members. Since food evokes strong responses in everyone on a daily basis, it as a symbol quickly enables one to acknowledge that he or she belongs to the social group based on shared foodways, and to understand the meanings and significance of being a member. In addition, foodways not only help establish a social group, but also contribute largely to its continuity. Quoting Barth, Kalčík argues that the maintenance of social groups depends on the constant demarcating of the boundaries between groups.¹³ In such a case, as food

review, see Dornan 2002, pp. 303-329. Dornan argues that although Giddens’ theory has clearly moved beyond the shortcomings of Bourdieu’s habitus, he still falls slightly short in his detailed accounting of intentionality. He leaves little room for the motivation and desires of the individual to bring changes to their structure, but focuses instead of their inherent capability to potentially do so. See chapter 2 for discussion.

¹⁰ Sterckx 2011, pp. 14.

¹¹ Brown and Mussell 1984, pp. 5.

¹² Kalčík 1984.

¹³ Ibid., pp.45; Barth 1969, pp. 13-14.

is a good agent that draws clear and powerful social boundaries between groups, by cooking or eating the same food, individuals reconfirm their membership and prolong the existence of the group.

Similarly, if all inhabitants living under the Zhou rule began to share the same foodways, they would quickly gain a sense of belonging to the Zhou community and acknowledge their membership in the Zhou regime. Sharing the same foodways would bind them together continuously; every time they cook or eat, social boundaries are demarcated once again, and their experience of embodying a Zhou identity renewed. The Zhou court had no exposure to the modern conception of foodways and identity; however, as later sections show, they certainly attempted to use food, ceramics and related social activities to define and refresh social boundaries, despite its ultimate failure.

2. Ceramics and the users' foodways

This section connects the early Zhou ceramics with the users' foodways, demonstrating that ceramics are interdependent on and reflective of the users' diets, ways to cook, serve and consume food. Such a connection explains the need for the Zhou court to standardize the ceramics throughout the Zhou land, when establishing a new Zhou dietary system and therefore promoting the Zhou identity.

All the ceramics found in burials and studied in this chapter, unless specified, were used or produced for practical purposes during the owner's lifetime before being buried.¹⁴ In addition, unless specified, the ceramics found in burials often share the same

¹⁴ Already mentioned, the ceramics examined in section 1 are all from burials; whereas in section 2, some are taken from tombs and a small number are from residential sites. It is impossible to confirm that all

variety of shapes and designs with those from nearby residential sites, suggesting that the same types of clay vessel were used for both daily and mortuary purposes.¹⁵ Therefore, although mostly found in burials, the ceramics examined in this chapter appropriately reveal the users' dietary habits during their lifetime.

The early Zhou ceramic vessels appear in various types, categorized according to their functional shape—the *li* tripod, *gui* tureen, *guan* jar, *pen* basin, etc [Terminology Figure II]. Different examined vessel types serve different purposes in the process of cooking; they also reflect the possible kind of food consumed. Unfortunately, reliable use-wear analysis and chemical analysis on the organic residue of the clay vessels dated to the Western Zhou period have rarely been done. Most studies investigating the kind of food cooked and the way food was prepared rely heavily on transmitted texts, written or compiled much later than the Western Zhou period.¹⁶ Nonetheless, based on the type of clay used to produce different ceramics, a preliminary understanding of the dietary habits can be generated. For example, the vessel type *li* is generally understood as a cooking vessel. It existed already during the Neolithic and Shang period and was used for the same purposes.¹⁷ The *li*-vessels are usually made in rougher, low inclusion clay.¹⁸

Additional materials such as cowries, sand and quartz are often added to the clay to create

ceramics considered in this chapter were made for practical use, as most ceramics are not published; many are also in broken condition. However, it is reasonable to assume so, as they do not look like the *mingqi* ceramics from the later periods that are poor in quality and are produced strictly for mortuary use.

¹⁵ Examples of the ceramics from residential sites that appear the same as those from the burials can be found in the Feng/Hao site. One can compare the *li* and *gui* vessels listed in *Zhongguo fenghao* 2000, fig. 42, pp. 239 with those listed in Fig. 84-85 in this thesis.

¹⁶ For example, in “*Qiao gong ji* 巧工记” of the *Zhou li* 周礼 (Rites of Zhou), available online: <https://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/dong-guan-kao-gong-ji/zhs>; Hu Zhixiang 1994, pp. 214-218; Zhang Zhou 1999, pp. 124-128.

¹⁷ The use-wear analysis of the late Shang *li*-vessels found in Miaopu Locus North confirms that the vessel type was used for cooking. Franck 2010.

¹⁸ This kind of clay is usually dark grey or maroon in color. Franck 2010; Wei Qiaowei, Yitzchak and Zhao Yichao 2016, pp. 47-52.

a coarse but durable texture. Examining the overall clay texture, some scholars have suggested that such a clay type endures and induces heat well, as well as helps keep the cooked food warm.¹⁹ On the other hand, other vessel types such as the *gui* and *dou* are usually made in fine clay, with less supplementary materials. Considering the smooth texture, some scholars have suggested that these vessel types were used for serving and presenting cooked food.²⁰ Moreover, because of their large sizes, vessels such as *guan*, *weng* and *zun* are generally considered to have served the purpose of storing food or beverages.²¹

Vessel features also reveal the food cooking methods. The supporting legs of the *li* vessel are often hollowed, suggesting that in the cooking process, the legs were inserted into heated charcoal or were in direct contact with the fire.²² When exposed to heat, the hollowed structure helps the food content reach boiling point quickly and effectively. In addition, the *li* was best used for simmering and stewing purposes. Studying *li* vessels, although dated to the late Shang period from Anyang, Minna Franck observes that the *li* in general has a wide opening that facilitates rapid evaporation.²³ Evaporation rate is crucial in determining the appropriate cooking method; a fast rate is disadvantageous for boiling. When boiling, to prevent the water or liquid from evaporating quickly, additional amount must be constantly added; this method is problematic particularly in the regions

¹⁹ Ibid; Franck 2010. For details on clay varieties and supplementary materials, see Rice 1987.

²⁰ K.C. Chang 1977; Wei Qiaowei, Yitzchak and Zhao Yichao 2016.

²¹ However, as they were made in a larger variety of clay, including both the coarse and fine clay, details on their exact functions and on their relation to food are difficult to obtain. Ibid.

²² In Minna Franck's study of the late Shang ceramics from Miaopu, Anyang, she uses use-wear patterning method to suggest that during the early phase of the late Shang period, *li* vessels were placed directly onto the fire so that the tips of the flames reached the mid and upper sections of the vessel exteriors. By the late phase, the *li*-vessels were no longer placed directly into the flames, as the tip of the flames only reached to the vessel bottom. In this case, the vessel legs and part of the bottom were possibly heated directly or inserted into heating sources such as charcoal. The early Zhou *li* users probably picked up and continued the latter method. See also, Hsu and Linduff 1988, pp. 355. However, the authors do not explicitly explain the possible practical logic behind the hollowed vessel legs.

²³ Franck 2010, pp.38.

where water resource is scarce or valuable. On the other hand, rapid evaporation does not pose a problem for simmering and stewing food. Franck points out that when thick foods (a result of simmering and stewing) are cooked, easy access to the contents facilitated by a wide vessel opening is more important than controlling the evaporation rate.²⁴

The simmering and stewing purpose of the common *li* vessel leads archaeologists to suggest that many early Zhou inhabitants relied on a porridge-kind of diet, by grinding and simmering locally available grains and cereals in water.²⁵ The major crops available in the Central Plain, according to archeological and archaeobotanical surveys²⁶, were millet²⁷, rice²⁸, soybeans²⁹ and wheat³⁰. Case studies focusing on particular sites also

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ For example, Hsu and Linduff suggest that water and cereal was boiled together in the *li* tripod, resulting in a thick or diluted porridge depending on the amount of water added. Yet neither one was as firm as the cooked rice many Chinese eat today. Hsu and Linduff 1988, pp. 355.

²⁶ Liu and Chen 2012, pp. 76. See also Hsu and Linduff 1988, pp. 345-359. The chapter in Liu and Chen's book presents the types of crops available in early China, most of them domesticated already during the late Paleolithic/early Neolithic period. All of these crops continued to exist and be domesticated during the Bronze Age or Western Zhou period, although the quantities and popularity were different from that of earlier times.

²⁷ The two major species of millets available—foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*) and broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) are often referred to in transmitted texts as *su* 粟 or *ji* 稷 and *shu* 黍. Foxtail millet seems to have increased from the Neolithic time to the early Bronze Age, while broomcorn millet decreased in quantity. Liu and Chen 2012, pp. 84. By the early Zhou period, foxtail millet very possibly became the dominating species. Hsu and Linduff mention that the legendary founding ancestor of the Zhou was called Hou Ji (Lord of millet); *ji* is commonly interpreted as the foxtail millet. Hsu and Linduff 1988, pp. 355. For details on the two millet species and the archaeological approach to examine them, Liu Changjiang and Kong Zhaochen 2004, pp. 76-83.

²⁸ Hsu and Linduff 1988, pp. 355.

²⁹ Remains of soybeans have been found in more than thirty sites in the territory of modern-day China, dated from the Peiligang culture to the Han dynasty (7000 B.C. to 200 A.D.). More than a dozen sites associated with soybean remains dated to the early Bronze Age (2000-1000 B.C.) have been found. The sites were distributed not only along the middle and lower Yellow River Valley but also in the Liao River region of Northeast China. Six sites dated to the Western and Eastern Zhou period (1045-221 B.C.) contain soybean remains. They are located in the middle and lower Yellow River Valley and Northeast China. However, Liu and Chen point out that there was a general lack of soybean remains in the Yellow River region during the Zhou period, although the exact reason is unknown. One possible explanation is that major excavation activities focus on large burials instead of residential areas; there was also generally a deficiency in the archaeobotanical study of the Zhou dynasty. Liu and Chen 2012, pp. 85-91.

³⁰ Wheat remains have been found at many Erlitou culture sites in Henan. By the Erligang period (1600-1300 B.C.), in the Yiluo region particularly, wheat became a significant crop, together with rice and millet. During the pre-conquest Zhou period (late Shang), in Zhouyuan, wheat grains account for about 8% of the total crops. Zhao Zhijun and Xu Lianggao 2004, pp. 89-96. Liu Li and Xingcan Chen 2012, pp. 93-95.

show similar findings.³¹ For example, at Baligang in Henan, the soil analysis of a garbage pit H1880 dated to the Western Zhou period reveals the presence of crop remains; a large portion of them were foxtail millets, the rest include broomcorn millets, wheat and rice, as well as a small amount of soybeans.³² Another example is a study on the early Western Zhou site in Chenzhuang, Shandong 山东陈庄. Soil samples collected from garbage pits and residential areas reveal that about 85.6% (184 units) of the total crop remains found (215) are foxtail millets; 8.4% (18) are broomcorn millets; 2.8% (6) are wheat and 3.2% (7) are soybeans.³³ Some or all of these common grains must have been simmered in water to make the daily porridge. Direct evidence suggesting the link between the *li* vessel and the crops are rare, however, a clay *li* from Diaoyutai 钓鱼台 in Anhui, dated to the Western Zhou period, were found containing remains (906 grams) of wheat.³⁴

Vessels larger in size, commonly used for storing or serving food, were possibly used to cook food as well. An example from an early Western Zhou site in Shandong demonstrates the possibility. At the Chenjiahe 陈家河 site, 40% of the found clay *pen* basin show signs of being heated; some of the *guan* also reveal similar traces.³⁵ These large storage vessels were used to cook food, possibly by grilling or by having heated stone placed within the vessel together with the raw ingredients.³⁶ No analysis has been done to suggest the possible food cooked with these vessel types. However, their large

³¹ Most of the case studies follow the flotation approach. See Zhao Zhijun 2004, pp. 80-87. Other early Zhou examples outside of the Central Plain include the study on crop remains in Xiezidi 蟹子地 in Hubei, where millet (16), rice (11) and paddy (11) were found. Tang Liya et.al. 2014, pp. 97-104.

³² Deng Zhenhua and Gao Yu 2012, pp. 156-163. It is important to note that samples were taken from only 1 garbage pit; the results do not represent the overall distribution of crops at the site or the region. Nonetheless, the analysis demonstrates that these supposedly major crops were present during the Western Zhou times.

³³ Jin Guiyun et al. 2012, 147-155.

³⁴ Luo Xizhang 1995, pp. 39-44.

³⁵ Wei Qiaowei et al. 2016, pp. 47-52.

³⁶ Ibid.

volume would allow either a larger portion of porridge, or ingredients in larger chunks to be cooked, such as meat with bones.³⁷

One may argue that animals, because of their high costs to obtain (by hunting or domestication), were generally reserved for high-end elites. Nonetheless, a study analyzing the human teeth from the Shaolingyuan site near Zhouyuan suggests that most local inhabitants relied on a carnivorous diet, as their tooth wear was most likely caused by tearing and chewing meat.³⁸ Shaolingyuan is a cemetery of lesser elite soldiers as very few bronze ritual vessels (only 3 *ding*) were found in the burials. The result of the tooth analysis of the lesser elites demonstrates that, animal consumption may not have been as exclusive and rare as commonly assumed. In addition, remains of domesticated animals were frequently discovered in garbage pits or residential sites in many Zhou regions, suggesting the possibility that some of these animals may have been at some point butchered and included in the locals' diet. According to the archaeological survey analyzing the animal bones from the Mawang village 马王村 and Dayuan village 大原村 in the Feng/Hao region dated to the early Western Zhou period, the major types of animals found and possibly consumed were pigs (33%), sheep (24%), cattle (10%) and

³⁷ Examining changes in sizes of the ceramics from prehistoric Pueblo communities the American Northern Southwest, dating between A.D. 1000 and 1300, Barbara Mills suggests several possible interpretations—differences in the foods cooked and the cooking methods, household size, household wealth or status, and the incidence and scale of suprahoushold feasting. New ways of preparing foods and intensification in the consumption of specific foods also affect vessel size. In her study, she focuses on the change of the vessel size overtime. However this chapter focuses on the presence of larger ceramic vessels existing together with smaller ones. In such a case, a change in household size, wealth or status could not possibly be the reasons accounting for the use of larger vessels. What remains possible was that the kind of food cooked in large ceramics was different than in smaller ones, and that larger ceramics were used in the occasion of communal feasting. Alternative ways of preparing certain food could also be a possibility. Mills 1999.

³⁸ Shaanxisheng 2008, pp. 795. The study also points out that in general, the difference between the tooth wear caused by consuming meat and vegetables is apparent. The tooth wear of the Shaolingyuan inhabitants suggest a diet of both meat and vegetables, but with meat being the dominant food type.

deer (10%).³⁹ In the jade *jue* 玦 workshop site of Qijia in Zhouyuan as well as in Shandong Qianzhangda, pigs, sheep and cattle were also the major animal types found.⁴⁰ If these mentioned animals were consumed as part of the diet, even only occasionally, certain clay vessels would have been employed to cook the meat.⁴¹ In such a case, the mentioned larger vessels would have been ideal, especially when preparing larger pieces or animal parts with bones attached.

Moreover, the size of the serving vessels gives hints to the food consumption activities. Observing the size and volume of the early Zhou ceramics, one easily notices the size discrepancy between the cooking vessel *li* and serving vessel *gui*. For example, Table 39 and 40 list out the measurements of the diameter and height of the *li* and *gui* from several early Western Zhou garbage pits in the Qijia jade workshop site.⁴² The cooking vessel *li* generally has a diameter of 14-16cm, or 18-24cm, with an estimated volume of 0.8-3.2 liters max.⁴³ The serving vessel *gui* has overall a larger diameter of 18-22cm, or 28-30cm, with an estimated volume of 3-7 liters. The presence of the two vessel types with such a difference in volume suggests a possible scenario of food consumption

³⁹ Other animals include: chicken, dogs and horses. Zhongguo fenghao 2000, pp. 251. For certain, some of these animals may have been used solely for burial or ritual purposes, or they may have died of natural causes after being used for farming and other practical purposes and were not consumed. Some animal bones were also used to make tools and ornaments; they may not indicate the dietary habits of the locals. However, many of the animal bones found in burials were only the front leg or a small part of the entire animal, indicating that the animal was not buried as a whole. The average age of the pigs and sheep is also very young (kettles were buried older). These observations all increase the possibility of animal consumption at the site.

⁴⁰ Shaanxisheng and Beijing daxue 2010, pp. 749. The authors of the report argue that these animals were the common types consumed by the inhabitants at the site, as the animal average age was also very young. In Qianzhangda, the animal samples were from non-burial contexts. In the burials, dogs were the most common animal type. However, they were often found buried as a whole, suggesting that they were not consumed beforehand. Zhongguo 2005, pp. 759.

⁴¹ For certain, one can also prepare the meat by grilling or barbecuing the animal as a whole, or by smoking and preserving the meat.

⁴² Shaanxisheng and Beijing daxue 2010.

⁴³ The volume is only estimated as most vessels are in broken condition, information of their height is missing or incomplete. The volume measurement is also estimated with reference to two studies: Jin Guiyun et al. 2012, pp. 147-155; Franck 2010, pp. 36.

at the site.⁴⁴ In this scenario, both nuclear and communal feasting occurred. When food is prepared and shared among a small group, such as a household, one or at most two *li* vessels are sufficient.⁴⁵ During a communal feasting, the large *gui* serving vessel is in use. Several households or units cook their own portion of food with the *li* vessels, and combine the portions into the *gui*. Or, larger ceramics such as *pen* are used to cook; the content is then served in the *gui*. With currently available sources, it is not possible to determine the nature of the small and large group, as well as the frequency of nuclear and communal feasting at the Qijia site. However, considering the site was a jade workshop where craftsmen gathered, shared and performed their tasks on a daily basis, frequent communal eating beyond the household level was highly likely. In many Zhou sites, for example at Feng/Hao and Zhouyuan, the *gui* and other larger serving vessels are often found in the usual ceramic assemblage in larger burials. Their presence indicates that periodic or occasional communal feasting were held among the elites. On the contrary, communal eating may also have been less common among the non- or lesser elite class in some regions. For example, in Feng/Hao, Zhouyuan and the Jin polity at Tianm-Qucun, smaller tombs usually contain only one *li* and no *gui* or other serving vessels.

Furthermore, in some regions such as the Yu polity where no larger serving vessels are present in the usual ceramic set, the locals may have had fewer collective meals, or may have used other cooking or eating methods for large groups not revealed

⁴⁴ This scenario follows the suggestion made by Minna Franck in her study of the late Shang ceramics in Miaopu, Anyang. Ibid.

⁴⁵ In fact, the average volume of the *li* vessel is regarded by archaeologists and anthropologists as suitable for feeding a nuclear group of roughly two to three people. For certain, the amount can be used to feed more people, depending on the wealth, dietary habits of the group and the amount of other available food served altogether. However, the point is that the volume cannot possibly serve a much larger group of people, say 10-15. Ibid.; Guiyun et al. 2012. Larger in size, the *gui* vessel is capable of containing food enough for a large group, possibly three to 10 people. See also Li Ji 1956. He suggests 0.5 L being the size of an individual portion of rice.

archaeologically. In the Zeng polity at Yejiashan, serving vessel *gui* is not common among the higher-end elites, but instead the much smaller *dou* is present. These elites may have preferred to use individual serving vessels even during a collective meal, or that they used other large storing vessels such as the *zun* and *weng*, present in their usual set, to serve instead.

In summary, this section demonstrates that the early Zhou ceramics are highly connected to the foodways of the users. Certain aspects of the ceramics even allow one to reconstruct the way food was cooked, served and consumed, as well as the relevant social activities. For example, the clay material used is helpful to determine whether the vessel was used to cook or serve food. Several technological features of the ceramics reveal the possible cooking methods, and hence the kind of food or dishes made. Vessel size is another clue to decode the food consumption activities—whether collective feasts or nuclear consumption was more frequent. Such a high level of interdependence between the ceramics and foodways explains why the Zhou court attempted to homogenize the ceramics when establishing a unified Zhou dietary system. Only when the ceramics are standardized, the inhabitants would have no options but to adapt to the particular foodways associated with the ceramics.

3. Ceramics sets

This section looks at one key aspect of the ceramics that the Zhou court intended to standardize—the ceramic sets. It suggests that, preliminary efforts to homogenize the ceramic sets are seen, but only in the royal residencies (Zhouyuan, Feng/Hao and parts of Luoyang) as well as in a number of regional polities ruled by the Ji-surnamed clan, such

as the Jin and Yan polity. In other regions not ruled by the royal clan, the ceramic sets are not regulated. The sets there are locally oriented; each site had its own preferences.

A ceramic set refers to the usual combination of clay vessels in various forms and functions presented in a specific context such as a feast or burial. Similar to the concept of a bronze ritual vessel set, a ceramic set is the grouping of different ceramic vessel types according to known or observable rules.⁴⁶ The formation of the set is inseparable from its contexts—where and how the vessels were used or presented together, and by whom. Figure 73 shows an example of a ceramic set. Found in the early Western Zhou burial M6175 of the Jin polity in Tianma-Qucun, the set is characterized by the combination of 2 *li*, 1 *guan* and 1 *dou* vessel.⁴⁷ These vessels were assembled as a set in the burial setting. They also show the range of vessel types owned or used by the tomb occupant at any specific moment during his lifetime.⁴⁸

Table 41-49 provide a ceramic vessel inventory of all well published elite and lesser elite burials dated to the early Zhou from a number of key sites within the Zhou territory. At the top of each table, the most common vessel combination appearing in the site is provided for quick reference. One should bear in mind that such a combination is generalized; certain burials contain additional vessel types, while some leave out certain standard ones. Burials that are severely damaged, not reported by context, as well as with incomplete information on the ceramic findings are not included in the inventory.⁴⁹ In addition, Map 11 shows the locations of the key sites.

⁴⁶ The concept of a ceramic set is developed from Rawson's concept of a ritual vessel set. Rawson 1998.

⁴⁷ Beijing shangzu 2000, pp. 658.

⁴⁸ For further discussions on the concept of a set, see chapter 4; Rawson 1998.

⁴⁹ Burials from other sites such as Hubei Lutaishan, Hebei Qian'an, Gansu are considered. However, as the burials containing ceramics from these sites are usually less than 2, or that the ceramic information is incomplete, they are not listed in the tables.

Before examining the inventory in detail, one should acknowledge that the Zhou court's preliminary effort in eliminating the influences of the Shang ceramic sets is generally present throughout the Zhou territory. The royal late Shang set, exemplified by the ceramics sets from the elite burials (Yinxu Phase III and IV) in Anyang, can be characterized by having a clay *jue* and *gu* as the basic assemblage.⁵⁰ On top of the *jue-gu* pair, other vessel types such as *dou*, *gui*, *lei*, *zhi*, *guan* and *pan* are often added; the type and quantity of additional vessels depend on the personal preference and wealth of the tomb occupant.⁵¹ For example, M1713 at Yinxu Xiqu displays the *jue-gu-pan-guan-lei* combination (Figure 74), whereas M1 at Guojiazhuang contain the *jue-gu-li-gui-guan-lei-zhi* combination (Figure 75).⁵² The Zhou court made a conscious effort in distinguishing the royal Zhou set from the Shang ones, by eliminating the *jue-gu* pair entirely. The ceramic inventory from Table 41-49 demonstrates that not a single tomb dated to the early Western Zhou period display such a pair. Only a very small number of burials contain a clay *jue*, whereas no *gu* is found. The complete elimination of the Shang wine pair suggests that during the early Zhou period, the Zhou court removed or discouraged alcoholic beverages from everyday diets. Such a policy can be regarded as part of the central authority's strategy to control and establish a new Zhou foodways.

In the following, based on the ceramic vessel inventories, the section analyzes the extent of ceramic standardization in each region. Locations with a higher regulation level are discussed first, followed by the lower ones.

⁵⁰ Hu Hongqiong 2005, pp. 14,15.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² It is important to note that at Anyang, although most sets contain the basic *jue-gu* pair, a large variety of vessel combinations on top of this basic pair were present. The Shang elites at Anyang seem to enjoy freedom and flexibility in building their own set. Hence, the Shang ceramic set was not necessarily a result of rigid, top-down ceramic standardization, but possibly a shared custom. Zhongguo anyang 1986, pp. 703; Anyangshi 1986.

3a. Zhouyuan and Feng/Hao (Table 41-42)

Table 41-42 show the ceramic sets from Zhouyuan and Feng/Hao. The sets from both regions are very similar; standardization of the ceramic sets was thus enforced. Smaller tombs in both regions yield only 1 *li*, sometimes 1 *li* and 1 *guan*. Medium to larger tombs display 1 *li*, 1 *gui* and 1 *guan*; for example, in Fufeng Shaoli M1 (Zhouyuan) and Zhangjiapo M178 (Feng/Hao). On top of this *li-gui-guan* combination, additional number of vessels would often be added to the set; for example in Fufeng Yuntang M13 (Zhouyuan), a total of 4 *li*, 4 *gui* and 6 *guan* are found. In both Puducun M14 (Feng/Hao) and Hejia M6 (Zhouyuan), 2 additional *dou* are added to the *li-gui-guan* set.⁵³ The observed basic combinations, as well as the practice of including additional vessels to the sets in larger tombs, are seen repeatedly in both Zhouyuan and Feng/Hao.⁵⁴ Based on the sets seen in these two standardized regions, the royal Zhou ceramic set can be generalized as:

- *li*, or *li-guan* for smaller burials
- *li-gui-guan* (in pairs) for larger burials.

⁵³ At Hejia M6, 1 clay *dou* and 1 proto-porcelain *dou* are added. Only in more elaborate tombs for example Zhangjiapo 87M1 (Feng/Hao), wine vessels such as *jue*, *zhi* and *zun* are added to the standard set.

⁵⁴ The Zhou court did not invent this combination; it probably picked up the practice already existing during the pre-conquest Zhou era, then further promoted and turned it into a standard Zhou set. An examination of the ceramic sets found in the burials dated to the pre-conquest Zhou period shows that the practice of displaying vessels in the discussed combinations existed in both regions already before the early Zhou period. Figure 84 show the ceramic sets displayed in burials from the Zhouyuan and Feng/Hao region dated to the pre-conquest Zhou period. Most of the vessel combinations are the same as the early Zhou ones in Table 41-42. For example, in Wangjiazui M2 and 15 (Zhouyuan), the set include 1 *li* and 1 *guan*. Smaller burials in Beilv (Zhouyuan) display only 1 *li* or the *li-guan* combination. At Feng/Hao, three pre-conquest Zhou tombs also contain either 1 *li* or the *li-guan* set; in 83 浚毛 M1, additional number of *li* and *guan* are added. In other words, the ceramic sets seen in Table 41-42 were not entirely new but an inherited practice that at some pointed, turned into a standard Zhou one. It is also possible that, during the pre-conquest Zhou period, the Zhou court that had already been based in Zhouyuan and in Feng/Hao, established the set requirements and regulated the ceramic sets in these two regions. However, with currently available sources, it is not possible to know during exactly which phase of the pre-conquest Zhou times the Zhou court began to exist or was moved to the regions. Therefore, such possibility, while feasible, could only remain as speculation.

3b. The Jin and Yan polity (Table 45-46)

The burials in the two regional polities ruled by members of the royal Ji clan display somewhat standardized vessel sets. As seen in Table 45-46, smaller tombs such as Liulihe M253, M209 and Tianma-Qucun M7003, M7004 contain only 1 or 2 *li*. Medium to larger tombs for example Tianma-Qucun M6235 and Liulihe M53 display the royal standard *li-gui-guan* set.⁵⁵

However, local alternations seem to have been made to many other sets not mentioned above. For example, a large number of Tianma-Qucun burials contain also an additional *dou*, as seen in M6235 and M6190. The *dou* appears so frequently that its inclusion changed the standard royal set into a semi-local one. In addition, 2 of Tianma-Qucun burials contain the *da-kou zun*, a local *zun* type with large trumpet-shaped opening, as seen in M6308 and M7161. This addition is not to be underestimated because it became more and more popular towards the middle Western Zhou period, further transforming the standard set into a local one. In addition, at Liulihe M52 and M251, the *dou* also seems to replace the *li* when forming the standard set. Therefore, both the Jin and Yan polity, while initially following the royal requirements, had the flexibility and intention to turn their standard Zhou sets into local ones.

3c. Luoyang (Table 43-44)

The Luoyang region is separated into two distinct parts in terms of the displayed ceramic sets. At Luoyang Beiyao (Table 44), where the bronze *ge* weapons of the elites and lesser-elites show very high level of Zhou standardization, the ceramic sets reveal the

⁵⁵ Following the common royal Zhou practice, additional vessel types are sometimes added to the set, for example in Liulihe IM54, 1 additional *jia* is found, and in Tianma-Qucun M6131, 1 *pou* is added.

opposite; influence of the Shang set is even apparent. However, at the sites around and outside of Beiyao (Table 43), the sets are rather standardized, displaying the *li-gui-guan* combination. A large contrast in ceramic material is also present between the two; most ceramics in burials at Beiyao are proto-ceramics while other Luoyang burial sites display clay vessels.

As seen in Table 4, the ceramic sets from Beiyao do not follow a very structured pattern; many combinations are available. Many vessels also seem to be interchangeable when forming a set. Nonetheless, some basic arrangements can be spotted. Smaller to medium tombs such as M54 and M202 display the *dou-gui-lei* combination, while others such as M446 and M541 display the *dou-gui-weng* and *dou-lei-weng* combination. A few burials such as M442 and M210 prefer the *dou-zun* set instead. On the other hand, medium to larger tombs often include all or most of the above mentioned vessels in their set, with the addition of the *pou* and other vessel types. For example, M355 display the *dou-gui-lei-pou* set, whereas M215 show the *dou-gui-lei-zun-li-weng* combination.

Compared to the Zhouyuan or Feng/Hao inventory (Table 41-42), at Beiyao, the *dou* has replaced the *li* as the dominating type. Only in a few smaller tombs such as M20 and M22, the *li* is found to be the only ceramic vessel. The royal standard *li-guan* set seen in Zhouyuan and Feng/Hao are only present in 4 out of 57 tombs, namely M35, M67, M315 and M93. In addition, wine vessels such as *lei* and *zun* appear in much higher frequency. The preferred vessel sets at Beiyao seem to be of local characteristic, unaffected by the Zhou court's regulations. Furthermore, the unusual inclusion of wine vessels may suggest the influence of Shang ceramic sets, which focus heavily on wine

serving vessels, including the *zun*, and *lei*.⁵⁶ In several early Zhou sites heavily influenced by the Shang rule such as Qianzhangda in Shandong (Table 47), wine vessels *lei*, *zun* and *hu* are also commonly included in the ceramic sets. Therefore, Beiyao may have had direct or indirect exchange of ideas on the ceramic sets with such localities.

3d. Regional polities ruled by non-Ji clans (Table 47-49)

Burials from the polity at Qianzhangda, the Zeng and Yu polity show little or no sign of the Zhou court's regulation on the ceramic sets. As seen in Table 47, at Qianzhangda, the *lei* replaces *li* to become the dominant vessel in the local set, characterized by the *lei-gui-guan* combination. *Li* becomes a less common type, appearing only occasionally with other additional wine vessels such as *hu* and *zun* in larger tombs.

Table 48 shows the ceramic sets from Yejiashan, the Zeng polity. Smaller tombs such as M3 and M55 display 1 *li* with the addition of 1 *gui* or *yan*, different from the royal *li-guan* combination. Medium to larger tombs, for example M27 and M28 commonly contain the *li-guan-dou-zun-weng* set, which is drastically different from the royal set. No signs of the Zhou court's ceramic standardization can be observed.

Table 49 shows the radically different ceramic sets of the Yu polity. Almost all burials contain no other vessel types but the pointed base and/or flat-base *guan*. Although tomb BZM1 display 3 *li*; judging from their unusually small size and rough texture, the excavators have suggested that they are not of practical use.⁵⁷ In such a context, the *li* type was possibly regarded as an exotic vessel; the inclusion of it may have had other

⁵⁶ Hu Hongqiong 2005.

⁵⁷ Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 452.

symbolic meanings instead, and cannot be considered as evidence for fulfilling the Zhou royal set requirements. In addition, the royal standard *li-guan* set appears only in 2 small tombs; however, both burials are located at Yuquancun, away from the Zhuyuangou cemetery of the ruling clan.

3e. Section summary

This section demonstrates that the Zhou court indeed made the initial effort to standardize the ceramic sets, as part of its measures to establish the Zhou foodways and hence to promote the Zhou identity. For example, when the Zhou court attempted to implement the use of *li* tripod, it probably tried to make the porridge-like diet a standard dish in the region, as well as to standardize the cooking method. Its effort in implementing the use of *gui* also shows that it had planned to impose the practice of collective eating among the locals. However, the Zhou court's effort to homogenize the ceramic sets throughout the Zhou territory was not extensive and effective.

Below is a list (also in Table 50) of the generalized regional sets based on the inventory in Table 41-49:

Region (burial sites)	Set (vessel combination)
Zhouyuan	Small tombs: • <i>li</i> or <i>li-guan</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-gui-guan</i>
Feng/Hao	Small tombs: • <i>li</i> or <i>li-guan</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-gui-guan</i>

Luoyang (excluding Beiyao)	• <i>li-gui-guan</i>
Luoyang Beiyao	• <i>dou-gui-lei-weng</i>
Tianma-Qucun (Jin polity)	Small tombs: • <i>li</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-gui-guan-dou</i> (and sometimes large <i>zun</i>)
Liulihe (Yan polity)	• <i>li-gui-guan</i> (and sometimes <i>dou</i>)
Qianzhangda	• <i>lei-gui-guan</i> (and sometimes <i>li, zun, hu, pou</i>)
Yejiashan (Zeng polity)	Small tombs: • <i>li-gui/yan</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-guan-dou-zun-weng</i>
Baoji (Yu polity)	• Pointed-base <i>guan</i> and/or flat-base <i>guan</i>

Illustrated in the list and figure, the standard royal Zhou set display *li*, or *li-guan* for smaller burials; *li-gui-guan* for larger burials. Such a combination is enforced quite effectively in the royal residencies Zhouyuan and Feng/Hao. The sets from the Jin and Yan polity show a certain level of standardization. However, flexibility in changing and replacing some of the vessel types can be noticed; locally preferred vessel types are sometimes included in the set. At Luoyang, another royal residency, only several tombs from scattered locations adapt to the same royal set. At Luoyang Beiyao, a local set possibly with Shang influences is preferred. Other polities show no sign of regulation by the central court, as they all had their own preferred ceramic set.

As ceramic sets determine and affect the foodways, failure to unify them result in, or indicate the Zhou court's inability to promote the Zhou foodways. Thus, locals generally did not take up the Zhou identity in this regard.

4. Ceramic subtypes

This section looks at another important aspect of the ceramics from various regions under the Zhou rule—the subtypes or tradition that the ceramics belong to. No sign of the Zhou court’s standardization is shown. Most ceramic subtypes exhibit local characteristics; common traits are developed likely as a result of regional interactions on the non-governmental level.

A ceramic type, introduced earlier, refers to the categories of ceramics made according to their functional shape. Examples include the *li* tripod, *gui* tureen, *guan* jar, *pen* basin, etc [Terminology Image II]. The shape of different types is visibly different; the technological procedures required to produce them also vary. Different types have different functions, for example the *li* is a cooking vessel whereas the *gui* is a serving one.

On the other hand, a ceramic subtype refers to the further classification of each ceramic type made according to the technological features of the vessels [Terminology Image III].⁵⁸ Already discussed in Chapter 2, the technological style is interdependent on how the vessel is manufactured or used. For example, a glass vase can be categorized into two technological subtypes, one with a handle and the other without. The adding of a handle requires additional or new manufacturing technology and skills to produce the handles, and to securely attach the handle to the surface of the vase. The added handle

⁵⁸ Emphasizing the functional and contextual aspect of the ceramics, this approach fits better with the overall methodology of the chapter, which is to use ceramics to reconstruct and understand the foodways of the Zhou inhabitants, so as to determine the development of the Zhou identity. Childs 1991, pp. 332. In developing his concept, Childs also refers to theories on style by Sackett 1977, 1982, 1985, 1986, Wiessner 1983, 1984, 1985, 1989 and Lechtman 1977. For summary and review of his concept, see Franck 2010. I am quite hesitant to use the term “style,” as its ambiguity and subjectivity have been questioned by previous scholars. However, Childs defines style not in the conventional way which focuses on the qualitative and visual elements, but “as active in society and residing in the process of making and using an object.” (Childs 1991, pp. 332-333) Therefore, “style” in his opinion, is the visual expression that conveys social messages, and not the aesthetics and personal renderings of the producer.

also changes how the glass vase is carried, as well as the way liquid is poured out of the vase.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, in this chapter, for convenience purposes, the subtypes are named not after a particular technological feature, but after the region where they are most commonly seen.⁶⁰ For example, two different subtypes of the *li* tripod require different manufacturing techniques. The first one, named the Anyang subtype (Figure 78), common in late Shang Anyang, has three pouch-shaped legs; the legs are almost integrated into the main body. Illustrated in Figure 76, it is made by cutting three triangular pieces out of the main body, then by sealing the triangular openings with clay. The three ridges in between the legs formed at the bottom of the vessel as a result of the sealing are easily visible. On the other hand, the second subtype named the Nianzipo subtype (Figure 81), commonly seen in the Nianzipo site, has also three pouch-shaped legs; however the legs and the main body can be told apart rather distinctly. Illustrated in Figure 77, it is made by attaching three pre-made pouch-shaped legs onto the main body of the vessel. No protruding ridge is seen as a result. Other subtypes discussed in later sections include the Zhengjiapo subtype, the Feng/Hao local subtype and the Liulihe semi-local subtype.⁶¹

Moreover, besides setting up the subtypes based on their technological style, when analyzing the ceramics, additional visual features are also taken into consideration to enhance the distinctions. For example, the length of the supporting legs of the *li* tripod, the depth of the body of the *dou* and *gui*, etc. are examined. This typological method in

⁵⁹ For certain, the handle is not the only legitimate feature in defining a category of subtype. The choosing of a particular technological feature over the others as the defining standard is unavoidably subjective. It is hence important to describe and explain the reasoning behind to avoid confusions.

⁶⁰ This does not mean that in that region, only one subtype exists.

⁶¹ Some of them are produced with methods similar to either the Anyang or Nianzipo *li*. Nonetheless, differences in varying degree are still present.

some ways overlap with other existing ones; however, unlike many, it does not over categorize the ceramics or go into ambiguous details related to the vessel decorations and personal style of the potters.

Furthermore, a ceramic tradition refers to the total available subtypes found altogether in a region. For example, the Liulihe tradition is characterized by the presence of a local Liulihe subtype, Anyang subtype, Feng/Hao local subtype and Luoyang subtype. A ceramic tradition usually reveals the diverse ceramic availability of the region; it is not to be confused with a particular local subtype named after the region. For example, the Liulihe local subtype is included in, but different from the meaning of the Liulihe tradition.

As shown in the above, this section establishes its own classification and labeling of the ceramic subtypes, with references to previous scholarship. Typological studies on the ceramics from all the early Western Zhou sites considered in this chapter have been done repeatedly; previous archaeologists have divided the found ceramics into types and subtypes based on their material and stylistic features. However, few of these studies explain the logic behind their categorization; their rules to determine a type and subtype are often too subjective and can be difficult to understand. In addition, most of the existing typological studies are conducted for the purpose of establishing a chronology to better date the corresponding burial or site, hence the typologies do not well reflect information on the ceramics themselves and their original context, including their social and cultural affiliation.

4a. Main precursors of the early Zhou ceramic subtypes: the Anyang subtype

Though locally focused, ceramic subtypes found in various regions dated to the early Zhou period did not emerge independently, nor did they develop in isolation. In fact, they share certain similarities in technological features; many of these characteristics can be traced back to the ceramic subtype from Anyang and from areas along the Wei River, dated to the late Shang and pre-conquest Zhou period.⁶² Therefore, to better understand the early Zhou ceramics, it is necessary to first introduce the relevant subtypes of the earlier periods.

Ceramics dated to the late Shang period from Anyang and around the Wei River valley belong to different subtype categories, differing in technological and stylistic details. At Anyang, as discussed, the lobed-tripod *li* subtype is characterized by three separate gourd-shaped lobes (Figure 78).⁶³ The *gui* subtype is characterized by a base with round circumference and a bowl-shaped body with a thick but short rim.⁶⁴ In addition, the common *dou* is generally smaller in size than other vessels and has a relatively higher supporting base, as well as a swallower basin-shaped body.

⁶² The late Shang and pre-conquest Zhou period essentially refer to the same time period. Archaeologists use the label “late Shang” usually with an implication that the dated object or the archaeological culture to which the object belongs to is related in some ways to the Shang ruling power or territory. Similarly, the label “pre-conquest Zhou” is often used with an implication that the concerned object is in some ways relevant to the upcoming Zhou court or territory.

⁶³ It is important to note that at Anyang, a number of ceramic traditions co-existed; they include the locally developed ones as well as the borrowed ones from neighboring areas or regions afar. This chapter calls the most commonly seen ones the Anyang subtype. However, the Anyang subtype must not be referred to as the Shang variant, as some archaeologists have done. The Shang group, similar to the Zhou people, is also diverse in material culture; its political power also extended directly or indirectly to a large territory. Therefore, different regions under the Shang control reveal very different material culture; it is inappropriate to pin point at a particular tradition and consider it representative of the Shang ceramics. In addition, towards the end of the late Shang period (Yinxu phase III and IV), the separation of lobes from the main body becomes less and less pronounced than those from earlier phases; the bottom of the *li* where the three lobes connect also becomes increasingly flat and lowered.

⁶⁴ Towards the later Yinxu phases, the base became increasingly elongated.

Furthermore, two other clay vessels frequently found in Anyang are the *jue* and *gu* (Figure 74-75). They are, however, mostly placed in burials for mortuary uses and not in residential sites. Less refined in texture, the *jue* consists of three short supporting legs, a goblet-like body, an extended beak and a curved handle. The *gu* can be described as having a cylindrical body with its top opening outward; its bottom is also slightly extended outward.

4b. Main precursors of early Zhou ceramic subtypes: subtypes along the Wei River

The mentioned Anyang subtype not only flourished at Anyang, but already during the middle Shang period, it also expanded outward, eventually becoming part of or integrating into the local ceramic subtypes in a number of regions, most noticeably in southern and central Hebei, as well as northern and central Henan.⁶⁵ A subtype blending Anyang, or even its precursors, and local styles that survived until the late Shang period is the so-called Laoniupo subtype (Figure 79); sometimes referred to as the Jingdang or Beicun subtype.⁶⁶ The Laoniupo subtype generally covers the areas from Xi'an to the

⁶⁵ Campbell 2007, pp. 391.

⁶⁶ The naming of the Laoniupo tradition has been heavily debated, since scholars do not agree on the origin, stylistic development and geographical distribution of the tradition. Some, referring to the Laoniupo variants as the Beicun tradition, argue that features of the Beicun subtypes, named after the Yaoxian Beicun site and dated to the early Shang (phase III) have been absorbed and continued in the area around Laoniupo until the late Shang. Some also insists that the Laoniupo tradition was not directly associated with the ceramics found further west, for example in Fufeng, Zhouyuan, despite the stylistic similarities of the two groups. Hence, these archaeologists suggest the label Jingdang to refer to the typological tradition spotted in the Fufeng region near the Jingdang village. In addition, since the Laoniupo site is rather heavily associated with the Shang regime or the Anyang culture and other sites, such as Yijiabao in Fufeng, are not as much, scholars debate on whether it is appropriate to name the ceramic tradition from other sites after the Laoniupo subtypes. This chapter calls the tradition “Laoniupo tradition” out of convenience, though acknowledging the problematic nature of the label. It is important to understand that each of the suggested label ultimately refers to the same stylistic features. Niu Shishan 2015, pp. 35-41. Zhou Heng is among the first to label the tradition “Jing Dang” Zou Heng 1980, pp. 128, 333-335. Xu Tianjin prefers to name it “Beicun” Xu Tianjin 1990, pp. 232. Sun Hua suggests the “Laoniupo” label. Sun Hua 1994. Others also discuss the geographical extent of the spread of the tradition. For example, see Liang Xingpeng on the ceramic variants found at Yijiabao in Fufeng. Liang Xingpeng 1996, 82-92.

west of the Wei River valley, including numerous sites in Fufeng, Zhouyuan.⁶⁷ At Laoniupo, the *li* can be described as having joined (an Anyang feature) but somewhat baggy lobes (likely a local feature), as well as a short rim (an Anyang feature).⁶⁸ The Laoniupo *dou* also inherits the Anyang characteristic of a high supporting base, yet making it even higher. Other associated sites further west exhibiting similar looking vessel subtypes include Fufeng Baijiayao and Qishan Wangjiazui (Figure 80). Their typical *guan*, similar to the Laoniupo ones, has a rather small opening and bottom but a bulgy body.⁶⁹

Except the longer lasting Laoniupo subtype, by the late Shang period (Yinxu phase II and III), the impact of Anyang or related subtypes had diminished; particularly in areas west of Xi'an, the Anyang subtype was rarely seen. Instead, a number of so-called pre-conquest Zhou subtypes had emerged along the Wei River, for example the Zhengjiapo, Liujia and Nianzipo subtype.⁷⁰

The Nianzipo subtype (Figure 81) covers roughly the valleys and uplands of the western part of the Wei River.⁷¹ Most burials of the mentioned region dated to the pre-conquest Zhou period contain only one or two ceramic vessels, usually the *li* and *dou*. The Nianzipo *li* is characterized by three divided and gourd-shaped supporting legs and a long neck. Compared to the Anyang subtype, the legs of the Nianzipo *li* are bulgier, and

⁶⁷ Other sites that contain the Laoniupo type ceramics include, Fufeng Baijiayao 扶风白家窑, Yaodian Beicun 耀县北村, Zhengjiapo 郑家坡, Fufeng Liujia 扶风刘家 and Nianzipo 碾子坡. Niu Shishan 2015, pp. 35-41.

⁶⁸ Settlements dated to the early and middle Shang have been found at Laoniupo, however most of the excavated remains are dated to the late Shang period. 6 kilns and traces of a bronze-casting foundry found at the site suggest that the most of the bronze vessels and ceramics were likely produced locally. Liu Shi'e ed. 2001.

⁶⁹ Xu Tianjin 1990.

⁷⁰ Campbell 2007, pp. 416-417.

⁷¹ The area extends to as south as Qishan, west as Pingliang in Gansu, east as the Jing River. Campbell 2007, pp. 417.

its neck much longer.⁷² Some Nianzipo examples also have two curved handles attached to the neck area. In addition, the Nianzipo *dou* can be described as having very swallow basin-shaped body and a relatively elongated supporting base with its bottom extended slightly outward.

The Liujia subtype (Figure 82) covers an area as south as the northern slopes of the Qinling mountains, north as Pingliang, east as Fufeng and west as Tianshui, Gansu. To some extent its geographical distribution overlaps with that of the Nianzipo subtype, yet is generally further south. As a result, the Liujia ceramics share many similarities with the Nianzipo ones. For example, a typical Liujia *li* has also three divided gourd-shaped legs with a long neck. Nonetheless, with no counterparts in the Nianzipo subtype, the typical Liujia *guan* has a flat base, an almost ball-shaped body with a cylindrical neck and a single handle. Another Liujia *guan* subtype, though less in quantity, has a pointy base and curved handles on both sides of the body.

The Zhengjiapo subtype [Figure 83] can be spotted mostly in the area between Xi'an and Zhouyuan, with scattered expansions spotted as far north as Gansu Qingyang.⁷³ As the area is in close proximity with those covered by other subtypes, ceramics exhibiting characteristics of the Liujia and Nianzipo subtype are also found. Nonetheless, the Zhengjiapo subtypes are more easily distinguishable from others because a typical Zhengjiapo *li* has three joined, instead of separated, lobes. The supporting legs are also less baggy; its overall body shape slimmer and more elongated.

⁷² Lots of discussions have been generated concerning the stylistic definition of the Nianzipo type. Some also argue that the Nianzipo *li* is a variant of the Liujia tradition (Zou Heng 1988). Campbell suggests that this tradition shows similarities with the Siwa and the Lijiaya tradition. Campbell 2007, pp. 416-417.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 419.

It is important to note that, while the Anyang subtypes were initially produced and used by inhabitants ruled by or heavily associated with the Shang authorities, these pre-conquest Zhou subtypes do not necessarily point to any political groups. They are simply ceramics distinguished by archaeologists based on their stylistic differences. While each subtype seems to have its main geographical distribution centers, oftentimes, within any single site or burial along the Wei River, multiple ceramic subtypes co-existed. For example, at Keshengzhuang and Zhangjiapo (sites of Feng/Hao), four pre-conquest Zhou tombs were found (Figure 84).⁷⁴ The found ceramics include Zhengjiapo-style *li* with joined lobes, as well as Nianzipo or Liujia *li* with separated lobes and long neck. The *guan* from the tombs also exhibit a variety of subtypes.

Some previous archaeologists have mistakenly argued that the co-existence of multiple ceramic subtypes is a result of the co-habitation of various ethnic groups within one site. However, as many studies, whether focusing on ancient Chinese societies or non-Chinese cultures, have shown, a ceramic type or subtype is not often exclusive to one specific ethnic group.⁷⁵ The Nianzipo, Zhengjiapo or the Liujia subtype does not each indicate the presence of a particular ethnic people; the mix of these subtypes also does not reflect the movement or assimilation of various peoples. Instead, the co-existence of ceramic subtypes demonstrates that during the pre-conquest Zhou period, in the areas west of Xi'an, a complex and diverse ceramic production, usage and exchange system was in place. Local inhabitants, regardless of their ethnic or political association, were more open to borrowing from, integrating and exchanging clay vessels or the designs with other localities. In addition, the mix of subtypes observed in each single site also

⁷⁴ Ibid., 421; 67SCCM89, M54 (Zhongguo 1980), 83SCKM1 (Zhongguo fenghao fajue 1984) and 83 沔毛 M1 (Ibid.). Yang Xizhang ed. 2003, pp. 533.

⁷⁵ For example, Shennan 1989; Cameron 1998, pp. 191.

suggests a lack of top-down effort in standardizing the ceramics during the pre-conquest Zhou times. Ceramics were mostly produced locally according to local preferences and convenience instead of distributed or controlled from one main center. In many locations such as Zhengjiapo, Beilü, etc. local kilns dated to the pre-conquest Zhou times have been found.⁷⁶

The founders of the Zhou court, possibly a conglomeration of people from diverse geographical and cultural communities, must have been familiar with this complex ceramic system. Therefore, when they first established the Zhou court, they very likely allowed and encouraged the local communities to continue the same open and locally oriented approach to produce and use ceramics. After the conquest of the Shang territories, locals in various regions further incorporated the Anyang or Laoniupo subtypes into their diverse ceramic tradition. Such an approach explains why the early Zhou ceramics throughout the Zhou territories exhibit a mix of some or all of the subtypes mentioned above, with the addition of other local stylistic characteristics (discussed further in later sections). The approach also accounts for the overall absence of ceramic regulations.

Such an observation shows that, at the dawn of the Zhou regime (pre-conquest time), there was not a single ceramic subtype representative of the central court or the royal clan. A royal Zhou identity was not established or embodied through the use and production of a ceramic subtype at that time. Similarly, demonstrated in the next section, after the Zhou's conquest of the Shang regime and during the early Zhou years, no regulation on the ceramic subtypes can be seen, therefore the Zhou identity not experienced in such a context.

⁷⁶Baojishi kaogu 1984, pp. 1-15; Luo Xizhang 1995a.

4c. Early Zhou ceramic traditions by region

This section examines the early Zhou ceramic traditions found in various regions of the Zhou territory. It shows that, during the early Zhou period, almost all regions continued the discussed approach of producing and using mixed ceramic subtypes. The same approach was also adopted in localities previously ruled by or associated with the Shang authorities. However, different regions have preferences for different subtypes; they also took up different local ceramic characteristics. In other words, no regulation on ceramic subtypes can be observed.

Many excavation reports do not include all found ceramic pieces; information on their quantity, stylistic features as well as the original context in which they were found is often missing or incomplete. Therefore, the following analysis of the available vessel shapes by region can only be based on the data that has been well published. Instead of showing a survey listing out all found ceramics, representative ceramic examples are used to discuss the generally available and preferred vessel subtypes in different sites and regions. Map 12 shows the locations of the sites where the discussed ceramic subtypes were found.

4c (i). Zhouyuan (Figure 85)

Zhouyuan shows a very complex mix of subtypes. However, with very few exceptions, these subtypes do not co-exist within one specific site or tomb; each site seems to have one particularly preferred subtype. For example, the *li* found in WM1 at

Wangjiazui in Qishan is similar to the Zhengjiapo *li*.⁷⁷ Whereas the *li* found in two other unlabeled burials at Hejia village all belong to the Nianzipo or Liujia subtype.⁷⁸ In close proximity to Hejia, M13 at Yuntang village yield a Laoniupo (also known as Beicun or Jingdang) *li* subtype.⁷⁹ Within the site in Yuntang, M10 also contains two Laoniupo *gui* subtype with a long supporting base.⁸⁰ Slightly westward at Zhihui West village, the *li* contains elements seen in a local subtype from Beiyao and from Feng/Hao.⁸¹

4c (ii). Feng and Hao (Figure 86-87)

The residential sites and cemeteries at Feng/Hao, namely Zhangjiapo, Keshengzhuang and Dayuancun, display multiple borrowed as well as semi-local subtypes. Nonetheless, two semi-local *li* subtypes dominate the sites. The first, as seen in Zhangjiapo M85⁸² and Dayuancun M315⁸³ is rather similar to the Laoniupo (Jingdang or Beicun) subtype.⁸⁴ However, compared to the Laoniupo *li*, such a subtype has generally a longer neck with an enlarged opening, its base also more rounded and arch-like. The second semi-local subtype, as seen in Fengxi Tielu Qiaotou 沔西铁路桥头 M178⁸⁵ and Zhangjiapo M87⁸⁶, derives from the Nianzipo or Liujia subtype.⁸⁷ However, the

⁷⁷ As both have elongated and less baggy supporting legs. Ju Wanchang 1985, pp. 1-7.

⁷⁸ As they have separated, gourd-shaped supporting legs and a high neck Shaanxisheng bowuguan and Shaanxisheng wenwu 1976.

⁷⁹ Zhouyuan 1980.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ The rounded, arch-shaped base and not so pouch-like legs resemble that of the Feng/Hao *li*, whereas the pointy end studs take the form of the Beiyao type. Zhihui West village: Yongcheng 1982, pp. 15-38.

⁸² Liang Xingpeng 2002, fig. 2.

⁸³ Zhongguo fengxi fajue 1986, image plate 1.

⁸⁴ As it has joined and less bulgy lobes.

⁸⁵ Liang Xingpeng 2002, fig. 2.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ It has separated and gourd-shaped legs as well as a neck area.

Feng/Hao subtype has a rim slightly curled outward; the supporting legs are also relatively less bulgy.⁸⁸

On the other hand, a common *gui* subtype at Feng/Hao belongs to the Laoniupo subtype; as seen in Fengxi Tielu Qiaotou M178, Zhangjiapo M19.⁸⁹ Furthermore, two other subtypes of *guan* are common at Feng/Hao; the first, as seen in Zhangjiapo H301 and Keshengzhuang T43, is likely a local subtype, as it has a slanted shoulder with two flat and protruding handles attached.⁹⁰ The second, as seen in Zhangjiapo M19 and Fengxi Tielu Qiaotou M178, is similar to the Laoniupo *guan*.⁹¹

4c (iii). Luoyang (Figure 88)

The early Zhou sites at Luoyang, including Beiyao 北窑, Dongjiao 东郊, Zhongzhoulu 中州路, Dongguan 东关 etc., inherit mainly the Anyang ceramic subtype. Nonetheless, several pre-conquest Zhou and local subtypes are present in small quantity. The most common Luoyang *li* subtype belongs to the Anyang subtype.⁹² Examples of such a subtype can be seen in Beiyao T31H83⁹³ and M67⁹⁴. Existing in very small quantity is a subtype likely derived from the Nianzipo or Liujia *li*, as seen in Beiyao T3H83.⁹⁵ Another less commonly found *li* belongs to a local subtype that possibly shares similarities with the Laoniupo and Feng/Hao, or even Liulihe subtypes, as seen in Beiyao

⁸⁸Liang Xingpeng 2002, pp. 381-420.

⁸⁹The Feng/Hao *gui* has a large bowl-shaped body with a round base. Ibid., fig. 2.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²This subtype can be described as having three short supporting legs with joined lobes; the area where the legs connect is also rather flat.

⁹³Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1985.

⁹⁴Luoyangshi 1999, fig. 34.

⁹⁵The *li* has separated and bulgy supporting legs, as well as a larger neck area. Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1985, pp. 834-842.

T3H83⁹⁶ and T4⁹⁷. However, different from the typical Laoniupo and Feng/Hao *li*, this local Luoyang subtype has an elongated stud at the end of each leg.⁹⁸

Moreover, other vessel subtypes from Luoyang also inherit features of the Anyang subtype. Examples include the Beiyao *gui* in T3H90 and the *dou* from M702 also has a swallow body with raised cylindrical base, with the bottom slightly enlarged.⁹⁹

4c (iv.) Tianma-Qucun (Figure 89)

Although the ceramics found at Tianma-Qucun are rather uniform in features, few exotic subtypes appear in certain female burials. The *li*, as seen in M6232 and M6527, are predominately similar to one semi-local subtype from the Feng/Hao site.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the *gui* from the burials such as M6243 and M6199 share many similarities with the Anyang *gui*.¹⁰¹

Two exotic ceramic shapes appear mostly in female burials. The first, as seen in M6516 and M7008, is a *da-kou zun* with trumpet-shaped opening and a flat bottom. Out of the 31 tombs yielding the *zun*, dated from early-late Western Zhou, 22 belong to female occupants. The *da-kou zun* type is found in all 9 burials of the consort of the Lord

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ The *li* has joined and less bulgy legs, as well as an arch-shape base. Ibid, Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1986, 1104-1111; Liu Fuliang 1998, pp. 44-68.

⁹⁸ Because of the end studs, this is more similar to the Liulihe subtype. However, it is not known which tradition copies which; they are possibly characteristics shared or spread to both regions.

⁹⁹ The *gui* has a large bowl-shaped body with a circular base *dou* has a swallow body with raised cylindrical base, with the bottom slightly enlarged. Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1985, pp. 834-842.

¹⁰⁰ Such a type has a rim curved upward and three separated, gourd-shaped but not so baggy legs. However, compared to the Feng/Hao variant, the Tianma-Qucun type has generally a shorter neck area

¹⁰¹ These *gui* mainly have a bowl-shaped body and a circular supporting base; some are even decorated with zigzag pattern. The design may not have been borrowed directly from Anyang but from nearby Feng/Hao, which also yields Anyang-type *gui* in large quantity. All examples published in Beijing shangzu 2000.

of Jin, but is not seen in the burials of all generations of the Jin Lord.¹⁰² The second exotic type, as seen in M113¹⁰³, is a *san-zu weng* with a slightly flattened globular body and three gourd-shaped supporting legs. All 8 excavated *san-zu weng*, dated to early-late Western Zhou, are again found only in female tombs, including that of the consort of the Jin Lords.¹⁰⁴ Some archaeologists have suggested that both the *da-kou zun* and the *san-zu weng* are of exotic origins. For example, Chen Fangmei argues that earlier examples of the *san-zu weng* (Figure 90-91) dated to the early Shang period have been found in the Shanxi region, such as in H23 of the Dongxiafeng 东下冯 site¹⁰⁵ and in the Taiyuan Guangshe 太原光社 site.¹⁰⁶ Even earlier examples dated to the Erlitou period (Figure 90-91) have appeared further north at the Dakou village of Jungar Banner 準格爾旗 in Inner Mongolia.¹⁰⁷ Higher up north at Zhukaigou 朱开沟 of Inner Mongolia, numerous *san-zu weng* dating from the late Longshan period to the early period of the late Shang are also found.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, earlier examples of the *da-kou zun*, dated to the late Longshan and Erlitou period, have also been found in the regions further north, including Yudaohe 峪道河 in Shanxi Fenyang 山西汾阳, Shenmu 神木 in Shaanxi 陕西.¹⁰⁹

While many of the earlier examples of the *da-kou zun* and *san-zu weng* served practical purposes, the Tianma-Qucun ones may have been symbolic vessels indicating

¹⁰² Sun Zhanwei 2016, pp. 23-28.

¹⁰³ Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, pp. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Chen Fangmei 2006, pp. 1-62.

¹⁰⁵ Dongxiafeng 1980, pp. 97-107. Zhongguo, Zhongguo lishi, Shanxisheng 1988, pp. 104, 141, 214.

¹⁰⁶ Shou Tian 1957 pp. 57-58. H23 is dated to the Dongxiafeng phase IV, likely late Erlitou to early Shang period. Other earlier sites yielding the *san-zu weng* include Yicheng Ganjunshe 翼城感军社, Weigou yi beishoucheng 葦溝一北壽城, Taigu Baiyan phase IV. Chen Fangmei 2006, pp. 1-62.

¹⁰⁷ Ji Faxi and Ma yaoxi 1979, pp. 318.

¹⁰⁸ Neimenggu and E'erdusi 2000, pp. 101-102, fig. 50-51: 1, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Sun Zhanwei 2010, pp. 23-28. See also Falkenhausen, Lothar von. 2006, pp. 212. The *san-zu weng* are sometimes seen in Shimao, Shemmu dated to the Longshan period. Dai Yingxin 1977, pp. 154; Shanxisheng 1983, pp. 961-965.

the exotic cultural heritage of their female owners. In other northern sites, both vessel types have been found in residential and burial sites; they were likely used on a daily bases such as for storage purposes, and for burial purposes as well. A small number of *san-zu weng* from the Shanxi region were used to contain and bury infants.¹¹⁰ Contrarily at Tianma-Qucun, most of the concerned ceramics are found in female burials and rarely at residential sites, suggesting a predominately mortuary nature.¹¹¹ In addition, as Chen Fangmei observes, the size of the Tianma-Qucun vessels are also significantly reduced when compared to their earlier and northern counterparts. Losing a practical function, these two ceramic types may have been included in the female burials to pay homage to their native culture. While with currently available sources, the foreign origin of these female tomb occupants cannot be confirmed; nonetheless, some later Western Zhou sources demonstrate that Jin lords customarily took wives from other clans located a considerable distance away. According to Maria Khayutina's study of inscriptional and excavated materials, the spouse of the late Western Zhou Lord Bang-fu 邦父 of Jin polity from tomb 63 at Tianma-Qucun was a Ji 姬-surnamed princess of the Yang 杨 principality, located in Hongdong 洪洞 Country of Shanxi and about 100km to the north of the Jin polity.¹¹²

4c (v). Liulihe (Figure 92-94)

¹¹⁰ Chen Fangmei 2006, pp. 19.

