

Between Kin and King: Social Aspects of Western Zhou Ritual

Paul Nicholas Vogt

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ABSTRACT

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The Western Zhou period (ca. 1045-771 BCE) saw the dissemination of a particular style of ancestral ritual across North China, as the Zhou royal faction leveraged its familiarity with the ritual techniques of the conquered Shang culture to complement its project of state formation. Looking back on this era as the golden age of governance, Eastern Zhou and Han thinkers sought to codify its ritual in comprehensive textual treatments collectively known as the *Sanli* and, in particular, the *Zhouli*, or “Rites of Zhou.” Later scholarship has consistently drawn on the *Sanli* as a reference point and assumed standard for the characterization of Western Zhou rites. Current understandings of the formative era of early Chinese ritual are thus informed by the syncretic and classicizing tendencies of the early empires.

To redress this issue, the present study explores the ritual practices of the Western Zhou based on their records on inscribed bronzes, the most extensive source of textual information on the period. It characterizes Western Zhou ancestral rites as fluid phenomena subject to continued redefinition, adoption, cooption, and abandonment as warranted by the different interests of Western Zhou elites. Separate discussions consider the role of ancestral rites and inscribed bronzes in materializing the royal presence within the interaction spheres of elite lineages; the evolution of ritual performances of Zhou kingship, and their relationship to the military and political circumstances of the royal house; the emergence of new ritual contexts of patronage, recognition, and reward that differentiated between members of expanding lineages and intensified royal control over key resources; and the combination of multiple ritual techniques with royal hospitality provision to create major ritual event assemblies. A final synthesis brings

these discussions together into a sequential analysis of Western Zhou ritual, relating them to the evolving political situation of the Zhou royal house.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	i
LIST OF CHARTS, GRAPHS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
CONVENTIONS	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
DEDICATION	xv
INTRODUCTION: RITUAL AND THE FORMATION OF THE WESTERN ZHOU STATE	1
0.1: Introduction	1
0.2: Background of the study of Zhou ritual	3
0.3: The “Zhou” in Zhou ritual	6
0.4: Theoretical approach to social aspects of ritual	11
<i>0.4.1: “Social aspects” and the “sociology of associations”</i>	11
<i>0.4.2: The king as “obligatory passage point”</i>	14
<i>0.4.3: Regularized actions and the diagnosis of ritual</i>	15
<i>0.4.4: Material objects, social objects, and “rite names”</i>	21
0.5: Ritual in the inscriptions: prior work and present standpoint	24
0.6: Source materials	25
0.7: Organization of the work	30
CHAPTER 1: LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS: KINSHIP, ANCESTORS, BRONZES, AND THE BASIS OF ZHOU RITUAL	34
1.1: Introduction	34
1.2: Western Zhou kinship terminology and identity formation	36
1.2.1: Ancestral temples and ancestral lines (Zong 宗)	36
1.2.1.1: Zong 宗 as location in the Western Zhou inscriptions	37
1.2.1.2: Zong as a designation for people	42
1.2.1.3: Summary	47
1.2.2: Kinship-based military units (Zu 族)	48

1.2.3: Clans/surnames (xing 姓)	50
1.2.4: Shi 氏	54
1.2.4.1: <i>Early Western Zhou cases of shi 氏</i>	54
1.2.4.2: <i>Middle Western Zhou cases of shi 氏</i>	56
1.2.4.3: <i>Late Western Zhou cases of shi 氏</i>	58
1.2.4.4: <i>Summary</i>	61
1.2.5: The terminology of Western Zhou group identity	62
1.3: Feasting, edible sacrifices, inscribed bronze vessels, and ancestral ritual	63
1.3.1: <i>The ethic of presence in bronze inscriptions and the “distributed personhood” of the king</i>	63
1.3.2: <i>Creating ancestors</i>	67
1.3.3: <i>Creating lineages</i>	71
1.3.4: <i>Reporting in the presence of the ancestors</i>	73
1.3.5: <i>Feasting and ritual participation</i>	79
1.3.6: <i>Sets of bronzes and sets of ancestors</i>	83
1.4: Conclusion	87
CHAPTER 2: TAKING PART AND TAKING OVER: WESTERN ZHOU ANCESTRAL RITES AS SOCIAL OBJECTS	90
2.1: Introduction	90
2.2: Shared rites	92
2.2.1: Livestock rites and royal patronage	93
2.2.1.1: <i>Di/chi 禘/嘗</i>	93
2.2.1.1.1: <i>Royal performances of di/chi</i>	94
2.2.1.1.2: <i>Non-royal performances of di/chi</i>	97
2.2.1.1.3: <i>Di 帝, di 禘, chi 嘗, and the Bamboo Annals</i>	100
2.2.1.1.4: <i>Summary</i>	102
2.2.1.2: <i>Lao 牢/ Da lao 大牢</i>	104
2.2.1.2.1: <i>Royal instances of lao in the Western Zhou inscriptions (or the lack thereof)</i>	104

2.2.1.2.2: Non-royal instances of <i>lao</i> in Western Zhou inscriptions	105
2.2.1.2.3: Summary	109
2.2.2: Rites appearing mainly during the early Western Zhou	111
2.2.2.1: <i>Liao</i> 燎 (<i>burnt offering</i>)	111
2.2.2.2: <i>Rong</i> 彤	115
2.2.2.3: <i>Yu</i> 禦 (<i>exorcism/warding</i>)	119
2.2.2.3.1: Non-royal instances of <i>yu</i> 禦 (early Western Zhou)	119
2.2.2.3.2: Royal instances of <i>yu</i> (late Western Zhou)	122
2.2.2.3.3: <i>Yu</i> in the Zhouyuan oracle bones	124
2.2.2.3.4: Summary	124
2.2.3: Terms forming the shared rubric of Western Zhou ritual	127
2.2.3.1: <i>Hui</i> 禋 (<i>entreaty</i>)	127
2.2.3.1.1: Royal performances of <i>hui</i> recorded by high-ranking elites	128
2.2.3.1.2: Royal <i>hui</i> as an opportunity for subordinate elites	133
2.2.3.1.3: Non-royal sponsorship of <i>hui</i> : the Ze Ling bronzes	136
2.2.3.1.4: <i>Hui</i> as a declared vessel purpose	140
2.2.3.1.5: <i>Hui</i> in the Zhouyuan oracle bone inscriptions	143
2.2.3.1.6: Summary	145
2.2.3.2: <i>Zheng</i> 烝/蒸 (<i>deng</i> 登)	148
2.2.3.2.1: Cases of <i>zheng</i> in Western Zhou inscriptions: royal performances	148
2.2.3.2.2: Western Zhou vessels cast for the purpose of <i>zheng</i> : non-royal inscriptions	154
2.2.3.2.3: <i>Zheng</i> in received texts of possible Western Zhou date	156
2.2.3.2.4: Summary	160
2.2.3.3: <i>Zhu</i> 祝 (<i>invocation</i>)	161
2.2.3.3.1: <i>Zhu</i> in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions	161
2.2.3.3.3: Summary	164
2.3: Ancestral rituals performed only by Zhou kings	165

2.3.1: Su (饗) (AS glosses as 餼)	166
2.3.1.1: <i>Su in inscriptions</i>	166
2.3.1.2: <i>Su in received texts of possible Western Zhou date</i>	168
2.3.1.3: <i>Summary</i>	169
2.3.2: Yue 禴	171
2.3.2.1: <i>Yue in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions</i>	171
2.3.2.2: <i>Yue in received texts of possible Western Zhou date</i>	172
2.3.2.3: <i>Summary</i>	174
2.4: Ancestral rites never performed by the Zhou king in the inscriptions	176
2.4.1: <i>Chang 嘗</i>	176
2.4.2: <i>Sheng 升</i>	178
2.4.3: <i>Sui 歲</i>	180
2.4.4: <i>Yin 禋</i>	182
2.3.5: <i>Zhuo 酌</i>	183
2.5: Conclusions	184
CHAPTER 3: FIGURING THE KING: MIMESIS, PRODUCTION, AND THE RITUAL PORTRAYAL OF ZHOU KINGSHIP	190
3.1: Introduction	190
3.2: Rituals framing the Zhou king as mediator	191
3.2.1: Feng/li 豐/禮	192
3.2.1.1: <i>The etymology of feng/li</i>	193
3.2.1.2: <i>Da feng 大豐/da li 大禮 (“the Great Rite”)</i>	195
3.2.1.3: <i>The Bo Tangfu ding event: an occurrence of the “Great Rite”?</i>	200
3.2.1.4: <i>Summary</i>	205
3.2.2: Jitian/jinong 籍田/籍農 (“ploughing fields”)	206
3.2.2.1: <i>Ritual ploughing in later texts</i>	209
3.2.2.2: <i>The coercive implications of ritual ploughing</i>	212

3.2.3: Zhiju 執駒 (“catching foals”)	214
3.2.3.1: <i>The foal-catching rite in the Western Zhou inscriptions</i>	214
3.2.3.1: <i>The foal-catching rite and the management of horses in early China</i>	221
3.3: Conclusion: figuring and refiguring the Zhou king	226
CHAPTER 4: ENROLLING ALLIES: RECOGNITION, REWARD, AND THE RITUAL INSTANTIATION OF PATRONAGE	232
4.1: Introduction	232
4.2: Mieli 蔑歷 (“recounting of merits”)	233
4.2.1: <i>Mieli in the early Western Zhou inscriptions</i>	235
4.2.2: <i>Mieli in the middle Western Zhou inscriptions</i>	237
4.2.3: <i>Mieli in the late Western Zhou inscriptions</i>	243
4.2.4: <i>Summary and further discussion</i>	244
4.3: She 射 (archery)	248
4.3.1: <i>Royal archery as military metaphor</i>	249
4.3.2: <i>Archery as education vs. archery as diplomacy</i>	253
4.3.3: <i>Summary and further discussion</i>	267
4.4: The official appointment ceremony	274
4.4.1: <i>Physical orientation of ritual participants</i>	278
4.4.2: <i>The appointment ceremony and changing models of patronage</i>	280
4.4.3: <i>Written documents, the appointment ceremony, and the production of inscribed bronzes</i>	281
4.5: Conclusion: evolving strategies of patronage and enrollment	284
CHAPTER 5: WESTERN ZHOU RITUAL: A SEQUENTIAL AND REINTEGRATIVE ANALYSIS	288
5.1: Introduction	288
5.2: Ancestors and the ethic of presence: early Western Zhou ritual	290
5.2.1: <i>Separating from Shang: The formation of Zhou ritual in the period of expansion</i>	292
5.2.2: <i>Early Western Zhou ritual assemblies: the example of the Mai fangzun</i>	295

5.2.3: <i>Early Western Zhou royal ritual and political strategies</i>	300
5.2.3.1: <i>Lineage and the state in early Western Zhou ritual</i>	303
5.2.3.2: <i>Persuasive royal strategies of group formation</i>	304
5.2.3.3: <i>Materialized ideology and the relaying of royal rites through bronzes</i>	307
5.3: The transformation of Western Zhou ritual	311
5.3.1: <i>The crisis of Zhou royal power and the historical context of the transition</i>	314
5.3.2: <i>The peak of Western Zhou ritual diversity under King Mu</i>	315
5.3.3: <i>The rites of the post-King Mu period</i>	318
5.4: The issue of the “ritual reform” or “ritual revolution”	321
5.4.1: <i>The “ritual reform” argument and its correlation with the bronze inscriptions</i>	323
5.4.2: <i>Causes of the “ritual reform”</i>	327
5.4.3: <i>The political logic of the “ritual reform” and the post-King Mu changes in Zhou royal ritual</i>	328
5.5: Conclusion	332
CONCLUSION	335
APPENDIX 1: ADDITIONAL TERMS	339
7.1: Introduction	339
7.2: The question of <i>guan</i> 裸 (libation/toasting)	339
7.3: <i>Chai</i> 鬯/柴/崇	346
APPENDIX 2: TABLES AND FIGURES	351
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	372
BIBLIOGRAPHY	375

LIST OF CHARTS, GRAPHS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Table 0.1: The chronology of the Western Zhou kings	351
Table 1.1: Frequency of <i>xing</i> 姓 names in dateable Shang and Western Zhou bronze inscriptions (following the AS database)	352
Table 1.2: Western Zhou tombs with bronze vessel assemblages from Zhangjiapo, Gaojiabao, and the Yu state cemetery at Baoji	353
Table 2.1: Vessels declaring <i>hui</i> 萃 as a purpose	355
Table 4.1: Instances of <i>mieli</i> 蔑曆 in early Western Zhou inscriptions	356
Table 4.2: Instances of <i>mieli</i> in middle Western Zhou inscriptions	358
Table 4.3: Datings of middle Western Zhou <i>mieli</i> inscriptions	363
Table 4.4: Instances of <i>mieli</i> in late Western Zhou inscriptions	365
Fig. 2.1: The inscription of the Zuoce Yi <i>you</i> 作冊益卣 (after <i>JC</i> 5427, via the AS database)	366
Fig. 2.2: Selected instances of <i>zheng</i> 蒸 in the bronze inscriptions	367
Fig. 2.3: Variants of the character <i>su</i> 餗 in the oracle bones (after <i>JGWZGL</i>), with the Xi Shi Qing <i>zun</i> character (after the AS database)	368
Fig. 3.1: Variants on <i>feng</i> /related characters in the OBI (after <i>JGWZGL</i>)	369
Fig. 3.2: Examples of <i>feng</i> in the bronze inscriptions (after the AS database)	369
Fig. 3.3: The inscription of the Li <i>juzun</i> (after <i>JC</i> 6011, via the AS database)	370
Fig. 7.1: Instances of <i>guan</i> 裸 in the AS inscriptions (after the AS database)	371

CONVENTIONS

The chronology of the Western Zhou

While the reign sequence of the Western Zhou period is now beyond question, the exact dates and lengths of the individual reigns are still the subject of frequent debate.¹ The present work is not concerned with the precise details of Western Zhou chronology; it does, however, frequently refer to the reign-periods of specific kings, as well as to the early, middle, and late Western Zhou periods. When more detail is needed, it follows the reign dates and lengths put forth by Edward L. Shaughnessy in *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* and continued by Li Feng in *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*; Appendix 2, table 0.1, presents this chronology for the reader's reference.² Like the latter work, this dissertation uses the early/middle/late divisions put forth by Chen Mengjia in *Xi Zhou tongqi duandai*.³ It follows the common practice of referring to 懿王, the eighth Western Zhou king (inclusive of King Wen), as “King Yih” and to the tenth king, 夷王, as “King Yi.”

Transcription, translation, and transliteration

Transliteration of Chinese throughout this work follows the *Hanyu pinyin* system; for ease of typography, Romanization of Japanese employs kana spelling for long vowels (e.g., *ou*

¹ Over forty different efforts at reconstructing the reign periods of the Western Zhou kings have been put forth by modern scholars; see Zhu Fenghan and Zhang Rongming, eds., *Xi Zhou zhuwang niandai yanjiu*, Guiyang: Guizhou renmin, 1998, 442; cited in Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Chronologies of Ancient China: A Critique of the ‘Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project,’” in Clara Wing-chung Ho, *Windows on the Chinese World: Reflections by Five Historians*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009, 15-28. For a recent alternate effort at reconstructing the Western Zhou royal chronology, see Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjiazu, *Xia Shang Zhou diandai gongcheng: 1996-2000 nian jieduan chengguo baogao*, Beijing: Shijie tushu, 2000. For an English-language summary, see Li Xueqin, “The Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project: Methodology and Results,” *JEAA* 4.1-4 (2002), 321-33. This project has been subject to some criticism, such as, for example, the above article by Shaughnessy.

² *Sources*, xix; *Bureaucracy*, xv. For a reproduction of this sequence, see Appendix 2.

³ *Duandai*, 354, 491-524.

instead of *o*-macron). Transcriptions and punctuation of bronze inscriptions follow those given in the AS database except where noted. I have relied on the AS database transcriptions of bronze characters (again, except where noted) but, for typographic purposes, have constructed font characters to replace the AS font itself. Translations of bronze inscriptions, oracle bone inscriptions, and excerpts of received texts are my own except where noted.

Place names, personal names, and titles

The Chinese administrative division *xian* 县 is rendered as “county” (e.g., Mei county, Shaanxi), while town- or village-level name components (i.e., *cun* 村 and *zhen* 镇) are included in the Romanization of place-names. City- and provincial-level divisions (*shi* 市 and *sheng* 省) are not indicated.

For the convenience of non-specialist readers, I have given approximate English equivalents for the various qualifying elements of Western Zhou names; thus *Shi Yongfu* 師雍父, for example, is rendered as “Marshal Father Yong.” Characters and Pinyin Romanization are provided for reference on first appearance within a chapter. In keeping with this principle, I have followed the old custom of translating ancient Chinese aristocratic ranks with the titles of English nobility; hence “King” for *wang* 王, “Duke” for *gong*, 公 “Marquis” for *hou* 侯, and so forth. This custom is followed for the ease of the reader and should not be construed as implying any real equivalence between the Western Zhou and English systems of nobility and governance. That notion has by now been thoroughly disproved. See Constance Cook, “Wealth and the Western Zhou,” *BSOAS* 60.2 (1997), 283-90; Li Feng, “Feudalism and Western Zhou China: A Criticism,” *HJAS* 63.1 (June 2003), 115-44.

References to inscriptions

Whenever possible, first references to Shang and Western Zhou bronze inscriptions provide their numbers in the Academia Sinica database (see above). Most such inscriptions appear in the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* (JC); numbers with no prefix (e.g., the designation of the Minggong *gui* 明公簋 [4029]) correspond to those in that work. Since the AS database was first made available, many bronzes not appearing in JC have been added; these are typically designated with numbers beginning with NA (e.g., the Jing *ding* 静鼎 [NA1795]).

All of the few Shang oracle bone inscriptions in this work are derived from the CHANT OBI database (for which see <http://www.chant.org>). All cases appearing here were published in Guo Moruo and Hu Houxuan, eds., *Jiaguwen heji*, 13 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980; the numbering provided here follows that in the CHANT database and corresponds to that in *Heji*. Numbering of Zhou oracle bones follows that in Cao Wei 曹玮, *Zhouyuan jiaguwen* 周原甲骨文, Beijing: Shijie tushu, 2002.

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For Elizabeth
like everything I do

INTRODUCTION

RITUAL AND THE FORMATION OF THE WESTERN ZHOU STATE

0.1: Introduction

The Western Zhou period (ca. 1045-771 BCE) was understandably remembered by classical Chinese thinkers as a “golden age.”¹ With its expansion over the course of the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE, the Zhou state established a vision of most of what is now north China as a single, coherent political and cultural entity.² That vision informed much of the classic philosophical and historical literature of ancient China.³ Its influence was such that the chief powers of the subsequent era persisted in formulating their political identities in terms of service to the Zhou kings and the state in general, long after the temporal power of the Zhou royal house had been irrevocably compromised.⁴ The five and a half centuries following the sacking of the Zhou homeland and the eastern movement of the Zhou royal party are thus still known to history as the “Eastern Zhou” period.⁵

The advanced expertise of the Zhou royal house with both ritual and writing played a crucial role in its success. From the very eve that they sacked the capital of Shang, home of their

¹ David Shepherd Nivison, “The Classical Philosophical Writings,” in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 747-8. Dates in this work follow those given therein.

² On the expansion of the Western Zhou state, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 320-2.

³ See Nivison, “The Classical Philosophical Writings,” 747-8. This idea is summarized in the phrase *tianxia* 天下 (“under heaven”), *tian*, “the sky/Heaven,” being of special importance to the Zhou. For an early statement on *tian*, see Herrlee G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China, vol. 1: The Western Chou Empire*, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1970, 493-506; for a recent consideration, see Sarah Allan, “Tian as Sky: The Conceptual Implications,” in Jacques Gernet and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *En suivant la Voie Royale: Mélanges offerts en hommage à Léon Vandermeersch*, Études thématiques 7, Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 197, 225-30; as well as Allan, “On the Identity of Shang Di 上帝 and the Origin of the Concept of a Celestial Mandate (*tian ming* 天明),” *EC* 31, 2007, 1-46. For the role of *tianxia* in classical Chinese philosophical texts, see for example Lunyu, “Ji shi,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 2521; Mengzi, “Liang Hui Wang,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 2670.

⁴ This was made manifest in the institution of the *ba*, or “hegemon,” on which see Cho-yun Hsu, “The Spring and Autumn Period,” in *Cambridge History*, 551-62.

⁵ On the events surrounding the eastern movement of the Zhou royal house, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 233-78. For the traditional historical account, see *Shiji*, 147-9.

predecessors as the dominant power in north China, the Zhou kings drew on ritual actions of Shang provenance to create ritual event assemblies that argued for particular visions of their relations to the conquered Shang kings, the remnants of the Shang population, and the various other peoples with whom they had partnered to throw off the Shang yoke.⁶ In the following years, the Zhou kings capitalized on the use of inscribed bronzes in ancestral-ritual and feasting events – a practice derived from the Shang before them – as a key mechanism for the promulgation of royal ideology, associating the Zhou royal project and the legitimacy of the Zhou kings with the sacerdotal authority of the patrilineal ancestral cult. As the geopolitical, military, and demographic circumstances of the Western Zhou state changed, the ritual practices of both the Zhou kings and non-royal Zhou-adherent elites as understood through the use of ritual bronze vessels changed with them, eventually achieving a degree of formalism and codification that rivaled that of late Shang ritual and survived into the subsequent Eastern Zhou period.⁷

This work draws on the bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou period, supplemented by related archaeological data and by occasional reference to received texts of likely Western Zhou date, to characterize the social aspects of the ritual practices of Western Zhou elites. It considers both religious and political rituals – a questionable distinction in the relevant sources – as elements of the process of group formation during the Western Zhou period. The work characterizes the progress of royal implementation of ritual techniques from concern with enrollment of non-royal elites in the Zhou state project to concern with the internal

⁶ The “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu* records rituals conducted by King Wu at Shang in the wake of the Shang conquest, including a case of the negative entreaty known as *yu* 禦. See Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu jiaopu zhuyi*, Xi’an: Sanqin, 2006, 210-21; for an analysis in English, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997, 31-67.

⁷ On the introduction and intensification of sumptuary rules in Western Zhou ritual, see *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence*, Los Angeles: The Cotsten Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2006, 49-50. On the systematization of late Shang ritual, see David Keightley, “The Shang: China’s First Historicay Dynasty,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 237-45.

differentiation of participants in the Zhou elite identity and refinement of royal control over state operations and the production of vital resources. It relates this progression to both general demographic processes and specific historical events – in particular, the cessation of Zhou expansion and the untimely death of King Zhao, the nominal fifth Zhou king. In doing so, it puts forth a detailed image of the role of inscribed bronze vessels in transporting ideological manifestations of power across distance in both time and space. Bronzes and their inscriptions, it argues, transmitted ritual materializations of ideology between kin and king.⁸

0.2: Background of the study of Zhou ritual

The “Fengshan shu” chapter of the *Shiji*, China's first syncretic history, records that Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty followed ritual and administrative precedents set by the state of Qin during its grand project of centralization in order to placate Heaven and establish the legitimacy of the Han state. Later, near the end of the Western Han, the reformers Zhang Tan and Kuang Heng urged the rejection of these precedents in favor of a ritual program conducted mainly in the capital and focused on the relationship between the ruler, Heaven, and Earth. As justification for their program, they appealed to texts purporting to preserve a ritual tradition established by the Zhou, founders of China's first bureaucratic state and perceived cultural predecessors of the many regional elites subordinated first under Qin Shihuang (b. 259 BCE) and then under Liu Bang (r. 202-195 BCE).⁹

⁸ On the materialization of ideology as described by DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, see section 0.4.5 below; on “transportation” and its costs, see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 173.

⁹ Michael Puett, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002, 300-13; *Shiji*, “Fengshan shu.” These dates follow those given in Denis Twitchett and John Fairbank, eds., *Cambridge History of China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978-, vol. 1.

This reversal was the culmination of a trend in early Chinese conceptions of kinship, authority, and ritual that evolved over the course of the Eastern Zhou period. As the temporal power of the Zhou royal house receded further into the depths of history, the conceptual power of the Zhou cultural heritage – its potential as a locus of value, a legitimizing force, and an indicator of civilization vs. barbarity – became an object of contention between competing experts with various familial, regional, and intellectual affiliations. Ritual practices came to be seen as the ultimate expression of that cultural heritage, due at least in part to the influence of the *ru* intellectual and political tradition of which Confucius was the earliest and, eventually, the best known proponent. At the same time, the expansion of the practice of writing ensured that the battle to canonize and thereby lay incontrovertible claim to Zhou ritual took place on the page as well as in the context of living practices.¹⁰ Han imperial ritual would eventually become the state-sanctioned incarnation of a system of “Zhou” ritual built in this context of competition for the right to direct burgeoning processes of political, cultural, and ideological syncretism. The *Sanli* – a triptych of canonical texts emerging from the Warring States and Han historical context and purporting to record various aspects of “classic” Zhou ritual – served as the vehicle for the standard portrayal of the Zhou ritual system for the remainder of pre-modern Chinese history.¹¹

A major challenge to the *Sanli*-driven vision of Zhou ritual appeared in the twentieth century with the emergence of the “Doubting Antiquity” movement, an effort among Chinese scholars to call into active question visions of the earliest stretches of history based on texts long

¹⁰ Book-length explorations of the conjunction between writing and ritual in early China include Li Feng and David Prager Branner, eds., *Writing and Literacy in Early China*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011; Martin Kern, ed., *Text and Ritual in Early China*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

¹¹ On the *Sanli*, see William G. Boltz, “Chou li 周礼,” in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993, 24-32; Boltz, “I li 仪礼,” in Loewe, 234-43; and Jeffrey K. Riegel, “Li chi 礼记,” in Loewe, 293-7.

touted as canonical.¹² This came on the heels of the discovery of inscribed oracle bones dating to the Shang period near Anyang, Henan, site of the last Shang capital.¹³ Early traditions held that the Zhou adopted the ritual traditions of the Shang, with a few small but ideologically important changes such as a reduction in the volume of alcohol consumption in the context of group rites.¹⁴ Naturally, the discovery of the Shang oracle bones and the accompanying Shang remains at Anyang spurred new research into the ritual practices of the Zhou as well, with the Shang materials as counterpoint to a combined corpus of scientifically excavated Zhou-period remains, received texts long regarded as products of the Western Zhou era, and Zhou bronze inscriptions transmitted across the centuries by antiquarians of the Song to Qing dynasties. Received texts of uncertain date purporting to deal with Zhou ritual – the *Sanli* in particular – continue, however, to constitute an important and oft-used tool for the interpretation of these verifiably earlier materials, due no doubt in part to a newfound confidence in early texts inspired by the remarkable degree of correspondence found between the Anyang materials and later records preserved in the *Shiji*.¹⁵

By now, the groundwork has been laid for a new approach to the characterization of the ritual activities of the Zhou. The last half of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first have seen an unprecedented volume of discoveries of Zhou-era archaeological materials. Examples of Western Zhou meeting halls, elite residences, and pottery and bronze

¹² For the core writings of the movement, see Gu Jiegang and Luo Genze, eds., *Gu shi bian*, vol. 1-7, Beijing: Pushe, 1926-41.

¹³ For a thorough history of the study of the oracle bone inscriptions; see Wang Yuxin and Yang Shengnan, eds., *Jiaguxue yibai nian*, Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian, 1999. On their discovery see also J.A. Lefevre, “Les inscriptions des Shang sur carapaces de tortue et sur os: aperçu historique et bibliographique de la découverte et des premières études,” *T’oung Pao* 61 (1975), 1-82 (cited in David Keightley, “The Shang: China’s First Historical Dynasty,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 236 note 10).

¹⁴ For an early statement of the historical tradition that the ritual practices of the Zhou developed from those of the Shang, see Lunyu, “Wei zheng” 23, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 2463. On the teetotaling impulse as a means of differentiation from Shang, see *Shangshu*, “Jiu gao,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 205-8.

