

- 35 Statistical analysis of reported late Shang burials at Yinxu indicates that 51% of the tombs were equipped with waist pits. At Xibeigang 西北崗, where the Shang kings were buried, each king's tomb was equipped with at least one waist pit. For detailed analyses, see Zhang Mingdong 張明東, "Shang Zhou muzang bijiao yanjiu" 商周墓葬比較研究 (Ph.D. diss.: Beijing daxue, 2005), pp. 70–71.
- 36 Yan Sun, "Bronzes, Mortuary Practice and Political Strategies," pp. 761–70.
- 37 Yan Sun, "Colonizing China's Northern Frontier: Yan and Her Neighbors during the Early Western Zhou Period," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10.2 (2006): 159–77.
- 38 In all there were 75 bronze vessels in the tomb. For a detailed report of the tomb, see Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Zhoukou shi wenhuaju, *Luyi Taiqinggong Changzikou mu* 鹿邑太清宮長子口墓 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji chubanshe, 2000).
- 39 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi*, pp. 75, 77–78, 529–33.

## The Tombs of the Rulers of Peng and Relationships between Zhou and Northern Non-Zhou Lineages (Until the Early Ninth Century B.C.)\*

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A Western Zhou period cemetery near Hengshui zhen 橫水鎮 in Jiang 絳 county, southwest Shanxi, was discovered in 2004.<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive report about the excavations of the whole site has not yet been published, but some observations can be made based on preliminary reports about the tombs of Pengbo Cheng 棚伯甬 and his spouse Bi Ji 畢姬. Inscriptions discovered elsewhere reveal that Peng 棚 was a lineage of the Kui 媿/Gui 鬼 surname. Some received texts associate Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages with the Di 狄/翟 group of northern non-Zhou peoples. According to the Chinese historiographical tradition, the Di remained autonomous from the Huaxia 華夏 cultural and political community, which was dominated during the Western Zhou period by polities ruled by lineages of the Ji 姬 and Jiang 姜 surnames. The new discovery shows that a small non-Zhou polity, not referred to in transmitted literature, existed quite close to the eastern residence of the Zhou kings at Chengzhou 成周 and just to the south of Jin 晉, one of the major Zhou colonies ruled by a lineage of Ji surname. Moreover, rulers of Peng had marital relations with Bi 畢, another distinguished Ji-surnamed lineage closely related to the Zhou

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small bird patterns. Such textile wrappings for coffins are referred to as *huangwei* 荒帷 in later ritual handbooks, but this is the first time they have been witnessed archaeologically.<sup>13</sup>

In tomb M1, skeletons of three human victims wrapped in reed mats were found in the burial chamber near the eastern side of the coffin. The burial chamber of M2 included skeletons of four other persons, two of whom were wrapped in mats, possibly made of bamboo, and had chariot ornaments near their feet. The third skeleton had already decayed, though its remains are said to have lain over some bronze objects—possibly also chariot ornaments. The excavators suppose that this might have been a charioteer. The fourth skeleton was that of a child.

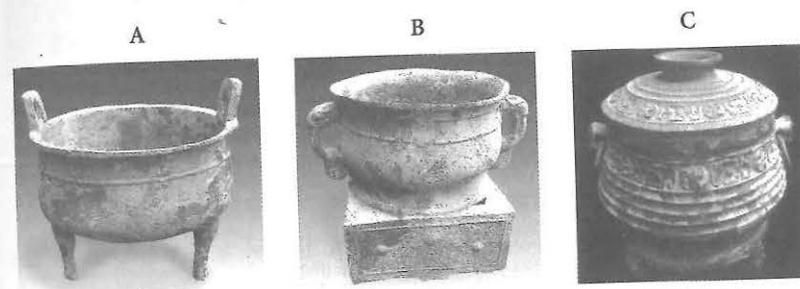
The occupant of M1 wore rich ornaments made of jade, agate and bone. These included pendants and hairdressing elements. Some jade objects were also found outside the coffin. The bronze objects include five *ding* 鼎-caldrons, five *gui* 簋-tureens, one *yan* 鬮-steamer, one *li* 鬲-tripod, one *yu* 盂-caldron, two *he* 盨-kettles, two *pan* 盤-basins, one elongated *hu* 壺-flask with bail handle, one *hu*-flask with small lugs through which a cord could be threaded, and five *yongzhong* 甬鐘-shank bells. Pottery vessels included thirteen *san zu weng* 三足瓮 (“three-legged weng-jars”), three *da kou zun* 大口尊 (“large-mouthed zun-jars”), five pottery *gui*-tureens with a high round foot, and one *li*-tripod with notched ribs. The ritual vessels were originally placed in a wooden rack with seven shelves located in the southeastern corner of the burial chamber. The pottery vessels were placed above the bronzes.

In M2, horse-and-chariot ornaments, small and large jingle bells, axes and dagger-axes, clothing ornaments made of bronze, bone and wood, as well as jade pendants, were placed along the northern outer side of the coffin. Ritual objects were arranged along the western side of the outer coffin in the following sequence from north to south: one pottery *li*-tripod, one bronze *pan*-basin, two *ding*-caldrons, one *he*-kettle, one *chan* 鏟-shovel, one jade scepter, one *gui*-tureen, one *jue* 爵-beaker, one *gu* 觚-goblet, one *zun* 尊-jar with a bronze plate decoration placed inside it, one freshwater mussel shell, one lacquer vessel, five bronze *yongzhong*-shank bells, one carriage shaft, another sixteen freshwater mussel shells, and one *yan*-steamer with one *you* 酉-pitcher placed inside it. Apart from one pottery *li* and one lacquer vessel, all other vessels in this set were made of bronze. Another bronze *ding*-caldron was placed near the northwestern corner of the coffin, and another bronze plate ornament was found in the southwestern corner.

Based on the burial inventories of the two tombs, the excavators identify the occupant of M2 as a male and the occupant of M1 as a female. Inscriptions on the vessels found in the tombs identify them as Pengbo 棚伯 or the First-born of Peng, and Bi Ji 畢姬, or Née Ji of Bi.

Figure 4.1 Objects from Tomb M1 at Hengshui, Jiangxian, Shanxi

A. *Ding*-caldron M1:212; B. *Gui*-tureen M1:199; C. *Gui*-tureen M1:205, after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao” 山西絳縣橫水西周墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 2006.8: figs. 11, 12 and “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi,” fig. 1.



Bronzes from M1 carry the following inscriptions:

棚伯作畢姬寶旅鼎。

Pengbo makes the treasured caldron for travel for Bi Ji (*ding*-caldron M1:212, as well as four other *ding* in the set).

棚伯作畢姬寶旅簋。

Pengbo makes the treasured tureen for travel for Bi Ji (*gui*-tureen M1:199, as well as several other *gui*).

唯廿又三年初吉戊戌。益公蒞棚伯禹歷。右告令金車旂。禹拜稽首對揚公休。用作朕考尊。禹其萬年永寶用享。

It was the twenty-third year, first auspiciousness, day *wuxu*. Yigong praised the merits of Pengbo Cheng and announced the command [to give Cheng] a metal-[decorated] chariot and a banner. Cheng bowed his head to the ground, extolling in response the beneficence of Yigong. [I] use [this occasion] to make [this] sacrificial vessel for my father. May Cheng eternally treasure and use it for offerings for ten thousand years! (*gui*-tureen M1:205).

Figure 4.2 Objects from Tomb M2 at Hengshui, Jiangxian, Shanxi

A. *Ding*-caldron M2:57; B. *Gui*-tureen M2:62; C. *He*-kettle M2:61, after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao,” figs. 30, 31, 33.



Tomb M2 has also yielded several inscribed bronzes:

棚伯作畢姬尊鼎。其萬年寶。

Pengbo makes [this] reverent caldron for Bi Ji. May it be treasured for ten thousand years! (*ding*-caldron M2:57).

棚伯肇作尊鼎。其萬年寶用享。

Pengbo makes [this] reverent caldron for the first time. May it be treasured and used for offerings for ten thousand years! (*ding*-caldron M2:58).

唯五月初吉棚伯肇作寶鼎。其用享用考（孝）于朕文考。其萬年永用。

It was the fifth month, first auspiciousness; Pengbo makes [this] treasured caldron for the first time. May it be used for offerings and for filial piety toward my cultivated deceased father! May it be eternally used for ten thousand years! (*ding*-caldron M2:103).

□□作寶盤其萬年永用。

XX makes [this] treasured basin. May it be eternally used for ten thousand years! (*pan*-basin, M2:65).

The inscriptions from M1 inform us that Pengbo made a set of five *ding*-caldrons and four *gui*-tureens for Bi Ji. These objects were described as *lü* 旅, i.e., objects “for travel.”<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, this tomb also contained a set of bells. This is the first occurrence of bells in a Western Zhou tomb occupied by a woman. Pengbo, who commissioned several bronzes for Bi Ji, must be her husband. The inscription on the *gui*-tureen M1:205

identifies his name as Cheng 甞. Tomb M2 has yielded one caldron dedicated by Pengbo to Bi Ji and designated as *zun* 尊 “reverent.” Whereas objects “for travel” were made for living persons, “reverent” vessels were normally made for the deceased.<sup>15</sup> This suggests that Cheng outlived his wife and that tomb M2 dates later than M1.

Comparing the bronzes from Hengbei to the objects from the cemetery of Jin rulers at Tianma-Qucun 天馬曲村, the excavators observe that Peng tombs M1 and M2 date later than tombs M32–33 and earlier than tombs M91–92 in the Jin cemetery.<sup>16</sup> These Jin tombs have been dated to the later part of middle Western Zhou and to late Western Zhou respectively; i.e., approximately the first half of the ninth century B.C.<sup>17</sup> However, the excavators of Hengbei then go on to conclude that the Peng tombs date to the end of the reign of the fifth Western Zhou king, Mu 穆 (r. 956–923 B.C.) or slightly later, much earlier than the Tianma-Qucun comparisons would suggest.<sup>18</sup>

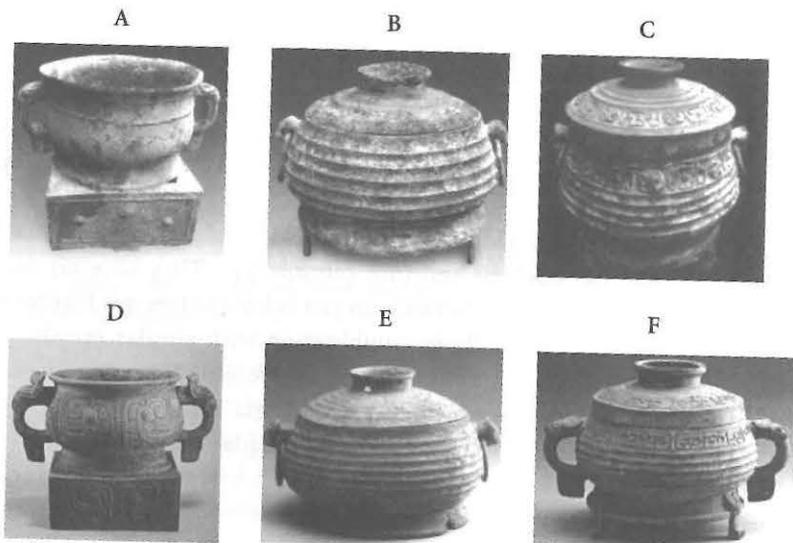
This dating is based on the assumption that during the reign of King Gong 共 (r. 922–900 B.C.), there was a shift of the focus of ritual assemblages from vessels for alcoholic beverages to vessels for meat and grain. In Western literature, it is understood as a part of the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform.”<sup>19</sup> Since tomb M2 of the Hengbei cemetery has yielded *gu*-goblets and *jue*-beakers, the excavators conclude that it should date before or at the beginning of King Gong’s reign. However, although the “ritual reform” was probably launched by King Gong, it was not accomplished during this single reign. Rather, the new standard became firmly established only toward 850 B.C.<sup>20</sup> If Peng accepted the Zhou sumptuary rules, it can only be said that tomb M2 dates before 850 B.C. Besides, the *ding*-caldrons and *gui*-tureens from the Hengbei tombs display a number of features that became current starting only from the reign of King Gong or even later.

In particular, the caldrons from both M1 and M2 have relatively shallow bellies, flat bottoms and thin cabriole legs. They have no decor other than one or two high-relief ribbons just below the rim (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). This shape, usually in combination with similar minimalist decor, is manifested in a number of standard vessels from King Gong’s reign, but is not typical of earlier periods.<sup>21</sup> The *gui*-tureens commissioned by Pengbo for Bi Ji look archaic due to their square bases (e.g., M1:199; Figure 4.3A). Tureens with a square base were current especially during the early and middle Western Zhou periods. However, they were occasionally cast later as a reminiscence of an ancient tradition.<sup>22</sup> The earlier *gui*

with square bases are usually quite massive and their surfaces are completely filled with zoomorphic and geometric patterns (cf. Figure 4.3B). In contrast, the *gui*-tureen M1:199 manifests the same decorative minimalism as the *ding*-caldrons from both M1 and M2. The very simple style of the tureen M1:199 and the tripods might result from the lack of ability of Peng craftsmen and cannot be regarded as decisive in establishing the date of Peng tombs, since other tureens from the two tombs display even more distinctive late features.

Figure 4.3 Tureens from Peng Tombs M1 and M2 and Their Parallels

A, C. Tureens M1:199 and M1:205 from Hengbei tomb M1, after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao,” figs. 11, 12; B. Tureen M2:62 from Hengbei tomb M2, after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao,” fig. 31; D. Early to mid-Western Zhou square-based tureen *Meng gui* 孟簋 (cf. *Jicheng* #4163, Zhangjiapo 張家坡, Chang’an county, Shaanxi), after Li Xixing 李西興, *Shaanxi qingtongqi* 陝西青銅器 (Xi’an: Shaanxi renmin meishu, 1994) [henceforth, *Shaanxi qingtongqi*], fig. 74; E. *Xun gui* 旬簋 (cf. *Jicheng* #4321, Sipo 寺坡, Lantian 藍田, Shaanxi, King Gong’s reign), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 70; F. First-year *Shi Shi gui* 師族簋 (cf. *Jicheng* #4281, Zhangjiapo 張家坡, Mawangzhen 馬王鎮, Xi’an Chang’an qu 西安長安區, supposedly, King Yi’s reign [865–858 B.C.]), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 78.



The tureens M1:205 and M2:62 have a ring base supported by three small zoomorphic legs. Their bodies and lids are decorated with relief ribbon (*wawen* 瓦文) pattern, which spread starting from the middle Western Zhou period, especially the reign of King Gong (cf. Figure 4.4A, C, E).<sup>23</sup> Additionally, the tureen M1:205 has ornamental ribbons on the upper register of the body and on the periphery of the cover. Instead of handles, it has small zoomorphic lugs pierced with rings, also popular during the reign of King Gong (cf. Figure 4.4A, C, E, F). The tureen M2:62 finds parallels in standard vessels of King Gong’s reign (cf. Figure 4.3E, F). The lid of M1:212 has an elevated base (Figure 4.3C). Lids with an elevated base occasionally appear on tureens from the beginning of the ninth century B.C. (cf. Figure 4.3F and Figure 4.4F).<sup>24</sup> In sum, art-historical features widely manifested during the reign of King Gong or later predominate in the assemblages of Peng tombs M1 and M2. This strongly suggests that the Peng tombs were closed during King Gong’s reign or later, i.e., during the late tenth or first half of the ninth century B.C.

The inscription on the tureen M1:212 sets the *terminus post quem* for the closure of tomb M1. It commemorates the donation of a chariot to Pengbo Cheng by Yigong 益公. This event is dated to a twenty-third year. As usual, the inscription does not specify the name of the Western Zhou king whose year-count it uses.

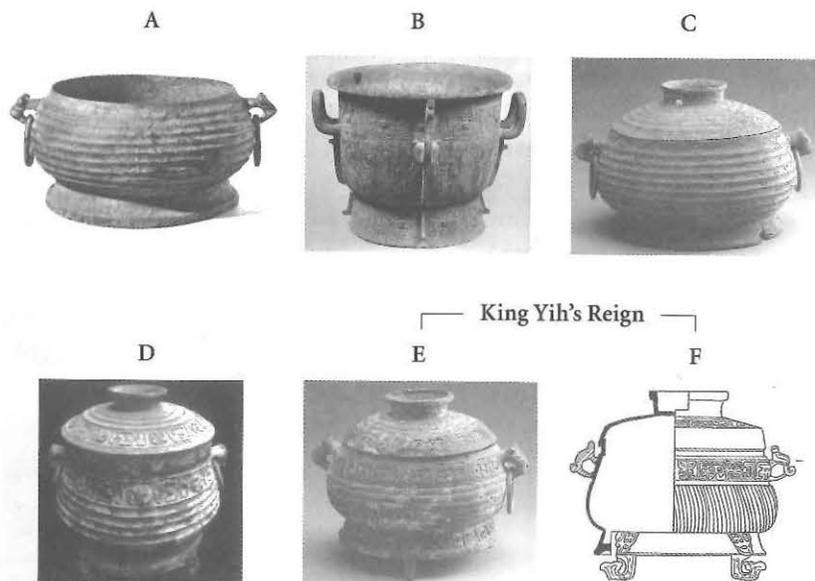
*Yi* 益, literally “advantageous,” was applied to individuals in two ways.<sup>25</sup> First, it is attested as a posthumous name of an ancestor in earlier inscriptions.<sup>26</sup> Second, similar to epithets such as *mu* 穆 “Reverent” or *wu* 武 “Martial,” *Yi* was also used as an honorific byname of one distinguished person, Yigong (“Duke” or “Patriarch” Yi), during his lifetime.<sup>27</sup>

Inscriptions representing Yigong as a living person date to the ninth, the twelfth, and the seventeenth years and are regarded as standard inscriptions of King Gong’s reign (see Appendix, Table 4.2). The stylistic similarity of the dated and undated vessels, especially tureens, with inscriptions mentioning Yigong supports that all of them are roughly contemporary (Figure 4.4A, C–F).