¹¹¹ Only 6 *da-kou zun* have been found in residential sites, however, it is not known whether they were associated with the residential foundations within the same site.

¹¹² Khayutina 2010a. Shanxisheng kaogu, Beijing daxue kaoguxue 1994. On the localization of Yang, Chen Pan 1969, pp. 262-263.

The Liulihe ceramics are dominated by two semi-local subtypes that combine features from several other regional subtypes. Besides, a few other mentioned ceramic subtypes appear in small quantity. The most common *li* is characterized by a relatively shallow body with elongated and sometimes pointy studs at the end of each leg; the bottom of the body where the three legs connect is also in a form of an arch. Examples of such a semi-local subtype can be found in IM58 and IIM264.¹¹³ The second most frequently appear *li* subtype has three short but pointy end studs; the area where the legs join is very flat. Examples can be seen in IM24 and IM53.¹¹⁴ The feature of the pointy studs observed in both subtypes share similarities with the semi-local *li* subtype from Luoyang Beiyao. In addition, found in smaller quantity, another available *li* subtype resembles a mentioned Feng/Hao semi-local subtype.¹¹⁵ As seen in IM26 and IIM251, such a subtype has three gourd-shaped but not too bulgy legs as well as a wide rim opening outward. Furthermore, only two Anyang *li* have also been found in IIM209 and IM3.

On the other hand, the common Liulihe *gui* is similar to the Anyang subtype; examples can be seen in IM24 and IM52.¹¹⁶ Moreover, several rare subtypes have been found in isolated numbers. They include the *guan* with two handles from IIM254 and IIM53, as well as a *hu* from IM51 with curved, elongated opening and two handles. The previously mentioned *san-zu weng* with a northern root is also found in IM54.¹¹⁷ Besides,

¹¹³ Beijingshi 1995.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ The Feng/Hao subtype also shares similarities with the Laoniupo *li*.

¹¹⁶ Both are characterized by a bowl-like body and a circular base; yet sometimes the Liulihe *gui* seem to have a higher base

¹¹⁷ Note that in the report, the excavators mistakenly label such a vessel as *jia*.

a few proto-ceramics are also included in the burials. The proto-ceramic *dou*, as seen in IM52 and IM207.

4c (vi). Shandong (Figure 95-97)

Ceramics in Shandong also show a mix of subtypes; however, various regions had different preferences. Based on the preferences, the whole of Shandong can be split into three regional groups.¹¹⁸ The first group covers the western part of modern-day Shandong province, including today's Jinan, Jining and Heze. Early Zhou sites yielding ceramics are located at Jiyang Liutaizi 济阳刘台子, Dongdong village, Qianzhangda, Qūfu Lugucheng 曲阜鲁故城, Tengzhou Zhuanglixi 滕州庄里西, etc. Likely because such a region neighbors Anyang and had been under direct or indirect control of the Shang authorities, the ceramics show many similarities with the Anyang subtype. Examples include the *li* from Jiyang Liutaizi tomb¹¹⁹ and Qianzhangda M34¹²⁰, as well as the *gui* from Qianzhangda M31.¹²¹ Despite the predominantly Anyang-like vessels, a very small number of ceramics with features resembling other subtypes are also found. For example, Qianzhangda M203 has a *li* with nearly flat base whereas M121¹²² yield a *li* with almost arch-shaped bottom, similar to the two semi-local subtypes from Liulihe.

The second part covers modern-day Shandong peninsula, consisting of the Yantai Zhushui 烟台芝水 and Zhenzhumen 珍珠门 site. Since such a region was likely not under the Zhou control, nor did it show clear political impact from the Shang authorities,

¹¹⁸ The categorization is based on the analysis of Lan qiuxia 2004.

¹¹⁹ Dezhou and Jiyangxian 1981.

¹²⁰ Zhongguo 2005, pp. 144.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 149.

¹²² Ibid., pp. 146.

the ceramics remain very locally focused.¹²³ The excavated clay vessels often inherits features of or belongs to the local subtype called Zhenzhumen 珍珠门.¹²⁴ Vessels found in this second part are often made in finer grains of sand and clay, sometimes with the addition of grinded cowry.¹²⁵ The *li*, as seen in Zhishui H46¹²⁶ has three long and separate, white radish-shaped legs as well as an upper part resembling that of a *guan*, as seen in Zhishui T435.¹²⁷

The third part covers the northern part of Shandong, including the Wei 潍 and Zi 淄 river valleys; the early Zhou sites include Zibo Houli 淄博后李, Beishenma 北沈马, Changle Zoujiazhuang 昌乐邹家庄, Jiaoxian Xiyan 胶县西庵, Subutun 苏埠屯, Qingzhou Fenghuangtai 青州凤凰台, Zouping Dingong 邹平丁公, Shouguang gucheng 寿光古城. The ceramics in this part display an equal mix of the Anyang or Laoniupo and local (or Zhenzhumen) features, with the occasional addition of other previously mentioned subtypes. For example, in the waste pits at Fenghuangtai, both the Anyang/Laoniupo and Zhenzhumen *li* subtypes are found.¹²⁸ At Zhouping Dingong, Anyang/Laoniupo *li* subtypes are found together with the *li* with elongated end studs and a body with a flat base. The later *li* shares similarities with the discussed local subtype from Liulihe, but its shape is closer to becoming the vessel *ding*.¹²⁹ In addition, at

¹²³ Cao Bin 2016a.

¹²⁴ The Zhenzhumen tradition is divided into various phases by archaeologists. The earliest can be dated to the late Shang (Yinxu II), while the later to early or middle Western Zhou period. Unfortunately, not many excavation sites belonging to the tradition have been published; the known ones include Changdao Zhenzhumen 长岛珍珠门, Yantai Zhishui 烟台芝水, Weifang Huiquanzhuang 潍坊会泉庄, Jiaoxian Xiyanzhuang 胶县西庵庄, Changle Houyuli 昌乐后于刘, Qingzhou Zhaopu 青州赵铺, etc. Liu Yanchang 2001.

¹²⁵ Lan Qiuxia 2004, pp. 48.

¹²⁶ Cao Bin 2016b.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Shandongsheng, Shandong daxue lishixi and Qingzhoushi 1989, pp. 162.

¹²⁹ Shandong daxue 1992.

Jiaoxian Xiyan, the Liulihe local *li* subtype and the Zhenzhumen *li* are buried together in the same burial M1.¹³⁰

4c (vii). Yejiashan (Figure 98-100)

The Yejiashan ceramics show a very complex mix of subtypes, including the local, Anyang and Zhouyuan ones. Traces of multiple subtypes oftentimes co-existed on the same vessel or within the same tomb.¹³¹ Nonetheless, local characteristics seem to be a particularly strong focus.

The Yejiashan clay *li* come in roughly two subtypes; examples of the first subtype include the *li* from M2 show similarities with those from nearby southern localities such as Maogoudong 毛狗洞 and Zhenwushan 真武山 and thus can best be categorized as local or regional.¹³² The second *li* subtype, such as the ones from M45 is similar to those commonly seen in the Zhouyuan sites.¹³³ On the other hand, the *gui* from M35 with a short rim and a bowl-shaped body is a counterpart of the Anyang subtype.

The discussed ceramics are all made in coarse clay; showing burnt traces, they are suggested by archaeologists to have been used originally for daily purposes. However, in addition to these daily pieces, the Yejiashan burials also yield two other groups of clay vessels made for two other different purposes, one following the Anyang subtype and the other a local one. The first group, including the double-handled *gui*, *zun* and *lei* from

¹³⁰ Shandongsheng changwei 1977.

¹³¹ At Yejiashan, the 7 published burials dated to the early Zhou period yield 14 clay vessels in total. Zhang Changping 2012, pp. 77-87.

¹³² This type of *li*, although with joined-lobes are different from the Zhengjiapo type because the studs at the bottom of each leg is much protruded and longer in height. He Xiaolin 2014. with joined-lobes and long supporting studs at the end of the legs. Ibid.

¹³³ It is with joined-lobes and gourd-shaped legs as well as relatively shorter ending studs,

M27¹³⁴, is probably used for ritual-related or burial purposes. Made in fine, dark-colored clay and with a polished surface, these ceramics are direct imitations of the bronze ritual vessels. Similar imitations can be found in Anyang burials dated to the late Shang such as the clay *gui*, *lei* and *zun* from GM233 in Xiaotun.¹³⁵ The other group, also made in fine and dark-colored clay, is a close imitation of the local proto-ceramics. For example, the double-handled *guan* from M27¹³⁶ is decorated with a button-like stud, which is typical of proto-ceramic decorations.

In fact, local proto-ceramics appear in relatively large numbers in the burials. Oftentimes within a single burial, the quantity of the proto-ceramics is larger than that of the clay ones. In these burials, the proto-ceramics and the clay vessels have been combined into one assemblage. For example, in M65 the proto-ceramic *weng* and the *dou* with cover attached are placed together with the only available clay *li* at the northeast corner of the tomb.

4c (viii). Yu polity (Figure 101-103)

Four major ceramic subtypes co-existed in the Yu polity. The first, also the largest in quantity, is a local *guan* subtype with a flat bottom and often a small opening. Occasionally, it also comes in a larger size (Figure 101.3-4).¹³⁷ Very likely a local subtype, it is rarely seen in neighboring regions or the royal residencies; neither is it found in the arc region or further in the Steppes. However at Rujiashuang and

¹³⁴ Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2011, pp. 4-60.

¹³⁵ Zhang Changping also suggests that the double-handled *gui* is a popular clay vessel type in the Anyang tradition, especially among those ceramics made to imitate bronze vessels. Around the Feng/Hao and Zhouyuan region, clay imitations have occasionally been found. However, they are dated mostly to the middle or later period of the Western Zhou. The imitations at Yejiashan therefore should be associated to the Shang tradition instead. Zhang Changping 2012, pp. 77-87.

¹³⁶ Ibid. Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2011, pp. 4-60.

¹³⁷ Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.

Zhuyuangou, such a subtype can be seen in almost every burial. In many of the tombs, the guan also appears in piles; some even contain animal bone remains and are suggested by the excavators to have functioned as food storage containers.¹³⁸

The second subtype is a regional one featuring by a *guan* with pointed base. Examples of such a subtype can be seen in a number of burials in Zhuyuangou and Rujiashuang, for example Zhuyuangou M1 and M13. This subtype was likely used for daily purposes as many shards have been found in the garbage pit in Rujiashuang. Nonetheless, within the burials, many pointed-base *guan* have been polished; it is often placed together with the bronze ritual vessels as well as jades and other personal ornaments close to the deceased. Compared to other ceramic subtypes seen within the burials, such a subtype may have been more precious or personal to the local inhabitants. In fact, not commonly found in the royal residencies, the pointed-base *guan*, as Jessica Rawson argues, is an exotic subtype introduced to the Yu polity from the Steppe via the Northern Zone or the Hexi Corridor.¹³⁹ Earlier Steppe prototypes dated to the 4th-3rd millennium BC and 2nd-1st millennium BC can be found in Middle Yenisej (Afanas'ev) and Altai (Afanas'ev) and the Minusinsk Basin (Karasuk culture).¹⁴⁰ While reaching the Yu polity, it also spread to other nearby regions such as Sichuan, hence becoming a regional ceramic subtype. Contemporaneous and earlier prototypes have been excavated in various sites around Sichuan. For example, at Xinfan Shuiguanyin 新繁水观音, Pengxian Zhuwajie 彭县竹瓦街, Sanxingdui 三星堆 and Chengdu Shierqiao 成都十二

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 456.

¹³⁹ Rawson 2013

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

桥.¹⁴¹ Several sites near the Han River valley in Shaanxi, including Chenggu 城固 and Yangxian 洋县, also yield clay *guan* with pointed base. Figure 30 demonstrates the similarities between vessels from Zhuyuangou and the mentioned sites.

The third co-existing subtype is also a regional one, but it belongs to the Siwa 寺洼 (or Anguo 安国) subtype generally seen in eastern Gansu.¹⁴² Available in a much smaller number, this subtype features a *guan* characterized by its horse-saddle like shape with two, or sometimes one handle attached to the neck area. It is displayed in Zhuyuangou M1, together with other ceramic subtypes. Counterparts have been found in Gansu at Xujianian, Pingliang, Qingyang, etc.¹⁴³

The fourth available subtype, appearing in single digits, is the *li* subtype commonly seen in Zhouyuan or Feng/Hao. Only at Zhuyuangou tomb BZM1, 3 *li* belonging to this subtype are found.

4c (ix). Section summary

This sections looks at the ceramic subtypes from different regions under the Zhou rule, and demonstrates that standardization was absent. The early Zhou localities adopted the open approach from the pre-conquest Zhou times to produce and use ceramics; they inherited typological elements from previous and other contemporaneous subtypes, and blended them with their own local ones. The result of this open approach was that,

¹⁴¹ Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 455.

¹⁴² The Anguo tradition is a sub-variant under the Siwa tradition. Both traditions are characterized by having a *guan* with horse-saddle like shape. However, archaeologists have used the label Anguo to distinguish the ceramics found in Anguo Pingliang 平凉 from the typical Siwa type (The Siwa label was created after the discovery of the ceramics from Mount Siwa in Lintao 临洮, Gansu 甘肃). Compared to the Siwa type *guan*, the horse-saddle shape of the Anguo-type *guan* appears more indented and defined. Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 454; Gansusheng bowuguan 1960, pp. 11-52; Yuan Zhi'an 1963, pp. 48.

¹⁴³ Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 454

multiple ceramic subtypes coexisted within one site, or even the same burial.

Technological and visual elements from multiple ceramic subtypes can also be spotted on a single vessel.

In addition, some regional characteristics and preferences can be identified. Different localities had their own pattern and rule of borrowing and combining features from other existing subtypes. For example, a semi-local Feng/Hao *li* subtype inherits the features of the arch-shape bottom from the Laoniupo *li*, but making the curvature of the arch-shape even more pronounced. Also adopting the same element from the Laoniupo *li*, a Luoyang Beiyao local subtype lessens the curvature, making the vessel bottom flatter and wider. In addition, subtypes focusing heavily on local features further distinguish themselves apart from the larger-regional ceramics. For example, clay imitations of the proto-ceramic *guan* are seen only at Yejiashan; the *da-kou zun* is also exclusive to the Jin polity.

The presence of strictly local ceramic subtypes, and the regional differences in borrowing from other subtypes reveal that the early Zhou localities had much freedom to produce and use ceramics in their own preferred designs. Similarities in the vessels' technological and visual styles are a result of the localities' sharing of elements from the same existing and available subtypes, and not of a top-down ceramic standardization.

In summary, the Zhou court made preliminary efforts in standardizing the ceramic sets, its overall scheme was not far-reaching and comprehensive at all. The absence of subtype homogenization shown in this section demonstrates that the Zhou central court did not or failed to extend its regulation to such an aspect of the everyday ceramics throughout the Zhou territory. The failure to homogenize the ceramic subtypes reveals

the government's failure to establish and promote the new Zhou foodways. Inhabitants under the Zhou rule still had salient association with their local ceramic and dietary cultures. The Zhou identity was not experienced.

5. Chapter conclusion

This chapter is the first in the field of the Western Zhou archaeology to take the initiative to explore how ceramics and foodways formulate and consolidate a group identity. It is also among the first few to reconstruct the foodways of the early Zhou inhabitants, based on the technological features of the ceramics. The chapter demonstrates that the Zhou court made the preliminary effort in standardizing the ceramics. However, its scheme was not effective and far-reaching. Only the ceramic sets from a few regions, mainly the royal residencies, show little signs of standardization. The ceramic subtypes, on the other hand, were not homogenized at all.

The observation that diverse ceramic subtypes were present in all regions, and sometimes within a single tomb is significant, because previous scholarship, when discussing the ceramics of the early Zhou period, always mention the term the “Zhou or Zhou-style” ceramics. What they refer to is in fact one of the many existing subtypes in Feng/Hao or in Zhouyuan. The chapter shows that such a term is misleading; not a single subtype can be representative of the Zhou regime or even of the metropolitan localities altogether.

Since the ceramics, including the material, technological features, size, sets etc. are interrelated to the users' foodways; and since foodways are a powerful instrument for drawing social boundaries and enhancing one's sense of belonging to a community, the

Zhou court's failure in effectively regulating the ceramics means that it could not properly establish and promote a new Zhou foodways. Therefore, in the dietary context, many non-elites and elites, including those who participated in the Zhou ritual and military system, remained locally oriented.

Several possible reasons may explain the Zhou authorities' failure. Despite having the intention, the Zhou court may not have had clear and concrete rules on how to effectively standardize the ceramics. The regional lords and local officials may have been the authorities that actualized the central court's objective with their own approach and timeline. Indeed, the ceramic sets showing a higher level of standardization all come from the royal residencies or regions ruled by the royal Ji-clan. Immigrants who were close to the royal circle or who had already been practicing the royal-kind of foodways were most likely to carry out the implementation progressively. Others from non-Ji ruling regions such as the Yu and Zeng polity, not used to the royal foodways or preferred their own cuisine and food activities, were likely not motivated to enforce the new ceramic and dietary policies thoroughly. Without the full cooperation of all the Zhou regional authorities, the ceramic sets and subtypes were not homogenized; the Zhou identity in the dietary context was not successfully installed.

Another factor hindering the success was that, unlike bronze vessels, most ceramics were produced locally. Introducing a new vessel type to fit the new Zhou standards requires a change in the entire production mechanism. Local potters or craftsmen not only need access to the shape and design of the vessel, but they also need to understand the drive behind the technological style of the vessel. For example, to make a proper *gui* vessel, they must first learn that it is for serving purposes, choose the right

type of fine clay and produce it in the right size. As demonstrated in the highly localized ceramic types throughout the Zhou territory, the craftsmen did not make the vessels after a centralized model or prototype. The occasional exotic elements found in the local ceramics also show that although the potters had access to exported ceramics or just the foreign designs, they had the freedom to render their own production; their work was unlikely monitored by the local government with high level of interference and censorship. In this case, they may not have received the essential information required to properly make a new vessel type, nor have the command or drive to do so. In many regions, instead of adopting the royal types, locally available types were used instead. The failure to produce the proper kind of vessels leads to the locals' failure to share the same foodways. As a result, the "Zhou identity" was not successfully implemented.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

1. Summary of main arguments

During the early years of the Zhou dynasty, contrary to traditional belief, the Zhou regime was fragile and underdeveloped. As discussed in Chapter 1, the authorities who founded the Zhou political regime did not share among themselves a common history, culture and even place of origin. The conquered territory was also enormous in size; the political structure decentralized. Revealed in archaeological remains, numerous clans and regional groups had long developed their own lifestyle and traditions. The relocation of many under the Zhou king's command may have further resulted in conflicts and tension against the locals in various regions. The Zhou regime, at this point, was under high risk of regional revolts and local independence.

In order to consolidate its power, the Zhou court found short-term solutions such as strengthening its military forces and sending trust-worthy relatives to rule over the regional polities. Yet more importantly, it also initiated policies to achieve long-term control and stability. The latter measures were aimed at establishing and promoting a Zhou identity to the people, so that they and their descendants would continuously participate and remain in the Zhou regime as loyal Zhou members. However, at the early stage of the enforcement, these measures were only partially effective.

One of the measures was to enable armed individuals across the Zhou land to experience the Zhou identity. Elaborated in Chapter 3, the central court set up two royal Zhou armies, the Six and Eight Armies for the armed individuals to join. The structure, quality and scale of the royal armies were distinctive from those of the Shang troops,

enabling the participants to draw clear social boundaries. The Armies were in fact two military webs, with stations covering the western and eastern part of the Zhou territory. Having joined the Armies, the armed individuals would be trained to fight and live in the required Zhou military way. The highly structured lifestyle would encourage them to embody the Zhou identity in the military context.

Besides, the Zhou court attempted to standardize the bronze *ge* and fighting practices, as an effort to promote the Zhou military identity. Homogenizing the technological features of the bronze *ge*, such as the curvature of the blade and the number of perforations, would directly unify the posture and techniques used in combating. With a standardized weapon and way to fight, the armed individuals would then be able to distinguish themselves both visually and behaviorally different from the Shang and other troops. They would then embody the Zhou military identity.

Nonetheless, these military measures were only effective to a certain extent. Many armed individuals, especially those in regional polities ruled by the non-Ji clans, joined instead the clan-based military groups that were locally focused. They thus developed a stronger association to their local and clan community, rather than to the larger-than-local Zhou regime. In addition, the surveys of all published bronze *ge* from lesser-elite and elite burials demonstrate that, the central court's scheme to standardize the weapon was present, but not entirely effective. At the western far-end of the Zhou territory, the Yu polity did not participate at all in the scheme. Zhouyuan shows a low level of participation. At Feng/Hao and other sites, diverse *ge* types co-exist with the royal standard type (type F). This suggests that, armed individuals in different regions were likely switching between the royal Zhou and other ways of fighting at different

times. They were also open to owning or displaying exotic weapon types. They only experienced the Zhou identity occasionally and by their choice.

Another policy that the Zhou court embraced was to encourage the elites to engage in the royal Zhou ritual system, so that they would embody the Zhou identity in the ritual context. As discussed in Chapter 4, the court established a royal way to worship *tian* (Heaven) and ancestors. The new way refreshes the highest being as “*tian*,” as well as redefines the concept of an “ancestor,” drawing clear distinction from the previous Shang ritual traditions. Worshipping the *tian* and the ancestors in the royal Zhou way, the elites would ritually and behaviorally distinguish themselves from the Shang and other non-Zhou groups, and therefore embody a Zhou identity.

In addition, the central court also set up a royal Zhou ritual vessel set for the elites to use during their ritual performances. Emphasizing the importance of displaying food vessels and the *ding-gui* pair, the royal set departs from the Shang set which focuses on wine vessels and the *jue-gu* pair. Such a switch in the vessel preference also indicates a major alternation in the rituals performed and the ingredients required. Using the royal Zhou set, an elite would further embody the royal Zhou ritual identity.

However, the ritual policies were not implemented thoroughly. The survey of all well published burials displaying ritual vessels reveal that the standardization scheme was present, but not thorough. The elite’s use of the royal set was occasional. Many maintained an association to the local ritual community by keeping vessels and sets that reveal local preferences. In some regions, vessel types of exotic origin are also present in the inventory. These elites may not have participated, or engaged only partially, in the Zhou ritual system.

The other policy that the Zhou central court initiated was the new Zhou foodways for the elites and non-elites to take up. Discussed in Chapter 5, the court attempted to standardize the ceramics, particularly the ceramic sets. The survey of well published ceramic sets found throughout the Zhou territory reveals that the court established a royal set, which involves the combination of the *li* or *li-gui* vessel for smaller burials, and *li-gui-guan* for larger ones. Such a set is also different from that of the late Shang ones, as it focuses on the food vessels, as well as the *li-gui* pair. If inhabitants take up the new royal set, they would be able to visually draw distinctions between the Zhou ceramic users and the Shang or other non-Zhou ones. In addition, as the ceramics also determine the users' foodways, a change in the vessel set would result in an alteration in the food consumed, as well as the ways to prepare, cook or serve food. When the inhabitants adapt to the royal set, they would then also change their foodways to become the Zhou ones, hence experiencing a Zhou identity in the dietary context.

However, the Zhou court's effort in standardizing the ceramic sets, and hence the foodways of the people across the Zhou land did not succeed entirely. Efforts in homogenizing the ceramic sets can be observed but only to a small extent. The royal set was enforced only in Zhouyuan and Feng/Hao, and partly in the regional polities ruled by the royal Ji-clans. Other regions including Luoyang show little or no sign of regulation. This suggests that, except in a few localities, most elites and non-elites remained locally oriented in the dietary context, therefore not embodying the Zhou identity.

Besides the ceramic sets, the central court may have made initial attempt to standardize the ceramic subtypes, but failed significantly. As the technological features of a ceramic subtype determines and affects even more directly the specific ways in which

food was cooked and served, a successful standardization would result in the inhabitants' complete adaptation to the royal Zhou foodways. However, the surveys and observations made in the Chapter demonstrate that no sign of the homogenization is evident across the whole Zhou territory. Diverse traditions are present not only within a single locality, but sometimes also within a burial. This suggests that, contrary to traditional understanding, no ceramic subtype can be referred to as the "Zhou ceramics." The inhabitants continued their local foodways, and maintained a strong association to their local community in the dietary context. They therefore did not embody the Zhou identity in this regard.

In short, this thesis addresses two main questions. First, what policies did the Zhou court of the early Western Zhou period initiate to establish and promote a Zhou identity? Second, how effective were these policies? The answers to the questions are that, the central court established a royal Zhou military, ritual and dietary system for the inhabitants living under the Zhou rule to participate in. These systems involve using the same weapon to fight in the same way, using the same ritual set to perform rituals in the same way, and using the same ceramic set to cook and eat in the same way. When inhabitants join these systems, they would visually and behaviorally become a Zhou member, therefore experiencing and embodying the Zhou identity in the military, ritual or dietary context. However, these measures of the Zhou court were not entirely effective; many did not participate, or engage fully, in some or all of the new systems. Their experience of the Zhou identity was situational, contextual and not permanent.

2. The Zhou identity

The Zhou identity, in the context of this thesis, is the individuals' experience of participating in the Zhou military, ritual and dietary system so that the individuals project themselves as an integral part of those systems. Argued in Chapter 2, the Zhou identity is an experience, and is gained through the Zhou individuals' actions, or interactions with others. In other words, it is not about the subjective feelings of the individuals, but rather, it concerns their living experiences and behavior understood through archaeological remains.

The Zhou identity is also understood within the framework of a specific social situation, which the individuals are in at a specific moment, for example, in a combat, during an ancestral worship or a communal feast. Its definition is hence highly situational and contextual. In the military context, the Zhou identity entails the armed individuals' joining of the royal armies, their use of the standard royal *ge* type (type F), as well as of the standard royal techniques to fight. In the ritual context, the Zhou identity involves the elites' repeated performance of worshiping ancestors in the royal Zhou way, their rejection of the Shang rituals and beliefs, as well as the use of a standard royal ritual vessel set. In the dietary context, the Zhou identity is defined as the elites' and non-elites' use of a royal ceramic set, and the taking up of the royal Zhou foodways.

Similarly, the individuals' embodiment of the Zhou identity is situational. For example, a regional elite experiences a Zhou identity when he performs the royal Zhou rituals, yet in another occasion where he participates in a community feast and uses local ceramic sets, he is then not embodying the Zhou identity but a local one. Shown in the various surveys in Chapters 3-5, the participation level of the same individuals in the

three new Zhou systems varies. For example, many elites from the Luoyang Beiyao site engaged fully in the royal military system, but barely in the dietary one.

Considering that the definition and the embodiment of the Zhou identity is highly dependent on the context, to be considered an absolute loyal Zhou member, an individual must participate in all three systems to the full extent. In all contexts, the individual must not have a stronger association to the local or other communities than to the Zhou regime. Demonstrated in this thesis, during the early Zhou years, such an individual hardly existed. Most, while joining some of the systems, maintained a salient link to the local group.

3. The embodiment of the Zhou identity by region

This section juxtaposes the observations obtained in Chapters 3-5, in order to give an overview of the extent of “Zhou-ness” embodied by the individuals in major regions. From the juxtaposition, it determines how close the individuals in each region were to be truly loyal Zhou members.¹

3a. Zhouyuan

Inhabitants at Zhouyuan participated in the three systems to varying extent. The bronze ritual vessel sets found in the region show high level of standardization. Many emphasize food vessels instead of wine ones. Most small and large burials display the standard royal set. Similarly, the ceramic sets also reveal a high level of standardization. Small and larger burials follow the royal set requirements. Contrarily, a large diversity of

¹ Not all sites discussed in Chapters 3-5 are considered here. Only those major ones with enough or complete burial data, or those considered traditionally as part of the Zhou regime are shown.

ge types are present in both the elite and lesser-elite tombs. Despite being a royal residency, the armed individuals were flexible in displaying and using local or even exotic military weapons.

3b. Feng/Hao

Inhabitants in the Feng/Hao region engaged themselves in the three systems also in varying degree. The burials in the region show a high level of standardization in the ceramic set. Most small and large tombs follow the royal set requirement. While the bronze *ge* in the elite burials are highly homogenized, those of the lesser elites are more diverse. The elites also accepted the new Zhou ritual vessel set implementation to a small degree. Smaller tombs show a higher level of corporation in displaying the royal set, whereas larger burials tend to follow the Shang vessel set instead.

3c. Luoyang Beiyao

Inhabitants in Luoyang Beiyao show contrasting degree of participation in two systems. As many tombs were heavily looted or destroyed, no information on the ritual vessel system can be obtained. Nonetheless, standardization of the bronze *ge* was the most thorough in elite burials compared to all other sites. Most of the found *ge* belong to the royal standard type. Contrarily, the ceramic sets do not follow the royal Zhou standards but show Shang influences. Many vessels are high-fired, a material common in the South.

3d. Liulihe (Yan polity)

Individuals at the Yan polity show a fair level of participation in all three systems. One exception is the elites' weak engagement in the military context. Royal type *ge* co-exist with northern-style and other exotic weapons. On the other hand, bronze *ge* of the lesser elites mostly belong to the royal standard type. The bronze ritual vessel sets also appear to be rather standardized. Smaller tombs even contain no wine vessels but only the *ding-gui* pair. Similarly, smaller tombs also display the royal ceramic set. However, the elites from larger burials seemed to have the flexibility to turn their standard Zhou set into a local one by adding or replacing certain vessel types.

3e. Tianma-Qucun (Jin polity)

Inhabitants at the Jin polity also show a fair level of engagement with the new Zhou systems. The bronze ritual vessel sets are highly standardized; not a single burial contains more wine vessels than the food ones. Most smaller and larger tombs display the royal standard set. In elite burials, with some exceptions, many bronze *ge* belong to the royal standard type. Most tombs, particularly the smaller ones, contain somewhat homogenized ceramic sets. In larger burials, exotic clay vessel types are occasionally added, turning the assemblage into a semi-local one.

3f. Junxian Xincun (Wei polity)

The Wei polity participated in the Zhou systems to a large extent. Although not many burials are well published, the available ones (2) show highly standardized bronze vessel sets, following the royal Zhou requirements. In addition, no type A bronze *ge*

(associated with the Shang military) was found in the burials as well. Considered that the site is close to Anyang, the central court's implementation of the Zhou military and ritual systems was very thorough. Unfortunately, information on the ceramic sets from the region is incomplete or not published.

3g. Qianzhangda

The Qianzhangda site is argued by many to have remained heavily influenced by the Shang regime and traditions. Indeed, the bronze ritual vessel sets at the site seem unaffected by the requirements of the new Zhou ritual system. All sets indicate a heavy emphasis on wine vessels; the Shang-favored *jue-gu* pair also appears very frequently. In addition, the ceramics show little sign of the Zhou court's regulation. The sets reveal local preferences in vessel combinations. Nonetheless, in the military context, the region seems to be slightly more cooperative with the Zhou court. The elites did not own any type A bronze *ge*, which is associated with the Shang regime or military. However, the royal Zhou type is not too common; diverse types are present in the burials.

3h. Yejiashan (Zeng polity)

Individuals in the Zeng polity participate in the new Zhou systems only to a small extent. Despite being the most common type, the royal standard *ge* (type F) co-exist with other regional types and weapons. In addition, while elites in the smaller tombs followed mainly the royal Zhou bronze set requirements, higher-end elites took up both the Zhou and Shang royal set. Furthermore, no signs of the ceramic standardization can be

observed in the region. All tombs display local vessel combinations, drastically different from the royal standard ones.

3i. Pingdingshan (Ying polity)

The individuals at the Ying polity cooperated with the central court only to a small extent. Only two of the royal Zhou *ge* type is found, the rest are local or foreign types. Regional weapons such as the willow leaf shaped sword are also displayed. Nevertheless, the three available small to medium tombs display highly homogenized bronze vessel set, fitting with the royal Zhou standards.

3j. Zhuyuangou, Rujiashuang (Yu Polity)

The Yu polity is traditionally regarded as part of the Zhou regime; bronze inscriptions also reveal that the governing lords followed the Zhou rules for using the royal titles. However, except for certain ritual aspects, the inhabitants did not participate at all in any of the new royal Zhou systems. To begin with, many of the ritual vessel sets display more food vessels than wine ones. In smaller tombs, the royal standard *ding-gui* pair is often the core combination. However, larger burials, aside from taking up the royal standard set, incorporate unusual vessel types with local characteristics into the assemblage. The higher-end elites may not have followed the royal way of using the ritual vessels to the full extent. Moreover, almost all of the bronze *ge* from the site belong to a local type (type D) with characteristics from the Shu region. Some of which were also made for mortuary purposes only. The related burial rituals, length of the *ge*-shaft and techniques to use are drastically different from those of the royal type. The elites and

soldiers in the region did not participate in the new Zhou military context. Similarly, the ceramic sets show no sign of the inhabitants' engagement with the royal dietary system. Almost all burials contain only the local *guan* vessel with either a pointed or flat base.

3k. Further observations

The overview reveals that, not a single site or locality participated in all of the three new Zhou systems to the full extent. Contrarily to traditional expectation, the royal residencies show considerable flexibility in taking up or rejecting the royal standards. Many also maintained local or even exotic preferences in their military, ritual and dietary traditions. Nonetheless, the ritual vessel sets in Zhouyuan are particularly standardized; and the bronze *ge* in Luoyang Beiyao highly homogenized. The salient control on a particular system fits well with the nature of these sites. For example, the Zhouyuan was an important ritual center of the regime, and the Luoyang region was strategically significant for military purposes. In addition, many regions close to Anyang, the former Shang center, also show a deliberate and rigorous elimination of Shang elements in the military and ritual context. These observations reflect that during the early Zhou years, despite the generally loose implementation of the three systems, the Zhou court had its priority in establishing the fundamentals around the systems. They also indicate that, different royal residencies focused on setting up and embodying the Zhou identity in a different context, possibly for the purpose of becoming a role model for others to follow. Yet on the other hand, in other aspects, each of the residencies remained negligent, not fully experiencing the Zhou identity.

Furthermore, the overview also suggests that the regulation on the three systems seem to have been attempted and run separately. The success and effectiveness of one system is not dependent on or related to the other. Certain regions show a more successful enforcement of the Zhou ceramic standards than the ritual or weapon ones, whereas other regions display the opposite. One possible reason may be that, each of the system was implemented by different authorities within a local government, hence the approach and resources used may have been different. Another possibility is that, the local rulers who were given the task of enforcing the standardization schemes were not motivated themselves to initiate certain changes, whether for personal or political reasons. They may not have understood the intention behind the scheme, hence failing to make the appropriate policies to achieve the intended results.

Therefore, during the early Zhou years, not a single region or locality was experiencing the Zhou identity to the full extent. Nonetheless, the Zhou court's scheme had been initiated and progress was being made. One important fact to bear in mind is that the Western Zhou regime lasted for more than 270 years with 14 generations of Zhou king. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to demonstrate, the Zhou court's scheme to establish and promote the Zhou identity must have turned out successful. The ritual revolution, and the continuous homogenization of ceramic vessels and weapons in the later period must have been, to a large extent, related to the redefinition and further consolidation of the Zhou identity.² The ineffectiveness observed in the early Zhou years does not represent the overall result of the identity development throughout the entire Western Zhou period. Nevertheless, it demonstrates the scale and difficulty of the

² Examining the Xing vessels from the Zhuangbai hoard discovered in Fufeng. Jessica Rawson proposes that a ritual revolution must have occurred around 850 B.C. Rawson 1989, pp. 87-93; 1999; 2004, pp. 4-11.

scheme, as well as its uneasy start. Archaeologists should no longer accept the traditional understanding that the Zhou regime was a naturally occurring dynastic series that came smoothly after the Shang dynasty. Drastic changes in many aspects of life happened to all inhabitants across the entire Zhou territory. Enormous efforts were made by the Zhou court to consolidate its power since the beginning of its establishment.

5. Direction of future studies

Studying the identity development of the early Western Zhou period, this thesis redefines and clarifies the concept of identity, which has frequently been misunderstood and misused. It also demonstrates an appropriate approach to apply the concept in archaeological studies. Different from other works, the theoretical model and methodology developed in this study emphasize the reconstructed living experiences of ancient people, through material remains. Such a model provides a new method for future research to understand social activities and societies in early and medieval China. It also suggests new ways of linking archaeological objects to social and political analyses.

Using the lens of identity, the thesis provides a fresh understanding of the political development of the early Western Zhou regime. It gives a new account of how the Zhou court consolidated its power at the dawn of its establishment, calling attention to the uneasy and complex transition from the Shang to the Zhou sovereign. Identity as a policy was used by the Zhou court to comprehensively control a colossal, diverse and newly conquered domain. It defines the court's overall, long-term vision to gain power and legitimacy to rule; it provides the motivation, or a logical explanation to the ritual, military and political development observed. For example, the central court was keen to

standardize bronze weapons and the way to fight, because the policy belongs to part of the grander ideology of unifying the armed individuals, making them loyal Zhou members and ultimately consolidating the Zhou regime. On the other hand, identity is also a tool to measure the regional elites and non-elites' level of cooperation, hence the actual extent of the Zhou court's control. Understanding the motivation behind the Zhou court and the reactions of the regional individuals, one perceives better the political mode, nature of interactions as well as the direction of development of the early Western Zhou regime. In this way, the thesis revisits and challenges traditional understanding of the Zhou political structure and the nature of different regions. It also brings new insights to multiple aspects of the early Zhou society that have rarely been studied thoroughly, including the military and dietary traditions.

The thesis is also the first to collect and put together the data on well published or available tombs dated to the early Western Zhou period. Since a lot of the burials or sites are not published by context but by material categories, much effort is spent in configuring and reorganizing the information in the reports. The tables and lists provided in the thesis, showing the excavated objects burial by burial, are hence of value for future works that are dependent on contextual data. The new and simplified typologies of the bronze *ge* and ceramics developed in the thesis are also helpful for studies with similar purposes.

For sure, standardization in the bronze *ge*, ritual and ceramic vessel sets are not the only policies initiated by the Zhou court to establish and promote the Zhou identity. Other material such as ornaments, clothing, writing or language possibly also underwent a certain extent of regulation and homogenization. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to

investigate each and every of the material remains. Nonetheless, the thesis points out the need to re-examine these categories and re-analyze them as part of the Zhou court's political policies.

With the results and potential of the thesis evaluated above, the following is a list of possible directions that future studies can take to continue what this thesis has initiated:

1. Concept of identity and application in archaeology

- Apply the same theoretical model and methodology to investigate the communities and archaeological remains of the middle and late Western Zhou period.
- Use the same approach to study other societies and regimes in ancient China.

2. Political landscape of the Western Zhou period

- Recognize the need to revise traditional understanding of the Shang-Zhou transition. More work can be done to focus on the Zhou regime's policies facilitating the transition, as well as the regional communities' reactions towards the policies.
- Understand the overall political development of the Western Zhou period from a macro perspective, considering all sites throughout the Zhou territory. Most current studies focus only on a specific region or site and hence do not draw appropriate conclusions on the bigger picture of the Zhou regime.

3. Archaeological data

- Incorporate statistical analysis and presentation of the quantitative data generated in this thesis. For example, using statistical methods such as cluster

analysis, principal component analysis (PCA) and Coefficient of Variation (CV) to measure and show the degree of standardization of bronze weapons and ritual vessel sets. These methods would also put the sampling size of each site into consideration.

- Use the same method (showing objects in original context) to collect and present archaeological data of the other periods such as the middle and late Western Zhou.
- Use archaeological data to reconstruct the living experiences of object owners.

4. Foodways and military development of the Western Zhou period

- Continue the same approach to study these aspects of the middle and late Western Zhou period.
- Focus on the military development of the Western Zhou regime. More work need to be done on the standardization, casting and distribution of the bronze dagger-axes. Similarly, more studies should be dedicated to understand and reconstruct the fighting techniques and military training of the Zhou soldiers. When possible, chemical analysis and use-wear analysis of the weapons as well as palaeopathological analysis of the armed individuals can be conducted.
- Use ceramics, animal and grain remains to reconstruct the foodways of the Zhou inhabitants. When possible, use-wear analysis of the pottery, archaeobotanical analysis of the grain samples, skeletal analysis of animal and human remains can be conducted.

5. Other data not explored in this thesis

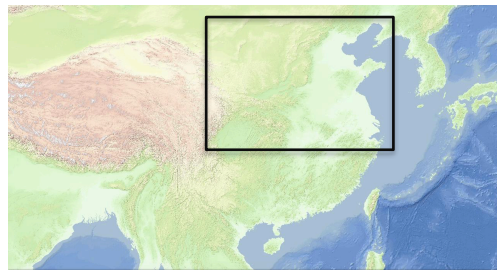
- Examine other material such as ornaments, jade, clothing, writing (calligraphy or language) in order to reconstruct the users' living experiences and to understand their related identity development.

In sum, the thesis urges future studies to support the results of this thesis by conducting further statistical and scientific analysis of the archaeological data, and to use the same approach to examine other material remains. It also hopes to inspire future works to use the same theoretical model and methodology to investigate the identity development during the middle to late Western Zhou period, as well as in other periods of early and medieval China. If done well, a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of ancient societies and of the excavated objects can be achieved.

Maps



Map 1 Major rivers, Qishan and Central Plain



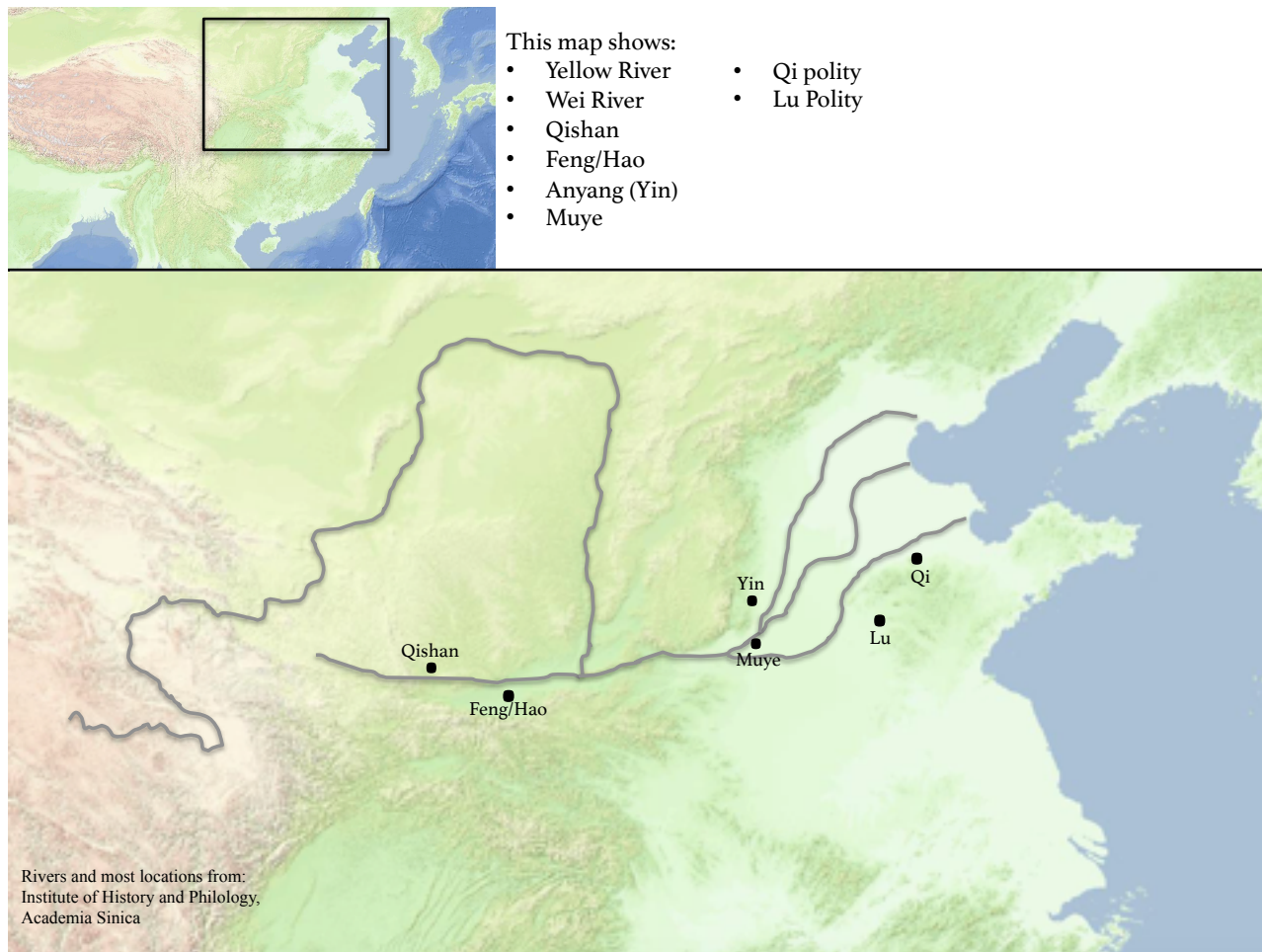
This map shows:

- Qishan
- Examples of pre-conquest Zhou cultures

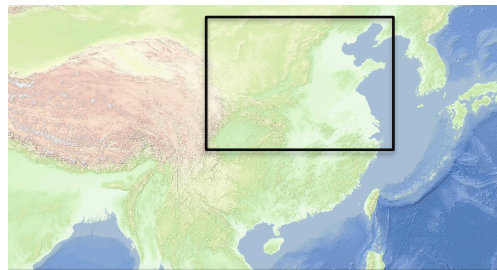


Rivers and most locations from:
Institute of History and Philology,
Academia Sinica

Map 2 Qishan and examples of pre-conquest Zhou cultures



Map 3 Yin, Muye, royal residences and examples of polities

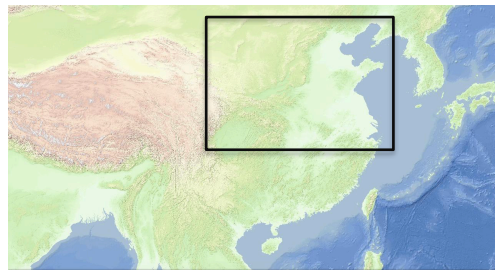


This map shows:

- Qishan
- Feng/Hao
- Chengzhou (Luoyang)
- Furthest possible extent of the Zhou territory (the blurred edges indicate that the boundaries are not clearly defined. The extent of Zhou control in regions within the blurred zone also vary)



Map 4 Furthest possible extent of Zhou territory

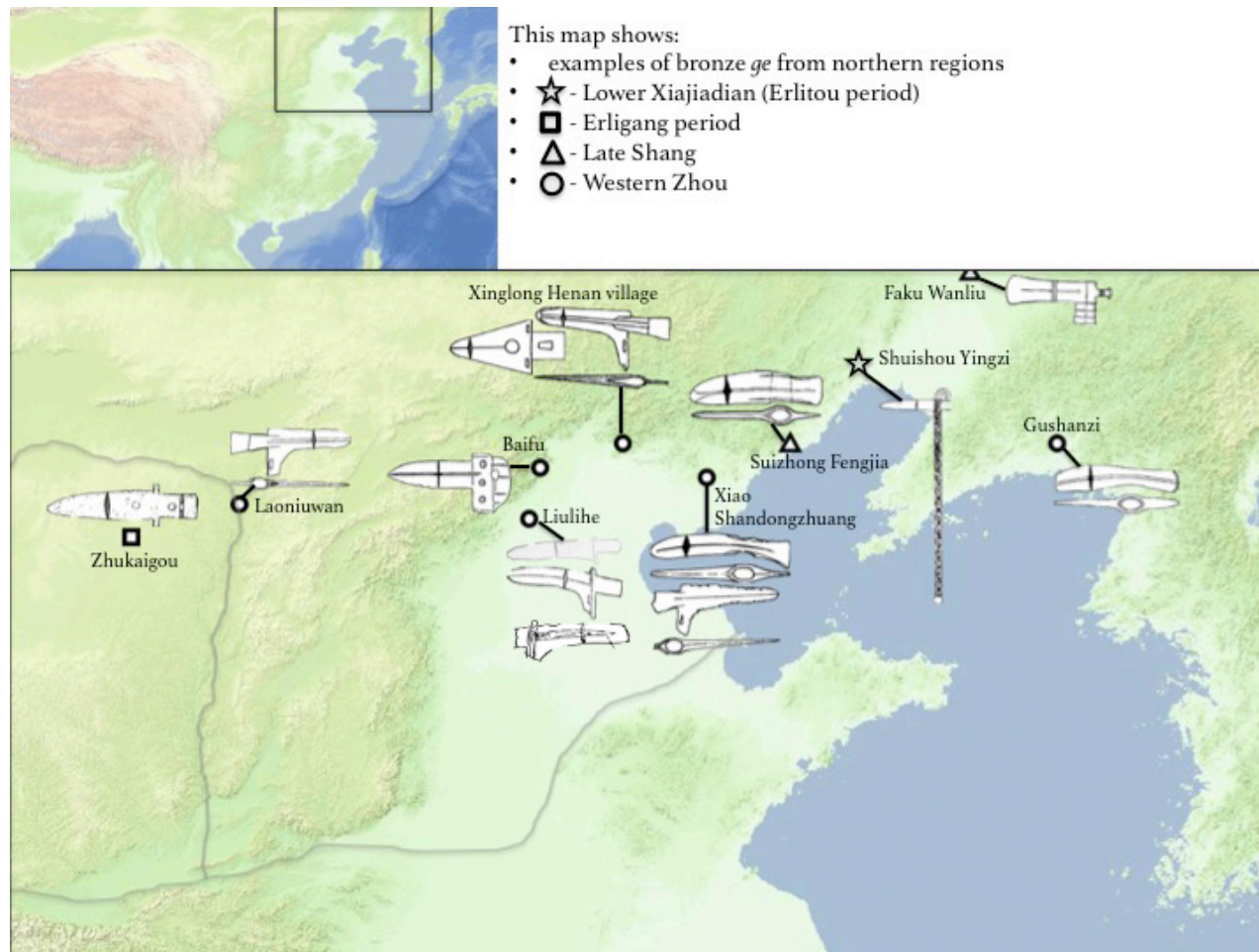


This map shows:

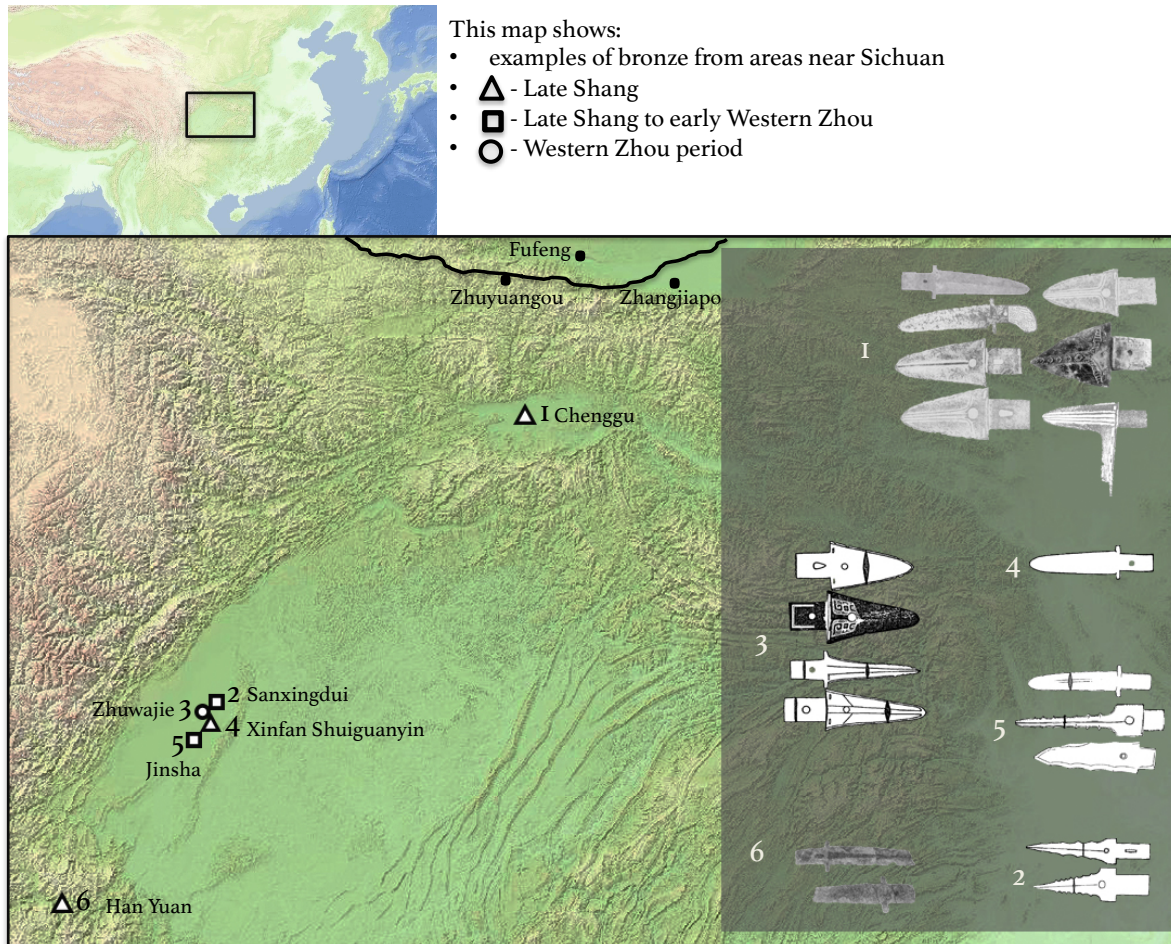
- **Red:** Zhou royal residences (metropolitan regions)
- **Blue:** regional polities ruled by Ji-clan lords (not all polities are shown here)
- **Green:** regional polities ruled by non-Ji clans (not all polities are shown here)

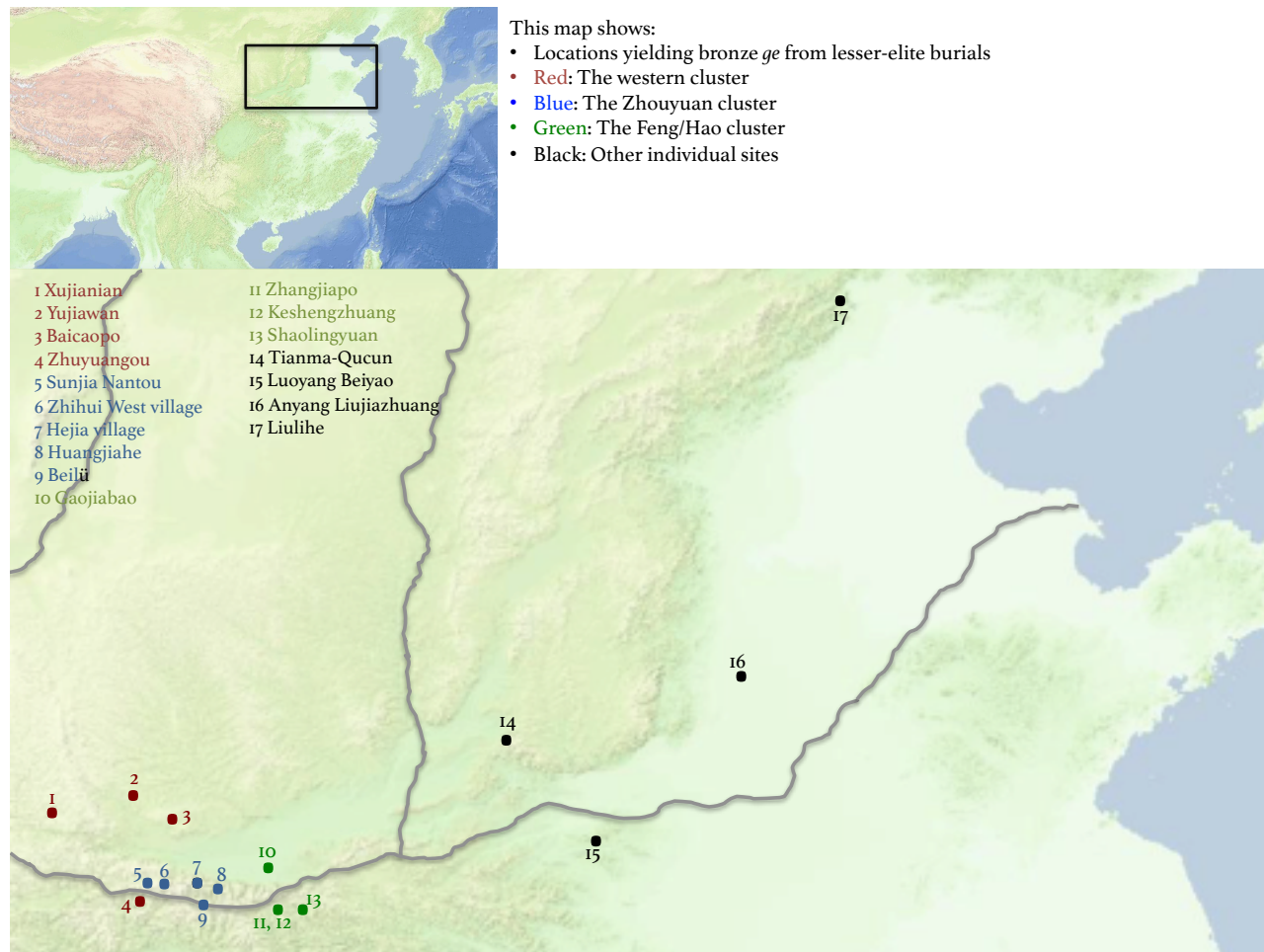


Map 5 Royal residences, regional polities ruled by Ji and non-Ji clans

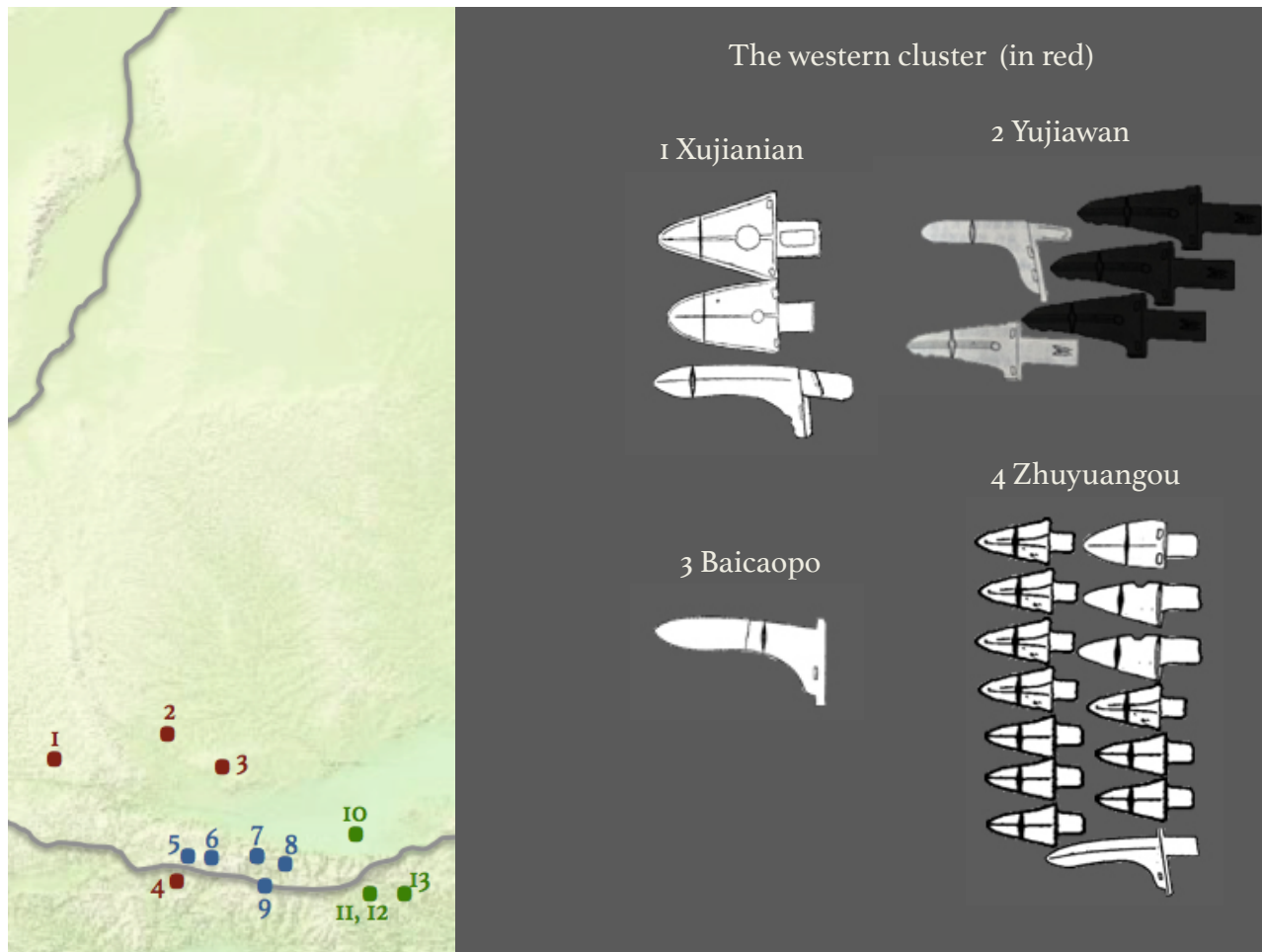


Map 6 Examples of bronze *ge* from northern regions

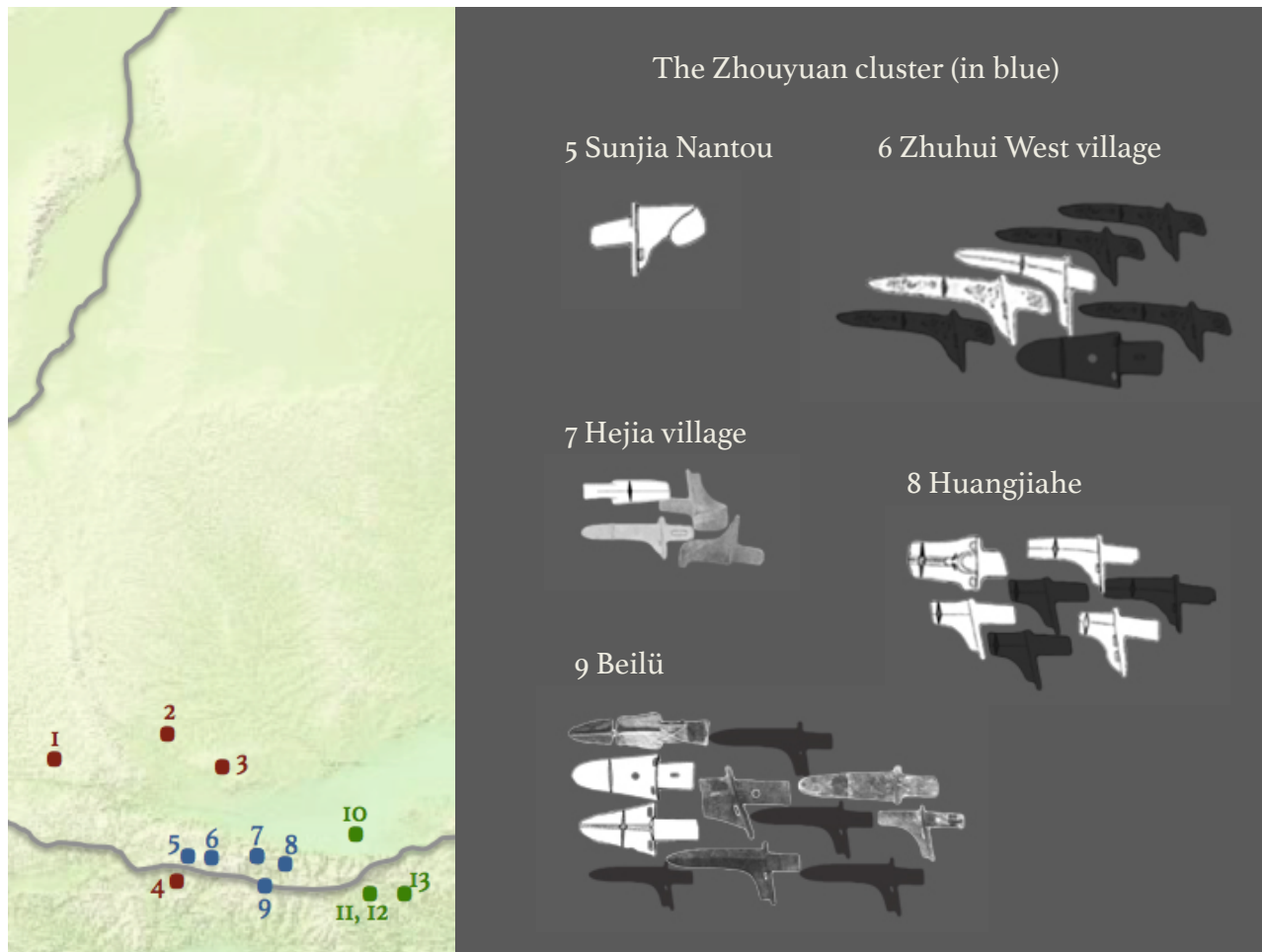




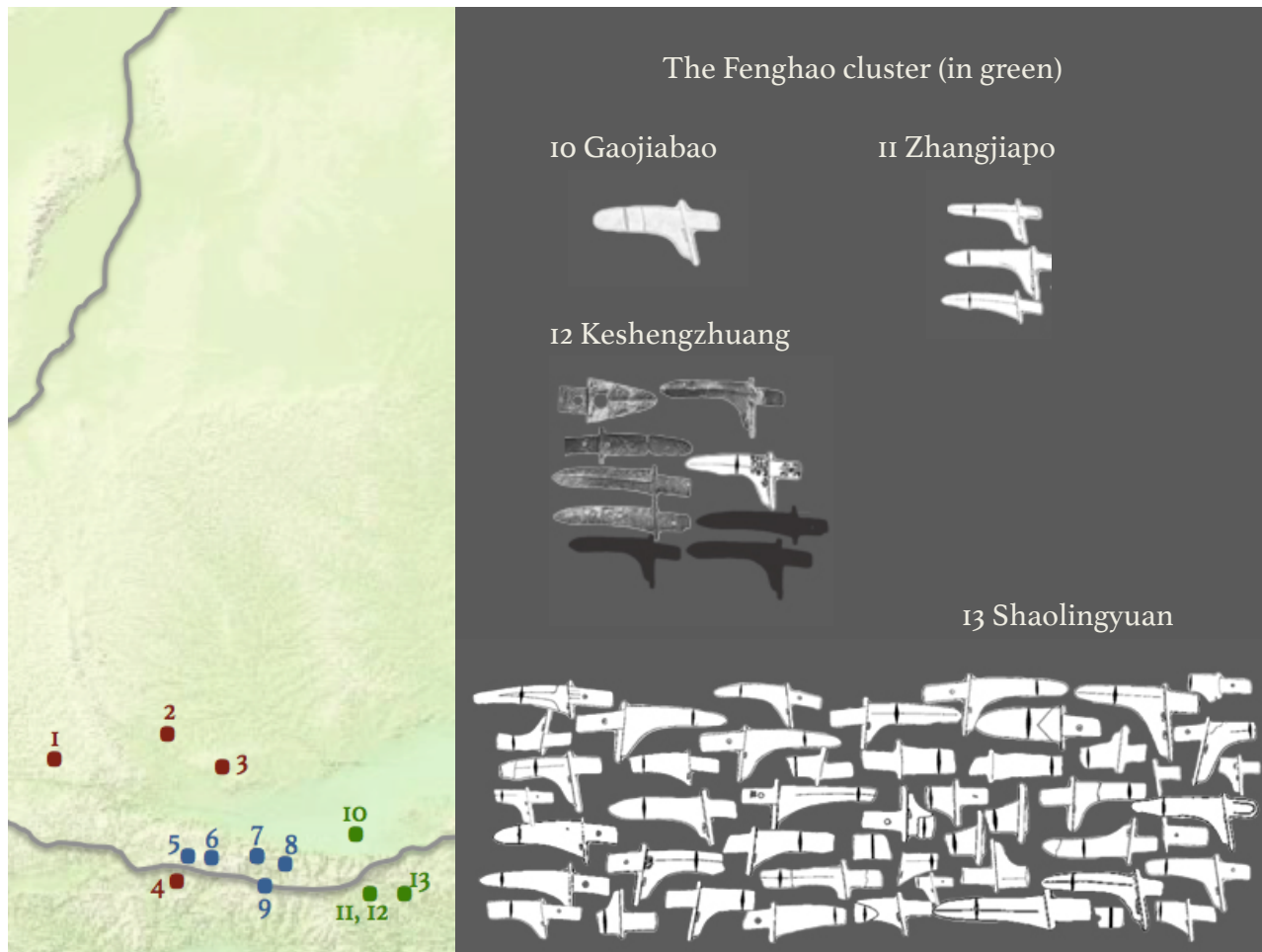
Map 8 Locations yielding bronze *ge* from lesser-elite burials