¹⁵ On the role of archaeology in the relationship between the “Doubting Antiquity” movement spearheaded by Gu Jiegang and the “Believing Antiquity” movement associated with if not actually supported by Li Xueqin, see Shaughnessy in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 5-10.

workshops are all available, in addition to a bewildering variety of shapes and sizes of elite tombs. Major loci of Zhou-affiliated cultural remains have been discovered across the scope of the pre-Qin Chinese world, from the Yu-culture remains near Baoji, western Shaanxi, to the Guicheng urban center near the north coast of the Jiaodong peninsula in Shandong. The corpus of extant bronze inscriptions – the most reliable and extensive source of contemporary textual records – has grown substantially, and the vast majority of these inscriptions, along with the details of the discovery of the bronzes bearing them, are readily accessible.¹⁶ The growth of bronze inscriptional studies in turn has yielded insights as to the language of the Western Zhou period that have helped to verify certain received texts as likely products of that era and eliminate others. In short, for the first time in millennia, the resources exist to support a characterization of the ritual activities of the Zhou based primarily neither on later, politicized textual records nor on the divination records of an earlier people, but on contemporary sources produced by the Zhou themselves. Such a characterization would in turn provide a standard to which later textual materials purporting to record Zhou ritual activities – in particular, the *Sanli* – could be compared. Developing such a characterization and establishing such a standard are goals of this project.

0.3: The “Zhou” in Zhou ritual

Proposing an examination of “Western Zhou ritual activities” implies that the label “Zhou” constitutes a coherent, recognizable, and falsifiable cultural category rather than a convenient

¹⁶ Most of these inscriptions are published in Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*, 18 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984-94. Qiu Dexiu, ed., *Shang Zhou jinwen jicheng*, Taipei: Wunan, 1983-5, or in the subsequent collection by Liu Yu and Lu Yan, eds., *Jin chu Yin Zhou jinwen jilu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 2002. Between the two of them, these sources contain 13,317 inscriptions; see *Bureaucracy*, 2. These as well as many more recently discovered inscriptions are now accessible electronically through the Academia Sinica’s *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku* (“Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions”), accessible at <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>. That source identifies 6076 of its inscriptions as products of the Western Zhou (figure retrieved in April 2012).

borrowing of a place name to denote a specific period of history. The origins of the Zhou geographic and cultural identity remain tantalizingly murky. Historical texts record that the Zhou people originated in the western parts of current Shaanxi but moved to the region now known as “the Zhou Plain” (*Zhouyuan* 周原), in the vicinity of Mount Qi (*Qishan* 岐山), during the late Shang period. There they are said to have served at least nominally as vassals of the Shang, with prominent Zhou leaders serving at the Shang court, until the depredations of the tyrannical Shang king Jie forced the first King of Zhou, Wen, to assemble an alliance of “men of the West” (the Zhou homeland lay in the far western portion of the Shang sphere of influence); sack the Shang capital, Yin, at the present-day city of Anyang, Henan; and establish a new rule with the blessing of Heaven (*Tian*), the closest thing to a supreme deity known from the records of the Zhou.¹⁷

Archaeological materials support this grand narrative of the birth of the Zhou to a certain extent. Excavations at Qishan have uncovered substantive ceramic and bronze remains, including Anyang-style bronzes, suggesting the possibility of a population in extensive contact with the Shang as well as other groups; this population cannot, however, be definitively identified as “Zhou” based on inscriptions. Generally speaking, ceramics in Shaanxi dating to before the Shang conquest, while conforming to a few specific overall types, show extensive formal variation from place to place, suggesting that the area was not yet under the control of a single, hegemonic cultural complex. A consensus has not been yet reached as to precisely which elements of these various cultures, if any, can be taken as indicative of a pre-conquest “Zhou”

¹⁷ See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, vol. 3: The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960, “The Speech at Muh,” 300-5; Wang Liqi, ed., *Shiji zhuyi*, Xi'an: Sanqin, 1988, vol. 1, “Zhou benji 周本纪,” 73-118; William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., Tsai-fa Cheng, Zongli Lu, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., and Robert Reynolds, eds., Sima Qian 司馬遷, *The Grand Scribe's Records, vol. 1: The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*, Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1994, 55-7. The move to the Qishan region is said to have taken place in the time of “the Old Duke, Father Dan” (*Gugong Danfu*), grandfather of King Wen.

culture in its least adulterated form. It remains a strong possibility that the formation of a Zhou cultural identity took place concurrently with the convergence of western forces that is commonly supposed to have precipitated the sacking of the Shang capital.¹⁸

The origins and antiquity of “Zhou” as a distinct cultural identity, then, are less than clear. Nevertheless, there exists a recognizable assemblage of material-cultural characteristics that can readily be identified as the population associated with elite activities in the region known from both received texts and bronze inscriptions to have been the center of power of the Zhou people during the Western Zhou period.¹⁹ These include cemeteries dominated by prone burials in rectangular tombs with tiers (*ercengtai*), sometimes including *yaokeng*, or waist-pits, beneath the center of the corpse,²⁰ as well as assemblages of bronze food and drink vessels intended at least nominally for use in devotional activities dedicated to patrilineal ancestors, sharing certain chronologically variant commonalities of shape and decor, and frequently bearing extensive inscriptions.²¹

The Zhou elite shared these characteristics with the Shang, from whom they are commonly supposed to have learned the art of writing. Indeed, the question of the exact relationship between the Zhou and Shang peoples was one of the major research questions of twentieth-century Chinese archaeology, paleography, and history, and it remains so today. Evidence from bronze inscriptions, however, allows us to state with certainty that the Zhou population itself was engaged in the production and use of bronze ritual vessels from the early

¹⁸ Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 376-85. On the general archaeological situation in the Plain of Zhou, see Chen Quanfang, *Zhouyuan yu Zhou wenhua*, Shanghai: Renmin, 1988.

¹⁹ Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 358

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ For a detailed analysis of the formal characteristics of Western Zhou bronzes, see Wang Shimin, Chen Gongrou, and Zhang Changshou, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi fenqi duandai yanjiu*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1999. On the bronzes of the Zhou homeland in particular, see Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Shaanxi chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi*, 4 vols., Beijing: Wenwu, 1979-84; Cao Wei, ed., *Zhouyuan chutu qingtongqi*, 10 vols., Chengdu: Ba shu, 2005.

portion of the Western Zhou period onward.²² Western Zhou bronzes soon developed differences from Shang bronzes in style and then in typical vessel assemblages.²³

A cluster of cemetery and settlement sites surrounding the Feng river near Xi'an, Shaanxi, is widely recognized as the remains of a major Zhou urban center associated with the capitals Feng and Hao -- locations frequently mentioned in bronze inscriptions -- and is generally held forth as a standard against which Zhou material culture is judged, though Western Zhou materials recovered in the Zhouyuan area are now challenging it for that distinction.²⁴ Materials associated with Western Zhou elites have been found across the scope of North China, however. Many of these include bronzes with inscriptions identifying them as products of Zhou elite activities; often these sites can be associated with Zhou-affiliated states known from later historical records, as in the cases of the Jin state cemetery at Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi, and the Yan state cemetery at Fangshan, Liulihe, Beijing.²⁵ Sometimes, "Zhou-style" items and practices from these sites can readily be distinguished from those with local characteristics, as is the case at Tianma-Qucun.²⁶ At other sites, controversy exists over the possibility of distinguishing between "Zhou" and "local" practices, as with the Western Zhou-era materials known from the Luoyang region.²⁷

²² For example, Ma Chengyuan's *Mingwen xuan* assigns 2 of the 533 vessels it covers to the reign of King Wu, 33 to the reign of King Cheng, and 37 more to the "early Western Zhou" in general; see Ma Chengyuan, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwenxuan*, 4 vols., Beijing: Wenwu, 1986-90, vol. 3, 1-11 (table of contents).

²³ See Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," 359-64.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 390, 393. *Landscape and Power*, 40-6, offers a detailed summary of the archaeological work done in the Feng river area. For the most extensive reports on sites in this area, see Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Fengxi fajue baogao*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1962; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Zhangjiapo Xi Zhou mudi*, Beijing: Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chubanshe, 1999. On the cities of Feng and Hao, see Wang Shimin, "Zhou du Feng Hao weizhi shangque," *Lishi yanjiu* 1958.2, 63-70; *Landscape and Power*, 44-6.

²⁵ See Zou Heng *et al.*, eds., *Tianma Qucun, 1980-1989*, Beijing: Kexue, 2000; Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo, ed., *Liulihe Xi Zhou Yan guo mudi*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1995.

²⁶ See Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 211-3.

²⁷ See Luoyang shi wenwu gongzuodui, *Luoyang Beiyao Xi Zhou mu*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1999, 367-8, 373, 384. It is notable that the authors of this report consider the proportionately low presence of waist-pits in Beiyao tombs to be a distinguishing factor between Shang and Zhou cultural influences, while Rawson characterizes the use of

The consistency of material remains at sites across North China identifiable as products of “Zhou elite activity” based on inscriptional evidence provides solid ground for the identification of a “Zhou culture” at the elite level. In other words, the material records of the period attest to the existence of a coherent cultural complex with a demonstrable geographic extent that is closely associated with Zhou elite activities and can therefore fruitfully be called “Zhou culture.” When the terms “Zhou” and “Zhou culture” are used in this work, they refer to this elite cultural and political complex unless otherwise indicated. They specifically do *not* indicate a fixed ethnic or geographic identity, for it is clear that a variety of populations, including some who might have identified themselves based on ethnicity or place of origin as “Zhou,” participated in this complex to greater or lesser degrees. On the other hand, there was an identifiable material culture of the Zhou homeland at the non-elite level, distinct from that of the Shang; this was confined mainly to the Wei river valley and surrounding areas, though elements of it were transplanted into the distant east over time.²⁸ Still, the populations that shared this material culture did not necessarily also share a single formulation of ethnicity, though we can be sure that the people that identified themselves as “Zhou” were among them.

It bears mentioning that the material products of the elite cultural complex here identified as “Zhou” did in fact employ that term as a meaningful concept. Examples abound from Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, most of which refer to locations called “Zhou” or “Ancestral Zhou” (*zongzhou* 宗周).²⁹ The term “Zhou,” then, was not a later interpolation imposed on a

waist-pits as a cultural trait shared by the Shang and the Zhou. For a good English-language summary of the issues inherent in distinguishing Shang and Zhou cultural elements in the Luoyang tombs, see Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 177-86, 192-4.

²⁸ *Fengxi fajue baogao* and *Zhangjiapo* put forth the fundamental archaeological standards for the diagnosis of this culture; see *Landscape and Power*, 43; see also Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 379. For a survey of the various material cultures of the Wei river valley and surrounding areas, see *ibid.*, 40-58. On the progression of Zhou material culture into the eastern reaches of north China, see *ibid.*, 310-4; Zhongmei lianhe Guicheng kaogudui, “Shandong Longkou shi Guicheng liang Zhou yizhi diaocha jianbao,” *Kaogu* 2011.3, 30-9.

²⁹ *Sources*, 76-7.

previously dominant group with which contemporary populations were unfamiliar. It was rather a contemporary term used by both the Zhou and the Shang before them and expressing important conceptions of homeland and group identity.³⁰ In all likelihood, elites who identified themselves as “Zhou” in these terms shared in the “Zhou culture” as defined here; however, it is also likely that not all who shared in that culture specifically considered themselves “Zhou.”

0.4: Theoretical approach to social aspects of ritual

The following pages purport to characterize the “social aspects of Western Zhou ritual.” The historically defined “Western Zhou” part of that formulation produces little controversy beyond the occasional problem of distinguishing between a late Shang and an early Western Zhou bronze, or a late Western Zhou and a Spring and Autumn one.³¹ An accounting must be made, however, of what “social aspects” are and what the “ritual” that supposedly possesses them is.

0.4.1: “Social aspects” and the “sociology of associations”³²

The ways in which humans relate to each other, form institutions, and create traditions are important and valid areas of inquiry. Unfortunately, when sufficient generalizations are made about how these things happen, “society” and its “systems” may become fetishized, changing from a phenomenon requiring detailed explanation into a panacea called upon to repair

³⁰ The Shang oracle bones make reference to the Zhou by that name; see for example H06657r, recording a divination about a campaign involving the *Zhoufang* 周方 (derived from the CHANT database, <http://www.chant.org/>, April 2012).

³¹ See, however, the above discussion of the precise chronology of the Western Zhou period. Whatever the exact dates, however, there is general agreement that the period began with the sacking of Shang and ended with the relocation of the Zhou royal house to the east.

³² For this phrase, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 1-12, esp. 9.

any perceived gaps in understanding.³³ In the study of Western Zhou ritual, this understandable tendency often manifests in two particular forms. One is the explanation of Shang- and Zhou-dynasty phenomena through appeal to the prescribed sequence of Marxist historiography and the logic of production relations.³⁴ Another is the tendency to approach the ritual phenomena of the Western Zhou period, and Western Zhou society in general, as coherent, internally consistent systems, based on their presentation as such in the later texts of the *Sanli*.³⁵ Both of these trajectories of inquiry are of value, but they must be maintained in their appropriate positions, as possibilities to be proved in every individual case rather than authorities to be invoked in all cases; to put it in Latour's terms, the price of their deployment must be "paid in transformations."³⁶

In his back-and-forth relationship with the idea of "actor-network theory" – of which the work *Reassembling the Social* is the most recent and detailed manifestation – Latour accuses much of modern sociology, and critical sociology in particular, of falling victim to this reversal of causality.³⁷ In contrast to the appeal to the social as an explanatory force, Latour propounds the project of the "sociology of associations," a study focusing on the transitory connections between entities, both human and non-human, and their role in the formation and "performance"

³³ On this reversal of causality between "explanandum" and "explanans," see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 100.

³⁴ For a few words on the deployment of the Marxist historical sequence in early China studies, see Peter J. Ucko, "Foreword," in Sarah Allan, ed., *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press; Beijing: New World Press, 2005, xi. For an example of an analysis of an early Chinese rite informed by the logic of production relations, see Yang Kuan's discussion of the plowing rite in *Xi Zhou shi*, cited in chapter 3.

³⁵ Efforts of this type include Cen Zhongmian, *Xi Zhou shehui zhidu wenti*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1957; Chen Hanping, *Xi Zhou ceming zhidu yanjiu*, Shanghai: Xuelin, 1986; Tao Xisheng, *Xi Zhou zhengjiao zhidu yanjiu*, Taipei: Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yuekan she, 1979.

³⁶ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 173.

³⁷ Prior efforts of Latour's at approaching the problem of the "social" include Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993; "On Recalling ANT," in Law and Hassard, eds., *Actor Network and After*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, 15-25; "Gabriel Tarde and the End of the Social," in Joyce, ed., *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences*, London: Routledge, 2002, 117-32.

of group identities.³⁸ Latour characterizes the formation of groups as ongoing events of definition and redefinition, of the resolution of controversies which, he argues, can be “deployed” in order to reveal the particulars of the formation of associations.³⁹ Objects play a vital role in this process due to their superior ability to act across distances in space and time; they “pick up the relay” between instances of human contact, allowing collectives of which they form parts to last longer.⁴⁰ Since all collectives are thus composed, and since their parts typically are themselves connected to a variety of entities across distances, the result is a “flattened” landscape made up of “star-shaped” entities between which hierarchy, or “centrality,” exists only to the degree that particular agencies succeed at continually figuring and re-figuring themselves as crucial to particular visions of group identity.⁴¹ These figured agencies are the “actor” (or, sometimes, “actant”), and the ephemeral web of associations between them the “net,” of the actor-network.⁴²

This work follows Latour’s lead in considering the “social” simply as the formation and re-formation of associations between both human and non-human entities.⁴³ The roles played by rituals and their paraphernalia as mediators in the formation of a collective – specifically, the collective of Zhou elite identity formed in the wake of the Shang conquest – are the “social aspects” that it seeks to describe. It strives whenever possible to consider each ritual term or event individually and only afterward to characterize commonalities between them or group

³⁸ On the performance of group identities, see *Reassembling the Social*, 56.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 27-42; on “deployment,” see 136-40.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 63-86; on the “collective,” see 74-5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 165-90. On centrality and the star shape, see *ibid.*, 178, and Latour’s proposition of the “oligopticon,” 181-3.

⁴² On the actant vs. the actor, see *ibid.*, 43-62; on the image of the net, see 131-3, 242. Latour flirts with the alternate term “worknet” or “action net,” to emphasize the sense of action; on this concept see also Barbara Czarniawska, “On Time, Space, and Action Nets,” *Organization* 16.6.(2004), 777-95.

⁴³ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 11, 64-5, 159-64. Latour employs the term “mediator,” in opposition to the term “intermediary,” to indicate an entity that exercises agency, creates an effect, in the formation of a group rather than simply transmitting the action of one entity to another; on this concept see *ibid.*, 38-40. This work will make frequent use of the term in Latour’s sense.

them into categories, rather than appealing to “Zhou society” or the “Zhou ritual system” as independently existing forces driving the actions of Western Zhou elites. The effort at specificity is less radical in a work of history, for which the laying out of individual cases in a sequence to create a convincing narrative is an accepted goal, than in Latour’s effort at the formulation of a new sociology; in this sense his “sociology of associations” is peculiarly well suited for thinking about history. Undoubtedly, however, this work still strays from Latour’s difficult methodological goal in places, for which I ask both his and the reader’s indulgence.

0.4.2: The king as “obligatory passage point”

Much, though not all, of this work focuses on the role of ritual in portraying the Zhou royal house as a preeminent cultural and political force (a state of affairs which persisted well after its temporal power fell behind that of other power-holders in its interaction sphere). It is therefore necessary that the work should have some standpoint as to the creation and maintenance of hierarchical relations between the members of a group. The work of Latour’s actor-network brother in arms, Michel Callon, has proved helpful in this regard.⁴⁴ In a seminal article on the development of artificial scallop cultivation in France, Callon put forth the ideas of *interessement* and enrollment, describing respectively the processes of engaging parties in a particular vision of a group or project and securing their assent to occupy particular roles in the performance of that group or the pursuit of that project.⁴⁵ These formulations, Callon observes, may argue for a particular entity, institution, or practice as an “obligatory passage point,” i.e., an

⁴⁴ Latour himself has an approach to this issue; see *ibid.*, 63-4, 82-6.

⁴⁵ Michel Callon, “Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay,” in John Law, ed., *Power, Action, and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge*, London, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986, 196-233. For the terms *interessement* and “enrollment,” see 206-14.

interaction partner that must be engaged with in order for the benefits of membership in the interaction network to be achieved.⁴⁶

These concepts are all observable in the corpus of bronze inscriptions dealing with the performance of ritual, as well as in the customs of use of the ritual bronzes themselves. In the following pages, I will frequently characterize the ritual actions of the Zhou kings as efforts to solicit the enrollment, new or ongoing, of other elites in the collective that made up the Zhou state and that had the practice of particular forms of ancestral ritual as a hallmark of its identity.⁴⁷ Certain facets of the performance of that ritual, I will argue, conveyed a vision of the Zhou king as an “obligatory passage point” for the attainment of status in both lineages and the Zhou state as a whole.

0.4.3: Regularized action and the diagnosis of ritual

If the “sociology of associations” provides this work with its “social aspects,” then the “ritual” to which it attributes them remains to be addressed. This work makes no pretense of offering a better or more extensive definition of ritual than those already put forth by generations of scholars; nor can it offer a more extensive history of the theory of ritual than has already been given.⁴⁸ It must, however, make clear by what criteria inscriptions have been selected as evidence of ritual practices.⁴⁹ Catherine Bell’s recent formulation of ritual has been influential in

⁴⁶ Ibid., 204-6. I take Callon’s envisioning of a “network of relationships in which social and natural entities mutually control who they are and what they want” as comparable to group formation; see 203-4.

⁴⁷ See Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 74-5.

⁴⁸ For the most detailed history of the theory of ritual available in English, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

⁴⁹ The past century saw influential theoretical formulations of ritual and its relationship to communication, notably Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, New York: Vintage Books, 1973 (cited in Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 45) and Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*, Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1985. Tambiah’s in particular put forth a view of ritual acts as performances of linguistic classes; see Tambiah, 17-59 (see also Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 51-2). Tambiah’s vision has had some influence in the study of Western

the development of my approach herein; I will therefore take the liberty of distinguishing that approach against the background of her work.⁵⁰

In her history of the theory of ritual, Bell highlights the degree to which studies of ritual appear to describe the theoretical behaviors of their formulators rather than the concerns of the sample populations on whose practices they are based.⁵¹ To distance herself from this, Bell rejects fixed categories of “ritual” and “non-ritual” in favor of a continuum of “ritualization” in which practices differentially participate. This process of ritualization, Bell suggests, is the imbuing of certain practices with a distinct sense of value that sets them apart from other modes of action. The goals vary, but the results of ritualized actions, Bell states, are accomplished through means different from those perceived by the actors driving them; in other words, ritual is wrong about how it does what it does.⁵²

In theory, ritualization can take any form that distinguishes the practices on which it operates from others; in practice, Bell states, it tends to involve formality, repetition, and other indicators commonly associated with ceremony.⁵³ A common quality of all ritualized action as a form of practice, however, is its exercise of “redemptive hegemony” -- its capacity to offer strategic benefit to actors who submit to its particularly constructed vision of the world and its

Zhou ritual, especially with respect to explanations of the changes referred to as the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform” and to the possible relationship of Western Zhou practices with material preserved in the received *Book of Songs*; see Martin Kern “Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shijing*, and the *Shangshu*: The Evolution of the Ancestral Sacrifice during the Western Zhou,” in John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion, Part 1: Shang through Han (1250 BC to 220 AD)*, Leiden: Brill, 2009, 179-80; Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 295 n. 7. This work makes occasional reference to Tambiah’s, particularly with respect to the incorporation of different registers of communication into ritual event assemblies. However, the “sociology of associations” aimed at herein takes all efforts at the definition of groups, ritual or not, as performative; see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 34. While the performative definition of ritual offers valuable insight for understanding how particular ritual actions worked, then, it cannot serve as a diagnostic criterion of ritual in this work.

⁵⁰ This formulation is described in Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 47-54.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 73-4, 108-10, 140-2. I take issue, however, with Bell's frequent personification of the concept of “ritualization.”

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 91-3.

possible modes of action.⁵⁴ This “acceptance” Bell envisions in line with Foucault's theorization of power as a necessarily participatory process; it allows for the idea of involuntary action and resistance as an acknowledgment of hegemony.⁵⁵

Western Zhou events often combined individual actions of greater or lesser “ritual” nature into ritual event assemblies. Bell's vision of ritual as a quality rather than a distinct category of action provides a valuable model for understanding the inclusion of events of greater or lesser degrees of formality in these assemblies.⁵⁶ Also of key use is Bell's recognition that ritual action is not a simple matter of acceptance or rejection, but allows agents to select from differing degrees and flavors of participation; the case studies in chapters 4 and 5 will show that soliciting different varieties of participation from different parties was part of the Zhou royal-ritual project. I differ from Bell, however, with respect to her understanding of the characteristics and goals of ritual action. To put it simply, I hold that the valuation of certain modes of action as compared with others is a potential goal rather than a diagnostic quality of ritual.

The ritualization process, I contend, is characterized by the *regularization* of actions beyond the constraints imposed by physical requirements in order to imbue those actions with constitutional or instantiative power. Such regularization may include the formalization of language, patterns of movement, dress, and consumption behaviors, or it may call for an enforced form of spontaneity, as Bell points out is the case with certain anti-formalistic modes of

⁵⁴ Ibid., 83-6. Here Bell comes close to describing ritual as a vehicle of Callon's processes of *interessement* and enrollment.

⁵⁵ See Bell, 199-204, 206-8.

⁵⁶ Examples of Western Zhou ritual event assemblies appear throughout this work; however, for the most direct consideration of the “event assembly” concept, see the discussion of the Mai *fangzun* event in chapter 5. My thinking on these assemblies is influenced strongly by van Gennep, who placed heavy emphasis on the sequences of ritual actions; see Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*, Paris: Librairie Critique Émile Nourry, 1909, 13, 275.

devotional practice.⁵⁷ In either case, it creates strong criteria of participation and intentional rejection, both of which attitudes can play important roles in the practice of ritual. This work thus takes repetition, formalism, and other forms of regularization to be basic criteria rather than common modes of ritual.⁵⁸

Regularization plays a variety of roles in the perception, performance, and perpetuation of ritual action. When conducted openly and consciously, it can force negotiated participation of the sort that Foucault considers the necessary manifestation of power;⁵⁹ by enforcing and/or conforming to regularized expectations for modes of action to greater or lesser degrees, participants instantiate their perceptions of authoritative relationships. Through the capacity of embodied action to shape the unconscious dispositions of actors, regularization can cultivate particular ways of acting, thinking, and seeing, thereby encouraging the further framing of actions in terms of its rule set.⁶⁰ Each of these tendencies is visible in the sources on which this project is based.

Perhaps the most notable benefit of regularization, however, is its capacity to imbue action with a reassuring impression of effectiveness. Fraser long ago noted the phenomenon of “sympathetic magic,” the human tendency to imagine that entities that resemble each other can affect each other.⁶¹ Regularization extends this principle into the realm of interpersonal relationships (or, in many cases, perceived relationships between humans and imperceptible entities). Regularized acts of communication instantiate such relationships in controlled form,

⁵⁷ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 92.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 91-3.

⁵⁹ According to Bell; see *ibid.*, 191-204. See also Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, eds., *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, 208-26, cited therein.

⁶⁰ Bourdieu's enumeration of practice theory is an expression of this idea; see Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 72-3.

⁶¹ Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, New York: Macmillan, 1951 (1922), 12-55.

creating idealized versions of exchanges between parties. In doing so, they invoke the tendency to imagine that like entities – in this case, ritually envisioned and “real” relationships – can affect each other. The result is a tendency of ritual acts of communication to seem particularly effective – a “privileging,” as Bell would have it – based on the same principles behind sympathetic magic.⁶² The instantiation of a relationship during a ceremony creates an ideal model of the relationship that seems to operate on the real relationship itself. The fact that interactions between living human agents during ceremonies may constitute a heavy proportion of the total set of relations between the agents involved, and that the participation of those parties in the ceremony requires a very real instance of the negotiation of their relative statuses, lends credence to this impression.⁶³

A further contributor to the perceived effectiveness of regularized action is the tendency of humans to perceive intentionality operating in their surroundings. Alfred Gell has pointed out that the experience of living in a world dominated by human action leads agents, in a process distinct from empirical explanations for phenomena, to conceive of the causes of those phenomena in terms of intentionality.⁶⁴ Regularized actions tap into this tendency by virtue of both their contrast with less controlled modes of action and their capacity for habituation. Recognizing that a ritual prescribes a certain way of performing an action selected from a set of options, participants are to some degree naturally inclined to conceive of the forces prescribing the accepted method. In an immediate sense, participants may recognize nexuses of temporal authority as the driving force behind regularization; that is, they may believe that they perform rituals in a particular way because a king, priest, sage, or state says to do so. They may also explain the regularity of action in terms of models of “tradition” and “antiquity” as justifying

⁶² See Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 74.

⁶³ See Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 100-1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

factors, models which can also bear weight in other, less regularized situations. Expressions of both these conceptions are ubiquitous in early Chinese sources.⁶⁵ Neither of them offers a complete explanation, however; there remains the question of *why* the king, priests, ancestors, or gods prescribe a certain mode of action in a certain situation. Intentions have motivations, and so the perceived intentionality of the agents behind a ritualized action must be explained. In the absence of a better option, the most natural explanation for adopting a particular method is simply that it works – would the agents driving the selection intentionally choose ineffective methods? The mere fact that ritual actions require special effort to perform seems to militate against that possibility. This assumed intentionality, then, gives ritual actions a heightened sense of effectiveness based on external causes, i.e., the assumption of effective knowledge on the part of agents driving the format of ritual actions.