Figure 4.4 Vessels with Inscriptions Mentioning Yigong

Vessels dating from the reign of King Gong: A. *Guaibo gui* 𠄎白簋, dated to the ninth year (cf. *Jicheng* #4331), after Shanghai bowuguan, *Shanghai bowuguan cang qingtongqi* 上海博物館藏青銅器 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964), fig. 54; B. *Yong yu* 永盂, dated to the twelfth year (cf. *Jicheng* #10322, Hubinzen 湖濱鎮, Lantian, Shaanxi), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 219; C. *Xun gui* 旬簋, dated to the seventeenth year (cf. *Jicheng* #4321, Sipo 寺坡, Lantian, Shaanxi), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 70; D. Hengbei M1:205, *Pengbo Cheng gui* 匚伯再簋, dated to the twenty-third year, after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao,” fig. 12. Vessels dating from the reign of King Yih 懿: E. *Wang Chen gui* 王臣簋, dated to the second year (cf. *Jicheng* #4268, Chuanyecun 串業村, Chengcheng 澄城, Shaanxi), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 71; F. *Shi Dao gui* 師道簋, dated to the seventh year (Xiaoheishigou 小黑石溝, Ningcheng 寧城, Chifeng 赤峰, Inner Mongolia), after Neimenggu zizhi qu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Xiaoheishigou: Xiajiadian shang ceng wenhua yizhi fajue baogao* 小黑石溝: 夏家店上層文化遺址發掘報告 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2009), fig. 301.

## King Gong's Reign (A to D)



According to the chronology of Western Zhou reigns proposed by Edward Shaughnessy and accepted by most Western Sinologists during the last two decades, King Gong reigned from 917 to 900 B.C.<sup>28</sup> Earlier, David Nivison had proposed 922/920–904 as King Gong's dates.<sup>29</sup> The dates of the three inscriptions mentioning Yigong during the ninth through seventeenth years are compatible with a year-count starting either from 917 or 922 B.C.<sup>30</sup> However, the inscription on the *Zouma Xiu pan* 走馬休盤, dated to the twentieth year and also mentioning Yigong, suggests that King Gong reigned at least 20 years. The art-historical features of the *Xiu pan* as well as of a *gui*-tureen commissioned by the same person support their mid-Western Zhou date.<sup>31</sup> Considering this evidence, the Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project chaired by Li Xueqin 李學勤 suggested 922–900 B.C. as the dates for King Gong's reign.<sup>32</sup> The date of the *Zouma Xiu pan* is compatible with all other standard inscriptions of King Gong and they all fit the reconstructed calendar starting with 922 B.C. (cf. Appendix, Table 4.2). The newly discovered *Pengbo Cheng gui* also suggests that King Gong's reign lasted 23 years from 922 until 900 B.C.<sup>33</sup>

The year 900 B.C., regarded as the last year of King Gong also by Shaughnessy, is verified by the inscriptions on the *Shi Hu gui* 師虎簋 and *Hu gui* 魯簋, both dated to the first year of King Yih (899/897–873 B.C.). King Yih's year-count is, in its turn, verified by the “King's Servant's tureen,” *Wang Chen gui* 王臣簋, dated to 898 B.C. (see Appendix, Table 4.3). The latter vessel also bears an inscription mentioning Yigong and shares many art-historical features with the *Pengbo Cheng gui* (Figure 4.4E).

Given that Pengbo Cheng received a chariot from Yigong during the twenty-third year, i.e., the last year of King Gong (900 B.C.), the Peng tombs should date from roughly the first quarter of the ninth century B.C. Therefore, the following discussion concerning the situation of the Peng lineage and the relationships between the Zhou and non-Zhou lineages is particularly relevant for the late tenth to the early ninth centuries B.C.

### Peng Pottery and Connections to Peoples of the North

The tombs of Pengbo and Bi Ji contain typical objects used by the elites in rituals of ancestral worship throughout the Zhou cultural sphere. These include bronze vessels for cooking and serving meat and grain; for warming, pouring and drinking beer;<sup>34</sup> and for performing the hand-washing ritual. However, the pottery *san zu weng* with slightly squeezed globular bodies and three hollow legs, as well as the *da kou zun* with trumpet-shaped necks and very wide rims (see Figure 4.5), seldom occur in elite tombs of the Western Zhou period and have never before been found in a tomb in such large number. Their position at the top of the wooden rack inside the pit may also suggest that they were more highly valued than the bronzes placed on the lower shelves. The fact that such a prominent place was allotted to these pottery vessels in the tomb of Bi Ji may be related to the cultural self-identification of the Peng lineage.

Figure 4.5 Pottery Vessels from Hengbei M1

A. *Da kou zun*; B. *San zu weng*, after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao," figs. 15, 16.



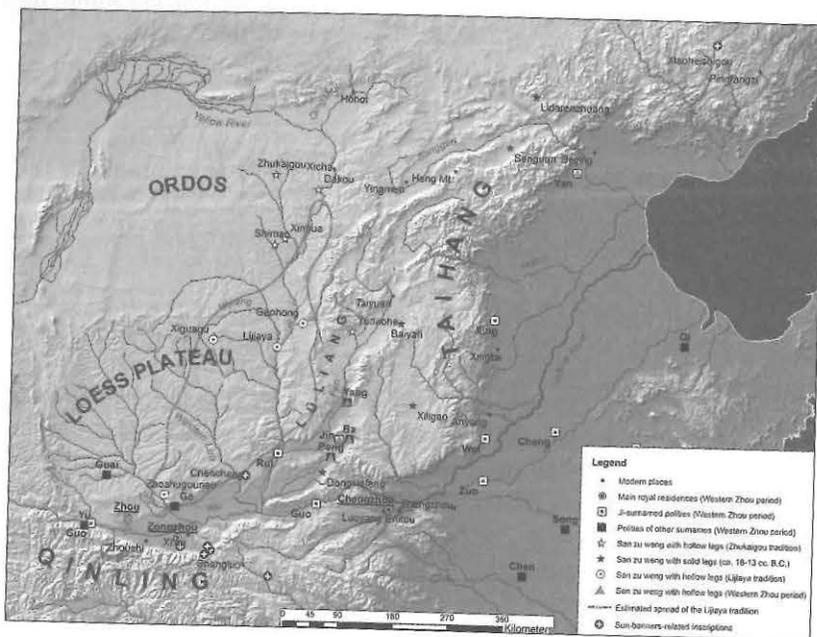
*San zu weng* have been found in a small number of middle-sized tombs in the Jin cemetery at Tianma-Qucun, normally one per tomb. As Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹 points out, the occupants of these tombs were all female (see Figure 4.6A, D, F, G).<sup>35</sup> One pottery and one bronze *san zu weng* have been discovered in the large tomb M113 at Tianma-Qucun, supposedly occupied by the spouse of the ruler of Jin buried in the adjacent tomb M114 (see Figure 4.6E). The latter two tombs represent the earliest burials of the Jin rulers discovered so far. The excavators date them to the transition between the early and middle Western Zhou periods, i.e., about mid-tenth century B.C.<sup>36</sup>

M113 also yielded another vessel, obviously foreign to the Zhou repertoire: a bronze double-handled jar (*shuang er guan* 雙耳罐). As Lothar von Falkenhausen comments:

since bronze specimens of these vessel types have never been found in the cultures where their ceramic prototypes originated, the two specimens from Tomb 113 were made at Jin foundries in imitation of ceramics the tomb occupant brought from her home.... Neither *san zu weng* nor *shuang'er guan* fulfilled a function that could not have been easily accomplished by established vessel types of the Zhou ceramic repertoire. This suggests that their significance in Zhou contexts was symbolic rather than utilitarian and increases the likelihood that they served to signify their possessors' ethnic origin.<sup>37</sup>

Another pottery *san zu weng* was found in tomb M92 at Tianma-Qucun, supposedly occupied by the spouse of Jin Hou Xifu 晉侯喜父 and dated to the late ninth century B.C. This time it was combined with a *da kou zun*. Both vessels were prominently placed outside the inner coffin on the left-hand side of the deceased woman, whereas all standard Zhou ritual bronze vessels were placed at the foot side of the coffin.<sup>38</sup> *Da kou zun* are also found in some other tombs of Jin rulers' spouses, but never in the rulers' tombs. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that not only *san zu weng* and *shuang er guan*, but also *da kou zun* fulfilled symbolic functions in burials of elite women married to the rulers of Jin and Peng.<sup>39</sup>

Map 4.2 Archaeological Sites, Western Zhou Polities and Finds of Inscribed Bronzes

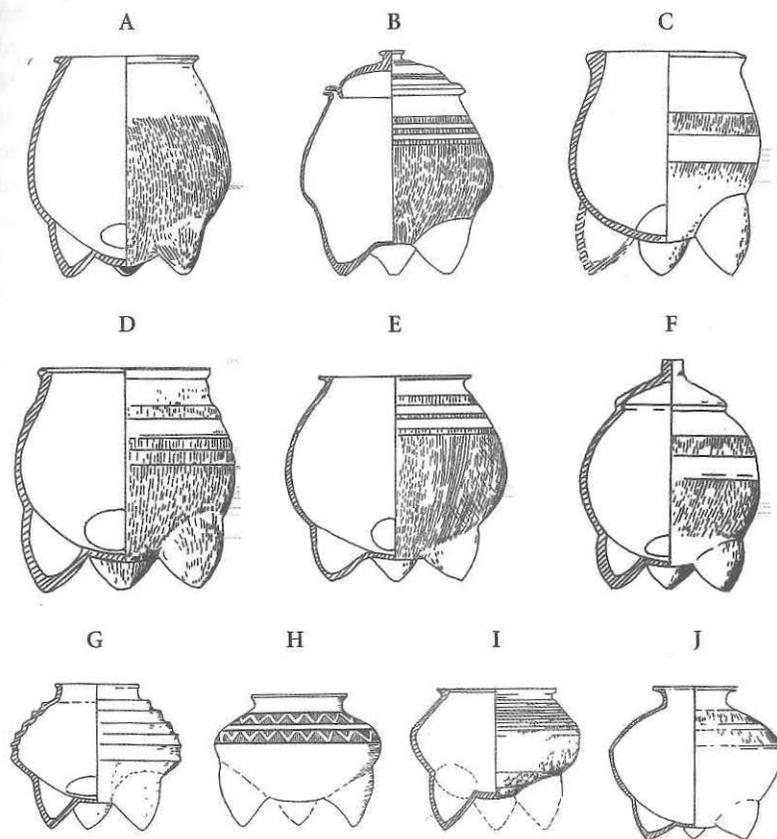


Apart from the Tianma-Qucun and Hengbei cemeteries, pottery *san zu weng* have sometimes appeared in elite tombs of the Western Zhou period in other places (see Map 4.2). One *san zu weng* with a lid has been found in the early Western Zhou tomb M54 of the Yan 燕 cemetery at Liulihe 琉璃河 near Beijing (Figure 4.6B). The tomb was furnished with a wooden burial chamber and one coffin, and included two human victims. Burial goods included pieces of a chariot, bronze and pottery vessels, jade and stone ornaments. The rich burial goods point to the high status of the deceased. The skeleton of the main occupant of the tomb had decayed and the sex could not be identified anthropologically. The absence of weapons in contrast to the adjacent tombs and a large number of personal ornaments suggest that this could be a woman.<sup>40</sup>

Figure 4.6 Three-Legged *Weng* in Western Zhou Tombs

A. Tianma-Qucun tomb M6136, Phase I, EWZ; B. Liulihe tomb M54, Phase I, EWZ; C. Yongningpu tomb NDM14, EWZ; D, E. Tianma-Qucun tombs M6049 and M113, Phase II, early MWZ; F. Tianma-Qucun tomb M7093, Phase III, MWZ; G. Tianma-Qucun tomb M7113, Phase IV, MWZ (King Gong's reign); H.

Hengbei M1, MWZ (King Gong's reign); I. Qijiacun H90 (supposedly originally M33), late MWZ; J. Tianma-Qucun tomb M92, LWZ (mid-ninth century B.C.). A, D, F, G after cf. Zou Heng 鄒衡, ed., *Tianma-Qucun: 1980–1989* 天馬一曲村: 1980–1989, 4 vols. (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000), vol. 1, fig. 498; B after Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo, "Liulihe Yan guo mudi," fig. 69: 8; C after Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui and Hongtong xian wenwu ju, "Shanxi Hongtong Yongningpu Xi Zhou muzang" 山西洪洞永凝堡西周墓葬, *Kaogu* 考古 1987.2: 1–16, fig. 16; E after Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di liu ci fajue," fig. 33; H after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao," fig. 16; I after Zhouyuan kaogu gongzuodui, "2002 nian Zhouyuan yizhi (Qijiacun) fajue jianbao" 2002年周原遺址(齊家村)發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2003.4: 3–9, fig. 4; J after Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di wu ci fajue," fig. 12.



One other *san zu weng* has been found in the early Zhou tomb NDM14 at Yongningpu 永凝堡 in Hongtong 洪洞 county, Shanxi (Figure 4.6C).<sup>41</sup> The excavators suppose that this cemetery belonged to the Ji\* 姬-surnamed Yang 楊 lineage that traditional sources locate in the Hongtong area.<sup>42</sup> Pottery and bronze vessels from Yongningpu mostly correspond to Zhou standards, though some tombs contain certain unusual objects. Tomb NDM14 had a burial chamber with one coffin and included pieces of a chariot, bronze and pottery vessels, and agate, stone and bone ornaments, suggesting the person buried in it—identified as a female on the basis of bone analysis—was of an elevated status. Another contemporary, robbed tomb included one *da kou zun* (Figure 4.7:25).<sup>43</sup>

*San zu weng* occasionally appear also in tombs on the Zhou Plain 周原 of Shaanxi province where the main Zhou royal residences, Zhou 周 on the Zhou Plain and Zongzhou 宗周 in Feng 豐 River valley, were located.<sup>44</sup> They have been found in three mid-Western Zhou tombs in the Zhangjiapo 張家坡 cemetery associated with Zongzhou, in one of which a *san zu weng* appears in combination with a *da kou zun*.<sup>45</sup> One three-legged jar was found together with one pottery *shuang er guan* at Qijiacun 齊家村 in Fufeng 扶風 county, i.e. on the Zhou Plain (Figure 4.6I). These vessels originally belonged to the relatively large middle-sized tomb M33, dated to the later part of the middle Western Zhou period, but destroyed and robbed during the late Western Zhou period.<sup>46</sup> The skeleton of the deceased was not preserved, so identification of its sex is not possible. But in the late Western Zhou tomb in the Zhuangli 莊李 cemetery in Fufeng county that yielded another *san zu weng*, the deceased has been identified as a female by anthropological analysis.<sup>47</sup> This case confirms that in the Zhou metropolitan region, *san zu weng* also appear in tombs of females.

Although *san zu weng* have been found in many different places located at great distances from one another, they share common features and display similar changes over time (see Figure 4.6). All of them have hollow legs set wide apart from each other. Earlier specimens have nearly globular bodies without a neck and with a relatively wide rim, whereas mid- to late Western Zhou *san zu weng* are slightly squeezed, have a short neck, and a comparatively narrow rim. The vessels are often decorated with horizontal relief ribbons, or with ribbons composed of triangles. Either the whole ribbons, or only the triangles, are usually filled with parallel vertical lines incised into the clay before burning.

In sum, in cemeteries of Zhou lineages, *san zu weng* represent rare and exotic elements in comparison to the standard local repertoire of ritual

vessels. Usually, they appear in tombs of women of high status. Considering the similarities in appearance of the *san zu weng* found in different places in tombs of females and the fact that they were not typical for the tombs of the local population nor found in the local settlement deposits, it is likely that women buried with *san zu weng* were migrants who belonged to mutually related cultural groups. The fact that such objects appear only in large, i.e., elite, tombs suggests that these women were not slaves captured during wars against aliens, but enjoyed a high status in the receiving societies, which, certainly, derived from their status in the societies of origin. Their presence can only be explained by marriage to elite Zhou men. This means that during the early and middle Western Zhou period both Zhou colonists and members of the metropolitan elite concluded marital alliances with these women's native groups. In the tombs of the female non-Zhou migrants, *san zu weng* plausibly played a symbolic role, emphasizing the owner's cultural identity, as suggested by Falkenhausen. But where did these women come from?

Falkenhausen further mentions that both *shuang er guan* and *san zu weng*

were established among the farmers and pastoralists, both sedentary, who flourished in the transitional zone between the agricultural core of China and the Central Eurasian steppes (Shaanxi, Southern Inner Mongolia, and northern Shanxi). The archaeological cultures associated with these populations go back to the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age—many centuries before any part of this area came under the control of polities governed by lineages of the Ji clan, and before any indications of urban civilization, an aristocratic rank order, or ancestral ritual ever became locally manifest.<sup>48</sup>

This observation calls forth further questions. Did the women buried with *san zu weng* during the Western Zhou period come from societies residing far in the north? Why were Zhou colonists interested in entering into marital alliances with them? And why do such objects appear in the tomb of Pengbo Cheng's spouse, who was not a non-Zhou woman, but a daughter of a noble Ji-surnamed lineage?

Chinese archaeologists trace the origin of the pottery *san zu weng* with hollow legs to the Zhukaigou 朱開溝 pottery tradition, named after the Zhukaigou settlement on the Ordos Plateau in Ejin Horo 伊金霍洛 banner, Ikh Juu 伊克昭 League of Inner Mongolia (see Map 4.2).<sup>49</sup> Zhukaigou was a residential center with an area of about 50 ha occupied since ca. 2000 B.C. and abandoned ca. 1250 B.C., probably because of the aridization of Ordos.<sup>50</sup> During this long period, the Central Plains of

China saw the rise and decline of the Erlitou 二里頭 tradition (ca. 1850–1600 B.C.), followed by the rise of the Shang civilization from the Erligang 二里岡 period in Zhengzhou 鄭州 to Phase 2 of YinXu 殷墟 period in Anyang 安陽 (up to ca. 1200 B.C.).<sup>51</sup> Zhukaigou's inhabitants led sedentary lives and combined agriculture with animal husbandry. Since about the eighteenth century B.C., they cast bronze weapons, tools and ornaments. About the mid-second millennium B.C., the pottery tradition associated with Zhukaigou dominated the Ordos Plateau, southern Inner Mongolia outside the bend of the Yellow River, and the northern parts of Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces. The finds of one Erligang-type bronze caldron and some dagger-axes witness about contacts between Zhukaigou and the early Shang.<sup>52</sup>

The Zhukaigou potters created a considerable variety of *san zu weng*, including egg-shaped, nearly globular forms, as well as specimens characterized by a straighter narrowing body. All of them had hollow legs (see Figure 4.7A). They were used as objects of utility and as coffins for infants' burials. *Da kou zun* also belonged to the Zhukaigou standard ceramic repertoire, whereas *shuang er guan* often appear in tombs (see Figure 4.7:1–6).