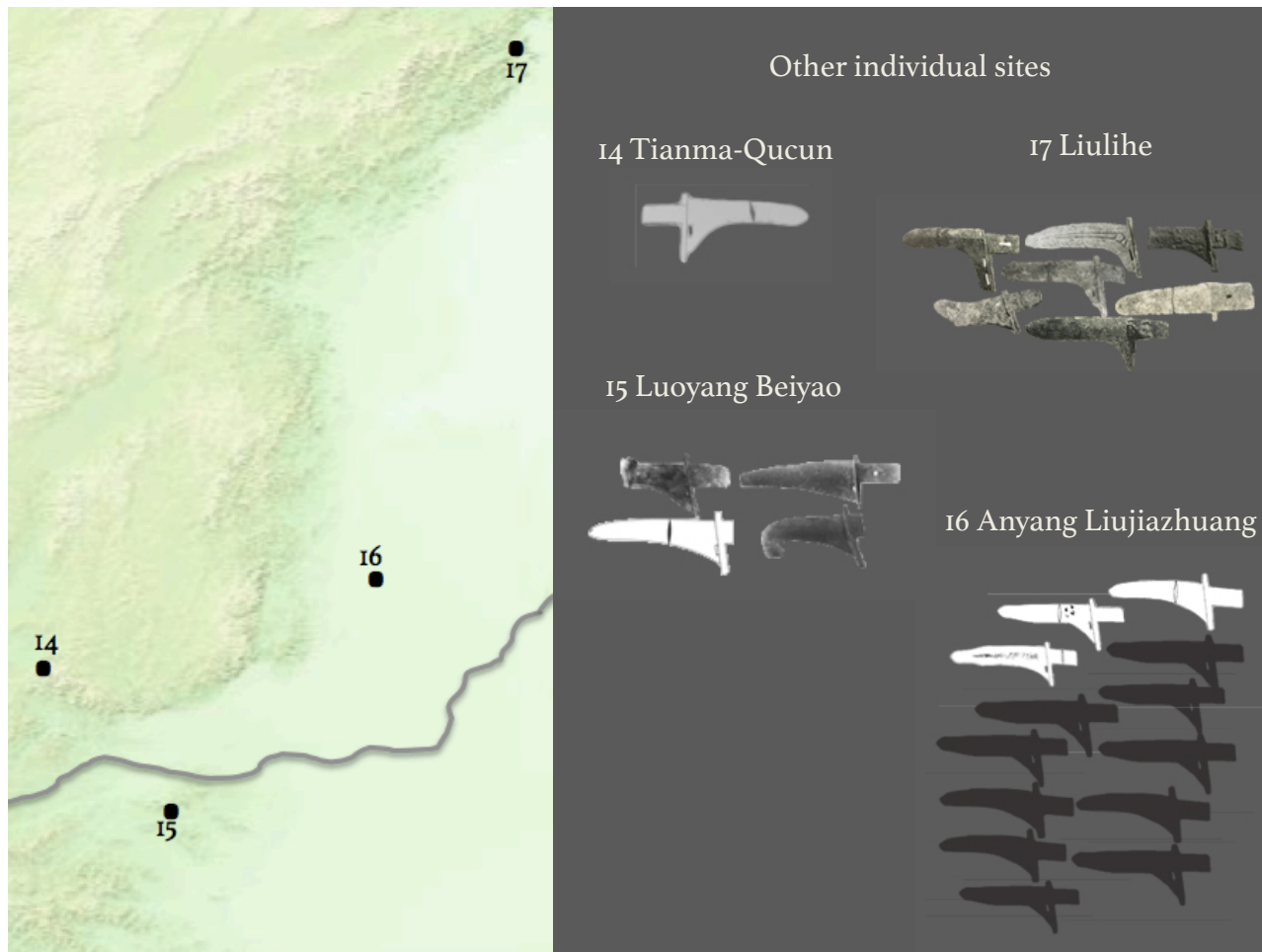
Map 8.1 The western cluster



Map 8.2 The Zhouyuan cluster



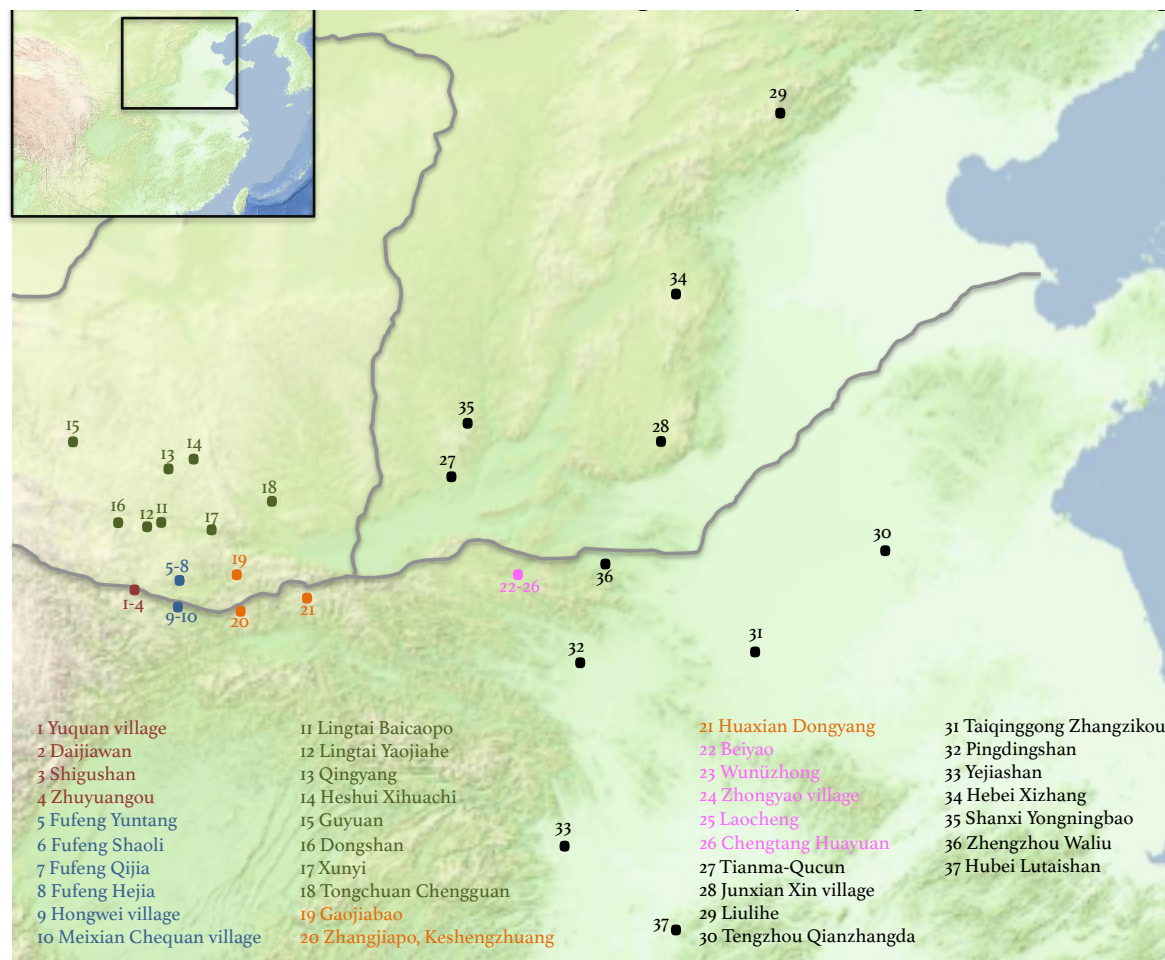
Map 8.3 The Feng/Hao cluster



Map 8.4 Other individual sites

- 1 Xujianian**
Zhongguo jingwei 1982, pp. 584-590.
- 2 Yujiawan**
Gansusheng wenwu 1986, pp. 1-7.
- 3 Baicaopo**
Gansusheng 1977, pp. 99-130.
- 4 Zhuyuangou**
Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.
- 5 Sunjia Nantou**
Shaanxisheng kaogu, Baojishi kaogu and Fengxiangxian 2007, pp. 24-33.
- 6 Zhihui Xiqun**
Yongcheng, Han Wei and Wu Zhenfeng 1982, pp. 15-38.
- 7 Hejia**
Shaanxisheng bowuguan and Shaanxisheng wenwu 1976, pp. 31-38; Shaanxisheng kaogu and Xu Xitai 1980, pp. 7-12.
- 8 Huangjiahe**
Zhongguo wugong 1988, pp. 601-649.
- 9 Beilü**
Luo Xizhang 1984.
- 10 Gaojiabao**
Shaanxisheng 1995.
- 11 Zhangjiapo**
Zhongguo fenghao 1987, pp. 15-32; Zhongguo 1999.
- 12 Keshengzhuang**
Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所 1962.
- 13 Shaolingyuan**
Shaanxisheng 2008.
- 14 Tianma-Qucun**
Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, pp. 4-21.
- 15 Luoyang Beiyao**
Luoyangshi 1999.
- 16 Liujiashuang**
Zhongguo anyang 2005, pp. 23.
- 17 Liulihe**
Beijingshi 1995.

Map 8.5

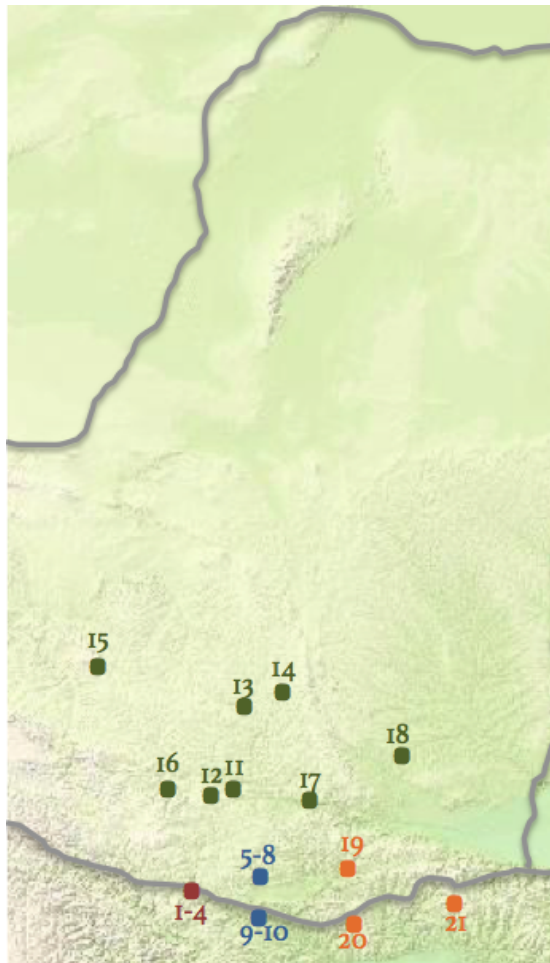


Map 9 Locations of elite ge-burials

Red: Baoji group
Orange: Feng/Hao group

Blue: Zhouyuan group
Pink: Luoyang group

Green: Shaanxi-Gansu group
Black: individual sites



Map 9.1 Yuquan village

1 Yuquan village

tomb unlabeled



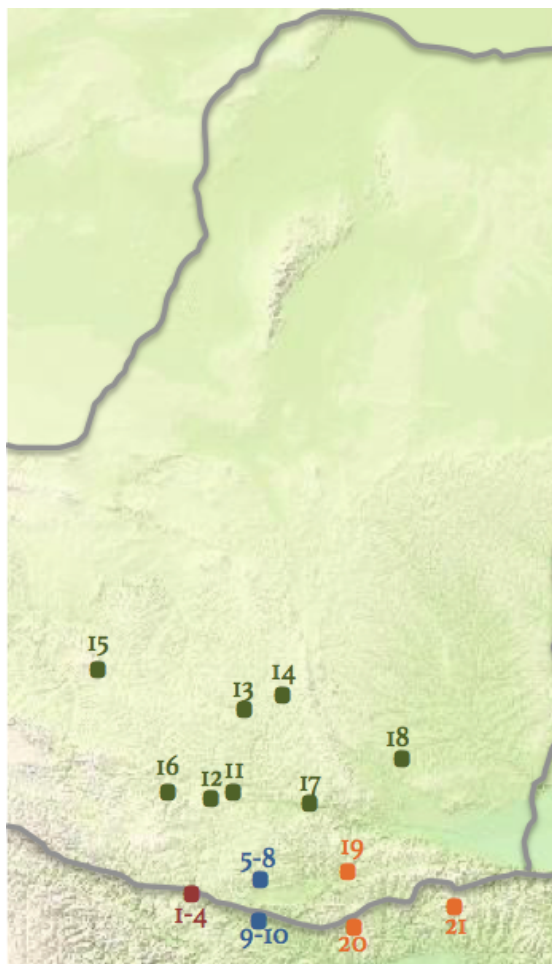


2 Daijiawan

Tomb context unknown



Map 9.2 Daijiawan

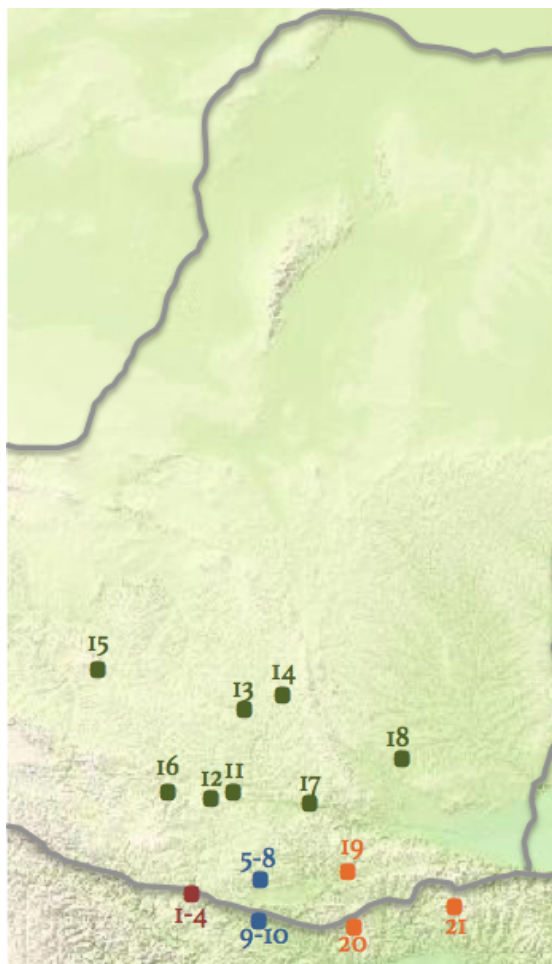


Map 9.3 Shigushan

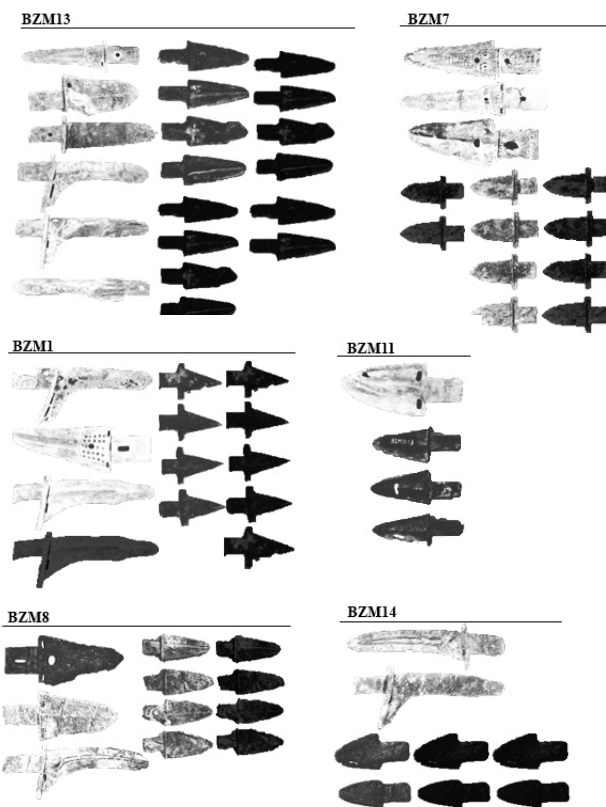
3 Shigushan

M3

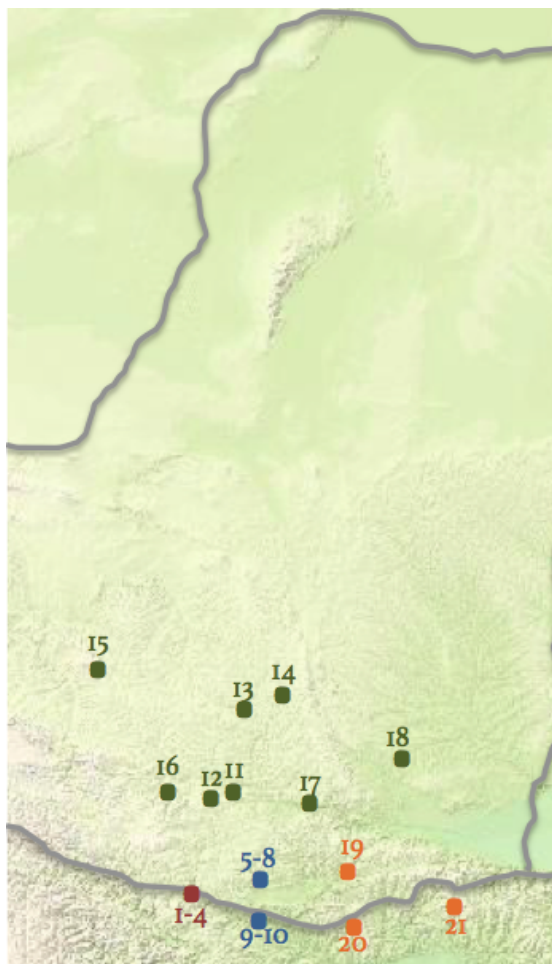




4 Zhuyuangou - I

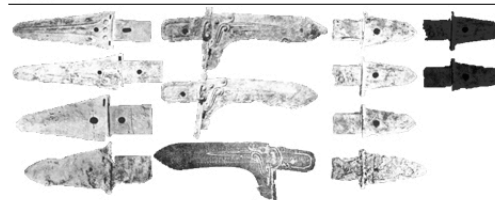


Map 9.4 Zhuyuangou I

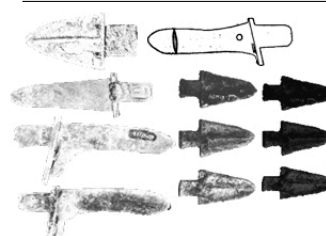


4 Zhuyuangou - II

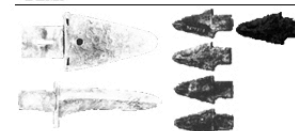
BZM4



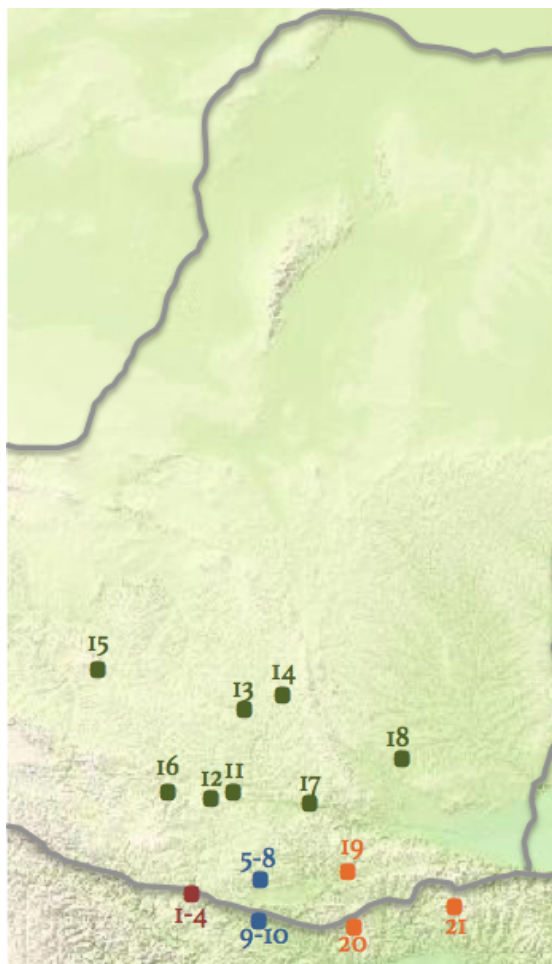
BZM20



BZM3

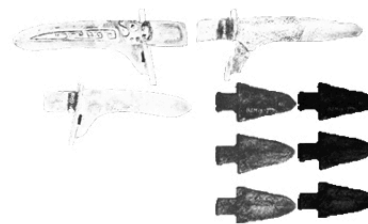


Map 9.5 Zhuyuangou II

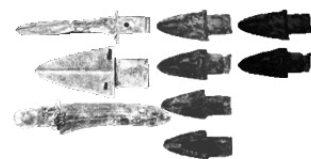


4 Zhuyuangou - III

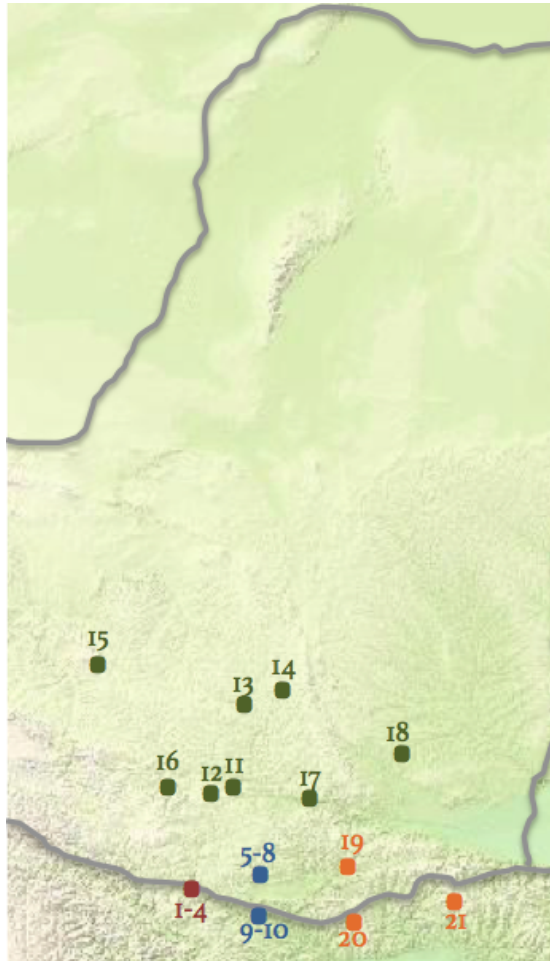
BZM19



BZM18



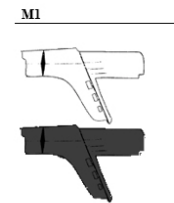
Map 9.6 Zhuyuangou III



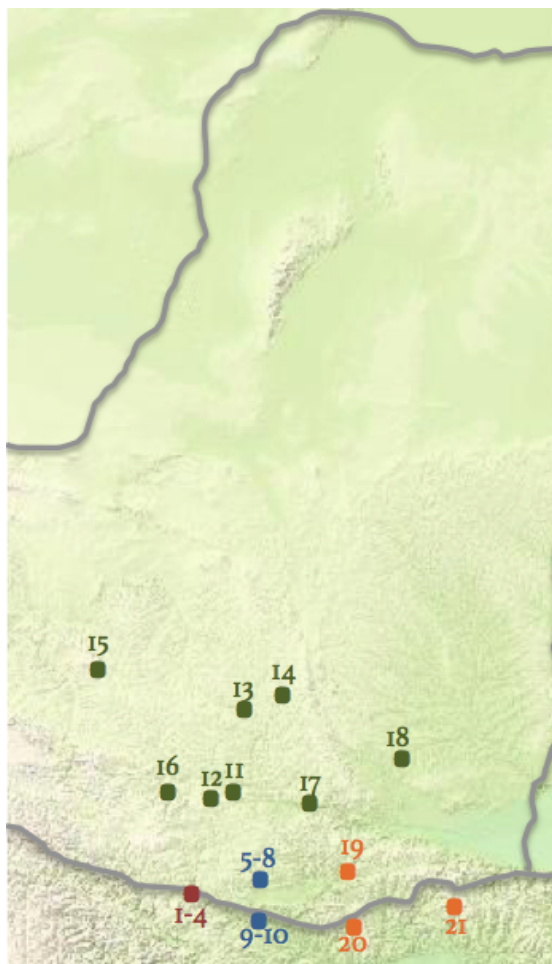
5 Fufeng Yuntang



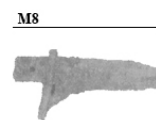
6 Fufeng Shaoli



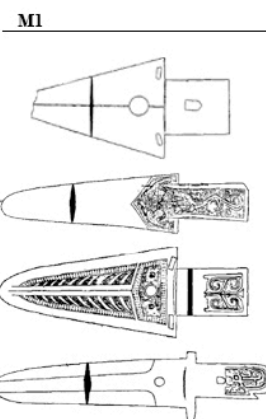
Map 9.7 Fufeng Yuntang and Fufeng Shaoli



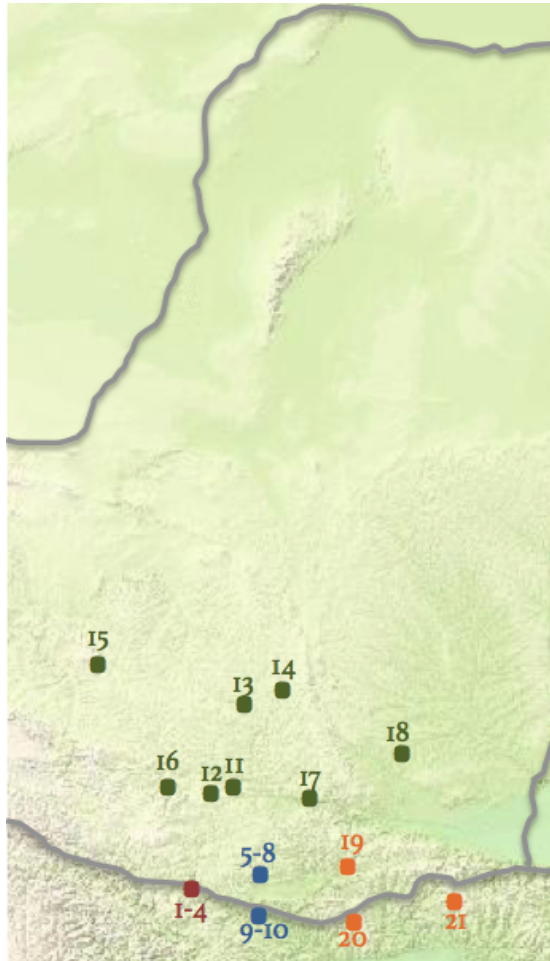
7 Fufeng Qijia



8 Fufeng Hejia



Map 9.8 Fufeng Qijia and Fufeng Hejia



9 Hongwei village

tomb unlabeled

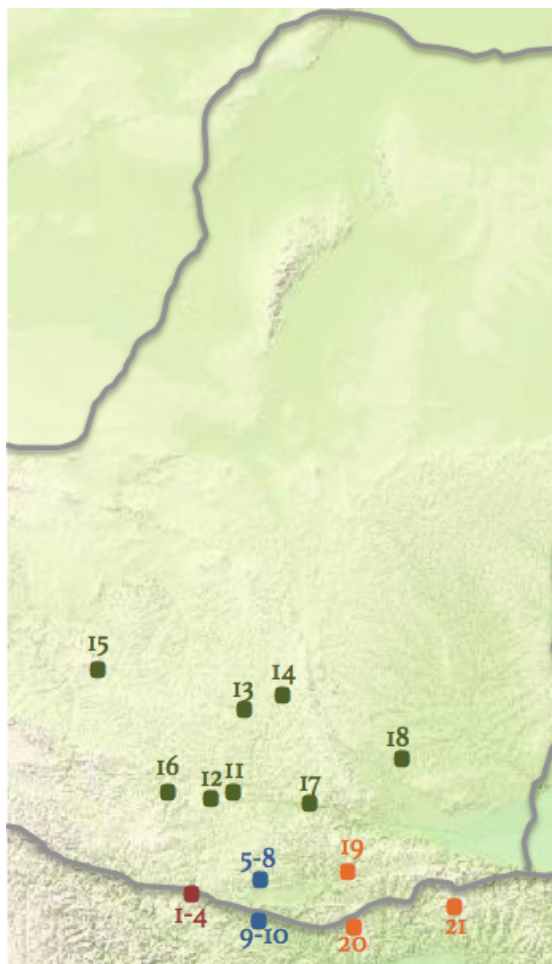


10 Meixian Chequan village

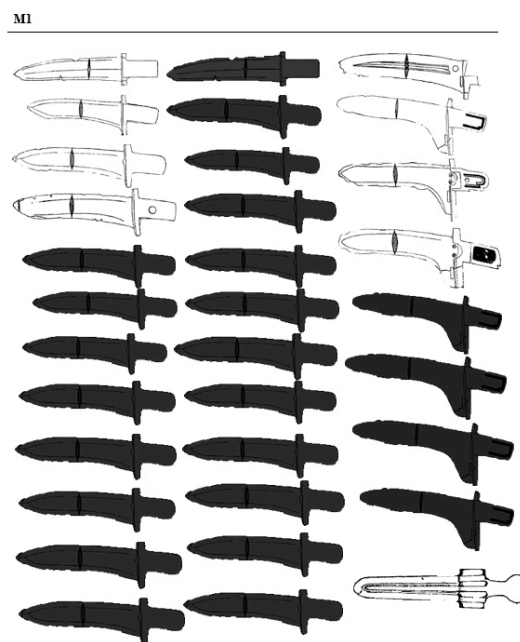
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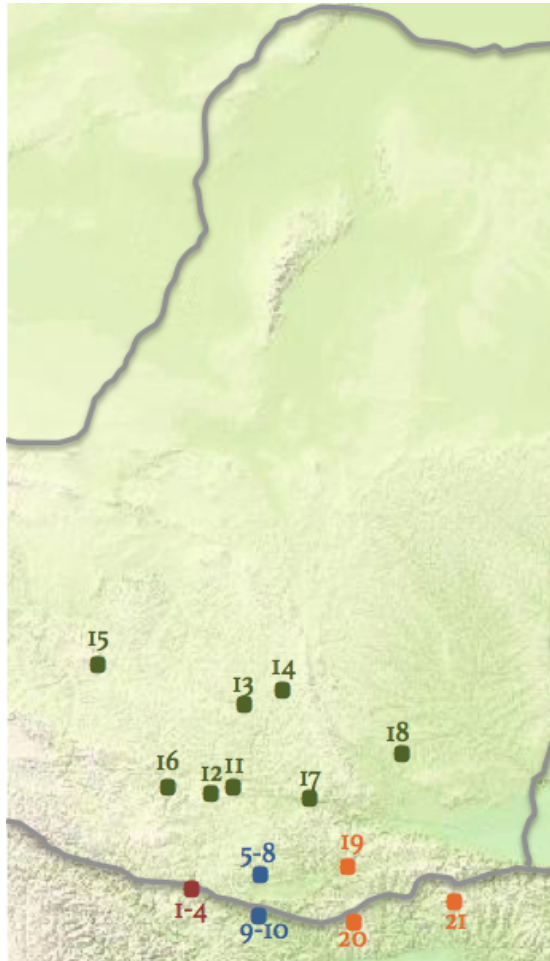
Map 9.9 Hongwei village and Meixian Chequan village



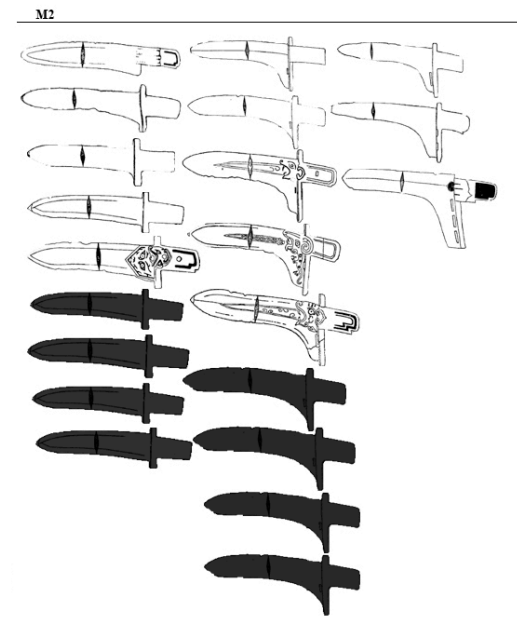
II Lingtai Baicaopo - I



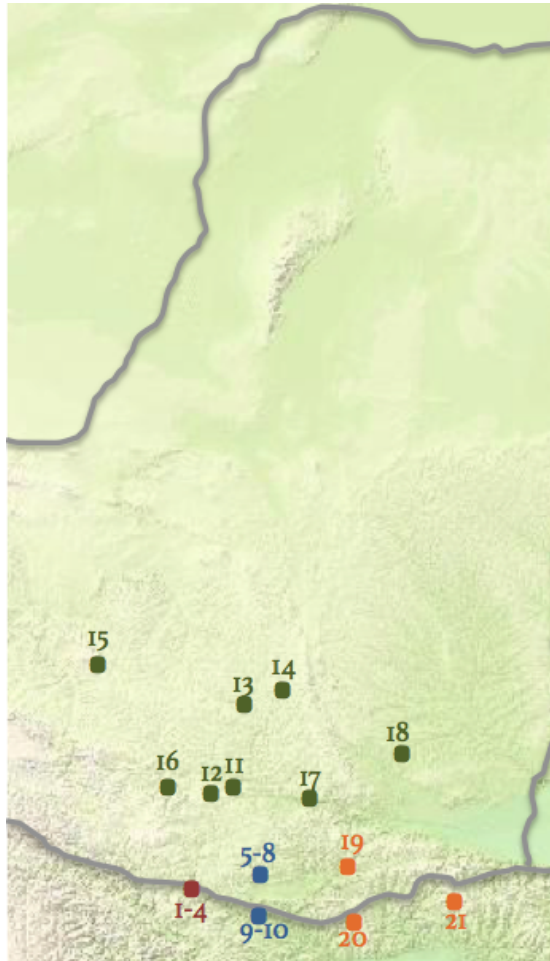
Map 9.10 Lingtai Baicaopo I



II Lingtai Baicaopo - II



Map 9.11 Lingtai Baicaopo II



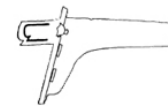
12 Lingtai Yaojiahe

M1

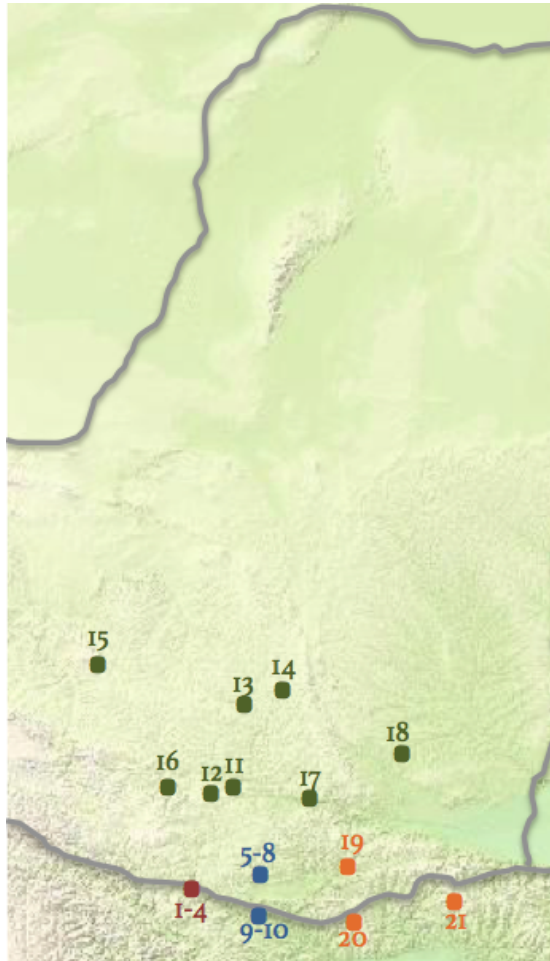


13 Qingyang

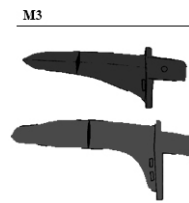
Tomb unlabeled



Map 9.12 Lingtai Yaojiahe and Qingyang



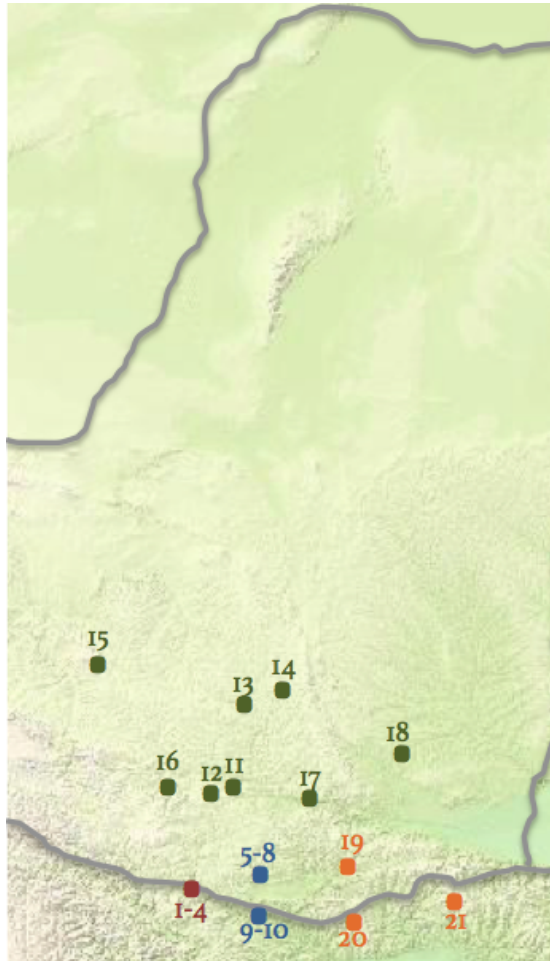
14 Heshui Xihuachi



15 Guyuan



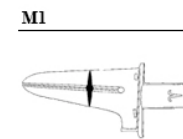
Map 9.13 Heshui Xihuachi and Guyuan



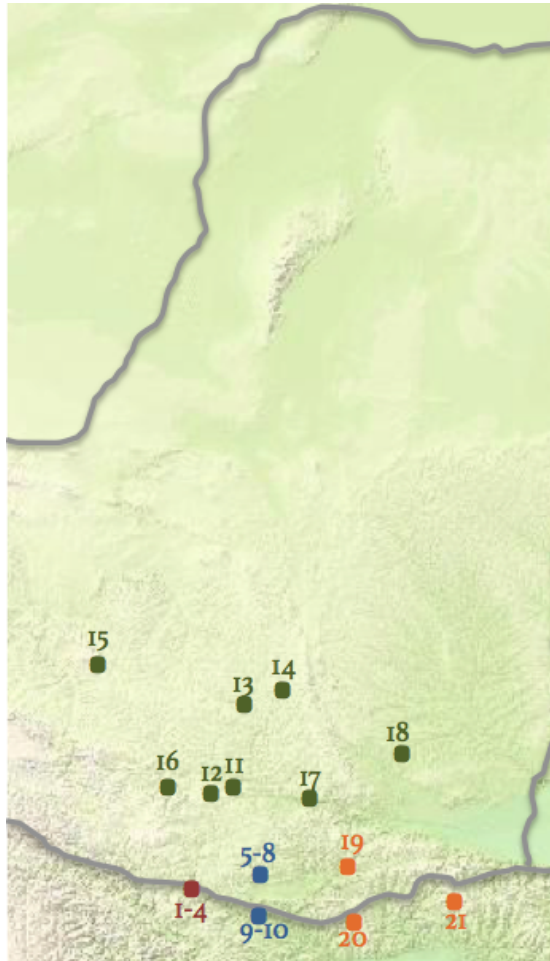
16 Dongshan

2 bronze *ge* unpublished

17 Xunyi

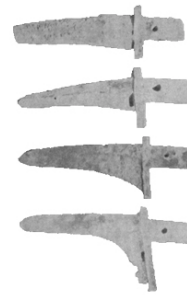


Map 9.14 Dongshan and Xunyi



18 Tongchuan Chengguan

Tomb unlabeled

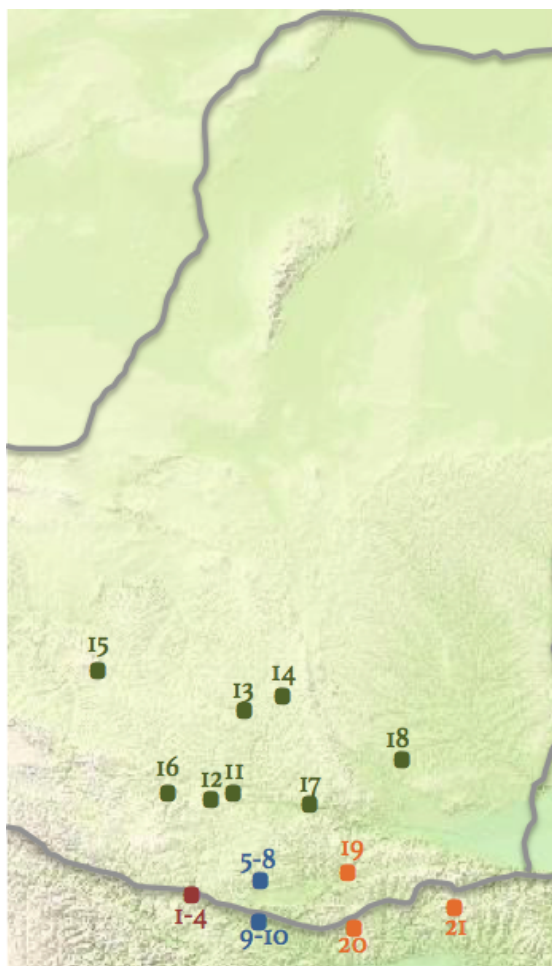


19 Gaojiabao

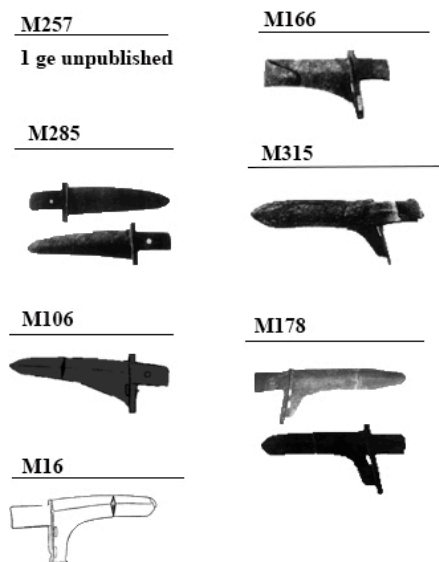
M4



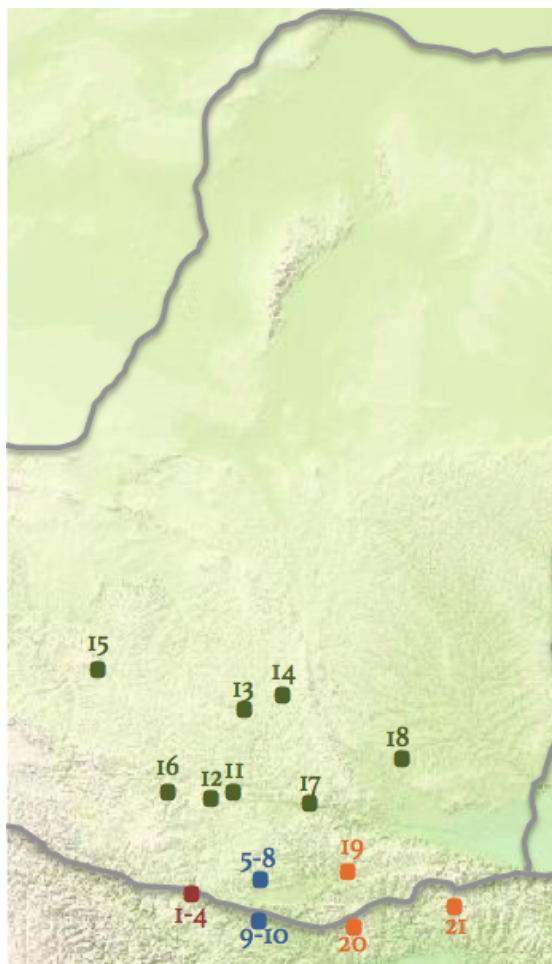
Map 9.15 Tongchuan Chengguan and Gaojiabao