The process of habituation that regularized action creates in embodied agents creates an internal complement to this external motivator. Giddens and Bourdieu have both noted the tendency of repeated action to create dispositions in participants that influence both their further conduct and their ways of conceiving of that conduct.⁶⁶ In the absence of detailed conceptions of habituation, the tendency to envision a source of and reason for those dispositions allows them to act as additional evidence for the efficacy of modes of ritual action fixed through regularization; the participants will tend to experience certain ritual activities as “the right thing to do” based on the dispositions inculcated in them by their previous experiences.

⁶⁵ These two conceptions are by no means mutually exclusive, but are typically bound up with each other. The attribution of the creation of the rites to the Duke of Zhou and the tradition of deference to the “way of the former kings” may be considered as examples.

⁶⁶ This is the point of contact between Giddens and Bourdieu, who see these dispositions as dependent on “the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life” and “the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment,” respectively; see Bourdieu, 72-3, and Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984, 1-3. For a consideration of “mental dispositions” as intertwined with, rather than mere background to, cultural phenomena, see the theory of mind in Clifford Geertz, “The Growth of Culture and the Evolution of Mind,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, 55-83, esp. 82-3.

In Bell's terms, such actors have achieved “ritual mastery” in their capacity to recognize and act within parameters associated with particular modes of ritual practice.⁶⁷ This form of embodied “mastery,” I hold, is perceptible to the actors involved and can itself become an object of consideration and analysis. The approach to *li* as “the rites” espoused in the *Analects* is just such an analysis, an explanation of the phenomenon formulated as an attempt to re-establish the value of certain regularized actions in a time and place in which much of the ideological and political framework that once bolstered them had broken down.⁶⁸ The period under consideration in this project, however, saw the promulgation of that framework, and the sensation of habituation could still be perceived by some, if not all, agents as an additional prop supporting it.

0.4.4: Material objects, social objects, and “rite names”

By far the majority of the material in the following pages is drawn from inscriptions cast into ritual bronze vessels. These inscriptions are the most extensive source of contemporary information on the Western Zhou period; but they and the bronzes they adorn are also objects that required resources and expertise to produce, took up space among the trappings of ancestral cults, and were seen and used by people. This work is therefore in need of a theoretical approach to the varieties of materiality represented by Western Zhou ritual bronzes, the inscriptions they bore, and the ritual events recorded in those inscriptions.

Latour provides us with a starting point in his considerations of the roles played by non-humans in the performance of collectives.⁶⁹ The following pages will regularly refer to

⁶⁷ See Bell, 107-8, 114-5.

⁶⁸ For an introduction to the concept of *li* 禮 in the *Analects*, see Nivison, “The Classical Philosophical Writings,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 755.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 63-86.

inscribed bronzes as actors in the formation of Zhou identity, “taking up the relay” in order to bring specific ritual events to wider audiences through their use in ancestral cult activities. This approach requires the acceptance of the controversial assertion that non-human objects can “act,” exercise agency, despite their lack of consciousness and intentionality.⁷⁰ This view may, I think, have been less controversial to elites of the late Shang and early Western Zhou, given their interest in imbuing ritual bronze vessels with a gaze.⁷¹

The inscriptions of such vessels recreated moments of contact between the Western Zhou kings (and other power-holders) and subordinate or allied elites. In doing so, they carried ideological messages about the role of the royal house in the Zhou collective. This is particularly the case when inscriptions record the details of royal ancestral offerings and what I refer to as “rites of figuration,” rituals depicting the king as a specialized type of actor driving particular aspects of Zhou elite life.⁷² I have therefore found it helpful to engage these inscriptions in terms of the assertions put forth by Demarrais, Castillo, and Earle in their classic article on “materialized ideology.”⁷³ The enormous technical, human, and political resources invested in their production bespeak a deliberate selection of bronzes as a preferred marker of status and embodiment of ideas about elite identity. The following pages will address the question of what gave bronzes an advantage as a “power strategy.”⁷⁴

If bronzes and their inscriptions were materializations of ideology, the ritual events they commemorate were as well. They combined physical bodies, specially constructed buildings, sumptuous prestige goods, food and drink, and even bronze vessels themselves into compressed

⁷⁰ Ibid., 70-1, 76.

⁷¹ This point is explored at greater length in chapter 1.

⁷² I derive the term “figuration” from Latour, who uses it to describe the process by which the webs of associations connecting various phenomena are packaged into coherent entities that can be said to “act.” See Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 52-5. “Rites of figuration” are discussed at length in chapter 3 of this work.

⁷³ DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, “Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies,” *Current Anthropology* 37.1 (Feb. 1996), 15-31.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 16.

narratives instantiating particular visions of integration into the Zhou collective.⁷⁵ Different combinations and substitutions of these material elements, and of the particular actions that they performed and to which they were subjected, created very different visions of the benefits of affiliation with the Zhou.⁷⁶ Even more than material elements, the actions that connected them, and the terms denoting those actions, could be strung together in sequences or taken up and adapted to different purposes by different parties and at different times. Their flexibility underlies a debate about the viability of using individual ancient terms to characterize Shang and Zhou rituals.⁷⁷

In this work, I have not hesitated to consider specific “rite names.” Individual characters designated meaningful, coherent concepts to the people that produced ancient bronzes, and in order to understand bronze inscriptions and the rituals they described, we cannot avoid treating them as such. Their selection and ordering in overall ritual events, however, can be as meaningful as the individual terms themselves in understanding the strategies of association that Zhou rituals sought to implement. Drawing on the analogy of the “collective” in actor-network theory, I view these events as “ritual assemblies,” collectives of heightened significance, made up of people, places, things, and actions, that at once depicted and accomplished the process of enrolling participants in the Zhou group identity.⁷⁸

In an influential essay on differences in the diagnosis of anemia, Annemarie Mol and John Law characterize that disease state as a “social object,” an entity engaging in interactions like any other, but with fluid boundaries and varying characteristics depending on the people

⁷⁵ On the collective, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 74-5. Demarrais, Castillo, and Earle recognize rituals events as a form of materialization; see p. 17, “Means and Forms of Materialization.”

⁷⁶ Chapter 5 offers a few examples of these contrasts.

⁷⁷ For a retrospective on and criticism of the use of the “rite name” (*jiming* 祭名) as a standard classification in the study of early Chinese ritual, see Liu Yuan, *Shang Zhou jizuli yanjiu*, Beijing: Shangwu, 2004, 19-31.

⁷⁸ See notes 40 and 45.

engaging with it.⁷⁹ This work, and chapter 2 in particular, approaches individual ritual techniques, or “rite names,” as social objects in this manner – coherent entities in their own right, but with flexible borders; sometimes adapted and modified by non-royal elites in particular to serve different interests; and, above all, able to be manipulated, reordered, and combines in order to produce ritual assemblies with varying narratives of relationship to the Zhou identity. Both these individual ritual techniques and the ritual event assemblies that they made up were “materialized ideology” in Demarrais’s, Castillo’s, and Earle’s sense; through their engagement with and of objects, and in particular through their depiction in inscriptions, they formed part of the “relay” or “zigzag” Latour points out between human and non-human entities as part of the formation of groups.⁸⁰

0.5: Ritual in the inscriptions: prior work and present standpoint

In the Western Zhou case, the difficulty of isolating “ritual” is compounded by the developmental state of the writing system used in contemporary sources, the relative paucity and indeterminate dates of received textual materials, and the patchy condition of the archaeological record. The distinction between ceremony names, names of specific ritual actions, terms for “ceremony” in general, and other actions appearing as incidental parts of ritual event descriptions is muddled at best. Moreover, many relevant terms appear in the inscriptions with other meanings, whether due to dual usages or as loan characters.⁸¹

Prior efforts at the description of Western Zhou ritual in the inscriptions have provided fruitful ground for the roots of this project. In 1936, Chen Mengjia published a survey and

⁷⁹ Annemarie Mol and John Law, “Regions, Networks, and Fluids: Anaemia and Social Topology,” *Social Studies of Science* 24.4. (1994), 641-71, esp. 659-64.

⁸⁰ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 75, 78.

⁸¹ For example, the character *yue* 龠 is sometimes read as the rite name *yue* 禴, sometimes as *yue* 籥, “pipes,” and sometimes as *he* 龠, a musical term; see the discussion of *yue* 禴 in chapter 2.

characterization of the relationship between Shang and Zhou ritual practices based on bronze inscriptions and the then-young oracle bones. This article included a list of specific names of ceremonies that Chen observed in the sources.⁸² A 1989 article by Liu Yu offers a similar, more up-to-date list and a more detailed term-by-term analysis.⁸³ In identifying ritual techniques for the following analysis, I have drawn on the lists furnished by these two sources, supplementing them with additional phenomena observed in my study and by other scholars in other publications.⁸⁴ In particular, I have devoted considerable space to the consideration of ritual techniques with no demonstrable religious component, which receive less attention in those works due to their religious focus. In the chapters that follow, I characterize the use of these techniques, both individually and in combination, in the formation and negotiation of individual and group identities among Western Zhou elites. The results, I believe, show the value of considering religious and political ritual together in the early Chinese context.

I have made an effort to draw the distinction between ritual practices and other types of actions as clearly as possible based on the criteria discussed above, but errors undoubtedly remain, for which I ask the reader's indulgence. When possible, I have tried to err on the side of inclusivity. There are a few terms addressed in the following pages which may not refer to Western Zhou ritual techniques at all; I indicate my misgivings with respect to these terms on an individual basis. Two such terms, *guan* 裸 and *chai* 紫, receive detailed treatments in Appendix 1.

0.6: Source materials

⁸² Chen Mengjia, "Guwenzi zhong de Shang Zhou jisi," *Yanjing xuebao* 18-19 (1935.1), 91-155.

⁸³ Liu Yu, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli," *Kaogu xuebao* 1989.4, 495-522.

⁸⁴ In particular, for the observation of the existence of the plowing ritual and the foal-catching ritual, I have relied on Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 71 and 153, respectively.

This project seeks to characterize the ritual practices of the Western Zhou period based on contemporary sources, without imposing the assumptions of consistency and classicism inherent in the later ritual texts. I have therefore selected source material with some consideration, taking care to use only materials of definite or likely Western Zhou date as evidence of Zhou practices. Very occasional digressions into material of slightly later or, more often, of earlier date provide evidence of historical, linguistic, and cultural connections between the Zhou state and its cultural predecessors and inheritors. Care is taken to distinguish this material from the overall characterizations of Western Zhou terms, ideas, and practices.

As the only textual sources that can be verifiably dated to the Western Zhou period, the era of the establishment of Zhou cultural hegemony, bronze inscriptions form the core of this project. Present-day scholars are fortunate in having unprecedented access to a large volume of these inscriptions, many of which can be definitively dated to the Western Zhou period based on their content, the formal characteristics of the bronzes bearing them, and, in some cases, the archaeological context of their excavation. Two published compendia, the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* and the *Jin chu Yin Zhou jinwen jilu* are the main sources for bronze inscriptions, between them containing in excess of 13,000 such, of which about half are products of the Western Zhou period.⁸⁵ Most of the bronzes considered here appear in those two works, but I have included occasional discussions of bronzes, such as the Zuoce Wu *he*, which have been discovered more recently and so do not appear in the collections.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*, 18 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984-94 (abbreviated as *JC*); Liu Yu and Lu Yan, eds., *Jin chu Yin Zhou jinwen jilu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 2002 (abbreviated as *JL*). Between the two of them, these sources contain 13,317 inscriptions; see *Bureaucracy*, 2. These as well as many more recently discovered inscriptions are now accessible electronically through the Academia Sinica's bronze database (see below). That source identifies 6076 of its inscriptions as products of the Western Zhou (figure retrieved in April 2012).

⁸⁶ On the Zuoce Wu *he*, see the discussion of the foal-catching rite in chapter 3, section 3.2.3.

Recent years have seen the introduction of an invaluable tool for the analysis of this extensive corpus: the *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫, a detailed database of bronzes and their inscriptions maintained by the Bronze Script Workshop of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.⁸⁷ Its full spectrum of search parameters allows rapid and thorough consideration of particular points concerning the inscriptional record in a way not previously possible. The AS database is inclusive of JC; I have thus relied on it as my primary source for the JC bronzes. It now includes many bronzes discovered after the printing of both *JC* and *JL*; whenever possible, I give references to the AS database for such recently discovered bronzes, for the reader's convenience.

While the script of the Western Zhou inscriptions is closely related to that of modern Chinese, it does contain many character forms that are no longer in common use, as well as many idiosyncrasies of grammar and usage that distinguish it from the classical Chinese of later periods. Both transcription and interpretation of the inscriptions thus admit of varying opinions. For the sake of consistency and ease of reference, the transcriptions of bronze inscriptions in this work all follow those given in the AS database except where noted. I have produced custom font characters to replace those used in the AS transcriptions for characters that do not appear in modern character sets. These font characters follow the AS database transcriptions except where otherwise noted; any errors in such characters are my responsibility. Images of individual characters are derived from the rubbing images in the AS database as well. On the interpretation of bronze inscriptions, I have referred most frequently to Shirakawa Shizuka's monumental

⁸⁷ *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku* ("Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions"), accessible at <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>; abbreviated as ("the AS database").

work, *Kinbun tsuushaku*, as well as Ma Chengyuan's interpretations in *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwenxuan*.⁸⁸

Bronze inscriptions are the most abundant source of contemporary textual information on the Zhou state, but they are not the only one. The Shang, predecessors of the Zhou, produced voluminous records of pyromantic divination, inscribed on the shells of turtles and the bones of oxen. Most such “oracle bones” were concerned with the divinatory activities of the king, whose ancestral cult formed a vital part of the Shang state apparatus.⁸⁹ Many of the key terms on Western Zhou ritual, and especially that of the early Western Zhou, had their origins in these records.⁹⁰ They are therefore occasionally referred to in this work to provide background on the connections between Shang and Zhou practices, though never as evidence of the character of the Zhou rites themselves.

However, it is now recognized that the Zhou maintained a tradition of pyromantic recording similar to that of the Shang for some time, as oracle bones similar to those of the Shang have been uncovered in building foundations within the Plain of Zhou.⁹¹ The content of these records is of direct relevance to the characterization of early Western Zhou ritual practices, and so the discussion draws on these inscriptions as necessary. My main source thereof is the

⁸⁸ Shanghai bowuguan Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan bianxiezu, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwenxuan*, 4 vols., Beijing: Wenwu, 1986.

⁸⁹ Chinese sources on the Shang oracle bones are too numerous to list here; one still-classic example is Guo Moruo, *Bu ci tong zuan*, Dongjing: Wenjiutang, 1933 (reprint: Beijing, Kexue, 1983). The main compendium thereof is Guo Moruo and Hu Houxuan, eds., *Jiaguwen heji*, 13 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980. The definitive work in English remains David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Ancient China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978.

⁹⁰ For an early consideration of this fact, see Chen Mengjia, “Guwenzi zhong de Shang Zhou jisi.”

⁹¹ On the discovery of these bones, see Shaanxi sheng Zhouyuan kaogudui, “Shaanxi Qishan Fengchucun Xi Zhou jianzhu jizhi faxian jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1979.10, 27-37, and “Shaanxi Qishan Fengchucun faxian Zhou chu jiaguwen,” *Wenwu* 1979.10, 38-43, 100-3. For background on their study, see Cao Wei, *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, Beijing: Shijie tushu, 2002, 1-9. Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Zhouyuan Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: Entering the Research Stage?,” *Early China* 11-12 (1985-1987), 146-63, offers an English-language presentation of the subject.

volume *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, which offers high-quality images and conservative transcriptions of the Zhouyuan oracle bones.⁹²

The analysis of both the dating and the content of individual inscribed bronzes benefits from an understanding of the material circumstances of their deposition and discovery; and the patterns of deposition of bronze vessels have important implications as to their customary use, the psychological relationships between vessels and their commissioners, and their role in the formation of both individual and lineage identities. Archaeological materials are therefore of prime importance to this work. The following discussion draws on the published reports and monographs for several key sites of the Western Zhou period in its characterizations of the use of bronzes and the formation of the Zhou group identity.⁹³ Many other archaeological reports are considered by way of background for the analysis of individual bronzes.

In keeping with the purpose of this project, received textual material has been included only with the greatest caution. The dating of received texts is extremely complex, involving questions of the original production of a text, possible later revisions of both its content and its vocabulary, canonization of particular versions of a text as compared with others, and physical transmission. It is beyond the scope of this work to establish either a full methodology for the dating of pre-Qin texts or a full set of datings for received texts of potential Western Zhou provenance. Still, there are certain texts, or portions of texts, that are widely considered likely

⁹² Cao Wei, *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*. Another valuable source, occasionally consulted in preparing this work, is Xu Xitai, *Zhouyuan jiaguwen zongshu*, Xi'an: Sanqin, 1987.

⁹³ The main sites considered include Baoji (Yu), Gaojiabao (Ge), Liulihe (Yan), Tianma-Qucun (Jin), Zhangjiapo, Zhougongmiao, and the Zhouyuan region. On these see Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng, *Baoji yu guo mudi*, 2 vols., Beijing: Wenwu, 1988; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Gaojiabao Ge guo mu*, Xi'an: Sanqin, 1994; Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo, *Liulihe Xi Zhou Yan guo mudi, 1973-1977*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1995; Beijing Daxue kaoguxi Shang Zhou zu, Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, and Zou Heng, *Tianma Qucun, 1980-1989*, 4 vols., Beijing: Kexue, 2000; Zhangjiapo; Xu Tianjin, "Zhougongmiao yizhi de kaogu suohuo ji suosi," *Wenwu* 2006.8; Chen Quanfang, *Zhouyuan yu Zhou wenhua*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1988.

products of the Western Zhou, the content of which has in some cases been correlated with the bronze inscriptions.⁹⁴

The use of received texts as direct evidence in this work is limited to these materials. Most frequently referred to are the *gao*, or “Announcement,” chapters of the *Shangshu*, purporting to record various speeches from the early stages of formation of the Zhou state.⁹⁵ The “Zhou song” section of the *Shijing*, a collection of poems traditionally associated with the ritual practices of the Zhou, provides a small amount of material as well, as does the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu*, for which Shaughnessy has convincingly argued as a product of the early Western Zhou period.⁹⁶ The *Bamboo Annals* is also occasionally adduced for supporting or supplementary evidence on the chronological distribution of particular rites, though its value as a source on the character of ritual practices is minimal.⁹⁷ Beyond these core textual sources, later texts such as the *Guoyu* and the *Sanli* are occasionally cited as evidence on the later use of particular terms, allowing the contextualization of Western Zhou practices in the overall history of early China.⁹⁸ These texts are never relied on as sources on the Western Zhou period itself.

0.7: Organization of the work

⁹⁴ See Michael Nylan, *The Five Confucian Classics*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, 133-5, for a discussion of this issue with respect to the *Shangshu*.

⁹⁵ The *gao*, or “announcement,” chapters are likely products of the Western Zhou period; see Shaughnessy, “Shang shu (Shu ching),” in *ECT*, 368-89, esp. 379-80. On the relative dating of *Shangshu* chapters, see also Nylan, 133. Chapter 1 of this work contains a brief discussion of a portion of the “Jin teng” chapter of the *Shangshu*; this is to note an ambiguity in its dating based on the use of a particular term.

⁹⁶ Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Confucian Classics*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997, 31-68. On the “Zhou song,” see 165-96, esp. 165-6, which suggests a Western Zhou date for many of the Hymns. Nylan is somewhat less sanguine about the dating of the “Zhou song,” though she does suggest a possible Western Zhou date for some Hymns; see p. 84-6.

⁹⁷ Based on the investigations by David Nivison and Shaughnessy, I am confident that the *Current Bamboo Annals* has value as a source on the Western Zhou period. See Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius*, 69-100; David Nivison, “The Dates of Western Chou,” *HJAS* 43.2 (1983), 481-580; “Chu shu chi nien,” in *ECT*, 39-47, esp. 42-3.

⁹⁸ For the most part, I rely on the determinations of the chapter authors of Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993, with respect to dating. On the *Shangshu* and the *Yizhoushu* in particular, I have also followed Zhu Fenghan and Xu Yong, *Xian Qin shi yanjiu gaiyao*, Tianjin: Tianjin jiaoyu, 1996, 41-3.

Chapter 1 of this work characterizes the shared assumptions of Zhou ritual and their distribution throughout the period. The chapter begins with a characterization of the chronological distribution of kinship terms throughout the inscriptions of the period and their roles in the prevalent models of Zhou elite identity. It proceeds to a discussion of ideas about the relationships between living and dead lineage members and the royal house underlying Zhou elite performance of ancestral offerings and their records in the inscriptions. Noting the connection of non-royal houses to the Zhou kings through “nexus ancestors,” the chapter proposes a model of bronze inscriptions as embodying the “distributed personhood” of the Zhou king in the sense put forth by Alfred Gell.⁹⁹

Chapter 2 conducts a comprehensive analysis of the records of ancestral offerings contained in the inscriptions. Characterizing those offerings as “social objects” in the sense put forth by Mol and Law, it notes the differential use of various ancestral rites by royal and non-royal Zhou elites. It addresses the use of royal ancestral rites as the anchors of royal gatherings during the early and middle Western Zhou, the royal sponsorship of livestock offerings among non-royal elites during the era of Kings Zhao-Mu, and the disappearance of royal ancestral rites from the inscriptions after King Mu’s reign. Noting the differential adoption of ancestral rites with Shang origins among non-royal elites, the chapter shows that the performance of ancestral offerings among non-royal elites during the second half of the Western Zhou period provided the basis for many later characterizations of Western Zhou ritual.

Addressing the ritual figuration of the Zhou king, chapter 3 includes discussions of the “Great Rite” (*da feng/li*) conducted on the *biyong* pond and the ritual ploughing of fields and catching of foals by the Zhou king. It shows that the end of the early Western Zhou and the beginning of the middle Western Zhou saw the emergence of rites characterizing the Zhou king

⁹⁹ Gell, *Art and Agency*, 102-4, 230-51.

as the fundamental source of resources vital to the well-being of the state. These rites, the chapter argues, sought to naturalize and thus bolster the authority of the king in response to a conjunction of events that compromised the earlier vision of the king as the leader of a military coalition.

Chapter 4 is devoted to ritual instantiations of patronage. Examining the three most visible patronage ceremonies in the inscriptions—the *mieli*, or “recounting of merits;” royally sponsored archery meets and their institutional infrastructure; and the middle-late Western Zhou appointment ritual – it relates the changes in ritual patronage over the course of the period to the waning military power of the Zhou royal house and its efforts to secure a finer and more institutionalized degree of control over the Zhou heartland.

Chapter 5 examines the changing role of ritual in the formation and reformation of Zhou identity over the course of the Western Zhou period. It suggests that key differences between the ritual of the Shang and Zhou were in place at the beginning of the period, resulting from the different use that the Zhou made of Shang ritual techniques in a political environment of expansion and incorporation. It characterizes the reigns of Kings Zhao-Mu as a transitional period during which major events based around Shang-style offerings to the royal ancestors gave way to new ritual formulations of the relationship between the king and various elements of the state. The reign of King Mu, it shows, was the era of greatest diversity in Western Zhou royal ritual, when a crisis of military power drove the king to intensify ritual efforts at group identity maintenance in order to counterbalance the failing of the royal house as military patron and war leader. Noting the suite of changes in the descriptions of Zhou ritual in the post-King Mu inscriptions, the chapter offers additional evidence on the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform” seen by some scholars in the Western Zhou archaeological record.

The conclusion to this work situates the analysis in the overall milieu of work on the Western Zhou period and suggests directions for future research. Appendix 1 considers two additional terms, *guan* 裸 and *chai* 紫, of possible importance to the characterization of Western Zhou ritual. Appendix 2 gathers important tables for the reader's reference.

CHAPTER 1 LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS: KINSHIP, ANCESTORS, BRONZES, AND THE BASIS OF ZHOU RITUAL

The king said, “Gong! I, the young son, will retire and take up my rule at Zhou. I command you to remain behind. The guidance and governance of the [peoples of the] four directions have not yet been settled through ancestral ritual...”

Shangshu, “*Luo gao*”¹

1.1: Introduction

According to the orthodox understanding of Zhou society, the Zhou elite were organized into kinship conglomerates based on patrilineal descent. These kinship groups constituted the basic functional unit of Zhou society and the forum in which Zhou elite individuals could establish identities for themselves based on hierarchical relations with other members of their lineages.² Standing within a lineage constituted the most commonly recognized expression of status, and recognition of that status among individuals outside the context of one's own kinship group was a key element of the shared culture known as “Zhou.” The classic historical narrative of the rebellion of the stewards of Cai and Guan against their younger brother, the Duke of Zhou, upon his assumption of regency over the fledgling King Cheng, son of the eldest brother King Wu, in the early days of Zhou supremacy can be read as a manifestation of the ideological import of this model.³

As might be expected, the Zhou elite relied heavily on ritual activities to maintain the personal and cultural significance of their kinship model. The classic Zhou ritual activity *par excellence* -- the casting, inscription, and use of bronze food vessels -- was one facet of a whole

¹ *Shisanjing*, 216.

² For the classical statement of the *zongfa* lineage system, see *Liji*, “Da zhuan,” *Shisanjing*, 1506-9. For analyses of the phenomenon in the context of the Zhou period, see Zhao Guangxian, *Zhou dai shehui bianxi*, Beijing: Renmin, 1982, 99-110; Yang Kuan, *Xi Zhou shi*, 426-52; *Western Zhou Civilization*, 163-71.

³ *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 132-3.

host of ritual activities, including feasting, devotional offerings, sacrifice, impersonation, and commemoration, that allowed the constant construction and reconstruction of patrilineal kinship groups and that established and maintained them as indispensable aspects of enculturated Zhou life. As background for the rest of the work, this chapter therefore examines the connections between Western Zhou royal politics, elite kinship relations, and the production and use of inscribed bronze vessels. Through a survey of the terminology of Western Zhou kinship organization appearing in bronze inscriptions, the first part of the chapter characterizes royal interests as operating through, and thus motivating acceptance of, an understanding of the patrilineal descent group model as the key unit of Zhou elite society, as manifest especially in the concept of the *zong* 宗 (temple/temple lineage). It shows that the use of kinship terminology as a marker of identity expanded over the course of the period, suggesting demographic expansion and an increased desire for differentiation between individual elites.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the privileged role of bronze vessels, and especially those bearing inscriptions, in Western Zhou ritual. Drawing on Alfred Gell's model of "distributed personhood," it argues that the ethic of presence underlying the production of ritual bronzes and their inscriptions extended the agency of the Zhou king into the group interactions of individual lineages and connected the royal authority with the sacerdotal authority of lineage ancestors. The personal identification of lineage members with their ancestors, and in particular with "nexus ancestors" who established model relations with the Zhou royal house, was a key element of this process. The natural tendency for identification of an individual with the bronzes they produced, the chapter suggests, along with the customary use of sets of vessels in ancestral offerings and feasting activities, promoted a vision of elites as "collective individuals" who both

belonged to and iterated their lineages.⁴ As the role of kinship identifiers in elite identity expanded, the introduction of sets of identical vessels expressed this vision; at the same time, vessel sets created opportunities for individual elites to dominate the symbolic space of the bronze assemblage and dilute the connection between official recognition and the production of bronzes.

1.2: Western Zhou kinship terminology and identity formation

In discussions of kinship and social organization in early China, four main terms typically appear as potential referents to kin group identity: *xing* 姓, *shi* 氏, *zong* 宗, and *zu* 族. These terms are best known from Eastern Zhou theoretical texts on kinship relations and ritual,⁵ but the concepts they represent did in some cases play important roles in Western Zhou social organization. The following discussion considers each of these terms/concepts as depicted in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

1.2.1: Ancestral temples and ancestral lines (Zong 宗)

The term *zong* is associated with the early Chinese cult of deceased patrilineal ancestors and the core model of patrilineal kinship and descent on which it was based. Of the various terms commonly used to refer to kinship groups and related concepts in early China, *zong* maintains the most consistent pattern of usage throughout the early period. It appears in a few

⁴ On the concept of the “collective individual,” see Dumont, *Religion, Politics, and Society in the Individualistic Universe*, cited in Robert J. Foster, “Nurture and Force-feeding: Mortuary Feasting and the Construction of Collective Individuals in a New Ireland Society,” *American Ethnologist* 17.3 (1990), 432.