Zhukaigou pottery types, including the *san zu weng*, appear in various places. About 70 km southward, pottery vessels of all these three types were found on the Shimao 石峁 and Xinhua 新華 sites in Shenmu 神木 county, Shaanxi province (see Figure 4.7:7–12).<sup>53</sup> In 2012, excavations in Shimao have revealed two rings of city walls constructed of piled stones, enclosing an area of ca. 4 km<sup>2</sup>. Although radiocarbon dates are not yet available, excavators suppose that the construction of the walls began ca. 2000 B.C.<sup>54</sup> This discovery of the so far largest known walled city of the Chinese early Bronze Age, preceding Erlitou, but contemporary with the early phase of Zhukaigou, is about to change our understanding of the cultural and political relationships of that epoch.<sup>55</sup> Plausibly, the prominence of Shimao may explain why the Zhukaigou pottery tradition spread along and across the Yellow River. Nearly identical and, very likely, contemporary *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* were found in Dakou 大口 on the western bank of the Yellow River near Hequ 河曲 in southern Inner Mongolia,<sup>56</sup> and Yudaohé 峪道河 in Fenyang 汾陽 county on the southeastern foot of the Lüliang Mountains 呂梁山 in Shanxi (see Map 4.2 and Figure 4.7:14, 16).<sup>57</sup> Further south, egg-shaped *san zu weng* were adopted and adapted to the local taste in the Dongxiafeng 東下馮 pottery tradition (or the Dongxiafeng variant of the Erlitou tradition) spreading along the

middle course of the Sushui River and the lower course of the Fen 汾 River during ca. 1800 to 1500 B.C. (see Figure 4.7:13, 15). The Dongxiafeng tradition was present along the upper course of the Sushui River during ca. 1600–1500 B.C.<sup>58</sup> This was the area where the Peng lineage resided during the Western Zhou period.

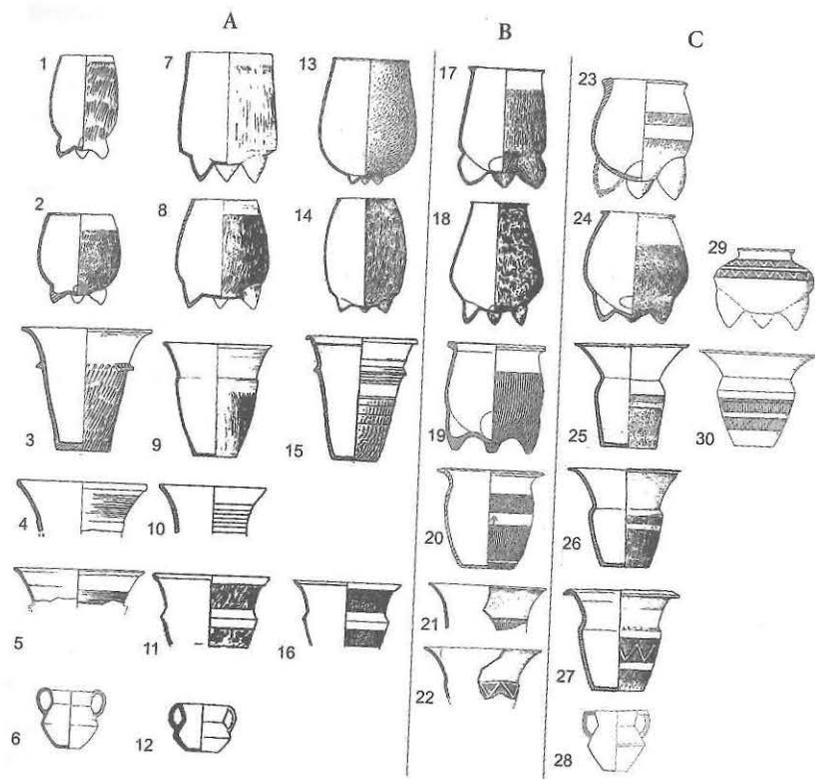
The chronological gap between these early Bronze Age cultures and those who could see *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* as symbols of their cultural identity on the edge of the tenth and ninth century B.C. is clearly too big to suppose a direct connection between them. Who transmitted the Zhukaigou tradition to posterity and where did they reside?

Although some scholars have suggested that, in particular, *san zu weng* could pertain as a local pottery type adopted in the Sushui valley since the Erlitou period, this is unlikely.<sup>59</sup> First, the Dongxiafeng potters modified the Zhukaigou egg-shaped prototype of the *san zu weng*, replacing hollow legs with solid ones or making egg-shaped jars with a flat bottom.<sup>60</sup> They did not adopt the nearly globular variant of *san zu weng* that could be compared with the specimens from the Jin and Peng tombs.

#### Figure 4.7 Northern Pottery Forms and Their Southwestern Shanxi Counterparts

A. Zhukaigou-Erlitou period: 1–6: Zhukaigou; 7–12: Shenmu Shimao; 13, 15: Dongxiafeng; 14, 16: Yudaohé. B. Shang YinXu period: 17: Lijiaya; 18: Xiguaqu; 19–20: Zaoshugou; 21–22: Gaohong. C. Western Zhou period: 23, 25: Yongningpu; 24, 26–28: Tianma-Qucun; 29–30: Hengbei M1. 1–6 after Neimenggu zizhi qu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Eerduosi bowuguan, *Zhukaigou*, pp. 101, 114, 142; 7–12 after Yan Hongdong, “Shenmu Shimao yizhi taoqi fenxi,” figs. 1–3; 13, 15 after Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Xiaxian Dongxiafeng*, figs. 31, 179; 14, 16 after Wang Kelin and Hai Jindong, “Shanxi Fenyang xian Yudaohé yizhi diaocha,” fig. 4; 17 after Zhang Yingwen 張映文 and Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Shaanxi Qingjian xian Lijiaya gucheng zhi fajue jianbao” 陝西清澗縣李家崖古城址發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1988.1: 47–56, fig. 7; 18 after Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Shaanxi Ansai xian Xiguaqucun yizhi shijue jianbao” 陝西安塞縣西瓜渠村遺址試掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 2007.2: 10–17, fig. 4; 19 after Xibei daxue Wenhua yichan kaogu yanjiu zhongxin et al., “Shaanxi Chunhua xian Zaoshugou yizhi xian Zhou shiqi yicun” 陝西淳化縣棗樹溝遺址先周時期遺存, *Kaogu* 考古 2012.3: 20–34, fig. 11; 20 after Xibei daxue Wenhua yichan kaogu yanjiu zhongxin et al., “Shaanxi Chunhua xian Zaoshugou yizhi 2007 nian fajue jianbao” 陝西淳化縣棗樹溝遺址2007年發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 2013.2: 55–66, fig. 12; 21–22 after Jinzhong kaogudui,

“Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha” 山西婁煩、離石、柳林三縣考古調查, *Wenwu* 文物 1989.4: 31–39, fig. 12; 23, 25 after Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui and Hongtong xian wenwu ju, “Shanxi Hongtong Yongningpu Xi Zhou muzang,” fig. 16; 24, 26–28 after Xie Yaoting, “Jinnan diqu Xi Zhou mucang yanjiu,” pp. 374–75; 29–30 after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao,” p. 11, figs. 15, 16, redrawn by the author of the present article.



Second, about 1500–1300 B.C., Dongxiafeng and related settlements were either taken over by bearers of the Erligang, e.g., early Shang tradition, or abandoned.<sup>61</sup> After ca. 1300 B.C., southwestern Shanxi became largely depopulated due to climatic changes, warfare, and other reasons.<sup>62</sup> Somewhat later, some people associated with the Baiyan 白燕 pottery tradition spread from the middle course of the Fen River to the area of Linfen 臨汾. Although egg-shaped *san zu weng* with solid legs appear on

some Baiyan sites, they did not belong to the main vessel types of this tradition.<sup>63</sup> Hence, there was no direct continuity between Dongxiafeng *san zu weng* and the *san zu weng* from the Jin or Peng tombs, nor was there any relationship between the populations that inhabited the Sushui River valley during ca. 1800–1500 B.C. and during the Western Zhou period. At the end of the second millennium B.C., *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* were no longer present in the pottery repertoire of the southwestern Shaanxi.<sup>64</sup> However, these vessel types were maintained and developed in some places further to the north along the Yellow River.

Among the sites of the late Shang period, hollow-legged *san zu weng* have been witnessed on the Lijiaya 李家崖 settlement in Qingjian 清澗 county, Shaanxi province (see Figure 4.7:17). Situated in the valley of the Wuding 無定 River about 5 km to the west of the Yellow River's bank, Lijiaya represented a small walled fortress with a palace- or temple-like structure on a rammed-earth platform in the middle. It was occupied from ca. 1200 B.C. until the mid-Western Zhou period.<sup>65</sup> Both Lijiaya wall-construction technique and pottery tradition developed against the Zhukaigou-Shimao cultural background. Pottery, also deriving from the Zhukaigou tradition and related with Lijiaya, has also been found in Xiguaqu 西瓜渠 in Ansai 安塞 county located ca. 100 km westward in the upper flow of the western Luo 洛 River and dated to the ca. twelfth to eleventh centuries B.C. (see Figure 4.7:18). Hollow-legged *san zu weng* were also found on this settlement.<sup>66</sup> Further south, the influence of the Zhukaigou tradition, as well as relationships to both Lijiaya and Xiguaqu, are visible in the forms and decorations of vessels from the recently excavated Zaoshugounao 棗樹溝腦 settlement in Jing 涇 River valley in Chunhua 淳化 county, Shaanxi province, continuously occupied during ca. 1200–800 B.C. *San zu weng*, verifiably produced in the Zaoshugounao kilns, were increasingly popular during the ca. twelfth to eleventh centuries B.C. The local repertoire also included several forms of the *da kou zun* (see Figure 4.7:19–20). Notably, local inhabitants often buried the dead with their heads pointing west or east. At the same time, they were also closely related to the proto-Zhou groups that settled along the Jing River.<sup>67</sup> Living side by side, they quite certainly intermarried. The presence of *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* in tombs in Zhangjiapo, Qijiacun and other places in the Zhou metropolitan region may be explained by the long established relationships between the Zhou and some population groups that probably incorporated migrants from further north, but resided along the Jing and western Luo rivers already during the twelfth to eleventh centuries B.C.

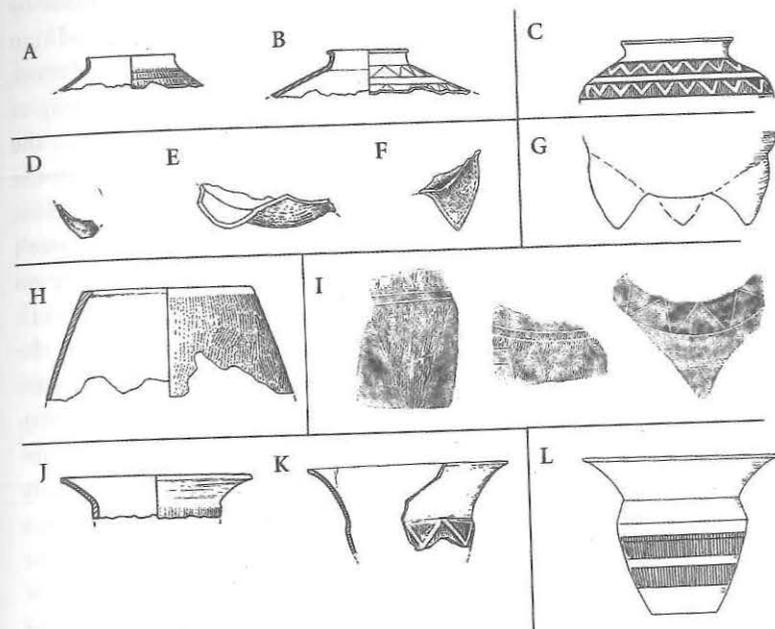
Qingjian and Chunhua counties of Shaanxi belong at the same time to the area where a particular burial tradition was maintained since ca. 1200 B.C. (see Map 4.2). It has been witnessed on about 30 sites on both sides of the Yellow River, also including Suide 綏德, Yanchang 延長 and Ganquan 甘泉 counties in Shaanxi and Shilou 石樓, Baode 保德, Yonghe 永和, Liulin 柳林 and Jixian 吉縣 counties in Shanxi province. It is manifested in elite tombs, found individually or in small groups, and containing bronze weapons and tools as main burial goods. These weapons and tools display features typical of the Steppe cultures of Outer Mongolia, the Lake Baikal area and southern Siberia, thus suggesting that the societies that buried their dead with such objects interacted with peoples of the north. Some of these tombs also contain bronze ritual vessels imported from Shang or made according to Shang models, thus attesting also to contacts with inhabitants of the Central Plains. After the discovery of the Lijiaya settlement, some scholars suggest understanding this burial tradition as a part of the “Lijiaya culture” (Lijiaya *wenhua* 李家崖文化).<sup>68</sup>

On the eastern side of the Yellow River, a related site has been discovered about 60 km to the northeast of Lijiaya in Gaohong 高紅. The Gaohong settlement was situated atop a steep cliff inside a bend of the Sanchuan 三川 (Qinglong 青龍) River in the southern part of the Lüliang Mountains in Liulin county, Shanxi province.<sup>69</sup> On the site, about 20 rammed-earth structures of various sizes were identified in 2004. Archaeologists suggest that Gaohong was an important economical and political center during Phase 2–3 of Yinxu (i.e. up to ca. 1100 B.C.), but that its significance decreased toward ca. mid-eleventh century B.C.<sup>70</sup> However, the burial of a warrior, containing a bronze helmet and various northern weapons, discovered in Gaohong several decades earlier and dated by its excavators to Phase 4 of Yinxu (ca. 1100–1040 B.C.), suggests that this site retained its significance even longer.<sup>71</sup>

Pottery pieces from Gaohong published up to now include upper parts of slightly squeezed globular jars with narrow rims (Figure 4.8A–B). The bottoms of these jars were lost, but pocket-legs found on the same site witness the presence of hollow-legged *san zu weng* (Figure 4.8D–F). Also, large egg-shaped *weng* were present there (Figure 4.8H). The ornaments include horizontal ribbons filled with parallel vertical lines or composed of triangles (Figure 4.8I). In addition, trumpet-mouthed *da kou zun* that can be compared to the specimen from Hengbei tomb M1 are also witnessed in Gaohong (Figure 4.8K).

Figure 4.8 Gaohong Pottery in Comparison to Hengbei Vessels

*San zu weng* upper body and neck: A, B. Gaohong; C. Hengbei. *San zu weng* lower body and feet: D–F. Gaohong; G. Hengbei. H. Egg-shaped *weng*, Gaohong. I. Pottery ornaments, Gaohong. *Da kou zun*: J, K. Gaohong; L. Hengbei. A, B, D–F, H–J after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi shijue jianbao,” figs. 3, 7, 9, 10; K after Jinzhong kaogudui, “Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha,” fig. 12; C, G, L after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao,” p. 11, figs. 15, 16, redrawn by the author of the present article.



The shapes and ornaments of the Gaohong pottery display striking similarities with the objects discovered in tomb M1 at Hengbei.<sup>72</sup> Importantly, the pottery sherds with distinctive Gaohong features have been collected not in tombs, but in the settlement deposits. This indicates that the respective objects were used in daily life and were typical of this place.

Based on the similarities between the Gaohong pottery and the objects from tomb M1 at Hengbei, it can be suggested that the inhabitants of Gaohong and the Peng lineage shared the same cultural tradition. Still, a question remains whether these population groups lived during the same time or were separated by a chronological gap.

In general, the dating of the Lijiaya sites is a problem that has not yet been definitively resolved. Apart from the two settlements mentioned above, Lijiaya and Gaohong, all other sites represent tombs, which do not contain pottery vessels that archaeologists normally use for dating. Some archaeologists distinguish between Lijiaya burials with and without Shang bronzes as Shilou and Baode variants (Shilou *leixing* 石樓類型, Baode *leixing* 保德類型) of the Lijiaya culture respectively.<sup>73</sup> The tombs of the Shilou variant are usually dated to the Shang period based on the shapes of Shang ritual vessels. This is reasonable, but not necessarily very reliable. Not all vessels were imported from Shang, but were sometimes made by local artisans after Shang models. Their maintenance of Shang tradition could have continued after the fall of the Shang kingdom. In the absence of better dateable ritual bronze vessels from the Central Plains, dating of the tombs of the Baode variant is even more problematic. In so far as the northern bronzes found in these tombs are similar to those found in the tombs of the Shilou variant containing Shang vessels, the Baode variant tombs are usually also dated to the Shang period. This is how the warrior's burial in Gaohong, containing only weapons, has been dated.<sup>74</sup> Since no tombs combining northern bronzes and Zhou ritual vessels have been found in Shaanxi or Shanxi, it appears that after the end of Shang the Lijiaya culture disappeared without any apparent reason. Some authors acknowledge that it is difficult to understand its sudden eclipse.<sup>75</sup>

After the Zhou conquest of the Shang, the Jin principality was established along the lower course of the Fen River, but during the early Western Zhou period it controlled a rather limited territory.<sup>76</sup> This has become gradually evident during the last decade, especially after the discovery of the Hengbei cemetery and, more recently, the Dahekou 大河口 cemetery of the Ba 霸 polity near Yicheng 翼城, ca. 30 km to the east of Tianma-Qucun.<sup>77</sup> Bronze objects from several Dahekou tombs, published so far, suggest that Ba emerged in this location not later than Jin was founded.<sup>78</sup> Also the data from the Hengbei cemetery reveal that Peng lineage resided in this area since the early Western Zhou period.<sup>79</sup> The absence of finds that can be dated to yet earlier periods indicates that, similarly to the Jin colonists, Ba and Peng migrated to these places from somewhere else. The references to the Lijiaya tradition in Peng tombs allow to suppose that this polity could be founded by people who migrated from some places located ca. 100–200 km to the north of the Yellow River valley.