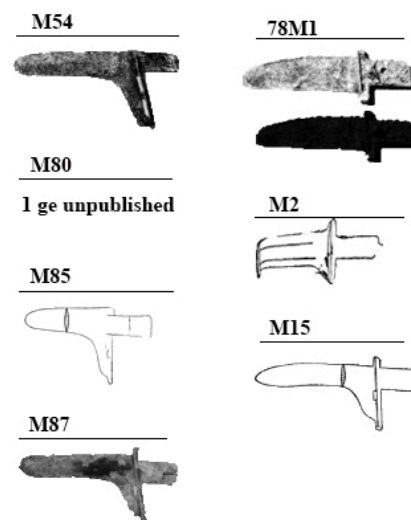
20 Zhangjiapo, Keshengzhuang - I



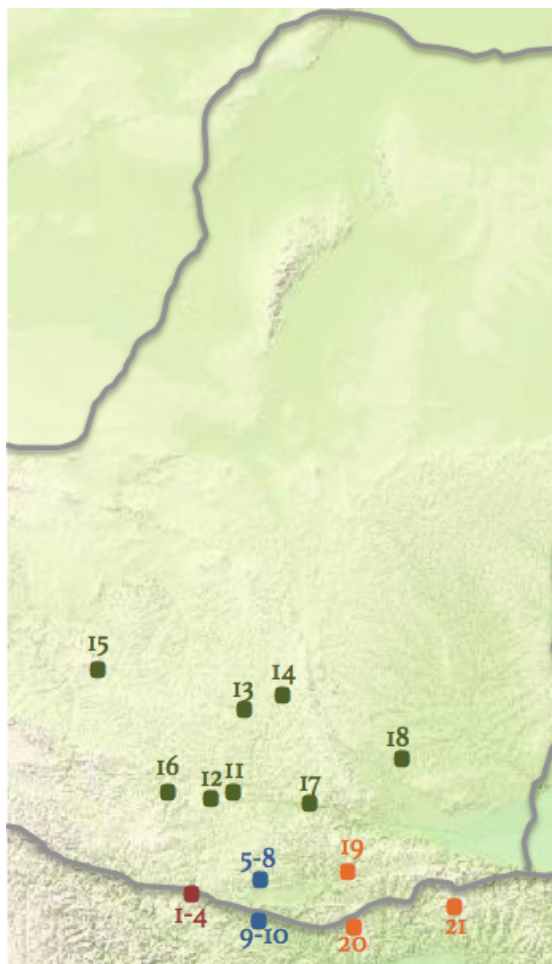
Map 9.16 Zhangjiapo, Keshengzhuang I



20 Zhangjiapo, Keshengzhuang - II



Map 9.17 Zhangjiapo, Keshengzhuang II

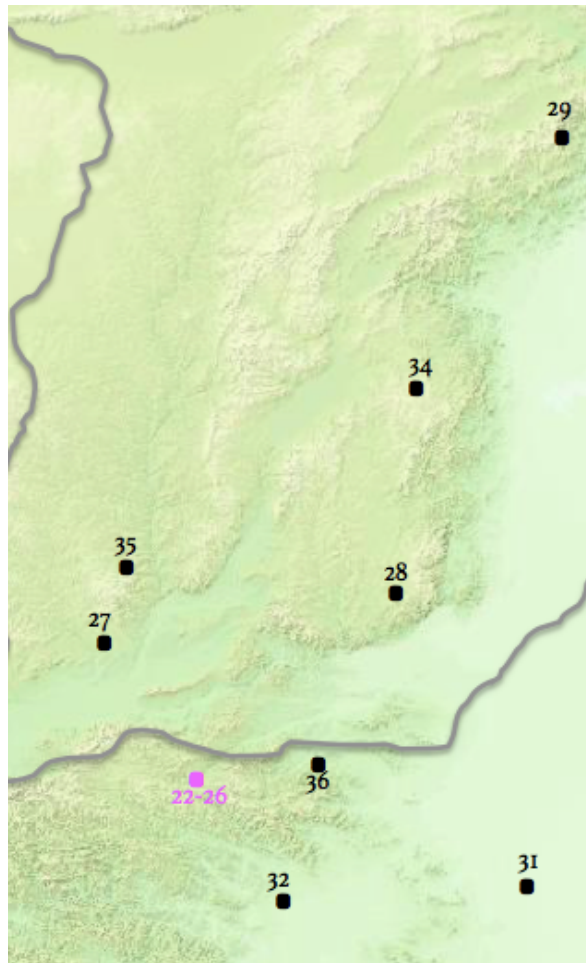


21 Huaxian Dongyang

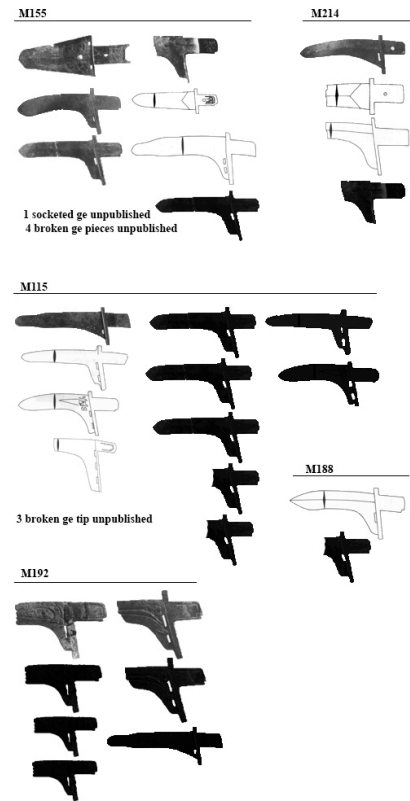
M64



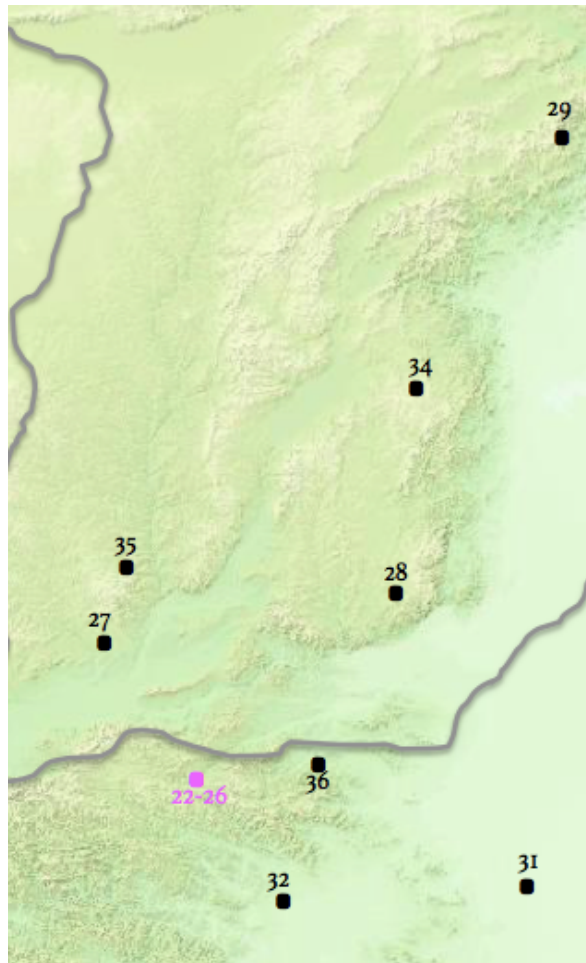
Map 9.18 Huaxian Dongyang



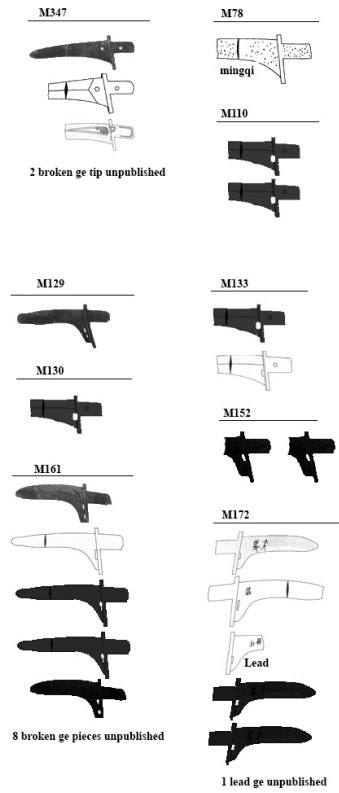
22 Beiyao - I



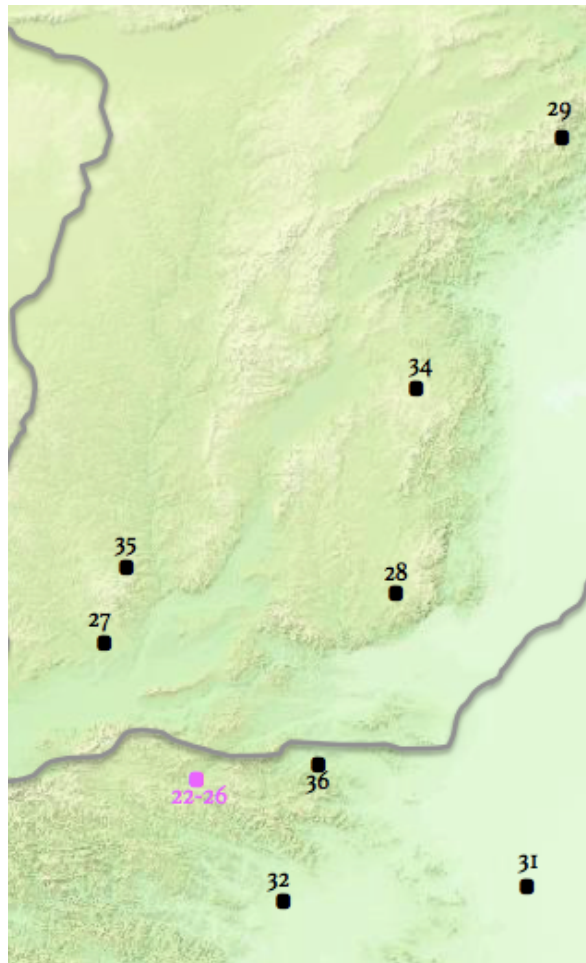
Map 9.19 Beiyao I



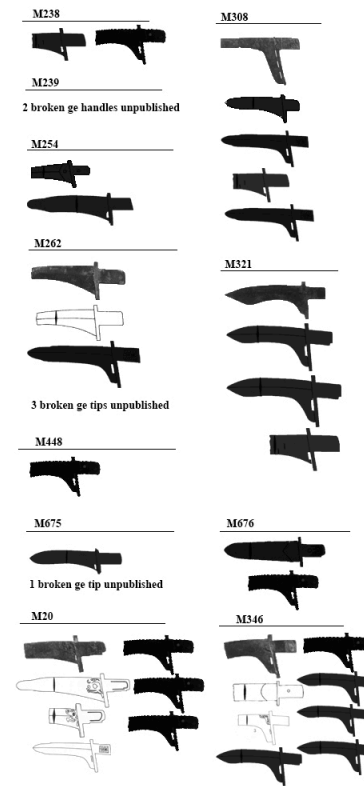
22 Beiyao - II



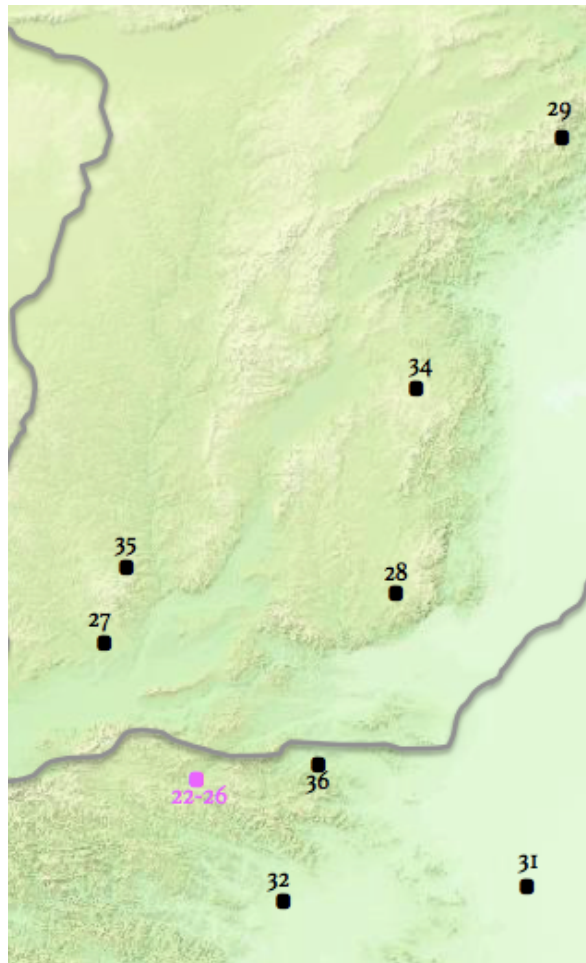
Map 9.20 Beiyao II



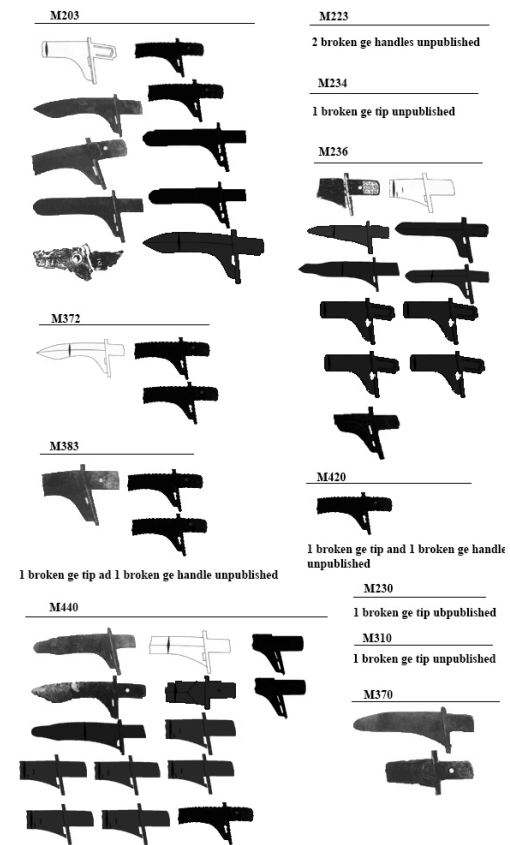
22 Beiyao - III



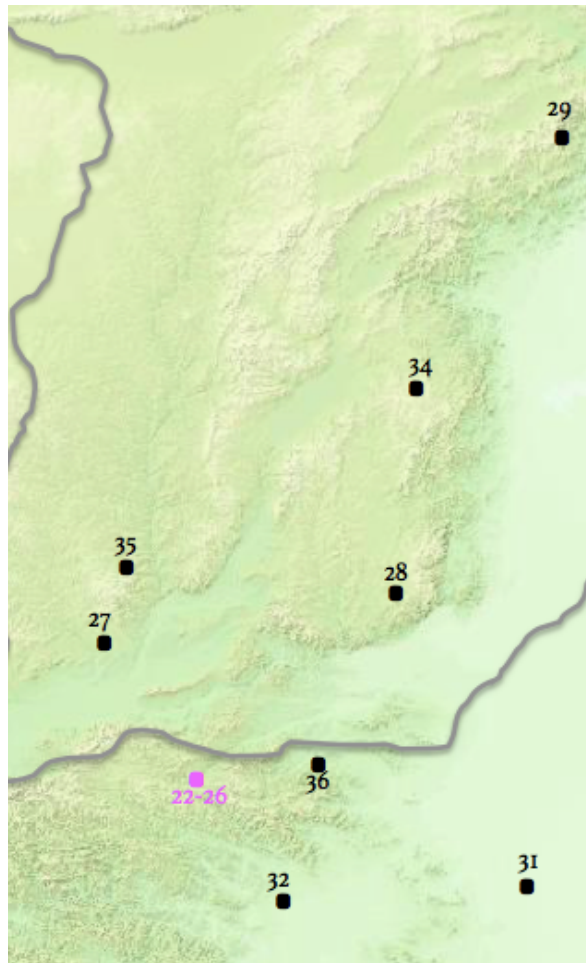
Map 9.21 Beiyao III



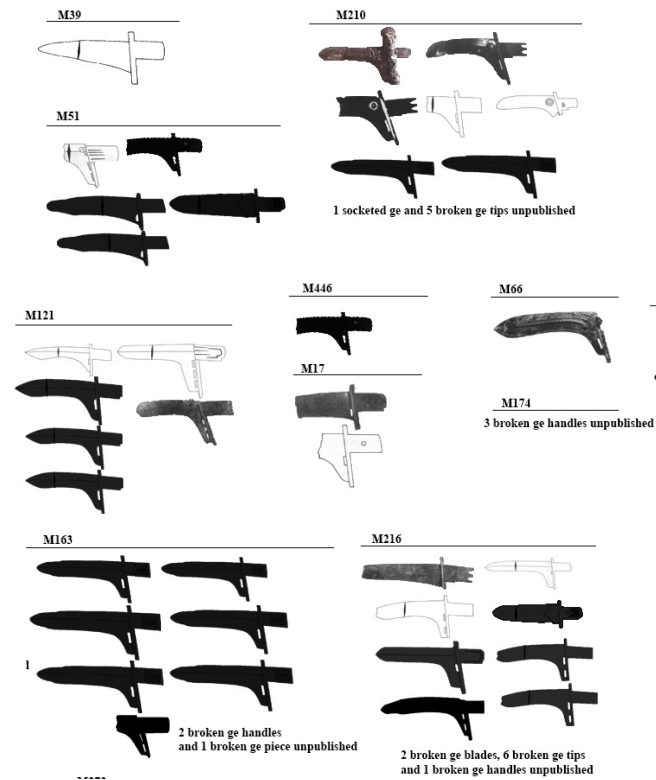
22 Beiyao - IV



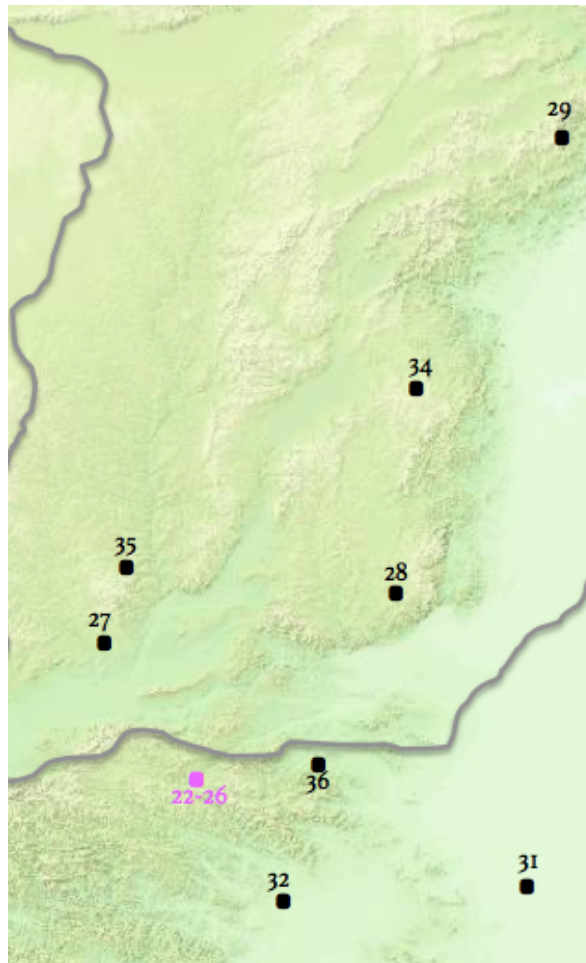
Map 9.22 Beiyao IV



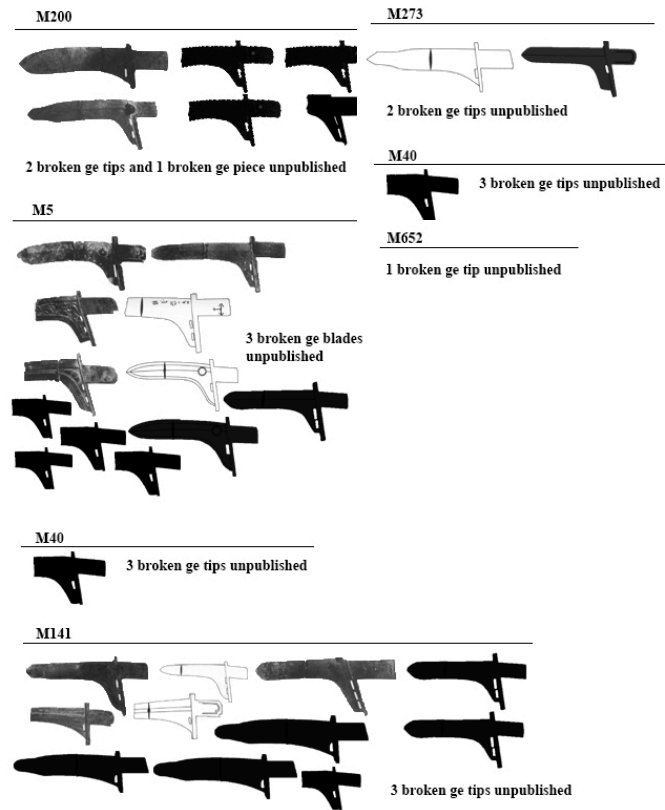
22 Beiyao - V



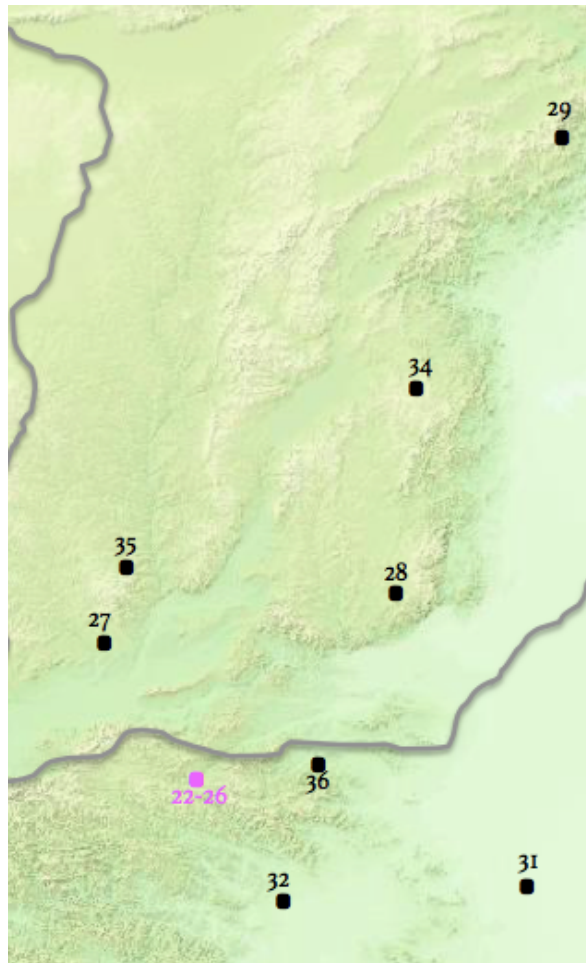
Map 9.23 Beiyao V



22 Beiyao - VI

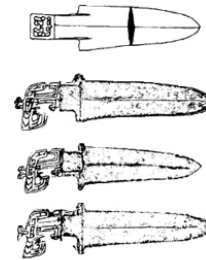


Map 9.24 Beiyao VI



23 Wunüzhong

IM1519

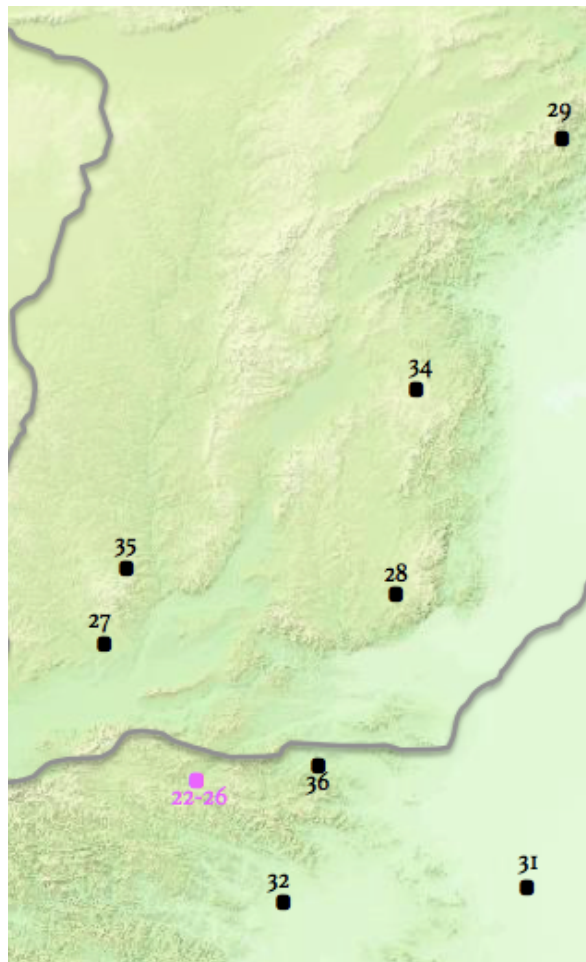


24 Zhongyao village

C3M575

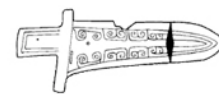


Map 9.25 Wunüzhong and Zhongyao village



25 Laocheng

C2M130

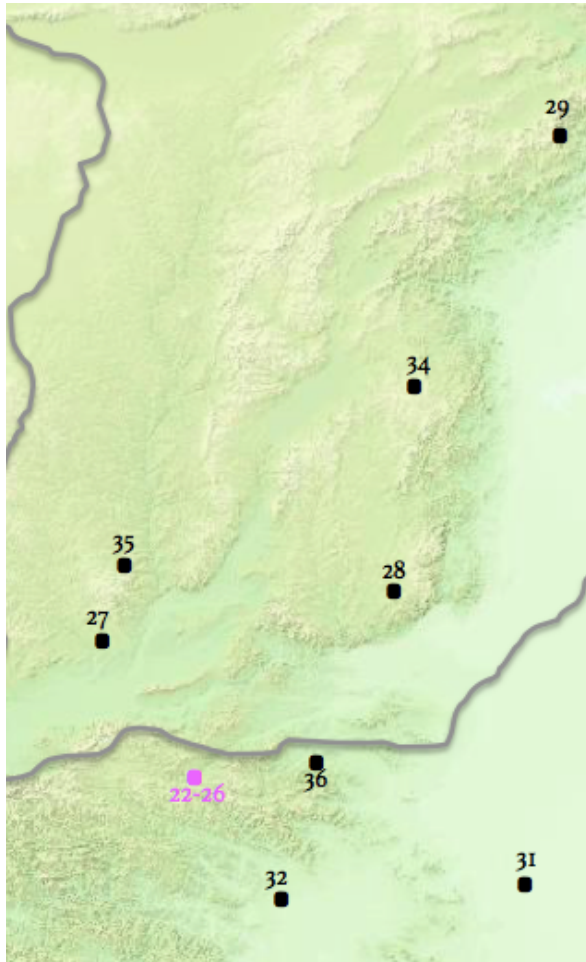


26 Chengtang Huayuan

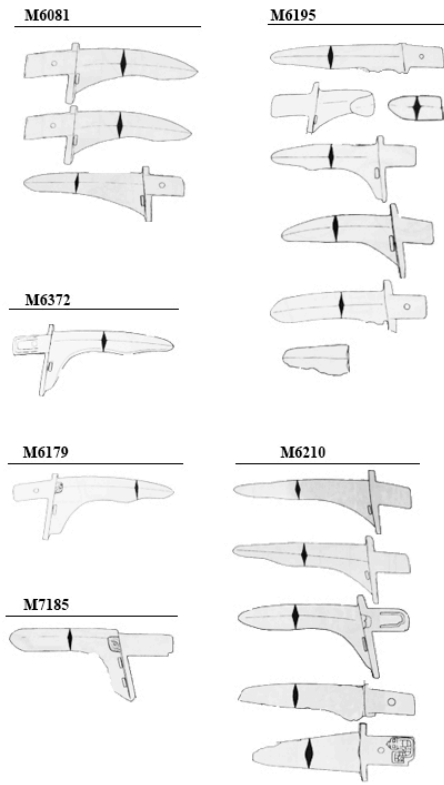
C3M417



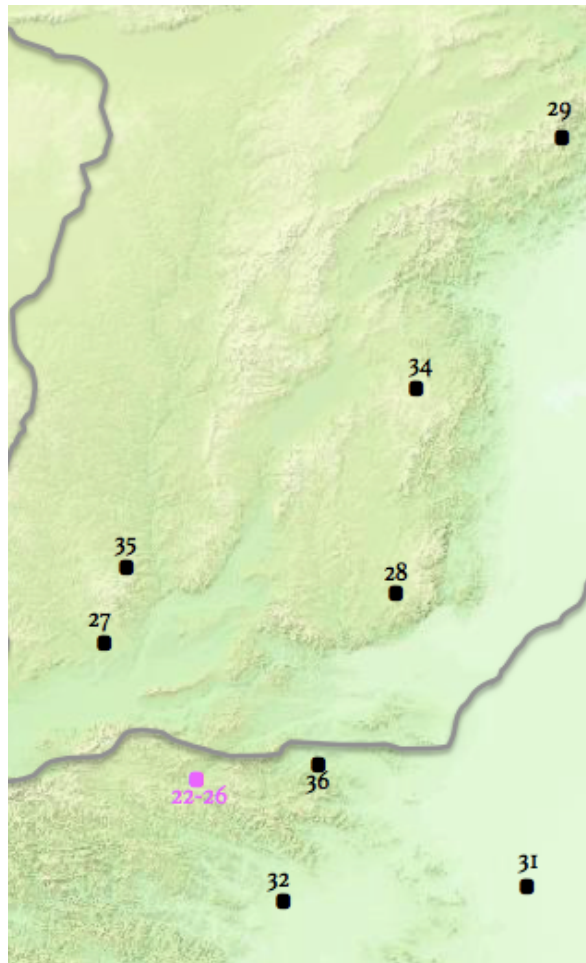
Map 9.26 Laocheng and Chengtang Huayuan



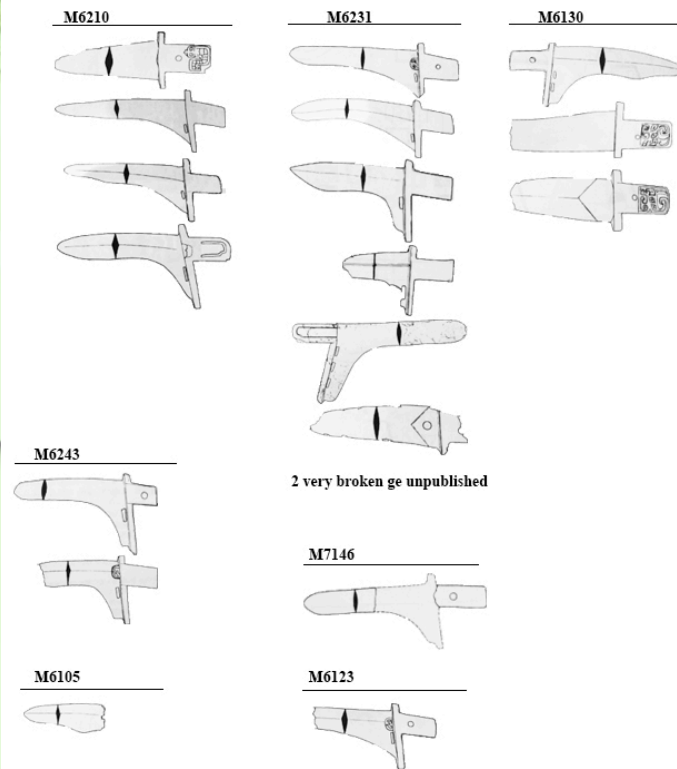
27 Tianma-Qucun - I



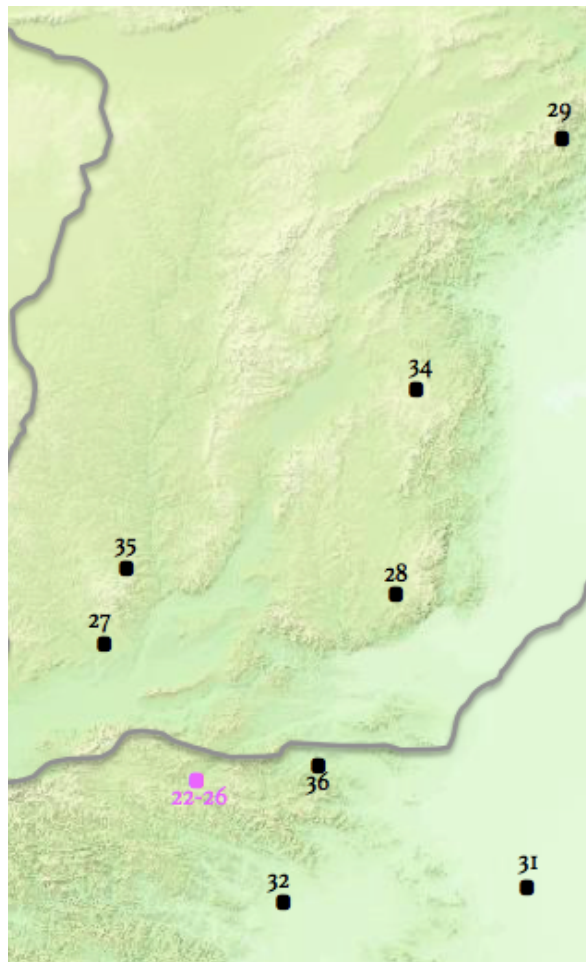
Map 9.27 Tianma-Qucun I



27 Tianma-Qucun - II



Map 9.28 Tianma-Qucun II



28 Junxian Xin village

M21

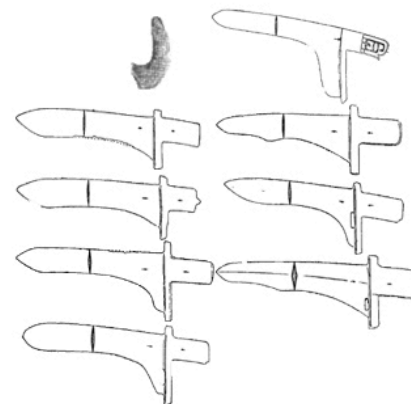


M29

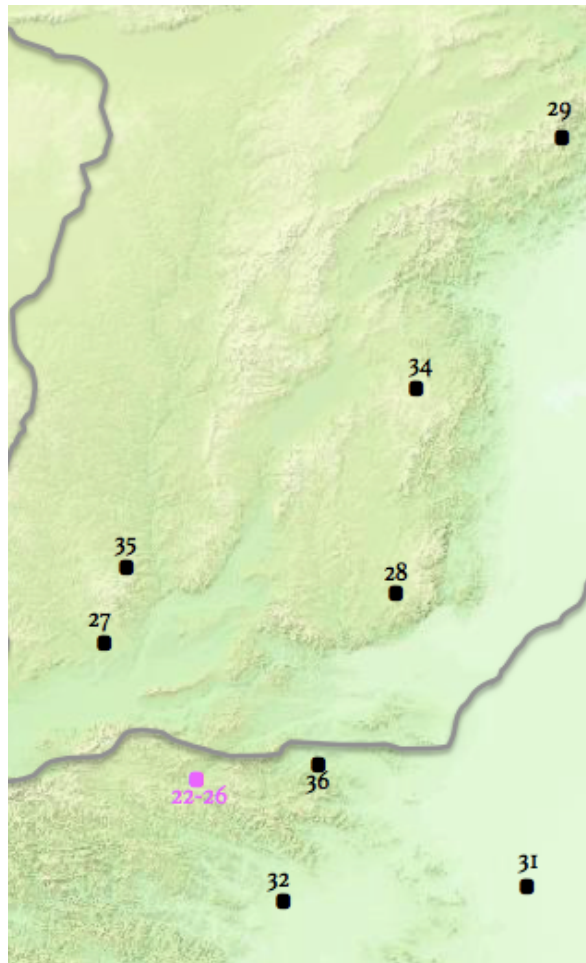


5 ge, 1 broken ge tip unpublished

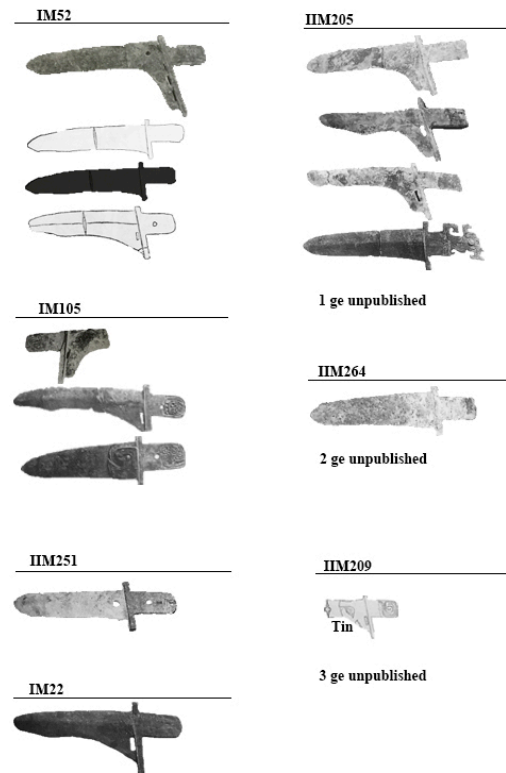
M60



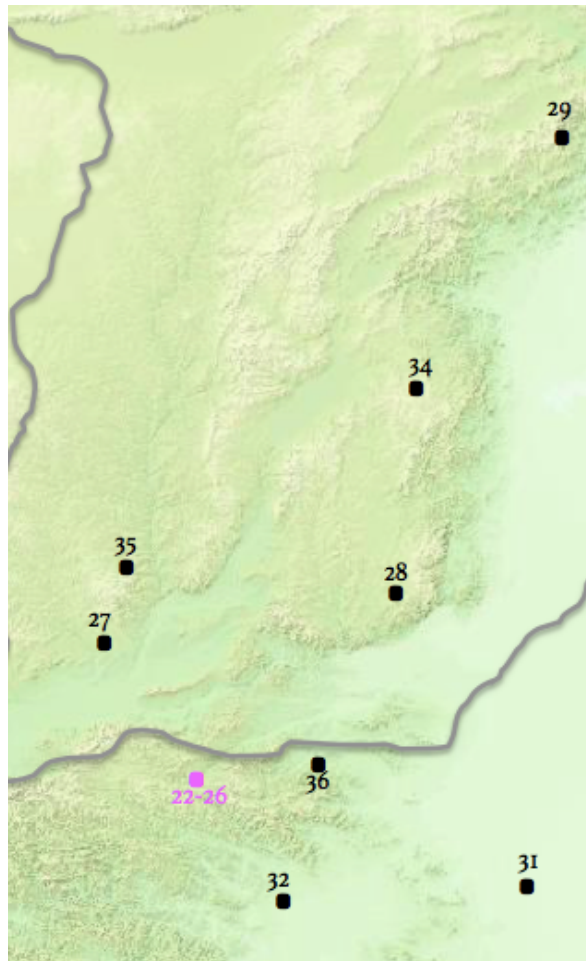
Map 9.29 Junxian Xin village



29 Liulihe - I



Map 9.30 Liulihe I



29 Liulihe - II

IM65

1 tin ge unpublished

IIM253

1 ge unpublished

IM53

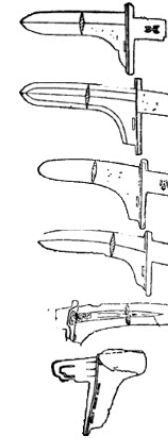


M1029



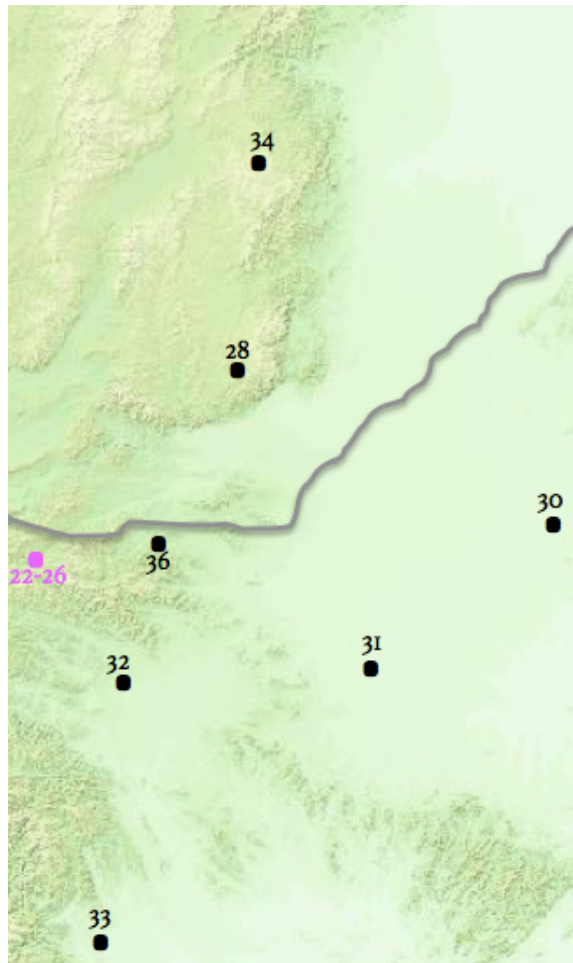
12 ge unpublished

M1193

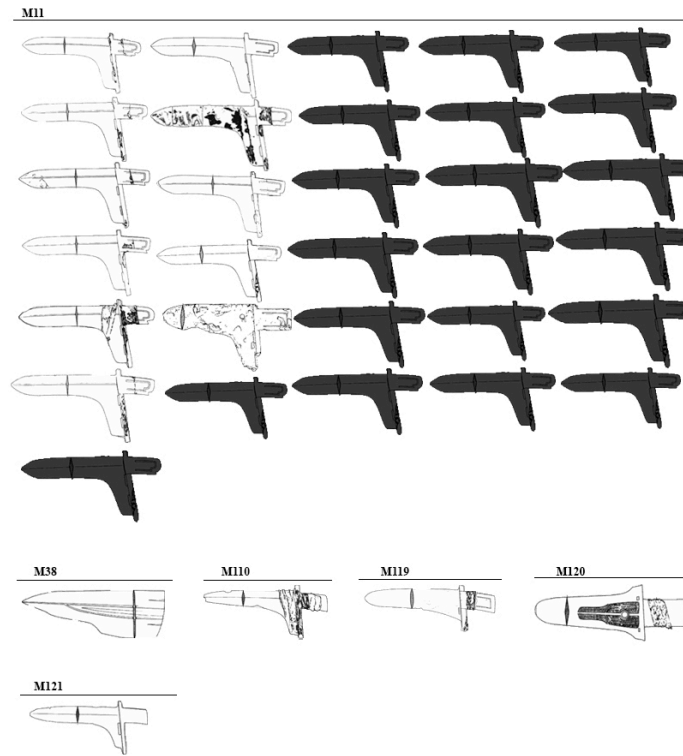


total number of ge unclear

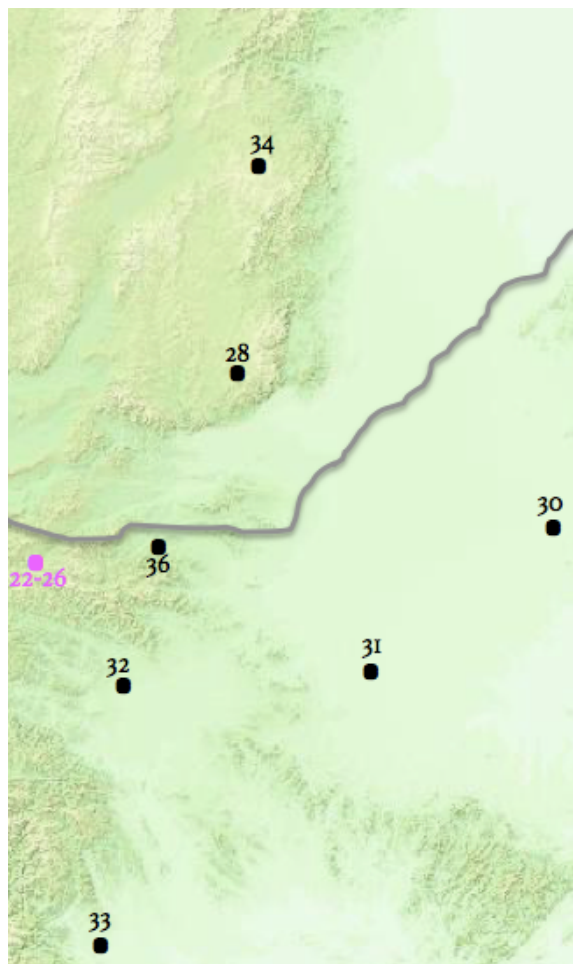
Map 9.31 Liulihe II



30 Tengzhou Qianzhangda - I



Map 9.32 Tengzhou Qianzhangda I



30 Tengzhou Qianzhangda - II

M201



M14



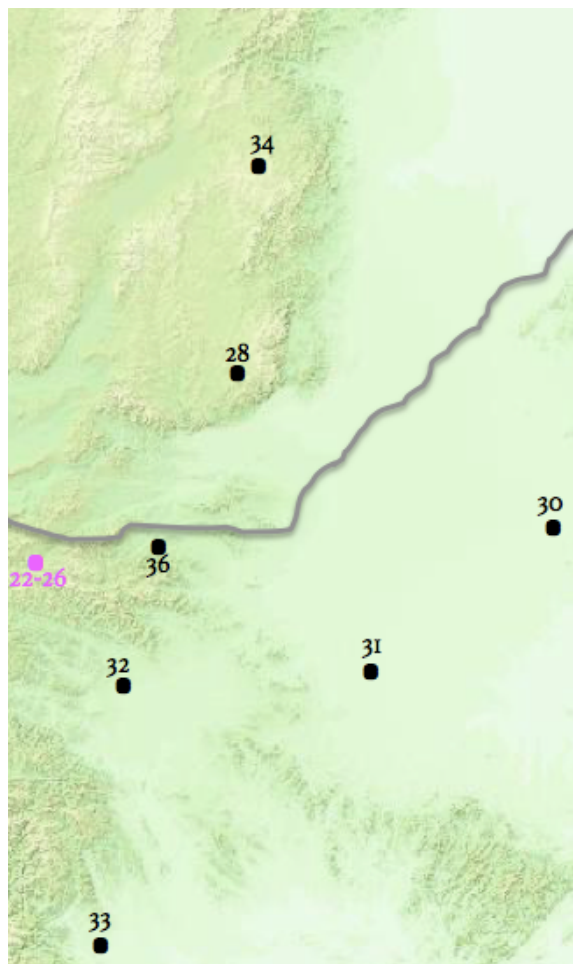
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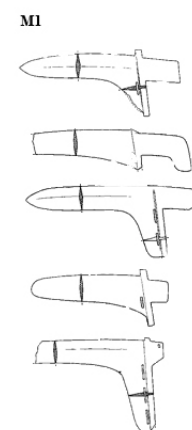
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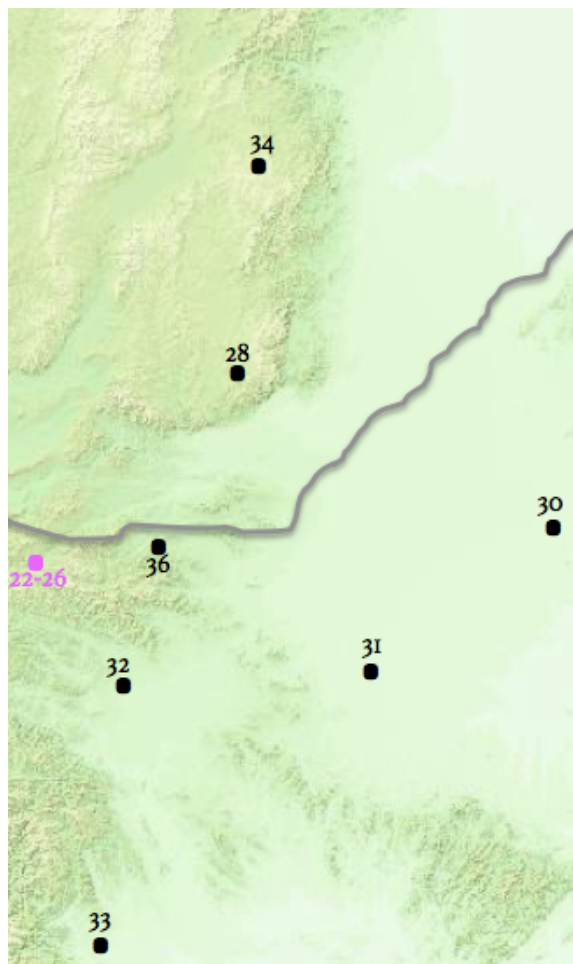
Map 9.33 Tengzhou Qianzhangda II



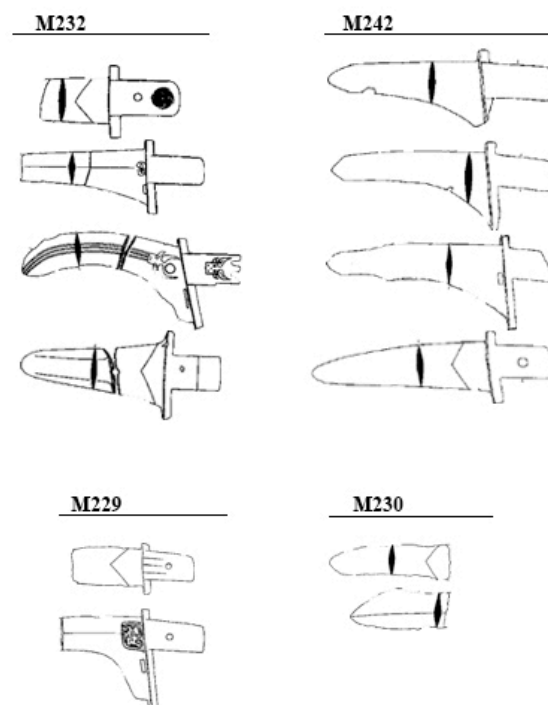
31 Taiqinggong Zhangzikou



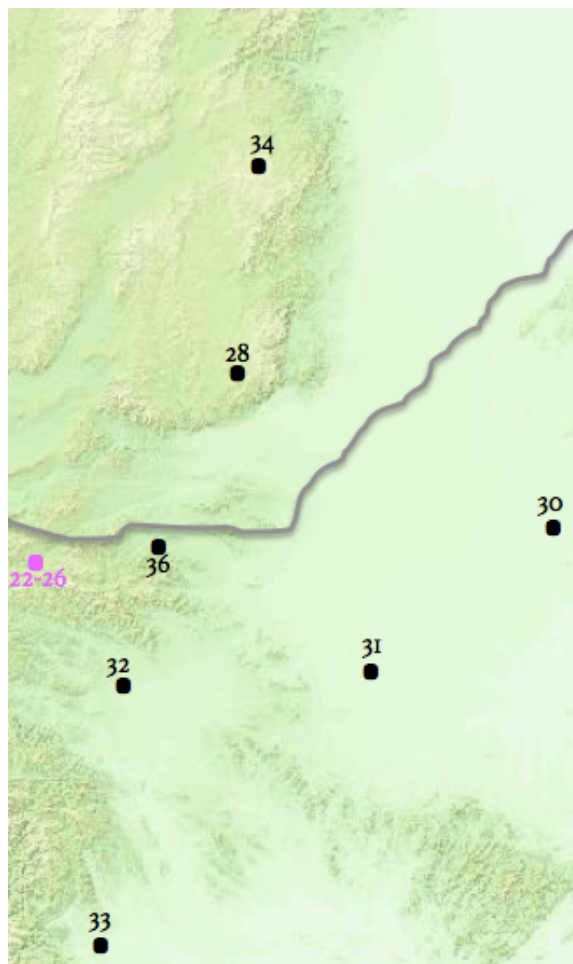
Map 9.34 Taiqinggong Zhangzikou



32 Pingdingshan



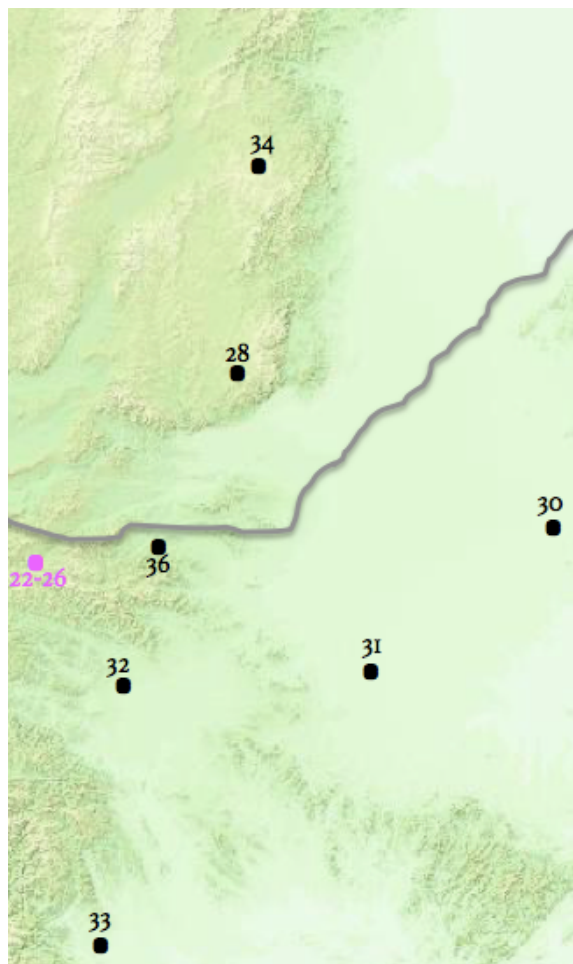
Map 9.35 Pingdingshan



33 Yejiashan - I



Map 9.36 Yejiashan I



33 Yejiashan - II

M55

3 ge unpublished

M1

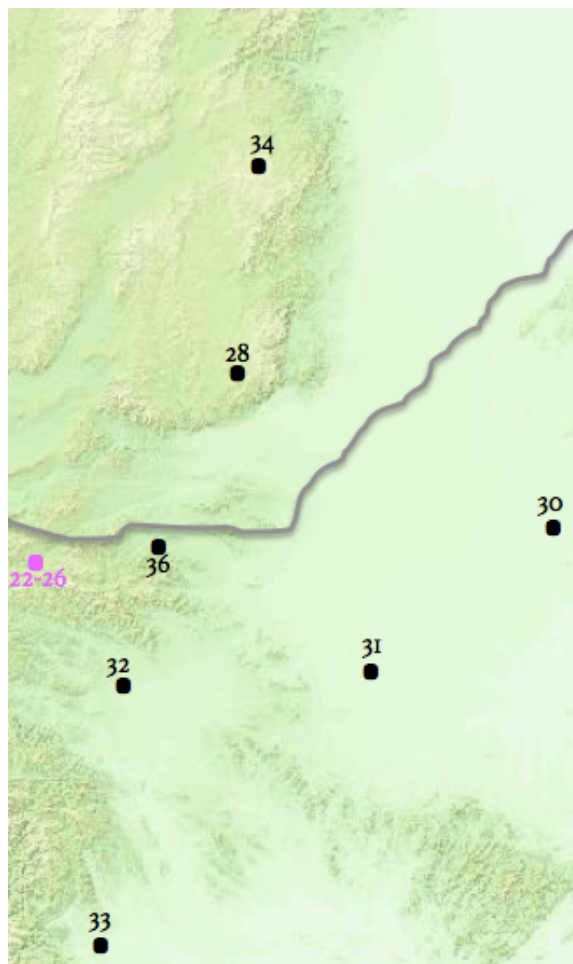


M65



12 ge unpublished

Map 9.37 Yejiashan II



34 Hebei Xizhang

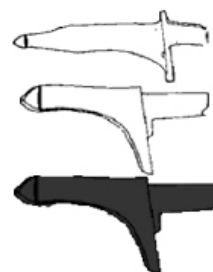
tomb label unpublished



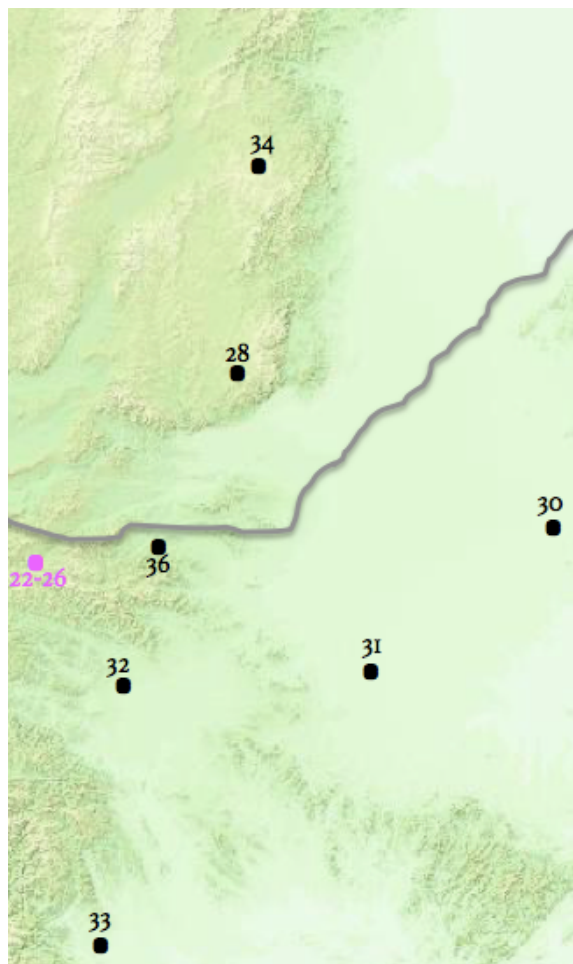
some very small pieces unpublished

35 Shanxi Yongningbao

NM9



Map 9.38 Hebei Xizhang and Shanxi Yongningbao



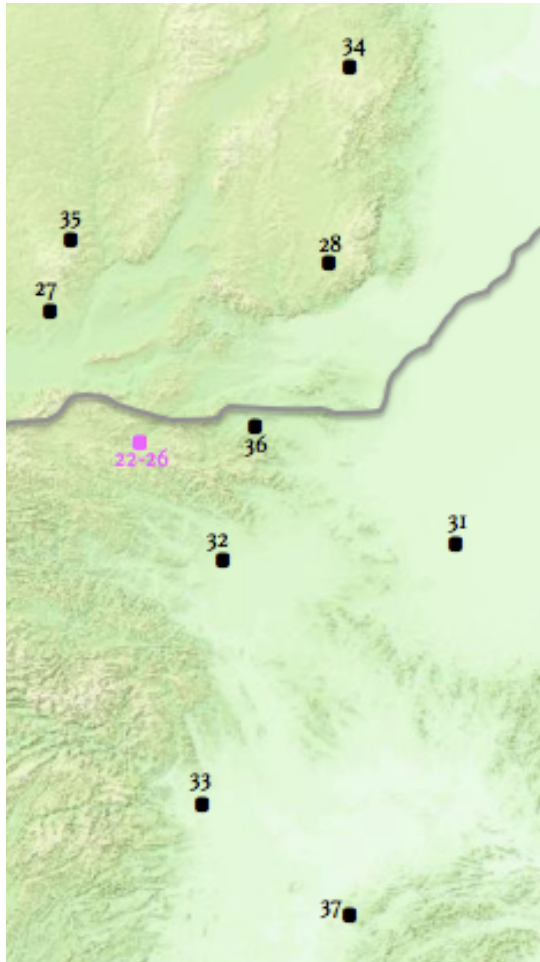
36 Zhengzhou Waliu

ZGW99M1

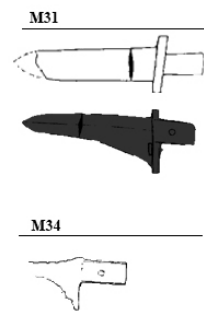


1 ge unpublished

Map 9.39 Zhengzhou Waliu



37 Hubei Lutaishan



Map 9.40 Hubei Lutaishan

- 1 Yuquancun village**
Baojishi and Wang Guangyong 1975, pp. 72-75.
- 2 Daijiawan**
Wang Guangyong 1991, pp. 3-22; Ren Xueli 2012.
- 3 Shigushan**
Shigushan 2013, pp. 3-23.
- 4 Zhuyuangou**
Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.
- 5 Fufeng Yuntang**
Zhouyuan 1980, pp. 39-55.
- 6 Fufeng Shaoli**
Fufengxian wenhua and Shaanxisheng wenguan 1976, pp. 61-65.
- 7 Fufeng Qijia.**
Shaanxisheng wenwu 1963, pp. 654-682.
- 8 Fufeng Hejia**
Shaanxisheng bowuguan 1976, pp. 31-38.
- 9 Fufeng Hongweicun**
Fufengxian 2007 3-10.
- 10 Meixian Chequancun**
Wang Guizhi 1991, pp. 75, 78.
- 11 Baicaopo**
Gansusheng 1977, pp. 99-130.
- 12 Yaojiahe**
Shaanxisheng wenwudui and Lingtaixian 1976, pp. 39-48.

Map 9.41 Sources I

- 13 Bronze *ge* from elite burials at Qingyang.
Qingyang 1985, pp. 853-854.
- 14 Heshui Xihuachi.
Qingyang and Xu Junchen 1983, pp. 8-11.
- 15 Guyuan
Guyuanxian 1983, pp. 982-984.
- 16 Dongshan
- 17 Xunyi
Xianyangshi and Xunyixian 2006, pp. 19-34.
- 18 Tongchuan Chengguan
Lu Jianguo 1986, pp. 94-95.
- 19 Gaojiabao
Shaanxisheng kaogu 1995.
- 20 Zhangjiapo
Zhongguo 1999; Zhao Yongfu 1984, pp. 784-789; Zhongguo 1962; Zhongguo fengxi 1980, pp. 457-502; Zhongguo fengxi 1981, pp. 13-76; Zhongguo fengxi 1986, pp. 197-209; Zhongguo fenghao 1997, pp. 15-32.
- 21 Huaxian Dongyang
Shaanxisheng kaogu and Qinshihuang 2006.
- 22 Beiyao.
Luoyangshi 1999.

Map 9.42 Sources II

- 23 Wunüzhong**
Luoyangshi di'er 2000, pp. 4-II.
- 24 Zhongyaocun**
Luoyangshi 2006, pp. 17-19.
- 25 Laocheng**
Luoyangshi 2010, pp. 4-7.
- 26 Tangcheng Huayuan**
Luoyangshi 2004, pp. 4-II.
- 27 Tianma-Qucun**
Beijing shangzu 2000.
- 28 Junxian Xincun**
Guo Baojun 1964.
- 29 Liulihe**
Beijingshi 1995.
- 30 Tengzhou Qianzhangda**
Zhongguo 2005.
- 31 Taiqinggong Zhangzikou**
Henansheng and Zhoukoushi 2000.
- 32 Pingdingshan**
Henansheng and Pingdingshanshi 2012.
- 33 Yejiashan**
Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2012, pp. 31-52; Hubeisheng and Suizhoushi 2011, pp. 4-60; Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2011, pp. 3-40; Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2013, pp. 3-57.

Map 9.43 Sources III

34 Hebei Xizhang

Hebisheng 1979, pp. 23-26.

35 Yongningbao

Shanxisheng gongzuo and Hongdongxian 1987, pp. 1-16.

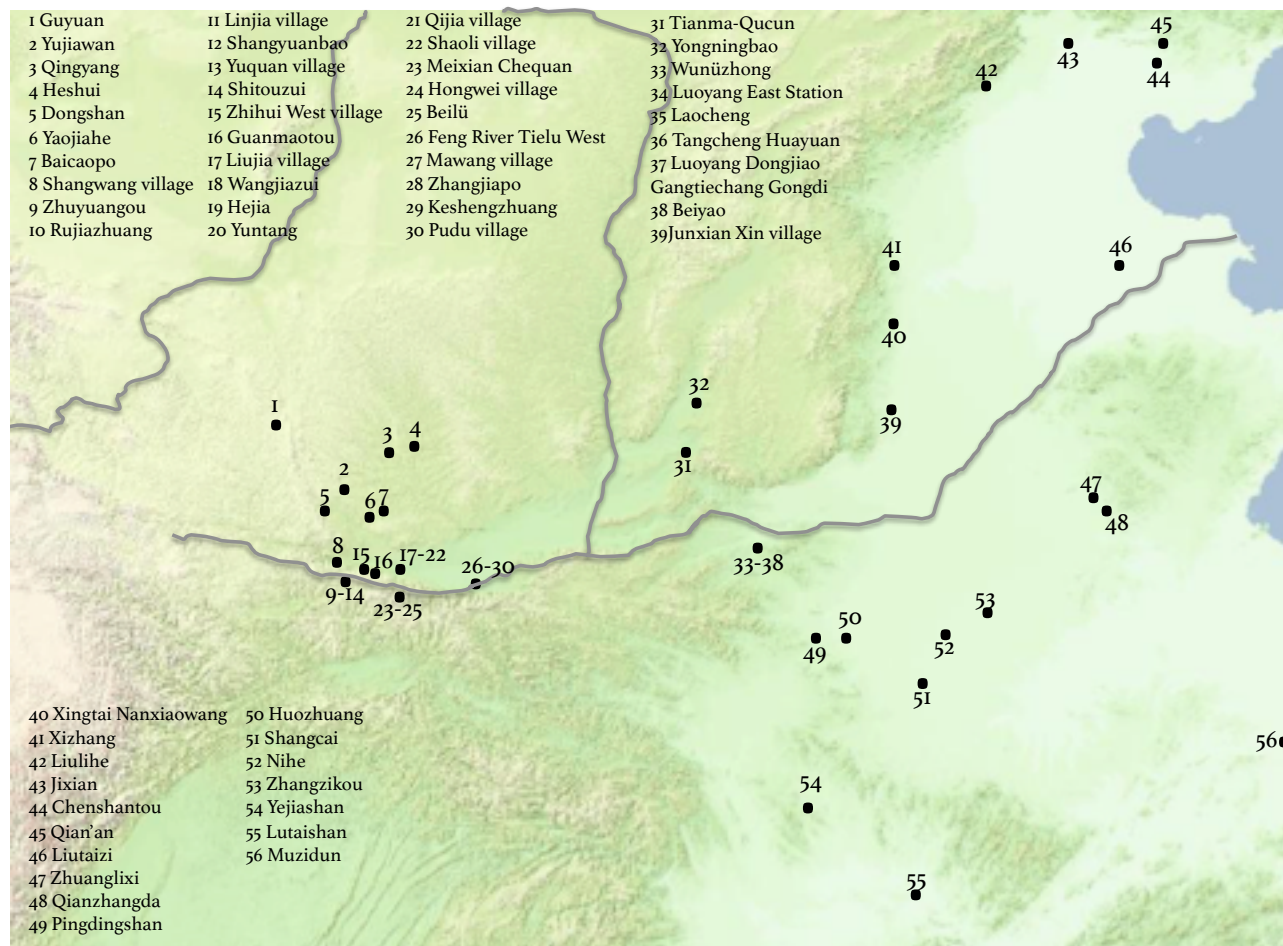
36 Waliu

Zhengzhoushi 2001, pp. 28-44.

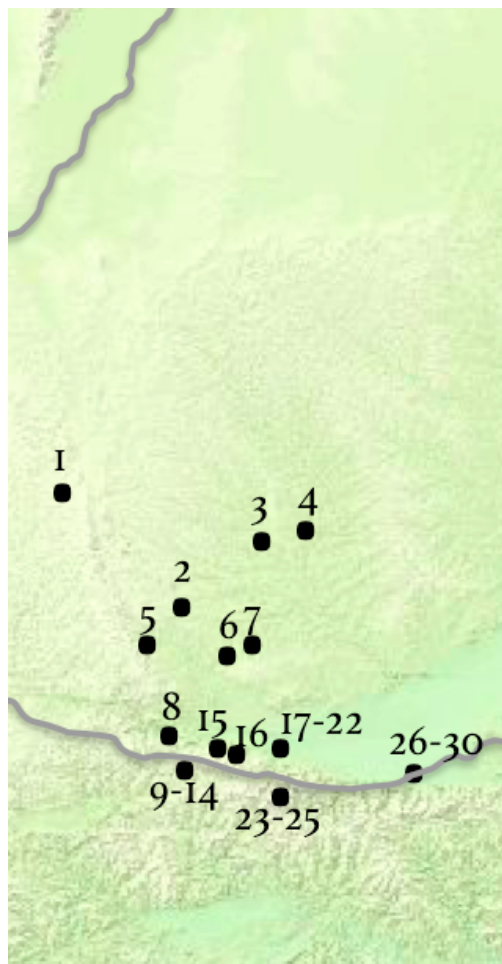
37 Lutaishan

Huangpoxian, Xiaogan and Hubeisheng 1982, pp. 37-61.