⁵ In particular, the *Liji*. See Liji, “Sangfu xiaoji,” *Shisanjing*, 1495, and “Da zhuan,” 1508. Cited in Falkenhausen, 66, 66 n. 62.

Shang-period inscriptions in three main uses: as a term or descriptor for a type of location,⁶ as an adjective modifying terms for vessels (usually *yi* 彝),⁷ and, probably, as a component of a personal name.⁸ It is more ubiquitous in the longer Western Zhou inscriptions, wherein its meanings are essentially similar but much more broadly applied.⁹

1.2.1.1: Zong 宗 as location in the Western Zhou inscriptions

In the Western Zhou inscriptions, *zong* occasionally appears on its own as a term indicating ancestral temples belonging or dedicated to specific individuals. This is the case, for example, in the inscription of the early Western Zhou vessel called the Shenzi Ta *guigai* 沈子它簋蓋 (4330):¹⁰

它曰：拜 頤首，敢 𠄎 邵（昭）告 𠄎（朕）吾考，令乃鵬沈子乍（作）罔于周公宗，陟二公，不敢不罔。

Ta said, “[I] bow and strike my head; [I] dare to clasp my hands¹¹ and brilliantly make announcement to my deceased father, saying, ‘Your relative¹² Shenzi has been commanded to perform X¹³ in the ancestral temple of the Duke of Zhou, to send up [offerings] to the Two Dukes, and not to dare fail to X.’”

⁶ See the Zuoce Feng *ding* 作冊豐鼎 (2711) and the Shu Ling *fangyi* 成鈴方彝 (9894). The latter describes itself as “a vessel for Ding Temple” (*ding zong yi* 丁宗彝); I am indebted to Li Feng for this observation.

⁷ See the Bingfu Geng *zhi* 秉父庚觚 (7281) and the two Bing *jue* 秉爵 (9056-7).

⁸ See the Zong X Ren *jue* 宗 人爵 (8803).

⁹ As of April 4, 2012, the AS database lists 165 Western Zhou inscriptions containing the term *zong*, of which it dates 54 definitively to the early Western Zhou, 46 to the middle Western Zhou, and 58 to the late Western Zhou; the occurrences of the term are thus divided roughly evenly across the corpus of the inscriptions. These figures are not adjusted for duplicate inscriptions, however, of which more may be expected from the late Western Zhou than the other two periods.

¹⁰ *MWX*, 56, and *Duandai*, 113-5, agree in dating the Shenzi Ta *guigai* to King Kang, while *Daxi*, 46-9, assigns it to King Zhao, as do Shirakawa 15.78, 27, and *Sackler*, 374 (under the name of the Tuo *gui*).

¹¹ Following the reading of 𠄎 adopted in *MWX*, 57, n. 1.

¹² Following the reading of 鵬 adopted in *ibid.*, n. 2.

¹³ The meaning of the character here transcribed as *wan* 罔 is unclear. In all likelihood, it indicates a type of offering; see *ibid.*, n. 2.

Here Shenzi is ordered to perform service in a *zong* associated with the Duke of Zhou, the famous potentate and regent of the early Western Zhou period. Unfortunately, the content of the inscription is insufficient to allow us to determine whether Ta/Shenzi claimed any kinship relation to the Duke of Zhou's line.

The term appears in a similar sense in the inscription of the Xiaozhi Sheng *zun* 小子生尊 (6001):¹⁴

隹（唯）王南征，才（在）[?], 王命生辨事[于?]公宗...

When the king campaigned to the south, at [?], the king commanded Sheng to discriminate between [i.e., to handle] affairs [in?] the Duke's Temple...

Unfortunately, no details are available on the provenance of this bronze, so that the relationship of the king's campaign to his command toward Sheng is uncertain; the campaign may simply have been used as a year-marker. Still, it seems likely that the command took place during the king's travels; in which case the inscription probably records a case of the king involving himself in the internal operations of the ancestral temple of a lineage distant from the center of Zhou power.¹⁵ At the very least, this inscription shows that the early Western Zhou kings occasionally took an active role in the administration of the patrilineal ancestral cult.

One occurrence of the term by itself, in the middle Western Zhou inscription of the Shi Zai *ding* 師鬲鼎 (2830), refers to the use of the *zong* for offerings to multiple generations of ancestors:¹⁶

¹⁴ MWX, 74, assigns this vessel to the reign of King Zhao, presumably based on its reference to a southern campaign; this dating is plausible based on the illustration of the vessel in *Xiqing* 8.43. *Duandai*, 85-7, assigns it to the Cheng-Kang period. Ma concurs that the *zong* here referred to an ancestral temple; see MWX, 74, n. 2.

¹⁵ Without additional information, it is impossible to say whether the "Duke" (*gong* 公) to whose *zong*-temple Sheng was assigned claimed kinship to the Zhou king, or whether the king was involving himself in the administrative affairs of another lineage.

¹⁶ A reference to "my august deceased father King Mu" (*zhen huang kao Mu Wang* 朕皇考穆王) in the Shi Zai *ding* inscription dates it unambiguously to the reign of King Gong; see *Sources*, 111.

... 𠄎敢對王休，用妥（綏）乍（作）公上父， 𠄎于朕考 章（庸） <號> 季易父 𠄎¹⁷
宗。

...Zai dares to respond to the king's beneficence, thereby making a *zun*-vessel to pacify the Duke High Father with offerings in the orderly ancestral temple of [his] august deceased father Guo Ji Yifu.

The syntax of the above passage is difficult, but it appears to say that the *zong* for which Marshal Zai had this cauldron produced, in which devotions for an ancestor of his known as the “Duke High Father” (*Gong Shangfu* 公上父) would be performed, was dedicated to Marshal Zai's father, named “Father Xi,” probably the head of the Guo Ji branch lineage.¹⁸

A more common use of *zong* is in the compound phrase *zongshi* 宗室, “ancestral hall.”

This term appears in inscriptions dating throughout the period.¹⁹ One, that of the Yin Ji *li* 尹媯 鬲 (754), contains another interesting tidbit about the establishment of *zong* and their status as a point of interaction between the royal house and its client elites through the medium of ancestral ritual.²⁰ I have translated it here in its entirety:

¹⁷ The transcription of this character follows Li Xueqin, *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1990, 95.

Offering a possible gloss of *da* 达 for this character, Li suggests that the 𠄎宗 may here refer to a side hall of the temple.

¹⁸ On the difficulty of distinguishing between the use of seniority terms to refer to individuals vs. lineages, see David Sena, “Reproducing Society: Lineage and Kinship in Western Zhou China,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005, 123-4; on the Guoji lineage in particular, see *ibid.*, 169-74. On the Qiangjia bronzes, including the Shi Zai ding, see pp. 155-68. Li Xueqin also suggests that Shi Zai and his father, Guoji Yifu, may have belonged to a branch lineage of Gong Shangfu's; see *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu*, 96; Sena, 166. He connects Shi Zai's lineage with the ruling family of Western Guo, descended from a younger brother of King Wen and originally assigned to an area near Baoji, Shaanxi; see Li Xueqin, “Xi Zhou zhongqi qingtongqi de zhongyao biaozi – Zhouyuan Zhuangbai, Qiangjia liang chu qingtongqi jiaocang de zonghe yanjiu,” *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 1 (1979), 29-36, esp. 31.

¹⁹ E.g., the Taibao *ding* 大保鼎 (2372), which the AS database rightly dates to the early Western Zhou; the Yubo *ding* 𠄎伯鼎 (2676), recovered from tomb M2 of the Yu state cemetery at Baoji and probably dating to the late phase of the early Western Zhou or the early part of the middle Western Zhou; and the Zhong Yinfu *gui* 仲殷父簋 (3964), dated by the AS database to the late Western Zhou, etc.. On the dating of the Yubo *ding*, see Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng, *Baoji Yu guo mudi*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1988, 364, 411.

²⁰ Both Shirakawa 72, 800-1, and *Duandai* 97, 135-6, date this vessel (along with the related vessel, the Gong Ji *li*) to the reign of King Zhao. *MWX* assigns it instead to King Xiao; see 230-1. The AS database assigns the vessels to the middle Western Zhou, perhaps based on the appearance in the inscription of Duke Mu (*Mugong* 穆公), who was active during the reign of King Mu; on this point see *Bureaucracy*, 79, n. 83; 131. Wang, Chen, and Zhang also put forth the Yin Ji and Gong Ji *li* as standards for their “*li* type II.2,” dating them to the early phase

穆公乍（作）尹媯宗室于繇林，佳（唯）六月既生霸乙卯，休天君弗望（忘）穆公聖葬明 釗 事先王，各于尹媯宗室繇林，君蔑尹媯 曆，易（賜）玉五品、馬三匹，拜 頤 首，對揚天君休，用乍（作）寶 鬯。

Duke Mu made an ancestral hall (*zongshi* 宗室) for Yin Ji at the woods of Zhou 繇. In the sixth month, after the *jishengba* moon phase, on the *yimao* day, the beneficent Consort of Heaven²¹ had not forgotten Mugong's sagely observation and brilliant assistance²² of the former kings. [The Consort of Heaven] entered the ancestral hall of Yin Ji at the woods of Zhou. The Consort performed the *mieli*-recounting of merits²³ for Yin Ji and awarded [Yin Ji] five items of jade and three horses. [Yin Ji] bows and strikes her head; [she] dares in response to extol the Heavenly Lord's beneficence, thereby making a precious vessel.

Given the format of the name Yin Ji in this vessel and of Gong Ji in the related Gong Ji *li* 公媯鬯 (753), it is almost certain that Yin Ji was the wife of Duke Mu, who established an ancestral hall on her behalf.²⁴ The basic nature of the event is clear: The Zhou queen came to Yin Ji's

of the middle Western Zhou; see p. 52. I am inclined to follow this dating, based on the relatively short profile and legs of the vessel, on the appearance of Duke Mu (though others might have borne that title), and on my sense that the administration of King Mu was more likely to have supported the ancestral-ritual activities of an affiliate lineage than was that of King Zhao; on this point see chapter 5.

²¹ Based on the inscriptions of the Zuoce Huan *you* 作冊鬯卣 (5407) and the Zuoce Huan *zun* 作冊鬯尊 (5989), Chen Mengjia has convincingly argued that the phrase *tianjun* 天君 was equivalent to *wangjiang* 王姜, "the king's [lady of the] Jiang," referring to the Zhou queen. See *Duandai*, 61-2, 135. The *tianjun* is also mentioned in the inscription of the Zhengren *ding* 征人鼎 (2674), in which she feasts and rewards the *zhengren*, or "campaign men," suggesting that certain Zhou queens occasionally took a hand in military as well as religious patronage.

²² Following *MWX*, 231, n. 2, in reading the character following *ming* 明 as *bi* 弼, meaning "to assist."

²³ See chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the *mieli* ceremony.

²⁴ See *Duandai*, 135-7. The inclusion of the clan-name or surname Ji 媯 in Yin Ji's name suggests that Yin Ji was female; as will be discussed below, Ji is one of a group of terms that occur most frequently associated with female names and that are assumed to refer to exogamic kinship groups. The involvement of women in the ancestral cult as both ancestresses and users of bronzes is well documented in the inscriptions; the classic examples of the former role appear in the inscriptions of the Dong *gui* 或簋 (4322) and the Zuoce Yi *you* 作冊益卣 (5427), both of which express earnest sentiments toward ancestresses. Elite women made use of bronzes that they commissioned themselves (as described by the inscriptions of the Jimeng Jiang *yi* 姁孟姜匜 [10240] and the Meng Ji An *yan* 孟姬安鬲 [910]) as well as bronzes commissioned for them by husbands and fathers (such as the Houshi *gui* 侯氏簋 [JC 3781], the Bo Baifu *gui* 伯百父簋 [3920], and the Yin Ji *li* and Gong Ji *li*). The main statement on the roles of women in the Western Zhou ancestral cult remains Chen Zhaorong, "Zhou dai funü jisi zhong de diwei – qingtongqi mingwen zhong de xingbie, shenfen yu juese yanjiu zhi yi," *Qinghua xuebao* 31.4 (2003), 395-440; on the naming of women in the inscriptions, see Li Zhongcao, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de funü chengwei," *Baoji wenbo* 1991.1, 35-9; *Landscape and Power*, 186 n. 126; see also Chen Zhaorong, "Liang Zhou hunyin guanxi zhong de 'ying' he 'yingqi' – qingtongqi mingwen zhong de xingbie, shenfen yu juese yanjiu zhi er," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 77.2 (2006), 193-278.

ancestral temple, built for her by her husband Duke Mu, and rewarded her with both utilitarian goods (i.e., horses) and goods with mainly prestige value (jade items). The reward was justified by the sponsor's memory of the past service rendered to the royal house by Duke Mu. Its validity was reinforced by its performance in Yin Ji's ancestral temple (*zong*). Yin Ji's ancestral temple thus provided a sacerdotal framework for the expression of patronage, serving as a venue through which the Zhou ruling elite could transfer prestige (and thus prestige goods) to Yin Ji's line.

The conferral of the reward in the ancestral temple allowed the Zhou royal house to re-instantiate itself in a ritual context as a hub of both material wealth and sacerdotal authority, reasserting the dependence of Yin Ji's household on the Zhou kings for its well-being and privileged position. The iterative, cohesive force of ritually regulated prestige distribution helped counterbalance the status anxiety of the recipients, expressed through the statement that the Zhou royal house would not "forget" the service previously rendered them by the Duke, but would continue to recognize the established position of Yin Ji's house within the Zhou sociopolitical structure.²⁵ That the powerful Duke Mu went to the trouble of establishing a dedicated ancestral-ritual space for his wife Yin Ji, at which she subsequently received gifts from the Zhou queen, suggests that royal recognition could motivate more intensive participation in the ancestral cult. In the context of ancestral ritual, the Zhou kings could thus achieve an exercise of participatory power in the vein of Foucault, wherein the control afforded by the ritual

²⁵ Duke Mu was in fact an important figure in the politics of the middle Western Zhou, appearing in the inscriptions of several vessels; he was also the progenitor of the powerful Jing lineage that played a vital role in the patronage relationships of that period. See *Landscape and Power*, 95 n. 9, 128-9; on the Jing lineage, see Zhu Fenghan, *Shang Zhou jiazhu xingtai yanjiu*, 368-9.

system was tempered by the capacity for the controlled to exercise agency by participating in the continuation of the system.²⁶

The epitome of the *zong*, and one of its most common uses as a place name, was the locale known as *Zongzhou* 宗周, or “Ancestral Zhou.” Zongzhou appears in inscriptions dating throughout the Western Zhou period as the primary venue of royal ritual activity. In particular, Zongzhou was the site of many ancestral rites conducted by the Zhou kings during the first half or so of the Western Zhou period in close imitation of Shang ritual.²⁷ The precise nature of these rites will be visited in later chapters; here, it will suffice to say that Zongzhou remained the home base of the ancestral ritual of the Zhou royal house throughout the period, as shown in this excerpt from the late-Western-Zhou inscription of the Hu *zhong* 馗鐘 (260):²⁸

...我佳（唯）司配皇天，王對乍（作）宗周寶鐘...

...So that we may govern our mixing with august Heaven, the king in response makes [a set of] precious *zhong*-bells for Zongzhou....

As the inscriptions reviewed in chapter 2 will show, Zongzhou was the site of a variety of rituals in which both the Zhou kings and subordinate Zhou elites participated, thus helping to establish the ancestral cult as a venue of prestige distribution throughout the newly formed Zhou cultural sphere.²⁹

1.2.1.2: Zong as a designation for people

²⁶ Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980. Cited in Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 199-204.

²⁷ On the disappearance of many “Shang-style” rites conducted by kings from the inscriptional record after the first half of the Western Zhou, see Liu Yu, *Shang Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli*, 514-5.

²⁸ The Hu *zhong* is sometimes taken to have been commissioned by King Li; see *Duandai*, 311-4; *Sources*, 111.

²⁹ On Zongzhou as ritual center, see *Landscape and Power*, 46. For detailed considerations of the location of Zongzhou relative to the other major centers of Western Zhou royal activity, see Shao Ying, “Zongzhou, Haojing, yu Pangjing,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2006.2, 41-5; Maria Khayutina, “Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Construction of the Western Zhou Polity,” *T’oung Pao* 96 (2010), 1-73. Khayutina 6, n. 13, gives an extensive review of sources on the location of Zongzhou.

Some inscriptions use the term *zong* 宗 as a descriptor for people. An early Western Zhou example, the He *zun* 何尊 (6014), provides more evidence for the role of the Zhou royal house in the dissemination of ancestral ritual.³⁰ I translate it below in full:

佳王初 嚳 宅于成周，復禹 珙（武）王豐，裸自天，才（在）四月丙戌，王 冏（誥）宗小子于京室，曰：昔才（在）爾考公氏，克 遘（弼）玟（文）王， 肆（肆）玟王受茲 □□（大命），佳（唯） 珙（武）王既克大邑商，則廷告于天，曰：余其宅茲中或（國），自之 薛（乂）民，烏虐（乎），爾有唯小子亡戡（識），視于公氏，有爵于天，徹令苟（敬） 冏（享） 戠（哉）。 車 王 龔（恭）德谷（裕）天，順我不每（敏），王咸 冏（誥）， 何 易（賜）貝卅朋，用乍（作） □ 公寶 罍 彝。佳（唯）王五祀。

It was when the king first moved to take up residence at Chengzhou, offering rites to King Wu and libations toward Heaven.³¹ During the fourth month, on the *bingwu* day, the king made an announcement to the sons of the lineage at the Jing Hall, saying, “Of old, in the days when your deceased father, the Gongshi, greatly assisted King Wen, he helped King Wen receive this great mandate. When King Wu had conquered the great city of Shang, he then went on to announce it to Heaven, saying, ‘I shall dwell in these central states and from there govern the people.’ Alas! You are but young sons without understanding. Look to the Gongshi, have a *jue*-cup [of liquor] for Heaven, and penetrate the mandate and revere the offerings!” The king’s (i.e., King Wu’s) reverent virtue filled³² Heaven and instructed our lack of cleverness.³³ The king completed his address. He 何 was rewarded with thirty strings of cowries, which he used to make a precious, revered vessel for Xgong. It was the king’s fifth year (sacrificial cycle).³⁴

Again, this inscription contains some ambiguities and difficult points, but the overall situation is clear. During the process of establishing his residence at the newly built capital of Chengzhou,

³⁰ Based on the inscription’s reference to the king’s change of residence to Chengzhou and to Kings Wen and Wu, there is little doubt that the He *zun* dates to the reign of King Cheng. See MWX 32, 20-2, esp. n. 1; Tang Lan, “He zun mingwen jieshi,” *Wenwu* 1976.1, 60; *Sources*, 110.

³¹ The reading of this first line of the inscription is problematic. For an in-depth discussion of the line, see chapter 3, note 6; Appendix 1.

³² Following MWX, 21 n. 13, in reading *gu* 谷 as *yu* 裕, glossed as *yurong* 裕容.

³³ Following *ibid.* in reading 車 as *wei* 惟.

³⁴ For an in-depth examination of this inscription, see the associated articles in *Wenwu* 1976.1, including Tang Lan, “He zun mingwen jieshi,” 60-3; Ma Chengyuan, “He zun mingwen chushi,” 64-5, 93; and Zhang Zhenglang, “He zun mingwen jieshi buyi,” 66. See also Li Xueqin, *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu*, 38-45.

King Cheng, son of King Wu, performed rites dedicated to his father and to *tian*, “Heaven.”³⁵ On this occasion, he addressed a group called the *zong xiaozi*, “young sons of the ancestral line/temple,” at a place called the “Capital Hall;” these were probably relatives of the Zhou royal house.³⁶ There he entreated them to look back to and emulate the example of their ancestor, for whom no name is given; he is known only by the generic honorific title *gongshi* 公氏. This Gongshi participated in the establishment of the Zhou state with King Wen. He 兕, a member of Gongshi’s lineage, was afterward rewarded with the substantial sum of thirty strings of cowries, with which he commissioned a vessel dedicated to X (the character is damaged) Gong – possibly the Gongshi that the king mentioned, or perhaps one of his successors as head of the lineage.

The He *zun* inscription describes a visit paid by King Cheng to a group defined by their common relations of patrilineal descent; it is likely that these “young sons” or “scions” were related to the Zhou royal house.³⁷ There the king recalled the identity of the lineage group’s “nexus ancestor,” the individual responsible for the connection between the attendees and the Zhou royal house; in this case, the nexus ancestor, called Gongshi in the inscription, was active during the life of King Wen. After recalling that individual precedent that connected the lineage with the royal house, the king then conferred a reward on one of its members. No justification was given other than the aforementioned connection;³⁸ this may reflect an understood connection of kinship between the royal house and the *zong xiaozi* among whom He numbered.

³⁵ The term *feng* 豐/*li* 禮 may indicate a specific type of rite in the Western Zhou context; see the discussion in Chapter 3.

³⁶ Tang Lan identifies the “Jing Hall” as an ancestral temple at Chengzhou see Tang Lan, “He zun mingwen jieshi,” 60-3. The phrase *zong xiaozi* appears in only one other place in the inscriptions, in the inscription of the Li *juzun* 盨駒尊 (6011), wherein it clearly refers to relatives of the king; see below. The phrase *zongzi* 宗子 appears in the inscription of the Shan *ding* 善鼎 (2820), in contrast to a group called *baisheng* 百生 or *baixing* 百姓; see the section on *xing* 姓 below (1.2.3).

³⁷ For the view that He and his fellow *zongzi* were related to the Zhou royal house, see Tang Lan, “He zun,” 60; Ma Chengyuan, “He zun,” 65, 93.

³⁸ Unlike in many Western Zhou inscriptions that record rewards for services rendered well.

In the He *zun* inscription, the king re-instantiates the lineage as a meaningful unit within the Zhou system of ritual prestige by 1) recalling its nexus ancestor in an ancestral-ritual context (i.e., the ancestral hall) and 2) reiterating the relationship of patronage begun by that ancestor by conferring a gift on one of his descendants. The language of reiteration is prominent; the king describes the participants as youths in need of molding and urges them to base their education on the model of their nexus ancestor. There is no explicit expression of a sense of reciprocal obligation of the royal house, as in the Yin Ji *li* inscription. This may be a factor of the difference in age or prestige of the parties involved; in the He *zun* inscription, the king is supposedly addressing a group of young people. Alternatively, it might reflect the different relationships between the royal house and the two kin groups; the He *zun* kin group may have found themselves in a more subordinate position with respect to the Zhou royal house.³⁹ I suspect, however, that it is merely due to the fact that the He *zun* directly records a royal address, while the Yin Ji *li* offers what may be a personal understanding of the reward received from the queen.

The response portion of the inscription of the Li *juzun* 鬯駒尊 (6011), a middle Western Zhou vessel recording a rite involving the capture of foals, offers a further example of the likely use of *zong* to describe a group of people.⁴⁰ It again situates the king in a position of precedence and authority with respect to the *zong* and, in particular, the *zongzi*, or “scions of the ancestral temple/line”:

³⁹ As a King Cheng-era vessel, the He *zun* records events that date to the heyday of Zhou royal power; the relative power differential between the king and the groups receiving patronage may thus have differed between the He *zun* and the Yin Ji *li*.

⁴⁰ The unusual shape of the Li *juzun* complicates its dating, but it can probably be assigned to the period of Kings Mu-Gong; for a more detailed consideration, see the discussion of the foal-catching rite in chapter 3, section 4.2.3.

...王親旨（詣）**蠡**，駒易（賜）兩，拜**頤**首曰：王弗望（忘）**畢**（厥）舊宗小子，**菑**皇**蠡**身。**蠡**曰：王棚下，不（丕）其則，邁（萬）年保我邁（萬）宗。...

...The king personally acknowledged Li and awarded him two foals. Li bowed and struck his head, saying, “The king does not forget the young scion of his old ancestral line (*jue jiu zong xiaozi*), but honors Li himself.”⁴¹ Li said, “The king is friendly to his subordinates. May he then for ten thousand years greatly protect our ten thousand *zong*!”

The phrase *jue jiu zong xiao zi* 厥舊宗小子, “the scions of his old lineage,” with its explicit possessive pronoun *jue* referring to the king, indicates clearly that Li considered his lineage to have not just a connection of patronage with the royal house, as did the kinship groups of Yin Ji and He, but a direct kinship with the king himself. Recent analysis of the Meixian vessels and their connection with the Shan 單 lineage has confirmed this.⁴² This is likely why Li does not refer to a “nexus ancestor” in order to establish a precedent of connection with the royal house, as in the case of the He *zun*. If he did enjoy a patrilineal kinship relation with – i.e., belong to the same *zong* as – the Zhou king, then as a co-descendant of the early Zhou kings, his right to receive prestige and wealth was implicit in his kinship status.

The last phrase of the above excerpt is less personally motivated. In his extolling of the king’s virtues, Li situates the king at the top of the network of “ten thousand ancestral lines” (*wan zong* 萬宗) making up the understood fabric of Zhou elite political society. By calling on the king to protect the myriad *zong*, Li expresses his conception of the Zhou state as a conglomerate whole with ancestral temple-lines as its individual components. It must indeed have been in the king’s interest to protect the *zong*, as the ancestral-ritual model gave him a

⁴¹ The character **菑** is problematic. Ma Chengyuan suggests a phonetic connection with *hui* 輝; see *MWX*, 190, n. 5. The meaning of *huang* 皇, however, is clear; in the translation, I have treated the two as a compound phrase.

⁴² Sena, 98-104, traces the connection between the Shan lineage and the figure known as Hui Zhong Lifu 惠仲蠡父, to be identified with the Li from the Li *juzun*. Through his investigation of female names in the inscriptions relating to the Shan lineage, Sena demonstrates the possibility that later historical traditions connecting the lineage to the Zhou royal house are correct; see *ibid.*, 112-7. Li’s assertion of kinship with the Zhou king is therefore at least possible, although Sena, 112, points out that the received sources substantiating that relationship are quite late.

venue through which to exercise non-military coercion and maintain his status as the current instantiation of the royal line, the font of ritual and political prestige within Zhou elite society. Likewise, it would have been in Li's interest to see the *zong* protected; as a (at least imagined) relative of the Zhou kings, he had the right to expect that the king "had not forgotten" their common interest in maintaining both the ritual prestige and the temporal power of the Zhou royal house.⁴³

1.2.1.3: Summary

In the above examples, we have seen that the concept of *zong* played a vital role in the patronage relations that held the Western Zhou state coalition together. The Zhou royal family did not stand outside this system, but operated within it and arbitrated it by example. The location known as Zongzhou, "Ancestral Zhou," was the headquarters of the ancestral ritual of the Zhou royal house, as well as a frequent point of contact between the Zhou kings and subordinate elites; it was in a sense the prototypical *zong*. Non-royal elite groups with different cultural backgrounds and different connections to the Zhou kings maintained *zong* locally; Yin Ji was the bride of the patriarch of the powerful Jing 井 lineage group, while He and his fellow scions may have been closely related to the royal house.

The existence of these *zong* at the local level provided a ritually sanctioned venue for the king to negotiate relationships with the other participating power-holders. The force of their legitimizing power came from their association with specific "nexus ancestors" whose lifetimes

⁴³ It is of course possible to read the occurrences of the term *zong* in this inscription as referring to the "scions of his old ancestral temple" and the "many ancestral temples." I read the term here as referring directly to the lineages associated with the *zong* model of temple worship, but the distinction between the two readings is merely one of direct vs. metonymic reference.

encompassed the moments of initial alliance between the Zhou royal house and its clients.⁴⁴ To ensure the perpetuation of the Zhou state's network of sociopolitical relations, these moments of connection of the *zong* with the king and his line had to be re-instantiated with ceremonies that recreated those moments of contact, encouraging the current generations on both sides to participate personally in the construction of those relations.⁴⁵ The result was a process of participatory enculturation that motivated subordinate Zhou elites to conceive of their personal identities and degrees of status, prestige, and wealth in terms of the *zong* kinship model. It is perhaps for this reason that the term *zong* came to refer to the kinship model that supported the temple system as well as the associated locations.