Investigations into the material culture of the northern zone,

intensified during the several past decades, call for revisions of the dating of some archaeological sites, including the burials of the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture.<sup>80</sup> In particular, the Gaohong bronzes possibly date from the Shang-Zhou transitional period or even up to the mid-Western Zhou period.<sup>81</sup> Hopefully, further archaeological investigations of the Gaohong settlement will determine this date.<sup>82</sup> If the early to mid-Western Zhou date is confirmed, from the chronological point of view, the inhabitants of Gaohong and other groups that shared the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture could then have been the source of the *san zu weng* that accompanied elite women in the cemetery of Jin.

Judging from the presence of rammed-earth foundations and elite burials with bronze weapons, Gaohong was home to a stratified society with war-like elites who were able to mobilize their people for large-scale construction work and for war. Although such non-Zhou polities as Gaohong might have been relatively small, they were able to attack the Zhou colonists residing in the valleys and to retreat rapidly back to the mountains. It was indeed better to have them as friends rather than as enemies, a consideration that might have motivated marital alliances between Zhou lineages and their non-Zhou neighbors. This might explain the presence of elite women from these societies in cemeteries of Zhou lineages. During the early Western Zhou period, these women might have come from such places as Gaohong or places located further to the south where other groups related to the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture resided. The Peng lineage that possibly moved further south and adopted many features of Zhou ritual culture also established marital relationships with the Jin elite, as well as with other Ji-surnamed lineages. Inscriptions corroborate that during the middle and late Western Zhou periods, Peng was one of the sources of women who married Jin men and even became spouses of Jin rulers. In particular, the spouse of Jin Hou Xifu, buried with large pottery *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* in tomb M92 at Tianma-Qucun, was a woman from Peng.<sup>83</sup>

If pottery related to a non-Zhou cultural tradition and found in elite female tombs in the cemeteries of Jin and other Zhou lineages emphasizes the cultural roots of its owners—women from non-Zhou polities—its function in the Hengbei tomb M1 must be different. Bi Ji, buried there, was a daughter of a renowned Ji-surnamed lineage from the Zhou metropolitan area. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the thirteen *san zu weng* and the three *da kou zun* were intentionally emphasized in the set of her funerary equipment. A tentative explanation can be provided for this case.

In tombs of foreign women in the cemeteries of Ji lineages the non-Zhou ritual objects always appear in combination with standard Zhou ritual vessels. If the former symbolized the cultural identity of their owners, the latter demonstrated the owners' role as members of their husbands' lineages and cultural communities. It was expected from a spouse to integrate into her husband's culture, whereas her original cultural affiliation was also handled with due respect. Although the Peng lineage adopted the Zhou ritual culture and imitated their Jin neighbors in many respects, some peculiarities in the tomb architecture and the extensive use of human sacrifice suggest that it was not yet fully assimilated, but behaved in its own distinct way. If the display of non-Zhou features was part of the self-representation of the Peng rulers, it stands to reason that the rulers' spouse would also be expected to respect Peng culture and to contribute to this display. This might have included adopting some specific details of costume or hairdressing, which cannot be witnessed archaeologically, or using some specific objects during the lifetime or in the afterlife, as we can now observe in tomb M1 at Hengbei. Thus, the *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* in Bi Ji's tomb possibly fulfill a symbolic function, pointing not to the origin of the buried woman, but to the non-Zhou cultural roots of the Peng lineage.

There is some counter evidence to this hypothesis: the absence of similar vessels in tomb M2, supposedly occupied by Pengbo Cheng. It would be logical to expect that the tomb of the ruler of Peng would yield even more idiosyncratic objects than the tomb of his spouse. This was apparently not the case, although this cannot be ruled out completely until all objects from his tomb are fully published. Other irregularities are also manifested in Pengbo Cheng's tomb. First, tomb M2 is slightly smaller and contains fewer ritual objects than M1 does. Most noteworthy, M1 included five bronze *ding* and five bronze *gui*, whereas M2 included only three bronze *ding* and one bronze *gui*. As the excavators note, it is unusual that the tomb of a wife was furnished more richly than that of her husband. However, in the Hengbei cemetery, bronzes were in general used unsystematically in various numbers, and sets of *ding* or *gui* vessels with identical decor and graded sizes were not used.<sup>84</sup> Second, the status of Pengbo Cheng or the economic situation in Peng might have changed in the years after the death of his wife. Although Pengbo Cheng offered her a very solemn funeral, it is possible that his descendants were not able to render him a higher honor or did not see any further need to display otherness.

### Onomastic Evidence for the Northern Roots of the Peng Lineage

As stated in the introduction above, the connections between the Peng lineage and northern non-Zhou peoples are also suggested by their surname. During the Western Zhou period, surnames were indicated only in designations of married females. Married women from Peng had to be buried in cemeteries of their husbands' lineages. For this reason, the surname of the Peng lineage does not appear in inscriptions from the Hengbei tombs. Nevertheless, it can be ascertained based on inscriptions found elsewhere:

棚仲乍畢媿贖鼎。其萬年寶用。

The Second-born of Peng makes the dowry tripod for Bi Kui/Gui. May she treasure and use it for ten thousand years!<sup>85</sup>

甯萬生乍成(歲)媿贖鼎。其子孫永寶用。

Peng X-sheng makes the dowry tripod for Cheng Kui/Gui. May her children and grandchildren eternally treasure and use it.<sup>86</sup>

Consisting of the phonetic *gui* and the "woman" determinative, the character 媿 is usually transliterated as "Kui." However, the "woman" determinative was not necessarily a stable part of characters used for surnames, but sometimes simply emphasized that the intended person was a woman.<sup>87</sup> This means that otherwise, the same surname could be written with a different determinative, or without a determinative, e.g., Kui 媿, 媿 or simply Gui 鬼.

The "Zheng yu" 鄭語 chapter of the *Guo yu* 國語 mentions in one passage, referring to the late ninth century B.C., the "Kui-surnamed Di" 媿翟 together with the polities located to the west of the eastern Zhou residence Chengzhou, including Jin, Yang, Yu 虞, Guo 虢, Rui 芮, and Wei 魏.<sup>88</sup> The latter six polities were located in southwestern Shanxi or in adjacent areas on the opposite side of the Yellow River. Judging by its geographical location, Peng could be one of the Kui/Gui-surnamed "Di," which is to say northern non-Zhou. The same text also lists several "northern states" including Lu 潞, Luo 洛, Quan 泉, Xu 徐, and Pu 蒲. According to the commentary by Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204–273), they belonged to the "Red Di" group, sharing the Kui surname (赤狄媿姓) and living in the Taihang Mountains 太行山.<sup>89</sup>

Wang Guowei was the first to argue that the Kui/Gui-surname derived from the ancient Guifang 鬼方 polity,<sup>90</sup> whose existence is witnessed

starting from the Shang period. According to received texts, Shang king Wu Ding 武丁, who ruled during the late thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C., led a war against the Guifang. It took Wu Ding three years to bring them to obedience.<sup>91</sup> Shang oracle bone inscriptions from Anyang also mention the Guifang. Although they do not contain records about military actions, they confirm that the relationship between the Shang and the Guifang was hostile.<sup>92</sup> Notably, the Gui appear in one inscription together with the Zhou. This may signify that these peoples were neighbors and allied with each other against the Shang.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, the small number of references to the Guifang in the oracle inscriptions shows that their contacts with the Shang were not regular. This suggests that they resided at a considerable distance from the Shang.

Reconstruction of the historical geography of the Shang period is very complicated in general, and the location of the Guifang in particular is problematic because of the scarcity of information. Various scholars accept Wang Guowei's assumption about the genetic relation between the Guifang and the Kui 隗-surnamed Red Di of the Spring and Autumn period as established fact. Accordingly, they locate the Guifang homeland in a variety of places in Shanxi.<sup>94</sup> The Warring States-period text *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 mentions two place names in connection with the Guifang of the Shang period. However, neither can be located with certainty. In particular, this text states that on his way to fight the Guifang, Wu Ding stopped at Jing 荆.<sup>95</sup> Liu Yunxing 劉運興 suggests reading this place name as Jing 井 and identifying it with the Jing Canyon 井陘 mentioned in some later texts and located in the northern part of the Taihang Mountain range in the vicinity of Heng 恒 Mountain, about 500 km from Wu Ding's capital at Anyang.<sup>96</sup> This location would place the Guifang very far to the north. On the other hand, the place name Jing 荆 can be related to Jingfang 井方, mentioned in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions.<sup>97</sup> During the Western Zhou period, the Ji-surnamed Xing 邢 state was founded on the Huabei 華北 Plain near present-day Xingtai 邢臺 in the southern part of Hebei province, only 125 km north of Anyang. Jing 荆 and Xing 邢 were both written with the phonetic *jing* 井 in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and both place names might be related to the Jingfang referred to in oracle bone inscriptions.<sup>98</sup> Besides, the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, found together with the *Zhushu jinian*, mentions Mount Xing 鉞 in the central part of the Taihang Mountains,<sup>99</sup> possibly not very far from Xing 邢.<sup>100</sup> Thus, Wu Ding's campaign might have been related to attempts by the Guifang to penetrate the Huabei Plain from the north or northwest, even

though their own location remains unclear.

The *Zhushu jinian* states further that during the thirty-fifth year of Shang king Wu Yi 武乙, i.e., in the early eleventh century B.C., the Zhou leader Ji Li 季歷 (the father of the future King Wen 文) fought the Gui-Rong peoples of Western Luo 西落鬼戎.<sup>101</sup> The *Hou Han shu* provides a longer quotation from the original *Zhushu jinian*:

周公季歷伐西落鬼戎，俘其二十翟王

The Duke of Zhou Ji Li fought the Gui-Rong of Western Luo, capturing twenty of their Di kings.<sup>102</sup>

The authors of this passage seem not to be certain whether Guifang were Rong or Di, or, as was common among early Chinese writers, simply did not differentiate between them. According to this text, the designation "Gui" referred to a group of small states ruled by kings, which could join together temporarily to attack the Shang and their allies or to defend themselves. The geographical information in this passage is just as ambiguous as in the previous entry. Some authors identify Western Luo with the Kui-surnamed Lu 潞 or Luo 洛 polity of the Spring and Autumn period, i.e., one of the "northern states" referred to in the "Zheng yu" as being located in the southern part of the Taihang Mountains. However, more plausibly, this toponym referred to the western Luo 洛 River, a northwestern tributary of the Yellow River in Shaanxi (see Map 4.2). Ji Li, who resided on the Zhou Plain, would have been more able to launch an expedition into the Luo River valley in Shaanxi than into the Taihang Mountains of Shanxi.

Some scholars link the Guifang to the archaeological Lijiaya culture, arguing that the latter was distributed in areas where the Guifang are supposed to have lived.<sup>103</sup> If Kui-surnamed lineages really did descend from the Guifang, the relation of the Kui-surnamed Peng lineage to the Lijiaya tradition posited above would support this linkage between the Guifang and the Lijiaya. Many Lijiaya sites were located in east central Shaanxi and could be accessed through the Luo River valley; this would be consistent with the information in the *Zhushu jinian*. Peoples on both sides of the Yellow River in Shaanxi and Shanxi who shared this tradition had contacts with the Shang. Besides, changes within assemblages of ritual bronze vessels in burials of the Shilou variant of the Lijiaya culture during the late Shang period can be explained by the influence of the predynastic Zhou culture: in earlier tombs, vessels for alcoholic beverages and *ding*-caldrons for meat offerings prevailed, as was customary with the Shang; however, by the late Shang period, the *ding* start to appear regularly in

combination with *gui*-tureens, as was customary with the Zhou.<sup>104</sup> The absence of ritual bronze vessels in tombs of the Baode variant of Lijiaya culture suggests that within this cultural community, certain groups were unwilling to accept Shang or, later, Zhou customs at all. The pattern of the relationships between the Shang, the Zhou and the Guifang, reflected in written sources, resembles that of the relationships between the Shang, the Zhou and the Lijiaya tradition, manifested in the material culture.

Another war between the Zhou and the Guifang took place during the Western Zhou period.<sup>105</sup> The campaign was directed by Yu 孟, the head of the Ji-surnamed Nangong 南公 lineage in the Zhou metropolitan area. The *Da Yu ding* 大孟鼎 inscription recorded the king's command to Yu:

王曰：「而，令汝孟型乃嗣祖南公！孟，迺紹夾死司戎，敏諫罰訟，夙夕召我一人烝四方，擊我其邁省先王受民受疆土！」

The king said: "Now [I] command you, Yu, to take as a model your ancestor Nangong! Yu, continue then thoroughly until death to supervise the Rong, diligently admonish [while applying] punishments [and judging upon] lawsuits, mornings and evenings summon me, the single man, to assist the four quarters, follow me to inspect the peoples and the border lands received by the former kings!"<sup>106</sup>

Yu was apparently entrusted to control some northern non-Zhou groups referred to in the inscription as Rong.<sup>107</sup> To support him, "four elders, governing the *bang*-polities" (*si bang si bo* 司邦四伯, possibly referring to heads of Zhou lineages) and "thirteen elders, alien governors of king's servants" (*yi si wang chen shiyousan bo* 夷司王臣十又三伯, possibly referring to heads of non-Zhou lineages who sided with the Zhou), as well as more than two thousand people controlled by these elders, had to be resettled from their lands and transferred under Yu's control as a "gift." The conflict with the Guifang could have resulted from Yu's activities related with his mission among the Rong. Yu commemorated his victory over the Guifang and its celebration in the Temple of Zhou with another inscribed bronze vessel: the *Xiao Yu ding* 小孟鼎. Yu and his fellow combatants brought back a rich booty: several thousand prisoners, more than one hundred war chariots, several hundred oxen, dozens of sheep and many horses.<sup>108</sup>

The inscription on the *Xiao Yu ding* suggests that the Guifang represented a large political entity and that this people raised horses and practiced cattle breeding. They were not nomads, since cattle are not suitable for mobile pastoralism, although they could be moved to summer

pastures. The Guifang way of life basically corresponds with that of the Lijiaya people, who resided in foothill settlements and bred horses, sheep, oxen and pigs. However, it is as yet unclear whether such small settlements as Lijiaya and Gaohong belonged to a larger overarching coalition, which could recruit so many armed men for a war against the Zhou. The *Xiao Yu ding* inscription further suggests that the Guifang possessed a developed technology permitting them to equip their troops with large numbers of chariots. Bronze shaft endings, bow-shaped implements for holding reins, tinkling bells for horses, and horses' figurines have been found in tombs associated with the Lijiaya tradition on both sides of the Yellow River.<sup>109</sup> These finds witness that the people associated with this tradition used chariots. The warrior's burial in Gaohong included a tinkling bell—probably a symbol of status and cultural affiliation, rather than an object that the deceased could use during his lifetime in Sanchuan valley, not very suitable for chariot-riding.<sup>110</sup> Unusual elements in the construction of the chariot in the tomb of Pengbo Cheng may be related to a technological tradition that developed parallel to these of the Shang and the Zhou.<sup>111</sup>

Possibly, after Yu's campaign the Guifang ceased to exist as an entity, since it is not mentioned any more in sources of any kind. Smaller groups, identifying themselves by surnames deriving from the name Gui, continued to live separately, arranging themselves with the Zhou. The Kui/Gui-surnamed Peng lineage could be one of them. The presence of early Western Zhou tombs in the Hengbei cemetery indicates that if Peng was related with the Guifang, it split from the common stock relatively early. Therefore, its foundation was not related with Yu's attack on Guifang.

The lineage name Peng represents another link connecting the polity at Hengbei with the peoples of the north. It is written in bronze inscriptions in two ways: with the determinative "hand" and with the determinative "roof":



These two characters might represent either graphic variants of the same name or branches of the Peng lineage that distinguished themselves by the graphic form of their name.

The Peng lineage designated in either one of these ways does not appear in early Chinese literature. Some scholars have suggested that the

Peng lineage was related to the Peng 鄆 polity mentioned in the *Mu Tianzi zhuan*.<sup>112</sup> The first chapter of this text provides an account of King Mu's 穆 journey from the eastern Zhou capital at Chengzhou to the north and northwest. According to it, King Mu first marched with his armies northward through the Taihang Mountains. Gaining the northern bank of the Hutuo 滹沱 River, he went farther north to the Quan Rong 犬戎 people. Then he turned west through the Jueyu 絕喻 Pass (identified with the Yanmen 雁門 Pass of the Han 漢 period) and reached the territory of the Peng people (*ren* 人) or Peng polity (*bang* 邦).<sup>113</sup> This Peng has been located near the southward bend of the Yellow River, i.e., in southern Inner Mongolia near Hohhot.<sup>114</sup> According to the *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, Peng belonged to the "River Clan" (*He zong* 河宗), which possibly underscores the close geographical relationship of this people to the Yellow River. Guo Pu 郭璞, commenting on this text, stated that there was a Peng state (*guo* 國) located between Yu 虞 and Rui 芮 in southwestern Shanxi. The latter Peng certainly corresponds to the Peng discovered now in Hengbei, but is there any evidence that it had any connections to the populations who inhabited the area near Hohhot during the early to mid-Western Zhou period?

In the area encompassed by the upper course of the Fen, Hutuo and Sanggan 桑乾 rivers in northern Shanxi and stretching northeast toward the valley of the Qingshui 清水 River, which empties into the Yellow River near the place where the latter turns south, the archaeological Xicha 西岔 culture spread about the same time when the Lijiaya tradition spread in northeastern Shaanxi and the Lüliang Mountains of Shanxi. The Xicha tradition also developed against the background of the Zhukaigou tradition that dominated these areas earlier, but differed from the Lijiaya tradition in many respects.<sup>115</sup> For instance, neither *san zu weng* nor *da kou zun* belong to the standard Xicha pottery types. Thus, it remains unclear whether the Peng lineage in Hengbei was somehow related to the Peng polity near Hohhot. Nevertheless, the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* might reflect the Peng lineage's memory of its northern origin and close relationship with the Yellow River, but its geography is not reliable.<sup>116</sup>

In sum, together with other Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages of southern and southwestern Shanxi, the Peng lineage belonged to the group of northern non-Zhou peoples classified by early Chinese authors as "Rong-Di" or simply "Di." It is not yet possible to verify whether all Kui-surnamed lineages, and Peng in particular, were descendants of the ancient Gui people of the Shang and Western Zhou periods. There is still

too little evidence to permit us to locate the Guifang of the Shang and early Western Zhou periods, and its connections with the Lijiaya culture remain hypothetical. On the other hand, the *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* in tomb M1 at Hengbei suggest a link between the Peng lineage and northern non-Zhou peoples residing in the Lüliang Mountains from the middle Shang to middle Zhou periods and currently associated by archaeologists with the Lijiaya culture. As did their predecessors—people who lived in Zhukaigou and related settlements—peoples associated with the Lijiaya culture were involved in exchanges both with peoples of the northern cultural zone and with contemporary polities of the Central Plains of China. They were organized in small, possibly lineage-based polities centered on fortified settlements in mountainous river valleys. Finds of pottery and bronze objects characteristic of these peoples in large, richly equipped tombs of females in cemeteries of Zhou lineages in Shanxi, Shaanxi and Hebei witness marital alliances concluded between the ruling elites of polities of Zhou and non-Zhou origin. Aimed at maintaining a status quo or even a more intensive cooperation, such alliances suggest that Zhou polities communicated with their non-Zhou peers at eye level and were vitally interested in their friendship. Peng was one such non-Zhou polity that was established in a depopulated area to the south of Jin during the early Western Zhou period and maintained autonomy from its Ji-surnamed neighbors by about 900 B.C.