Map 9.44 Sources IV



Map 10 Locations of early Zhou elite burials displaying bronze ritual vessel sets



Food-vessel dominating: **blue**
 Wine-vessel dominating: **red**
 Half-half: **green**

1 Guyuan



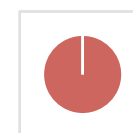
Blue: 1 burial (100%)
 Red:
 Green:

2 Yujiawan



Blue: 1 burial (50%)
 Red: 1 burial (50%)
 Green:

3 Qingyang



Blue:
 Red: 1 burial (100%)
 Green:

4 Heshui



Blue: 1 burial (100%)
 Red:
 Green:

5-7 Gansu Lingtai

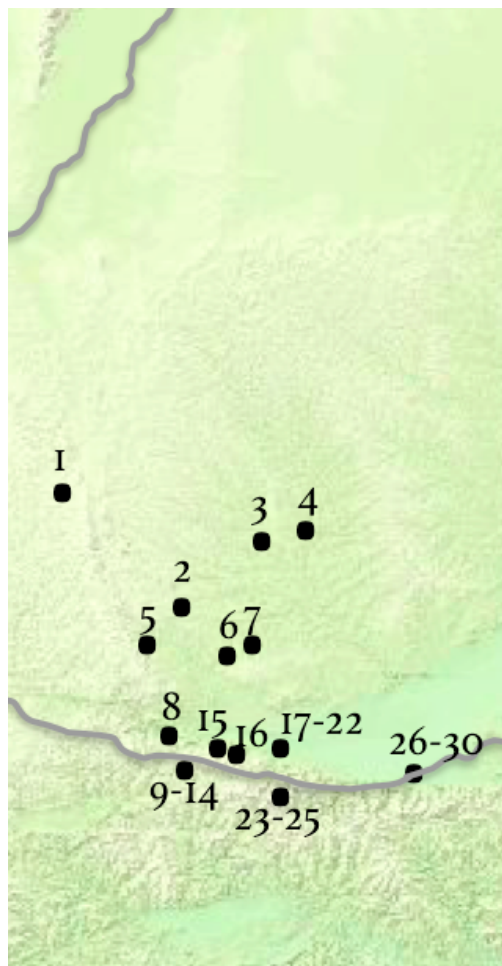
5 Dongshan
 6 Yaojiahe
 7 Baicaopo



Blue: 2 burial (50%)
 Red:
 Green: 2 burials (50%)

Map 10.1 Guyuan, Yujiawan, Qingyang, Heshui and Gansu Lingtai

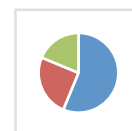
Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

8-14 Yu polity and around

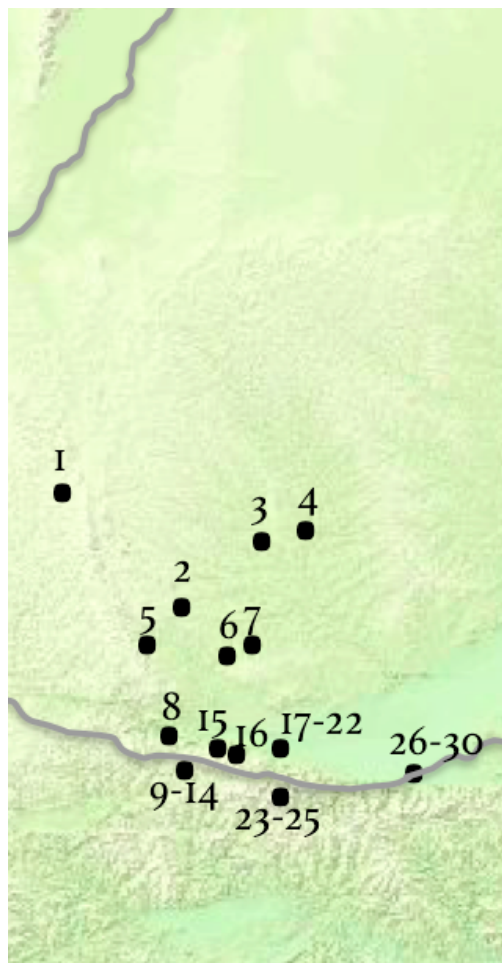
- 8 Shangwang village
- 9 Zhuyuangou
- 10 Rujiazhuang
- 11 Linjia village
- 12 Shangyuanbao
- 13 Yuquan village
- 14 Shitouzui



Blue: 9 burials (56%)
 Red: 4 burials (25%)
 Green: 3 burials (19%)

Map 10.2 Yu polity and around

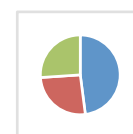
Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

15-25 Zhouyuan

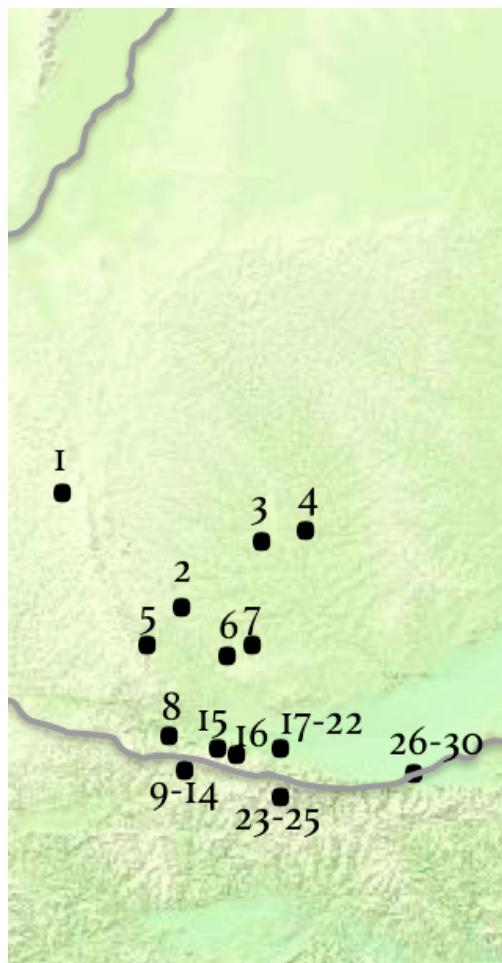
15 Zhihui West village
 16 Guanmaotou
 17 Liujia village
 18 Wangjiazui
 19 Hejia
 20 Yuntang
 21 Qijia village
 22 Shaoli village
 23 Meixian Chequan
 24 Hongwei village
 25 Beilü



Blue: 11 burials (48%)
 Red: 6 burials (26%)
 Green: 6 burials (26%)

Map 10.3 Zhouyuan

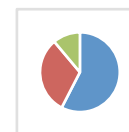
Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

26-30 Feng/Hao region

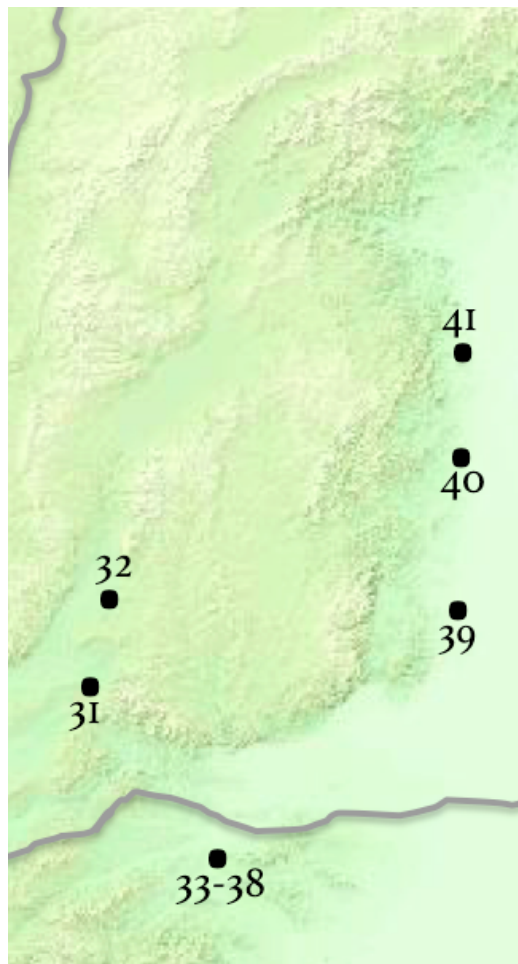
26 Feng River Tielu West
 27 Mawang village
 28 Zhangjiapo
 29 Keshengzhuang
 30 Pudu village



Blue: 20 burials (57%)
 Red: 11 burials (31%)
 Green: 4 burials (11%)

Map 10.4 Feng/Hao region

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

31 Tianma-Qucun



Blue: 27 burials (93%)
 Red:
 Green: 2 burials (7%)

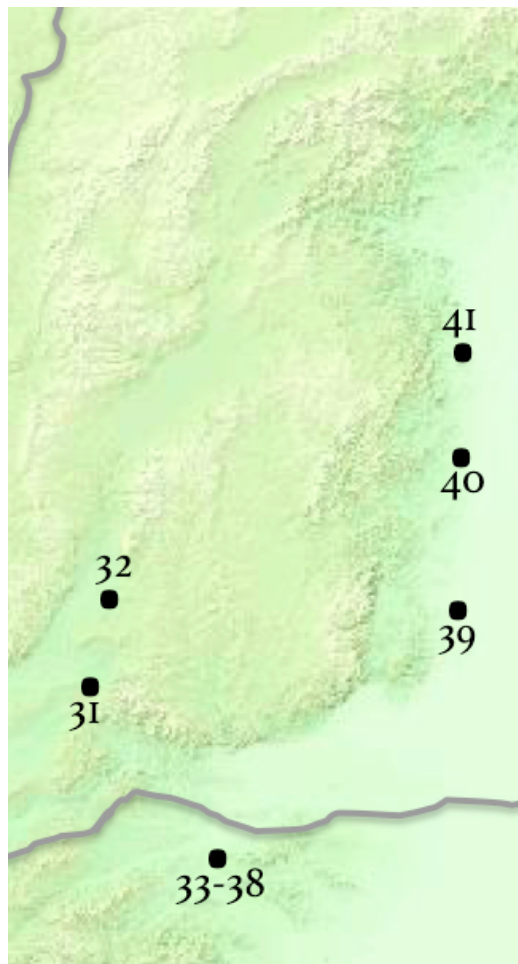
32 Yongningbao



Blue: 1 burials (100%)
 Red:
 Green:

Map 10.5 Tianma-Qucun and Yongningbao

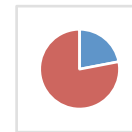
Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

33-38 Luoyang region

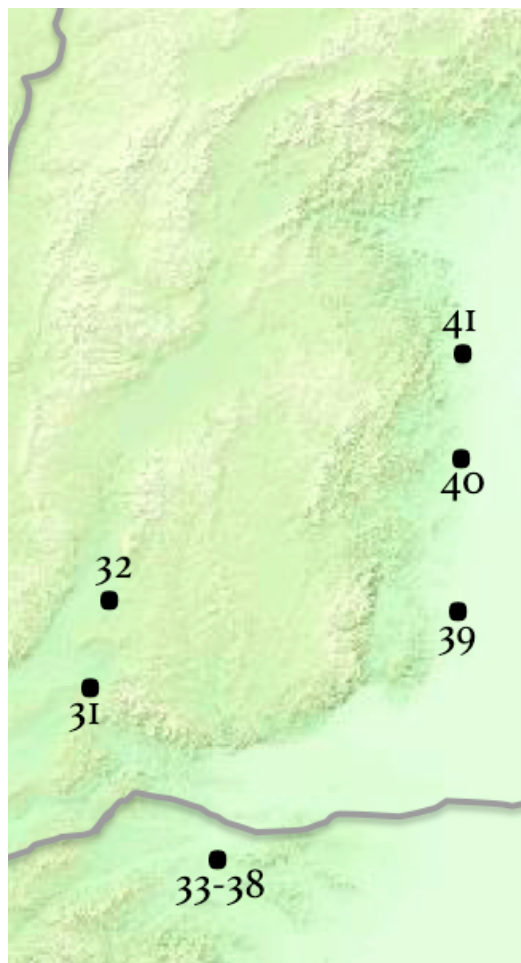
- 34 Wunüzhong
- 35 Luoyang East Station
- 36 Laocheng
- 37 Tangcheng Huayuan
- 38 Luoyang Dongjiao Gangtiechang Gongdi
- 39 Beiyao



Blue: 2 burials (22%)
 Red: 7 burials (78%)
 Green:

Map 10.6 Luoyang region

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



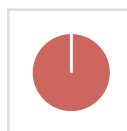
Food-vessel dominating: **blue**
 Wine-vessel dominating: **red**
 Half-half: **green**

39 Junxian Xin village



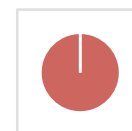
Blue: 1 burial (50%)
 Red:
 Green: 1 burial (50%)

40 Xingtai
 Nanxiaowang



Blue:
 Red: 1 burial (100%)
 Green:

41 Xizhang



Blue:
 Red: 1 burial (100%)
 Green:

Map 10.7 Junxian Xin village, Xingtai Nanxiaowang and Xizhang

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

42 Liulihe



Blue: 5 burials (62.5%)
 Red: 3 burials (37.5%)
 Green:

Map 10.8 Liulihe

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

46 Liutaizi



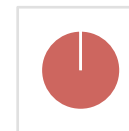
Blue: 1 burial (100%)
 Red:
 Green:

47 Zhuanglixi



Blue: 2 burials (100%)
 Red:
 Green:

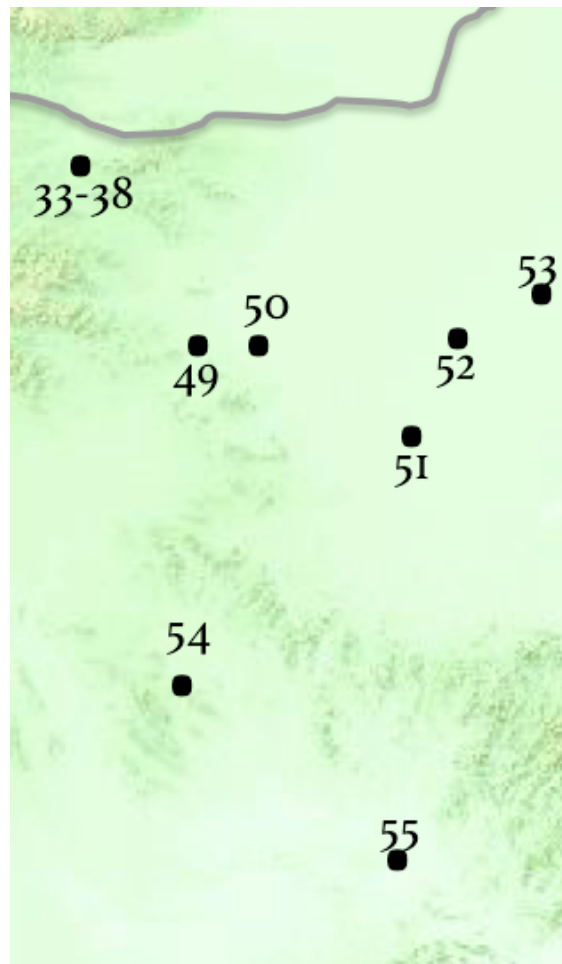
48 Qianzhangda



Blue:
 Red: 23 burials (100%)
 Green:

Map 10.9 Liutaizi, Zhuanglixi and Qianzhangda

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



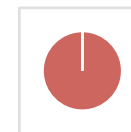
Food-vessel dominating: blue
Wine-vessel dominating: red
Half-half: green

49 Pingdingshan



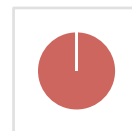
Blue:
Red:
Green: 1 burial (100%)

50 Huozhuang



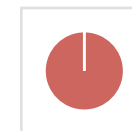
Blue:
Red: 1 burial (100%)
Green:

51 Shangcai



Blue:
Red: 1 burial (100%)
Green:

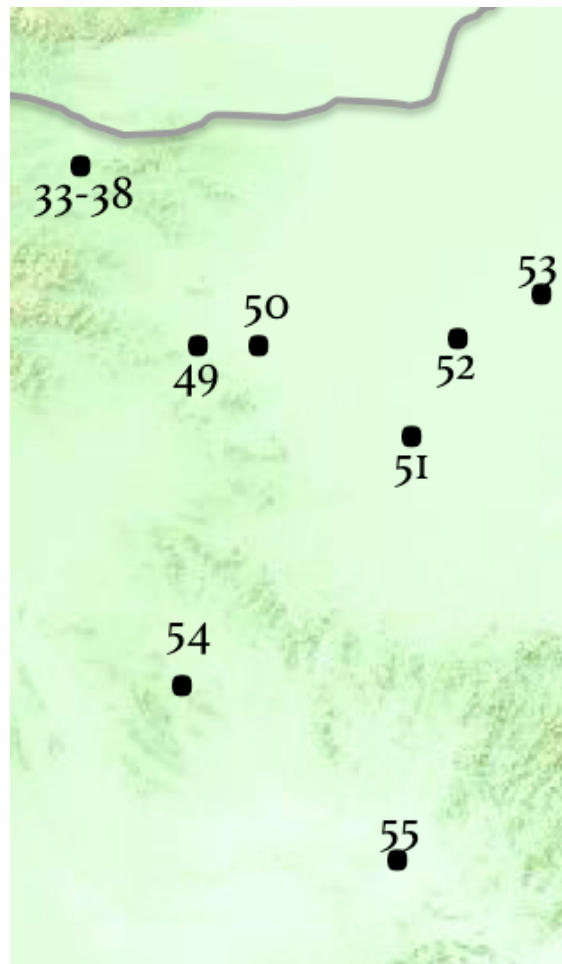
52 Nihe



Blue:
Red: 1 burial (100%)
Green:

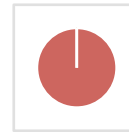
Map 10.10 Pingdingshan, Huozhuang, Shangcai and Nihe

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



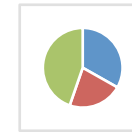
Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

53 Zhangzikou



Blue:
 Red: 1 burial (100%)
 Green:

54 Yejiashan



Blue: 3 burials (33%)
 Red: 2 burials 22%)
 Green: (44%)

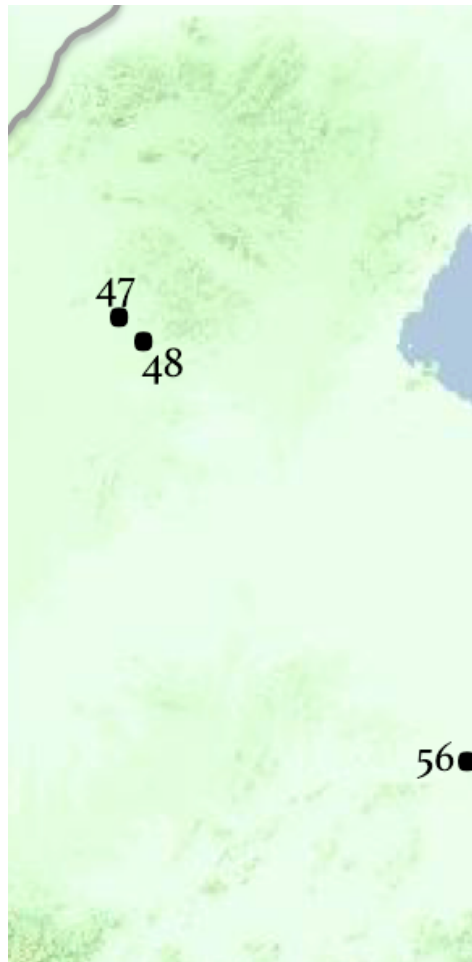
55 Lutaishan



Blue:
 Red: 4 burial (100%)
 Green:

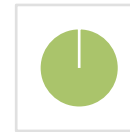
Map 10.11 Zhangzikou, Yejiashan and Lutaishan

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Food-vessel dominating: blue
 Wine-vessel dominating: red
 Half-half: green

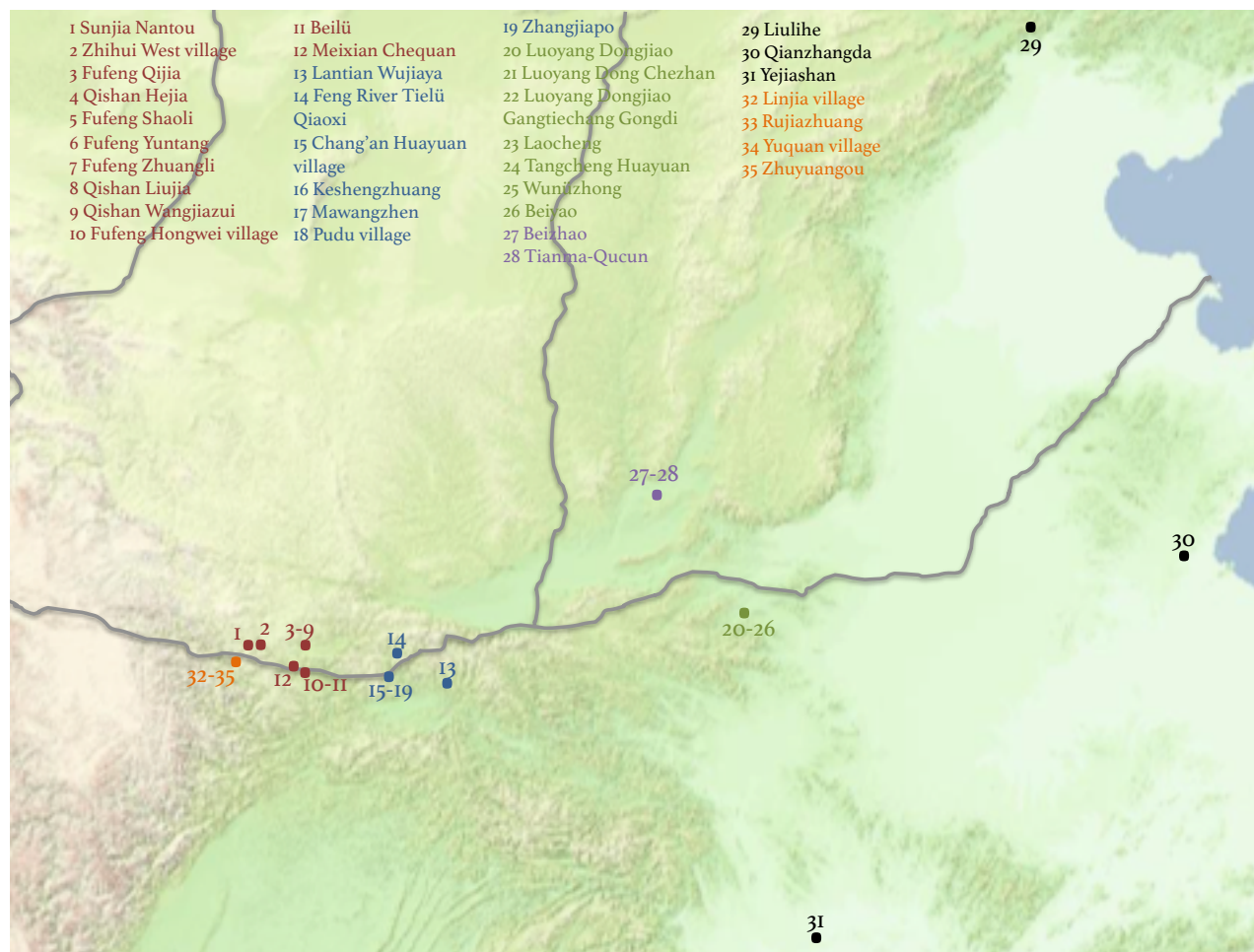
56 Muzidun



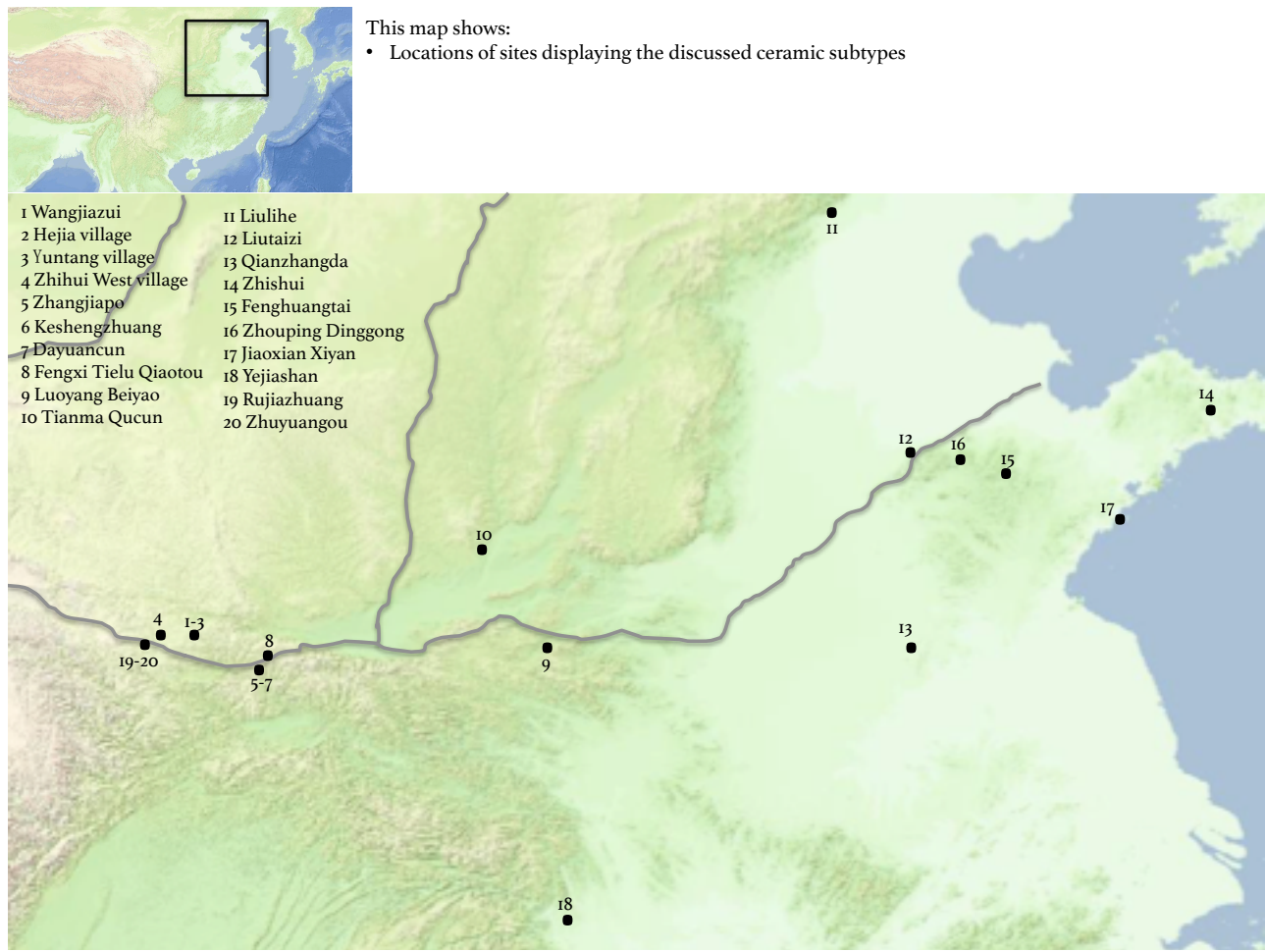
Blue:
 Red:
 Green: 1 burial (100%)

Map 10.12 Muzidun

Each pie chart shows the proportion of various burial types within each site (burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of food vessels v.s. burials with a higher percentage (> 20%) of wine vessels v.s. burials with equal/similar percentage (<20%) of food and wine vessel



Map 11 Locations of burial examples displaying ceramic sets



Map 12 Locations of sites displaying the discussed ceramic subtypes

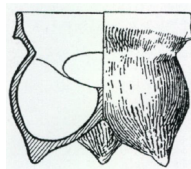
Figures

Figure 1 Ceramic *li* tripod vessel from M89 with joined lobes and short collar



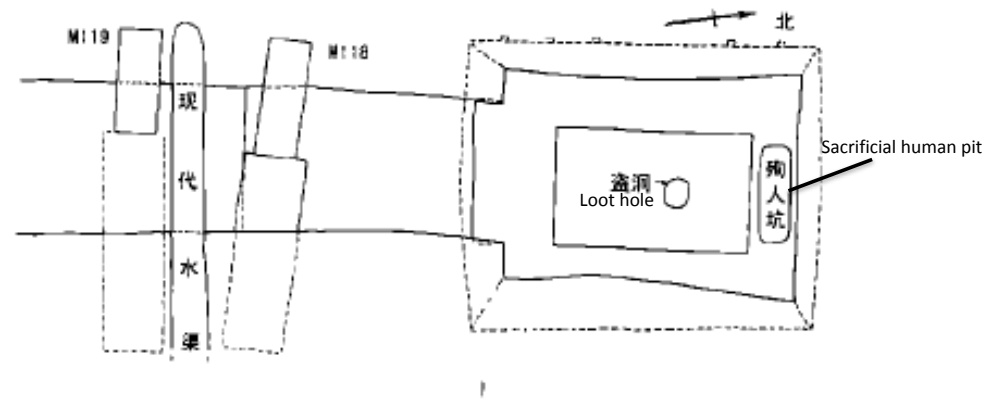
Zhongguo 1999, pp. LXXII.

Figure 2 Ceramic *li* tripod vessel from M89 with separated lobes and long collar



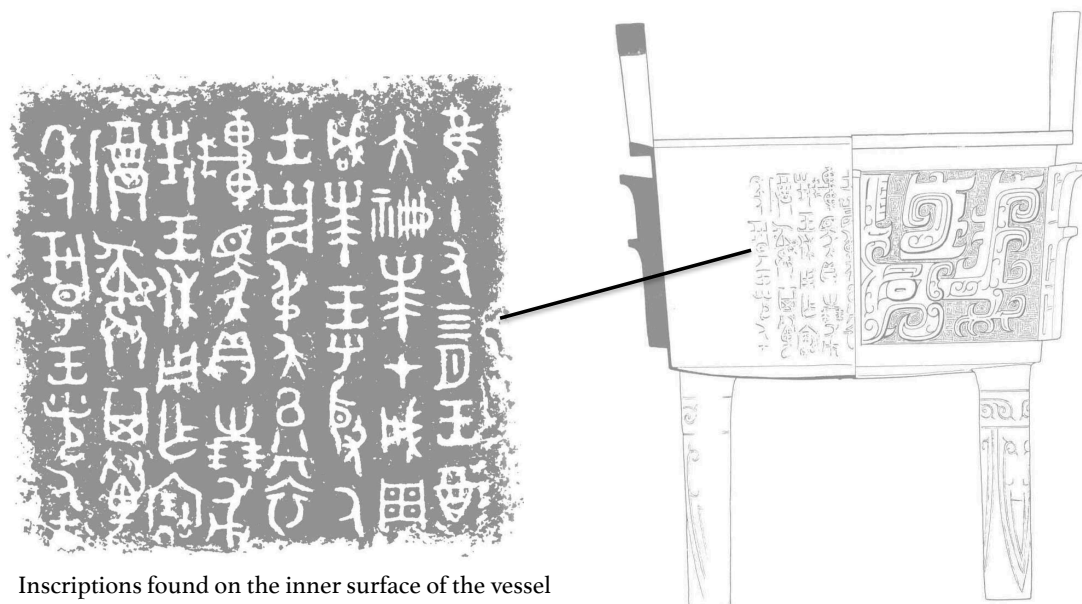
Lu Guoquan and Hou Jirun 2009, Fig. 1.

Figure 3 Plan of M114 showing human sacrificial pit



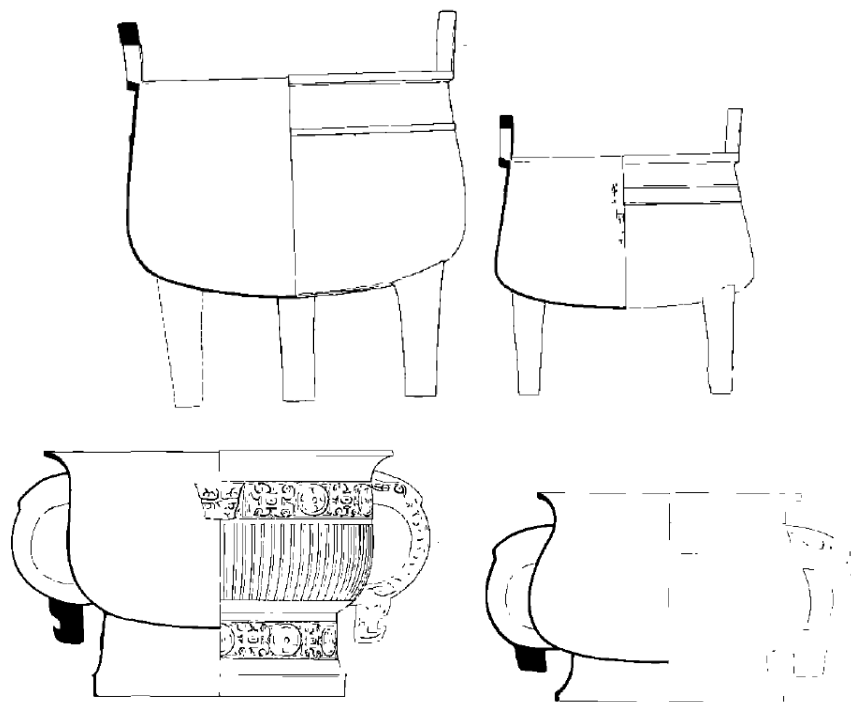
Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, Fig. 2.

Figure 4. Example of a bronze ritual vessel with inscriptions in Zhou royal format: *fangding* from Tianma-Qucun (Jin polity) M114



Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, Fig. 11, 12.

Figure 5 The *ding* and *gui* vessels from M113 in Tianma-Qucun (Jin polity)



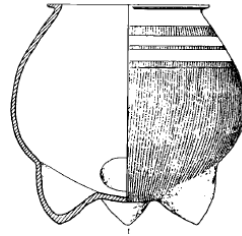
Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, Fig. 18.

Figure 6 Bronze double-handled jar from M113



Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, Fig. 22.

Figure 7 *san zu weng* urn from M113



Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, Fig. 33.

Figure 8 Square-based *gui* tureen and *ding* cauldron from M13



Photo taken by author at Baoji Bronze Ware Museum, Baoji.

Figure 9 Tubular *you* vessel from M13



Collection of Baoji Bronze Ware Museum, Baoji.

Figure 10 Decorated axe with a cap in the shape of a human head from M13



Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.

Figure 11 Willow-leaf shaped sword from M13



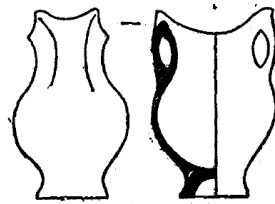
Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, Black and White plate 27:2.

Figure 12 Ceramic jar with pointed base from Zhuyuangou M13



Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 91, Image 71

Figure 13 Double-handled jar from Zhuyuangou M1



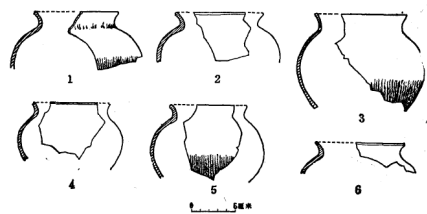
Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 140, Fig. 108.

Figure 14 Examples of ceramic *li* tripod vessel with separated lobes and long collar from ash pit at Rujiashuang



Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 10, Fig. 7.

Figure 15 Ceramics with flat base from Rujiazhuang ash pits



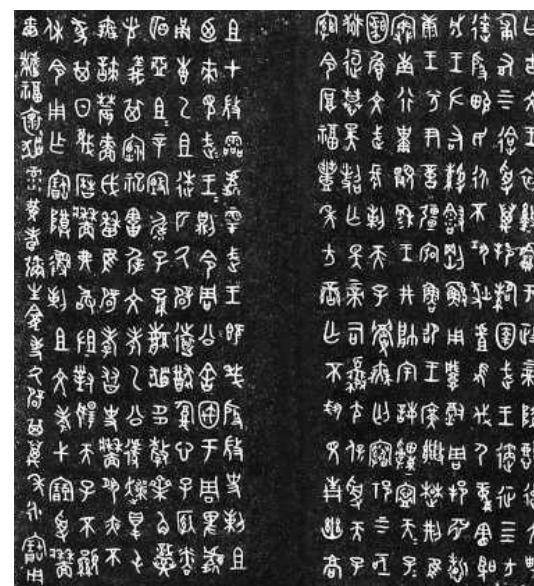
Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988, pp. 7, Fig. 4.

Figure 16 Inscription of Ran *fangding* (2739)



Collection of Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

Figure 17 Shiqiang *pan* 史牆盤 and ink rubbing of inscription



Collection of Baoji Bronze Ware Museum, Baoji.

Figure 18 Bronze *ge*

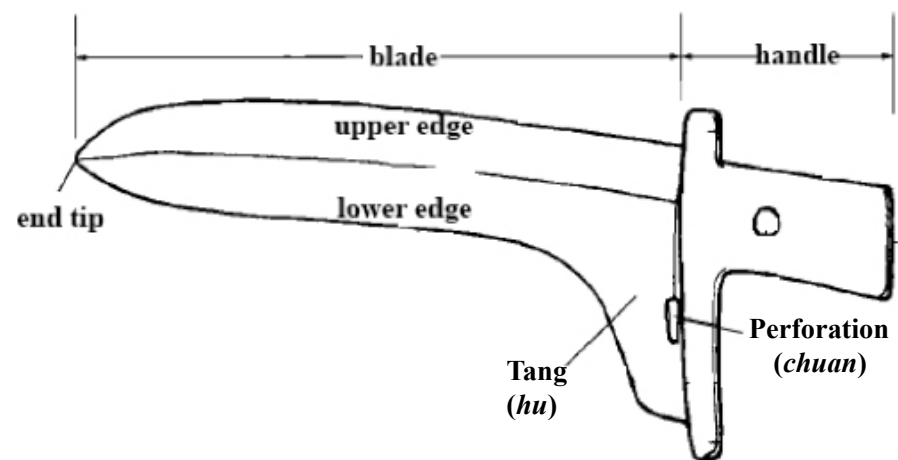
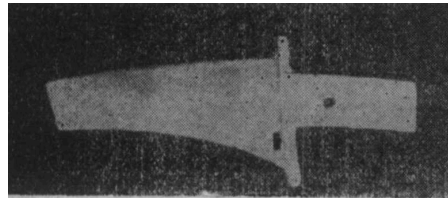
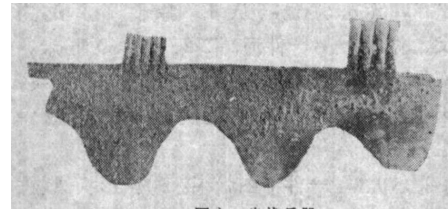


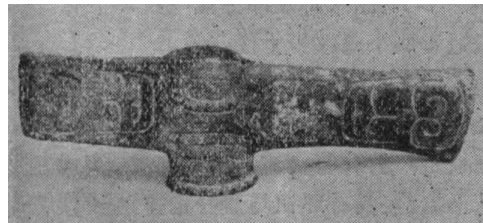
Figure 19 Bronze weapons from MI of Zhuangbai at Fufeng, Zhouyuan



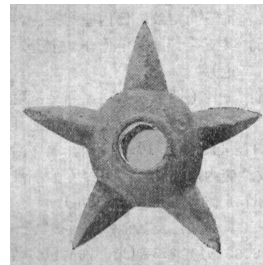
Bronze *ge*



Bronze weapon



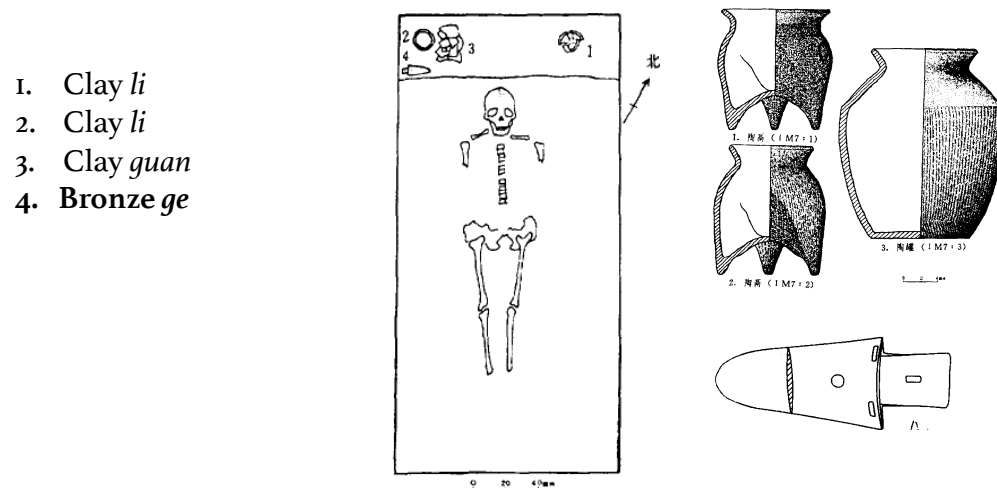
Bronze socketed axe



Bronze mace head

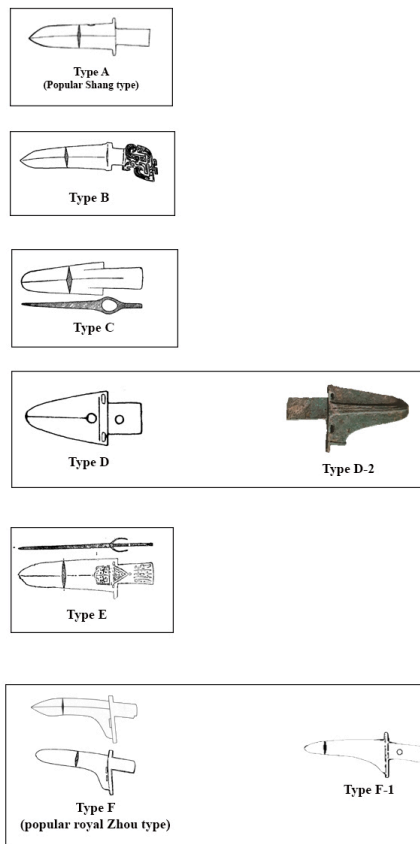
Luo Xizhang, Wu Zhenfeng and Luo Zhongru 1976, Fig. 6-9, II.

Figure 20 Example of an early Zhou burial at Beilü displaying bronze *ge* and a humble set of ceramics



Luo Xizhang 1995, Fig. 93.

Figure 21 Bronze *ge* types



Type A

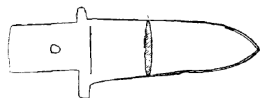


Figure 22. Bronze *ge* from M30 Dasikong 大
司空

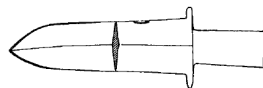


Figure 23. Bronze *ge* from M97 in
Guojiazhuang 郭家庄

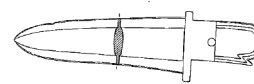


Figure 24. Bronze *ge* from M54 in
Huayuanzhuang east 花园庄东

Figure 22: Zhongguo anyang 1994 pp. 487.

Figure 23: Zhongguo 1998, pp. 46.

Figure 24: Zhongguo 2007, pp. 145.

Type B



Figure 25. Bronze *ge* from M356 in Yinxu
Xiqu 殷墟西区

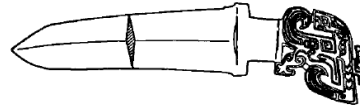


Figure 26. Bronze *ge* from M613 Yinxu Xiqu
殷墟西区



Figure 27. Bronze *ge* from M1152 Yinxu
Xiqu 殷墟西区

Figure 25-27: Zhongguo anyangg 1979, pp. 27-146.

Type C

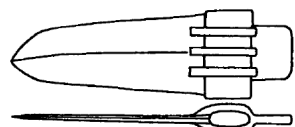


Figure 28. Bronze socketed-*ge* from M9
Liujiashuang 刘家庄

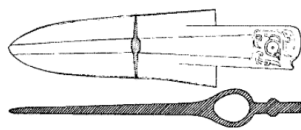


Figure 29. Bronze socketed-*ge* from M217
Guojiazhuang 郭家庄

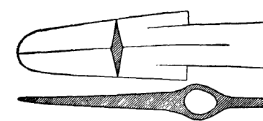


Figure 30. Bronze socketed-*ge* from M9
Guojiazhuang 郭家庄

Figure 28: Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 44.
Figure 29: Zhongguo 1998, pp. 49.
Figure 30: Zhongguo anyang 1988, pp. 88o.

Type D

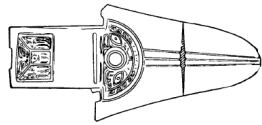


Figure 31. Bronze *ge* from Yin Xu Xiqu M279
殷墟西区

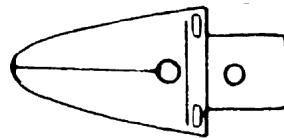


Figure 32. Bronze *ge* from Wuguan 武官大墓

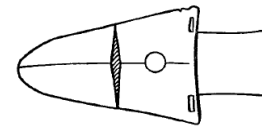


Figure 33. Bronze *ge* from M355 Yin Xu Xiqu
殷墟西区

Figure 31: Zhongguo 1994, pp. 311.
Figure 32: Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 29.
Figure 33: Ibid.



Figure 34. Bronze *ge* from M8 Luoshan Tianhu 罗山天湖

Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 31.

Type E

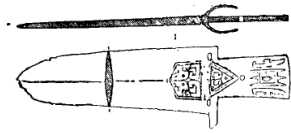


Figure 35. Bronze *ge* from Luoshan Tianhu 罗
山天湖 M11

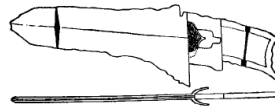


Figure 36. Bronze *ge* from Anyang
Qijiazhuang 安阳戚家庄

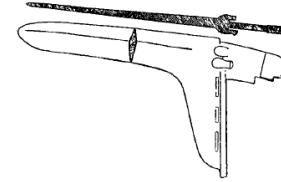


Figure 37. Bronze *ge* from Yinxu Xiqu 殷墟
西区

Figure 35: Henansheng xinyang and Henansheng luoshanxian 1986, pp. 171.

Figure 36: Anyangshi wenwu 1991, pp. 343.

Figure 37: Zhongguo anyang 1986, pp. 709.

Type E

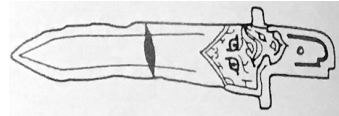


Figure 38. Bronze *ge* from Gansu Lingtai Baicaopo M2

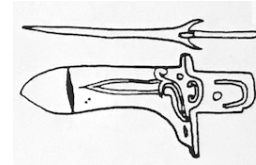


Figure 39. Bronze *ge* from Zhuyuangou M4

Figure 38: Gansusheng 1977, pp. 99-130.

Figure 39: Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.

Type F

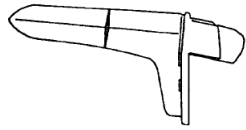


Figure 40. Bronze *ge* from Liujiazhuang 刘家
庄

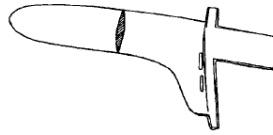


Figure 41. Bronze *ge* from Guojiazhuang 郭家
庄 M97

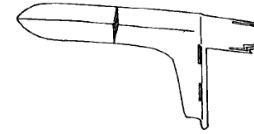


Figure 42. Bronze *ge* from Xujiacao 徐家桥
M21

Figure 40: Jing Zhongwei 2011, pp. 44.
Figure 41: Zhongguo 1998, pp. 46.
Figure 42: Anyangshi wenwu 1997, Fig. 6.



Figure 43. Ink rubbing of inscription from
He Wu *gui* 何戊簋



Figure 44. Ink rubbing of inscription from
Zi Zhi Ge Fu Xin *yan* 子執戈父辛鬲

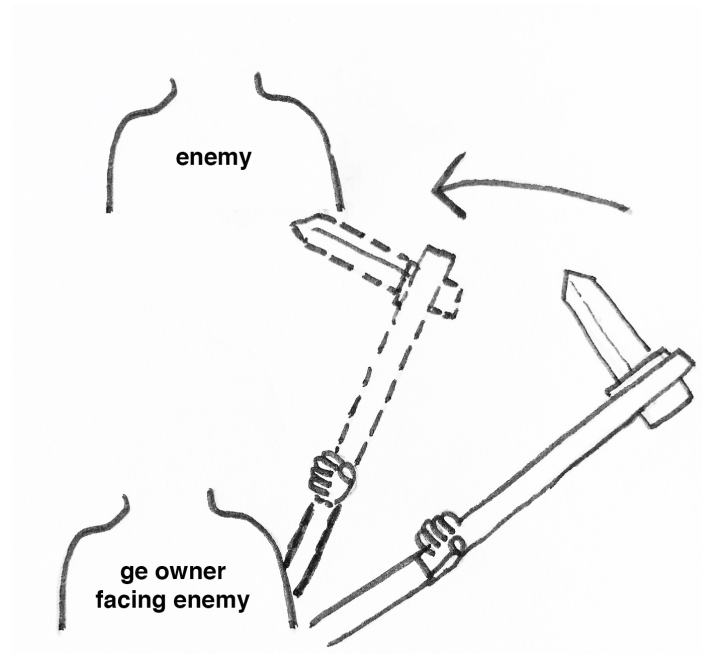
Figure 43-44: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, National Central Library
Bronze inscription rubbing database 國家圖書館金石拓片資料庫 <http://rarebook.ncl.edu.tw/gold/>

Figure 45 A human sacrifice holding a ceremonial jade *ge* dagger-axe, dated to around 1200 B.C., at Anyang



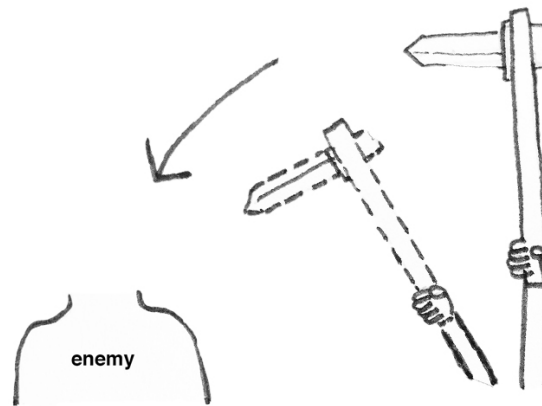
Photo taken by author at the British Museum, London. Image ©Yinxu Museum.

Figure 46 Illustration of how type A *ge* was possibly used to attack enemy



Author's own drawing

Figure 47 Attacking enemy by swinging the *ge*-shaft perpendicularly downward



Author's own drawing



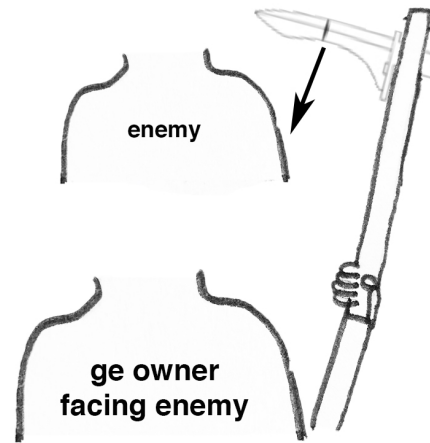
Figure 48. Bronze *ge* with downward-curved blade from M121 Luoyang Beiyao



Figure 49. Bronze *ge* with downward-curved blade from M155 Luoyang Beiyao

Figure 48-49: Luoyangshi 1999.

Figure 50 Bronze *ge* used almost as hook attacking enemy's back



Author's own drawing



Figure 51. Bronze *ge* with blade tilted upward from M65 Yejiashan

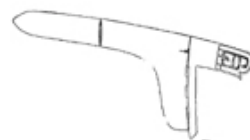
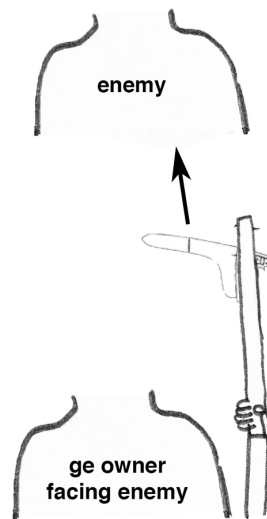


Figure 52. Bronze *ge* with blade tilted upward from M60 Junxian Xincun

Figure 51: Hubeisheng wenwu 2011, pp. 3-40.

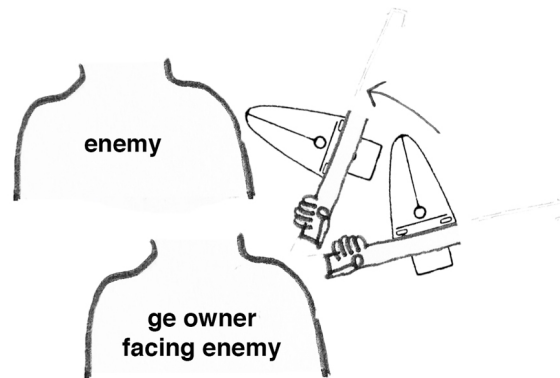
Figure 52: Guo Baojun 1964.

Figure 53 Attacking the enemy with the upper edge



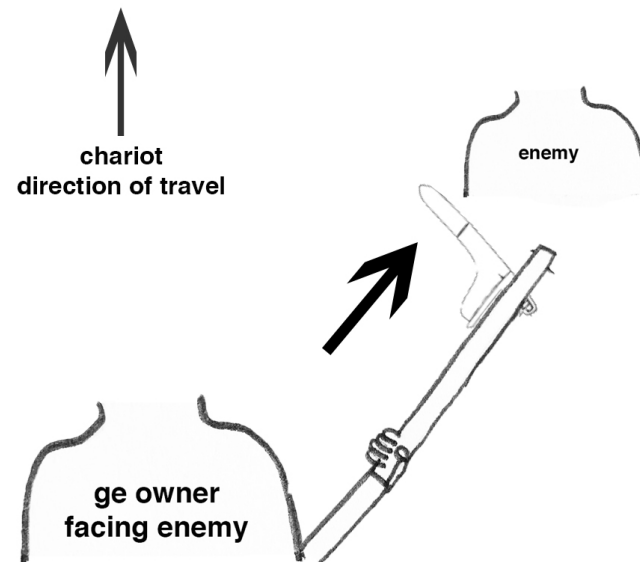
Author's own drawing

Figure 54 Attacking enemy with type D *ge*



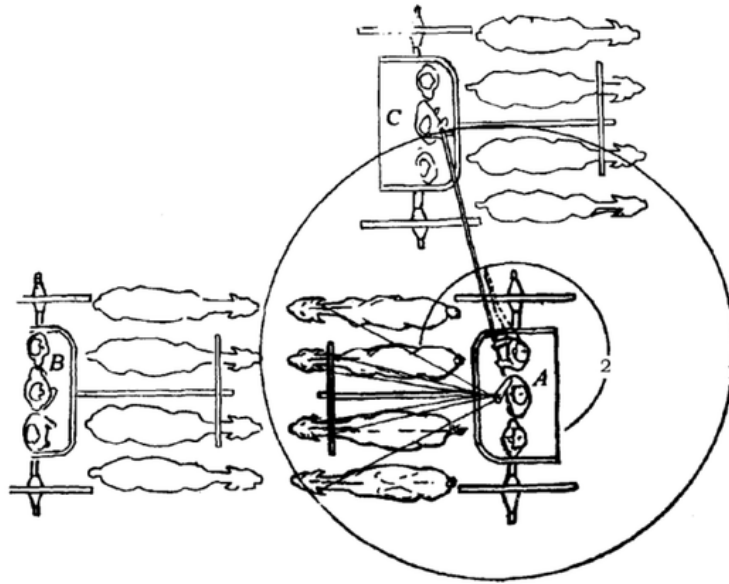
Author's own drawing

Figure 55 Attacking enemy from the chariot I



Author's own drawing

Figure 56 Attacking enemy from the chariot II



Circle I (bigger circle) shows the estimated radius of the *ge*-shaft when swung. Note that this is a reconstruction of fighting on chariot based on Warring States material remains and sources; the Western Zhou shaft may differ in length. However, the idea of attacking the enemy from both sides of the chariot remains the same.

Image source: Fang Chenghua 方震華 2012. Original image source is unknown.

Figure 57 Human skull from late Shang tomb with broken bronze *ge*



Tang Jigen 2018..



Figure 58. Large axe *yue* from Yejiashan M65

Figure 58: Hubeisheng wenwu 2011, pp. 3-40.

Figure 59: Hubeisheng wenwu 2013, pp. 3-57.



Figure 59. Mace head from M28 Yejiashan

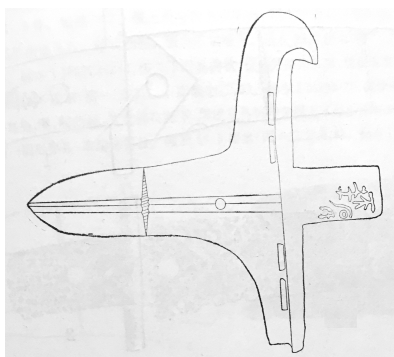


Figure 60. The *ji* in M52 Liulihe with swirling ends.

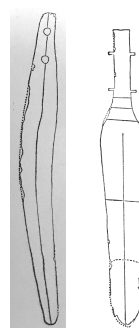


Figure 61. Short swords in willow-leaf shape from M52 (left) and M53 (right) Liulihe

Figure 60: Beijingshi 1995, pp. 203.
Figure 61. Ibid.,pp. 201-202.



Figure 62. Openwork scabbard from M253 Liulihe

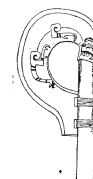


Figure 63. Large axe *yue* from M1 Lingtai Baicaopo

Figure 62 Ibid.

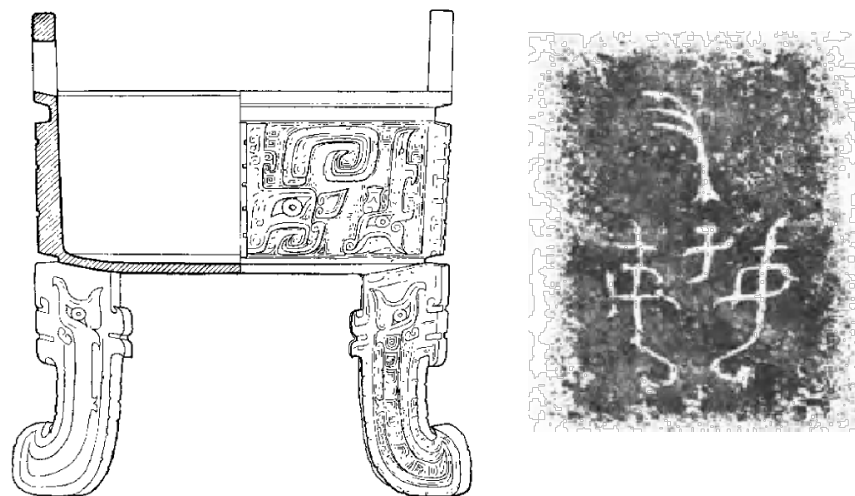
Figure 63: Gansusheng 1977, pp. 99-130.



Figure 64. Mace head from Zhuyuangou BZM13

Figure 64: Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.

Figure 65 The insignia of Lady Fuhao cast on a bronze *ding* from the Fuhao tomb



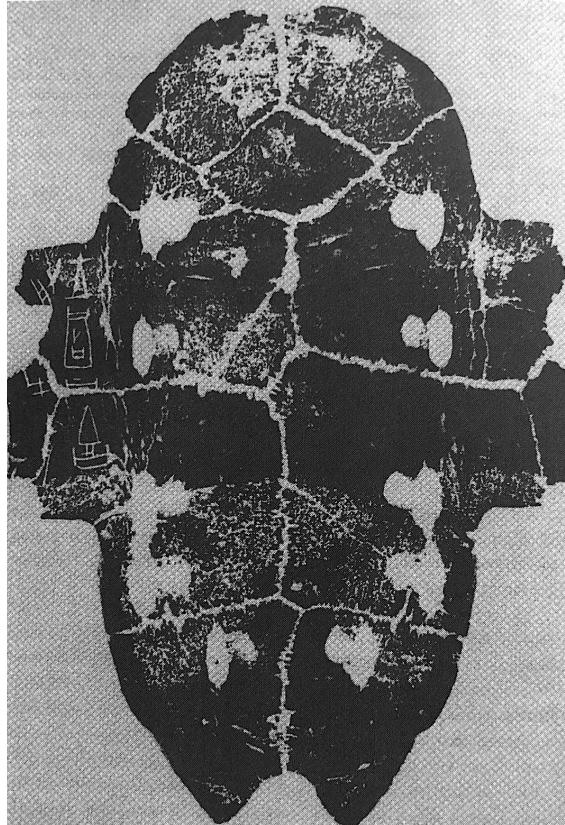
Zhongguo 1980, Fig. 26-3, 27-1.

Figure 66 A bronze *fangzun* vessel and a rubbing of the clan emblem of family Yachou



Collection of National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 67 Example of a divination record, which documents that the Shang king read the cracks and proclaimed, “Auspicious. We will receive this harvest.”



Keightley 2008, Fig. 4.2, pp. 238.

Figure 68 Example of a ritual vessel set from a tomb at Gaojiabao

Image after Jessica Rawson, "A Bronze Casting Revolution in the Western Zhou and Its Impact on Provincial Industries," in ed. Robert Maddin, *Papers from the Second International Conference on the Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys, Zhengzhou, China, 21-26 October 1986* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1988), figure 21.1.

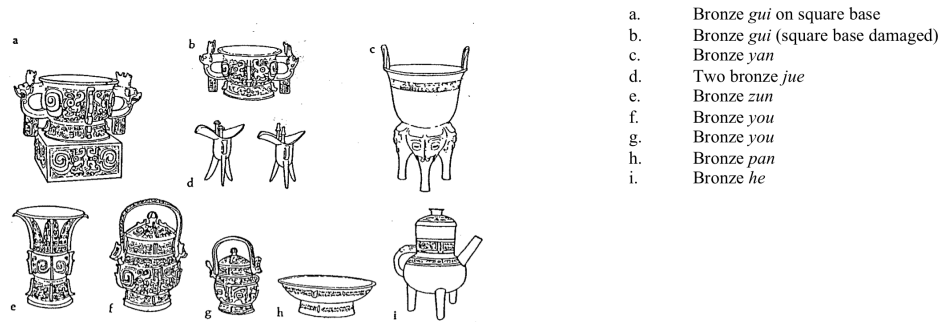


Figure 69 Example of a *jue-gu* pair from a late Shang tomb M354 at Anyang (Yinxu Xiqu)

Other burial objects:

1 clay *gu*
1 clay *dou*
1 clay *guan*
1 bronze *ge*
2 cowries



Zhongguo anyang 1979, Image plate 13.2

Figure 70 Ten *jue-gu* pairs and other bronze vessels from M160 in Guojiazhuang

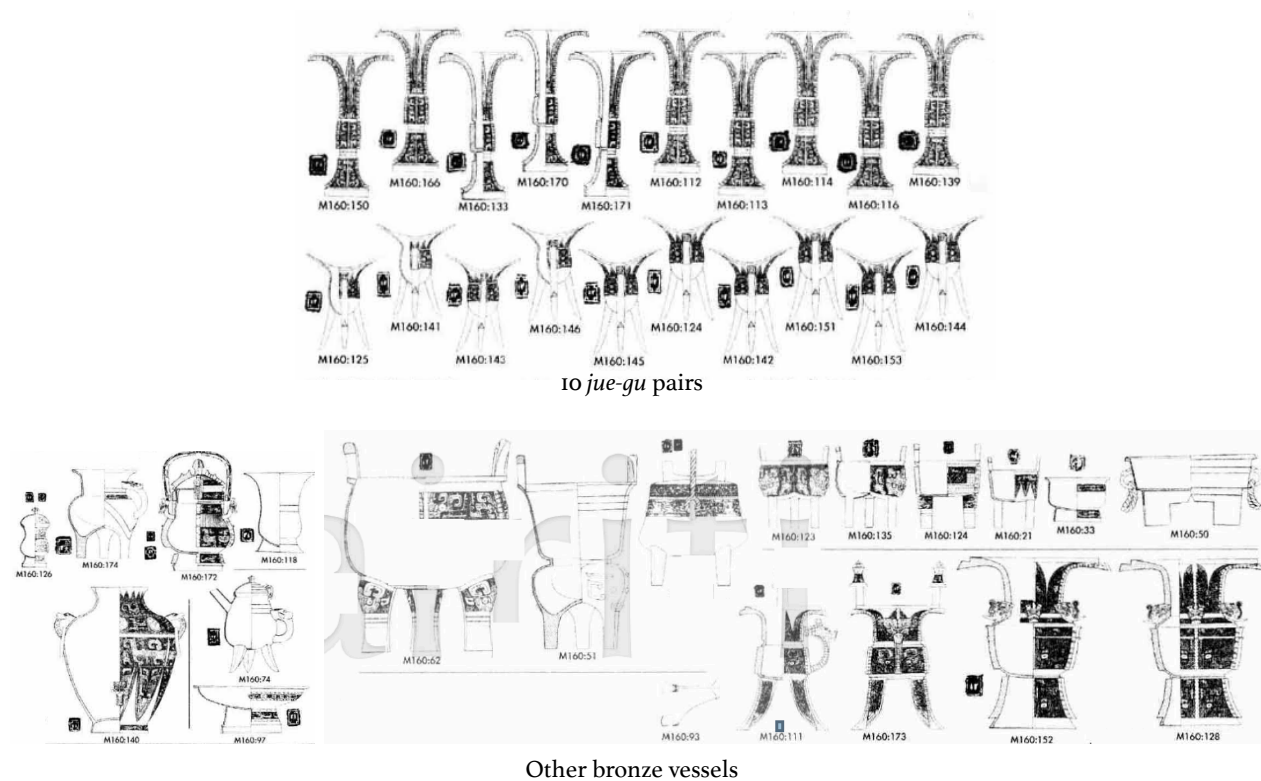


Image after Huang Mingcong 2012, pp. 665.