1.2.2: Kinship-based military units (Zu 族)

The term *zu* 族 is paired with *zong* in Eastern Zhou texts as the overall name for the system of regulated kinship adhered to by the members of the Zhou cultural sphere.⁴⁶ In the pre-Spring and Autumn context, it is often associated with the “clan marks” found on Shang bronzes, identifiers that were apparently associated with internal divisions within Shang society.⁴⁷ Early Western Zhou bronzes occasionally bear these clan marks as well; they are probably associated with bronzes produced by elite groups of former Shang extraction. The term *zu* itself does appear in the Western Zhou inscriptions, however, wherein it designates a social unit of military significance:

⁴⁴ Falkenhausen uses the term “focal ancestor” to refer to these individuals in their roles as lineage founders, as well as to those later ancestors who establish branch lineages; see Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 64-6. I prefer to use the phrase “nexus ancestor” to highlight the fact that their status as lineage founders derived from their connections with the Zhou royal house.

⁴⁵ Later discussion of royal ritual will note specific examples of the opportunities created by the royal house for this contact and the ritual activities that gave the *zong* this atmosphere of sacred sanction.

⁴⁶ See note 2. See also *Liji*, “Qu li xia,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1257; *Lunyu*, “Zi Lu,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 2508; Xu Chaohua, *Erya jinzhu*, Nankai daxue, 1987, “Shi qin,” 155-8.

⁴⁷ On which see William G. Boltz, “Language and Writing,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 113-4.

唯王令明公遣三族伐東或（國）...

The king commanded Minggong to take three *zu* and attack the eastern states. (Minggong *gui* 明公簋[4029])⁴⁸

...命女（汝）**𠄎**⁴⁹嗣（司）公族，**𠄎**（與）參有 嗣（司）、小子、師氏、虎臣，**𠄎**（與）朕褻事，**𠄎**（以）乃族干（扞）吾（敵）王身...

...[The king] commands you to take charge of the *gongzu*, as well as the Three Supervisors, the Scions, the Marshals, and the Tiger Servants. Use your *zu* to shield my royal person... (Maogong *ding* 毛公鼎 [2841])⁵⁰

The term *zu* is strongly associated with individuals bearing the title of *gong*, often translated as “Duke,” but more widely applicable than that title.⁵¹ Besides the above example of the Maogong *ding*, the compound term *gongzu* 公族 appears in the inscriptions of the Zhong *zhi* 中觶 (6514), an early Western Zhou vessel, and the Fansheng *guigai* 番生簋蓋 (4326), a middle Western Zhou vessel, designating a military unit. It appears occasionally as a component of terms of address as well; the middle Western Zhou inscriptions of the Shi You *gui* 師酉簋 (4288-91) and the Mu *gui* 牧簋 (4343) mention individuals with the title “Gongzu” serving as *youzhe* in the ceremony of royal appointment.⁵²

⁴⁸ The Minggong *gui* was probably commissioned by Ming Bao, scion of the Duke of Zhou, mentioned also in the Ling *fangyi* 令方彝 (9901). The vessel would thus fall firmly within the early Western Zhou. See *MWX* 58, 35-6 (King Kang); *Daxi*, 10-1 (King Cheng), *Duandai* 11, 24 (King Cheng); Shirakawa 1.13, 132-40; *Landscape and Power*, 313, 313 n. 43.

⁴⁹ The transcription of this character follows that given in *MWX*, 317. That transcription is followed throughout this work.

⁵⁰ The Maogong *ding* is probably a King Xuan bronze; see *Daxi*, 136; *MWX*, 447; *Bureaucracy*, 85.

⁵¹ The term *gong* was applied to a number of Zhou elites of privilege second only to that of the Zhou king, and so was frequently translated as “Duke” in early English-language scholarship on early China, by analogy with the ranks of the European monarchy. In the Zhou context, however, it was also applied to other individuals as a general honorific. See Yoshimoto Michimasa, “Seishuu sakumei kinbunkou,” *Shirin* 74, no. 1991.5, 60; cited in Constance Cook, “Wealth and the Western Zhou,” *BSOAS* 60.2 (1997), 263.

⁵² The details of the appointment ceremony, and its role in the overall trope of Zhou elite ritual, will be discussed in Chapter 4. The Zhong *zhi* is an early Western Zhou bronze; see *MWX* 109, 77, which dates it to King Zhao, and *Daxi*, 18-9, which assigns it to King Cheng. The Fansheng *guigai* is probably to be dated to the middle Western Zhou; see *MWX*, 224-6, as well as the extensive discussion and translation of the inscription in *Bureaucracy*, 63-7. The Shi You *gui* has been variously dated to the middle and late Western Zhou; see *MWX* 192, 125-7 (King Gong), *Daxi*, 88-9 (King Yih), *Duandai*, 244-5 (King Xiao); Shirakawa 29.173, 553-61 (early King Li); *Xi Zhou qingtongqi fenqi duandai yanjiu*, 96 (late Western Zhou). The discovery of the Shi You *ding* has provided new evidence for a dating toward the early end of that spectrum, probably to the reign of King Gong. See Zhu

The connection of the *zu* with the title of *gong* may indicate that the *zu* social/military unit had a more or less hereditary character, inasmuch as the title *gong* tended to be hereditary.⁵³ It is of note, however, that the inscriptions containing the term *zu* do not contain substantial narratives of ancestral-ritual practices, as is the case with many of the inscriptions containing the term *zong*. It would seem that the institution of the *zu* was associated with individual, non-royal power holders and may have existed outside and parallel to the interaction network supported by ancestral-temple ritual and mediated by the Zhou royal house. By the middle Western Zhou period, however, the royal house was at least in contact with members of the *zu* structure via the ritualized process of royal appointment to office. This fits with the overall findings of this work, which suggest that the middle Western Zhou saw a program of modification of royally sponsored ritual to intensify royal control over many aspects of state operation, including a decreased emphasis on the public performance of royal ancestral ritual.⁵⁴

1.2.3: Clans/surnames (*xing* 姓)

David Sena has pointed out that the term *xing*, usually translated as “surname” or “clan,” did not enter common use until after the Western Zhou period, but that the exogamic groups with which it would eventually become associated (the Ji 姬 *xing* to which the Zhou royal house is

Fenghan and Yao Qingfang, “Shi You ding yu Shi You gui,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2004.1, 4-10, 35; *Bureaucracy*, 198, 198 n. 15. The *Mu gui* is a middle Western Zhou vessel; see MWX 260, 187-8 (King Yih); *Daxi*, 75-6 (King Gong); *Landscape and Power*, 100-2 (includes translation); and in particular *Sources*, 259-61, which proposes the likely possibility of a King Xiao dating. For a more detailed discussion of the *Mu gui*, see Li Feng, “Textual Criticism and Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions: The Example of the *Mu Gui*,” in Tang Chung and Chen Xingcan, eds., *Essays in Honor of An Zhimin*, Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004, 280-97. See also Shirakawa 19.104, 361-9.

⁵³ The descendants of Zhougong Dan (the Duke of Zhou), for example, were occasionally termed *gong*; see the inscription of the Ze Ling *fangzun* 夙令方尊 (JC 6016).

⁵⁴ This program was connected with widespread changes in the character and operation of the Zhou state that took place over the course of the Western Zhou period; for two different models of those changes, see the discussion of the unsuccessful military endeavors of King Zhao in *Landscape and Power*, 93-102, and Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 29-73.

said to have belonged and the Jiang 姜 *xing* with which they traditionally intermarried being probably the best known of these) already played an important role in elite interaction during the Western Zhou.⁵⁵ Whether the groupings to which the term refers were remnants of earlier kinship divisions or new internal categories created by the Zhou to help organize marriage relations remains a subject of debate.⁵⁶

Table 1.1 lists the frequency of occurrence of some of the best-known *xing* in bronze inscriptions dateable to specific periods. As might be expected, Ji 姬 and Jiang 姜, the two *xing* associated respectively with the Zhou royal house and the lineage with which it traditionally intermarried, are the most common, appearing frequently in early inscriptions and growing in frequency throughout the period. Only one of the terms, Ren 妊, appears in Shang-era bronze inscriptions; this is consistent with the historical tradition that King Wen's mother came from the Ren marriage group.⁵⁷ All terms studied except Ying 嬴 and Huai 媿 increase in frequency over the course of the period; Ying in particular is the least common of the terms and may not comprise enough occurrences to be statistically significant. Overall, it seems that the use of marriage-group identity *within the confines of the ancestral-ritual institution* grew significantly in frequency over the course of the Western Zhou period. This may reflect an overall increase in the use of marriage group as a marker of identity, which would tend to confirm the opinion of Pulleyblank and Sena that *xing* marriage groups were popularized during the Western Zhou

⁵⁵ Sena, "Reproducing Society: Lineage and Kinship in Western Zhou China," 7; see also Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Ji 姬 and Jiang 姜: The Role of Exogamic Clans in the Organization of the Zhou Polity," *EC* 25 (2000), 1-27, cited therein.

⁵⁶ For a list of scholars who have weighed in on the viewpoint, see *ibid.*, 8-9, notes 6 and 7.

⁵⁷ See *Shiji*, "Zhou ben ji," 115. Pulleyblank notes the difficulty of reconciling the pattern of use of the Ren 妊 surname, and its traditional association with Tai Ren, with the fact that the royal line of Song, said to be descended from the Shang kings, was named Zi 子; see Pulleyblank, 9. I would suggest that the group identified as Ren was of non-royal Shang origin; that is, that its affiliation with Shang was political and cultural rather than kinship-based. The inclusion of the identifier Ren here is not to be taken as evidence that the *xing* kinship model existed prior to the Western Zhou period; it is entirely possible that a pre-existing group defined along different criteria was incorporated into the Western Zhou interaction sphere as a *xing*.

period as an organizational model.⁵⁸ However, given that specific *xing* appear most often in the Western Zhou inscriptions as identifiers for female elites, expansion of the participation of women in the patrilineal ancestral cult, or a mixture of the two causes, may also account for the increase in frequency of specific *xing* names in the inscriptions.

In a sense, the term *xing* 姓 itself does appear in the Western Zhou inscriptions, in that the character *sheng* 生, the graphic basis for the later character *xing*, is quite common.⁵⁹ In particular, *sheng* often appears as a component of male personal names, especially in inscriptions from the second half of the Western Zhou.⁶⁰ There are a few special occurrences of the term *xing*, however, in which it acts as a measure word for groups of people. The majority of these occur in conjunction with the word *bai* 百, “one hundred,” as in the common term *baixing* that is in continued use even today:

...其佳（唯）我者（諸）侯、百生（姓），昏（厥）貯（賈），母（毋）不即市，母（毋）敢或入 鬻（蠻）宄貯（賈），則亦井（刑）。...

...Let not the merchants of our various lords or of our *baisheng/xing* not to go to market, nor let them dare to bring in traitorous merchants of the Man-peoples, lest they indeed be punished... (Xi Jia pan [10174])⁶¹

⁵⁸ See note 55.

⁵⁹ Pulleyblank is rightly skeptical of the possibility of identifying the words *sheng* 生 and *xing* 姓 based on their potential use of the same character in early inscriptional sources; see “Ji and Jiang,” p. 12. His criticisms, however, are based on a connection drawn by Keightley between the phrase *duo sheng* 多生, appearing in the oracle bones, and *bai xing* 百姓, common in later materials. Pulleyblank does not refer directly to the use of the phrase *baisheng* 百生 in the bronze inscriptions.

⁶⁰ For example, those of the Shanbo Taisheng *zhong* 單伯吳生鐘 (82), dating probably to the middle Western Zhou (see MWX 235, 164-5 [Kings Gong-Yih]; Duandai 141, 194-5 [King Yih]; for an alternate dating, see *Daxi*, 118-9, which assigns the *zhong* to King Li); the Zhong Shengfu *li* 仲生父鬲 (729) (dated by the AS database to the late Western Zhou; see also Qingyang diqu bowuguan and Xu Junchen, “Gansu Qingyang diqu chutu de Shang Zhou qingtongqi,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1983.3, 8-11, pl. 1, esp. 10, which dates the vessel to the second half of the Western Zhou), and the Zhousheng *li* 琯生鬲 (744) (which MWX 291, 210-1, and *Duandai* 167, 235-6, agree in assigning to King Xiao, but probably dating instead to the late Western Zhou based on connection with the Fifth-year and Sixth-year Zhousheng *gui* [4292 and 4293, respectively], on the dating of which see *Bureaucracy*, 321, 339; see also *Sackler*, 329-30). It is of note that, to my knowledge, none of these male personal names contain both the character *sheng* and one of the group-referents that would later come to be referred to as *xing*; as is noted below, those group-referents seem to appear only in terms of address for women.

⁶¹ The Xi Jia pan is generally recognized as a King Xuan bronze; see MWX 437, 305-6; *Daxi* 134, 143-4; *Duandai*, 323-7; Shirakawa 32.191, 785-99; *Sources*, 141-2, 205; *Landscape and Power*, 151.

In the early-Western-Zhou inscription of the Yihou Ze *gui* 宜侯矢簋 (4320), however, the number is different:⁶²

易（賜）才（在）宜王人 𠄎 又七生（姓）...
[I] award [you] seven(teen?) *sheng/xing* of king's men who are at Yi...

It is difficult to say based on the small number of examples available just what sort of people the *sheng/xing* category indicated. One middle Western Zhou inscription, the Shan *ding* 善鼎 (2820), gives us some clue as to who the *baixing* were not:⁶³

余其用各我宗子 𠄎 （與）百生（姓）...
I shall use [this vessel] to prime the sons of the temple-line and [to prime] the *baisheng/xing*...

In each of the above inscriptions, the units designated by the term *sheng/xing* are linked to a group that enjoys a certain degree of prestige but is also subordinate in some respect to the power-holders whose activities are commemorated. The *sheng/xing* are “king’s men” granted to the new lord of the Yi state; they are comparable to the “various lords” (over whose affairs Xi Jia is granted some authority) or to the “sons of the temple-line” (whom Shan intends to educate using a ritual vessel). It would seem, then, that the term *sheng/xing* designated groups of people of elite but not paramount status from the early Western Zhou onward. The etymology of the word *sheng* makes it likely that these groups were conceived of in terms of some form of

⁶² The Yihou Ze *gui* is a product of the early stages of the formation of the Western Zhou state, recording the investment of a ranking Zhou elite with authority over a regional state; see *MWX* 57, 34-5 (dating the bronze to King Kang); *Duandai*, 14-7 (dating it to King Cheng); Tang Lan, “Yihou Ze *gui* kaoshi,” in *Tang Lan xiansheng jinwen lunji*, 66-71. For an English translation and discussion of the Yihou Ze *gui* inscription, see *Bureaucracy*, 238-41.

⁶³ On the date of the Shan *ding*, see *MWX* 321, 233-4; *Daxi*, 65; Shirakawa 23.133, 95-100.

common descent; the exact criteria of that descent remain unclear. However, they appear specifically to have been perceived as distinct from the “sons of the [core] temple-line,” which is to say from the patriline of the power-holder in any particular area. It is possible that they referred to the group-referents that were frequently used to identify the birth kinship-units of married women, which would later become known as *xing*; however, there is no direct evidence in the Western Zhou inscriptions to corroborate this.

1.2.4: *Shi* 氏

The term *shi* appears with great frequency in the bronze inscriptions. It is much rarer in early Western Zhou inscriptions, however; of 150 Western Zhou vessels listed in the AS database with inscriptions containing the character *shi* 氏, the editors definitively date only 9 to the early Western Zhou, for a proportion of about 0.06%.⁶⁴ Four of these vessels comprise two sets of two vessels with identical inscriptions, leaving only 7 discrete inscriptions containing the term.

1.2.4.1: Early Western Zhou cases of *shi* 氏

These are of two main types. The inscriptions of two of the vessels, the Xiaochen Shi Mao Yin *ding* 小臣氏樊尹鼎 (2351) and the He *zun* 何尊 (6014), seem definitively to employ the term as an honorific referring to a specific individual:⁶⁵

小臣氏樊尹乍（作）寶用。

⁶⁴ By comparison, nearly half of the Western Zhou vessels in the collection (2933 of 6076) are assigned to the early Western Zhou. These figures were retrieved from the AS database in April 2012.

⁶⁵ The AS database dates the Xiaochen Shi Mao Yin *ding* to the early Western Zhou; for this inscription see also *Sandai* 3.16.6. On the dating of the He *zun*, see note 30.

Petty Servant Shi Maoyin makes [this vessel to] treasure and use. (Xiaochen Shi Mao Yin *ding*)

...王𠄎（誥）宗小子于京室，曰：昔才（在）爾考公氏，克逵（弼）玟（文）王，肆（肆）玟王受茲𠄎（大命），...

The king addressed the young sons of the line at the Capital Chamber, saying, “Of old, your deceased father Gong Shi was able to assist King Wen, and then King Wen received this [great mandate]...” (He *zun*)

The inclusion of the title “Petty Servant” (*xiaochen* 小臣) before the first occurrence of the term *shi*, and that of the term “deceased father” (*kao* 考) and the honorific *gong* 公 (sometimes translated as “Duke,” as in “the Duke of Zhou,” but more widely applicable than that title) before the term *shi*, suggest strongly that its referents are specific individuals; I do not know of a case in the inscriptions in which *kao*, in particular, can be interpreted as applying to a group of people.

The inscriptions of the pair of X *ding* 寧鼎 (2740-1) and the Ling *ding* 令鼎 (2803) contain the character as the second half of the compound *shishi* 師氏:⁶⁶

佳（唯）王伐東尸（夷），濂公令寧⁶⁷眾史旗（旅）曰：𠄎（以）師氏眾有嗣（司）後或（國）𠄎伐貊。寧孚（俘）貝，寧用乍（作）饗公寶障鼎。

It was when the king attacked the eastern Yi peoples. Duke Qian commanded X and Scribe Lv, saying, “Take the Marshals (*shishi*), the Supervisors (*yousi* 有司), and the rear states and ?⁶⁸ and attack the Mo people. X captured cowries. X thereby makes a precious and revered *ding*-cauldron for Duke Wan (for feasting the Duke?). (X *ding*)

王大耜（藉）農于謀田，餉（觴）。王射，有嗣（司）眾師氏、小子卿（會）射...

The king greatly plowed and farmed at the fields of Qi; [there was a] feast. The king performed archery, and the Supervisors, the Marshals (*shishi*), and the young sons performed archery together... (Ling *ding*)

This compound is well attested in Western Zhou bronzes of various dates as a military designation that was not awarded through the royal appointment process that developed in the

⁶⁶ The X *ding* are associated with the royal campaigns in the east conducted during the early Western Zhou and are generally dated to King Cheng or King Kang; see *Daxi*, 28; *Duandai*, 23; *MWX*, 51 (for the King Kang dating). On the Ling *ding*, see the discussion of the royal ploughing rite in chapter 3 of this work.

⁶⁷ The rendering of this character is based on that given in *MWX*, 51.

⁶⁸ My interpretation of this line follows that given in *MWX*, 51.

mid-Western Zhou.⁶⁹ Based on the above examples, we may speculate that during the early Western Zhou, it combined a designation of military experience (*shi* 師) with a more general individual honorific (*shi* 氏). By comparison with the Supervisors (*yousi* 有司) with which it is in both cases listed, the term would seem to refer to a category of persons by virtue of their level of skill or type of responsibilities, rather than as instances of patriline.

The remaining early Western Zhou inscription in JC containing the character, that of the Zuo Ren Shi *gui* 作任氏簋 (3455-6), is more ambiguous:⁷⁰

乍（作）任氏从（從）簋。
[?] makes a following (portable?) *gui*-tureen for Ren Shi.

In light of the above examples, I suspect that *shi* is here too intended as an honorific for an individual, in this case with the name Ren (on which see the discussion of *xing* above). Overall, there appear to be no cases from the early Western Zhou in which the term *shi* 氏 refers to a corporate patrilineal descent group, or, for that matter, a descent group of any sort.

1.2.4.2: Middle Western Zhou cases of *shi* 氏

The semantic range of the term *shi* seems to have broadened during the mid-Western Zhou. The term *shishi* 師氏 still appears in inscriptions dated by the AS database to that period as a designation of individuals responsible for military affairs.⁷¹ It is joined by the new term

⁶⁹ See *Bureaucracy*, 312-3.

⁷⁰ The first of these bronzes was recovered at Luoyang, according to the AS database; see also *Zhensong* 4.39.

⁷¹ See the Shi Ju *guigai* 師遽簋蓋 (4214); the Shi Yun *guigai* 師夙簋蓋 (4283-4); the Dong *gui* 夔簋 (4322); the Lu Dong *you* 录夔卣 (5419-20); and the Yong *yu* 永盂 (10322). On the dating of the Shi Ju *guigai*, see *MWX*, 129-30 (King Gong), *Daxi*, 83-4 (King Yih), *Duandai*, 160-1 (King Gong, but admits the possibility of King Yih). The Shi Yun *guigai* can probably be assigned to the reigns of Kings Mu-Gong based on the appearance of Jingbo in its inscription. See *Sources*, 118-20; *Bureaucracy*, 121; on the dating of this bronze see also *Duandai* 119, 163-7 (King Gong); *MWX*, 166-7 (Kings Gong-Yih). The Dong *gui* and Lu Dong *you* are part of a complex of bronzes produced by the same figure, discussed at length in Shirakawa 17.91-2, 198-232. These are associated

yinshi 尹氏, which Li Feng identifies as a high-ranking office in the service of the royal household combining various administrative duties.⁷² The term *baoshi* 保氏 appears once as well, in the inscription of the Shi Yu *guigai* 師俞簋蓋 (4277), wherein I take it to refer to a group of people assigned to a particular duty in a manner similar to its use in the term *shishi*.⁷³

王乎（呼）乍（作）冊內史冊令師俞，鞞嗣（司）保氏...

The king called upon the Document Maker and Interior Scribe to order Shi Yu to take charge of the Guards (*baoshi*)...

The term *shi* also begins to appear in conjunction with specialized terms designating an individual's degree of seniority within a patriline:⁷⁴

...白（伯）氏室貝斂，易（賜）斂弓、矢束、馬匹、貝五朋...

...The Elder rewarded⁷⁵ Huang, awarding him a bow and arrows, a horse, and five strings of cowries... (Huang *gui* 斂簋 [4099])⁷⁶

...弔（叔）氏事（使）貧安寘白（伯），賓貧馬繮（轡）乘...

The Second (*shushi* 叔氏) sent Fu to pacify the Elder of Ji; Fu was granted a horse, bridle with reins, and carriage...(Gong Mao *ding* 公貿鼎 [2719])⁷⁷

Perhaps most notably, in the middle Western Zhou inscriptions, the term *shi* becomes a common way to refer to elite women, a function that it would continue to hold up through at

with the activity period of Elder Father/Marshal Yong (*Bo/Shi Yongfu* 伯/師雍父), on which see in particular Shirakawa 17, 222-32; on the dating of these bronzes to King Mu, see chapter 4, note 18. The Yong *yu* is almost certainly a King Gong bronze; see *MWX*, 141-2, *Sources*, 109, 258; *Bureaucracy*, 136-9, esp. 137, n. 77 (this source includes a full translation of the inscription).

⁷² *Bureaucracy*, 76-7, 311.

⁷³ The Shi Yu *guigai* probably dates to the King Yih-King Xiao era. See *Bureaucracy*, 119, n. 56; *MWX*, 203-4.

⁷⁴ That is, *bo* and *shu*, members of the set *bo* 伯, *zhong* 仲, *shu* 叔, and *ji* 季, referring either to the seniority of a member within a lineage or to the relation of that lineage to the trunk lineage from which it sprang. See Sena, 123-4. In the above examples, the seniority terms almost certainly refer to the positions of the individuals in the lineages, as no names appear to identify the lineages in question.

⁷⁵ Following *Duandai*, 138, in reading 室 as “to reward” in this inscription.

⁷⁶ *Duandai*, 137-8, dates this bronze to the reign of King Zhao, based on calligraphy, the simple quality of its surface pattern, and the gifts conferred in the event it commemorates.

⁷⁷ *Duandai*, 131-2, dates this bronze to the reign of King Kang based on its calligraphy; the vessel was lost by the time of Chen's writing. See also *Zhensong* 3.23.

least the Song.⁷⁸ In this regard, it normally appears as a suffix to various group referents that would later become known as *xing* 姓, “surnames,” such as Huai 媿, Jiang 姜, Ying 嬴, etc. These women are usually, though not always, named in association with the males through whom they were connected to the patriline of the commissioners of the bronzes.⁷⁹ Often these are their husbands, as in the Wei *ding* 衛鼎 (2616):⁸⁰

衛乍（作）文考小中（仲）、姜氏孟鼎...

Wei makes a vessel for his cultured deceased father Xiao Zhong and for Jiang Shi...

The Qiao *pan* 鬲盤 (10119) and Qiao *yi* 鬲匜 (10247), however, describe a different situation:⁸¹

鬲乍（作）王母媿氏顯（沫）般（盤），媿氏其顯（眉）壽邁（萬）年用。

Qiao makes a washing-basin for the king's mother Huaishi; may Huaishi use it throughout ten thousand years of long life.

It is important to note that all of the examples of *shi* in the two new usages above refer to individuals with respect to their membership in kinship groups rather than to the groups themselves. The new usages of the term reflect an expansion in the role of various kinship descriptors in the expression of elite individual identity.

1.2.4.3: Late Western Zhou cases of *shi* 氏

Late Western Zhou inscriptions containing the term (of which the AS database identifies 102) use it in essentially the same way as the middle Western Zhou inscriptions, to indicate

⁷⁸ I am indebted to Professor Robert Hymes for his observation of the longevity of this usage.

⁷⁹ I know of one probable mid-Western Zhou exception, the Yingshi *ding* 嬴氏鼎 (2027), so dated by the AS database.

⁸⁰ On this bronze see Xi'an shi wenwu guanlichu, “Shaanxi Chang'an Xinwangcun, Mawangcun chutu de Xi Zhou tongqi,” *Kaogu* 1974.1, 1-5, 69-72, esp. 2. The report suggests a middle Western Zhou dating (see p. 4).

⁸¹ The AS database dates both of the Qiao bronzes to the middle Western Zhou. On the Qiao *pan*, see also *Zhensong* 10.26.3, *Xia Shang Zhou* 419; on the Qiao *yi*, see *Sandai* 17.33.3, *Tongkao* 854.

functionally defined positions such as the *yinshi* and the *shishi*; as a suffix identifying male individuals, accompanied by a sibling-seniority term; and as a suffix identifying female individuals, accompanied by a “surname” group-referent.⁸² It also appears appended to a range of titles of personal prestige and authority, as in the inscription of the Houshi *gui* 侯氏簋 (3781):⁸³

侯氏乍（作）孟姬 罍 段，其邁（萬）年永寶。

The Marquis (*hou + shi*) makes a revered *gui*-tureen for Meng (“Elder Daughter”) Ji; may [she] eternally treasure it for ten thousand years.

In this inscription, the term *shi* is appended to *hou* 侯, typically understood as a title for a regional ruler. The Fifth-year Shaobo Hu *gui* (Zhousheng *gui*) 五年召伯虎簋/琯生簋 (4292), dating to the reign of King Xuan,⁸⁴ contains a pair of similarly generic phrases, *fushi* 婦氏, or “Lady,” and *junshi* 君氏, or “Lord,” along with the phrase of address Gebo Shi 戈伯氏, which combines a lineage identifier (Ge) and a seniority term (*bo*, “Elder”). These uses recall the appearance of *shi* as an individual honorific in the early Western Zhou inscriptions discussed above.

Finally, late Western Zhou inscriptions begin to employ the term in its later sense of “lineage.” Two of these are associated with the San 散 polity. One is the famous Sanshi *pan* 散氏盤 (10176), well known as an example of a documented land transaction between two corporate entities, in which the term refers to the San lineage:⁸⁵

⁸² Retrieved from the AS database, April 2012.