### The Peng Lineage within the Zhou Political Network and the Activities of Yigong

By no later than the end of the reign of King Gong the Peng lineage had gradually become incorporated into the Zhou political and social network. The inscription on the *Pengzhong ding* quoted above was commissioned by a member of the Peng lineage for his daughter, who was married to a man from the Bi lineage. This was the native lineage of Bi Ji, who was buried in tomb M1 at Hengbei. Evidently, during the middle Western Zhou period, marital relationships between Bi and Peng were reciprocal. This is important for understanding the political standing of Peng. Weaker lineages often married out their daughters to stronger ones, thus displaying loyalty and seeking protection, without getting brides in exchange. By comparison, bilateral exchanges of women signify that lineages or principalities treated each other as equals.<sup>117</sup> The number of tombs containing bronze

vessels in the Hengbei cemetery suggests the considerable economic strength of Peng. Possibly, Peng owed its wealth to its proximity to copper ore deposits in the nearby Zhongtiao 中條 Mountains, to salt-production sites near Yuncheng 運城, or to its involvement in the horse trade.<sup>118</sup>

At about the same time as the marital alliance between the Bi and Peng lineages was concluded, Peng probably also became a marital partner of the Zhou royal house. A person who identified himself as Pengsheng 棚生 (棚) and used the emblem “Zhou” in his inscription was likely the son of a Peng woman married into the Zhou lineage. The inscription informs that Pengsheng exchanged horses for land with Gebo 格伯. Ge probably corresponded to Lu 路, another Kui/Gui-surnamed lineage in the Taihang Mountains.<sup>119</sup> Pengsheng’s connections to the Peng lineage via his mother could have helped him to trade with other lineages of the same surname. Judging by his extraordinarily beautiful tureens, Pengsheng accumulated considerable wealth.

Pengfu 棚父, another member of the Peng lineage, held the prestigious office of the manager of the king’s lineage *zai* 宰 at the court of King Gong, as is documented by the *Wang gui* 壘簋 inscription.<sup>120</sup> It is possible that Pengfu arranged marriages of women from other Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages with members of the metropolitan elites: in one hoard in Wugong 武功 county, Shaanxi, tureens constituting the dowry of a Kui/Gui-surnamed woman were found together with tureens commissioned by a certain Chu 楚—most likely that woman’s husband—who was introduced at a royal audience by Pengfu.<sup>121</sup> It may not be mere coincidence that Chu’s tureens look very similar to the tureen of Pengbo Cheng.<sup>122</sup> Perhaps the marriage between Pengbo Cheng and Bi Ji was also arranged by Pengfu.

The *Wang gui* inscription suggests that Pengfu maintained a close relationship with the Bi lineage, since he acted as the “right-hand attendant” *youzhe* 右者 for Wang 壘, who was appointed by the Zhou king to manage the Bi lineage:

唯王十又三年六月初吉戊戌，王在周康宮新宮。旦，王各大室，即位。宰棚父右壘入門，立中廷，北嚮。王呼史年冊命壘：死司畢王家，賜汝赤市、鑾。用事。壘拜稽首，對揚天子丕顯休。用作朕皇祖伯甲父寶簋，其萬年子子孫孫永寶用。

It was the thirteenth year, sixth month, first auspiciousness, *wuxu*. The king was in the new palace in the Kang Palace in Zhou. At dawn, the king entered the Great Chamber and assumed his position. The Superintendent Pengfu, accompanying Wang on the right-hand side, entered the Gate. [They] stood in the Middle Yard, facing north. The king ordered Secretary Nian to read aloud the written command to Wang: “Until your death manage the Bi royal family.

I bestow on you red kneepads [and] tinkling bells. Use them in service!” Wang bowed his head to the ground extolling in response the illustrious beneficence of the Son of Heaven. [I, Wang] use [this opportunity] to make a treasured tureen for my august ancestor Bo Xfu. May [my] children and grandchildren eternally treasure and use it for ten thousand years!<sup>123</sup>

The expression “Bi *wang jia*” 畢王家, the “Bi [branch of the] royal family” points to the especially close connection between the royal house and Bi lineage, and the privileged position of the latter compared to other metropolitan lineages.

The *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 lists Bi as one of the 16 lineages descending from King Wen.<sup>124</sup> Its founder Bi Gong Gao 畢公高 was a confidant of King Cheng 成 and King Kang 康.<sup>125</sup> In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, the heads of the Bi lineage were referred to as *gong* 公 (“Duke” or “Patriarch”).<sup>126</sup> According to Sima Qian, the Bi lineage later came to be demoted to the status of commoners for some unknown reason.<sup>127</sup>

The inscription on the late Western Zhou *Bi Xian gui* 畢鮮簋 tureen indicates that Yigong, who gave a chariot to Pengbo Cheng in 900 B.C., was probably a member of the Bi lineage:

畢鮮作皇祖益公尊簋，用祈眉壽魯休，鮮其萬年子子孫孫永寶用。

Xian of Bi makes this reverent tureen for his august ancestor Yigong. [He] will use it to pray for longevity and abundant grace. [May I], Xian, for ten thousand years [have] children and grandchildren to eternally treasure and use [this tureen]!<sup>128</sup>

As mentioned above, Yi 益 might be simply a posthumous title, such that the Yigong mentioned in this inscription was not necessarily the same person who used this name in his own lifetime during the reign of King Gong. However, if Yigong belonged to the Bi lineage, this would explain why a bronze vessel commemorating the donation of a chariot by Yigong to Pengbo was found in Bi Ji’s tomb. The gift would have been related to the marriage between Pengbo and Bi Ji, with Yigong being Pengbo’s father-in-law.

Traditional sources provide conflicting information about the location of Bi. Some locate it to the south of the Chang’an 長安 of the Han period, some to the north of Xianyang 咸陽, some thirty *li* west of Feng 豐, the royal residence during the Western Zhou period, while other texts state that it was very large and stretched along both sides of the Wei 渭 River.<sup>129</sup> Bronze inscriptions confirm that at least part of the Bi territory was to the south of present-day Xi’an 西安, the provincial capital of

Shaanxi. They also show that some descendants of Yigong lived in Zhouzhi 盩厔 county, i.e., to the west of Feng.<sup>130</sup> Possessions of the Bi lineage north of the Wei River have not yet been confirmed, but the activities of Yigong reached many distant places both in the south and in the north. A series of bronze inscriptions demonstrates that he played a crucial role in acquiring allies for the Zhou among foreign peoples. His meeting with Pengbo Cheng should be considered in the context of this political process.

According to the inscription on the *Guaibo gui* 乖伯簋, during the ninth year of King Gong's reign (914 B.C.) Yigong led a campaign against Mei'ao 眉敖.<sup>131</sup> Mei'ao was related to the Guai 乖 kingdom, the native polity of the vessel's commissioner. Guai was possibly located in the upper Jing River valley.<sup>132</sup> After Yigong's expedition, the ruler of Guai hastened to express loyalty to the Zhou king,<sup>133</sup> so that Yigong's success both increased the prestige of the Zhou king and also strengthened his own position in the Zhou governmental hierarchy.

In the twelfth year of King Gong's reign (911 B.C.), Yigong "received the mandate from the Son of Heaven" and transferred a part of his fields to his protégé *shi* ("Captain" or "Master") Yong 師永.<sup>134</sup> Yong's *yu* 盂 vessel was found in the southeastern part of Lantian 藍田 county near the foot of the Zhongnan 終南 Mountains. This is part of the Qinling 秦嶺 Range and is located about 180 km from the Zhou Plain, 60 km from Feng, and 40 km from the putative location of Bi near Xi'an. The fields given to Yong were located at Yinyang Luo 陰陽洛, understood to be the upper course of the southern Luo River in southern Shaanxi, in present-day Nanluo 南洛 county to the east of Shangluo 商洛 city.<sup>135</sup> This area south of the Qinling Range was on the way between the Zhou metropolitan area and regions inhabited by Huai Yi 淮夷 peoples. Therefore, it was strategically very important to Zhou. The place of the vessel's discovery suggests that Yong did not reside in the upper Luo valley permanently, but as a landowner he would have been motivated to participate in the defense of this area against attacks by alien peoples. Otherwise, he would not only have failed in his duties in the royal service, but at the same time would have lost his sources of income.

After this time, Yigong is often mentioned in inscriptions as the "right-hand attendant" (*youzhe*) accompanying other persons to royal audiences. Li Feng has shown correlations between the administrative responsibilities of various *youzhe*, usually high officials at the Zhou court,

and the occupations of those they introduced to the king. Li suggests that "Western Zhou officials were usually accompanied by people from the same administrative sectors of the central government."<sup>136</sup> Examples of some persons introduced to the Zhou king by Yigong point to the fact that the *youzhe* and the individuals they brought to royal audiences were not just associated with each other as representatives of the same branch of government, but were related to each other by kinship, or as neighbors or friends.

During the seventeenth year of King Gong's reign (906 B.C.), Yigong accompanied *shi* Xun 師旬 to a royal audience. Xun was appointed as general coordinator of activities of various military divisions, including the royal guard ("tiger-warriors" [*huchen* 虎臣]), foot soldiers, border watches, and many groups of non-Zhou peoples denominated as Yi 夷. The area under Xun's control stretched from central Shaanxi to the eastern royal residence Chengzhou in central Henan, separated from each other by about 400 km:

王若曰：「旬！不顯文、武受令。則乃且奠周邦。今余令汝管官、嗣邑人，先虎臣後庸：西門夷、秦夷、京夷、襄夷、師零側薪、□華夷、弁豸夷、甌人！成周走亞、戍：秦人、降人、服夷！易女玄衣黼屯、載市、冏、黃、戈珣戒、厚祕、彤沙、緄旂、攸勒。用事！」旬稽首、對揚天子休令。用作文且乙白同姬尊簋。旬萬年！子子孫孫永寶用！唯王十又七祀。王才射日宮。旦。王各。益公入右旬。

The King spoke as follows: "Xun! Illustrious [Kings] Wen [and] Wu received the Mandate. Hence, your ancestors stabilized the state of Zhou [on their orders]. Now I command you to assume the position as the root officer. Administer the people of the City, first [taking care of] the tiger-warriors, then of the ordinary [men]: aliens from Ximen, aliens from Qin, aliens from Jing, aliens from Chuo, faggotters of *shi* Ling, aliens from X-Hua, aliens from Bianzhi, [and] men of Yu. [In] Chengzhou, [administer] the foot soldiers [and] frontier guards: men of Qin, men of Jiang, [and] aliens [who perform] services [for Zhou]. [I] bestow on you a dark robe with embroidered border, black leather kneepads,<sup>137</sup> [a piece of] light clothing, a [jade] pendant, a halberd with a carved handle, a [weapon with a] handle wound with rope, cinnabar sand, a flag with tinkling bells, and [a horse] harness. Use them in service!"

Xun bowed his head, in response extolling the beneficent command of the Son of Heaven. [He] uses [this occasion] to make this sacrificial tureen for his cultivated ancestor Yibo and [Lady] Ji. May Xun for ten thousand years [have] sons and grandsons [to] eternally treasure and use [this vessel].

It was the seventeenth sacrificial year of the king. The king was in the Shooting-Sun-Palace (?). At dawn, the king entered. Yigong entered, [accompanying] Xun on his right-hand side.<sup>138</sup>

Shi Xun was a member of the Mi 弭 lineage residing at Sipo 寺坡 in present-day Lantian county.<sup>139</sup> This place was located about 150 km from the Zhouyuan, 35 km from Zongzhou, and 25 km from where the *Yongyu*, mentioned above, was discovered. This was a place from which it would have been possible to control various activities in the valleys of many rivers coming out of the Qinling Range, thus giving access to the Zhou core area from the south. The creation of such coordinating hubs on the periphery of metropolitan Zhou signified the establishment of a new decision-making level in the Zhou state. This increased the complexity and the effectiveness of the Zhou administrative structure and represented an important step in the development of Zhou statehood. Sipo was located only 10 to 15 km to the south of Bi. Hence, the Mi and Bi lineages were neighbors. If Yigong were a member of the Bi lineage, as I have suggested above, it seems likely that he would put his neighbor Xun in this commanding position, which defended both lineages, gradually making the area of present-day Xi'an a counterweight to the royal political center in the Zhouyuan.

The *Xun gui* records that Yigong engaged many non-Zhou peoples in the organization of the Zhou defense. However, the relationship between Zhou and these “aliens” remains unclear. A hint may be found in the example of the “King’s Servant” 王臣:

隹二年三月初吉庚寅。王各于大室。益公入右王臣。既立中廷北鄉。呼內史壽冊命王臣：易女朱黃（璜）、奉親（襯）、玄衣黼屯、繡旂五日、戈、畫戒、厚秘、彤沙。用事！王臣拜稽首。不敢顯天子對揚休。用乍朕文考易仲尊簋。王臣其永寶用。

It was the second year, the third month, first auspiciousness, *gengyin* (day 27). The King entered the Great Chamber. Yigong entered accompanying the King’s Servant on the right-hand side. [The King’s Servant] took [his] position in the central yard facing north. [The King] ordered the Internal Secretary Ao to read aloud the written command to the King’s Servant: “[I] award you with a crimson pendant, an ornate shirt, a black robe with embroidered hem, a banner with five suns, a bridle [for a chariot]; halberds: [one] with a carved handle, [one] with a handle wound with rope; cinnabar sand. Use them in service!” The King’s Servant bowed, touching his head to the ground, not daring to extol in response the illustrious beneficence of the Son of Heaven. [I, King’s Servant] use [this occasion] to make a reverent tureen for my deceased father Yizhong. May King’s Servant eternally treasure and use it!<sup>140</sup>

This audience took place during the second year of King Yih’s reign. Here again we see Yigong in the role of *youzhe*. The vessel, commissioned by the “King’s Servant,” was found in 1977 in a tomb in Chengcheng 澄城 county to the east of the northern Luo River in central Shaanxi. This place is located about 300 km from the Zhouyuan and about 180 km from Zongzhou in the Feng River valley. Apart from this inscribed tureen, the tomb included a broken caldron, four tinkle-bells and twelve bronze fishes.<sup>141</sup> To date, this has been the only find of Zhou material culture in the vicinity of Chengcheng. Thus, it is unlikely that this area was colonized and firmly controlled by the Zhou. Rather, the person referred to as “King’s Servant” was a local non-Zhou leader, one of the many “aliens” that Yigong and his trustees attempted to draw to their side.<sup>142</sup>

It is remarkable that, apart from this King’s Servant, very few other persons were given a banner with five suns during a royal audience. Possibly, this represented a special privilege. Recipients included [*shi*] Hu 虎, who was given an audience by King Mu during his thirtieth year (927 B.C.). The lid of an inscribed tureen of his was found in southeastern Shaanxi in the valley of the Dan 丹 River about 300 km from the Zhouyuan, 190 km from Zongzhou, and about 70 km to the south from the Yinyang Luo area where *shi* Yong 師永 was invested in 911 B.C.<sup>143</sup> Another recipient was *shi* Ji 師藉 of the Mi 弭 lineage, who served King Gong.<sup>144</sup> As did his other relatives, Ji guarded passes through the Qinling Range.<sup>145</sup>

Both Zhou and non-Zhou recipients of banners with five suns held the title *shi*. “*Shi*-lineages” (*shi shi* 師氏) resided in strategically important places and constituted the foundation of the Zhou military forces, including the so-called “eight western and six eastern *shi* 師.” Although *shi* 師 is usually translated into English as “garrisons” or “armies,” I find it highly improbable that in the absence of a developed taxation system the Zhou could have maintained standing armies consisting of recruits or even professional warriors financed by the king. The example of the Mi lineage shows quite clearly that the *shi*-units were lineage-based, but that these lineages were strongly controlled by the Zhou king and his agents, such as Yigong.