Figure 71 *Jue-gu* pairs and other ritual vessels from Qijiazhuang M269, Anyang

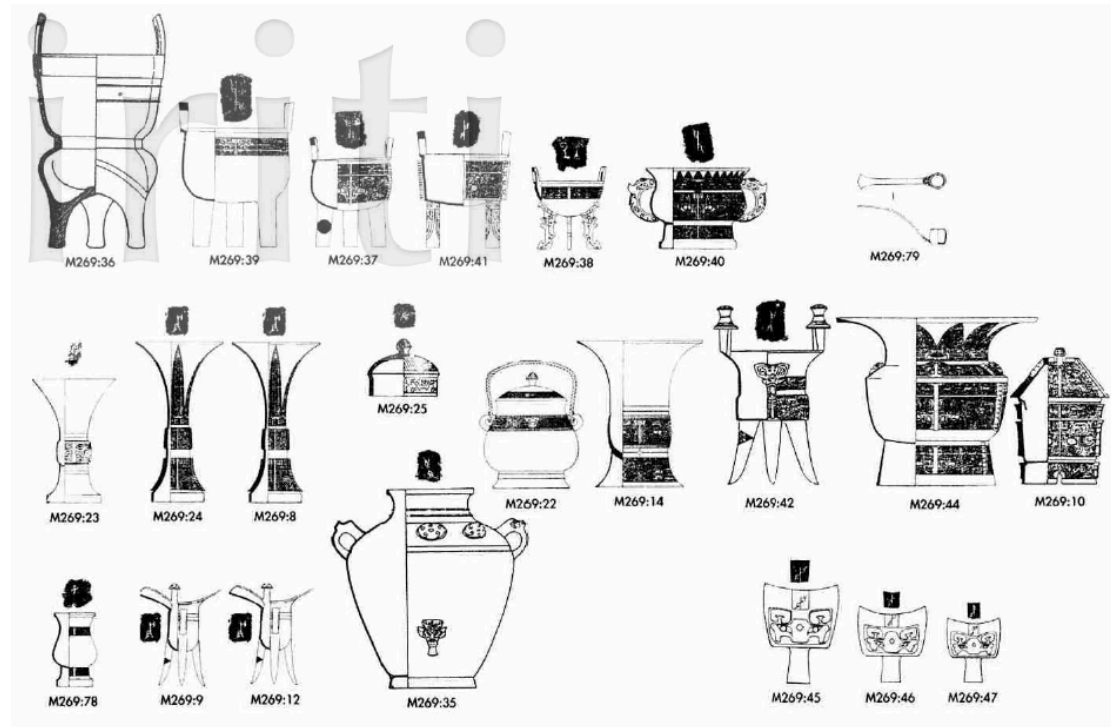
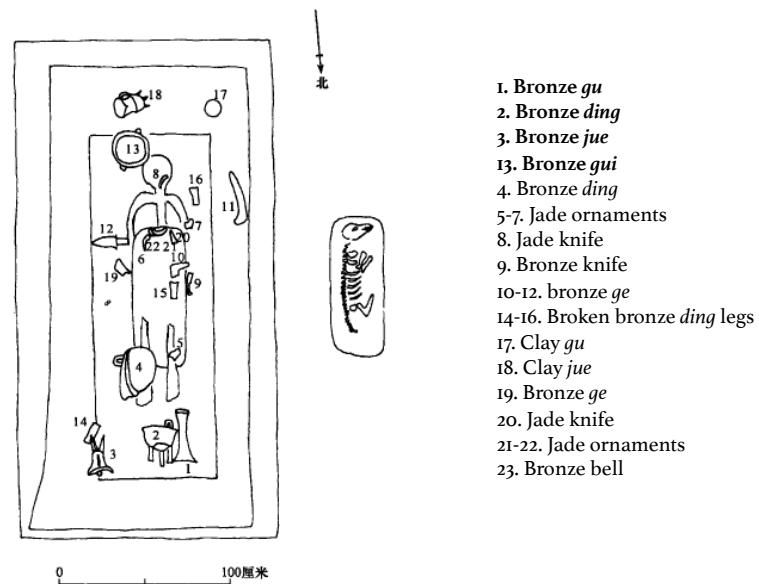


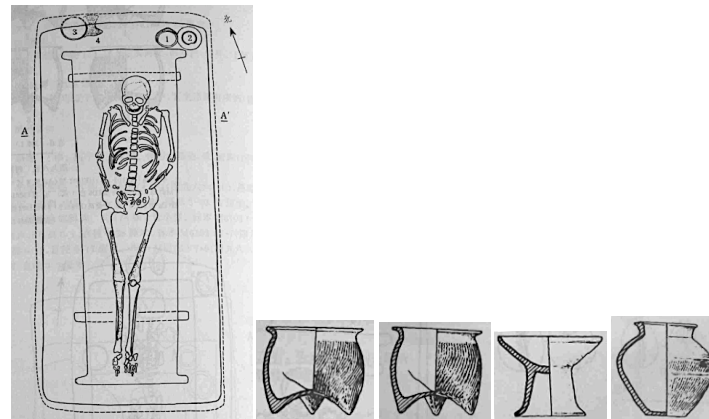
Image after Huang Mingcong 2012, pp. 666.

Figure 72 A pair of bronze *jue-gu* and *ding-gui*
found in burial M79 at Wenyuan Lvdao 文源绿岛, Anyang, dated to Yinxu phase III.



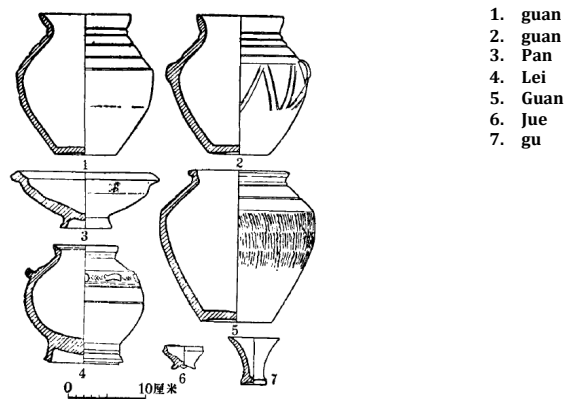
Anyangshi wenwu kaogu 2011, Fig. 7.

Figure 73. Ceramic set from M6175 at Tianma-Qucun



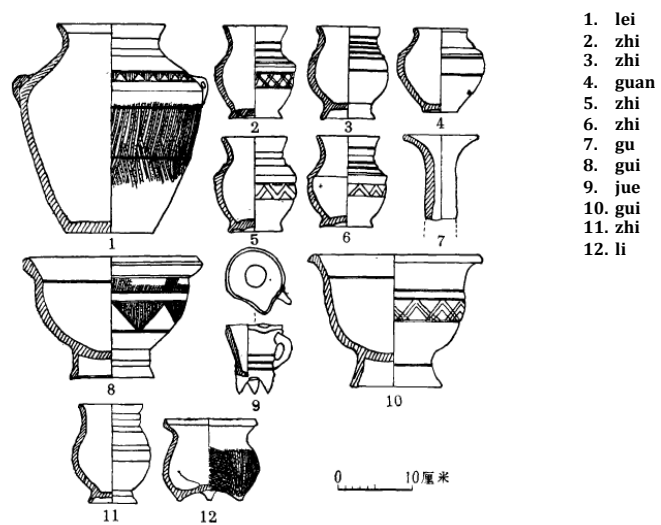
Beijing shangzu 2000, pp.657-658 (fig. 985, 988).

Figure 74 Ceramic set from M1713, Anyang Xiqu



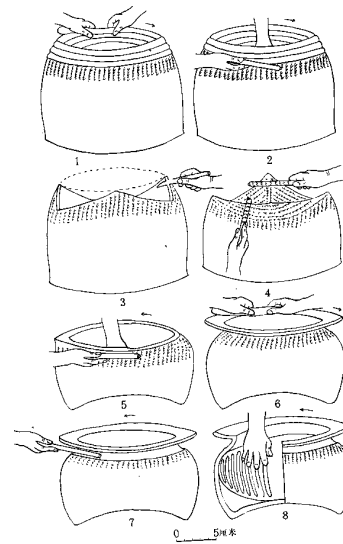
Zhongguo anyang 1986, pp. 703.

Figure 75 Ceramic Set of M_I, Anyang Guojiazhuang



Anyangshi 1986, pp. 713-716.

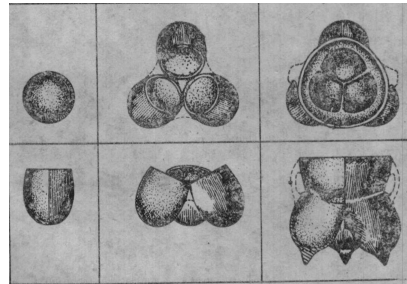
Figure 76 Reconstructed production procedures of Anyang-type *li*



The reconstruction is made by observing similar-looking ceramics excavated from Tianma-Qucun, dated to the Western Zhou period

Li Wenjie 1996, pp.263

Figure 77 Reconstructed production procedures of Nianzipo-type *li*



Top: Birdseye view
Bottom: side view

Zhang Tian'en 1989, Fig.1.

Figure 78 Anyang subtype

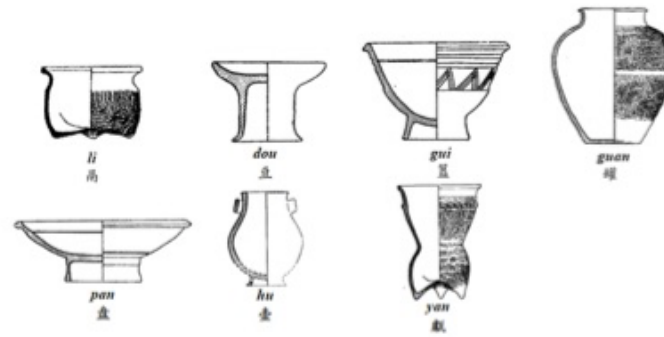
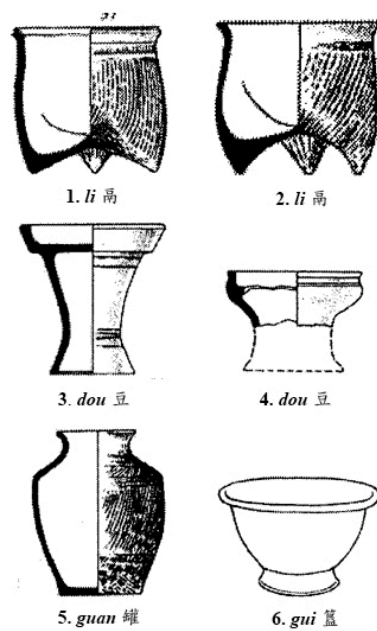


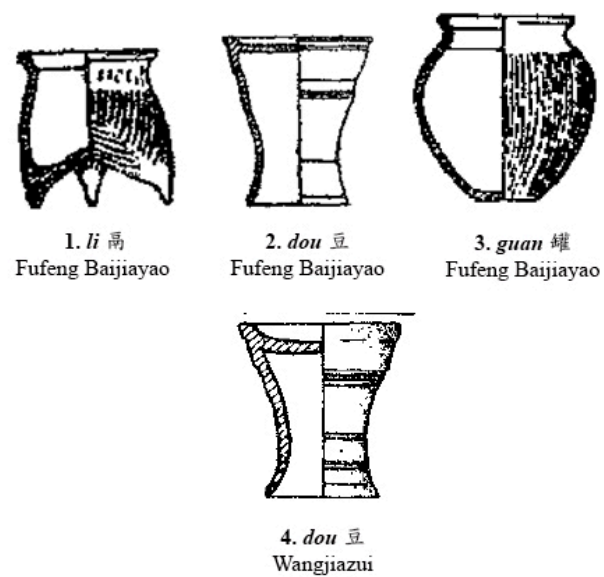
Image after: Zhongguo 1987.

Figure 79 Laoniupo subtype



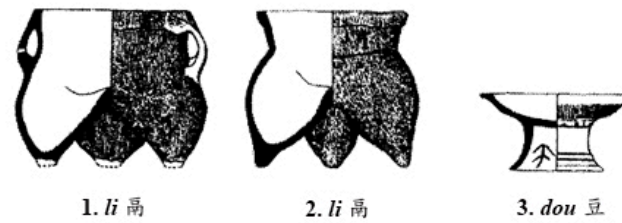
Zhongguo and Yang Xizhang ed. 2003, pp. 308 (Fig. 6-9)

Figure 8o Laoniupo subtypes in other sites



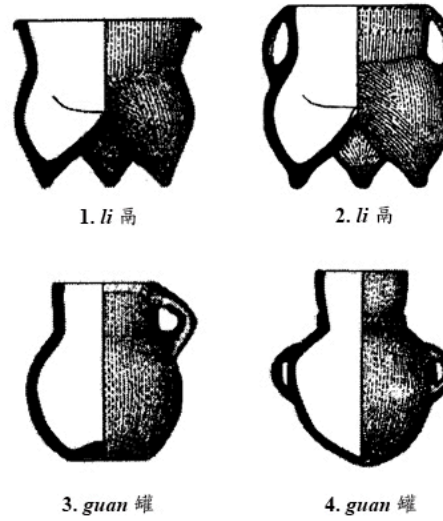
Xu Tianjin 1990, Fig. 6.

Figure 8I Nianzipo subtype (Pre-conquest Zhou)



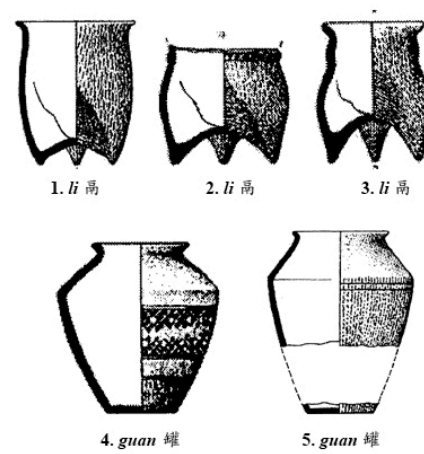
Zhongguo and Yang Xizhang ed. 2003, pp. 572 (Fig. 8-23)

Figure 82 Liujia subtype (Pre-conquest Zhou)



Zhongguo and Yang Xizhang ed. 2003, pp. 572 (Fig. 8-23)

Figure 83 Zhengjiapo subtype (Pre-conquest Zhou)



Zhongguo and Yang Xizhang ed. 2003, pp. 532 (Fig. 8-25)

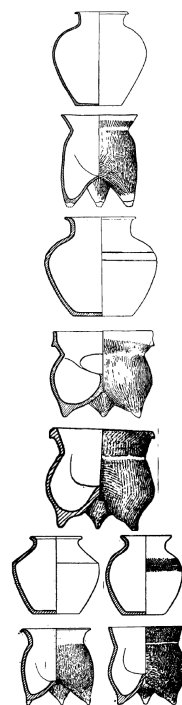
Figure 84 Ceramics from pre-conquest Zhou tombs

Zhangjiapo M54

M89

M1

83 沔毛 M1



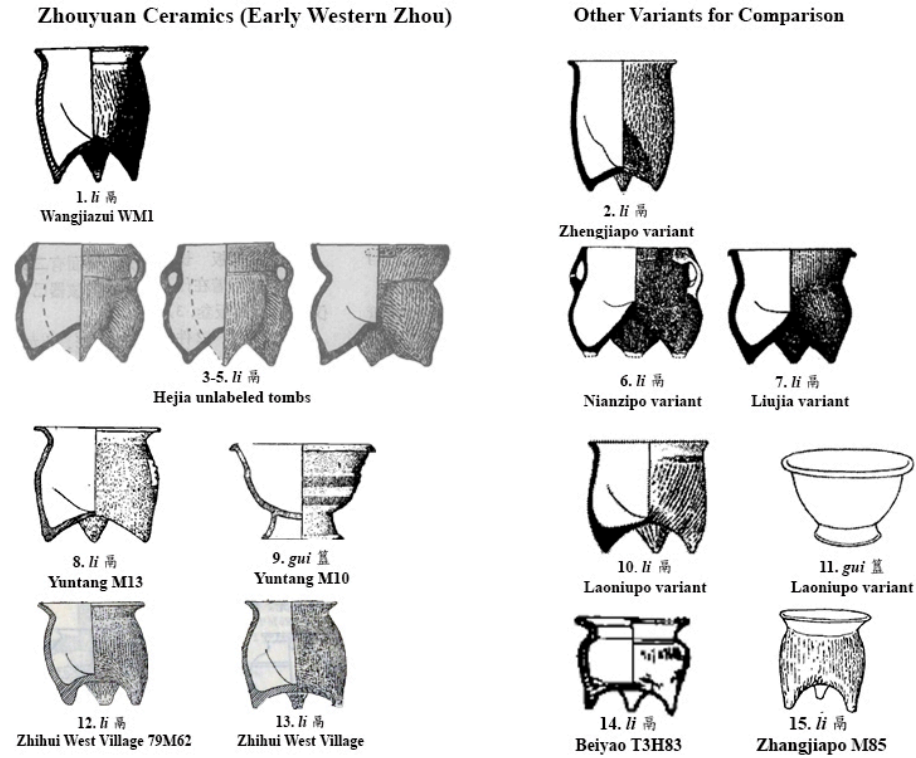
Zhangjiapo M54: Zhongguo fengxi 1980, pp. 457-501.

M89: Ibid.

Fengxi M1: Zhongguo fenghao 1984, pp. 779-783.

83 沔毛 M1: Ibid.; Zhongguo and Yang Xizhang ed. 2003, pp. 533.

Figure 85 Zhouyuan tradition



Zhihui West village: Yongcheng 1982, pp. 15-38.

Fufeng Yuntang: Zhouyuan 1980, pp. 39-55.

Wangjiazui: Ju Wanchang 1985, pp. 1-7.

Hejia: Shaanxisheng bowuguan and Shaanxisheng wenwu 1976, pp. 31-38.

Figure 86 Feng/Hao tradition I

Feng/Hao Ceramics (early Western Zhou)



1. *li* 鬲
Zhangjiapo M85



2. *li* 鬲
Dayuancun M315



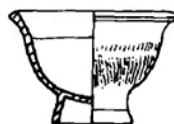
4. *li* 鬲
Fengxi Tielu Qiaotou M178



5. *li* 鬲
Zhangjiapo M87



8. *gui* 簋
Fengxi Tielu Qiaotou M178



9. *gui* 簋
Zhangjiapo M19

Other Variants for Comparison



3. *li* 鬲
Laoniupo variant



6. *li* 鬲
Nianzipo variant



7. *li* 鬲
Liujia variant



10. *gui* 簋
Laoniupo variant

Zhangjiapo M85: Liang Xingpeng 2002, fig. 2.
Dayuancun M315: Zhongguo fengxi fajue 1986, image plate 1.
Fengxi Tielu Qiaotou M178: Liang Xingpeng 2002, fig. 2.
Zhangjiapo M87: Ibid.
Zhangjiapo M19: Ibid.

Figure 87 Feng/Hao tradition II

Feng/Hao Ceramics continued
(early Western Zhou)



11. *guan* 罐
Zhangjiapo H301



12. *guan* 罐
Keshengzhuang T43



14. *guan* 罐
Zhangjiapo M19



15. *guan* 罐
Fengxi Tielu Qiaotou M178

Other Variants for Comparison



16. *guan* 罐
Laoniupo variant

All Feng/Hao ceramic images: Liang Xingpeng 2002, Fig. 2-5.

Figure 88 Luoyang tradition

Luoyang Ceramics (Early Western Zhou)



1. *li* 鬲
Beiyao T31H83



2. *li* 鬲
Beiyao M67



4. *li* 鬲
Beiyao T3H83



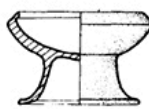
7. *li* 鬲
Beiyao T3H83



8. *li* 鬲
Beiyao T4

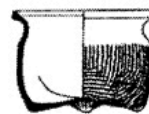


12. *gui* 盥
Beiyao T3H90



13. *dou* 豆
Beiyao M702

Other Variants for Comparison



3. *li* 鬲
Anyang variant



5. *li* 鬲
Nianzipo variant



6. *li* 鬲
Liujia variant



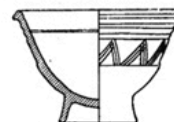
9. *li* 鬲
Laoniupo variant



10. *li* 鬲
Liulihe IM24



11. *li* 鬲
Feng/Hao variant



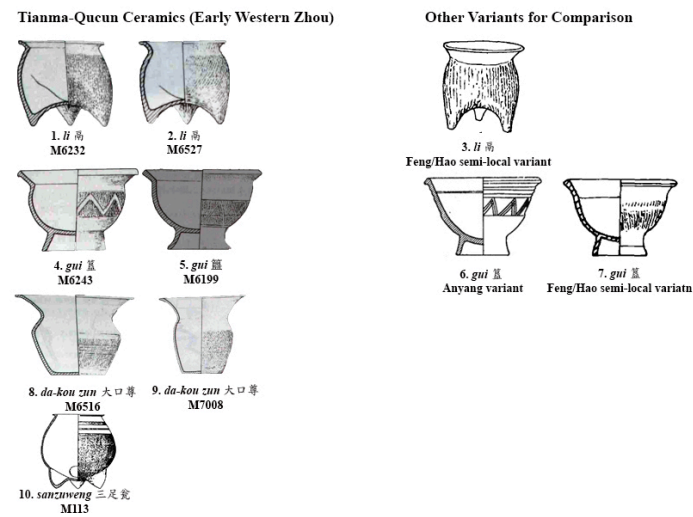
14. *gui* 盥
Anyang variant



15. *dou* 豆
Anyang variant

Ye Wansong and Yu Fuwei 1985, pp. 834-842; Luoyangshi 1999a.

Figure 89 Tianma-Qucun tradition



Beijing daxue and Shanxisheng 2001, pp. 4-21.

Figure 90 Earlier examples of *sanzu-weng* I

H23 of the Dongxiafeng 东下冯

Taiyuan Guangshe 太原光社

Dakou village, Jungar Banner 準格爾旗



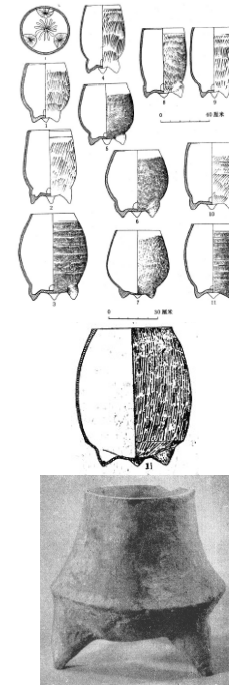
Dongxiafeng: Dongxiafeng 1980, pp. 97-107.
Taiyuan Guanshe: Shou Tian 1957 pp. 57-58.
Jungar Banner: Ji Faxi and Ma yaoxi 1979, pp. 318.

Figure 91 Earlier examples of *sanzu-weng* II

Zhukaigou 朱开沟

Shanxi Fenyang 山西汾阳

Shenmu 神木 in Shaanxi

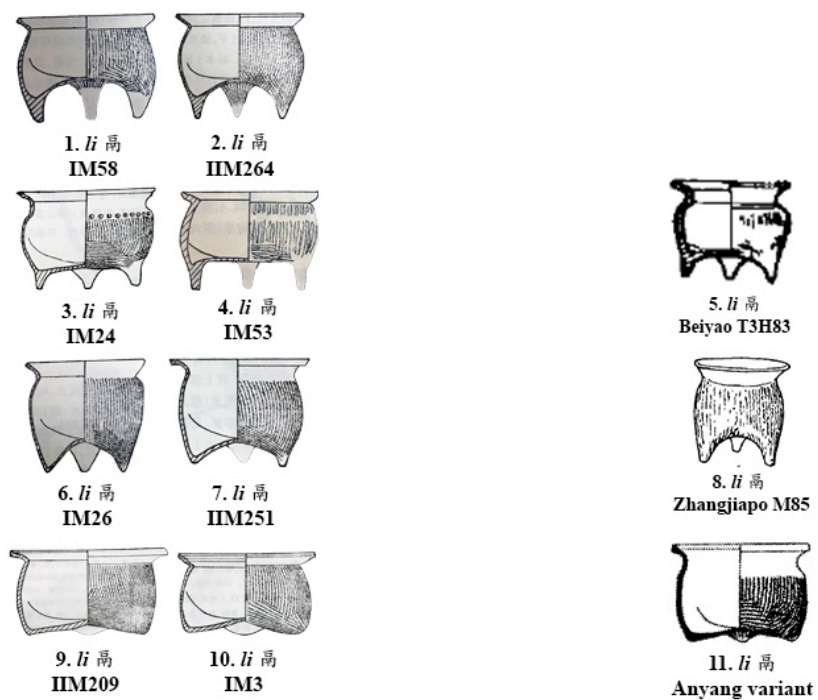


Zhukaigou: Neimenggu and E'erdusi 2000, pp. 101-102, fig. 50-51: 1, 2.
 Fenyang: Sun Zhanwei 2010, pp. 23-28.
 Shenmu: Dai Yingxin 1977, pp. 154; Shanxisheng 1983, pp. 961-965.

Figure 92 Liulihe tradition I

Liulihe Ceramics (Early Western Zhou)

Other Variants for Comparison



Beijingshi 1995.

Figure 93 Liulihe tradition II

**Liulihe Ceramics continued
(Early Western Zhou)**



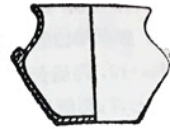
10. *gui* 簋
IM24



11. *gui* 簋
IM52

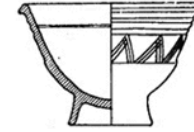


13. *guan* 罐
IIM254



14. *guan* 罐
IIM53

Other Variants for Comparison



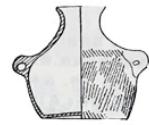
12. *gui* 簋
Anyang variant

Beijingshi 1995.

Figure 94 Liulihe tradition III

**Liulihe Ceramics continued
(Early Western Zhou)**

Other Variants for Comparison



16. *hu* 壶
IM51



17. *sanzuzweng* 三足瓮
IM54



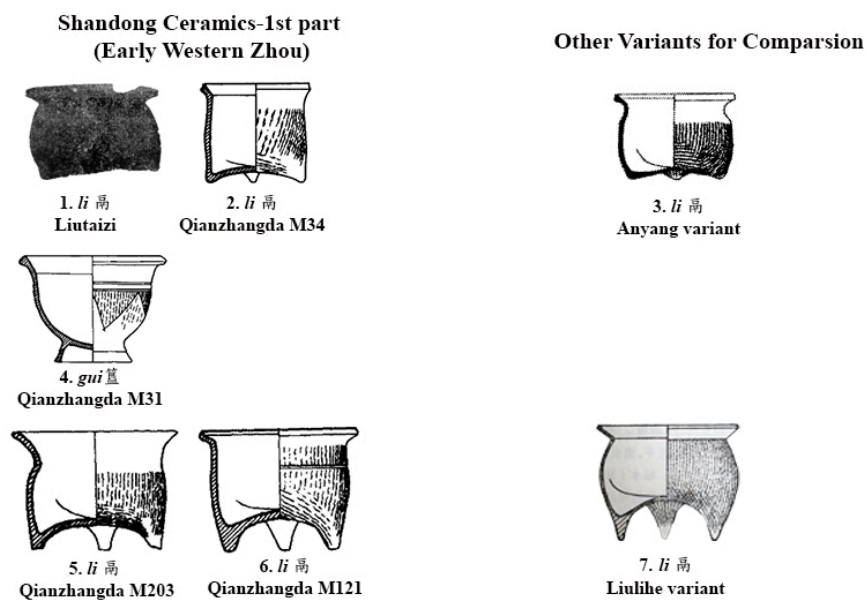
18. *dou* 豆
IM52



19. *dou* 豆
IIM207

Beijingshi 1995.

Figure 95 Shandong tradition I



Liutaizi: Dezhou and Jiyangxian 1981.
Qianzhangda: Zhongguo 2005, pp. 144, 146, 149.

Figure 96 Shandong tradition II

Shandong Ceramics-2nd part
(Early Western Zhou)

Other Variants for Comparison



1. *li* 鬲
Zhishui H46

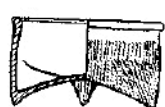


2. *li* 鬲
Zhishui T435

Cao Bin 2016b.

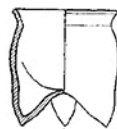
Figure 97 Shandong tradition III

**Shandong Ceramics-3rd part
(Early Western Zhou)**



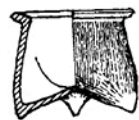
3. *li* 鬲

Fenghuangtai H624



4. *li* 鬲

Fenghuangtai H009



6. *li* 鬲

Zouping dinggong M23



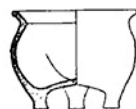
7. *li* 鬲

Zouping dinggong H214



9. *li* 鬲

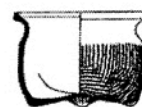
Jiaoxian Xiyan M1



10. *li* 鬲

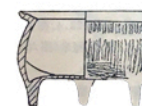
Jiaoxian Xiyan M1

Other Variants for Comparision



5. *li* 鬲

Anyang variant



8. *li* 鬲

Liulihe local variant



11. *li* 鬲

Liulihe local variant

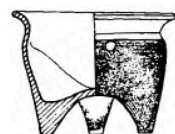
Fenghuangtai: Shandongsheng, Shandong daxue lishixi and Qingzhoushi 1989, pp. 162.

Zouping Dinggong: Shandong daxue 1992.

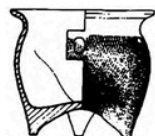
Jiaoxian: Shandongsheng changwei 1977.

Figure 98 Yejiashan tradition I

Yejiashan Ceramics (Early Western Zhou)



1. *li* 鬲
Yejiashan M2



4. *li* 鬲
Yejiashan M45

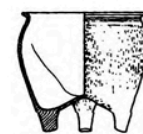


6. *gui* 鬲
Yejiashan M35

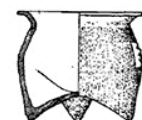
Other Variants for Comparison



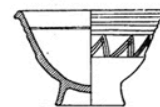
2. *li* 鬲
Maogoudong H1



3. *li* 鬲
Zhenwushan H36



5. *li* 鬲
Zhouyuan variant



7. *gui* 鬲
Anyang variant

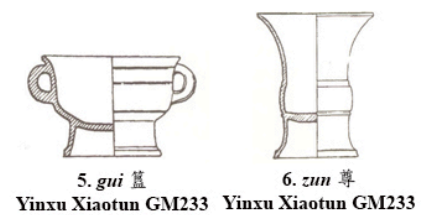
Maogoudong and Zhenwushan: He Xiaolin 2014.
Yejiashan: Zhang Changping 2012, pp. 77-87.

Figure 99 Yejiashan tradition II

**Yejiashan Ceramics continued
(Early Western Zhou)**



Other Variants for Comparison



Yejiashan: Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2011, pp. 4-60.

Figure 100 Yejiashan tradition III

Yejiashan Ceramics continued
(Early Western Zhou)



1. *guan* 罐
Yejiashan M27

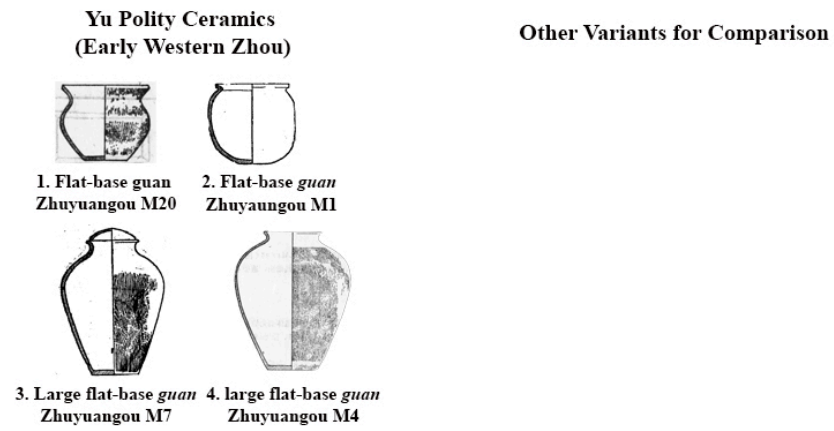
Other Variants for Comparison



2. proto-ceramic *guan* 原始瓷罐
Yejiashan M27

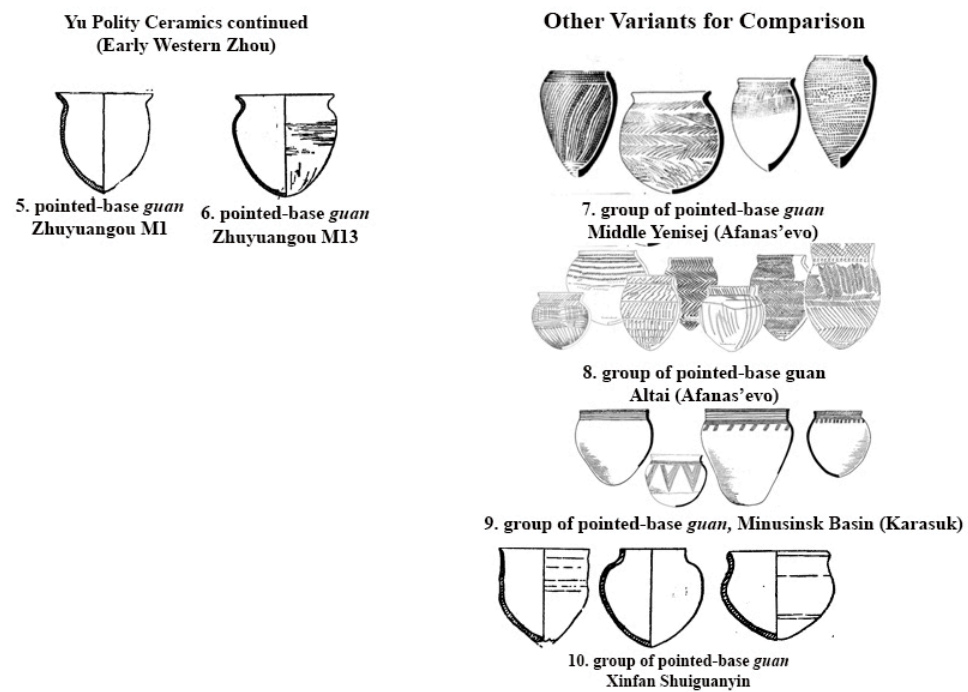
Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2011, pp. 4-60.

Figure 101 Yu polity tradition I



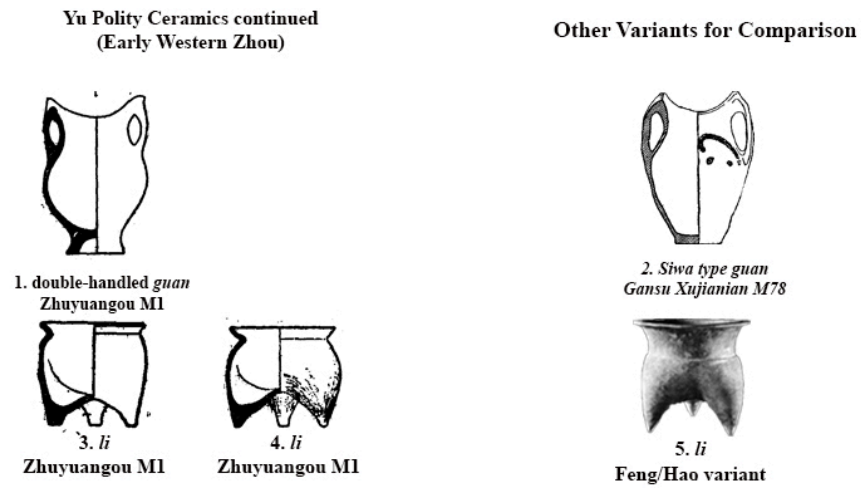
Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.

Figure 102 Yu polity tradition II



Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988; Rawson 2013.

Figure 103 Yu polity tradition III



Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988; Gansusheng bowuguan 1960, pp. 11-52.

Tables

Table 1 Western Zhou Bronze inscriptions mentioning the Six and Eight Armies

Army Name	Bronze Vessel	Date (early-late Western Zhou)	Reference number in JC*
六自 <i>liu shi</i> Six Armies	 Zhao Zhu <i>gui</i>	Early	4047
	盨方尊 Li square-based <i>zun</i>	Middle (King Mu)	6013
	盨方彝 Li square-based <i>yi</i>	Middle (King Mu)	9899, 9900
	呂服余盤 Lv Fu Yu <i>pan</i>	Middle	10169
	奭戒鼎 Shu Jie <i>ding</i>	Late	NA
	南宮柳鼎 Nan Gong Liu <i>ding</i>	Late (King Li)	2805
西六自 <i>xi liu shi</i> Western Six Armies	禹鼎 Yu <i>ding</i>	Late (King Li)	2833, 2834
八自 <i>ba shi</i> Eight Armies	盨方尊 Li square-based <i>zun</i>	Middle (King Mu)	6013
	盨方彝 Li square-based <i>yi</i>	Middle (King Mu)	9899, 9900
	小克鼎 Xiao Ke <i>ding</i>	Late	2796-2802
殷八自 <i>Yin ba shi</i> Yin Eight Armies	伯懋父簋 Bo Mao Fu <i>gui</i>	Middle (King Mu)	4238, 4239
	禹鼎 Yu <i>ding</i>	Late (King Li)	2833, 2834
成周八自 <i>chengzhou ba shi</i> Chengzhou Eight Armies	召壺蓋 Hu hu lid	Middle	9728

*All inscriptions cited in this dissertation are listed in *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (hereafter JC). Zhongguo kexue yanjiuyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所 1984-1994. See also: Shang Yantao 商艳涛 2013, table 1-1, 24-25.

**Table 2 Early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions mentioning place names with “自
shì”**

Place Name	Bronze Vessel Name	Reign of King	Reference number in JC*
 自 Lan <i>shì</i>	利簋 Li <i>gui</i>	King Wu	4131
朽自 Xiu <i>shì</i>	作册鬲鼎 Zuo Ce Zhi <i>díng</i>	King Cheng	2504
盤自 Zhou <i>shì</i>	旅鼎 Lü <i>díng</i>	King Cheng/Kang	2728
鄂自 E <i>shì</i>	中甗 Zhong <i>yan</i>	King Zhao	949
	静方鼎 Jing square-based <i>díng</i>	King Zhao	NA
成自 Cheng <i>shì</i>	小臣单觶 Xiao Chen Shan zhi	King Cheng	6512

*All inscriptions cited in this dissertation are listed in *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (hereafter JC). Zhongguo kexue yanjiuyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所 1984-1994. See also: Shang Yantao 商艳涛 2013, table 1-5, 36.

Table 3 Non-elite bronze *ge* burials

Site	Burial	Bronze <i>ge</i> (type) number	Other buried objects
1. Xujiangnan	M95	(D) 1	Not published
	M79	(D) 1	Not published
	M70	(F) 1	1 bronze <i>mao</i> 1 bronze arrow head 1 bronze <i>pao</i> burial info not completely published
2. Yujiawan	M3 (female)	(D-2) 2	2 clam shells 1 砺石
	M5	(F) 3	2 Bronze <i>pao</i> 1 clay <i>li</i> 4 sea cowries
3. Baicaopo	M8	(F) 1	<i>Pao</i> ornaments 1 jade piece
4. Zhuyuangou	M10	(D) 3, two of which are <i>mingqi</i>	1 Bronze hair ornament 1 Bronze hair pin 1 Bronze bell 32 clamshells 4 Clay <i>guan</i> (1, 3 other broken)

	M21	(D) 10, all <i>mingqi</i>	1 Bronze <i>ji</i> 1 Bronze short knife 2 bronze shield ornaments 1 bronze axe 1 bronze <i>ben</i> 𠄎 1 bronze <i>zuo</i> 𠄎 1 bronze knife 1 bronze <i>shao</i> 勺 1 bronze comb 1 bronze hair ornament 2 bronze hair pins 1 bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 4 bronze bells 1 Clay <i>guan</i> with pointed tip 3 Clay <i>guan</i> with flat base
	M22	(F) 1	1 Bronze <i>ben</i> 1 Bronze <i>zuo</i> 1 Bronze knife 2 Bronze hair pins 1 Clay <i>guan</i> with pointed tip
5. Sunjia Nantou	M53	(F) 1	Not published
6. Zhihui West village	79M29	(F) 2	2 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> 3 Clamshells 2 Bone ornaments
	79M32	(F) 1	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> (C type) Remains of lacquer ware
	79M35	(F) 2	2 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornaments 1 Clay <i>li</i> (B type)
	79M37	(F) 1	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> (C type) Remains of lacquer ware
	80M29	(D) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> (E type)
7. Hejia village	1976 unlabeled	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 bronze <i>pao</i> ornament
	1976 unlabeled	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 bronze <i>pao</i> ornament
	1980 M22	(D) 1	Not published
	1980 M28	(D-2) 1	Not published
	1980 M25	(F) 1	Not published
	1980 M30	(D-2) 1	Not published
	1980 M19	(F) 1	Not published
	2001 IIDM2	(C) 1	1 bronze <i>ben</i> 4 bronze arrowheads
8. Huangjiahe	M10	(D) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i>

	M23	(F) 3	1 Bronze mirror 1 bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> (AIII)
	M25	(F) 2	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> (AV) Bone objects Clamshells
	M50	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> (AIII) 1 Stone knife 2 Clamshells
9. Beilü	IM1	(C) 1	Clay <i>li</i> (amount unknown) Clay <i>guan</i> (amount unknown)
	IM7	(D) 1	2 clay <i>li</i> 1 clay <i>guan</i>
	IIM3	(F) 1	1 Bronze mirror
	IIM4	(D) 1	Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> 2 clamshells
	IIIM11	(F) 1	1 jade <i>ge</i> 1 clay <i>li</i> 5 cowries 23 clamshells
	IVM69	(F) 1	1 clay <i>li</i>
	IVM85	(F-1) 1	Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament Skeleton of a sheep
	IVM144	(F) 2	1 bronze <i>ji</i> Sharpening stone
	IVM210	(A) 1	1 clay <i>li</i>
	IVM242	(F) 1	1 clay <i>li</i>
10. Gaojiabao	M5	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>gui</i> 1 Clay <i>guan</i> 1 Clay <i>li</i> remains of lacquer ware with shell ornaments 1 stone 石片 30 clamshells 1 cowry
11. Zhangjiapo	M35	(F) 1	1 clay <i>li</i> 1 clay <i>gui</i> Cowries
	M117	(F) 2	Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament Jade ornament, Clamshells Cowries
	M10	(F-1) 1	Looted, only the <i>ge</i> is found
12. Keshengzhuang	M159	(D) 1	Cowries Shell ornaments 2 clay <i>li</i>

			2 clay <i>gui</i> 2 clay <i>hu</i>
	M187	(A) 1	Cowries Jade ornaments 1 clay <i>li</i> 1 clay <i>gui</i> 1 clay <i>yu</i> 2 clay <i>guan</i> Sacrificial dog
	M204	(A) 1	1 bronze <i>mao</i> 1 bronze knife 1 bronze arrow head 1 clay <i>li</i> Jade ornaments 4 sacrificial human
	M206	(A) 1	1 bronze willow-leaf shaped sword Jade ornament 1 clay <i>guan</i> 1 sacrificial human Sacrificial dog
	M218	(E) 1	Jade ornament Cowries 1 clay <i>li</i> 2 sacrificial humans
	M315	(E) 2	Jade ornament 1 clay <i>li</i>
	M484	(E) 1	Shell ornament 1 clay <i>li</i> 1 clay <i>gui</i>
	K12	(E) 1	Jade ornament 2 clay <i>li</i> 1 clay <i>gui</i> 1 clay <i>guan</i>
13. Shaolingyuan	M44	(F) 2 (F-1) 2	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> 38 Clamshells 5 Cowries
	M49	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Stone ornament 83 Clamshells
	M62	(F) 1 (F-1) 2	1 Clamshell
	M63	(F) 2	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> 7 Clamshells
	M79	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 8 Cowries
	M82	Broken	1 Clay <i>li</i> 27 Cowries
	M83	(F-1) 1	1 Bronze cup (<i>bei</i>)

			1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Clay <i>hu</i> 7 Cowries
	M105	(F-1) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 2 Cowries
	M113	(F) 1 (F-1) 1	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i>
	M118	(F) 1	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i>
	M131	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Clamshell 10 Cowries
	M169	(F) 1 (A) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Clamshell
	M204	(F) 1	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i>
	M223	(F-1) 2 1 unknown	1 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 15 Clamshells
	M225	(A) 1 (F) 1	1 Bronze <i>pao</i>
	M234	(F) 4	4 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornaments 1 Clay <i>li</i> 11 Clamshells 7 Cowries
	M237	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 2 Clamshells 8 Cowries
	M239	(F) 1 1 unknown	1 Clay <i>li</i> 3 Clamshells 1 Cowries
	M241	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 10 Cowries
	M254 (female)	(F-1) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Clay <i>hu</i>
	M289	(F-1) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Clay <i>hu</i> 2 Cowries
	M310	(F-1) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Clay <i>gui</i> 1 Clay <i>hu</i> 1 Cowry 1 Shell ornament
	M341	2 handles	1 Clay <i>li</i> 24 Clam shells 16 Cowries
	M393	(F-1) 2 1 handle	1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Clay <i>gui</i> 27 Cowries 5 shell <i>pao</i> ornaments
	M401	1 handle	1 Clay <i>li</i>

			13 Cowries
	M404	(F) 3	2 Bronze <i>pao</i> ornament 1 Clay <i>li</i> 1 Cowry 7 shell ornament in fish shape
	M413	(F) 1 1 handle	1 Clay <i>li</i> 6 Cowries
	M419	(F) 1	1 Lead <i>ge</i> 1 Clay <i>li</i> 4 Cowries
	M423	(F) 1 (F-2) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i>
	M466	(F) 1	1 Clay <i>li</i> 18 Cowries 6 Clamshells
14. Tianma-Qucun	6204	(F) 1	Cowries, Shells (in the mouth), Lacquer ware with shell <i>pao</i> inlaid, Bronze <i>pao</i> ornaments Clam shells
15. Luoyang Beiyao	M103	(F) 1 (F-1) 2	3 shell <i>pao</i> 6 cowries 1 bell 1 bronze <i>pao</i>
	M193	(F-1) 1	2 Shell <i>pao</i> 22 clam shells 1 animal tooth object
16. Anyang Liujiazhuang	Tomb label and context unpublished	(F) 9 (F-1) 4	Not published
17. Liulihe	IM26	(F-1) 1	1 clay <i>li</i> 2 clay <i>gui</i> 6 clay <i>guan</i> Cowries Shells 4bone arrow heads 1 crystal bead
	IIM254	1 ge type unpublished	1 clay <i>li</i> 1 clay <i>gui</i> 7 clay <i>guan</i> 1 arrow head
	IM1	(F) 1	1 broken clay <i>li</i> 1 arrow head 2 bone ornaments Cowries
	IM20	(F-1) 1	2 clay <i>li</i> 1 clay <i>gui</i> 1 clay <i>guan</i> Bone arrow heads

			Shell sheets 37 Cowries 7 arrow head
	IM31	(F) 1	2 clay <i>li</i> 2 clay <i>gui</i> 1 clay <i>hu</i> Cowries and clam shells
	IIM252	(A) 1 (F) 1	1 <i>li</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 5 arrow head 2 shield ornaments 2 bells
	IIM268	(F) 1	2 arrow heads

Table 4 Elite burials with bronze *ge*

Site	Burial	Bronze <i>ge</i> type and number
1. Yuquan village	Unlabeled	(D) 1 (F) 5
2. Daijiawan	Not published by context	(A) 2 (F) 6 (F-1) 2 (D) 6 (D-2) 2 Categorization may not be accurate due to the poor quality of the published image
3. Shigushan	M3	(F) 1 (D) 1 (D-2) 3 1 unknown type
4. Zhuyuangou	BZM13	(F-1) 1 (F) 2 (D) 15, fourteen of which are <i>mingqi</i> (A) 1 (C) 1
	BZM7	(D) 13, 10 of which are <i>mingqi</i>
	BZM1	(D) 10, nine of which are <i>mingqi</i> (F) 3
	BZM4	(D) 10, six of which are <i>mingqi</i> (E) 3
	BZM8	(D) 10, eight of which are <i>mingqi</i> (F) 1
	BZM20	(D) 7, six of which are <i>mingqi</i> (A) 1 (F-1) 1 (F) 2
	BZM19	(E) 1 (F) 2 (D) 6, all are <i>mingqi</i>

	BZM14	(F-1) 1 (F) 1 (D) 6, all are <i>mingqi</i>
	BZM11	(D) 4, three of which are <i>mingqi</i>
	BZM18	(A) 1 (D) 7, six of which are <i>mingqi</i> (E) 1
	BZM3	(D) 1 (F-1) 1 (D) 5, all are <i>mingqi</i>
5. Fufeng Yuntang	M20	(A) 1
6. Fufeng Shaoli	M1	(F) 2
7. Fufeng Qijia	M8	(F) 1
8. Fufeng Hejia	M1	(D) 2 (C) 1 (A) 1
	M5	(A) 1 (F) 2
9. Hongwei village	Tomb unlabeled	(F) 1 (E) 1
10. Meixian Chequan village	Tomb unlabeled	(F-1) 1
11. Lingtai Baicaopo	M1	(A) 2 (F-1) 22 (F, E) 8, categorization not possible due to poor image quality (C) 1
	M2`	(C) 1 (F-1) 7 (F) 8 (E) 5 Some of the type E may not be identified in the excavation report
12. Lingtai Yaojiahe	Unlabeled	(F) 1
13. Qingyang	Unlabeled	(F) 1
14. Heshui Xihuachi	M3	(F) 2 Categorization based written description in excavation report
15. Guyuan	Unlabeled	(E) 1
16. Dongshan		(F) 2 Categorization based written description in excavation report
17. Xunyi	M1	(D-2) 1
18. Tongchuan Chengguan	Unlabeled	(A) 1 (F-1) 2 (F) 1
19. Gaojiabao	M4	(F) 2
20. Zhangjiapo	M257	Image not published
	M285	(A) 1
	M166	(F) 1

	M315	(C) 1
	M106	(F) 1
	M178	(F) 2
	M16	(F) 1
	M54	(F) 1
	M80	1 <i>ge</i> not published
	M85	(C) 1
	M87	(F) 1
	78M1	(A) 2
	M2	(A) 1
	M15	(F) 1
20. Keshengzhuang	M178	(F) 2
21. Huaxian Dongyang	M64	(C) 1
22. Beiyao	155	(C) 1 (D) 1 (F) 5 (A) 1 4 broken <i>ge</i> pieces not published
	M214	(F) 3 (A) 1
	M347	(E) 1 (F-1) 2
	M78	(F-1) 1 but <i>mingqi</i>
	M110	(F-1) 2
	M115	(F) 10 3 broken tips not published
	M129	(F) 1
	M130	(F) 1
	M133	(F) 2
	M152	(F) 2
	M161	(F) 5 8 broken <i>ge</i> pieces
	M172	(F) 5, one of which are lead 1 lead <i>ge</i> unpublished
	M188	(F) 2
	M192	(F) 7
	M203	(F) 9 1 irregular <i>ge</i> type
	M223	2 <i>ge</i> handles
	M234	1 broken <i>ge</i> tip
	M236	(F-1) 3 (F) 8
	M238	(F) 2
	M239	2 broken <i>ge</i> handles
	M254	(F-1) 1 (F) 1
	M262	(F-1) 2 (F) 1 3 broke tips not published

	M308	(F-1) 1 (F) 4
	M321	(F) 4
	M372	(F) 3
	M383	(F) 3 1 broken tip 1 <i>ge</i> handle
	M420	(F) 1 1 <i>ge</i> tip and 1 <i>ge</i> handle
	M440	(F) 13 (A) 1
	M448	(F) 1
	M675	(F) 1 1 broken tip not published
	M676	(A) 1 (F) 1
	M230	(F) 1 1 <i>ge</i> tip
	M310	1 <i>ge</i> tip
	M370	(F-1) 1 (A) 1
	M20	(F-1) 2 (F) 5
	M346	(A) 1 (F) 7
	M121	(F) 6
	M39	(F-1) 1
	M51	(A) 1 (F) 4
	M446	(F) 1
	M17	(F-1) 1 (F) 1
	M66	(E) 1
	M163	(F) 7 2 broken <i>ge</i> handles 1 broken <i>ge</i> piece
	M174	3 broken <i>ge</i> handles
	M200	(F) 6 2 <i>ge</i> tip 1 broken <i>ge</i> piece
	M210	(F) 6 1 <i>ge</i> type unidentifiable (C) 1 5 broken <i>ge</i> tips
	M216	(A) 2 (F) 6
	M273	(F) 2 2 broken <i>ge</i> tips
	M652	1 broken <i>ge</i> tip
	M5	(F) 12

		3 broken <i>ge</i> blades not published
	M40	(F) 1 3 broken <i>ge</i> tips
	M141	(F) 11 3 broken <i>ge</i> tips
23. Wunüzhong	IM1519	(C) 1 (B) 3
24. Zhongyao village	C3M575	(F) 1
25. Laocheng	C2M130	(A) 1
26. Chengtang Huayuan	C3M417	(F) 1
27. Tianma-Qucun	M6081	(F) 3
	M6195	(A) 1 (F) 4 2 broken tips
	M6210	(A) 2 (F) 9
	M6130	(F) 1 (A) 2
	M6372	(F) 1
	M6179	(F) 1
	M7185	(F) 1
	M6243	(F) 1 (E) 1
	M6105	1 broken tip
	M7146	(F) 1
	M6123	(E) 1
28. Junxian Xin village	M21	(F-1) 2 1 broken tip
	M60	(F) 5 (F-1) 3 1 broken tips
	M29	(F-1) 2 1 broken tip Image of other 5 <i>ge</i> not published
29. Liulihe	IM52	(F) 2 (F-1) 2
	IM53	(F) 1
	IM105	(F) 2 (A) 1
	IIM251	(A) 1
	IIM253	Image not published
	IM22	(F) 1
	IM65	1 tin <i>ge</i> , type unknown
	IIM205	(F) 3 (B) 1 1 <i>ge</i> unpublished
	IIM209	1 broken tin <i>ge</i> 3 <i>ge</i> unpublished
	IIM264	(A) 1

		2 <i>ge</i> unpublished
30. Tengzhou Qianzhangda	M201	(C) 2
	M11	(F) 31
	M14	(F) 1
	M18	(F-1) 1 (F) 1 (D) 1 (E) 1
	M21	(F) 1 (E) 1
	M38	1 <i>ge</i> irregular type
	M110	(F) 1
	M119	(F) 1
	M120	(D) 1
	M121	(F) 1
31. Taiqinggong Zhangzikou	M1	(F) 3 (F-1) 1 (A) 1, but could also be (F-1)
32. Pingdingshan	M232	(A) 1 (E) 1 (F) 1 (D) 1
	M242	(F-1) 2 (F) 1 (A) 1
	M229	(A) 1 (E) 1
	M230	2 broken tips
33. Yejiashan	M55	3 <i>ge</i> not published
	M1	(F) 1
	M65	(E) 1 (D) 1 (F) 13
	M28	(E) 7 (F) 18 (C) 2 (D) 1
34. Hebei Xizhang	Tomb not published	(A) 1
35. Shanxi Yongningbao	NM9	(F-1) 1 (F) 2
36. Zhengzhou Waliu	ZGW99M1	(F) 2 1 <i>ge</i> not published
37. Hubei Lutaishan	M31	(A) 1 (F-1) 1
	M34	1 broken <i>ge</i>

Table 5 Bronze inscriptions indicating the person worshiped (father or grandfather)

[X] indicates that the insignia or character in the bronze inscription is transcribed, but not translatable into modern Chinese, hence no English available.