⁸³ On this bronze see Xiangfan shi wenwu guanli chu, “Hubei Xiangfan jianxuan de Shang Zhou qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1982.9, 84-6. Its hanging, animal-faced ears, band of curved decoration, ridged surface, and overall shape resemble those of the Liang Qi *gui* 梁其簋 (4150), which Wang Shimin, Chen Gongrou, and Zhang Changshou assign to the early phase of the late Western Zhou and cite as part of their *gui* system II (see 92, 95).

⁸⁴ Along with the Sixth-year Shaobo Hu *gui*, this bronze can be dated to King Xuan; see note 60.

⁸⁵ The Sanshi *pan* is dated to the late Western Zhou through its connection with the Guo Cong bronzes; see *MWX*,

...唯王九月，辰才（在）乙卯，矢卑、鮮、且、彝⁸⁶、旅誓，曰：我既付散氏田器，有爽，實余有散氏心賊，則爰千罰千...

...It was the king's ninth month, on the morning of the *yimao* day. The representatives of Ze, Bei, Xian, Qie, X, and Lü swore an oath, saying, "We have already rendered land and vessels unto the San lineage, and there was some deviation. If I truly bear some ill-will toward the San lineage, then let (me) be penalized a full thousand...."

The term Sanshi might still be interpreted here as meaning "the gentlemen of San," referring to the group of San partisans mentioned earlier in the inscription. However, in light of the inscription of the Sanshi Chefu *hu* 榘氏車父壺 (9669),⁸⁷ I read it as referring to the San lineage:

榘氏車父乍（作）醒姜鬲壺...

Sanshi Chefu makes Shi(?) Jiang a sacrificial *hu*-pot...

The associated inscription of the San Chefu *hu* (9697) omits the *shi* in the name. Given our understanding of San as a late Western Zhou lineage with a geographically fixed territory, we can be fairly sure that the *shi* here was associated with the preceding "San," as in the Sanshi *pan* inscription, rather than with the following personal name "Chefu."

The inscriptions of several bronzes containing the term *Guoji* 虢季 corroborate the use of *shi* 氏 to refer to lineages by the late Western Zhou. As mentioned above, Sena has convincingly shown that *Guoji* 虢季 referred to a specific lineage.⁸⁸ In fact, Sena observes the existence of multiple groups of Guo bronzes with the same commissioners that alternate between terms of address combining the lineage term *Guoji* and a personal name (e.g., the *Guoji Zibai pan* 虢季子

297-9, esp. n. 16; Shirakawa 24.139, 191-227; *Bureaucracy*, 183-8, esp. n. 69.

⁸⁶ The transcription of this character follows *MWX*, 298.

⁸⁷ The AS database dates this vessel to the mid-Western Zhou, but assigns all of the other vessels from the Shaochencun, Zhuangbai Dadui hoard, including the physically identical San Chefu *hu* (9697), to the late Western Zhou. I am indebted to Li Feng for this observation. (On these vessels, see *MWX*, 358-9; Shi Yan, "Fufeng Zhuangbai Dadui chutu de yi pi Xi Zhou tongqi," *Wenwu* 1972.6, 30-5.)

⁸⁸ Sena, 169-74.

白盤 [10173]) and terms of address combining the same personal name with a state name, reign name, and rank (e.g., the Guo Xuangong Zibai *ding* 虢宣公子白鼎 [2637]), at once showing the distinction and relationship between Guo the polity and Guoji the lineage.⁸⁹ The existence of the Guoji Shi Zizha *li* 虢季氏子戣鬲 (683) and the group of vessels commissioned by Guoji Shi Zizu 虢季氏子組⁹⁰ shows conclusively that the term *shi* 氏 could refer to lineages by the late Western Zhou.

1.2.4.4: Summary

The term *shi* appears only rarely in early Western Zhou inscriptions, as an individual honorific and in the context of the term *shishi*, “Marshals.” By the middle Western Zhou, it had become more common and its use had expanded to include functional titles (such as *yinshi*, “Chief,” and *baoshi*, “Guards”) as well as phrases of address for males based on patrilineal seniority terms and for females based on origin-group referents (or “clans,” or “surnames”). It retained all the above uses in the late Western Zhou and was also used with more generic titles of respect (*fushi* 婦氏, or “Lady,” and *junshi* 君氏, or “Lord”); in addition, it finally appears in the late Western Zhou with its later accepted meaning of “lineage,” referring to the elite heads of the polities of San and Guo. Overall, its use throughout most of the Western Zhou was less as a kin-group referent and more as a respectful title allowing the speaker to highlight those aspects of an individual’s identity that were important in the context under consideration. In this regard, its

⁸⁹ Sena, 169-74. As Sena (p. 170) notes, the Guoji Zibai *pan* is probably a King Xuan bronze, since it deals with affairs involving the Xianyun. A further example, also cited by Sena, is the group of the Guoji Shi Zizha *li* 虢季氏子戣鬲 (683), the Guo Wengong Zizha *ding* 虢文公子戣鼎 (2634-6), and the Guo Wengong Zizha *li* 虢文公子戣鬲 (736); see *ibid.*, 172-3.

⁹⁰ These include the Guoji Shi Zizu *gui* 虢季氏子組簋 (3971-3), the Guoji Shi Zizu *hu* 虢季氏子組壺 (9655), and the Guoji Shi Zizu *li* 虢季氏子組鬲 (662), all dated by the AS database to the late Western Zhou, as is the case with the Guoji Shi Zizha *li*.

evolution is useful as an index of the range of affiliations considered to form important aspects of personal identity among Western Zhou elites.

1.2.5: The terminology of Western Zhou group identity

The concept of the *zong*, or ancestral temple, was used by the Zhou royal house as a medium of arbitration of relationships with allied elite groups. Within the context of the *zong*, the royal house and their dependents could engage in mutual negotiation and ritual instantiation of relationships through the sacralizing medium of the ancestral cult, based around the precedents set by specific “nexus ancestors” with whom the relationships between the Zhou kings and particular client elites were initially established.

Over the course of the Western Zhou, perhaps due to the accelerated demographic growth of groups that adhered to it, the patrilineal model of descent associated with the ancestral ritual of the *zong* disseminated itself throughout the sphere of Zhou influence. By the middle Western Zhou period, the role of kinship in the definition of elite identity had expanded considerably. The use of lineage-seniority terms as exclusive identity markers, in conjunction with the general honorific *shi* 氏, had become more common – so much so that by the late Western Zhou, the term *shi* began to refer directly to patriline. At the same time, the use of *xing* 姓-type terms for marriage groups in the inscriptions intensified over the course of the Western Zhou as well, providing an alternate, farther-reaching model of descent that allowed more substantial incorporation of women into the social rubric of the patrilineal-ancestral cult. Finally, the *zu* 族, a social unit of military significance, maintained a close association with figures bearing the honorific/rank term *gong* 公 throughout the Western Zhou period; it seems to have constituted a separate forum of interaction between high-ranking, non-royal elites and their subordinates.

The subsequent section will explore the peculiar effectiveness of Western Zhou ancestral ritual, the behavioral rubric under which these various models of kinship and identity came together to create the fabric of Zhou elite society, and the crucial role of bronze vessels in its operation.

1.3: Feasting, edible sacrifices, inscribed bronze vessels, and ancestral ritual

The above section discusses the role of the *zong* 宗 ancestral temple as a venue for the ritual instantiation of model relations within lineages and between the royal house and its client elites. The mode of activity underlying and supporting such activities within that venue was the performance of ancestral ritual employing bronze vessels and the feasting that accompanied it. Bronzes and the inscriptions that adorn some of them are the foundation of Western Zhou studies; they have captured the imagination of modern scholars as much as that of the ancients, and, rightly or wrongly, their discovery has become an informal standard by which archaeological finds of Western Zhou provenance are judged significant. The following section will attempt to establish a theoretical understanding of the qualities that drove the perpetuation of models of ritual behavior relying on bronze vessels and supported their status as the lynchpins of socially effective ritual.

1.3.1: The ethic of presence in bronze inscriptions and the “distributed personhood” of the Zhou king

The ritual practices of the newly formed Zhou cultural complex laid special emphasis on the evocation of a sense of presence and immediacy of personal interaction between both living and dead members of social groups. This sense of recall of the immediate presence of the parties

involved in an interaction was a key feature of bronze inscriptions from the very earliest portion of the Western Zhou period on. It may be a legacy of the association of writing with the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, which show similar formal characteristics and a similar concern with precise description of the circumstances that led to the composition of the inscription.⁹¹

The stereotypical structure of the Western Zhou bronze inscription is a case in point. At minimum, an inscription consisted of the name of either the sponsor of its production or the person, usually but not always deceased, to whom it was dedicated in a devotional sense.⁹² Fuller inscriptions typically included a date ranging in complexity from the mere mention of an important event to the specification of a day in the sixty-day cycle, the month, the moon phase, and sometimes the time of day; a description of an event that triggered the commissioning of the inscription, usually involving contact between the vessel sponsor and a superior; a description of gifts received from that superior; and the aforementioned dedication.⁹³

The overall effect of the typical long bronze inscription was to capture the state of a set of interpersonal relationships at an optimal moment of contact and to perpetuate that state in the most durable material form available to the Zhou people, *i.e.*, bronze. In most cases, that moment involved contact between the representative of a kinship group and a superior powerholder, usually but not always the Zhou king. During the Western Zhou period, bronze was strongly associated with the distribution of wealth and prestige and with close contact with the Zhou royal house, as suggested by the example of the Qin *gui* 禽簋 (4041), an early Western Zhou vessel:⁹⁴

⁹¹ On the general qualities of Shang oracle bone inscriptions, see David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Ancient China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978, 28-45.

⁹² The subsequent description follows Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 76-85.

⁹³ On the structure of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 73-85.

⁹⁴ The Qin *gui* is generally held to have been commissioned by Bo Qin, son of the Duke of Zhou; see *Duandai*, 28;

...禽祝，禽又（有）啟祝，王易（賜）金百孚（鈔）...
 ...Qin performed an invocation. Qin also had a full-vessel⁹⁵ invocation. The king presented [Qin] with 10 *lve* of metal (bronze)...

Other possibilities existed, however. Consider the following excerpt from the inscription of the Dong *gui* 戎簋 (4322), a middle Western Zhou vessel:⁹⁶

佳（唯）六月初吉乙酉，才（在）壘⁹⁷（堂）白（次），戎伐鞞⁹⁸，戎達有嗣（司）、師氏奔追勳（襲）戎于馘林，博（搏）戎馘（胡），朕（朕）文母競敏壘⁹⁹行，休宕畢（厥）心，永襲畢（厥）身，卑克畢（厥）啻（敵），...

It was the sixth month, initial auspiciousness moon phase, day *yiyou*, at the Jing encampment. The Rong people attacked X. Dong led the Supervisors and the Marshals in rapidly pursuing and attacking the Rong at the forest of Zhou. In fighting the Rong and Hu, my cultured mother strove cleverly and (?) the ranks, put his (my) heart at ease, always guarded his (my) body, and humbled and defeated his [my] enemies...

In this case, Dong's sponsoring of a vessel commemorated his good performance in and good luck in surviving a military campaign against the Rong people in which he played an important part, good fortune which he claimed was due to his deceased mother's protection and guidance. The notable point here for this discussion is that the Dong *gui* inscription does not express a general sense of gratitude toward Dong's deceased mother; instead, it captures what Dong felt was a moment of direct and positive contact between the two of them.

The inscribing of a description of a conjunction of relations on a bronze vessel allowed its perpetuation in two ways. First, casting an inscription in bronze, the most durable material known to the Zhou people, ensured that it would last and could be read for the longest possible

Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Minister-Monarch Debate in Chinese Philosophy," *EC* 18 (1993), 48-50. On Bo Qin, see *Shiji*, 1518. A full translation appears in chapter 2.

⁹⁵ The translation follows Ma's suggested reading of the character 啟; see *MWX*, 18 n. 3.

⁹⁶ See note 71.

⁹⁷ I follow *MWX* in reading this character as 壘; see 115 n. 1.

⁹⁸ The transcription of this character follows that in *MWX*, 115 n. 2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 115 n. 5.

time, and to the degree that the act of committing ideas to writing was seen as having power, it would by mimetic logic help preserve those relations in their present ideal state.¹⁰⁰ Second, the use of inscribed bronzes, and the recall of the messages associated with them, in the context of ancestral ritual would expose the participants to the set of idealized relationships portrayed in the inscriptions. In the case of participating members of the *zong* temple-group to which the dedicatee of the vessel belonged, exposure to these relationships and subsequent acting out of their own relationships with the dedicatee via sacrifice and feasting would have inculcated in them a sense of their own identities as both instantiations of the “nexus ancestors” responsible for the ritual formulation of their lineage and ranked members of the present generation of that lineage. The incorporation of rewards and recognition of subordinates into that process reinforced the habituation of present members of the lineage to a cultural model in which position within the lineage and closeness of the lineage to the Zhou royal house were the primary criteria of status.¹⁰¹

In his exploration of the agency of works of art, Alfred Gell has put forth the model of “distributed personhood” as a way of understanding the capacity of an artist’s oeuvre to index the presence of that artist and thereby to act upon people across gulfs in space and time.¹⁰² Latour’s elaboration of the agency of non-humans highlights a limitation of the “distributed personhood” model: while it captures the ability of objects to act on humans both singly and in groups, it relies implicitly on the known connection of such groups of objects with a single,

¹⁰⁰ On mimesis and its relationship to the idea of sympathetic magic, see the discussion in Gell, *Art and Agency*, 99-101.

¹⁰¹ The end result of this process will have been the inculcation of a tendency to see the *zong* ritual system and its origin point, the Zhou royal house, as the natural and primary vehicle through which status could be recognized and prestige achieved. The early history of China does indeed show this trope, inasmuch as the Zhou royal house persisted as the ideological center of pre-Qin politics long after the waning of its temporal power.

¹⁰² On “distributed personhood,” see Gell, *Art and Agency*, 102-4, 228-32.

driving, intentional source.¹⁰³ This reliance downplays the capacity of objects to transform the messages they carry; it casts them as “intermediaries” rather than as “mediators,” in Latour’s terms.¹⁰⁴

The “distributed personhood” model is, however, felicitously well suited to describe the depiction of the Zhou king in the inscriptions of Western Zhou bronze vessels. The focus of bronze-inscriptional narratives on recording specific, positive moments of contact between superior and subordinate – what we may call the “ethic of presence” in bronze inscriptions – tended to keep bronze vessels toward the “intermediary” side of the scale. This customary focus on contact with superiors, and especially with the Zhou king, was just the sort of understood connection necessary to support the distributed personhood model. By and large, the long inscriptions of Western Zhou bronzes formed the administrative and ideological “oeuvre” of the Zhou king; they made the impact of his presence felt in the ritual interactions of lineages, thus forging connections between the relationships of individual elites with the royal house and the status of those elites within their lineage units and spheres of regular interaction.

These connections must have provided powerful motivation for adherent elites to conceive of themselves as participants in the Zhou state project. Their continued effectiveness at promoting a royally focused model of elite identity, however, depended on the ability of both the Zhou royal house and the idea of ancestral ritual in general to remain relevant. Certain aspects of the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions portray the intentional and continued pursuit of such relevance.

1.3.2: Creating ancestors

¹⁰³ On the agency of non-humans in the formation of groups, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 63-86.

¹⁰⁴ On Latour’s formulation of “intermediaries” and “mediators,” see the Introduction, note 43.

Two specific aspects of the language of bronze inscriptions epitomize the potential of the ancestral cult as a context of intentional enculturation. One of these is the frequent reference made in the inscriptions to the idea of “modeling oneself” on one’s ancestors. This idea plays a role in the inscription of the He *zun*, cited above, wherein the Zhou king calls on the young sons of the Jing lineage to “look to” (*shi* 視) their Zhou-affiliated ancestor, the Gongshi, as a model for their own education. It is described more explicitly in a number of long inscriptions, including, for example, that of the Shi Wang *ding* 師望鼎 (2812), a middle Western Zhou vessel:¹⁰⁵

大師小子師望（望）曰：不（丕）顯皇考 亮（宄）公，穆穆克盟（明） 𠄎（厥）心， 𠄎（慎） 𠄎（厥）德，用辟于先王， 𠄎¹⁰⁶（得）屯（純）亡敗，望（望）肇（肇）帥井（型）皇考，虔 夙（夙）夜出內（入）王命...

Marshal Wang, scion of the Grand Marshal, says: “[My] greatly brilliant and august deceased father Duke Gui was solemnly able to enlighten his heart/mind and take care with his virtuous power. Thereby he was ruled by the former kings; he obtained purity without force. [I,] Wang, am thus led by the model of [my] august deceased father, entering and leaving day and night [according to] the royal command...”

The import of the term *jing* 井, read as *xing* 型 here, is to indicate Marshal Wang’s desire to “shape” himself after the model of his deceased father. Further examples of this expression appear in long inscriptions from all phases of the Western Zhou period.¹⁰⁷ The sentiment expressed thereby, namely that the living members of a lineage should attempt to conform to the example of their most illustrious ancestors, is a linchpin of the model of ancestral ritual

¹⁰⁵ *MWX*, 146-7, assigns it to King Gong, as does *Daxi*, 80-1. See also *Sackler*, 295-7, which dates the Shi Wang *ding* to the middle-late Western Zhou, and *Shirakawa*, 22.130, 71-80 (*Shirakawa* assigns the bronze to a group that he dates to King Yih).

¹⁰⁶ I follow *MWX*, 146 n. 3, in transcribing the bottom element of this character as *shou* 手; the gloss of *de* 得 is shared by *MWX* and the AS database.

¹⁰⁷ See the inscriptions of the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (2837), the Shi Zai *ding* 師錫鼎 (2830), the Liang Qi *zhong* 梁其鐘 (187), etc. On the dating of the Da Yu *ding*, see the discussion of *guan* 裸 in Appendix 1; on that of the Shi Zai *ding*, see Appendix 2, table 4.2; on the Liang Qi *zhong*, see *MWX* 397, 273-4, which suggests a dating to the King Yi-King Li period.

promulgated during the Western Zhou. It dovetails with the model of “nexus ancestors” seen above in the Yin Ji *li* and the He *zun*. Fundamental to the operation of ancestral ritual in the Western Zhou context was the idea that living elites could and should reiterate the relationships shared by their ancestors and the ancestors of their patrons, in particular those belonging to the Zhou royal house. A necessary condition of this idea was the assumption that the living could view and emulate the qualities possessed by their deceased patrilineal relatives. As the above inscriptions show, many among the Zhou elite were aware of this assumption and articulated it explicitly in the context of ancestral ritual, the venue in which living and dead members of elite interest groups came into direct contact.

In this regard, I would like to consider the traditional ending for long bronze inscriptions, which typically involves some variant of this phrase:

其萬年子子孫孫永保用享。

May [his] sons’ sons and grandsons’ grandsons eternally treasure and use [this vessel] in pleasing [the ancestors].¹⁰⁸

The final term, *xiang* 享, is both ubiquitous and problematic; it appears throughout the bronze inscriptions as a general referent to activities performed with bronze vessels. Liu Yuan has recently identified it with “long-term” devotional rites toward the ancestors, those lacking a specific, immediate goal of communication; this must certainly be the general sense of the term.¹⁰⁹ The basic idea of the phrase is clear, however; it expresses the desire that future generations of the kinship group should continue to use the vessel in the way in which it is employed by the sponsor of its creation, i.e., in the performance of rites within the rubric of the *zong* ancestral-temple cult. At first glance this seems unproblematic. A contradiction exists,

¹⁰⁸ The above case, for example, is taken from the inscription of the Bo *yu* 伯盂 (10312).

¹⁰⁹ Liu Yuan, *Shang Zhou jizuli yanjiu*, 89-95.

however, between the expression of the desire for descendants to continue using a vessel and the frequent interment of inscribed vessels in elite tombs.¹¹⁰ This contradiction can be explained, if not resolved, if we consider the mortuary practices of the Zhou elite as another venue for promoting the “model” relationship between Zhou elites and their ancestors.

The Western Zhou bronze inscriptions promote the ideal of a direct relationship between the living members of a lineage and its deceased members, one in which emulation of the behavior of the dead by the living is a key goal. In order for this emulation to be compatible with a lifestyle of participation in ancestral ritual, it would have been necessary for deceased members of the lineage to be conceptualized not only as clients of the Zhou royal house nor as mere targets of devotional activities, but as participants in the ancestral-temple ritual system in their own right.¹¹¹ In the political realm, the transmission of texts like the “Jiu gao,” which attributes the regulation of ritual among the Zhou population to the royal nexus ancestor King Wen, must have helped in this process.¹¹² In the realm of ritual, however, burial practices provided an opportunity to create identities for the deceased that conformed best to the expectations and ambitions of the relatives and affiliated power-holders that survived them.¹¹³ In

¹¹⁰ Of the 6076 inscribed bronzes listed in the AS database as belonging to the Western Zhou, 649 were definitively recovered from tombs (figures retrieved in April 2012). I am indebted to Professor Li Feng for the observation of this contradiction.

¹¹¹ Martin Kern raises the issue of the figuration of living participants in the ancestral cult as potential ancestors; see Kern, “Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shijing*, and the *Shangshu*,” 181.

¹¹² See *Shisanjing*, “Jiu gao,” 205-6.

¹¹³ By now, many scholars have recognized the degree to which choices made in mortuary practice are a venue for the negotiation and reproduction of status relations among the living. See for example J.C. Barrett, “The Living, the Dead and the Ancestors: Neolithic and Bronze Age Mortuary Practices,” in J.C. Barrett and Ian Kinnes, eds., *The Archaeology of Context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: Recent Trends*, Sheffield: Sheffield University, 1988. For a consideration of the issue in the context of an early Chinese site, see Rowan Flad, “Ritual or Structure? Analysis of Burial Elaboration at Dadianzi, Inner Mongolia,” *JEAA* 3.3-4 (2001), 23-51. Falkenhausen relates the ongoing debate about the constitutive power of burial to the Zhou Dynasty archaeological record in *Chinese Society*, 74-6.

the Zhou elite cultural context, this frequently took the form of the inclusion of bronze vessels in tombs with the deceased.¹¹⁴

The inclusion of ancestral-ritual vessels in elite funerary ritual must have been a powerful tool in composing identities for the deceased as active participants in the ancestral cults of their lineages whose characteristic activities included the need to perform sacrifices.¹¹⁵ Allowing survivors to conceive of their deceased in this way would have been important to the overall goal of promoting emulation of the ancestors as moral individuals and ideal citizens of the Zhou polity, as it would have allowed them to pursue that goal through ritual practices that were established as envisioned components of the ancestors' behavior. It would also have tied the pursuit of prestige and status more directly to the ancestral cult, since elites seeking to call on the precedent of their bloodlines as justification for their status looked back to ancestors whose identities had been publicly located within the rubric of ancestral ritual. The result, we may expect, would be a strong motivation for Zhou elites to describe themselves in terms of their relationships to their ancestors and their kin groups, and indeed, the above observations on developmental trends in kin terminology and forms of address tend to confirm that assumption.

1.3.3: Creating lineages

Overall, Zhou ancestral-ritual practice tended to move in this direction of explicit identification between living elites and their ancestors over the course of the period. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, it was codified during the mid-Western Zhou within the royal

¹¹⁴ In the Western Zhou cemetery at Zhangjiapo, for example, 41 of the 439 tombs excavated, or about 9.3%, contained what the excavators call “ritual and musical implements” (礼乐器). See *Zhangjiapo*, 132.

¹¹⁵ In comparison, McAnany has suggested that the burial of ritual feasting ceramics in Classic Maya tombs acted as a record of ritual feasts in which the deceased participated; see Patricia A. McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995, 33. In such a scenario, the audience for the “chronicle of ritual feasts” under consideration would consist of 1) the relatives responsible for the interment, who would be familiar with the tomb’s contents, and 2) the participants in the interment ritual.

appointment inscriptions, which often note the appointees' connections to ancestors who held the offices to which they were assigned.¹¹⁶ It is of note, then, that detailed formulations of individual elite Zhou lineages do not appear in the inscriptions until the middle Western Zhou period. Only three well-known inscriptions, the Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤 (10175), the Xing *zhong* 夔鐘 (246-55), and the Lai *pan* 逯盤 (NA0757), record the ancestral lines of their sponsors in detail.¹¹⁷ It is plausible that some groups holding elite status in Western Zhou society were not in the habit of tracing patrilineal descent and so had no ancestral lines of which to boast until they had been integrated into the *zong* system for some time. Others, however, particularly those who had until recently maintained affiliation with or even belonged to Shang aristocratic families, must have had this information available.¹¹⁸ The Jing group mentioned in the He *zun* inscription is a likely example; yet in his address therein, the king refers not to the antiquity of the Jing name, but to the example of the Gongshi who was the point of contact between that kin group and the Zhou royal house.

In the context of Western Zhou ancestral ritual, then, the rebellion of King Wen seems to have constituted a watershed moment beyond which ancestral lines were traced back no further. It appears that there was a strong sense among ritually active Zhou elites, especially during the early Western Zhou, that ancestral lines were relevant only insofar as they led back to

¹¹⁶ On the extent of hereditary associations with specific offices in the Western Zhou government, see *Bureaucracy*, 190-217.

¹¹⁷ For a combined discussion of these bronzes, see *Chinese Society*, 56-70, esp. 70. On the discovery of the Lai *pan*, see Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Baoji shi kaogu gongzuodui, and Meixian wenhuaguan, "Shaanxi Meixian Yangjiacun Xi Zhou qingtongqi jiaocang fajue jianbao," *Wenwu* 2003.6, 4-42. See also Shaanxi sheng wenwuju, *Shengshi jijin: Shaanxi Baoji Meixian qingtongqi jiaocang*, Beijing: Beijing, 2003. For discussion of the vessel as evidence for the sequence of the Western Zhou royal line, see also Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Writing of a Late Western Zhou Bronze Inscription," *Asiatische Studien* 51.3 (2007), 854-77; Matsui Yoshinori, "Western Zhou History in the Collective Memory of the People of the Western Zhou: An Interpretation of the Inscription of the 'Lai pan,'" *Toyoushi kenkyuu* 66.4 (2008), 664-712.

¹¹⁸ The structure of Shang elite kinship and inheritance is still a subject of debate, but based on the oracle bone inscriptions, it can at least be said that Shang aristocrats related directly to the royal family must have been aware of the identities of their patrilineal ancestors. For the Shang royal ancestral line as reconstructed from the OBI, see David N. Keightley, "The Shang," in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 234.

connections with the Zhou royal house or, in the case of relatively low-status elites, to higher-ranked elites with connections to the royal house. This concern with royal affiliations may indicate that the *zong* ancestral-ritual system in general was first disseminated among various allies of the Zhou by the Zhou royal house, as the beginning of the “Jiu gao” and the passage from the “Luo gao” that opens this chapter suggest; alternatively, it may reflect the close connection between the creation of inscribed bronze vessels and political relations with the Zhou kings. It is also a manifestation of the ethic of presence in Zhou ancestral ritual, in that moments of real contact between allied elites had to be reiterated and relived by current generations of participants in order for their lineage identities to remain relevant.

1.3.4: Reporting in the presence of the ancestors

One aspect of the creation of identity as an elite lineage member, then, was the reinstatement of client relations with the Zhou royal house.¹¹⁹ In the environment of the early Western Zhou state, however, it was of course not always possible for important interactions between powerful elites and their clients to take place at the clients’ ancestral temples; this was the exception rather than the norm. A ritual mechanism existed whereby such interactions that took place elsewhere could be incorporated into the ritual and social life of the local kin group; this was the *gao* 告, “report” or “announcement,” to one’s ancestors.¹²⁰ A classic, simple

¹¹⁹ On the precise nature of the relationships between the Zhou kings and their clients, see Cook, “Wealth and the Western Zhou,” 283-90; Li Feng, “Feudalism and Western Zhou China: A Criticism,” *HJAS* 63.1 (June 2003), 115-44.