The most amazing find relating both to Yigong’s activities and to the policy of creating non-Zhou “Captaincies” was made in 1996 in Xiaoheshigou 小黑石溝 near Chifeng 赤峰 city in eastern Inner Mongolia. The rich tomb M9601 with a stone burial chamber has been identified with the Upper Xiajiadian 夏家店 culture. Although it was partially emptied by

robbers, still it yielded many bronzes of both northern Steppe and Zhou styles. The latter include a tureen, the *Shi Dao gui* 師道簋, with the following inscription:

唯二月初吉丁亥。王在康宮。各于大室。益公內右師道。即立中廷。王呼尹冊命師道：賜汝華朱亢，玄衣黼屯，戈：珣戚，厚秘；彤沙，旂五日，饗。道拜稽首，對揚天子丕顯休命。用作朕文考寶尊簋。余其萬年寶用享于朕文考辛公。用句得屯盃，亘命，霽冬。

It was the second month, the first auspiciousness, *dinghai* (day 24). The king was in the Kang Palace. [He] entered the Great Chamber. Yigong entered, accompanying *shi* Dao on the right-hand side. [*Shi* Dao] took [his] position in the central yard. The king ordered the Document-Maker to read aloud the written command to *shi* Dao: “[I] award you a large crimson pendant, a black robe with embroidered hem, [and] halberds: [one] with a carved handle, [one] with a handle wound with rope; cinnabar sand, a banner with five suns, and a bridle [for a chariot].” Dao bowed, touching his head to the ground, extolling in response the illustrious beneficent command of the Son of Heaven. [I, Dao,] use [this occasion] to make a treasured sacrificial tureen. During ten thousand years may I use it for offerings to my cultivated deceased father Xin Gong. [May it be] used for greatly obtaining pure harmony, everlasting command [and] a numinous end.<sup>146</sup>

Here again, Yigong acted as the *youzhe* at a royal audience during which he accompanied *shi* Dao. The latter received a set of objects identical to that of the “King’s Servant,” including the banner with five suns. The inscription indicates only the month and the day, but not the year of reign. Judging from both the appearance of the vessel and the date, it can be dated to the reign of King Yih (probably, 893 B.C.).<sup>147</sup>

Xiaoheishigou was located more than 1600 km from the Zhouyuan, where the king offered audience to *shi* Dao 師道. It is still hard to believe that local rulers personally attended the Zhou court, even if we know that rulers of Yan near present-day Beijing travelled almost 1200 km in order to visit the Zhou king in Zongzhou more than one hundred years earlier.<sup>148</sup> It should be taken into account that contacts between the Lower Xiajiadian tradition in the Chifeng area (ca. 2300–1600 B.C.) and the Central Plains had been established already during the early second millennium B.C.<sup>149</sup> Not just one but a number of tombs at Xiaoheishigou contained various bronze objects of Zhou style. The same tomb, M9601, also yielded a bronze helmet similar to one found in a tomb near the Gaohong settlement, considered above for its possible connection with the Peng lineage.<sup>150</sup> Moreover, an early Western Zhou tureen dedicated by Peng Mian 棚巧 to a

Grandmother Yi 義妣 was found in a hoard near Pingfangzi 平房子 in Liaoning province, a little more than 100 km to the southeast of Xiaoheishigou.<sup>151</sup> Thus, peoples in the northeast of present-day China maintained communication with peoples in Shanxi during the early and middle Western Zhou periods. The Peng lineage at Hengbei, located 440 km from the Zhouyuan, 330 km from Zongzhou, and about 300 km from Bi, was also involved in this process. The meeting between Yigong and Pengbo Cheng in 900 B.C. may have had a consequence that an envoy from further places went to the royal court in the hope of rich awards. There they would be given the title *shi* and sent back with a banner with five suns as a new representative of the Zhou king.

The examples of “King’s Servant” and *shi* Dao reflect attempts to establish loyal representatives beyond the territories colonized and effectively controlled by the Zhou during the reigns of Kings Gong and Yih, i.e., from the late tenth to the early ninth centuries B.C. The aim of this policy, especially in the case of *shi* Dao, would have been to demonstrate the authority of the Zhou king rather than to govern effectively.

In contrast to other non-Zhou lineages drawn by Yigong to the Zhou side, Peng rulers did not assume the title of *shi*. Although men and women from Peng rotated at the Zhou court and interacted with metropolitan lineages during the reign of King Gong, Peng rulers possibly did not volunteer to come to a royal audience and to accept insignia that would identify them as king’s servants. In the case of Peng, Yigong privately concluded an alliance with this non-Zhou lineage residing in a strategically and economically important place. This alliance was sealed not only by the gift of a chariot, but also by a marriage of Yigong’s daughter (or another female member of the Bi lineage) with Pengbo Cheng. In doing this, Yigong possibly acted not only in the interests of the Zhou king. Although his actions were doubtless sanctioned by the king, he aimed to strengthen his own position both internally and externally and to increase his own prestige. A similar policy of establishing marital connections with the non-Zhou can also be observed in other Ji-surnamed lineages, as this is reflected both in finds of idiosyncratic pottery or bronzes discussed in the previous part of this article and in bronze inscriptions from many places.<sup>152</sup>

The Peng lineage continued to exist until the early Spring and Autumn period and intermarried with Ji-surnamed lineages in the west and the east, including the Ji-surnamed Cheng 郕 lineage in Shandong. Hence, despite its origin among the “Rong-Di,” Peng and other

Kui-surnamed lineages became firmly integrated into the Zhou political and cultural spaces, which were gradually becoming more inclusive for non-Zhou lineages in general.

### Concluding Remarks

The discovery of the tombs of Peng, a polity forgotten by traditional Chinese historiography, sheds new light on a number of aspects of early Chinese history. A comparison of the bronze vessels from Hengbei with other mid-Western Zhou bronzes, especially those related to the person of Yigong, confirms that King Gong reigned 23 years from 922 to 900 B.C., as has been suggested by the Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project. This does not mean that the results of that project must be accepted in their entirety, but correcting the dates of King Gong is an important step toward reconstructing the chronology of the Western Zhou dynasty. Specifically, the date of the *Pengbo Cheng gui* (900 B.C.) is important for the analysis of the political relationships between the Zhou royal house, Ji-surnamed lineages, and lineages of non-Huaxia cultural background during the reigns of Kings Gong and Yih.

The *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* pottery vessels found in tomb M1 at Hengbei display strong relations with the pottery of the Lijiaya tradition evident in northeastern Shaanxi and central and northern Shanxi from the middle Shang until early to mid-Western Zhou periods. Both the Peng lineage and the bearers of the Lijiaya culture might also be related to the Gui people referred to in Shang oracle bone inscriptions, Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and Eastern Zhou traditional literature, but evidence for this relationship is fragmentary. From the viewpoint of early Chinese authors, both the ancient Gui people and the Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages residing in Shanxi during the Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn periods belonged to the “Rong-Di” or “Di” group of northern non-Zhou peoples. If such peoples were related to the Lijiaya tradition, deriving from the earlier Zhukaigou tradition, it is important to acknowledge that they were not radically “other,” as they are sometimes imagined. Similarly to the Shang and the Zhou, they cultivated land and raised animals, built similar houses, buried their dead in a similar way and were acquainted with the ritual culture of the Central Plains. Hence, at least in such places as the southwestern Shanxi, the Zhou colonization was taking place in what Chris Gosden defines as “shared cultural milieu.”<sup>153</sup>

After the Zhou conquest of Shang, Ji-surnamed Jin lineage colonized

the Fen River valley. The case of Peng shows that Kui-surnamed lineages also migrated to the southwestern Shanxi about the same time. The finds of idiosyncratic vessels in tombs of elite women in cemeteries of Jin and other Ji-surnamed lineages reveal that the Zhou colonists and their non-Zhou neighbors maintained peace by concluding marital alliances. The shapes of the pottery vessels in tomb M1 at Hengbei suggest that some non-Zhou lineages that mingled among the Zhou, adopting some customs of the Central Plains, maintained a memory of their northern cultural roots. By using the northern-style objects in burials, and possibly also during their lifetimes, rulers of non-Zhou polities tried to find their own way of representing themselves to various spectators, including their own subordinates, relatives by kinship and marriage, and, perhaps, their neighbors.

Inscriptions from tombs M1 and M2 at Hengbei provide important evidence to investigate the relations between the metropolitan Zhou and non-Zhou groups in various places. The discovery of the *Pengbo Cheng gui* as well as other recent finds of inscribed vessels sheds more light on the activities of Yigong who was one of the key political figures during the reigns of Kings Gong and Yih. Supposedly a member of the Ji-surnamed Bi lineage intimately related to the Zhou royal house, Yigong became prominent after his successful campaign against the non-Zhou Mei’ao polity in 914 B.C. Yigong’s success prompted some other non-Zhou rulers, such as Guaibo, to take sides with the Zhou king. During subsequent years, Yigong was responsible for installing a number of new outposts on both the northern and southern peripheries of the Zhou core area. He also brought newly recruited non-Zhou allies to audiences in the royal residence on the Zhou Plain. In the course of these audiences, these allies were given standardized garments and other insignia identifying them as Zhou beneficiaries. Some of them even assumed new designations, such as “King’s Servant,” thereby expressing their fidelity to the Zhou court. The discovery of the *Shi Dao gui* in eastern Inner Mongolia shows that some of the individuals sponsored by Yigong resided at a great distance from the Zhou centers.

Although in most cases Yigong acted as a representative of the king, the *Pengbo Cheng gui* demonstrates that he also forged private alliances with non-Zhou lineages. He offered gifts to the ruler of Peng and possibly arranged a marriage between him and his own daughter or another woman from the Bi lineage. At the time this happened, Peng was a wealthy autonomous polity. Judging by the size and burial equipment of the Peng

rulers' tombs, they attempted to imitate and to compete with the neighboring state of Jin.<sup>154</sup> Thus, they manifested behavior defined by Colin Renfrew as "competitive emulation," characteristic of what he calls "peer-polity interaction."<sup>155</sup> Although the absence of tombs with ramps in the Hengbei cemetery during the late Western Zhou period may suggest that Peng was losing in this competition, at the beginning of the ninth century B.C., its rulers considered themselves and were possibly considered by others as peers of Jin and other important lineages.

Peng was one of many non-Zhou lineages receiving favors from the king or from metropolitan Zhou elites and supporting Zhou rule in return. In view of the strategically favorable location of Peng as well as its connections with other Kui/Gui-surnamed non-Zhou lineages, Zhou kings undertook various measures in order to integrate the Peng lineage into their political network. Hence, sons of Peng women and some male members of the Peng lineage circulated within the Zhou court. Apparently, they arranged marriages between other Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages and representatives of the metropolitan elite. The bilateral exchange of women between Peng and the metropolitan Bi lineage was mutually advantageous. On the one hand, Peng strengthened its connections with the metropolitan Zhou elites, which also was relevant for Peng's relationships with its neighbor Jin. On the other hand, Bi benefited from getting allies among the wealthy non-Zhou, who were at the same time marital relatives of the Zhou royal house. By choosing marital allies among the non-Zhou, heads of Bi and other major Ji-surnamed lineages competed with each other for influence and prestige. In addition, as in the case of Yigong, they used their connections with the non-Zhou in their service for the Zhou court. In the end, the inclusion of the non-Zhou into the Zhou political and social spaces facilitated cultural exchange and the genesis of the Huaxia community. At the same time, it was also a source of much conflict on various levels of Zhou society, and made Zhou rule a dangerous balancing act.

## Appendix

Table 4.1 King Mu (r. 956–923 B.C.) Inscriptions from Years 20–34<sup>156</sup>

Yr	B.C.	Months												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
20	937	6	36	6	35	5	35	4	33	3	32	1	31	
21	936	1	31	60	30	59	29	58	28	57	27	56	26	
22	935	55	25	54	A 24	53	23	52	22	52	21	51	20	50
23	934	19	49	18	47	17	47	16	46	15	45	15	44	
24	933	14	43	13	42	11	41	10	40	B 9	39	9	39	8
25	932	38	7	37	6	35	5	34	C 4	33	3	33	2	
26	931	32	2	31	1	30	59	29	58	27	57	27	56	
27	930	26	56	D 26	55	25	54	23	53	22	51	21	50	20
28	929	50	20	50	19	49	18	47	17	46	15	45	14	
29	928	44	14	44	13	43	12	42	E 11	41	10	39	9	
30	927	38	8	38	F 7	37	7	36	6	35	5	34	4	33
31	926	2	32	1	31	1	30	60	30	59	29	58	28	
32	925	57	27	56	25	55	24	54	24	53	23	53	22	
33	924	52	21	51	20	49	19	48	18	47	17	47	16	46
34	923	16	45	15	44	13	G 43	12	41	11	41	10	40	

Vessels			Year	Month	Phase	Ganzhi	Day of Month
A	<i>Geng Ying ding</i>	庚嬴鼎	22	4	3	46	23
B	<i>Shi Lu gui</i>	師親簋	24	9	3	27	19
C	<i>Xiao Yu ding</i>	小孟鼎	25	8	3	21	18
D	<i>Qiu Wei gui</i>	裘衛簋	27	3	2	35	12
E	<i>Ban gui</i>	班簋	29	8	1	11	1
F	<i>Hu gui gai</i>	虎簋蓋	30	4	1	11	5
	<i>Zuoce Wu he</i>	作冊吳盃	30	4	2	19	13
G	<i>Xian gui</i>	鮮簋	34	5	3	55	13

Table 4.2 Calendar of King Gong (r. 922–900 B.C.)

Yr	B.C.	Months												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	922	10 <sup>157</sup>	40	A 9	39	8	37	7	36	5	35	4	34	4
2	921	34	4	33	3	32	1	31	60	29	59	28	58	
3	920	28	58	B 27	57	27	56	25	55	24	53	23	52	
4	919	22	52	21	51	21	50	20	49	19	48	17	47	16
5	918	C 46	16	55	15	55	14	44	13	43	12	42	11	
6	917	40	10	39	9	38	8	38	7	37	7	36	6	
7	916	36	6	35	5	34	3	33	2	32	D 1	31	1	30
8	915	60	30	59	29	E 58	27	57	26	56	25	55	F 24	
9	914	G 54	24	H 54	23	53	22	51	21	I 50	19	49	18	48
10	913	18	48	17	47	16	46	15	45	14	43	13	42	
11	912	12	41	11	41	10	39	9	38	7	37	6	36	
12	911	6	35	J 5	35	4	34	K 3	33	2	31	1	30	
13	910	60	30	60	29	59	L 28	58	27	57	26	55	25	54
14	909	24	53	23	53	22	52	22	51	21	50	19	49	
15	908	18	48	17	47	M 16	46	N 16	45	15	44	14	44	
16	907	13	42	12	41	11	40	10	39	O 9	39	8	38	8
17	906	37	7	36	5	35	4	33	3	33	2	32	2	
18	905	31	1	31	60	29	59	28	57	27	56	26	56	26
19	904	55	25	55	24	53	23	52	21	51	20	50	20	
20	903	P 49	19	49	19	48	17	47	16	45	15	44	14	43
21	902	13	43	13	42	12	41	11	40	9	39	8	38	
22	901	7	37	7	36	6	36	5	35	4	33	3	32	
23	900	Q 2	R 31	1	S 30	60	30	59	29	58	28	57	27	56

	Vessels	Year	Month	Phase	Ganzhi	Day	Persons Mentioned							
							益公	井伯	榮伯	定伯	伯俗父			
A	<i>Shi Xun gui</i>	師匍簋	1	2	3	27	21			x				
	<i>Dou Bi gui</i> (?)	豆閉簋	2	2	15	7	?			x				
B	<i>Wei he</i>	衛盃	3	3	2	39	13			x	x	x		
C	<i>Wei ding</i>	衛鼎	5	1	1	47	2			x		x	x	
D	<i>Jue Cao ding</i>	趙曹鼎	7	10	2	?	?			x				
E	<i>Gengji ding</i>	庚季鼎	?	5	2	7	11							x
F	<i>Qisheng Lu yi</i>	齊甥魯彝	8	12	1	24	1							
G	<i>Wei ding</i>	衛鼎	9	1	4	17	27							
H	<i>Ji gui</i>	即簋	?	3	1	57	4							x
I	<i>Guaibo gui</i>	乖伯簋	9	9	?	51	2	x						
J	<i>Zou gui</i>	走簋	12	3	3	27	23			x				
K	<i>Yong yu</i>	永盂	12	?	1	4	2	x	x					x
L	<i>Wang gui</i>	壘簋	13	6	1	35	8							
M	<i>Jue Cao ding</i>	趙曹鼎	15	5	2	19	4							
N	<i>Shi Kuifu ding</i>	師奎父鼎	?	6	2	27	12			x				
O	<i>Shi Shan pan</i>	士山盤	16	9	2	21	13							
P	<i>Zouma Xiu pan</i>	走馬休盤	20	1	3	11	22	x						
Q	<i>Shen gui</i>	申簋	?	1	1	4	3	x						
R	<i>Pengbo Cheng gui</i>	棚伯冢簋	23	?	1	34	?	x						
S	<i>Shi Hu gui</i>	師虎簋	?	4	2	34	5							

Table 4.3 King Yih (r. 899–873 B.C.) Inscriptions from Years 1–8

Yr	B.C.	Months												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	899	26	55	25	54	24	A 53	23	53	22	52	21	51	
2	898	20	50	B 19	49	18	48	17	57	16	56	16	45	
3	897	15	45	14	43	13	42	11	41	10	40	10	40	9
4	896	39	C 9	38	7	37	6	35	5	34	4	34	3	
5	895	33	3	33	2	31	1	30	59	29	58	28	57	27
6	894	57	27	56	26	55	24	54	23	53	22	52	21	
7	893	51	D 21	50	20	50	19	49	18	47	17	46	16	
8	892	E 45	15	44	14	44	13	43	13	42	11	41	10	40

	Vessels	Year	Month	Phase	Ganzhi	Day	Persons Mentioned			
							益公	井伯	內史吳	
A	<i>Shi Hu gui</i>	師虎簋	1	6	3	11	21		x	x
	<i>Hu gui</i>	智簋	1	6	3	12	22			
B	<i>Wang Chen gui</i>	王臣簋	2	3	1	27	9	x		
C	<i>Shi Yun gui</i>	師彥簋	?	2	1	15	7		x	x
D	<i>Shi Dao gui</i>	師道簋	?	2	1	24	4	x		
E	<i>Mu gui</i>	牧簋	7	13	2	51	7	x		x

## Notes

- 1 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi" 山西絳縣橫水西周墓地, *Kaogu* 考古 2006.7: 16–21; Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao" 山西絳縣橫水西周墓地發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 2006.8: 4–18.
- 2 Map 4.1 was made using the Harvard-Fudan China Historical Geographic Information System datasets (downloaded in March 2011) and ESRI Arc Map software.
- 3 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi," p. 16.
- 4 See Xie Yaoting 謝堯亭, "Hengshui mudi yong ding gui li de kaocha" 橫水墓地用鼎簋禮的考察, paper read at the Conference on Western Zhou Civilization, Qishan 岐山, Shaanxi, 10–12 April 2009.
- 5 Of this number, 27 tombs are of a much later date. See the interview with Song Jianzhong 宋建忠, director of the Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, in Li Shanghong 李尚鴻, "Shanxi Jiangxian: Xi Zhou Peng guo guojun, furen mu chenshui 3000 nian" 山西絳縣: 西周倻國國君·夫人墓沉睡3000年, *San Jin dushi bao* 三晉都市報, 9 March 2009, quoted from *Shanxi xinwen* 山西新聞, at <http://www.sx.chinanews.com.cn/news/2009/0309/3110.html>, last consulted on 14 October 2010.
- 6 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi," p. 18.
- 7 These include M3 and M3250 (early period), M2, M1006, M1011, M2022, M2158, M2165, M2167 (middle period), M1013, M1016, M2047 (late period), as well as robbed tombs that cannot be dated, including M2064 and M2150. See Xie Yaoting 謝堯亭, "Jinnan diqu Xi Zhou mucang yanjiu" 晉南地區西周墓藏研究 (Ph.D. diss., 2010), p. 128.
- 8 For the custom of paired burials, see Jay Xu, "The Cemetery of the Western Zhou Lords of Jin," *Artibus Asiae* 56.3/4 (1996): 193–231, esp. 200; Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006), esp. pp. 111–23.
- 9 Cf. Xie Yaoting, "Jinnan diqu Xi Zhou mucang yanjiu," p. 98; Qin Ying 秦穎 et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengbei Xi Zhou mudi rengu qian hanliang fenxi" 山西絳縣橫北西周墓地人骨鉛含量分析, *Wenwu* 文物 2009.7: 43–47.
- 10 For burial customs in ruling lineages of several polities of the Western Zhou period, cf. Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, pp. 74–126.
- 11 The burial pit of M1 is 5.4 m long at the bottom, with an entry ramp 20.6 m long. The dimensions of M2 are 5.5 m and 16.8 m respectively.
- 12 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao," pp. 9, 11.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 20, color pl. 6:2. Reed mats covering the inner coffin have been discovered and identified as *huangwei* in tomb M8 at the cemetery of Ying 應