Vessel Name	JC no.	Person worshiped
Zhong yan 中甗	949	Father Yi 父乙
[X] Zuo Zu Yi ding 𠄎 乍且乙鼎	2506	Grandfather Yi 且/祖乙
Feng ding 丰鼎	2625	Father Ding 父丁
Si Fu ding 𠄎 父鼎	2659	Father 父
Shi Yu ding 師俞鼎	2723	Father 文/考
[X] [X] ding 𠄎 𠄎 鼎	2725	Father Xin 父辛
Hou Chuo ding 厚趯鼎	2730	Father Xin 文/考父辛
Zuo Ce Da ding 作冊大鼎	2758	Grandfather Ding 且/祖丁
Zhong ding 中鼎	2785	Father Yi 父乙
Da Yu ding 大盂鼎	2837	Grandfather Nangong 且/祖南公
Yu Zheng Wei gui 御正衛簋	4044	Father Wu 父戊
Mo Si Tu Yi gui 沫司徒疑簋	4059	Father 考
Shi Mei gui 師眉簋	4097	Father 考
Yong Bo [X] gui 庸伯 𠄎 簋	4169	Father 文/考
Xian gui 獻簋	4205	Father Guang Father Yi 文/考光父乙
Yi Hou Ze gui 宜侯矢簋	4320	Father Ding 父丁
Gang Jie you 岡劫卣	5383	Grandfather Fou 祖缶
Zuo Ce Huan you 作冊盥卣	5407	Father Kui 文/考癸
Qi you 啟卣	5410	Grandfather Ding 且/祖丁
Bao you 保卣	5415	Father Kui 父癸
Shi Shang you 矢商卣	5421	Father Kui 父癸

士上卣		父癸
Gao you 高卣	5431	Father Bing 父丙
Shou Gong Fu Xin niao-zun 守宮父辛鳥尊	5959	Father Xin 父辛
Qi Zuo Zu Ding zun 啟作且丁尊	5983	Grandfather Ding 且/祖丁
[X] Shi zun 噠士尊	5985	Father Wu 父戊
Zuo Ce Zhe zun 作冊折尊	6002	Father Yi 父乙
Ze Ling zun 矢令尊	6016	Father Ding 父丁
Yu jue 盂爵	9104	Father 父

Table 6 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Zhouyuan, Shaanxi Province

Lower-end elite: *ding* or *ding-gui*

Higher-end elite: *ding-gui*, sometimes *li* and/or *yan* + *jue-zhi-zun*

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Beilü 北呂	IIM1	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
2. Beilü 北呂	IV M251	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
3. Fengxiang Guanmaotou 凤翔官帽头	Unlabeled	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>		100
4. Fengxiang Huayuan Village 凤翔化原村	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i>	50	50
5. Fengxiang Sunjia Nantou 凤翔孙家南 头	M156	Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
6. Fengxiang Zhihui West Village 凤翔南指挥	79M42	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i>	100	

西村				
7. Fengxiang Zhihui West Village 凤翔南指挥 西村	80M112	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
8. Fengxiang Zhihui West Village 凤翔南指挥 西村	79M62	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
9. Fufeng Guanwuyao 扶风官务窰	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
10. Fufeng Qijia Village 扶风齐家村	M1	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
11. Fufeng Qijia Village 扶风齐家村	M8	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
12. Fufeng Shangsong Hongwei Village 扶风上宋红 卫村	M1	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon	44.4	55.6
13. Fufeng Shaoli 扶风召李	M1	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>hu</i>	33.3	66.7
14. Fufeng Yuntang Village 扶风云塘	M10	Food: 1 square <i>ding</i> , Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	25	75
15. Fufeng Yuntang Village 扶风云塘	M20	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	50	50
16. Fufeng Yuntangc Village	M13	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	33.3	66.7

扶风云塘				
17. Fufeng Zhuangli Village 扶风庄李	M9	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>jia</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> Water: 1 <i>he</i>	50	42.9
18. Lantian Erjiaya 蓝田兀家崖	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
19. Meixian Chejuan 眉县车圈	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
20. Qishan Hejia Village 岐山贺家村	1973M5	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
21. Qishan Hejia Village 岐山贺家村	M6	Food: 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i>	100	
22. Qishan Hejia Village 岐山贺家村	1966	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 square- <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jiao</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon Others: object with unknown function	55.6	44.4
23. Qishan Liujia Village 岐山刘家村	1972 Fengji 沔 姬墓	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 3 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 3 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>you</i> (lead), 1 <i>he</i> Water: 1 <i>pan</i> (lead), 1 <i>he</i> (lead)	47	47
24. Qishan Wangjiazui (Jingdang Village) 岐山王家嘴 (京当存)	M1	Food: 2 <i>ding</i>	100	

Table 7 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Jin polity (Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi)

Lower-end elite: *ding* or *ding-gui*

Higher-end elite: *ding-gui-yan*, and sometimes *li* + *zhi* and/or *jue*, *zun*, *you*

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Qu'uo Tianma- Qucun Beizhao 曲	M13	Food: 7 <i>ding</i> , 2 square <i>ding</i> , 6 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 3 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 pig-shaped <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> Water: 1 <i>he</i>	62.2	27

沃天马-曲 村北赵		Others: 1 <i>sanzuweng</i> , double-handled <i>guan</i> , <i>cong</i> 铜琮		
2. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6081	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 1 square <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> Water: 1 <i>pan</i>	58.3	33.3
3. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6069	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	75	25
4. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6210	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	75	25
5. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6308	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i>	100	
6. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6197	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i>	100	
7. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6080	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i>	100	
8. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6214	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	66.7	33.3
9. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马-	M6231	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>hu</i>	58.3	41.7

曲村				
10. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6195	Food: 3 <i>dīng</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i>	100	
11. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6054	Food: 1 <i>dīng</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
12. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6105	Food: 1 <i>dīng</i>	100	
13. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6126	Food: 1 <i>dīng</i>	100	
14. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6127	Food: 1 <i>dīng</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
15. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6130	Food: 1 <i>dīng</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
16. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6131	Food: 1 <i>dīng</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
17. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马-	M6179	Food: 1 <i>dīng</i>	100	

曲村				
18. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6190	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
19. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6204	Food: 1 broken <i>ding</i>	100	
20. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6235	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
21. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6242	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
22. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6243	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
23. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6372	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
24. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M7003	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
25. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马-	M7004	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	

曲村				
26. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M7146	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
27. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6123	Food: 1 <i>li</i>	100	
28. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M7161	Food: 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 tin <i>gui</i> Water: 1 tin <i>pan</i>	60	
29. Yicheng Tianma- Qucun 翼城天马- 曲村	M6121	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>	50	50

Table 8 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Yan polity (Liulihe, Beijing Fangshan 北京房山琉璃河)

Lower-end elite: *ding-gui* or *li + jue-zhi-zun*

Higher-end elite: *ding-gui-yan-li + jue-zhi-zun*

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Liulihe 琉璃河	M253	Food: 6 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 4 <i>li</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>hu</i>	65	35
2. Liulihe 琉璃河	M251	Food: 6 <i>ding</i> , 4 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 3 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> Water: 1 <i>he</i> , 1 <i>pan</i>	59.1	31.8
3. Liulihe 琉璃河	M209	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i>	100	
4. Liulihe 琉璃河	IIM205	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i>	100	
5. Liulihe 琉璃河	IM54	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Water: 1 <i>pan</i>	60	0

6. Liulihe 琉璃河	M53	Food: 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>bi</i> spoon Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	40	60
7. Liulihe 琉璃河	M52	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	33.3	66.7
8. Liulihe 琉璃河	M50	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	40	60

Table 9 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Jixian, Tianjin 天津蓟县 (northern sphere)

Lower-end elite: (*ding-gui*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Bangjun Liujiafen 邦均刘家坟	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
2. Bangjun Liujiafen 邦均刘家坟	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
3. Zhangjiayuan 张家园	87M2	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
4. Zhangjiayuan 张家园	87M3	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
5. Zhangjiayuan 张家园	87M4	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	

Table 10 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Qian'an and Chenshantou, Hebei (northern sphere)

Lower-end elite: (*ding-gui*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Qian'an Mashao Village 迁安马哨村	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
2. Qian'an Xiao Shandong Zhuang	QXM1	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	

迁安小山东庄				
3. Yingxian Chenshantou 潞县陈山头	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	

Table 11 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Wei polity (Junxian Xincun, Henan)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Junxian Xin Village 浚县辛村	M29	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i>	100	
2. Junxian Xin Village 浚县辛村	M60	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	50	50

Table 12 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Xizhang, Hebei

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Yuanshi Xizhang Village 元氏西张村	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> (<i>mingqi</i>) Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> Water: 1 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>he</i>	30	50

Table 13 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Xingtai, Hebei

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Xingtai Nanxiaowan g 邢台南小汪	92XNDV M28	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	40	60

Table 14 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Qianzhangda, Shandong

Lower-end elite: (*jue-gu*, sometimes *zhi*)

Higher-end elite: (*ding*, and sometimes *gui*) + (*jue-gu-zhi-zun*, and sometimes *you*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village Southeast 滕州前掌大	IIM206	Wine: 1 <i>gu</i>		100

村东南				
2. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village Southeast 滕州前掌大 村东南	IIM209	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
3. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village Southeast 滕州前掌大 村东南	IIM213	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	25	75
4. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大 于村北	IIM308	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 2 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>jia</i>	27	73
5. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大 于村北	IIM309	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 2 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>		
6. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大 于村北	IIM312	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	17	83
7. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大 于村北	IIM301	Food: 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	20	80
8. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大 于村北	IIM310	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>	33	67
9. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North	IIM305	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>		100

滕州前掌大于村北				
10. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M34	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>		100
11. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M30	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
12. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M31	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
13. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M110	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
14. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M13	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	20	80
15. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M121	Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 2 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>		100
16. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M18	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 2 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>jiao</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>hu</i> Water: 1 <i>he</i>	23.1	69
17. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M21	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 3 <i>jue</i> , 3 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>jiao</i> , 2 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>jia</i>	14.3	85.7
18. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前掌大南区	M38	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i> Wine: 4 <i>jue</i> , 4 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>jia</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon Other: 1 vessel cover	27.3	72.7

19. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前 掌大南区	M11	Food: 6 <i>ding</i> , 2 square <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 5 <i>jue</i> , 4 <i>gu</i> , 2 <i>jiao</i> , 2 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>jia</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon Water: 1 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>he</i>	31.3	62.6
20. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前 掌大南区	M15	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i>		100
21. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前 掌大南区	M14	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
22. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前 掌大南区	M119	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 square <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>gu</i> , 4 <i>jiao</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon	27.3	72.7
23. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 山东滕州前 掌大南区	M120	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 square <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 2 <i>gu</i> , 2 <i>jiao</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> Water: 1 <i>he</i>	31.6	63.2

Table 15 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Zhuanglixi (Shandong)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Tengxian Zhuangli West 滕县莊里西	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 square <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>hu</i>	83.3	16.7
2. Tengxian Zhuangli West 滕县莊里西	Unlabeled	Food: 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i>	100	

Table 16 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Liutaizi (Shandong)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Jiyang Liutaizi 济阳刘台子	M2	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i>	80	20

Table 17 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Henan Zhangzikou

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Luyi Taiqinggon g Zhangzikou 鹿邑太清 官长子口	M1	Food: 14 <i>ding</i> , 9 square <i>ding</i> , 3 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i> , 3 <i>an</i> Wine: 8 <i>jue</i> , 8 <i>gu</i> , 2 <i>jiao</i> , 5 <i>zhi</i> , 5 <i>zun</i> , 7 <i>ou</i> , 3 <i>jia</i> , 2 <i>lei</i> , 3 <i>gong</i> , 4 <i>dou</i> spoon Water: 1 <i>he</i> , 1 <i>pan</i>	38.8	58.8

Table 18 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Henan Huozhuang

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. 襄城县霍庄村 Xiangchengxian Huozhuang Village	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	28.6	71.4

Table 19 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Henan Nihe

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Huaiyang Nihe Village 淮扬泥河村	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	20	80

Table 20 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Henan Shangcai

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Shangcai Tianzhuang 上蔡田庄	M3	Food: 1 square <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	33.3	66.7

Table 21 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Luoyang Beiyao, Henan

Lower-end elite: no fixed pattern

Higher-end elite: (*ding-gui-yan*) or (*jue-gu-zhi-zun*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Luoyang Beidajie 老城北大街	C2M130	Food: 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	20	80
2. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M1	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i>	80	20
3. Luoyang City Dongjiao 洛阳市东郊	M1	Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> (lead), 1 <i>zhi</i> (lead)		100
4. Luoyang City Dongjiao 洛阳市东郊	C3M196	Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> (lead), 1 <i>zhi</i> (lead)		100
5. Luoyang Dong Chezhan 洛阳东车站	M567	Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>		100
6. Luoyang Dongjiao Gangtiechan g Gongdi 洛阳东郊钢铁厂工地	Unlabeled	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>zun</i>	40	60
7. Luoyang Tangcheng Huayuan 洛阳唐城花园	C3M417	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>	40	60
8. Luoyang Wunüzhong 洛阳五女冢	IM1505	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>yan</i>	100	
9. Luoyang Wunüzhong 洛阳五女冢	IM1519	Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>		100

Table 22 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Feng and Hao (Zhangjiapo, Shaanxi)Lower-end elite: *ding* or (*ding-gui*)Higher-end elite: (*ding-gui*, and sometimes *yan*) + (*jue-gu-zhi*, *zun* or *you*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Chang'an Feng River Tielu Qiaoxi 长安沔河铁 路桥西	87M15	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	40	60
2. Chang'an Huayuan Village 长安花园村	M15	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 square <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>zun</i>	46.2	53.8
3. Chang'an Huayuan Village 长安花园村	M17	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 square <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> , 1 square <i>hu</i> Water: 1 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>he</i>	40	46.6
4. Chang'an Keshengzhua ng 长安客省庄	77SCKM1	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i>	100	
5. Chang'an Mawang Village 长安马王村	Unlabeled	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	44.4	55.6
6. Chang'an Mawangzhen 长安马王镇	M4	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>	33.3	66.7
7. Chang'an Pudu Village 长安普渡村	M14	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
8. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M54	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
9. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M91	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
10. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M82	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
11. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	76M3	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
12. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	87M18	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	

13. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M178	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , Other: 1 cover	66.7	
14. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M219	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
15. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M162	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
16. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡 长安张家坡	M62	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
17. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M123	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
18. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M136	Food: 1 <i>li</i>	100	
19. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M234	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
20. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M257	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
21. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M285	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
22. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M294	Food: 1 <i>li</i>	100	
23. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M315	Food: 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
24. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M183	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i>	80	20
25. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M201	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i>	66.7	33.3
26. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	79SCCM2	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
27. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	61M106	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	33.3	66.7
28. Chang'an Zhangjiapo	61M307	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100

长安张家坡				
29. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M87	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon	33.3	66.7
30. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M85	Food: 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>	33.3	66.7
31. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M16	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
32. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M201	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i>		100
33. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	87M1	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>		100
34. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M166	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
35. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	87M19	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i>	50	50

Table 23 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Gansu Lingtai (Dongshan, Yaojiahe and Baicaopo)

Lower-end elite: *ding* or (*ding-gui*)

Higher-end elite: (*ding-gui-yan*) + (*jue-zhi-zun-you*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Lingtai Dongshan 灵台洞山	Unlabeled	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>zun</i>	66.7	33.3
2. Lingtai Baicaopo 灵台白草 坡	M1	Food: 7 <i>ding</i> , 3 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>jiao</i> , 1 <i>jia</i> , 2 <i>zun</i> , 3 <i>you</i> , 2 <i>dou</i> spoon	47.8	47.8
3. Lingtai Baicaopo 灵台白草 坡	M2	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i>	45.5	45.5
4. Lingtai Yaojiahe 灵台姚家 河	M1	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	

Table 24 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Gansu Yujiawan

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Chongxin Yujiawan 崇信于家湾	M9	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 3 <i>gui</i>	100	
2. Chongxin Yujiawan 崇信于家湾	Unlabeled	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>		100

Table 25 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Gansu Qingyang

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Qingyang Hanjiatan Miaozi 庆阳韩家滩庙嘴	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i>	33.3	66.7

Table 26 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Gansu Heshui

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Heshui Tu'er Goulinchang 合水兔儿沟林场	M3	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	

Table 27 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Ningxia Guyuan

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Ningxia Guyuan Sunjiazhuang Linchang 宁夏固原孙家庄林场	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	

Table 28 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Yu polity (Zhuyuangou and Rujiashuang) and Baoji

Lower-end elite: (*ding-gui*)

Higher-end elite: (*ding-gui-yan*, and sometimes *li*) + (*jue-zhi-zun-you*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Baoji Linjiazhuang 宝鸡林家村	1984	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
2. Baoji Rujiashuang 陕西宝鸡茹家庄	BRM1 甲	Food: 5 <i>ding</i> , 4 <i>gui</i>	100	
3. Baoji Rujiashuang 陕西宝鸡茹家庄	BRM2	Food: 5 <i>ding</i> , 1 square <i>ding</i> , 5 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 2 <i>bi</i> Others: 孟铎, 1 incense burner, 2 box	78.9	
4. Baoji Rujiashuang 宝鸡茹家庄	BRM1 乙	Food: 5 <i>ding</i> , 3 square <i>ding</i> , 5 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 2 <i>li</i> , 4 <i>dou</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> , 2 <i>hu</i> , 1 elephant <i>zun</i> , 2 bird <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon Water: 2 <i>pan</i> , 1 釜	54.1	
5. Baoji Rujiashuang Qiaoliangchang 宝鸡茹家庄桥梁厂	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	40	60
6. Baoji Shangwang Village 宝鸡上王村	Unlabeled	Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>		100
7. Baoji Shangyuanbao 宝鸡桑园堡	Unlabeled	Food: 6 <i>ding</i> , 5 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i>	100	
8. Baoji	BSM1	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	50	50

Shitouzui 宝鸡石头 嘴		Wine: 1 <i>zhi</i>		
9. Baoji Yuquan Village 宝鸡峪泉 村	98BYM5	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
10. Baoji Yuquan Village 宝鸡峪泉 村	98BYM6	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
11. Baoji Zhuyuango u 宝鸡竹园 沟	M1	Food: 5 <i>ding</i> , 3 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i>	88.9	11.1
12. Baoji Zhuyuango u 宝鸡竹园 沟	M13	Food: 5 <i>ding</i> , 2 square <i>ding</i> , 3 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>pu</i> 铺	54.5	36.4
13. Baoji Zhuyuango u 宝鸡竹园 沟	M20	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i>	100	
14. Baoji Zhuyuango u 宝鸡竹园 沟	M7 甲	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> Wine: 2 <i>gu</i> , 2 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 2 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon	38.5	61.5
15. Baoji Zhuyuango u 宝鸡竹园 沟	M8	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i>	28.6	71.4
16. Baoji Zhuyuango u 宝鸡竹园 沟	M4 甲	Food: 4 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 2 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon Water: 1 <i>pan</i>	50	43.8

Table 29 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Zeng polity (Yejiashan)Lower-end elite: (*ding-gui*)Higher-end elite: (*ding-gui-yan-li*) + (*jue-zhi-zun*, and sometimes *you*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Yejiashan 叶家山	M65	Food: 7 <i>ding</i> , 4 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 2 <i>li</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 2 <i>hu</i> Water: 1 <i>he</i> , 1 <i>pan</i>	60.9	30.4
2. Yejiashan 叶家山	M3	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i>	100	
3. Yejiashan 叶家山	M1	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 1 square <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 2 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	72.7	27.3
4. Yejiashan 叶家山	M8	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	40	60
5. Yejiashan 叶家山	M55	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	40	60
6. Yejiashan 叶家山	M27	Food: 5 <i>ding</i> , 4 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 2 <i>li</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 4 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 2 <i>lei</i> , 1 <i>gong</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon	40	43
7. Yejiashan 叶家山	M1	Food: 5 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 2 <i>bi</i> Wine: 3 <i>jue</i> , 2 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>jia</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 square <i>lei</i>	52.4	47.6
8. Yejiashan 叶家山	M50	Food: 2 square <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>you</i>	45.4	54.6
9. Yejiashan 叶家山	M28	Food: 7 <i>ding</i> , 3 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 2 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> spoon	57.1	42.9

Table 28- 30 Sites not discussed in detail but appear on map

Table 30 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Yongningbao, Shanxi

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Hongdong Yongningbao 洪洞永宁堡	NM9	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 木胎铜壶	66.7	33.3

Table 31 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Jiangsu Muzidun

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Dantu Dagang Muzidun 丹徒大港 母子墩	Unlabeled	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>li</i> Wine: 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 bird <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>hu</i>	55.6	44.4

Table 32 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Xunyi, Shaanxi

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Xunyi Xiaweiluo 旬邑下魏 洛	M1	Food: 4 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>jia</i> , 1 <i>zun</i>	54.5	45.5

Table 33 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Waliu, Henan

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Zhengzhou Waliu 郑州洼刘	M1	Food: 3 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 1 <i>gu</i> , 3 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> Water: 1 <i>he</i>	41.7	50

Table 34 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Ying polity (Pingdingshan)Lower-end elite: (*ding-gui*) + (*jue-zhi*)

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Pingdingshan Shiyangzhen 平顶山滎阳镇	应史墓	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>	50	50
2. Pingdingshan 平顶山	M242	Food: 2 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 2 <i>zhi</i>	44.4	55.6
3. Pingdingshan 平顶山	M229	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i> Wine: 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>	50	50

Table 35 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Yanjiagou, Shaanxi

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Yanjiagou 甘泉阎家沟	Unlabeled	Food: 4 <i>ding</i> , 5 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> Wine: 2 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>lei</i>	62.5	37.5

Table 36 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Tongchuan, Shaanxi

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Tongchuan Tangou 铜川炭沟	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	
2. Tongchuan Chengguan Chumu Shouyizhan 铜川城关畜牧兽医站	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i>	100	

Table 37 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Dongyang, Shaanxi

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Huaxian Dongyang 华县东阳	M81	Food: 1 square <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>gui</i>	100	
2. Huaxian Dongyang 华县东阳	M68	Food: 1 <i>gui</i>	100	

Table 38 Bronze ritual vessel sets: Wu jiaya, Shaanxi

Site	Burial	Set	Food Vessel %	Wine Vessel %
1. Lantian Wujiaya 蓝田兀家崖	Unlabeled	Food: 1 <i>ding</i> , 1	100	

Table 39 Dimensions of some ceramic *li* vessels from the Qijia jade workshop, Zhouyuan

Many are in broken condition-diameter or height not complete

Pit and label	Diameter cm	Height
H15:4 joined lobe	14	6.1
H15:5 joined lobe	16	5
H15:13	14.4	18.4
H15:12	22	24
H17:1 joined lobe	12	3.8
H17:3 joined lobe	18	6
H25: 17	19.7	4.7
H25:15	15.4	18.2
H26:5	17.9	5.1
H26:3	19.2	6.4
H26:2	18	6.4
H26:6	14	8
H26:17	15.6	4
H26:9	15	4.6
H26:15	19.4	22.8
H27:4	12	4.8
H27:1	18	6
H32:3	17	6.4
H34:30	15.4	4.1
H34:7	13.4	5.2
H35:13	13.8	10
H35:29	14.1	4.8
H39: 36	15.8	3
H39:25	14.1	5.2

Table 40 Dimensions of some ceramic *gui* vessels from the Qijia jade workshop, Zhouyuan

Many are in broken condition-diameter or height not complete

Pit and label	Diameter cm	Height
H25:4	23.6	6.3
H27:3	22	6
H34:10	21	5.4
H35:8	28	8
H35:3	21.7	6.1
H35:9	30.4	7
H39:33	19.2	9.3

Table 41 Zhouyuan ceramic sets

- Small tombs: *li*, or *li-guan*
- Medium—large tombs: *li-gui-guan*

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Beilü 北吕	IIM1	1 <i>guan</i> 1 bottle
2. Beilü 北吕	IV M251	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
3. Fengxiang Sunjia Nantou 凤翔孙家南头	M156	2 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i>
4. Fengxiang Zhihui West Village 凤翔南指挥西村	79M42	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
5. Fengxiang Zhihui West Village 凤翔南指挥西村	79M62	1 <i>li</i>
6. Fengxiang Zhihui West Village 凤翔南指挥西村	80M112	1 <i>li</i>
7. Fufeng Qijia Village 扶风齐家村	M8	1 <i>gui</i>
8. Fufeng Hongwei Village 扶风上宋红卫村	M1	NA
9. Fufeng Shaoli 扶风召李	M1	1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>li</i>
10. Fufeng Yuntang 扶风云塘	M13	4 <i>li</i> 6 <i>guan</i> 4 <i>gui</i>
11. Fufeng Yuntang 扶风云塘	M10	6 <i>li</i> 8 <i>guan</i> 4 <i>gui</i>
12. Fufeng Yuntang 扶风云塘	M20	4 <i>li</i> 4 <i>guan</i> 2 <i>pou</i>
13. Fufeng Zhuangli 扶风庄李	M9	2 porcelain <i>dou</i> 1 <i>pou</i> 1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
14. Lantian Wujiaya	Unlabeled	2 <i>li</i>

蓝田兀家崖		
15. Meixian Chequan 眉县车圈	Unlabeled	NA
16. Qishan Hejia Village 岐山贺家村	1973M5	1 <i>li</i>
17. Qishan Hejia Village 岐山贺家村	1973M6	2 <i>li</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>dou</i> 1 glazed <i>dou</i>
18. Qishan Wangjiazui (Jingdang) 岐山王家嘴(京当)	M1	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>

Table 42 Feng/Hao ceramic sets

- Small tombs: *li* or *li-guan*
- Medium-large tombs: *li-gui-guan*

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Chang'an Feng River Tielü Qiaoxi 长安沣河铁路桥西	87M15	1 <i>li</i>
2. Chang'an Huayuan Village 长安花园村	M17	2 <i>li</i> 3 <i>lei</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 4 <i>guan</i> 12 <i>pou</i>
3. Chang'an Huayuan Village 长安花园村	M15	1 <i>li</i> 3 <i>lei</i> 7 <i>pou</i>
4. Chang'an Keshengzhuang 长安客省庄	77SCKM1	1 <i>li</i>
5. Chang'an Mawangzhen 长安马王镇	M4	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 3 <i>guan</i>
6. Chang'an Pudu Village 长安普渡村	M14	2 <i>dou</i> 4 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>li</i>
7. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M54	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>

8. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M91	1 <i>li</i>
9. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M82	1 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>guan</i>
10. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	76M3	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>gui</i>
11. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	87M18	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
12. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M178	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
13. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M219	1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
14. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M162	2 <i>li</i>
15. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M62	1 <i>li</i>
16. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M123	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>hu</i>
17. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M136	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>pou</i>
18. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M234	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
19. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M257	1 <i>li</i>
20. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M285	1 <i>li</i>
21. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M294	1 <i>guan</i>
22. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M315	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>dou</i> (glazed) 1 <i>pan</i>
23. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M183	1 <i>li</i>
24. Chang'an Zhangjiapo	79SCCM2	2 <i>li</i>

长安张家坡		1 <i>guan</i>
25. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	61M106	NA
26. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	61M307	2 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
27. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M87	1 <i>li</i>
28. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M85	1 <i>li</i>
29. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	67M16	2 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
30. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M201	1 <i>zun</i> 1 <i>hu</i> 1 <i>gui</i>
31. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	87M1	5 <i>li</i> 4 <i>gui</i> 14 <i>guan</i> 2 <i>ding</i> 1 <i>yan</i> 1 <i>zun</i> 1 <i>zhi</i> 2 <i>jue</i> 1 <i>you</i> 1 <i>pan</i> 2 <i>he</i>
32. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	M166	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>zun</i>
33. Chang'an Zhangjiapo 长安张家坡	87M19	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i>

Table 43 Luoyang (except Beiyao) ceramic sets

- *li-gui-guan*

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Luoyang Dongjiao 洛阳东郊	C3M196	2 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>zun</i> 1 <i>li</i> 4 <i>guan</i>
2. Luoyang Dong Chezhan 洛阳东车站	M567	7 <i>guan</i> 2 <i>gui</i> 1 bottle
3. Luoyang Dongjiao	M13	6 <i>guan</i>

洛阳东郊		5 clay pieces 2 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>jue</i> 2 <i>li</i> 1 <i>pou</i>
4. Luoyang Dongjiao Gangtiechang Gongdi 洛阳东郊钢铁厂工地		4 <i>guan</i>
5. Luoyang Laocheng Beidajie 洛阳老城北大街	C2M130	4 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>gui</i>
6. Luoyang Tangcheng Huayuan 洛阳唐城花园	C3M417	4 <i>li</i> 2 <i>gui</i> 11 <i>guan</i>
7. Luoyang Wunüzhong 洛阳五女冢	IM1505	1 <i>li</i>
8. Luoyang Wunüzhong 洛阳五女冢	IM1519	NA

Table 44 Luoyang Beiyao ceramic sets

- *dou-gui-lei-weng*

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M317	2 <i>li</i>
2. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M446	2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
3. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M451	2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
4. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M17	1 high-fired <i>pou</i>
5. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M66	1 <i>li</i> 2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>pou</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
6. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M210	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>dou</i> cover 1 high-fired <i>zun</i>
7. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M273	1 high-fired <i>weng</i>

8. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M442	2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>zun</i>
9. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M723	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>pou</i> 1 high-fired <i>dou</i> cover
10. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M1	1 high-fired <i>dou</i>
11. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M6	1 high-fired <i>pou</i>
12. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M20	1 <i>li</i>
13. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M22	1 <i>li</i>
14. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M35	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
15. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M37	1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 2 high-fired <i>lei</i> 2 high-fired <i>weng</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> circular base 1 high-fired <i>pou</i>
16. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M43	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 4 high-fired <i>weng</i>
17. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M50	1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>guan</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
18. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M54	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
19. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M67	2 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 3 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
20. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M77	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i>
21. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M127	2 <i>li</i>
22. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M198	1 <i>li</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
23. Luoyang Beiyao	M202	1 high-fired <i>dou</i>

洛阳北窑		1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
24. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M211	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>guan</i>
25. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M214	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i>
26. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M221	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> cover 2 high-fired <i>lei</i>
27. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M222	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 4 high-fired <i>pou</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
28. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M223	1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>lei</i>
29. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M228	1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
30. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M231	1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
31. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M238	1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
32. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M239	1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>guan</i>
33. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M242	2 <i>li</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
34. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M251	2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
35. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M280	2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i>
36. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M308	6 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i>
37. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M315	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
38. Luoyang Beiyao	M321	3 high-fired <i>dou</i>

洛阳北窑		
39. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M355	7 high-fired <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>dou</i> cover 2 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i> 1 high-fired <i>pou</i>
40. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M382	1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>pou</i> 2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>lei</i>
41. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M383	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
42. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M408	1 high-fired <i>dou</i>
43. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M420	1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
44. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M668	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 11 high-fired <i>lei</i> 2 high-fired <i>weng</i> 1 high-fired <i>ye</i>
45. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M702	1 <i>dou</i>
46. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M93	3 <i>li</i> 2 <i>guan</i>
47. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M678	1 <i>li</i> 1 high-fired <i>pou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i>
48. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M40	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
49. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M46	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
50. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M141	1 high-fired <i>lei</i> 2 high-fired <i>weng</i> 2 high-fired <i>weng</i>
51. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M215	1 <i>li</i> 9 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i> 3 high-fired <i>weng</i>

		1 high-fired <i>dou</i> cover
52. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M47	1 <i>pou</i> 1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
53. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M155	1 <i>li</i>
54. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M230	1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>lei</i>
55. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M318	1 <i>li</i>
56. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M367	1 bottle 1 high-fired <i>lei</i> 1 high-fired <i>guan</i>
57. Luoyang Beiyao 洛阳北窑	M441	1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>hu</i> 4 high-fired <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>dou</i> cover 1 high-fired <i>gui</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>

Table 45 Jin polity (Tianma-Qucun) ceramic sets

- Small tombs: *li*
- Medium–large tombs: *li-gui-guan-dou* (and sometimes large *zun*)

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Qu'uo Tianma-Qucun Beizhao 曲沃天马-曲村北赵	M13	<i>li</i> <i>dou</i> <i>guan</i> <i>zun</i> <i>gui</i> high-fired <i>guan</i> high-fired <i>dou</i> (quantity not clear)
2. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6081	1 <i>li</i>
3. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6069	NA
4. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6210	NA
5. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6308	3 <i>li</i> 3 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>dou</i> 3 <i>guan</i>

		1 <i>pan</i> 1 Large <i>zun</i> 2 single-handled cup 1 double-handled cup
6. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6197	1 <i>li</i> 4 <i>dou</i> 1 <i>pen</i>
7. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6080	3 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 5 <i>dou</i> 3 <i>guan</i> 1 large <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 hard clay <i>pou</i>
8. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6214	3 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 3 <i>pou</i> 1 single-handle cup
9. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6231	1 <i>li</i>
10. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6195	NA
11. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6054	1 <i>guan</i>
12. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6105	NA
13. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6126	1 <i>li</i>
14. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6127	3 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
15. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6130	1 <i>li</i>
16. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6131	3 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>pou</i>
17. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6179	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>dou</i>
18. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun	M6190	2 <i>li</i>

翼城天马-曲村		1 <i>dou</i> 2 <i>guan</i>
19. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6204	NA
20. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6235	2 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>dou</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
21. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6242	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>dou</i>
22. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6243	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 3 <i>dou</i>
23. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6372	NA
24. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M7003	1 <i>li</i>
25. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M7004	1 <i>li</i>
26. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M7146	1 <i>li</i>
27. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M6123	NA
28. Yicheng Tianma-Qucun 翼城天马-曲村	M7161	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>pen</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 1 large <i>zun</i>

Table 46 Yan polity (Liulihe) ceramic sets

- *li-gui-guan* (and sometimes *dou*)

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Fangshan Liulihe 房山琉璃河	M253	1 <i>li</i>
2. Fangshan Liulihe 房山琉璃河	M251	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>dou</i>
3. Fangshan Liulihe 房山琉璃河	M209	2 <i>li</i>
4. Fangshan Liulihe	IIM205	1 <i>li</i>

北京房山琉璃河		1 cup
5. Fangshan Liulihe 房山琉璃河	IM54	1 <i>jia</i> 12 <i>li</i> 5 <i>gui</i> 17 <i>guan</i>
6. Fangshan Liulihe 房山琉璃河	M53	5 <i>li</i> 2 <i>gui</i> 11 <i>guan</i>
7. Fangshan Liulihe 房山琉璃河	M52	1 <i>gui</i> 11 <i>guan</i> 1 High-fired <i>guan</i> 3 <i>dou</i>
8. Fangshan Liulihe 房山琉璃河	M50	4 <i>guan</i>

Table 47 Lu polity (Qianzhangda) ceramic sets

- *lei-gui-guan* (and sometimes *li*, *zun*, *hu*, *pou*)

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大于村北	IIM308	1 <i>lei</i>
2. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大于村北	IIM309	1 <i>pou</i> 1 <i>lei</i>
3. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大于村北	IIM312	1 cover 2 <i>lei</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>hu</i>
4. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大于村北	IIM301	1 <i>lei</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 3 small <i>guan</i> 2 <i>pou</i> 1 hard clay <i>guan</i> 1 cover
5. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大于村北	IIM310	1 <i>lei</i> 2 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>zun</i>
6. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village North 滕州前掌大于村北	IIM305	2 <i>pou</i> 1 <i>zun</i> 2 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>li</i> 3 <i>guan</i> 2 small <i>guan</i>
7. Tengzhou Qianzhangda	M34	1 <i>hu</i>

Village South 滕州前掌大南区		1 <i>li</i> 2 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>lei</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
8. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M30	1 <i>zun</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 2 <i>lei</i> 1 <i>pou</i> 1 high-fired
9. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M31	2 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>pan</i>
10. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M110	1 <i>li</i> 1 hard clay <i>lei</i>
11. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M13	1 <i>hu</i> 1 <i>jia</i> 1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 4 <i>lei</i> 1 <i>pou</i> 1 <i>weng</i> 1 high-fired
12. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M121	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 4 <i>lei</i> 2 <i>hu</i> 1 <i>jia</i> 1 <i>pou</i>
13. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M18	1 <i>he</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
14. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M21	1 <i>zun</i> 1 <i>jia</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 2 <i>lei</i>
15. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M38	1 <i>dou</i>
16. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M11	4 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>he</i>
17. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South	M15	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i>

滕州前掌大南区		1 <i>guan</i> 2 <i>lei</i>
18. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M14	1 <i>gui</i> 2 <i>lei</i> 1 <i>zun</i> 1 <i>hu</i>
19. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M119	1 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>pou</i> 1 <i>hu</i> 1 hard clay <i>lei</i> 2 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 hard clay <i>zun</i> 1 hard clay <i>lei</i>
20. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village South 滕州前掌大南区	M120	2 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>he</i> 5 high-fired <i>dou</i> 1 hard clay <i>lei</i>
21. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village Southeast 滕州前掌大村东南	IIM206	1 <i>zun</i>
22. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village Southeast 滕州前掌大村东南	IIM209	1 <i>hu</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 1 small <i>guan</i> 1 vessel cover 1 <i>he</i> 2 <i>lei</i> 2 <i>gui</i>
23. Tengzhou Qianzhangda Village Southeast 滕州前掌大村东南	IIM213	1 <i>li</i> 2 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>lei</i> 2 <i>zun</i> 1 <i>guan</i>

Table 48 Zeng polity (Yejiashan) ceramic sets

- Small tombs: *li-guan/yan*
- Medium—large tombs: *li-guan-dou-zun-weng*

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Suixian Yejiashan 随县叶家山	M65	1 <i>dou</i> 1 <i>dou</i> with cover 1 high-fired <i>guan</i> 1 <i>weng</i>
2. Suixian Yejiashan 随州叶家山	M3	1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>li</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i>
3. Suixian Yejiashan 随州叶家山	M1	No ceramics

4. Suixian Yejiashan 随州叶家山	M8	1 <i>li</i> 1 high-fired <i>gui</i>
5. Suixian Yejiashan 随州叶家山	M55	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>yan</i>
6. Suixian Yejiashan 随县叶家山	M27	1 <i>zun</i> 3 <i>li</i> 1 <i>gui</i> 1 <i>guan</i> 3 high-fired <i>guan</i> 6 high-fired <i>dou</i> 2 high-fired <i>weng</i> 2 high-fired <i>zun</i> 3 high-fired <i>guan</i>
7. Suixian Yejiashan 随州叶家山	M50	2 <i>li</i> 2 <i>guan</i> 1 <i>lei</i> 1 <i>ding</i> 3 High-fired <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i>
8. 随州叶家山 Suixian Yejiashan	M28	1 <i>li</i> 2 <i>dou</i> 1 high-fired <i>guan</i> 1 high-fired <i>zun</i> 1 high-fired <i>weng</i> 1 high-fired <i>dou</i>

Table 49 Yu polity (Baoji Zhuyuangou) ceramic sets

- Pointed-base *guan* and/or flat-base *guan*

Burial site	Tomb label	Ceramics found
1. Baoji Linjia Village 宝鸡林家村	1984	2 <i>guan</i> 2 <i>li</i>
2. Baoji Rujiazhuang 宝鸡茹家庄	BRM1 甲	NA
3. Baoji Rujiazhuang 宝鸡茹家庄	BRM2	NA
4. Baoji Rujiazhuang 宝鸡茹家庄	BRM1 乙	8 flat-base <i>guan</i> 1 pointed-base <i>guan</i> 1 high-fired <i>guan</i> 2 high-fired <i>dou</i>
5. Baoji Shitouzui	BSM1	

宝鸡石头嘴		
6. Baoji Yuquan Village 宝鸡峪泉村	98BYM5	1 <i>li</i> 1 <i>guan</i>
7. Baoji Yuquan Village 宝鸡峪泉村	98BYM6	1 <i>li</i>
8. Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟	M20	1 pointed-base <i>guan</i> 4 flat-base <i>guan</i>
9. Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟	M1	3 <i>li</i> 2 pointed-base <i>li</i> 1 flat-based <i>guan</i> 1 double-handled <i>guan</i> 1 single-handled <i>guan</i>
10. Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟	M13	4 <i>guan</i> 1 pointed-base <i>guan</i> consort: 1 pointed-base <i>guan</i>
11. Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟	M7 甲	1 pointed-base <i>guan</i> 8 flat-base <i>guan</i>
12. Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟	M8	1 Pointed-base <i>guan</i> 4 flat-based <i>guan</i>
13. Baoji Zhuyuangou 宝鸡竹园沟	M4 甲	1 pointed-base <i>guan</i> 4 flat-4 flat-based <i>guan</i> 1 bird-shaped cup

Table 50 Summarized ceramic sets in Zhou regions

Region (burial sites)	Set (vessel combination)
Zhouyuan	Small tombs: • <i>li</i> or <i>li-guan</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-gui-guan</i>
Feng/Hao	Small tombs: • <i>li</i> or <i>li-guan</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-gui-guan</i>
Luoyang (excluding Beiyao)	• <i>li-gui-guan</i>
Luoyang Beiyao	• <i>dou-gui-lei-weng</i>
Tianma-Qucun (Jin polity)	Small tombs: • <i>li</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-gui-guan-dou</i> (and sometimes large <i>zun</i>)
Liulihe (Yan polity)	• <i>li-gui-guan</i> (and sometimes <i>dou</i>)
Qianzhangda	• <i>lei-gui-guan</i> (and sometimes <i>li</i>, <i>zun</i>, <i>hu</i>, <i>pou</i>)
Yejiashan (Zeng polity)	Small tombs: • <i>li-gui/yan</i> Medium-large tombs: • <i>li-guan-dou-zun-weng</i>
Baoji (Yu polity)	• Pointed-base <i>guan</i> and/or flat-base <i>guan</i>

Appendix

This Appendix includes only the major sites/burials considered for the purpose of the dissertation. Not all burials listed in the Appendix appear in the tables as many of them are severely looted, destroyed or contain incomplete information.

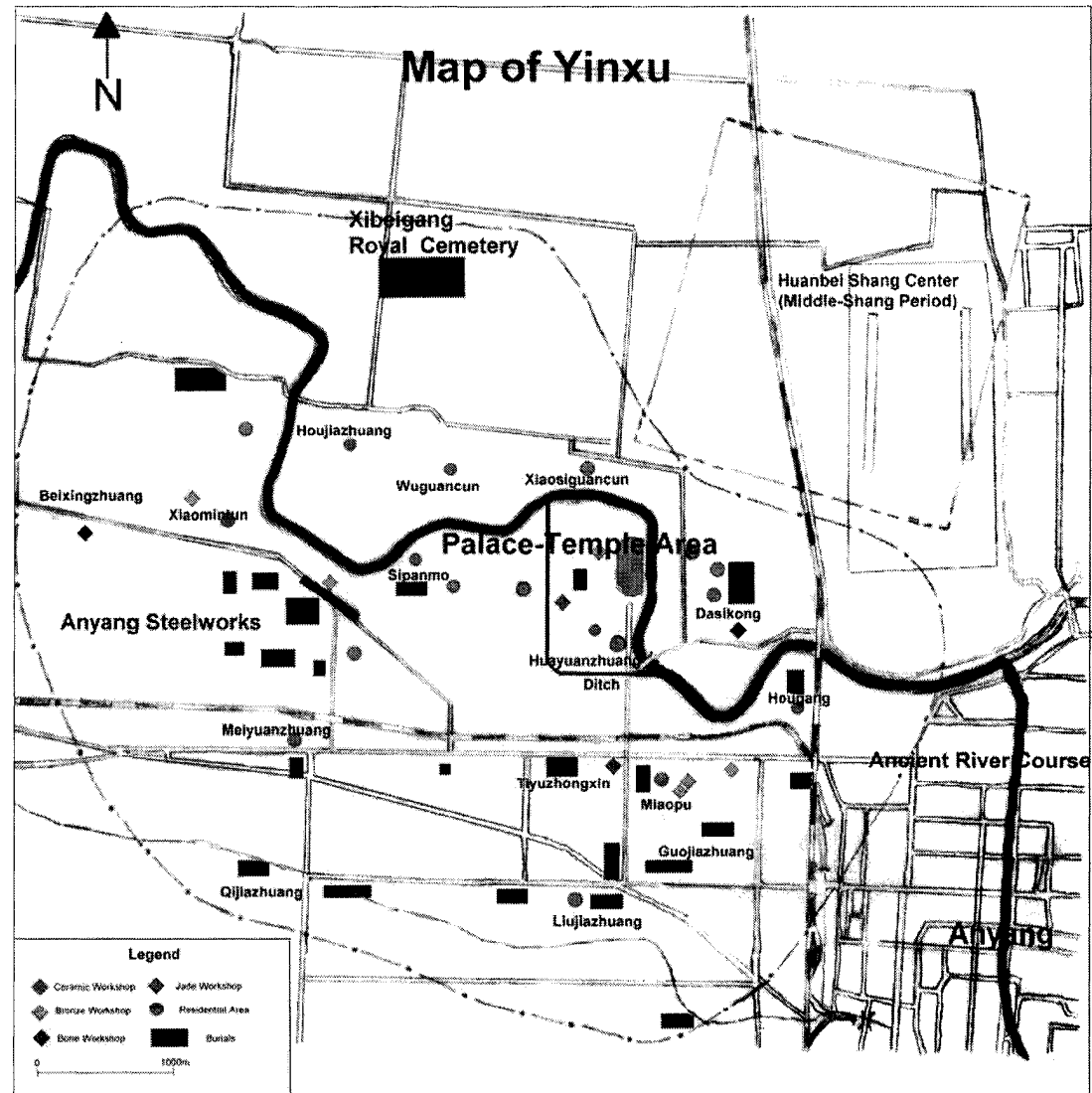
Anyang

Year of excavation: 1928-1937, 1950-1958, 1958-continues today

Time period: mainly a late Shang site. The late Shang period was further divided into four main phases I-IV.

Anyang, also known as Yinxu is considered to be the capital of the late Shang regime. The area measures around 30km square meters. The site consists of a number of regions distinguished by function:

- **Royal cemetery** at Xibeigang and Clan cemetery. The royal cemetery consists of nine largest tombs belonging to the Shang kings, burials of the royal relatives and possibly loyal servants. All tombs, especially those of the kings, were heavily looted except that of Fu Hao, who was the consort of King Wu Ding. Numerous smaller cemeteries are scattered throughout, belonging to members of various lineages.
- **Palace-Temple area.** A moat surrounds the “palace-temple” area which measures to around 70ha. The area is believed to be where major ritual and court activities were held. Large-scale buildings and house remains were found. Within or close to the Palace-temple region, foundries, workshops and residential sites are present
- **Residential areas** such as Baijiafen 白家坟, Beixujiaqiaocun 北徐家桥村; many of which are not published or not fully excavated
- As many as six **bronze foundries** or workshops at Dasikongcun 大司空村, Xiaotun 小屯 NE, Miaopu 苗圃 N, Xuejiazhuang 薛家庄, Xiaomintun 孝民屯 SE and Xiaomintun W
- **Other workshops** such as small jade and stone workshop, including the large and excavated ones at Beixingzhuang and Dasikongcun



Baoji Yu polity

- Zhuyuangou,
Rujiazhuang
竹园沟, 茹家庄

Year of excavation: 1974-1981

Early Western Zhou tombs: (Zhuyuangou) BZM1, BZM3, BZM4, BZM6, BZM7, BZM8, BZM10, BZM11, BZM13, BZM14, BZM15, BZM16, BZM18, BZM19, BZM20, BZM21, BZM22
(Rujiazhuang) BRM1 甲, BRM1 乙 BRM2, BRM3, BRM4

The Yu polity covers mainly the area of modern day Zhuyuangou 竹园沟, Rujiazhuang 茹家庄 and Zhifangtou 纸坊头 in Baoji 宝鸡, Shaanxi. Of the three locations, Zhuyuangou 竹园沟 and Rujiazhuang 茹家庄 contain burials dated to the early Western Zhou period.

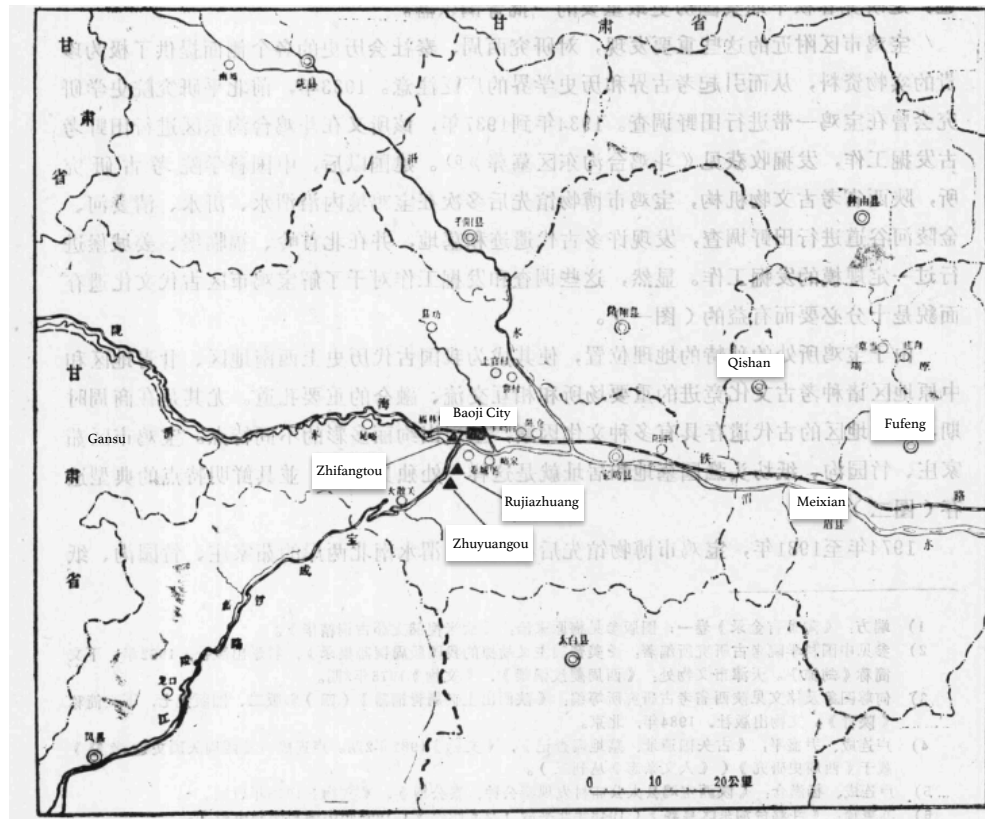
The Zhuyuangou 竹园沟 site is situated immediately to the eastern bank of the Qingjiang River 清姜河. The burials were found at a hilly slope to the east of the Zhuyuangou village 竹园沟村, and can be divided into northern and southern zone according to their geographical distribution. The northern zone covers a larger area, yet in the southern zone, the burials are more densely distributed. Since 1976, a total of 22 burials (BZM1-BZM22) and 3 horse pits (BZ1-BZ3) have been found. Out of all tombs in this site, BZM13 is the largest in scale, with burials of the consorts attached. BZM4 and BZM7 also include consort burials.

The Rujiazhuang site is located west of the Qingjiang River 清姜河, on the slope of Fengjiayuan 冯家塬. Since 1974, 3 large tombs (BRM1, BRM2 and BRM3), 1 small tomb (BRM4) and two horse-and-chariot pits (BRCH1, BRCH3) have been excavated. These burials belonged to one generation

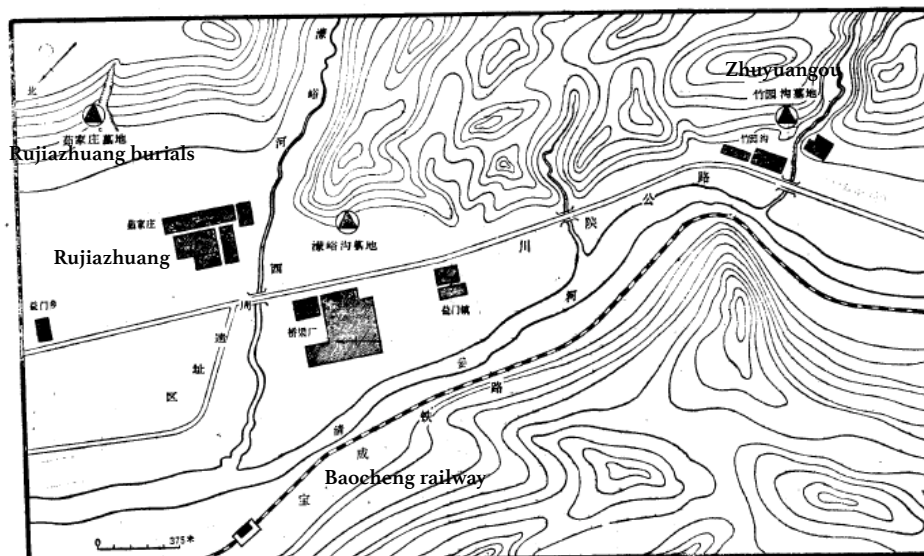
of the ruling clan in the Yu polity. Based on the found bronze inscriptions, BRM1 and BRM2 belong to the Lord of Yu and his spouse; they were buried in the same tomb together but in two separate chambers. BRM3 is likely an abandoned tomb.

Reference:

- Lu Liancheng 卢连成, Hu Zhisheng 胡智生. 1988. *Baoji Yuguo mudi* Vol. 1-2 宝鸡(弓鱼)国墓地 (上下册). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.



Map showing location of Baoji Rujiazhuang, Zhuyuangou and Zhifangtou (later period)
Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng 1988.



Map showing distribution of Rujiashuang and Zhuyuangou burials
Ibid.

Baoji Yuquan village
宝鸡峪泉村

Year of excavation: 1971, 1982, 1998
EWZ tombs: (1998) 98BYM6, 98BYM5

The Yuquan 峪泉 site is located 60m east of the Yuquan village 峪泉村, near Shennong 神农镇 town in Baoji 宝鸡, Shaanxi province. To the south of the site is the Qinlin mountains 秦岭山脉, to the north is the Wei River 渭河 and the east the Wayu River 瓦峪河. It is also only 3-5km away from the Zhuyuangou 竹园沟, Rujiashuang 茹家庄 site, where the Yu polity is located. A total of 6 burials were excavated. Based on the mortuary goods, the excavators have concluded that the cemetery belongs to the lesser or low-ranking elites of the Zhou regime.

Reference:

- Baojishi bowuguan 宝鸡市博物馆. 1975. "Shaanxisheng baojishi yuquan shengchandu faxian xizhou zaoqi muzang 陕西省宝鸡市峪泉生产队发现西周早期墓葬." *Wenwu* 3: 72-75.
- Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, Baojishi kaogudui 宝鸡市考古队. 2000. "Shaanxisheng baojishi yuquan zhoubu 陕西省宝鸡市峪泉周墓." *Kaogu yu wenwu* 5: 13-20.

Beilü

北吕

Year of excavation: 1977-1982

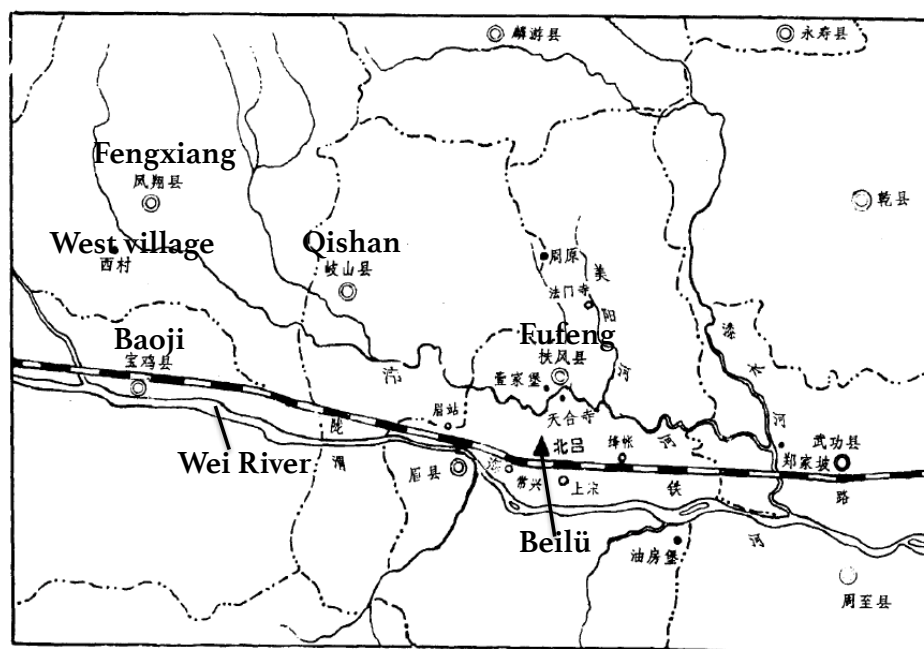
EWZ tombs: (Zone I) IM1, IM3, IM7 (Zone II) IIM1, IIM3, IIM4, IIM10 (Zone 3) IIIM11, IIIM13, IIIM14, IIIM15, IIIM 22, IIIM25 (Zone IV) IVM8, IVM18, IVM52, IVM55, IVM56, IVM61, IVM64, IVM68, IVM69, IVM85, IVM99, IVM102, IVM120, IVM137, IVM144, IVM145, IVM146, IVM210, IVM223, IVM, 224, IVM226, IVM228, IVM242, IVM251, IVM258, IVM260, IVM270, IVM272, IVM274 (Zone V) VM292

Beilü 北吕 is located at the northern bank of the Wei River 渭河, or at the southern edge of Zhouyuan 周原 in Shaanxi. The burials dated to the Western Zhou period are divided into five zones (I-V) by their geographical location. Zone I covers an area of roughly 1300 square meters, with 11 burials (M1-11). Zone II is about 1500 square meters large, with 14 burials excavated. Zone III includes 26 tombs, with an area of 1450 square meters. Zone IV covers a larger area (16300 square meters large), with 163 burials excavated. Compare with other zones, more burials were looted or destroyed. Zone V is 8900 square meters in size, with 66 tombs excavated. In all zones, a number of tombs were left un-excavated. Most of the discovered burials are small to medium in

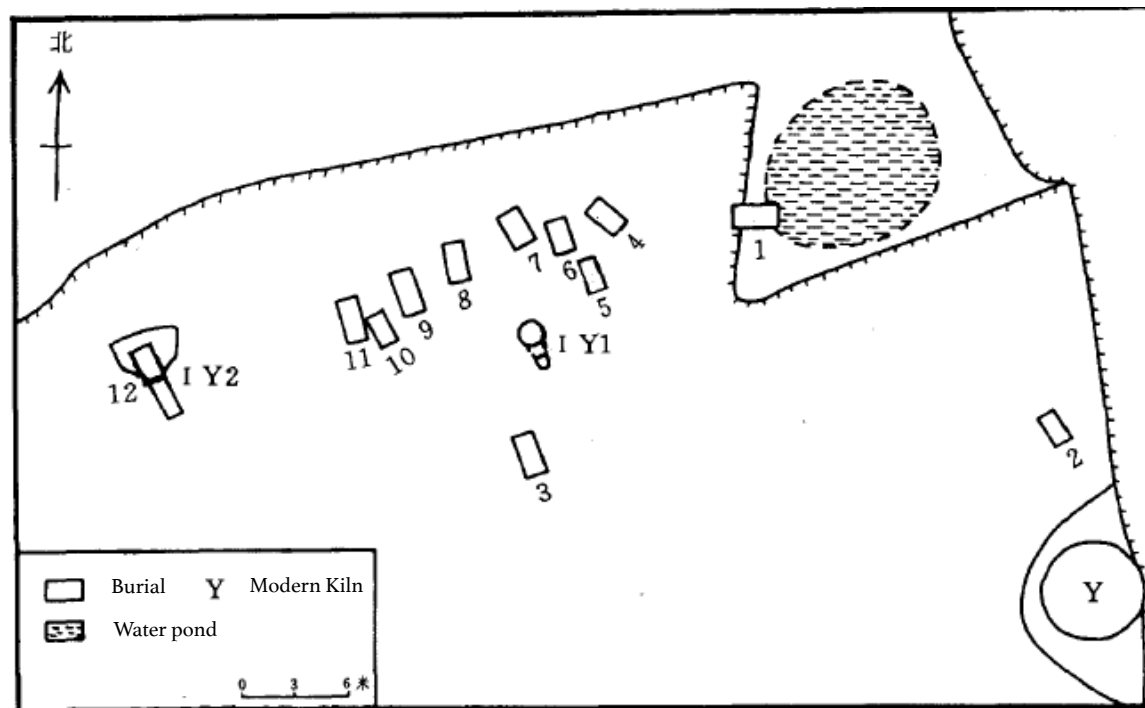
size, containing humble looking ceramics, small ornaments and cowries.

Reference:

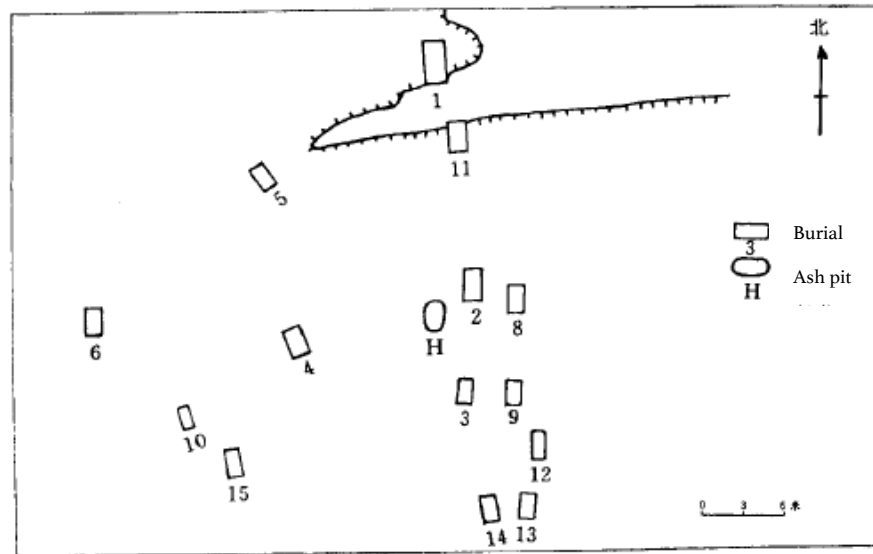
- Luo Xizhang 罗西章, Zhang Tianen 张天恩. "Fufeng Beilv Zhouren mudi fajue jianbao 扶风北吕周人墓地发掘简报." *Wenwu* 7 (1984).
- Luo Xizhang 罗西章. 1995. *Beilv Zhourenmudi* 北吕周人墓地. Xi'an: Xibei daxue chubanshe.



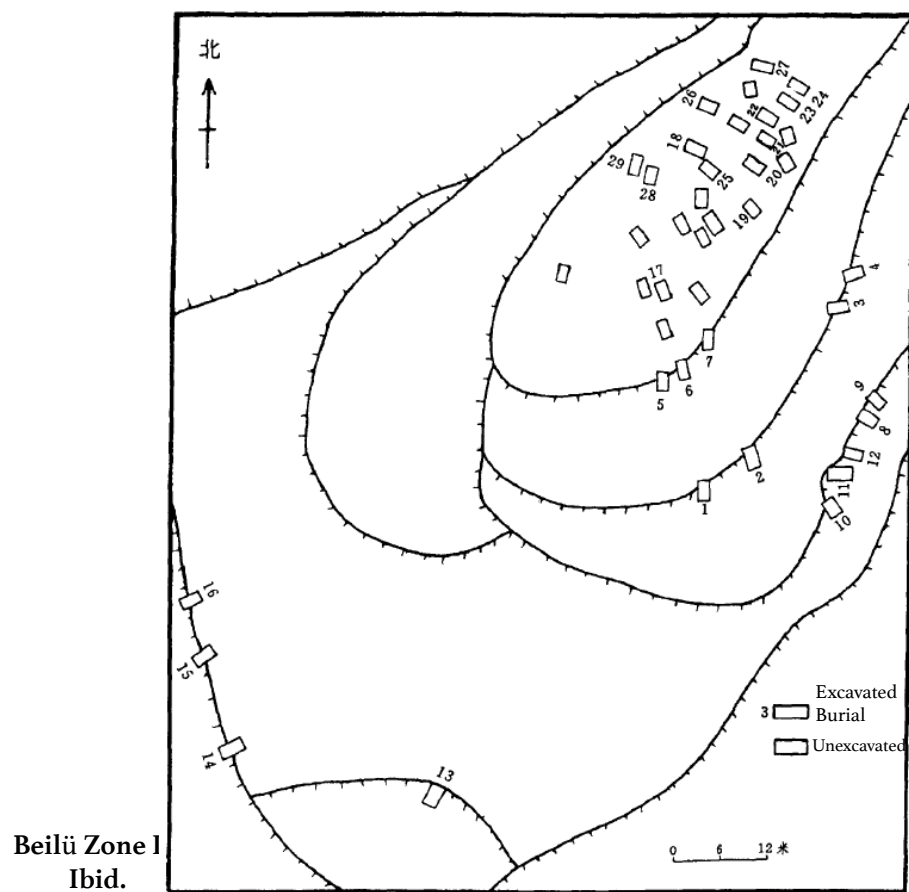
Map showing location of the Beilü cemetery
Luo Xizhang 1995a.

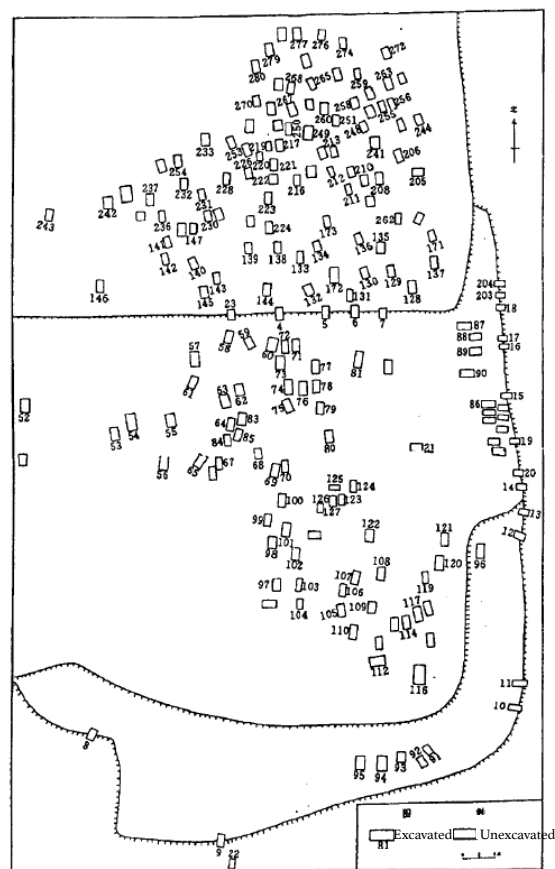


Beilü Zone I
Ibid.

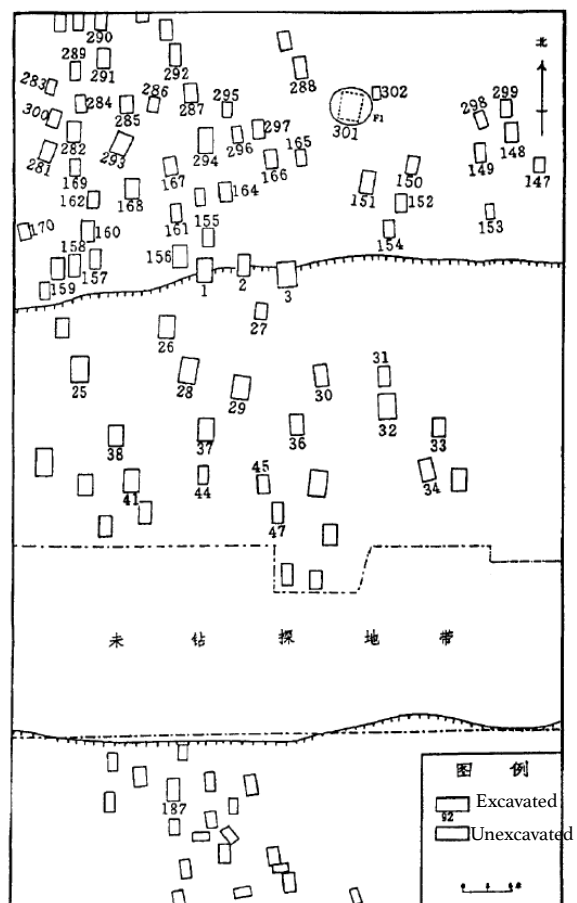


Beilü Zone II
Ibid.





Beilü Zone IV
Ibid.



Beilü Zone V
Ibid.

Chengzhou

- Luoyang Beiyao
洛阳北窑

Year of excavation: 1954, 1963-1967, 1972, 1973

EWZ tombs:

(large) M17, M66, M163, M173, M174, M200, M210, M216, M273, M442, M453, M652, M723, M40, M46, M141, M215, M701, M446, M451

(medium) M1, M5, M6, M9, M20, M22, M28, M35, M37, M39, M43, M49, M50, M54, M67, M77, M78, M110, M115, M122, M125, M127, M128, M129, M130, M133, M152, M161, M170, M172, M188, M192, M198, M202, M203, M211, M214, M221, M222, M223, M228, M231, M234, M236, M238, M239, M242, M251, M254, M258, M262, M278, M280, M308, M311, M315, M321, M322, M347, M355, M372, M374, M382, M383, M408, M418, M419, M420, M440, M444, M448, M688, 675, M676, M686, M702, M47, M147, M155, M230, M310, M317, M318, M367, M370, M237, M346, M121, M148, M441
 (small) M93, M103, M193, M678
 (others) M277

The Beiyao 北窑 site is located in western part of the Beiyao village 北窑村 at the northern suburban area of the Luoyang old town 洛阳老城. It is also close to the western bank of the Chan River 瀍河, with Mangshan 邙山(or Mount Mang) at the back. The site includes mainly burials; no residential remains were found. A total of 348 Western Zhou tombs, 7 horse pits were excavated. Unfortunately, only 8 small burials were not looted or disturbed. 2 of the tombs (M446 and M451) are large in size and with burial ramps. Others come in various sizes, hence belonging to different social classes. Around 116 burials are dated to the early Western Zhou period. They are mostly situated at the northern part of the cemetery.