¹²⁰ I am indebted to Liu Yu, *Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli*, 503-5, for his observations on the process of announcing events to the ancestors, although I do not agree with his interpretations in every case (I am not sure, for example, that the inscription of the Ze Ling *fangyi* describes a report to the ancestors rather than to a living authority figure). Much of the subsequent discussion is based on his work.

example appears in the early Western Zhou inscription of the Shu *gui* 鬲簋 (4136), wherein Shu announces to his deceased father the receipt of material rewards from his patron, Xianghou:¹²¹

佳（唯）五月乙亥，相侯休于𠄎（厥）臣爰，易（賜）帛金，爰揚侯休，告于文考，用乍（作）罍，其萬年□待□□侯。

On day *yihai* of the fifth month, Xianghou showed beneficence toward his servant Shu, awarding him silk and metal. Shu praises the *hou*'s beneficence and reports it to his cultured deceased father. [He] thereby makes a revered *gui*-vessel. May [he] for ten thousand years...attend...the *hou*.

One of the longest and most detailed inscriptions of the early Western Zhou, the Mai *fangzun* 麥方尊 (6015), records the performance of an announcement to the ancestors after a royal audience in which the presentee was shown unusual favor by the Zhou king. The full inscription appears in chapter 5; the relevant portions are reproduced below:

王令辟井（邢）侯出坏，侯于井（邢），𠄎若二月，侯見于宗周，亡述（尤）...唯歸，邕（揚）天子休，告亡尤，用𠄎（恭）義（儀）寧侯，覲考于井（邢）侯。乍（作）冊麥易（賜）金于辟侯...

The king commanded the sovereign Marquis of Xing to come out from Huai and take up the Marquisate of Xing. Around the second month, the Marquis presented himself at Zongzhou; there were no problems...When he returned, he praised the beneficence of the Son of Heaven and reported that (the trip) went without incident. He thereby conducted a respectful ceremony for Marquis Ning (the Peaceful Marquis), and had an audience with (?) his deceased father as the Marquis of Xing.¹²² Document Maker Mai received a gift of metal from the sovereign Marquis...(Mai *fangzun* [6015])

On returning to his home base, the newly installed Marquis (*hou* 侯) of Xing found it necessary to report to his deceased father on the completion of the trip without incident and the extraordinary consideration shown him by the king. Document Maker Mai may have traveled to

¹²¹ *MWX*, 92, assigns the Shu *gui* to the early Western Zhou.

¹²² The syntax of this clause is unusual. My sense is that the Marquis is greeting his deceased father for the first time as the recognized Marquis of Xing. *MWX*, on the other hand, reads it as meaning that Document Maker Mai “respectfully and majestically set the Marquis [of Xing] at ease”; see *MWX*, 47, n. 17. Li Feng follows this reading as well in *Bureaucracy*, 262.

Zongzhou with the new Marquis; based on the timing of his receipt of a gift from the Marquis, it is likely that he also took part in the report-ceremony that the Marquis conducted after his return.

The Mai *fangzun* narrative depicts a cascade effect in the distribution of prestige. At Zongzhou, the Marquis of Xing participated in a ritual with the king as part of his appointment, thereby accruing prestige and wealth (in the form of royal gifts) for himself. On his return, the need to report this event to his ancestors necessitated the involvement of a specialist scribe, who would have witnessed this ritual process of recognition of prestige within the context of the ancestral line. When he received a reward for his involvement, that scribe (Mai) then seized the opportunity to cast a bronze for use in ancestral ritual. The inscription of that bronze traced the sequence of events back to their origin in an interaction between his patron and the Zhou king, thus connecting him with the royal house second-hand within the context of the ancestral cult. At every step in the sequence, then, ritual acted as the context for the assignation of prestige and the distribution of wealth and power. The *gao*-report to the ancestors was the connecting point between the various figures – the king, the Marquis, the marquesal ancestors, Mai, other members of the marquesal lineage – with an interest in the details of that distribution.

The model of the announcement to the ancestors at the local level of privilege afforded elsewhere makes manifest a corollary of the ethic of presence in Zhou ritual. Within the confines of the *zong* ritual system, the understanding was that ancestors did not necessarily observe the fortunes of their descendants constantly. In other words, they were not *ubiquitously* present, but instead needed to be made present, or at least made attentive, through the appropriate performance of ritual acts.¹²³ The fact of the presence of the ancestors in a ritual context was a source of the differential value which Bell characterizes as the basic quality of ritualized

¹²³ In the middle-late Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, the achievement of this goal was sometimes described with the term *jiang* 降, “to descend/to send down,” or the compound phrase *zhijiang* 郵降; see for example the inscriptions of the Xing *zhong*, the Shanfu Ke *xu* 膳夫克盥 (4465), etc.

action.¹²⁴ This conception of differentiated presence provided motivation for reporting to the ancestors occurrences that took place outside the rubric of the *zong* in order to get credit for them, as it were, within the context of the lineage.

The term *gao* appears frequently throughout the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions referring to the offering of reports to living superiors by their subordinates, and the practice of reporting one's accomplishments to the ancestors was probably seen as one form of that process.¹²⁵ The practice of reporting to the ancestors was not, however, restricted to elites in subordinate positions. Prototypical examples exist wherein the potentates of the Zhou royal house were said to announce their accomplishments to the spirits as well. We have seen one of these in the inscription of the He *zun*:

隹（唯）珙（武）王既克大邑商，則廷告于天，曰：余其宅茲中或（國），自之
薛（乂）民...

When King Wu had already conquered the great city of Shang, he then went on to announce it to Heaven, saying, 'I shall dwell in these central states and from there govern the people.'

This description of King Wu's report to Heaven prefigures the formulation of the Western Zhou king as the "Son of Heaven" (*tianzi* 天子) that was to emerge by the reign of King Kang.¹²⁶ In light of that model, we may perhaps understand it as an incidence of the process of reporting to the ancestors.

¹²⁴ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 108-10.

¹²⁵ See for example the inscriptions of the Jing *ding* 靜鼎 (NA1795), the Shi Qi *ding* 史旂鼎 (2809), and the Duoyou *ding* 多友鼎 (2835).

¹²⁶ The phrase *tianzi* appears in a number of inscriptions of likely King Kang date, including the Rong *gui* 榮簋 (4121), the Xian *gui* 獻簋 (4205), and the Mai *fangzun* 麥方尊 (6015). The Rong *gui* dates to the early Western Zhou, and probably to King Kang; see *Duandai*, 126-7; Shirakawa 11.59, 591-607; *Sackler*, 420. *MWX*, 555, *Daxi*, 45-6, and Shirakawa 9.49, 513, all date the Xian *gui* to King Kang. On the dating of the Mai *fangzun*, see the discussion of its full inscription in chapter 5.

The second, and perhaps the most famous, incidence of a Western Zhou “royal” figure performing an announcement to the ancestors occurs in the “Jin teng” chapter of the *Shangshu*. When his brother King Wu is experiencing an illness, the Duke of Zhou, Dan, arranges for a ritual to be conducted wherein he offers himself to the spirits as a substitute. The description of his efforts is one of the most detailed narratives of a ritual performance known from pre-Warring States China. The passage below is from Legge’s translation, still relevant; I have changed only the transliteration of the names:

Two years after the conquest of the Shang dynasty, the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two dukes said, “Let us reverently consult the tortoise concerning the king”;¹²⁷ but the duke of Zhou said, “You may not so distress our former kings.” He then took the business on himself, and made three altars of earth, on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south, facing the north, he there took his own position. The convex symbols were put *on their altars* and he himself held his mace, while he addressed (*gao* 告) the kings Tai, Ji, and Wen...¹²⁸

In fact, unlike the examples of the *gao* we have seen above, Dan’s “report” to his ancestors, the former Zhou kings, was more in the nature of a request for clemency for King Wu. The use of the term *gao* conveys an impression of perceived obligation, a sense that the Duke of Zhou not only hopes that the ancestors will accede to his request, but expects their cooperation as an acknowledgement of his superior character and good service. It is also an implicit claim to royalty, in that the Duke presents himself as an equivalent exchange for King Wu and, in fact, a superior selection, based on his piety and ability to serve the ancestral spirits.

¹²⁷ That is, conduct pyromantic divinations concerning the matter using tortoise shells. The Zhou employed Shang-style pyromantic divination for some time, although it evidently occupied a different place in their society. The key source on Western Zhou oracle bone inscriptions is Cao Wei, *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, Beijing: Shijie tushu, 2002, which contains high-quality photographs of the Zhouyuan bones and reproduces data from several other sources.

For further sources on the Zhouyuan oracle bones, see the discussion of *yu* 禦 in chapter 2.

¹²⁸ Legge, *The Shoo King*, 351-2.

Certain characteristics of the “Jin teng” passage, in particular the name-list of the former kings, suggest a post-Western Zhou date.¹²⁹ Liu Yu has noted that the use of the term *gao* to indicate an announcement directed to the ancestors survived into the later received texts.¹³⁰ However, in a close examination of the use of the term *gao*, I have found no examples of reports to the ancestors in inscriptions dated to after the early Western Zhou; the term appears frequently in vessels dating to the late Western Zhou in particular but almost always indicates a report made to a living superior, usually the king.¹³¹ It seems that the motivation to report one’s positive experiences in the ancestral temple subsided fairly early in the Western Zhou period; or, alternatively, that the need to record that one had done so in inscriptions subsided.

The cessation of the *gao*-report directed towards one’s patrilineal ancestors was related to a process of systematization of royal involvement in the ritual distribution of prestige. A host of changes that took place around the middle of the Western Zhou period reflect changing royal attitudes toward the ancestral-ritual institution, its associated model of kinship, and its role in Zhou politics. Among the factors behind these changes was, I believe, royal concern with the growing role of lineage identity in Zhou society and, to use Beaudrillard’s terms, the inevitable tendency of “ascribed value” to become “inherited value.”¹³² I will return to this point later in the chapter; here I will simply say that, under this model, the reappearance of the *gao* to the ancestors in Eastern Zhou sources might reflect not a resurgence of earlier religious practice, but a decline in the proportional representation of royal interests in the inscriptional and written record.

¹²⁹ To my knowledge, the name Taiwang or Taigong wang appears nowhere in the Western Zhou inscriptions.

¹³⁰ Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1989.4, 503-5.

¹³¹ For examples, see note 124.

¹³² James Benedict, tr., Jean Beaudrillard, *The System of Objects*, London, New York: Verso, 2005, “The Market in Antiques,” 88-9.

1.3.5: Feasting and ritual participation

For ritual to be effective as a venue for the iteration and transformation of social identities, it must create opportunities for group interaction, and it must provide motivation for people who consider themselves or are considered to belong to those groups to take part.

Without a doubt, the group activity most evident from the Western Zhou archaeological and historical record is the feast, thanks largely to the central role played by inscribed bronze vessels in the material-culture assemblages of the Zhou elite. Rawson thus begins her assessment of Western Zhou archaeology by stating the importance of bronze vessels, and in particular those with inscriptions, to the understanding of the archaeological record.¹³³

As we know it from that record and from the inscriptions, the elite feasting of the early Western Zhou belonged to what Dietler has characterized as the “diacritical feasting pattern,” which is to say that it involved the use of specialized, highly developed paraphernalia and unusual provisions available only to certain privileged segments of the population.¹³⁴ The inclusion of food vessels in tombs was a pervasive characteristic of mortuary practice across the sphere of Zhou influence, indicating an enduring importance of the act of eating in social relations and the concomitant need to portray one’s dead as requiring provisions for that purpose.¹³⁵ The inclusion of bronze vessels specifying their use in ancestral ritual, however, seems to have been rarer. Of the 27 tombs associated with the Yu state cemetery at Baoji, for example, eleven contained no bronze food vessels, while all but four contained ceramic food

¹³³ Rawson, *Western Zhou Archaeology*, in *Cambridge History*, 352.

¹³⁴ Michael Dietler, “Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power, and Status in Prehistoric Europe,” in Polly Wiessner and Wulf Schiefenovel, eds., *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996, 86-126, esp. 98. Cited in Lisa J. Lecount, “Like Water for Chocolate: Feasting and Political Ritual among the Late Classic Maya at Xunantunich, Belize,” *American Anthropologist*, new series, 103.4 (Dec. 2001), 935.

¹³⁵ On the question of burial as a constitutive act for the deceased vs. the living, see note 112 above.

vessels (table 1.2, Appendix 2).¹³⁶ Even among early Western Zhou elites, then, a division pertained between those individuals eligible to participate in lineage ritual and those with the wherewithal, financial or prestige-based, to produce bronze vessels for the purpose.¹³⁷

Feasting activities created a variety of opportunities for group interaction and participation, from the production of the food consumed, to the performance of associated rituals, to the disposal of the remains. Offering foodstuffs to ancestors, and the concomitant consumption of those foodstuffs by the participants, afforded opportunities for the creation and re-creation of prestation relationships between elites through both the provision of hospitality – i.e., food, wine, and company – and the possibility of reward for services rendered in the context of the meal and its accompanying rituals.¹³⁸ It also encouraged participants to associate successful agriculture, and the abundance it produced, with the operation of the *zong* temple cult, in which context that abundance was recognized and consumed.¹³⁹

Feasting provided an audience for the constitution of individual identities within the context of the ancestral lineage. The audience probably consisted largely of the members of the lineage, but it was not necessarily limited to them; associates of the sponsors could potentially take part. A few bronzes record their creation for this specific purpose:

先獸（獸）乍（作）朕老（考）寶障鼎，獸（獸）其邁（萬）年永寶用，朝夕鄉
（饗）罕（厥）多朋（朋）友。

¹³⁶ *Baoji Yu guo mudu*, 96, 132. The situation of one of these tombs, BRM3, is quite unusual, in that it is very large, but contains almost no grave goods, and its occupant shows signs of having been strangled to death; see *ibid.*, 385-6. It should not be taken as a useful example of elite burial assemblages.

¹³⁷ This distinction would only expand over the course of the Western Zhou period, as the introduction of vessel sets meant that a higher proportion of bronzes were produced by a smaller proportion of potential patrons.

¹³⁸ Cook, *Wealth and the Western Zhou*. Examples of rewards granted in the context of feasts are too many to list here.

¹³⁹ In his discussion of the term *bao* 報 in the inscriptions, Liu Yu characterizes the poem “Wei qing,” from the “Zhou song” section of the *Shi*, as describing a ceremony of repayment of the ancestors for a bountiful harvest. See Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli,” 507; *Shijing*, “Wei qing,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 584. I concur with Liu Yu’s assessment of the poem but am hesitant about his characterization of *bao* as a specific rite; I would instead call it a frequently expressed sentiment.

[I.] Xianshou, make a precious, revered vessel for my deceased father. May [I.] Shou, eternally treasure and use it for ten thousand years, feasting my many friends and colleagues day and night. (Xian Shou *ding* 先獸鼎 [2655])¹⁴⁰

佳（唯）十又一月，井（邢）侯 征（延） 嘯¹⁴¹（嘖）于麥。麥易（賜）赤金，用乍（作）鼎，用從井（邢）侯征事，用鄉（饗）多者（諸）友。
It was the eleventh month. Xinghou extended praise to Mai. Mai was given red metal with which he makes a *ding*-cauldron, thereby to follow Xinghou on campaign and in service, and thereby to feast his many and various colleagues. (Mai *fangding* 麥方鼎 [2706])¹⁴²

The casting of a vessel for the purpose of hosting feasts for non-lineage members did not exclude its devotional intent within the ancestral sphere, as shown by the inscription of the Wei *ding* 衛鼎 (2733), a mid-Western Zhou bronze:¹⁴³

衛肇（肇）乍（作） 𠄎（厥）文考己中（仲）寶將（𠄎），用奉壽、句永福，乃用鄉（饗）王出入事（使）人，眾多朋（朋）友，子孫永寶。
Wei begins the making of a precious *jiang*-cauldron for his cultured deceased father Jizhong, thereby to make entreaty for long life and pray for lasting fortune, and thereby to feast the royal emissaries that come and go, as well as [his] many friends and colleagues; [may his] sons and grandsons long treasure [it].

Wei had no qualms about describing his intent to use the bronze in hosting outsiders while maintaining its efficacy as a medium of prayer to and request of the ancestors.¹⁴⁴ The inscription describes a nested set of relationships coming together in the context of the feast. Wei and the members of his lineage would have interacted with his “friends and colleagues,” local elites from

¹⁴⁰ Xian Shou *ding* 先獸鼎 (2655), dated by the AS database to the early Western Zhou; see also *Sandai* 3.51.3, *Jinwen zongji* 1144, vol. 2, 511.

¹⁴¹ The transcription of this character follows that given in MWX, 48; the gloss is that of the AS database.

¹⁴² The Mai *fangding* was cast by the same individual as the Mai *fangzun*, discussed at length in Chapter 5; like that bronze, it probably dates to the reign of King Cheng or King Kang.

¹⁴³ On the date of the Wei *ding*, see Shirakawa 8.36, 405-7. Shirakawa assigns the Wei *ding* to the latter half of the early Western Zhou (King Kang or later), while the AS database dates it to the middle Western Zhou. Based on the relatively naturalistic bird ornamentation on the vessel, my sense is that the former is probably the correct dating.

¹⁴⁴ In early Western Zhou contexts, the term *hui* 𦉳 refers to a specific rite of entreaty to the ancestors; see the discussion in chapter 2.

outside his kin group with whom he shared a professional or personal acquaintance. As a collective, this “local” contingent would then apparently have had the occasional opportunity to interact with representatives of the Zhou royal house. The inclusion of royal messengers must have been an especially powerful motivator for the performance of feasts, affording Wei the opportunity to demonstrate his wealth (through the display of bronzes and the distribution of largesse) and to cultivate prestigious extra-lineage relationships in the context of lineage activities.¹⁴⁵

Some of the nuances of the operation of bronzes and their inscriptions might have been lost on outside observers, lacking as they did the context to associate specific bronzes with specific individuals, etc. Fortunately, early Zhou ritual included an auditory element to overcome this issue in the form of the “invocation” (*zhu* 祝). The office of Invoker is well attested in early Western Zhou inscriptions; it was most famously held by Qin 禽, son of the Duke of Zhou (Zhougong), as mentioned in the Dazhu Qin *ding* 大祝禽鼎 (“Great Invoker Qin *ding*”) (1937-8) and the Qin *gui* 禽簋 (4041), quoted above. It appears in inscriptions of middle and late Western Zhou date as well.¹⁴⁶ Little detail appears in these inscriptions concerning the Invoker’s duties; however, the existence of such an office suggests that, at least in its early stages, Western Zhou ancestral ritual involved the intoning of prayers to ancestors by dedicated specialists. Such prayers must have helped contextualize the ritual for observers, providing information on the nexus ancestors of the lineage and the commemoration of prestige-receiving

¹⁴⁵ See for example the Shen *ding* (2732), cast by the Grand Scribe of Ying for “entertaining.”

¹⁴⁶ See the Shen *guigai* 申簋蓋 (4267), the Chang Xin *he* 長田盃 (9455), and the Qian *gui* 鄱簋 (4296). A more detailed discussion appears in the section on *zhu*-invocation in chapter 2.

events that was otherwise available mainly through the inscriptions, most of which were obscured by food and drink during the course of the feast.¹⁴⁷

1.3.6: Sets of bronzes and sets of ancestors

The power of bronzes as representations of their owners in the material accoutrements of the ancestral cult depended not just on when and by whom they were produced, but also on the quantities and combinations in which they were used. Influential discussions of the use of bronzes in Western Zhou ritual and feasting have focused on this topic.¹⁴⁸ Information comes from two diverse contexts: tombs in which assemblages of bronze vessels have been buried, which have been assumed to represent individual “sets” within the context of the ancestral cult;¹⁴⁹ and hoards, which comprise large groups of vessels belonging to entire lineages (or lineage branches) and which are interpreted as the furnishings of *zong* temples.¹⁵⁰ Both hoards and bronze-rich tombs thus provide vital examples of combinations of bronze vessels that were significant to Western Zhou elites under specific circumstances.

A primary concern of ancestral ritual was the composition of a set of mutually similar ancestors, resembling what Dumont has termed a “collective individual,” of which any particular living participant was a recent iteration.¹⁵¹ The ethic of identification with the “nexus ancestor”

¹⁴⁷ For a more detailed speculation on the performance required of the Invoker, see Liu Yu, *Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli*, 516-7.

¹⁴⁸ See *Chinese Society*, 98-111; Rawson in *Cambridge History*, 369-75. See also Guo Baojun, *Shang Zhou tongqiqun zonghe yanjiu*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1981.

¹⁴⁹ *Sackler*, 98-9.

¹⁵⁰ See *Chinese Society*, 36-7. On Western Zhou bronze hoards, see Luo Xizhang, “Zhouyuan qingtongqi jiaocang jiqi youguan wenti de tantao,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1988.2, 40-7.

¹⁵¹ On the creation of individual identities as instances of a shared group identity, see the concern for the “collective individual” in Louis Dumont, “Religion, Politics, and Society in the Individualistic Universe,” *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1970, 31-41, esp. 33; and its application to ancestral devotions in Robert J. Foster, “Nurture and Force-Feeding: Mortuary Feasting and the Construction of Collective Individuals,” *American Ethnologist* 17.3 (Aug. 1990), 431-48. For an example of the mediation of circumstantial pressures against the iterative capacity of ancestral ritual, see Rasmussen, “The Spirit of the Gift among the Tuareg,” 27-36.

of one's temple lineage, the prototypical "first among equals" in the collective, was a driving force behind this concern. Personal identification with the bronzes used in the ritual formed part of this conceptual complex. The ethic of presence manifest in the content of bronze inscriptions facilitated this process, as many bronzes marked occasions of personal involvement in prestigious events and thus indexed the presence of the vessel sponsor. As vessels sponsored by various elites were brought together and displayed in the ancestral temple, then, the group of elites making up the lineage, assembled for the purpose of the rite, was physically represented in the set of vessels assembled for the offerings.

Since the personal contribution of each lineage member to the vessel assemblage would have varied according to his or her financial and political wherewithal, the assemblage would therefore make up a hierarchical image in which members were portrayed as making up different proportions of their lineage. At the same time, the dedications of specific bronzes to specific ancestors, along with the rhetoric of the rite itself, meant that the assemblage of bronzes also indexed the overall structure of the lineage, i.e., the series of ancestors that made up the "collective individual." This overlapping conjunction of images (bronze assemblage, set of ancestors commemorated by the bronzes, differential participation in the lineage as depicted by proportional representation in the bronzes) operated mimetically in the context of the rite, habituating lineage members to conceive of themselves as individual iterations of the nexus ancestor in a set of such iterations, as components situated in the hierarchy of the lineage in its present state, and, together with the other living participants, as a "collective individual" again iterating the overall "collective individual" formed by the total membership of the lineage, living and dead.

Greater representation within the set of bronzes used in ritual constituted claim to being a greater “part” of the lineage. Over the course of the Western Zhou period, the valuation of proportional representation in the assemblage of ritual bronzes became explicit as complicated décor subsided and sets of numerous identical vessels, typically with identical inscriptions, began to be produced.¹⁵² Creation of such sets allowed vessel sponsors to stretch the limits of the opportunities created by events of prestige conferral for the production of bronzes. Initially, this was probably one way in which elites could counteract disparities in economic wealth and ritual status. Eventually the practice of casting multiple-vessel sets would become codified, as described in the ritual books, wherein it was claimed that aristocrats of particular ranks had the right to different numbers of *ding*-cauldrons and *gui*-vessels.¹⁵³

It is perhaps not coincidental that this shift occurred concurrently with the accrual of ancestral “sets” as portrayed in the inscriptions. Under the Western Zhou ancestral-ritual model, as discussed above, the lifetimes of Kings Wen and Wu constituted the *terminus ante quem* for the formulation of ritual lineages. Some time passed, then, before the concept of the lineage-as-set could develop vertical as well as horizontal depth – that is, before enough generations had passed since the lives of the nexus ancestors that lineage members could look back on a series of antecedents with whom they shared primarily “descendant-ancestor” rather than specific familial relationships.¹⁵⁴ By the middle Western Zhou, some evidence exists of this process. Three famous bronzes, the Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤, the Xing *zhong* 夔鐘, and the Lai *pan*, 逯盤, record

¹⁵² See Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 433-40.

¹⁵³ The actual numbers of vessels assigned to specific ranks are unclear; see Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 43-52, 56-64. Falkenhausen notes that the differences in the numbers of vessels in sets initially differentiated between lineage members rather than lineages; see *ibid.*, 100. Falkenhausen, *ibid.*, argues that the sumptuary rules for vessel sets described in the ritual books were instituted during the late Western Zhou; I am not yet convinced that such rules were systemically applied. It is certain, however, that sponsoring vessel sets was a primary strategy of status negotiation in the ancestral-ritual context by that time.

¹⁵⁴ In Marcus’s terms, before lineages developed a distinction between “near” and “distant or remote” ancestors. See Joyce Marcus, “Women’s Ritual in Formative Oaxaca: Figurine-making, Divination, Death, and the Ancestors,” *Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan*, no. 33, Ann Arbor, 1998, 20-1.

sequences of ancestors of specific lineages in tandem with descriptions of the sequence of Zhou kings.¹⁵⁵ Falkenhausen has suggested that this was an act of competitive representation in that the lineages concerned placed their accomplishments on a par with those of the Zhou royal house.¹⁵⁶ The point is well taken, but I would suggest another interpretation: by listing the sequence of the royal house along with that of their ancestors, the Wei lineage members¹⁵⁷ described the members of their ancestral line as a sequential set of successful iterations of the “nexus ancestor” (the *gaozu* 高祖 or “High Ancestor” of the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription) and his relationship with the Zhou king.¹⁵⁸ The recording of lineage sequences was the flip side of the concurrently beginning practice of referring to individuals with terms indicating their lineage seniority, observed by Falkenhausen and noted above in the discussion on *shi* 氏 in the inscriptions.¹⁵⁹ Along with the characterization of the lineage as a sequential “collection” of ancestors went the conceptualization of individual identities as positions within that sequence.

The above model proposes that the Zhou practiced partial individual participation in rituals involving vessel assemblages. This idea is dependent on the assumption that a Zhou elite could sponsor one or two bronzes, take them to the ancestral temple, and see them used as his contribution to the process. While such an assumption seems logical, I am not aware of any direct evidence to support it. A precedent exists, however, in the genre of bronzes that were cast for “portable” purposes, i.e., for elites to use while on campaign with the king or another

¹⁵⁵ See note 116.

¹⁵⁶ Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 71.

¹⁵⁷ The Shi Qiang *pan* and the Xing *zhong* were produced by members of the same lineage and so record essentially the same sequence of ancestors.

¹⁵⁸ For a detailed translation of the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription, see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 1-4, 183-92. If the point was to describe the Wei ancestors as iterations of a certain relationship with the Zhou king, one might expect the inscription to consist entirely of paired, contextualized descriptions of Wei ancestors and their relationships with kings, as in the portion dedicated to the High Ancestor and his relationship with King Wu. Such is the case with the inscriptions of the Xing *zhong* and the Lai *pan*; the actual arrangement of the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription affords the royal house pride of place in all cases.

¹⁵⁹ Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 69-70; see also Sheng Dongling, “Xi Zhou tongqi mingwen zhong de renming jiqi dui duandai de yiyi,” *Wenshi* 17, 27-64, cited therein.

superior.¹⁶⁰ Evidently there were some rituals conducted during military campaigns for which elite personnel were expected, or at least allowed, to furnish bronzes. If this type of ritual participation was allowed in a military context, then it is likely that the members of a lineage enjoyed similar privileges of participation on the level of the local lineage temple.

1.4: Conclusion

The above pages argue that the Western Zhou royal house operated within and arbitrated the model of *zong* lineage ritual, acting as its primary source of prestige and the hub of its operation. Non-royal power holders, some of whom may have come from different cultures and maintained different models of kinship, established *zong* locally as a ritually sanctioned venue for the negotiation of social relationships, both with the king and within their own lineages. These *zong* operated on the principle of reiteration of the lineage's "nexus ancestor," the member of the lineage responsible for its relationship with the Zhou royal house, by the current generation of participants. This ideal was expressed explicitly in frequent exhortations for Zhou elites to "model themselves" (*xing* 型) after their ancestors.