- state at Pingdingshan 平頂山; see “Henan Pingdingshan Ying guo mudi ba hao mu fajue jianbao” 河南平頂山應國墓地八號墓發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 2007.7: 20–49.
- 14 Some authors regard *lü* as a special type of sacrifice, or translate it as “grand.” However, the definition of *lü* can be substituted by other words with similar meanings, for example, *xing* 行 “to go, to travel,” *zheng* 征 “to campaign,” and *yu* 御 “to drive a carriage.” They appear on relatively small vessels that could easily be taken along on trips. For examples, see Maria Khayutina, “Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity,” *T’oung Pao* 96.1–3 (2010): 1–73, esp. 36 n. 87.
- 15 For examples, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (hereafter *Jicheng*), 18 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984–1994); idem., *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng shiwen* 殷周金文集成釋文, 6 vols. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2001); Zhang Yachu 張亞初, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng yinde* 殷周金文集成引得 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001); electronic CHANT (Chinese Ancient Texts) Database, D.C. Lau Research Centre for Chinese Ancient Texts, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, at <http://www.chant.org>; and Academia Sinica’s *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliao ku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫 “Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions,” at <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>.
- 16 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu,” p. 19.
- 17 The excavators of the Jin cemetery date M32–33 to the later part of middle Western Zhou and M91–92 to the earlier part of late Western Zhou. They suggest that the occupants of M33 (Jin Hou Boma 晉侯燹馬) and of M91 (Jin Hou Xifu 晉侯喜父) were related as father and son; Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin Hou mudi di san ci fajue” 天馬—曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第三次發掘, *Wenwu* 文物 1994.8: 22–34. Furthermore, they identify Xifu with Jing Hou 靖侯 (r. 858–840 B.C.).
- 18 I agree with David Nivison and Edward Shaughnessy that King Mu’s reign did not last 55 years; David N. Nivison, “Dates of Western Chou,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43 (1983): 481–580, esp. 539–53; Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 245–54; Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Chronologies of Ancient China: A Critique of the ‘Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project,’” in Clara Wing-chung Ho, ed., *Windows on the Chinese World: Reflections by Five Historians* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), p. 24. As the *Xian gui* 鮮簋 inscription testifies, King Mu reigned at least 34 years (*Jicheng* #10166: thirty-fourth year, fourth month, after the full moon, day *wuxu* 戊戌 [55]); the inscription mentions sacrifices performed by the reigning king to King Zhao 昭, i.e., King Mu’s father. The year 956 B.C., regarded by both Nivison and Shaughnessy as the first year of King Mu’s reign, seems acceptable in light of currently available sources. For the end date of King Mu’s reign, see the discussion below.
- 19 The excavators refer to Li Feng 李峰, “Huanghe liuyu Xi Zhou muzang chutu qingtong liqi de fenqi yu niandai” 黃河流域西周墓葬出土青銅禮器的分期與年代, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1988.4: 383–418. For Western publications see Jessica Rawson, “A Bronze Casting Revolution in the Western Zhou and Its Impact on Provincial Industries,” in Robert Maddin, ed., *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys: Papers from the Second International Conference on the Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys, Zhengzhou, China, 21–26 October 1986* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 228–38; Falkenhäusen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, pp. 56–64.
- 20 Falkenhäusen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, pp. 56–64.
- 21 For example, the *Jue Cao ding* 趙曹鼎 and fifth-year *Wei ding* 衛鼎 (*Jicheng* #2831–2, Dongjia, Qishan county, Shaanxi, fifth year of King Gong). For descriptions and images, see Jessica Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1990), vol. IIB, pp. 281–83. Cabriole legs in combination with a flat-bottomed body represent a relatively late feature.
- 22 See Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, *Zhongguo qingtongqi* 中國青銅器 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1988), pp. 131–32 and 138–140, figs. 25–32; Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes*, vol. IIA, pp. 104–06.
- 23 Ma Chengyuan, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, pp. 133 and 141–42, figs. 40–43, 50–51.
- 24 *Chu gui* 楚簋 (*Jicheng* #4246, Renbei 任北, Sufang 蘇坊, Wugong 武功, Shaanxi; LWZ) may serve as another example of this feature. For the image, see Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Shaanxi chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi* 陝西出土商周青銅器 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1979), p. 122, fig. 4.
- 25 Pre-Qin literature never mentions an Yi lineage. Geographical descriptions from the Han period or later also do not give a place name Yi from which this lineage could derive its name.
- 26 Vessels commissioned by Li 盩 and discovered in Lijiacun 李家村 in 1955 (cf. *Jicheng* #6013, Lijiacun, Meixian 郿縣, Shaanxi) were dedicated to an ancestor Yigong 益公. As the inscription on the *Qiu pan* 逌盤 from the hoard at Lijiacun discovered in 2003 shows, Li belonged to the Shan 單 lineage and was active during the reigns of Kings Zhao and Mu. However, the temple name Yi Gong does not appear in the *Qiu pan* inscription. Possibly, it corresponds to Gongshu 公叔, “Duke’s Third-born,” who was active during the reign of King Cheng 成. It is not clear why the name of an ancestor had been changed. One may wonder whether this might be due to the fact that during the reigns of Mu and Gong the byname Yigong became associated with a prominent royal official.
- 27 Yang Yachang 楊亞長, “Jinwen suo jian zhi Yigong Mugong yu Wugong kao” 金文所見之益公穆公與武功考, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2004.6: 71–75.
- 28 See Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, pp. 254–55.
- 29 See Nivison, “Dates of Western Chou,” p. 556.

- 30 Zhang Peiyu 張培瑜, *Zhongguo xian Qin shi libiao* 中國現秦史歷表 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1987), p. 52.
- 31 The *Xiu gui* 休簋 (*Jicheng* #3609) is a classic mid-Western Zhou tureen, most similar to the *Qiu Wei gui* 裘衛簋 (*Jicheng* #4256). Both *pan* and *gui* are dedicated to Xiu's father Fu Ding 父丁/*wen kao ri* Ding 文考日丁, which makes evident that they were commissioned by the same person.
- 32 See Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjiazhu, *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng: 1996–2000 nian jieduan chengguo baogao, Jianben* 夏商周斷代工程: 1996–2000 年階段成果報告·簡本 (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2000), p. 36; Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Lun Xi Zhou zhong qi zhi wan qi chu jinwen de zuhe” 論西周中期至晚期初金文的組合, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 2000.4: 262–67. The year 922 B.C. as the date of the beginning of King Gong's reign conforms to the reconstructed calendar of King Mu beginning in 956 B.C. as suggested by Shaughnessy (cf. Xia Hanyi 夏含夷, “Cong Zuoce Wu he zai kan Zhou Muwang zai wei nianshu ji niandai wenti” 從作冊吳盂再看周穆王在位年數及年代問題, in Zhu Fenghan, ed., *Xin chu jinwen yu Xi Zhou lishi* 新出金文與西周歷史 [Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2011], pp. 52–55). See also Appendix, Table 4.1.
- 33 The *Pengbo Cheng gui* omits the month number and dates the event only with “first auspiciousness” and the day *dingyou* 丁酉 (34). This day can be found at the beginning of the second, the fourth, the sixth and the eighth months of 900 B.C. (cf. Appendix, Table 4.2).
- 34 The alcoholic beverage often translated as “wine” in Sinological literature was in fact a kind of beer; see Thomas Höllmann, *Schlafender Lotus, trunkenes Huhn: Kulturgeschichte der chinesischen Küche* (München: Beck, 2010), pp. 145–47.
- 35 See Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹, “Jin hou mudi qingtongqi suo jian xingbie yanjiu de xin xiansuo” 晉侯墓地青銅器所見性別研究的新線索, in Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Jin hou mudi chutu qingtongqi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 晉侯墓地出土青銅器國際學術研討會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2002), pp. 157–96.
- 36 Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di liu ci fajue” 天馬—曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第六次發掘, *Wenwu* 文物 2001.8: 4–21, 55, esp. 21. Lothar von Falkenhausen dates the tomb to the mid-tenth century B.C.; see Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, p. 211.
- 37 Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, p. 212.
- 38 Cf. Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di wu ci fajue” 天馬—曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第五次發掘, *Wenwu* 文物 1995.7: 4–39, esp. 11.
- 39 Sun Zhanwei 孫戰偉 has recently revealed that *da kou zun* as exotic objects had some extraordinary functions in Zhou culture. These functions were different in metropolitan Zhou and in Shanxi. In Shanxi, these vessels were mostly associated with burials of females. See Sun Zhanwei, “Xi Zhou tao da

- kou zun leixing ji qi fenbu tezheng*” 西周陶大口尊類型及其分布特徵, *Wenbo* 文博 2010.6: 23–28.
- 40 Unlike tomb M54, adjacent tombs M52 and M53 both contained many bronze weapons. See Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo, “Liulihe Yan guo mudi” 琉璃河燕國墓地, in Su Tianjun 蘇天鈞, ed., *Beijing kaogu jicheng 11* 北京考古集成 11 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), pp. 3–302, esp. 20–25.
- 41 Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui and Hongtong xian wenwu ju, “Shanxi Hongtong Yongningpu Xi Zhou muzang,” esp. p. 4.
- 42 Zhang Sulin 張素琳, “Jinnan diqu Xi Zhou muzang chutan” 晉南地區西周墓葬初探, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 1998.1: 36–43, esp. 40.
- 43 Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui and Hongtong xian wenwu ju, “Shanxi Hongtong Yongningpu Xi Zhou muzang,” p. 4.
- 44 For the location and functions of royal residences, see Khayutina, “Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity.”
- 45 *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo*, ed., *Zhangjiapo Xi Zhou mudi* 張家坡西周墓地 (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1999), p. 125.
- 46 Tomb M33 was at least four times larger than the adjacent tomb M16 (ca. 1.2 m x 2.6 m). Judging by its size, it originally should have contained rich burial goods, including bronzes. But during the late Western Zhou period, the ash-pit H90 was dug on top of it, and anything valuable was probably stolen, whereas the damaged pottery vessels were left in place. Hence, the vessels are attributed to the pit, not to the tomb in the archaeological report. See Zhouyuan kaogu gongzuodui, “2002 nian Zhouyuan yizhi (Qijiacun) fajue jianbao.”
- 47 Zhouyuan kaogu gongzuodui, “Shaanxi Fufeng xian Zhouyuan yizhi Zhuangli Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao” 陝西扶風縣周原遺址莊李西周墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 考古 2008.12: 3–22, esp. 17, 20.
- 48 Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, p. 212.
- 49 Cf. Katheryn M. Linduff, Emma C. Bunker and Wu En, “An Archaeological Overview,” in *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1997), pp. 21–22; Wu'enyesitu 烏恩岳斯圖, *Beifang caoyuan kaoguxue wenhua yanjiu* 北方草原考古學文化研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 61–93; Yang Zemeng 楊澤蒙, “Zhukaigou wenhua yinsu fenxi ji yu zhoulin diqu kaoguxue wenhua de guanxi” 朱開溝文化因素分析及與周鄰地區考古學文化的關係, in Tian Guangjin 田廣金 et al., eds., *Daihai kaogu (2)—Zhong Ri Daihai diqu kaocha yanjiu baogao ji* 岱海考古 (二)——中日岱海地區考察研究報告集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2001), pp. 411–53. For the full archaeological excavation report, see Neimenggu zizhiqiu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Eerduosi bowuguan, *Zhukaigou: Qingtongqi shidai zaoqi yizhi fajue baogao* 朱開溝: 青銅器時代早期遺址發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000). For the geographical spread and chronological span of the Zhukaigou culture, see Jiang Gang 蔣剛, “Shanxi, Shaanbei ji Nei Menggu zhongnan bu Xia Shang Xi Zhou shiqi

- qingtong wenhua de yanjin” 山西陝北及內蒙古中南部夏商西周時期青銅文化的演進, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 2008.5: 51–66, esp. maps in figs. 1, 3, 4, 7. Liu Li and Chen Xingcan date the Zhukaigou culture alternatively to ca. 2000–1400 B.C.; see Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *The Archaeology of China from the Late Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 312.
- 50 See Neimenggu zizhiqiu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Eerduosi bowuguan, *Zhukaigou*, p. 2.
- 51 For the periodization and correspondences between the archaeological traditions of the Central Plains and other regions, see Roderick B. Campbell, *Archaeology of the Chinese Bronze Age from Erlitou to Anyang* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014).
- 52 See Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *The Archaeology of China*, p. 320.
- 53 Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shaanxi Shenmu Xinhua yizhi 1999 nian fajue jianbao” 陝西神木新華遺址1999年發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2002.1: 7; Yan Hongdong 閻宏東, “Shenmu Shimao yizhi taoqi fenxi” 神木石峁遺址陶器分析, *Wenbo* 文博 2010.6: 3–9.
- 54 Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, Yulin shi wenwu kaogu kantan gongzuodui and Shenmu xian wenbenju, “Shaanxi Shenmu xian Shimao yizhi” 陝西神木縣石峁遺址, *Kaogu* 考古 2013.7: 15–24.
- 55 For comparison, the Erlitou settlement occupied up to 300 ha. The early Shang city in Zhengzhou, dated to the Erligang period, enclosed an area of 13 km<sup>2</sup>. See Campbell, *Archaeology of the Chinese Bronze Age from Erlitou to Anyang*, pp. 24, 69.
- 56 Ji Faxi 吉發習 and Ma Huiqi 馬輝圻, “Nei Menggu Zhungeer qi Dakou yizhi de diaocha yu shijue” 內蒙古準格爾旗大口遺址的調查與試掘, *Kaogu* 考古 1979.4: 308–19.
- 57 Wang Kelin 王克林 and Hai Jindong 海金東, “Shanxi Fenyang xian Yudaohu yizhi diaocha” 山西汾陽縣峪道河遺址調查, *Kaogu* 考古 1983.11: 961–65, 972.
- 58 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Liuzhuang Xia Shang yizhi fajue baogao” 山西絳縣柳莊夏商遺址發掘報告, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 2010.2: 12–23, 43.
- 59 See Hou Yi 侯毅, “Cong Jin hou mu tongqi kan Jin wenhua de xingcheng yu fazhan” 從晉侯墓銅器看晉文化的形成與發展, in Shanghai bowuguan, ed., *Jin hou mudi chutu qingtongqi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 晉侯墓地出土青銅器國際學術研討會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2002), pp. 114–31, esp. 119; Lin Tianren 林天人, *Xian Qin San Jin quyu wenhua yanjiu* 先秦三晉區域文化研究 (Taipei: Taiwan Guji chubanshe, 2003), p. 163.
- 60 The borrowing took place relatively late, in Dongxiafeng Phase III; see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Xiaxian Dongxiafeng* 夏縣東下馮 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 95–96; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Shanxi gongzuodui, “Jinnan Erlitou wenhua yizhi de diaocha yu shijue” 晉南二里頭文化遺址的調查與試掘, *Kaogu* 考古 1980.3: 203–10, 278.
- 61 Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *State Formation in Early China* (London: Duckworth, 2003), pp. 103–05.
- 62 Liu and Chen, *State Formation in Early China*, p. 105; Ma Baochun 馬保春, “You Jinnan Erligang qi zao Shang wenhua de fenbu lun qi jinru chuanbo” 由晉南二里頭期早商文化的分布論其進入傳播, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2004.6: 23–33; Wu Junhua 武俊華, “Jinnan Shang shiqi kaogu yicun de xiangguan wenti” 晉南商時期考古遺存的相關問題, *Cangsang* 滄桑 2010.2: 84–85.
- 63 See Jinzhong kaogudui, “Shanxi Taiyuan Baiyan yizhi diyi didian fajue jianbao” 山西太原白燕遺址第一地點發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 1989.3: 1–21, figs. 12, 16, and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shanxi Tunliu Xiligao yizhi fajue” 山西屯留西李高遺址發掘, *Wenwu chunqiu* 文物春秋 2009.3: 17, fig. 3. For the geographic spread and chronological span of the Baiyan culture, see Jiang Gang 蔣剛, “Lun Baiyan wenhua ji qi xiangguan wenti” 論白燕文化及其相關問題, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2009.5: 27–37, esp. maps in figs. 1, 3, 4, 7–10.
- 64 See Qin Xiaoli 秦小麗, “Jin xinan diqu Erlitou wenhua dao Erligang wenhua de taoqi yanbian yanjiu” 晉西南地區二里頭文化到二里岡文化的陶器演變研究, *Kaogu* 考古 2006.2: 63, table III.
- 65 Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Lijiaya gu chengzhi AF1 jianzhu yizhi chutan” 李家崖古城址AF1建築遺址初探, in *Zhou Qin wenhua yanjiu* 周秦文化研究 (Xi’an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1998), pp. 116–23.
- 66 Lü Zhirong, “Shaanxi Ansai xian Xiguaquncun yizhi shijue jianbao,” pp. 10–17.
- 67 Xibei daxue Wenhua yichan kaogu yanjiu zhongxin et al., “Shaanxi Chunhua xian Zaoshugounao yizhi xian Zhou shiqi yicun,” pp. 20–34; Xibei daxue Wenhua yichan kaogu yanjiu zhongxin et al., “Shaanxi Chunhua xian Zaoshugounao yizhi 2007 nian fajue jianbao,” pp. 55–66; Wang Zhen 王振 and Chen Honghai 陳洪海, “Shaanxi Chunhua Zaoshugounao yizhi 2008 niandu fajue de zhuyao shouhuo” 陝西淳化棗樹溝腦遺址2008年度發掘的主要收穫, *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 2010.6: 32–36.
- 68 See Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Lijiaya wenhua yinsu fenxi ji qi xiangguan wenti” 李家崖文化因素分析及其相關問題, *Shaanxi lishi bowuguan guankan* 陝西歷史博物館館刊 2001.8: 363–71; Wu’enyuesitu, *Beifang caoyuan*, pp. 142–73; Cai Yahong 蔡亞紅, “Lijiaya wenhua yanjiu” 李家崖文化研究 (M.A. thesis: Dongbei daxue, 2008). For the geographic spread and chronological span of the Lijiaya culture, see Jiang Gang, “Shanxi, Shaanbei ji Nei Menggu zhongnan bu Xia Shang Xi Zhou shiqi qingtongqi fenqun yanjiu,” esp. maps 9–11; Linduff et al., “An Archaeological Overview,” pp. 22–25; Wo Haowei 沃浩偉, “Jin Shaan gaoyuan Shang Zhou shiqi qingtongqi fenqun yanjiu” 晉陝高原商周時期青銅器分群研究, in Yang Jianhua 楊建華 and Jiang Gang 蔣剛, eds., *Gongyuan qian er qian ji de Jin Shaan Gaoyuan yu Yanshan nan bei* 公元前2千紀的晉陝高原與燕山南北 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 56–67.
- 69 See Jinzhong kaogudui, “Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha,” pp. 31–39.
- 70 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi

- shijue jianbao” 2004柳林高紅商代夯土基址試掘簡報, in Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *San Jin kaogu* (3) 三晉考古 (3) (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2006), pp. 116–27.
- 71 See Yang Shaoshun 楊紹舜, “Shanxi Liulin xian Gaohong faxian Shang dai tongqi” 山西柳林縣高紅發現商代銅器, *Kaogu* 考古 1981.3: 211–12.
- 72 In particular, the Hengbei *san zu weng* seem to derive from Gaohong *guan* jars with narrow rims and wide shoulders, to which “breast-shaped” hollow legs, also witnessed in Gaohong, were attached; see Figure 4.8A, B, D–F. Both Hengbei *san zu weng* and Gaohong *guan* and *da kou zun* are decorated with two registers of ribbons filled with comb-patterned triangles (Figure 4.8B, I, K).
- 73 See Jiang Gang 蔣剛 and Yang Jianhua 楊建華, “Shaanbei Jin xibeinan liu Huanghe liang an chutu qingtongqi yicun de zuhe yanjiu” 陝北晉西南流黃河兩岸出土青銅器遺存的組合研究, *Wenwu shijie* 文物世界 2007.1: 11–19.
- 74 See Yang Shaoshun, “Shanxi Liulin xian Gaohong faxian Shang dai tongqi,” pp. 211–12.
- 75 Cf., for example, Li Boqian 李伯謙, “Zhongguo qingtong wenhua de fazhan jieduan yu fenqu xitong” 中國青銅文化的發展階段與分區系統, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 1990.2: 82–91.
- 76 Cf. Zhang Tian'en 張天恩, “Jinnan yi faxian de Xi Zhou guozu chuxi” 晉南已發現的西周國族初析, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2010.1: 50–56.
- 77 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo Dahekou mudi lianhe kaogudui, “Shanxi Yicheng xian Dahekou Xi Zhou mudi” 山西翼城縣大河口西周墓地, *Kaogu* 考古 2011.7: 9–18. The article gives only a very short summary of the excavation and provides more detail about two large tombs.
- 78 This can be argued based on similarities between the bronze vessels from Dahekou and from tombs M113 and M114 at Tianma-Qucun. This however goes beyond the scope of the present study.
- 79 Xie Yaoting identifies 53 early Western Zhou tombs among the ca. 240 tombs excavated during 2004–2005. See Xie Yaoting, “Jinnan diqu Xi Zhou mucang yanjiu,” p. 85.
- 80 See Jiang Gang and Yang Jianhua, “Shaanbei Jin xibeinan liu Huanghe liang an chutu qingtongqi yicun de zuhe yanjiu,” p. 15; Tian Jianwen 田建文, “Lingshi Jingjie Shang mu yu Shanxi Shang dai wanqi kaoguxue wenhua” 靈石旌介商墓與山西商代晚期考古學文化, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2009.1: 39–44, 61, esp. 42; Wo Haowei, “Jin Shaan gaoyuan Shang Zhou shiqi qingtongqi,” pp. 66–67.
- 81 See Yang Jianhua 楊建華, “Jibe Zhou dai qingtong wenhua chutan” 冀北周代青銅文化初探, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2000.5: 22–30; Yang Jianhua, “Shang Zhou shiqi Zhongguo beifang yejin qu de xingcheng—Shang Zhou shiqi beifang qingtongqi de bijiao yanjiu” 商周時期中國北方冶金區的形成——商周時期北方青銅器的比較研究, *Bianjiang kaogu yanjiu* 邊疆考古研究 2007.6: 165–97. Decisive for this new date is the comparison with the assemblage of bronze weapons in the tomb discovered at Baifu 白浮 near Beijing (see Beijing

- shi wenwu guanlichu, “Beijing diqu de you yi zhongyao kaogu shouhuo—Changping Baifu Xi Zhou muguo mu de xin qishi” 北京地區的又一重要考古收穫——昌平白浮西周木槨墓的新啟示, *Kaogu* 考古 1976.4: 246–58, 228.) This tomb also included bronze ritual vessels and pottery *li*-tripods of the early to mid-Western Zhou period.
- 82 During the archaeological survey conducted in 1982, pottery collected at the Gaohong settlement was attributed to two periods: an earlier one that could not be dated more precisely due to the lack of Central Plain comparisons, and a later one, corresponding to the Spring and Autumn to Warring States period (see Jinzhong kaogudui, “Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha,” p. 39). The three charcoal samples analyzed by C14 method date either from the late Shang, or from the late Spring and Autumn period (see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Keji shiyan yanjiu zhongxin Tan shisi shiyanshi, “Fangshexing tansu ceding niandai baogao (ershisan)” 放射性碳素測定年代報告 (二十三), *Kaogu* 考古 2006.7: 65–67, esp. 65). It is not clear whether the settlement was abandoned for a longer period of time between these two extremes, as it has only been surveyed but not systematically excavated as of yet.
- 83 The tomb of Jin Hou Xifu included a bronze *li* vessel that the Jin ruler made for “the Mother of Peng” 嫫母. Besides, tomb M1016 at Hengbei, identified as a tomb of the current head of the Peng lineage, included an inscribed bronze commissioned by Jinsheng 晉生(甥), testifying that the commissioner was an affinal relative of the Jin lineage. Other inscriptions witness about marital relations between Peng and Rui 芮. See Xie Yaoting, “Jinnan diqu Xi Zhou mucang yanjiu,” p. 129 with further references. For the meaning of the kinship term *sheng* see Maria Khayutina, “Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (*sheng* 甥 and *hungou* 婚媾) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions,” *Early China* 37 (2014): 1–61, esp. 22–25.
- 84 See Xie Yaoting, “Hengshui mudi yong ding gui li de kaocha.”
- 85 *Pengzhong ding* 棚仲鼎 (*Jicheng* #2462). The vessel is not preserved, but a rubbing is held at the Institute of Archaeology in Beijing.
- 86 *Peng X-sheng ding* 甯翁生鼎 (*Jicheng* #2524).
- 87 The character 妃 in a woman's name should not be read *fei* “concubine,” but *jǐ* 己, as in the *Wang li* 王鬲 (*Jicheng* #645), dedicated by the king to Fan Ji 番妃. Ji 妃 (己) was the surname of the Fan and several other lineages.
- 88 *Guo yu* 國語 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 16 (“Zheng yu” 鄭語), p. 183.
- 89 *Guo yu*, 16 (“Zheng yu”), p. 183, commentary. See also Chen Pan 陳槃, *Chunqiu dashibiao lieguo juexing ji cunmiebiao zhuan* 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表異 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1969), “Chi di” 赤狄, 6.554b–6a.
- 90 See Wang Guowei 王國維, “Guifang Kun Yi Xianyun kao” 鬼方昆夷獫狁考, in Peng Lin 彭林, ed., *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林 (1923; repr., Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 296–307, esp. 300. Wang Guowei also suggested

- 118 For copper and tin deposits, see Peter J. Golas, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume V: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part XIII: Mining* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 62–63, 92–93. For the availability of salt, see Liu and Chen, *State Formation in Early China*, pp. 44–51. For horse trade, see the *Pengsheng gui* 棚生簋 (also known as *Gebo gui* 格伯簋; *Jicheng* #4262).
- 119 See *Pengsheng gui* (*Jicheng* #4262). For the reading of the name of Lubo (usually transcribed as Gebo), see Ulrich Lau, *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Dynastie (1045?–771 v. Chr.)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 41 (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica, 1999), pp. 327–34. Some authors, however, argue that members of the Zhou royal house did not use clan signs and that this sign was used by members of a Yun 妘-surnamed lineage; see Lau, *ibid.*, pp. 332–33.
- 120 Although names with a *fu* 父 suffix often represent personal names (e.g., Yifu 義父), names such as Bo Liangfu 伯梁父 and Bo Weifu 伯衛父 include names of lineages to which these persons belonged. By analogy, Zhong Pengfu 仲棚父 or Zai Pengfu 宰棚父 were probably members of the Peng lineage.
- 121 *Hushu Hu Ji gui* 馱叔馱姬簋 (*Jicheng* #4066), commissioned by the Third-born of Hu 馱叔 and his spouse Née Ji of Hu 馱姬 for their daughter the First-born Née Kui/Gui 伯媿. Her husband Chu 楚 was introduced at a royal audience by the Second-born Pengfu 仲棚父; see *Chu gui* 楚簋 (*Jicheng* #4246).
- 122 See note 25 above.
- 123 *Wang gui* 壘簋 (*Jicheng* #4272).
- 124 Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1981), p. 421 (Xi 僖 24).
- 125 See *Shang shu zheng yi* 尚書正義 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1990), 16.3 (“Gu ming” 顧命), p. 272; 19.1 (“Kang wang zhi gao” 康王之誥), p. 285; and 19.2 (“Bi ming” 畢命), p. 287. Note that only the “Gu ming” chapter is also found in the “new text” *Shang shu*.
- 126 *Shi Huo gui* 史嚭簋 (*Jicheng* #4030); *Xian gui* 獻簋 (*Jicheng* #4205).
- 127 Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Zhonghua shuju ed.), 44 (“Wei shijia” 魏世家), p. 1835.
- 128 *Bi Xian gui* 畢鮮簋 (*Jicheng* #4061). Compared with other inscriptions, Xian seems to be a personal name.
- 129 See Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dashibiao lieguo*, p. 330.
- 130 *Wu Hu ding* 吳虎鼎, discovered at Xujiashai 徐家寨, Shendian 申店, Chang’an 長安 county, Shaanxi; see Mu Xiaojun 穆曉軍, “Shaanxi Chang’an xian chutu Xi Zhou Wu Hu ding” 陝西長安縣出土西周吳虎鼎, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1998.3: 69–71. This inscription documents the transfer of land to Wu Hu 吳虎, who is supposed to have lived near the place of the vessel’s discovery. His fields bordered the lands of Pang Jiang 蔘姜 to the west and those of the Bi people 畢人 to the south. This corresponds well with the location of Bi to the south of Han Chang’an and close to Du 杜. Another late Western Zhou vessel dedicated to the great-great-grandfather of the commissioner Yigong

- was found during the Song dynasty in Zhouzhi 整屋 county, though the exact place of its discovery is unknown. Although the name of the lineage is not stated, this may be near another location of Bi “thirty *li* west of Feng.”
- 131 *Guaibo gui* (*Jicheng* #4331).
- 132 Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, pp. 183–85.
- 133 Yigong’s campaign against Mei’ao and the coming to court of Guaibo were related, but Guai and Mei’ao were not necessarily two designations of the same polity, as many scholars believe. The inscription does not make clear that Guai and Mei’ao were the same.
- 134 *Yong yu* 永孟 (*Jicheng* #10322).
- 135 Cf. Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽, “Jinwen yanjiu zhaji” 金文研究簡記, *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 1981.2: 93–96, esp. 93.
- 136 Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 122–33.
- 137 *Zai* (?) 載 is an adjective describing *fu* 市, kneepads, which differed in color and served as indicators of status in the Western Zhou hierarchy of officials. The compilers of the *Jicheng* suggest reading it as *zi* 緇 “black.”
- 138 *Xun gui* 荀簋 (*Jicheng* #4321).
- 139 The *Xun gui* was found in a hoard together with a number of vessels cast by the Third-born of Mi, e.g., *Mishu Shi Cha gui* 弭叔師察簋 (*Jicheng* #4253).
- 140 *Wang Chen gui* 王臣簋 (*Jicheng* #4268).
- 141 See Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽 and Wang Donghai 王東海, “Wang Chen gui de chutu yu xiangguan tongqi de shidai” 王臣簋的出土與相關銅器的時代, *Wenwu* 文物 1980.5: 63–66.
- 142 Note that alien “king’s servants” were established already during King Kang’s reign as suggested by the *Da Yu ding* inscription quoted above.
- 143 “Hu gui gai ming zuotan jiyao” 虎簋蓋銘座談紀要, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1997.3: 81–83. Hu was the same person as *shi* Hu 師虎 (cf. *Shi Hu gui* 師虎簋); Edward L. Shaughnessy, “New Sources of Western Zhou History: Recent Discoveries of Inscribed Bronze Vessels,” *Early China* 26/27 (2001–2002): 73–98, esp. 71–78.
- 144 *Mibo Shi Ji gui* 弭伯師稽簋 (*Jicheng* #4257). The inscription is dated to the eighth month, first auspiciousness, *wuyin* 戊寅 (day 15), but the year is not identified. The day *wuyin* occurred at the beginning of the eighth month only once during the reign of King Gong, namely during his fifth year (918 B.C.). A later date (e.g., 892 B.C.) is less likely, because the inscription mentions Rongbo 榮伯, who was active mostly at the beginning of King Gong’s reign.
- 145 The place where the *Mibo Shi Ji gui* was discovered, Xincun 新村, Lantian 藍田, Shaanxi, lies in the Wangyu 網峪 River valley about 190 km from the Zhouyuan, 65 km from Zongzhou, and 45 km from Sipo. The Wangyu River flows parallel to the Tangyu 湯峪 River, where the *Yong yu* was found. They are separated from each other by about 30 km. Judging from the locations of vessels cast for members of the Mi lineage, they guarded several passages

- through the Qinling Range; see *Shi Xun gui* 師旬簋 (*Jicheng* #4342), *Xun gui* 旬簋 (*Jicheng* #4321), *Mishu xu* 弭叔盃 (*Jicheng* #4385) and other vessels of Mishu from Sipo, Lantian county.
- 146 *Shi Dao gui* 師道簋 (Neimenggu zizhiqu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Xiaoheishigou*, p. 369); transcription by Li Chaoyuan 李朝遠, “Shi Dao gui mingwen kaoshi” 師道簋銘文考釋, in Li Chaoyuan, *Qingtongqixue bu ji* 青銅器學步集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), pp. 243–50.
- 147 The *Shi Dao gui* and other bronzes from this tomb find parallels with objects dated to the first half of the ninth century B.C. Therefore, it is likely that this vessel was made during the reign of King Yih. During the latter reign, only the second month of 893 B.C. included a day *dinghai* at the beginning of the month (the fourth day of the month). Alternatively, the nineteenth year of King Gong (903 B.C.) is possible. In this case, *dinghai* was the sixth day of the second month. An earlier date (914 B.C.) is less plausible because of the stylistic features.
- 148 *Yanhou Zhi ding* 匱侯旨鼎 (*Jicheng* #2628).
- 149 Robert L.Thorp, *China in the Early Bronze Age: Shang Civilization* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 57.
- 150 Cf. *Xiaoheishigou*, p. 378, fig. 306, and Wu’enyuesitu, *Beifang caoyuan*, p. 152, fig. 68.
- 151 *Peng Mian gui* 棚丌簋 (*Jicheng* #3667).
- 152 For more examples in inscriptions, see Khayutina, “Marital Alliances.”
- 153 Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 154 Due to space constraints, comparative analysis of the contemporaneous tombs of Peng and Jin cannot be provided here, but will be published elsewhere.
- 155 Colin Renfrew, “Introduction: Peer-Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change,” in Colin Renfrew, ed., *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 1–18, esp. 8.
- 156 Source: Zhang Peiyu, *Zhongguo xian Qin shi libiao*, pp. 48–53 (modified).
- 157 King Gong’s calendar had to include two first months in the initial year.

## Newest Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels, 2000–2010

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In 2002, I published a survey of inscribed bronze vessels of the Western Zhou period that had appeared in the course of the preceding decade.<sup>1</sup> The timing was appropriate for at least a couple of reasons. First, the 1990s marked the first flowering of the new Chinese economic expansion; with the dramatic increase in construction activity and with newfound wealth in China came a concomitant rise in the number of ancient bronze vessels taken out of China’s earth. Although much of this excavation was unfortunately undertaken by tomb robbers, and the individual bronzes thus lost their archaeological context, nevertheless many of them appeared on the antiques markets and eventually made their way into museums and/or the scholarly press. Second, the decade also witnessed the five-year long Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project (1995–2000). This multidisciplinary inquiry into ancient China’s political chronology was funded by the Chinese government at levels hitherto unimagined for humanistic and social science research, and it resulted in numerous discoveries and publications. The chronology of the Western Zhou period, based to a very large extent on the inscriptions in bronze vessels of the period, was perhaps the most important topic explored by this project. The decade witnessed extensive archaeological excavations at several major Zhou states, as well as the discovery of several fully-dated bronze inscriptions that were the subject of much discussion in the context of the “Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project.”<sup>2</sup>

The ten years that have just passed have brought several more extensive archaeological campaigns, several of them unearthing sites and cemeteries of heretofore unknown states within the Zhou realm, as well as many, many more bronze vessels from throughout the Western Zhou period, some of them with truly startling inscriptions. Of these, only two