Reference:

- Luoyang Bowuguan 洛阳博物馆. 1981. "Luoyang beiyacun xizhou yizhi 1974niandu fajue jianbao 洛阳北窑村西周遗址 1974 年度发掘简报." *Wenwu* 7: 52-64.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo fenghao gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古研究所丰镐工作队. 1987. "Luoyang linxiao xizhou chemakeng 洛阳林校西周车马坑." *wenwu* 3: 4-18.

Chengzhou

- Luoyang
Dongjiao
洛阳东郊

Year of excavation: 1952

EWZ tombs: M151, M152, M154, M155, M158, M13, M1, C3M196

The Luoyang Dongjiao site is located at the eastern suburban area of the Luoyang town. The site can be divided into 4 main zones, based on the geographical locations of the excavated burials. The burials from all zones are dated from the Shang to Warring States and Tang dynasty. The Zhou tombs are concentrated at the eastern part of the zone occupying the Xiayao village 下瑶村.

Reference:

- Guo Baojun 郭宝钧 and Lin shoujin 林寿晋. 1955. “1952 nian qiuji Luoyang dongjiao fajue baogao 一九五二年秋季洛阳东郊发掘报告” *kaogu xuebao* 9: 91-116.
- Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui 洛阳市文物工作队. 1992. “Luoyangshi dongjiao faxiande liangzuo xizhoumu 洛阳市东郊发现的两座西周墓.” *Wenwu* 3: 19-22.
- Zhangjian 张剑, Cai yunzhang 蔡运章. 1998. “Luoyang dongjiao 13hao xizhoumu de fajue 洛阳东郊 13 号西周墓的发掘.” *Wenwu* 10: 38-41.

Chengzhou

- Luoyang
Wunvzhong
洛阳五女冢

Year of excavation: 1997

EWZ tombs: HM362, HM359, IM1505, IM1519

The Wunüzhong 五女冢 site is located at Wunüzhong village 五女冢村 on Shishachang Road 市纱厂路 in Luoyang city 洛阳市. The site includes two burials, which are 40m apart.

Reference:

Luoyangshi dier wenwu gongzuodui 洛阳市第二文物工作队. 1997. “Luoyang Wunvzhong

xizhoumu fajue jianbao 洛阳五女冢西周墓发掘简报.” *Wenwu* 9:23-25, 40.

Feng/Hao

- Zhangjiapo
张家坡

Year of excavation: 1956-1957, 1961, 1967, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1983-1986, 1987

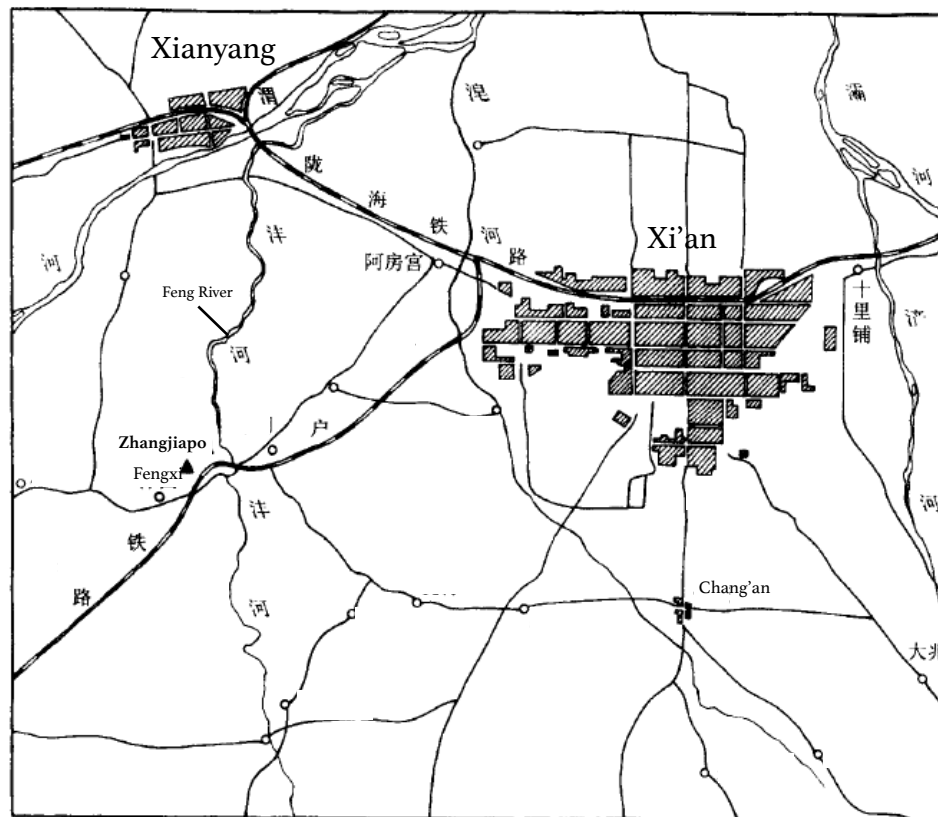
EWZ tombs: (1961) 61M106, 61M307 (1967) 67M16, 67M54, 67M82, 67M85, 67M87, 67M91 (1976) 76M3 (1977) 77SCKM1 (1979) 79CCM2 (1983-1986) M21, M35, M117, M166, M257, M285, M315, M318, M6, M9, M13, M19, M38, M46, M62, M74, M77, M79, M80, M123, M136, M142, M151, M167, M178, M187, M234, M294, M322, M382, M219, M162, M257, M183, M201 (1987) 87M1, 87M15, 87M18, 87M19

The Zhangjiapo 张家坡 site is situated 500m west of Mawang town 马王镇, or at the western bank of the Feng River 沔河 in Chang'an County 长安县, Shaanxi province 陕西省. Nearby the site are several other Feng/Hao related burials and residential sites, including Keshengzhuang 客省庄, Mawang village 马王村, Dayuan village 大原村, etc. In 1956-1957, 182 tombs and 4 horse-and-chariot pits, as well as residential remains dated to the early and late Western Zhou period were discovered. In 1967, additional 124 burials and 5 horse-and-chariot pits, 3 horse pits dated to the Western Zhou period were found. From the year 1983 to 1986, a total of 390 Western Zhou tombs, 3 horse-and-chariot pits and 22 horse pits were excavated, some of which include large-scale burial chamber and ramps. The burials were divided into two zones (north and south), based on the excavation season and their geographical location. Nonetheless, excavations could not be completed at the area between the two zones. Of all the burials, 4 large ones with burial ramps are identified to have belonged to elite members of the Jing 井 branch, who held important social and political status in the Zhou regime. The tombs display bronze ritual vessels, weapons, musical

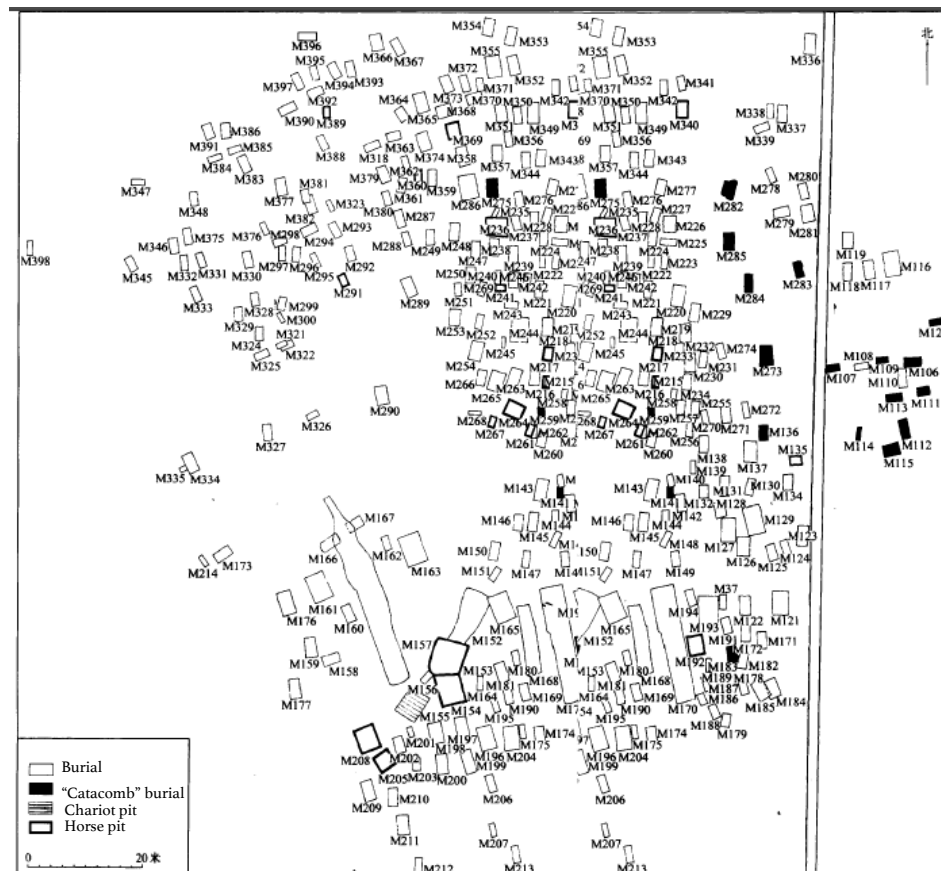
instruments and jade ornaments, etc. Other burials in medium or small size belong to members of various social classes.

Reference:

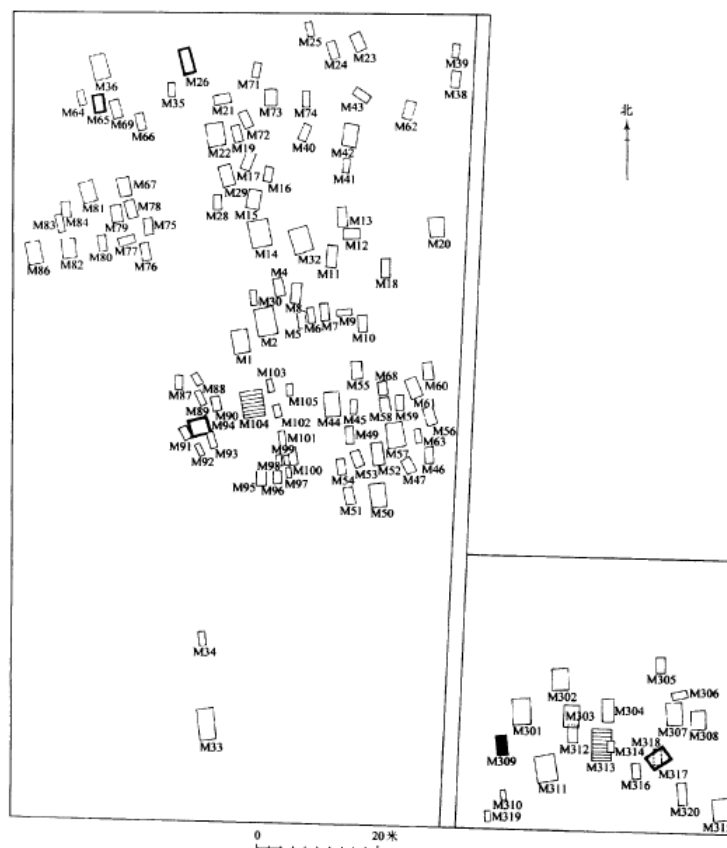
- Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陕西省文物管理委员会. 1964. "Shaanxi Chang'an Zaoxi Zhangjiapo Xizhou yizhi de fajue 陕西长安沔西张家坡西周遗址的发掘." *kaogu* 9: 441-447, 474.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo fengxi fajuedui 中国社会科学院考古研究所沔西发掘队. 1980. "1967nian chang'an zhangjiapo xizhou muzang de fajue 1967年长安张家坡西周墓葬的发掘." *Kaogu xuebao* 4: 457-501.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo fengxi fajuedui 中国社会科学院考古研究所沔西发掘队. 1986. "1984nian fengxi dayuancun xizhou mudi fajue jianbao 1984年沔西大原村西周墓地发掘简报." *Kaogu* 11: 977.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo fenghao gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古研究所丰镐工作队. 1987. "1984—85nian fengxi xizhou yizhi, muzang fajue baogao 1984—85年沔西西周遗址, 墓葬发掘报告," *kaogu* 1: 15-32.
- Zhongguo shehui kexue kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学考古研究所. 1999. *Zhangjiapo Xizhou mudi* 张家坡西周墓地. Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe 中国大百科全书出版社.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo fenghao gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古研究所丰镐工作队. 2000. "1997 nian fengxi fajue baogao 1997年沔西发掘报告." *Kaogu xuebao* 2: 199-256.



Zhangjiapo Site
Zhongguo 1999.



1983-86 Zhangjiapo north excavation
Ibid.



1983-86 Zhangjiapo south excavation
Ibid.

Feng/Hao

- Chang'an Pudu Village
长安普渡村

Year of Excavation: 1953

EWZ tombs: M14

The Pudu 普渡 site is located at Pudu village 普渡村 north of Doumen town 斗门镇 within

Chang'an County 长安县.

Reference:

- Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陕西省文物管理委员会. 1986. "Xizhou haojing fujin bufen muzang fajue jianbao 西周镐京附近部分墓葬发掘简报." *Wenwu* 1: 1-31, 97-102.

Feng/Hao

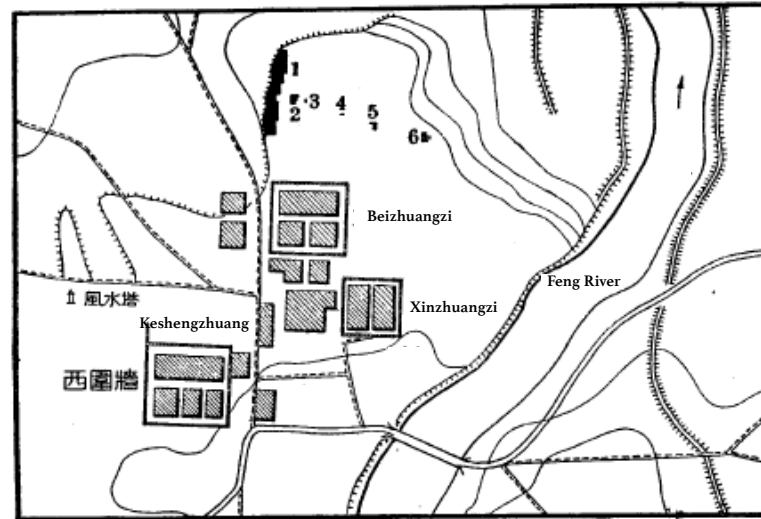
- Chang'an
Keshengzhuang
长安客省庄

Year of excavation: 1955-1957, 1977
EWZ tombs: 77SCKM1,

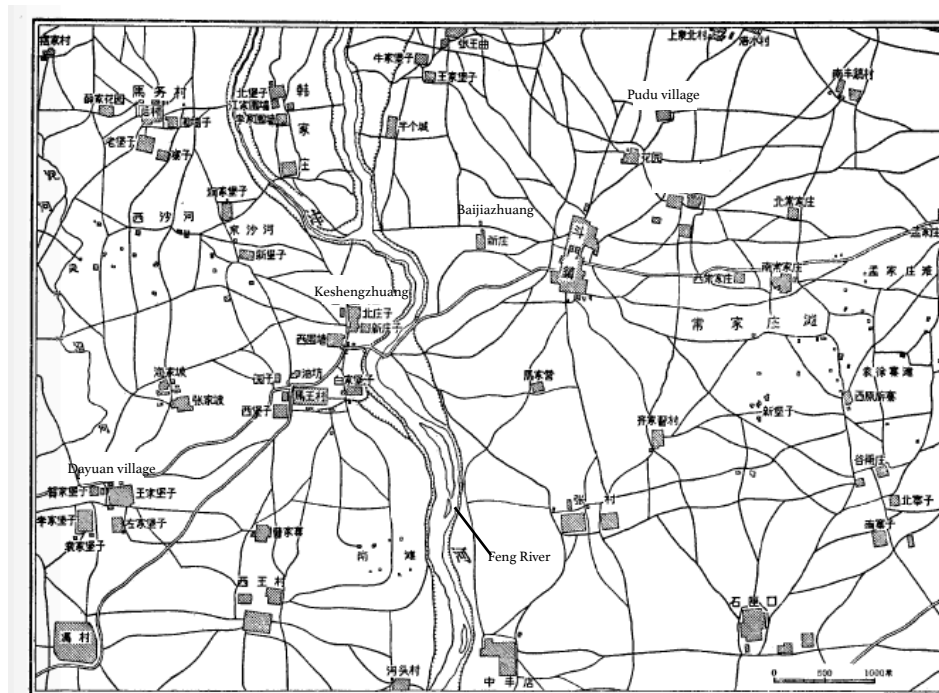
The Keshengzhuang 客省庄 site is located at the northern part of the Keshengzhuang village 客省庄村, 400m west of the Feng River 沔河, or 20m southwest of modern Xi'an city. The village is also called Kaiduanzhuang 开端庄. The western and southern part of the village also contains ancient remains, but excavation work focused only at the western side. The site is also located in close proximity to other Feng/Hao related sites such as Zhangjiapo 张家坡, Dayuan village 大原村 and Mawang village 马王村. The earliest remains found in the site can be dated to the Yangshao 仰韶 culture (Neolithic period), the latest ones are dated to the Tang and Han dynasty. Many of the remains suggest that the site was used for residential or burial purposes in different time periods, including the Western Zhou dynasty. In the years 1955-1957, a total of 51 burials dated to the Western Zhou period were found at Keshengzhuang 客省庄, most of them are small to medium size tombs.

Reference:

- Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所. 1962. *Fengxi fajue baogao* 沔西发掘报告. Beijing: wenwu chubanshe.



Keshengzhuang burials
1-6 shows order of excavation
Ibid.



Keshengzhuang and Feng River banks
Ibid.

Huangjiahe 黄家河

Year of excavation: 1982-1983

EWZ tombs: M1-M7, M9-M11, M14-M17, M23, M25, M26, M30, M31, M33-M37, M39, M44-M47, M50, M51

The site is located at Huangjiahe village 黄家河村 (also called Huangnanyao village 黄南窑村) at

the northwest of the Wugong County 武功县. It is also at the western bank of the Qi River 漆水. The entire sites is around 20,000 square meters large, only about 800 square meters were excavated. 49 burials and 2 horse pits dated to the Zhou period were found.

Reference:

- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo wugong fajuedui 中国社会科学院考古研究所武功发掘队. 1988. “1982—1983 nian shaanxi wugong huangjiahe yizhi fajue jianbao 1982—1983 年陕西武功黄家河遗址发掘简报,” *kaogu* 7: 601-649.

Huaxian Dongyang
华县东阳

Year of excavation: 2001

EWZ tombs: (Phase I) M64, M81, M91, M92, M93, M154 (Phase II) M2, M65, M66, M67, M68, M72, M80, M83, M86, M87, M88, M89, M90, M94, M95, M97, M100, M115, M116, M118, M128, M134, M144, M152, M155

The site is located 25km southwest of the Huaxian County 华县县城. It covers parts of modern-day Dongyang village 东阳村, Lisi village 里寺村, Jiang’ao village 江凹村 and Guo village 郭村. The area measures around 1000m (north to south) x 800m (east to west). Within the site, burial groups dated to different time periods are geographically separable. Tombs dated to the same period are further divided into different geographical sections according to patrilineal relations of the tomb occupants. A total of 184 burials dated to the Zhou, Qin and Han period were discovered, of which 116 were excavated. Tombs dated to the Western Zhou period are concentrated at the southern part of the site. In addition, 2 sacrificial pits and 6 garbage pits were found.

Reference:

- Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, Qinshihuang bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇兵马俑博物馆. 2006. *Huaxian Dongyang* 华县东阳. Beijing: kexue chubanshe.

Jin polity

- Tianma-Qucun
天马-曲村

Year of excavation: 1963-2001

EWZ tombs:

(Beizhao) M114, M113, M9, M13, M6, M7, M32, M33, M91, M92, M1, M2, M8, M31, M62, M64, M63, M93, M102

(Qucun) Burials yielding bronzes:

Early Zhou Phase I:

M6054, M6069, M 6080, M6081, M6105, M6121, M6126, M6127, M6131, M6179, M6190, M6195, M6197, M6204, M6210, M6214, M6242, M7004, M7161

Early Zhou (Phase II)

M6123, M6130, M6231, M6235, M6243, M6308, M6372, M7003, M7146, M7185

Burials containing only ceramics:

Early Zhou Phase I:

7 vessels: M6136

5 vessels: M6327

4 vessels: M6124, M6150, M6156, M6208, M6237, M6375, M6491, M6520, M7008, M7104

3 vessels: M6078, M6103, M6148, M6172, M6174, M 6175, M6181, M6189, M6213, M6254, M6478, M7037, M7166

2 vessels: M6110, M6135, M6138, M6141, M6149, M6173, M6176, M6215, M6252, M6266, M6354, M6433, M6483, M6496 (with tin bronzes), M7005 (with tin bronzes), M7024, M7028, M7043, M7105, M7116, M7121, M7128, M7129, M7138, M7162

1 vessel: M6030, M6066, M6096, M6109, M6113, M6134, M6164, M6186, M6227, M6228, M6244, M6251, M6270, M6273, M6277, M6324, M6388, M6403, M6440, M6455, M6474, M6488, M6510, M6515, M6528, M6533, M6536, M6539, M6540, M6550, M6565, M7010, M7012, M7017, M7047, M7049, M7066

Early Zhou Phase II:

7 vessels: M6049, M6209

5 vessels: M6276, M6278

4 vessels: M6079, M6108, M6151, M6162, M6170, M6183, M6199, M6212, M6219, M6226, M6233, M6312, M6315, M6322, M6487, M6543, M6561, M6562, M7084, M7143, M7167, M7179

3 vessels: M6119, M6159, M6196, M6216, M6220, M6222, M6224, M6225, M6236, M6320, M6373, M6439, M6479, M6516, M7120

2 vessels: M6024, M6032, M6038, M6083, M6084, M6086, M6106, M6129, M6132, M6133, M6158, M6161, M6167, M6191, M6206, M6223, M6232, M6297, M6346, M6393, M6475, M6514, M6522, M6570, M7071, M7074, M7132

1 vessel: M6055, M6056, M6092, M6102, M6128, M6171, M6240, M6253, M6286, M6306, M6319, M6337, M6377, M6423, M6426, M6432, M6441, M6444, M6468, M6492, M6494, M6497, M6509, M6527, M6529, M6532, M6554, M6564, M6574, M7075, M7078, M7097, M7103, M7112, M7124, M7133, M7147, M7151, M7165 (with tin bronze), M7173, J4624

The Tianma-Qucun 天马-曲村 site is located in Linfen 临汾市 (city), at the southern region of the Shanxi 山西 province. It is also in between Yicheng 翼城 and Quwo 曲沃 County. The site measures around 3800m x 2800 m. Two cemeteries are included in the Tianma-Qucun 天马-曲村 site—the Qucun 曲村 cemetery and Beizhao 北赵 cemetery. The Beizhao 北赵 cemetery mostly includes burials belonging to generations of the Lord of Jin and their spouses. A total of 9 pairs, or 19 burials were found. On the other hand, at Qucun 曲村, many middle to small size burials are discovered.

The entire site displays burials dating from the Western Zhou period to the Spring and Autumn

period. A total of 641 burials, 6 horse and chariot pits were found. Out of these, 451 are dated to the Western Zhou period. The site is divided into 4 main zones (I2, J3, J4 and K4), based on the excavation year and the geographical location of each zone. In addition, residential remains were found within the site. Nonetheless, a large portion of the site (34/35) remains unexcavated.

Reference:

- Beijing daxue kaogu xuexi Shangzu 北京大学考古学系商组. 2000. *Tianma-Qucun (1980-1989)* 天马——曲村 (1980-1989). Beijing: kexue chubanshe.
- Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi 北京大学考古学系. 1994. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi beizhao jinhou mudi dierci fajue.” *Wenwu* 1: 4-28.
- Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, Beijing daxue kaogu xuexi 北京大学考古学系. 1994. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi beizhao jinhou mudi disanci fajue 天马-曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第三次发掘.” *wenwu* 8: 22-34.
- Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi 北京大学考古学系. 1994. “Tianma-Qucun Beizhao Jin-hou mudi di si ci fajue 天馬——曲村遗址 北赵晋侯墓地第四次發掘.” *Wenwu* 8: 4-21.
- Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, Beijing daxue kaogu xuexi 北京大学考古学系. 1995. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi beizhao jinhou mudi diwuci fajue 天马-曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第五次发掘.” *wenwu* 7: 4-38.
- Beijing daxue kaogu wenboyuan 北京大学考古文博院 and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所. 2001. “Tianma—Qucun yizhi beizhao jinhou mudi di liuci fajue 天马——曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第六次发掘.” *Wenwu* 8: 4-21.

Lingtai Baicaopo
灵台白草坡

Year of excavation: 1967, 1972
EWZ tombs: M1, M2

The Baicaopo 白草坡 site is located at the southern side of the Baicaopo village 白草坡村, northwest of the Lingtai County 灵台县 in Gansu 甘肃. In close proximity to cliffs and deep rivers, many of the burials in the cemetery is now lost or destroyed. A total of 9 burials, 1 horse-and-chariot pit remain in the site. Out of these remains, 2 burials (M1 and M2) belong to the early Western Zhou period.

Reference:

- Gansu sheng bowuguan wenwuzu 甘肃省博物馆文物组. 1972. "Lingtai baicaopo xizhoumu 灵台白草坡西周墓." *Wenwu* 12: 28.
- Gansu sheng bowuguan wenwudui 甘肃省博物馆文物队. 1976. "Gansu lingtai liangzhou mu 甘肃灵台两周墓." *Kaogu* 1: 99-130.
- Gansu sheng bowuguan wenwudui 甘肃省博物馆文物队. 1977. "Gansu Lingtai Baicaopo Xizhoumu 甘肃灵台白草坡西周墓," *kaogu xuebao* 2: 99-130.

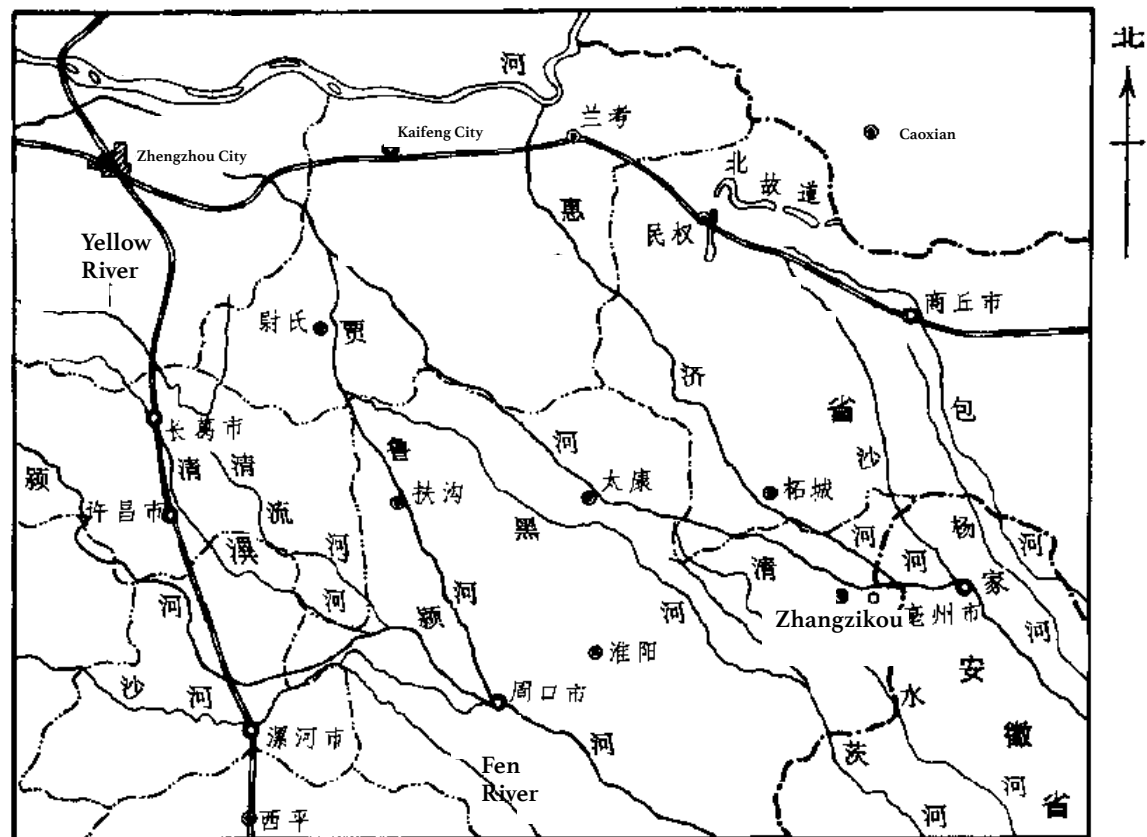
**Luyi Taiqinggong
Zhangzikou**
鹿邑太清宫长子口

Year of excavation: 1997
EWZ tombs: Zhangzikou tomb (others not published or available)

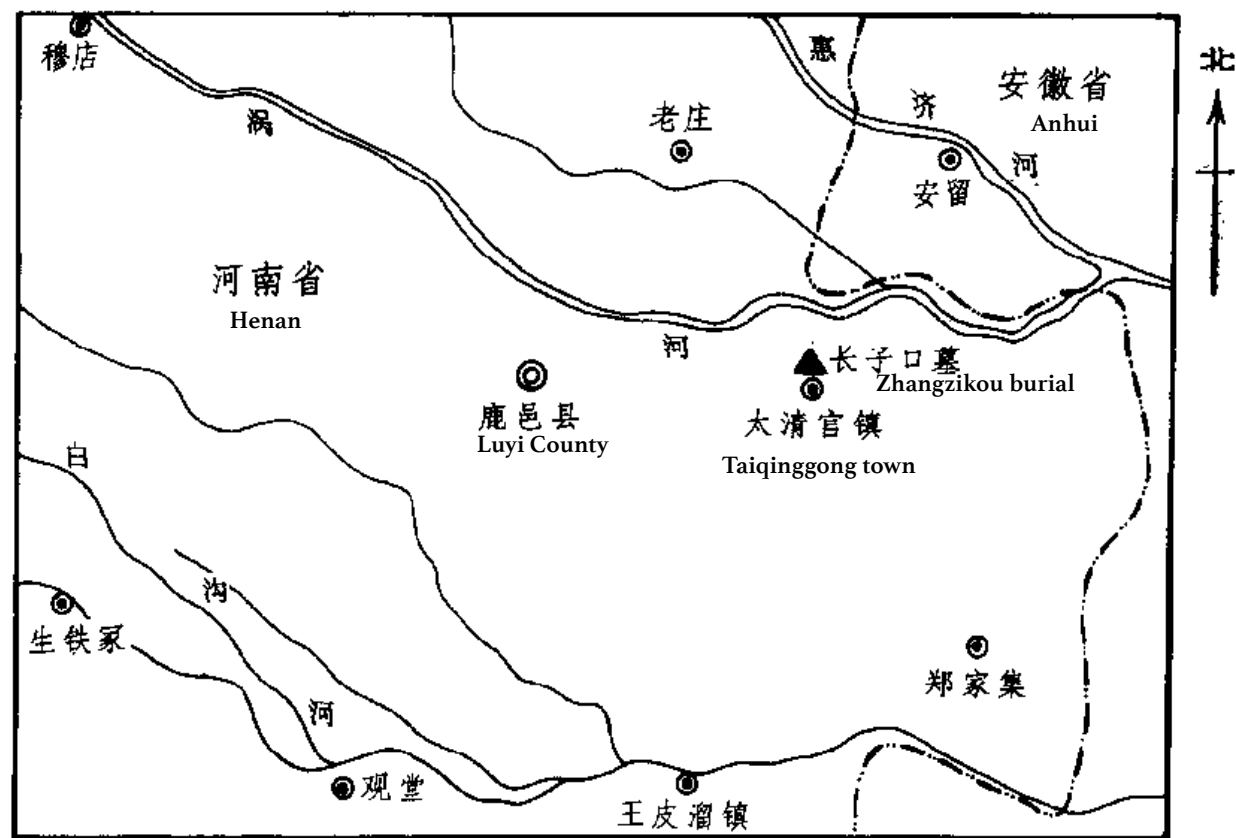
The Taiqinggong 太清宫 site is located at Taiqinggong town 太清宫镇 of Luyi County 鹿邑县 in the eastern part of the Henan 河南 province. The site includes remains from various dynasties, such as the Shang, Zhou and Warring States period. The Western Zhou remains include pounded earth (architectural) foundation and large-scale elite burials. The most prominent burial in the site is the Zhangzikou 长子口 tomb. Various inscriptions from the burial display the name "Zhangzikou," leading archaeologists to identify it as the name of the tom owner.

Reference:

- Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所, Zhoukoushi wenhuaju 周口市文化局. 2000. *Luyi taiqinggong zhangzikou mu* 鹿邑太清宫长子口墓. Henan: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe.



Taiqinggong Zhangzikou site
Henansheng and Zhoukoushi 2000.



Taiqinggong Zhangzikou site
Henansheng and Zhoukoushi 2000.

Qianzhangda
前掌大

Year of excavation: (north) 1981, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1998 (south) 1991, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2001
EWZ tombs: (north) IIM308, IIM309, IIM312, IIM301, IIM310, IIM305 (South) M34, M30, M31, M110, M13, M121, M18, M21, M38, M11, M14, M119, M120, (southeast) IIM206, IIM209, IIM213

The Qianzhangda 前掌大 site is located at the Qianzhangda village 前掌大村 in Guanqiao town 官桥镇 of Tengzhou 滕州. It is 22.5km from Tengzhou 滕州 (city). The site contains mainly burials, with traces of architectural structures built on top of large tombs. It is divided into two zones (north and south). For excavation purposes, the northern zone is further divided into 2 regions (North I and North II), and the southern zone into 4 (South I, South II, South III and South IV). In the northern zones, 35 burials were found, whereas 71 tombs were excavated in the southern zones. Besides, burials, sacrificial pits, garbage pits were also found.

Reference:

- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所. 2005. *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi* 滕州前掌大墓地. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Shaolingyuan

少陵原

Year of excavation: 2004—2005

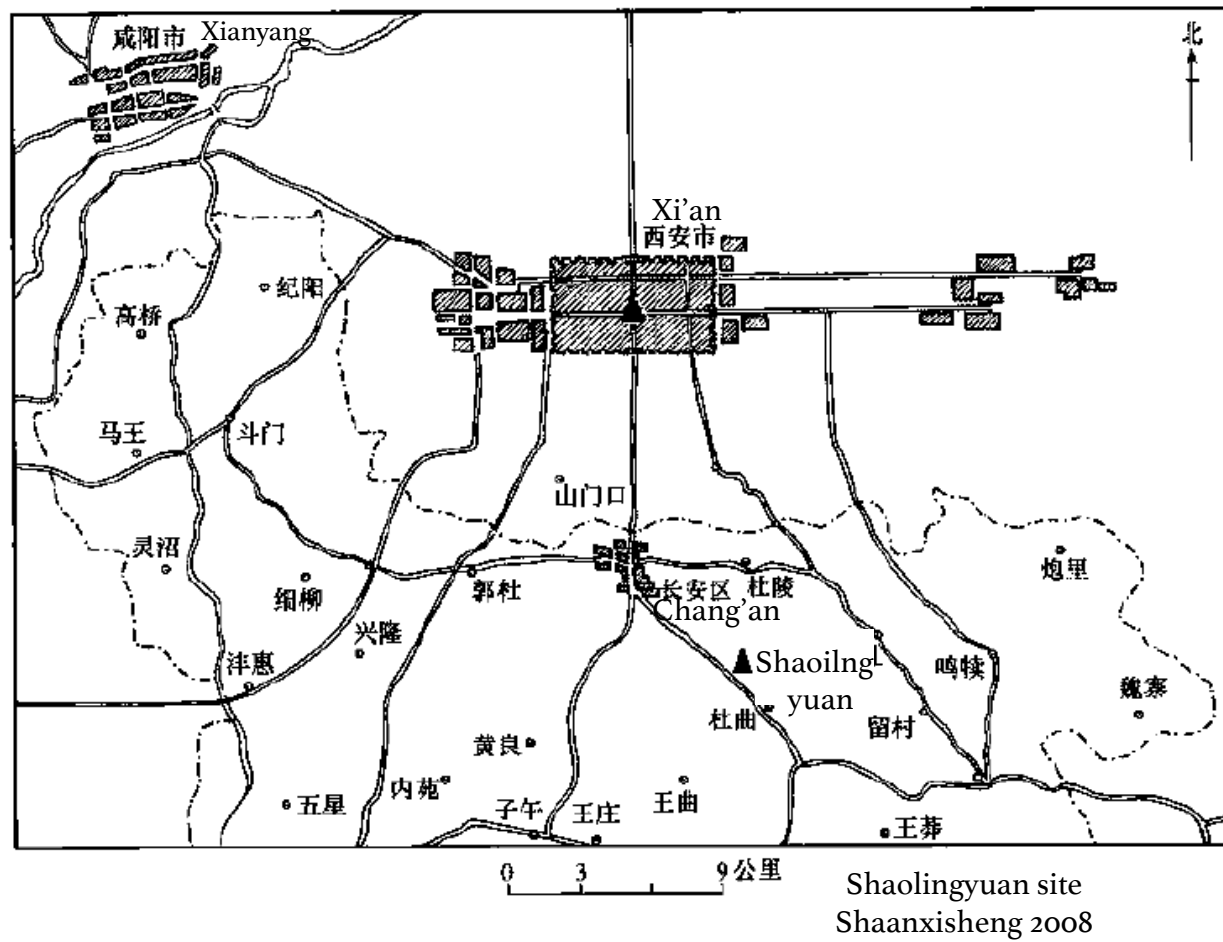
EWZ tombs: M27, M28, M29, M35, M39, M44, M49, M51, M59, M62, M63, M64, M66, M74, M79, M82, M83, M89, M92, M97, M98, M103, M104, M105, M107, M108, M109, M110, M111, M113, M116, M117, M118, M120, M121, M125, M126, M129, M130, M131, M142, M143, M147, M150, M152, M153, M155, M158, M166, M169, M171, M173, M176, M179, M180, M186, M191, M192, M194, M197, M199, M201, M202, M204, M205, M211, M214, M216, M217, M223, M225, M226, M229, M230, M234, M236, M237, M238, M239, M240, M241, M242, M243, M244, M246, M249, M251, M252, M254, M269, M270, M272, M273, M274, M278, M281, M287, M288, M289, M301, M310, M312, M313, M314, M316, M326, M327, M328, M341, M344, M346, M347, M350, M351, M354, M358, M389, M393, M396, M401, M403, M404, M412, M413, M415, M416, M417, M419, M423, M429, M443, M444, M448, M457, M461, M462, M463, M466

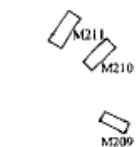
The Shaolingyuan 少陵塬 site is located south of Xi'an 西安 in Shaanxi province, or 5km southeast of the Chang'an 长安 region. A total of 429 burials dated to the Western Zhou period, 3 horse pits and 12 garbage pits dated to the Neolithic Yangshao 仰韶 period were discovered. The site is approximately 200m long from north to south, 150m from east to west.

The burials are divided into 5 zones. Zone I is located in the western part of the site; around 33 tombs are included. Zone II is situated in the northern side of the site; 50 burials are included. Zone III is located at the center of the Shaolingyuan 少陵原 site. A total of 141 tombs are found, they are concentrated in the eastern part of the zone. Zone IV is in the southern part of the site. 38 Burials are scarcely distributed. Zone V covers the eastern part of the site and contains the highest number of tombs (168). The uncovered mortuary objects include 458 ceramic pieces, 351 bronze objects, 266 jade or stone objects and 456 cowry pieces.

Reference:

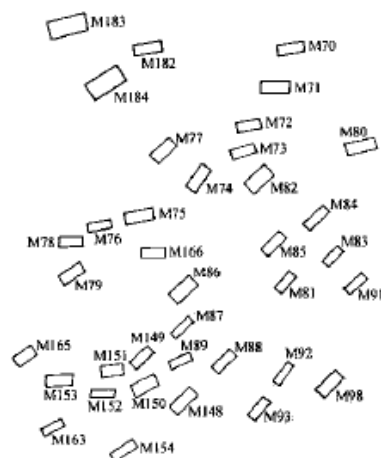
- Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陕西省考古研究院. 2008. *Shaolingyuan xizhou mudi* 少陵原西周墓地. Beijing: kexue chubanshe.





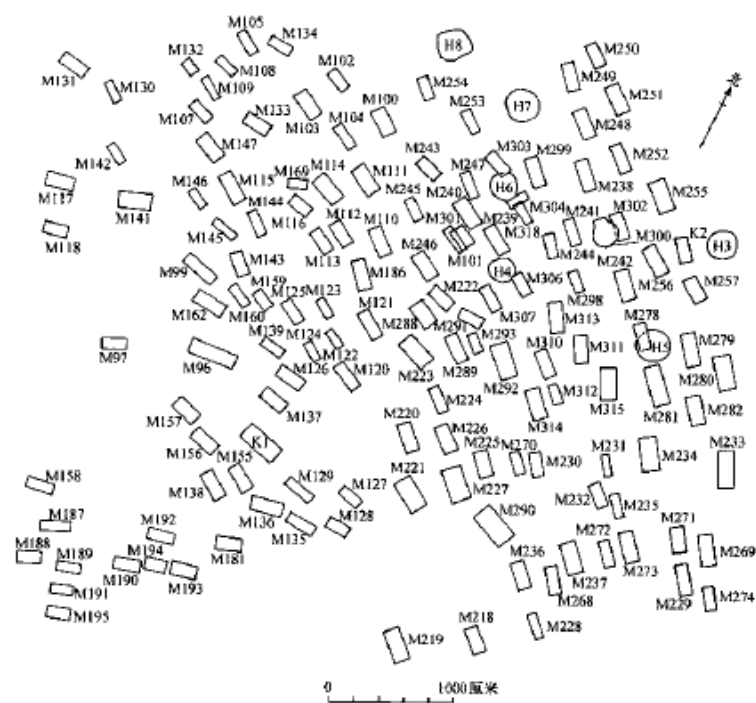
0 600 厘米

Shaolingyuan Zone I. Ibid.

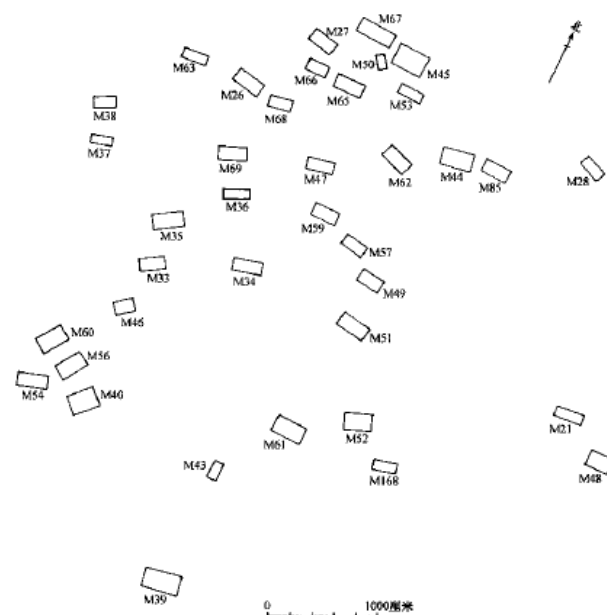


0 1000 厘米

Shaolingyuan Zone II. Ibid.



Shaolingyuan Zone III
Ibid.



Shaolingyuan Zone IV. Ibid.



Shaolingyuan Zone V. Ibid.

Wei polity

- Junxian Xin village
浚县辛村

Year of excavation: 1932-1933

EWZ tombs: (large) M21 (medium) M60, M29 (small) 45 tombs but many unpublished-M7, M9, M18, M42.

The site is situated in the Xin village 辛村 of the Jun County 浚县 in Henan 河南 province. It is 35km east of the center of the Jun County, or close to the northern bank of the Qi River 淇水; across the River at the southern bank is Fushan 浮山(or Mount Fu). The site measures around 500m (east to west) x 300m (north to south). At the site, around 80 burials dated to the Western Zhou period were found. Of these burials, 8 are large-scale ones with ramps, likely belonging to generations of the Lord of Wei and their spouses. Others are medium (6 tombs) to small size (54). 2 horse-and-chariot pits and 12 horse pits were also found.

Reference:

- Guo Baojun 郭宝钧. 1964. *Junxian Xincun* 浚县辛村. Beijing: kexue chubanshe.

Yan polity

- Liulihe 琉璃河

Year of excavation: 1962-1972

EWZ tombs: (Zone I) IM23, IM24, IM26, IM52, IM53, IM54, IM105, IM1, IM3, IM20, IM21, IM22, IM31, IM50, IM58, IM65, IM66, IM108 (Zone II) IIM201, IIM202, IIM251, IIM253, IIM254, IIM401, IIM203, IIM205, IIM207, IIM208, IIM209, IIM210, IIM252, IIM264, IIM321, IIM204,

Based on several discovered bronzes in the Liulihe 琉璃河 site, which include the inscriptions identifying the tomb owner as the Lord of Yan, archaeologists have agreed that the site was where the Yan polity was located. The Liulihe 琉璃河 cemetery is situated 43km southwest of Beijing, north of the Liuli River 琉璃河. The site covers 5.25 square km (3.5km east to west, 1.5km north to south). The cemetery is divided into two zones, I and II. A total of 61 burials, some of which with horse-and-chariot pits attached, were found. 34 burials are dated to the EWZ period (18 in zone I,

16 in zone II)

Reference:

- Beijing shi wenwu yanjiu suo 北京市文物研究所. 1995. *Liulihe xizhou yanguo mudi* 琉璃河西周燕国墓地 1973-1977. Beijing: wenwu chubanshe.

Ying polity

- Pingdingshan
平顶山

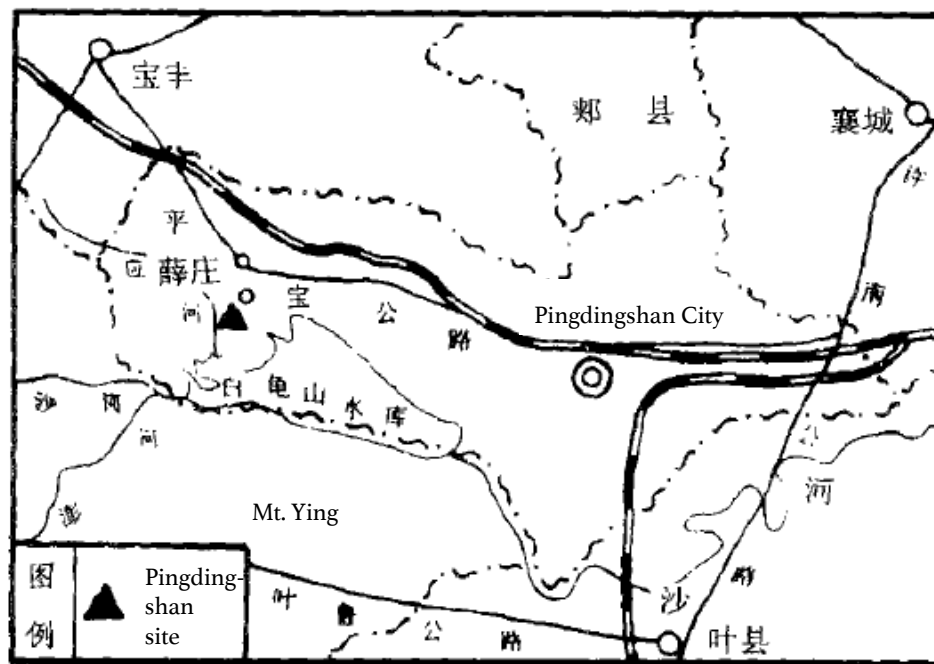
Year of excavation: 1979, 1980, 1982, 1985, 1986-1997, 2002-2007
EWZ tombs: M232, M231, M230, M242, M229, M48

The site is located at the western part of the Beizhi village (北澧村) in the suburban area of the Pingdingshan city 平顶山市 in Henan 河南 province. At the southern edge of the site is the Baiguishan reservoir 白龟山水库, the western edge the Ying River 应河. The site contains mostly burials of elites and lesser elites from the Ying polity. Bronze inscriptions found reveal that a few tombs belong to different generations of the Lord of Ying. Remains found at the site indicate that the entire site was occupied at least since the Western Zhou period to the Eastern Han period. A total of 300 burials were found, 40 of which belong to the Western Zhou period. Most of the early Western Zhou burials (about 6) are located at the southern part of the site, with its west being the Ying River 应河. Numerous bronze vessels and weapons, jade objects, chariot fittings, ceramics etc were uncovered.

Reference:

- Pingdingshanshi wenguanhui 平顶山市文管会, Zhang Zhaowu 张肇武. 1984. "Henan pingdingshi chutu xizhou yingguo qingtongqi 河南平顶山市出土西周应国青铜器." *Wenwu* 12: 29-32.

- Pingdingshanshi wenguanhui 平顶山市文管会. 1998. "Pingdingshanshi xinchutu xizhou qingtongqi 平顶山市新出土西周青铜器." *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1: 21-22.
- Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所, Pingdingshanshi wenwu guanliju 平顶山市文物管理局. 2012 *Pingdingshan yingguo mudi* 平顶山应国墓地. Zhengzhoushi: Daxiang chubanshe.



Pingdingshan
Henansheng 2012.

Zeng polity

- Yejiashan
叶家山

Year of excavation: 2011

EWZ tombs: M55, M1, M2, M3, M8, M65, M28, M55, M27, M50

The Yejiashan 叶家山 cemetery is located northeast of Suizhou 随州(city) in Hubei 湖北. Flowing from the northeastern part to the northern and western part of the site is the Piao River 漂河, a branch of the Fu River 府河. Archaeological surveys reveal that about 80 burials were present at the site, but only 63 tombs and 1 horse pit were excavated. However, not all excavated tombs are published. Most burials display burial objects, including ceramics, bronzes, lacquer-ware, jade and stone ornaments. Bronzes dated to the early Western Zhou period account for around 325 pieces, many of which are inscribed. Some of the inscriptions indicate that the owner was titled the “Lord of Zeng,” leading archaeologists to identify the cemetery and the nearby region as the Zeng polity.

Reference:

- Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, Suizhoushi bowuguan 随州市博物馆. 2011. “湖北随州叶家山西周墓地发掘简报.” *Wenwu* 11: 4-60.
- Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, Suizhoushi bowuguan 随州市博物馆. 2011. “Hubei Suizhoushi yejiashan M65 fajue jianbao 湖北随州市叶家山 M65 发掘简报.” *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 3: 3-40.
- Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, Suizhoushi bowuguan 随州市博物馆. 2013. ““Hubei Suizhoushi yejiashan M28 fajue baogao 湖北随州市叶家山 M28 发掘报告,” *jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4: 3-57.



Yejiashan site

Hubeisheng wenwu and Suizhoushi 2011-2013.

Zhouyuan Fengxiang

- Zhihui West Village
指挥西村

Year of excavation: 1979-1980

EWZ tombs: (1979) M21, M23, M29, M32, M35, M37, M89, M42, M48, M56, M60, M68, M70, M73, M80, M82, M89, M91 (1980) M1, M4, M5, M6, M11, M13, M15, M21, M22, M28, M29, M34, M39, M41, M46, M53, M55, M56, M64, M69, M72, M73, M74, M76, M80, M81, M92,

M94, M102, M103, M126, M134, M136, M141, M154, M158

The burial site is located 300m west of the Zhihui West village 指挥西村, or 4km away from the southern bank of the Yong River 雍水. The cemetery measures 127m long from south to north, 129m from east to west. Roughly 210 burials, dated to various Western Zhou periods, were discovered at the site, most of which belong to the lesser or non-elites.

Reference:

- Yongcheng kaogudui 雍城考古队. 1982. "Fengxiangnan zhihui xicun zhoutu de fajue 凤翔南指挥西村周墓的发掘," *kaogu yu wenwu* 4: 15-38.

Zhouyuan Fengxiang

- Sunjia Nantou
孙家南头

Year of excavation: 2003

EWZ tombs: M2, M17, M28, M49, M52, M53, M69, M72, M147, M150, M155, M156

The Sunjia Nantou 孙家南头 site is located around the Sunjia Nantou village 孙家南头村 in Fengxiang County 凤翔县. It is about 15km away from Fengxiang 凤翔 (town). The entire site includes a total of 187 burials and horse-and-chariot pits dating from the pre-conquest Zhou to post Han period. Of all the tombs, 33 are dated to the Western Zhou period.

Reference:

- Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, Baojishi kaogu gongzuodui 宝鸡市考古工作队, Fengxiangxian bowuguan 凤翔县博物馆. 2007. "Fengxiangxian sunjia nantou zhoutu fajue jianbao 凤翔县孙家南头周墓发掘简报," *kaogu yu wenwu* 1: 24-33.

Zhouyuan Fufeng

- Qijia Village
齐家村

Year of excavation: 1960

EWZ tombs: M1, M8

The Qijia 齐家 site is located in Qijia village 齐家村, Fufeng County 扶风县 within the Zhouyuan 周原 region, in close proximity to other Zhouyuan burial sites such as Hejia 贺家, Liujia 刘家, Lijia 李家 and Yuntang 云塘. It is also around 5km north to Qishan 岐山 (Mount Qi). Elite and lesser-elite burials and residential sites dated to various Western Zhou periods were found in the village, including the early Western Zhou ones.

Reference:

- Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陕西省文物管理委员会. 1963. “Shaanxi fufeng, qishan zhou dai yizhi he muzang fajue baogao 陕西扶风, 岐山周代遗址和墓葬发掘报告.” *Kaogu* 12: 654-682.
- Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陕西省文物管理委员会, Shaanxisheng bowuguan 陕西省博物馆. 1980. *Shaanxi chutu shangzhou qingtongqi vol. 2* 陕西出土商周青铜器 (二). Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, pp. 63-64.

Zhouyuan Fufeng

- Yuntang
云塘

Year of excavation: 1976

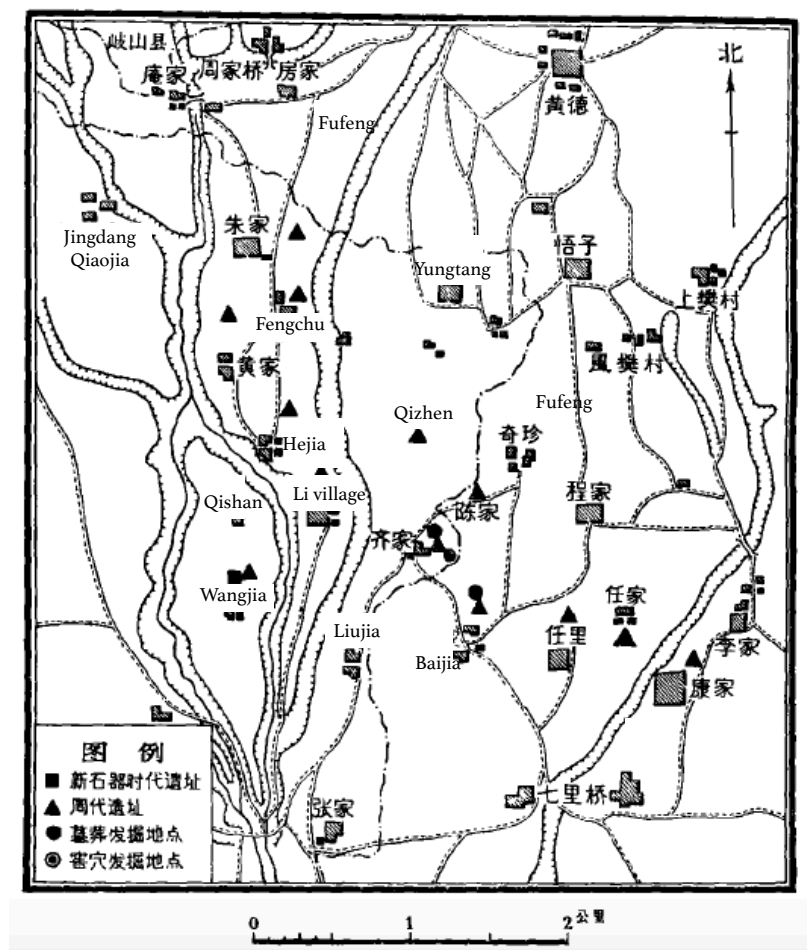
Early Western Zhou tombs: M7, M10, M11, M13, M15, M16, M18, M20

Located in Zhouyuan 周原, Yuntang 云塘 is the site of a large-scale bone workshop dated to the Western Zhou period. The estimated overall area, including the unexcavated region, is 350 square meters. Uncovered at the site are 19 large garbage pits with bone remains from the workshop, as well as 20 burials (M2-M20) dated either to the early or late Western Zhou period. The EWZ ones appear earlier than the dating of bone workshop, while the LWZ ones appear only after the workshop was abandoned. Objects excavated in the burials are in the hundreds; they include bronze

vessels, ceramics, jades, cowries and lacquer ware.

Reference:

- Shaanxi zhouyuan kaogudui 陕西周原考古队. 1980. "Fufeng yuntang xizhoumu 扶风云塘西周墓." *Wenwu* 4: 39-55.



Zhouyuan sites

Zhouyuan Fufeng

- Shaoli
召李

Year of excavation: 1975

EWZ tombs: M1

The Shaoli site is located 50m northwest of the Shaoli village 召李村 in Fufeng County 扶风县. The site belongs to part of the Zhouyuan 周原 region, and is close to other Zhouyuan burials and residential sites such as Yuntang 云塘, Zhuangli 庄李, Qijia 齐家.

Reference:

- Shaanxisheng wenhuaguan 陕西省文化馆, Shaanxisheng wenguanhui 陕西省文管会, Luo Xizhang 罗西章, Wu Zhenfeng 吴镇烽, Shang Zhiru 尚志儒. 1976. "Shaanxi Fufeng Shaolicun yihao zhoumu qingli jianbao 陕西扶风召李村一号周墓清理简报." *Wenwu* 6: 61-65.

Zhouyuan Fufeng

- Zhuangli
庄李

Year of excavation: 2003-2004
EWZ tombs: M9, M10

The Zhuangli 庄李 site is located at the Zhuangli village 庄李村 in Fufeng County 扶风县, within the Zhouyuan 周原 region. The site is divided into 2 main zones (east and west); each was excavated at a different year and season. At the site, a bronze-casting foundry, burials and garbage pits dated to the Western Zhou period were discovered. A total of 26 Western Zhou burials and 1 horse-and-chariot pit were found. Unfortunately, except a few, most tombs were looted or disturbed. The rest display bronzes, ceramics, jade objects and bronze casting tools.

Reference:

- Zhouyuan kaogudui 周原考古队. 2008. "Shaanxi fufengxian zhouyuan yizhi zhuangli xizhoumu fajue jianbao 陕西扶风县周原遗址庄李西周墓发掘简报." *Kaogu* 12: 3-21.

Zhouyuan Qishan

- Wangjiazui
(Jingdang)
王家嘴 (京当)

Year of excavation: 1980
EWZ tombs: WM1, WM2

Wangjiazui 王家嘴 village is located in Qishan County 岐山县, at the foot of Qishan 岐山 (Mount Qi) and very close to Fengchu 扶风 village, where large-scale architectural foundations of the Western Zhou period were uncovered. At Wangjiazui 王家嘴, 2 burials and 1 horse pit were discovered.

Reference:

- Ju Wanchang 巨万仓. 1985. “Shaanxi qishan wangjiazui, yali xizhou muzang fajue baogao 陕西岐山王家嘴, 衙里西周墓葬发掘报告.” *Wenbo* 文博 5: 1-7.

Zhouyuan Qishan

- Hejia Village
贺家村

Year of excavation: 1963, 1966-67, 1973
EWZ tombs: (1963) M10, M14, M21, M25, M31, M37, M42, M44, M53 (1966) unlabeled tomb (1973) M1, M3, M5, M6

Hejia village is located in northeastern part of the Qishan County, in close proximity to other Western Zhou burial and residential sites such as Qijia, Fengchu, Liujia, etc. In 1963, 54 pre-conquest Zhou and Western Zhou burials and 1 horse-and-chariot pit were discovered. In 1973, 10 burials dated to the Western Zhou period were discovered, of which 4 are published.

Reference:

- Chang Shui 长水. 1972. “岐山贺家出土的西周铜器.” *Wenwu* 6: 25-29.
- Shaanxisheng bowuguan 陕西省博物馆, Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陕西省文物管理委员会. 1976. “Shaanxi Qishan Hejia cun xizhou muzang 陕西岐山贺家村西周墓葬.” *kaogu* 1: 31-38.
- Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiuduo 陕西省考古研究所, Xu Xitai 徐锡台. 1980. “Qishan

Hejiacun zhoumu fajue jianbao 岐山贺家村周墓发掘简报.” *kaogu yu wenwu* 1: 7-12.

Jingyang Gaojiabao
泾阳高家堡

- Ge Jin 葛今. 1972. “Jingyang Gaojiabao zaozhou muzang fajueji 泾阳高家堡早周墓葬发掘记.” *Wenwu* 7: 5-9.
- Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所. 1995. *Gaojiabao Geguomu* 高家堡戈国墓. Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe.

**Gansu Chongxin
Yujiawan**
甘肃崇信于家湾

Year of excavation: N/A
EWZ tombs:

The Yujiawan 于家湾 site is located at the eastern part of the Yujiawan village 于家湾村, 5km west of Chongxin 崇信, Shaanxi 陕西 province. The southern side of the site is also at the northern bank of the Rui River 汭河. The burials at the site were split into two zones (east and west), because of the rainwater corrosion. Excavations were done mostly in the eastern zone. A total of 16 tombs (M1-M16), 3 horse pits were found. These burials are dated to the late phase of the pre-conquest Zhou period or the early Western Zhou period.

Reference:

- Gansu sheng wenwu gongzuodui 甘肃省文物工作队. 1986. “Gansu chongxin yujiawan zhoumu fajue jianbao 甘肃崇信于家湾周墓发掘简报.” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1: 1-7.
- Gansu sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 甘肃省文物考古研究所. 2009. *Chongxin yujiawan zhoumu* 崇信于家湾周墓. Beijing: wenwu chubanshe.

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