In its initial stages, this process derived much of its force from the strong "ethic of presence" underpinning Zhou ritual, wherein immediate moments of interaction with both ancestors and living authority figures were imbued with value, recorded in detail, and perpetuated through techniques of materialization such as preservation in bronze. Over time, as more generations accrued between the founding moment of the dynasty and the present, the sequence of identification and reiteration led lineages to resemble a set of ancestors of which the

¹⁶⁰ As indicated by the use of the term *lü* 旅; see for example the inscriptions of the Zuoce Hu *you* 作册虘卣 (5432), the Shao *qi* 召卣 (10360), the Zhou Hu *you* 周乎卣 (5406), the Shi Ke *xu* 師克盃 (NA1907), etc. Ma proposes a different explanation of this term as "[a vessel] for nourishment"; see *MWX*, 36 n. 4.

youngest members of the lineage formed the final item. In the context of ancestral ritual, this model of the lineage as set was echoed mimetically in the bronze assemblages used, which comprised representations of the “collective individual” that was the lineage. The ethic of the set eventually came to be expressed directly in the creation of large numbers of identical bronzes, which allowed their casters to dominate the symbolic space of the bronze assemblage and to dilute the direct link between prestige-conferral events and the casting of bronze vessels.

Models of personal identity and its relationship to kin identity among Zhou elites changed over the period, likely in response to demographic changes, and this was reflected in the inscriptions of ritual bronzes. *Xing* 姓 clan/surname/marriage-group terms emerged in the early Western Zhou and increased significantly in use over the course of the period, providing an alternative model of kinship that cross-cut the lineage system, but articulated with it in the context of ancestral ritual through the forging of affinal ties and the casting of dowry bronzes. The use of both lineage seniority terms and *xing* terms as exclusive identity markers in conjunction with the generic honorific suffix *shi* 氏 increased as well; eventually, by the end of the period, that suffix came to be used to denote lineages rather than individuals. Generally speaking, in the context of ancestral ritual, kinship identity seems to have gained ground at the expense of individual identity. This may reflect the success of the royal project of habituation of its coalition of elites in the context of lineage ritual; it likely also relates to shifts in power between the royal house and regional lineages. This process, and the changes made in royal ritual in response to it, will be explored in subsequent chapters.¹⁶¹

In some cultural contexts, an effort is made to secure the boundaries between ancestor, living elder, and young, mature member of the lineage through specific naming practices,

¹⁶¹ On the reflection of this process in the changing character of Zhou ritual, see Cook, "Wealth and the Western Zhou," 256-7.

ceremonies, etc.¹⁶² In Western Zhou elite ritual, the opposite motivation pertained, in that effort was made in the context of mortuary rites, etc., to ensure that even young elites could identify themselves directly with their ancestors, recreating them in their own persons so as to perpetuate ideal models of relationships both vertically (i.e., hierarchically within the lineage) and horizontally (between lineage members and outside parties, including but not limited to the Zhou kings). This model of the relationship between living and dead members of lineages directly satisfied the needs of the royal house first in bringing together a coalition of diverse populations in opposition to the Shang, and then in holding them together through a project of unprecedented expansion and consolidation. The final chapter of this work will explore the ritual manifestations of royal strategies in these contexts in further detail.

¹⁶² For a case in which the creation of distance between ancestors (living and dead) and the young, including the intentional forgetting of the names of ancestors, played a key role in the social operation of the ancestral cult, see Susan J. Rasmussen, "Alms, Elders, and Ancestors: The Spirit of the Gift among the Tuareg," *Ethnology* 39.1 (2000), 15-38, esp. 19, 35.

CHAPTER 2

TAKING PART AND TAKING OVER: WESTERN ZHOU ANCESTRAL RITES AS SOCIAL OBJECTS¹

2.1: Introduction

With the defeat of the Shang, the Zhou royal house positioned itself at the ideological center of a network of groups defined, in the context of their interaction with the Zhou state, by their patrilineal descent from figures sharing personal relationships with the early kings. To maintain their central position in the new hierarchy, and to pursue their project of state-building through delegation of authority, the Zhou kings drew on one of their primary cultural advantages: their familiarity with Shang-style ancestral ritual. In doing so, the Zhou royal family faced the challenge of retooling the well-established Shang ritual system, centered on a supreme lineage tracing its ancestry back more than twenty generations, to cater to the needs of a recently forged coalition of elite populations.

Royal ancestral ceremonies, performed publicly as part of major hospitality events, served the dual purpose of reinforcing recognition of the king's role as arbiter of prestige in Zhou elite society and inculcating principles of Zhou social organization. High-ranking elites attended these ceremonies, took part in them, hosted them, and duplicated them within their own domains, in some cases at the express recommendation of the king. They cast inscribed bronzes commemorating their attendance, encoding the ceremonies in durable physical form, and used them in their own ancestral cults and burial practices, appropriating them as tools for building

¹ In choosing the term “social objects” I have in mind its use in Annemarie Mol and John Law, “Regions, Networks, and Fluids: Anaemia and Social Topology,” *Social Studies of Science* 24 (1994), 641-71.

personal and lineage identities. The Zhou take on Shang ancestral ritual thus made its way across, and indeed helped form, the Zhou cultural sphere.²

As the politics and demographics of the new state developed, however, and as external circumstances restricted the available resource pool, the Zhou royal house made corresponding changes in its strategy of ritual deployment. Some terms and modes of practice that offered substantial benefit to practitioners of varied status continued, while others, the lion's share, faded from the inscriptional record. This process culminated in a break between the ritual practices of the royal house and those of non-royal Zhou elites, as well as a change in the relationship between the performance of ancestral ritual, the casting of inscribed bronze vessels, and the power dynamic between local lineages and the royal house. Terms that came into vogue after this break would heavily influence later characterizations of Western Zhou ritual.

All of these processes are visible in the bronze inscriptions, through fine-grained analysis of the vocabulary of ritual practices and events used therein. The following pages conduct such an analysis, approaching the terminology of Western Zhou ancestral ritual with the inscriptions as main source, supplementing with texts of likely contemporary date when relevant, and drawing on oracle bones and later received texts only to show overall trends of use over time. Based on close, chronologically situated analysis of a range of terms used to describe ritual actions and events, I will argue that the Western Zhou kings strove to introduce Shang-style ancestral ritual to the Zhou elite population in general; that those modes of Shang ancestral ritual that provided general utility in the new environment thrived while others waned; and that, towards the end of the Western Zhou period, a new vocabulary of ancestral ritual emerged that

² In particular, a few major ritual events hosted at the beginning of the Western Zhou period and involving the performance of patrilineal ancestral ritual encouraged the perception of the king both as the prototypical performer of ancestral rites and as somehow qualitatively distinct from and thereby not replaceable by other performers. This perceived blend of inherited uniqueness and centrality to the ancestral-ritual complex achieved its ultimate expression in the characterization of the Zhou king as “the son of Heaven” (*tianzi* 天子).

would gain in popularity over the course of the Eastern Zhou. These arguments will provide the foundation for a later explanation of the set of changes sometimes called the “Middle Western Zhou Ritual Reform” or the “ritual revolution.”³

Since its goal is to understand how Western Zhou elites of various statuses used rites to mediate controversies over group formation, identity, and membership,⁴ this analysis focuses whenever possible on the people involved in rites and their relationships to each other both during and outside the context of the rite. Based on this, and given the disparity in content between inscriptions describing royal performances of rituals and those with no explicit connection to the royal house, it is divided between rites and ritual actions that appear in inscriptions as having been performed by both kings and non-royal elites; those for which the inscriptions record royal performances only; and those that, in the inscriptions, show no specific connection to the royal house.⁵

2.2: Shared rites

The Western Zhou bronze inscriptions attribute a number of ritual actions to both kings and non-royal aristocrats. Generally speaking, early Western Zhou inscriptions tend to record cases of these actions conducted by the Zhou kings as parts of major hospitality events, while later inscriptions focus more on the operation of ancestral ritual among non-royal elites and its connection with the creation of bronze vessels; however, there are important exceptions.

³ On this phenomenon, see Falkenhausen, “Late Western Zhou Taste,” *Etudes Chinoises* 18.1-2, 1999, 149-55; Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, Washington, D.C.: The Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, Cambridge: The Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 1990, 93-110; Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Confucian Classics*, Albany: SUNY press, 1997, 184-6.

⁴ Under the ANT model of “sociology of associations,” such controversies are the primary source of data on associations, since they tend to fade into the background once established. On this see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 27-42, esp. 30-1.

⁵ These divisions in the inscriptions do not always reflect perfectly the state of affairs in contemporary received texts; such disparities are a further source of information.

This section presents the terms denoting these rites in three very general thematic groupings: rites associated with direct royal patronage of livestock offerings among elite lineages, beginning early and continuing into the middle Western Zhou; rites which appear in the inscriptions mainly during the early Western Zhou, whether as components of royal ritual events or as personal practices of non-royal elites; and rites or ritual terms which appear throughout the period and, apparently, became part of the shared rubric of Western Zhou elite ritual.

There is substantial overlap between these categories. In particular, rites from the first (*di*) and the second (*rong*) combined with rites from the first (*hui*, *zheng*) as part of an overall project of major ritual events hosted by the Zhou kings during the early Western Zhou. The fluidity of the categories, and the varying definitions, acceptance, and longevity of particular practices that it reflects, shows that Zhou elite group identity, like the Zhou state itself, was in a constant state of formation and reformation in response to both internal stresses (demographic changes, for example) and external stimuli (military setbacks, etc.).⁶

2.2.1: Livestock rites and royal patronage

2.2.1.1: Di/chi 禘/啻

⁶ From the standpoint of actor-network theory, the variable degree of success of different ritual techniques at different times is to be expected as part of the ongoing process of performing group identity. Regularity, as Latour argues, would be the exceptional case; see *Reassembling the Social*, 34.

The sociological concept of “fluidity” is particularly useful for conceiving of the problem of both individual rites and ritual in general as “social objects.” The distinctions between particular “rites” and the feasting, rewards, and other activities that often – but not always – accompanied them break down on closer examination; in Law’s and Mol’s terms, rites form “fluid spaces” with other social phenomena. See Mol and Law, 659-60. Beard observes this with respect to the Roman triumph; see Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge, London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, 263-6. For an example of a construct which, in Mol’s and Law’s terms, “transforms itself from one arrangement into another without discontinuity” (Mol and Law, 664), see the discussion of royal vs. non-royal occurrences of *hui*-entreaty in section 2.3 of this chapter.

In the conceptualization of elite kinship seen in the Western Zhou sources, the royal house was a model patriline that other elite households could strive to emulate;⁷ at the same time, it was qualitatively different from other powerful households, despite its connections to them through both real, remembered blood ties and the categorical model of the Ji 姬 surname.⁸ Hence the Zhou kings were designated the “Sons of Heaven” (*tianzi*), but at the same time continued to make offerings to their patrilineal ancestors, thereby setting the example for the implementation of these rites among the rest of Zhou society. A specific ritual action indicated in the bronze inscriptions by a character written as *chi* 啻 – that is, with the base character *di* 帝 over a mouth radical or other square object 口 – exemplifies this phenomenon.⁹

2.2.1.1.1: Royal performances of *di/chi*

The Western Zhou bronze inscriptions record four specific instances of the ritual action called *di/chi* 啻. The earliest such case, that appearing in the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839) inscription, formed part of an elaborate, multi-day ritual event associated with major military accomplishments. In the wake of a great military victory, the vessel commissioner Yu attended the king – probably King Kang – at the Zhou Temple (*Zhou miao* 周廟) in the company of many of the most powerful individuals in the Zhou state.¹⁰ As part of the process of recognition of his accomplishments, Yu was present for a *di/chi* 啻 offering that the king performed, targeting the

⁷ On the phenomenon of *xing*, “modeling oneself after,” as a factor distinguishing Western Zhou ancestral ritual from other ancestral traditions, see chapter 1.

⁸ On the question of the role of surnames in the Western Zhou period, see Sena, “Reproducing Society: Lineage and Kinship in Western Zhou China,” 7-9, esp. notes 6 and 7.

⁹ Sarah Allan, “The Identity of Shang Di and the Origin of the Celestial Mandate,” *Early China* 31, 2007, 25; Liu Yuan, *Shang Zhou jizuli yanjiu*, Beijing: Shangwu, 2004, 66.

¹⁰ On the location of the Zhou Temple, see *Bureaucracy*, 160-3.

previous kings Wu and Cheng, as well as a figure called “the Zhou King” (*Zhouwang*); this latter presumably referred to King Wen as putative founder of the Zhou state. This offering involved a livestock sacrifice (*sheng* 牲) and was associated with a number of libations (*guan* 裸) exchanged between the aristocratic participants and a crack-divination (*bu* 卜), as well as an invocation (*zhu* 祝) performed by the king himself. The king presented Yu with a number of military-themed gifts on this occasion.¹¹ This is the earliest instance of the ceremony known as *di/chi* 啻 recorded in the inscriptions. As we will see below, the king’s formal recognition of Yu’s achievements in conjunction with the *di/chi* ceremony is of note.

Further occurrences of the *di/chi* rite appear in a series of vessels dating to the middle Western Zhou period. The relevant inscriptions are brief but, as a group, offer an intriguing network of data on the circumstances of performance of the rite and its role in elite relations. The inscription of the Xian *gui* 鮮簋 (10166), a bronze currently housed in the British Museum and assigned by JC to the middle Western Zhou, echoes some of the details described in the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription, suggesting that they may have constituted habits of practice of the rite in question.¹²

佳（唯）王卅又四祀唯五月既望戊午，王才（在）莽京，啻（禘）于瑯（昭）王，鮮穢（蔑）曆，鄠（裸）王軌（璋）、鄠（裸）玉三品、貝廿朋，對王休，用乍（作）子孫其永寶。

It was the king’s 34th offering cycle, the fifth month, the *jiwang* moon phase, the *wuwu* day. The king was at the Pang Capital; he performed the *di*-rite to King Zhao. Xian received the recounting of merits (*mieli*) and offered libation. The king awarded [him] three jade items for *guan*-libation and 20 strings of cowries.¹³ Responding to the king’s

¹¹ See the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription (JC 2839, *MWX* 63).

¹² JC 10166. Vessels whose inscriptions, like that of the Xian *gui*, refer to specific departed kings are typically considered to date to the reign of the following king, which would make the Xian *gui* a King Mu bronze; see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 108.

¹³ For this reading of the sentence, see Sun Qingwei, “Zhou dai guanli de xin zhengju,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2005.1, 72; Li Xueqin and Ai Lan, “Xian gui de chubu yanjiu,” *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 1990, cited in Yang Zhou, “Jinwen

beneficence, he therewith makes [a vessel]; may [his] sons and grandsons eternally treasure [it].

As did the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription, the Xian *gui* records an occasion wherein the king formally acknowledged the accomplishments of a subordinate elite – here, through the familiar *mieli*, or “recounting of merits,” a term covered in detail later in the chapter – at an event where he also performed a *di/chi* offering dedicated to a prior king or kings. Of note here is the important role played by liquor and liquor vessels in the process; not only did the honoree Xian take part in *guan*-libations, but the king also awarded him jade items for use in conducting them. This is in accord with the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription narrative, which, though incomplete, describes even more elaborate exchanges of libations between honoree, king, and attendees.

The Lie *ding* 刺鼎 (2776), another probable King Mu vessel,¹⁴ suggests that its dedicatee played an active role in the king’s *di/chi* rite:

唯五月王才（在）衣，辰才（在）丁卯，王啻（禘），用牡于大室，啻（禘）邵（昭）王，刺卣（御），王易（賜）刺貝卅朋，天子邁（萬）年，刺對揚王休，用乍（作）黃公罍鬯彝，期（其）孫孫子子永寶用。

It was the fifth month; the king was at Yi. On the morning of the day *dingmao*, the king conducted the *di*-rite. He employed a sacrifice in the Great Hall and performed the *di*-rite for King Zhao; Lie attended [on the king]. The king presented Lie with thirty strings of cowries. Ten thousand years to the Son of Heaven! Lie praises the king’s beneficence in response, thereby making a precious *jiang*-vessel for Huanggong. May [his] grandsons’ grandsons and sons’ sons long treasure and use [it].

In fact, the Lie *ding* inscription is the only example in which the *di/chi* rite is not said to coincide with a ceremonial acknowledgement of a subordinate’s merit. It is of course possible that no such acknowledgement occurred in this case. However, the term *yu* 御, rendered here as “to

‘pin’ yu ‘guan yu san pin’ shu xi,” *Shanxi shida xuebao* 2007.5, p. 131.

¹⁴ Scholars are generally in agreement that the La *ding* dates to the reign of King Mu; see Shirakawa 97, 256; Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 110.

attend on,” indicates that Lie was not present as a passive guest, but played a supporting role in the performance of the rite in question.¹⁵ This suggests that the gift Lie received in the inscription was meant to reward his participation in the rite itself rather than as an acknowledgement of some prior meritorious activity. If an acknowledgement of merit did take place, it is possible that Lie omitted it as irrelevant to his case. Alternatively, the conferral of thirty cowries may simply have been meant as a hospitality gift for Lie, who, judging from his dedication of the vessel to “Duke Huang” (*Huanggong* 黄公), was probably of some consequence in the hierarchy of the Western Zhou state. It is of note that, like the *Xiao Yu ding* inscription, the *Lie ding* account states that the king employed a livestock sacrifice (*sheng* 牲) for the *di/chu* rite.

2.2.1.1.2: Non-royal performances of *di/chu*

The above inscriptions make up all cases in the corpus in which the king is said to have performed a *di/chu* rite. Non-royal elites carried out the rite as well, however. The inscription of the *Fan you* 繁卣 (5430), dated by JC to the middle Western Zhou, provides an example:¹⁶

佳（唯）九月初吉癸丑，公酏祀，𠄎旬又一日辛亥，公啻（禘）酏辛公祀，卒事亡𠄎，公穰（蔑）繁曆，易（賜）宗彝一臚¹⁷（肆）、車、馬兩。繁拜手顙首，對揚公休，用乍（作）文考辛公寶障彝，其邁（萬）年寶。（或）。

It was the ninth month, the *chujū* moon phase, the *guichou* day. The Duke performed *rong*-offerings. Eleven days later, on the *xinhai* day,¹⁸ the Duke performed the *di/chu*

¹⁵ For this reading of the character, see Shirakawa, 258-9.

¹⁶ *MWX* dates the *Fan you* to King Mu's reign; see *MWX* 119, 125.

¹⁷ The transcription of this character follows *MWX*, 125 n. 3. *MWX* and the AS database agree on the basic sense.

¹⁸ In fact, the day *xinhai* is two days earlier in the sixty-day cycle. *MWX* explains this disparity with the suggestion that the eleven days in question referred to the separation of the rites in question not from the first date given, but from the performance of rites dedicated to a previous ancestor in a system of ancestors; see *MWX*, 125, n. 2. An error in the first branch of one of the two dates might also explain the problem; Liu Yu suggests such a solution in “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1989.4, 500.

offering and the *rong* offering to Duke Xin. The business was completed without harm. The Duke recounted Fan's merits, giving [him] a vessel for the ancestral hall,¹⁹ a chariot, and two horses. Fan bows and strikes his head, praising the Duke's beneficence in response, therewith making a precious *zun*-vessel for Duke Xin. May [he] treasure [it] for ten thousand years. [Clan mark.]

Here again, the vessel commissioner, Fan, receives the *mieli* acknowledgement ceremony in conjunction with the performance of a *di/chi* rite. In this case, however, the rite was performed not by the king, but by a person known by the title *gong*, "Duke." Given that the rite in question targeted a figure known as "Duke Xin" (*Xingong* 辛公) and that Fan dedicated his vessel to the same figure, it is likely that Fan was a blood relative of the Duke, perhaps a younger brother or a member of a branch lineage connected with the main lineage through Duke Xin. The Duke's awarding of an ancestral vessel (*zongyi* 宗彝) to Fan is notable as an example of the direct promulgation of ancestral ritual; the Duke rewards Fan for playing the appropriate role in the performance of the former's ancestral cult, while on the same occasion providing him with the tools necessary to carry out his own cult activities.²⁰ Here, then, is a case of the active structuring of the lineage hierarchy through the medium of participation in ritual and its concomitant rewards.

Based on the later ritual texts, one might expect that the Duke's performance of the *di/chi* rite as described in the Fan *you* inscription was a co-opting of the royal prerogative.²¹ The inscription of the *Da gui* 大簋 (4165), however, shows that the royal house in fact intended for the rite to be performed by non-royal elites:

¹⁹ Or perhaps a set of vessels. Wu Zheng has recently argued that the bronze inscriptions contain no measure words for individual items; see Wu Zheng, "Yin Zhou Hanyu mingliangci bianxi," *Yindu xuekan* 2009.3, 111-5.

²⁰ The king's awarding of *guan*-items to Xian, mentioned above with respect to the *Xian gui*, had similar implications.

²¹ The *Liji* formulation of the rite *di* 禘 emphasizes its exclusivity to the royal house; for the classic formulation of this stance, see *Liji*, "Da zhuan," in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1506.

唯六月初吉丁巳，王才（在）奠²²（鄭），穡（蔑）大曆，易（賜）芻羊（駢）糲（糲），曰：用啻于乃考。大拜頤首，對揚王休，用乍（作）饋（朕）皇考大中（仲）障殷。

It was the sixth month, the *chuj*i moon phase, the *dingsi* day; the King was at Zheng and recounted Da's merits, awarding him red, grain-fed livestock, saying, "Use this in *di/ch*i-offering to your deceased father." Da bowed and struck his head, praising the king's beneficence in response, therewith making a revered *gui*-tureen for my august deceased father Da Zhong.²³

In this case, the king is in Zheng, outside the normal sphere of his ritual activities; he is probably on the home ground of the Da lineage.²⁴ He conducts the recounting of merits for Da and arranges that he be awarded cattle raised on fodder, stipulating that it/they be used as sacrificial offerings in a *di/ch*i rite to Da's immediate patrilineal ancestors.²⁵ Again the official conferral of recognition by the royal house is associated with the *di/ch*i rite. Although the king himself does not perform a *di*-rite in this case, he does take pains to associate the acknowledgement of Da's merits with the *di/ch*i rite, and the ancestral-ritual institution in general, by ensuring that Da is appropriately equipped to carry on the rite on his own time.

As did the royal sponsorship of *zong* seen in the previous chapter, the royal patronage of the *di/ch*i rite seen here reinforced an association of the patrilineal ancestral cult with temporal status and prestige as derived from connections with the Zhou royal house. The fact of Da's ability to conduct the *di/ch*i rite with auspicious offerings was thanks to the largesse he received from the king on the occasion of his official acknowledgement of merits. Da's actual performance of the rite, his provision of offerings for his ancestors within the context of his own

²² I follow *MWX*, 270, in reading the base character here as *dian* 奠 (representing *zheng* 鄭).

²³ There is some disagreement on the date of this bronze. Shirakawa suggests that it dates to the eras of Kings Mu and Gong; see Shirakawa 118, 491-4. *MWX* assigns it to King Yi; see *MWX* 393, 269-70. *Duandai* dates it to after King Gong; see *Duandai* 121, 168-9. I follow Shirakawa's dating.

²⁴ On Zheng, see Lu Liancheng, "Zhou du yu Zheng kao," in Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Guwenzi lunji* (*Kaogu yu wenwu congkan* no. 2; Xi'an: 1983), 8-11.

²⁵ The king's ability to confer this award is of some note. Did the royal house maintain herds at Zheng? Did the king bring livestock with him for the occasion? Or was the king appropriating livestock from locals and redistributing it to Da? Further research is necessary.

ancestral cult, would then recall his relationship with the royal house and, specifically, his acknowledgement of merits. Through their patronage, the Zhou kings thus tethered and even subordinated the internal relationships of Da's lineage to the external relationships of its members – *i.e.*, Da's standing with the Zhou royal house.²⁶ The fact that the Zhou kings had themselves performed the *di/chi* rite that Da was to perform would have reinforced this connection, as would Da's commissioning of an inscribed bronze commemorating his receipt of the livestock to be used in the offering.

The normative force of these connections would, of course, have been contingent on Da's actual performing of the rite as requested by the king. It is possible that Da simply accepted the king's gift with good grace and went about his business without internalizing the model of ritual behavior in which the royal house sought his participation. Still, the example of the Fan *you* indicates that at least some non-royal Zhou aristocrats considered the *di/chi* rite relevant enough to carry it out in a context independent of the king's immediate supervision; and Da's recording of the sequence on an inscribed bronze suggests that he at least introduced the idea of royally sponsored *di/chi* into the context of his lineage cult.

The above examples comprise all direct references to *di/chi* 鬲 as a rite in the Western Zhou inscriptions, but potentially not all such cases in early Western Zhou materials.

2.2.1.1.3: *Di* 帝, *di* 禘, *chi* 鬲, and the *Bamboo Annals*

²⁶ It is worth noting that Da referred to his father with the term *zhong* 仲, indicating either that he was at one point second in line to succeed as lineage head or that his and therefore Da's lineage was a branch; on this see Sena, "Reproducing Society," 123-4. The inscription's referral to Da by that name (that is, by the name of his lineage) suggests to me that the former possibility was more likely. This then raises questions about Da's relative seniority within the hierarchy of his lineage. Was Da referred to by that name because he was the current lineage head? If not, how did his status as son of a second sibling affect his standing within the lineage, and how did the king's obvious and direct patronage of Da react with that dynamic? This topic merits further research, pending the discovery of more relevant materials.

Analyses of the rite written as *chi* 𡗗 in the Western Zhou inscriptions sometimes approach it as an intermediary stage between the Shang term *di* 帝, used both to refer to the greatest known natural and/or ancestral patron spirit and to indicate a rite performed for a variety of ancestor spirits and natural phenomena;²⁷ and the term *di* 禘, common in later texts but especially so in the *Liji*, which characterizes it both as a dedicated royal practice and as one of the set seasonal rites of the Zhou royal house.²⁸ As portrayed in the inscriptions, however, the Western Zhou rite indicated by this character shared little with either the Shang *di* 帝 rite that preceded it or the *di* 禘 rites described in the Eastern Zhou sources.²⁹

There is, however, one bit of evidence suggesting continuity between the terms in question. The “New Text” section of the *Zhushu jinian* contains two separate references to the *di* 禘 rite, employing the character *di* 禘. One, dated to King Cheng’s reign, notes the performance of a *di*-rite at the Temple of the Duke of Zhou by representatives of the state of Lu 魯 after a successful campaign in cooperation with the king.³⁰ The other, dated to King Kang’s reign,

²⁷ For a comparative summary of the analysis of the character *di* in the oracle bones, including bibliographic references to the major interpretations, see Sarah Allan, “The Identity of Shang Di and the Origin of the Celestial Mandate,” 1-46. See also *JGWZGL* 1132, 1082-6. In fact, both Allan and Liu Yuan note that the Shang may have observed an orthographic distinction between Di the spirit and *di* the rite; see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 66; Allan, “Shang Di,” 21-2, 24-6.

²⁸ See *Liji*, “Da zhuan,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1506; “Wang zhi,” 1335-7; “Ji yi,” 1592. For an example of the approach mentioned, see Liu Lamei, “Qianxi Yin dai wanqi zhi Chunqiu shiqi “diji” de bianhua,” *Heilongjiang shizhi* 2009.19, 119, 125. *JWGL* 7, 120, summarizes arguments from a number of scholars identifying *chi* 𡗗 with *di* 帝 and/or *di* 禘, including Fang Junyi, Xu Zhongshu, and Ding Shan.

²⁹ Allan, “Shang Di,” 25-6; Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 70-1 75-6. Unlike the Shang rite, which targeted both ancestral spirits and natural entities, the Western Zhou *chi* 𡗗 rite, like most rites of the period, targeted only recent patrilineal ancestors; see Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 496-8, 515. Nor did the Western Zhou rite have a discernible seasonal association, unless one accepts that the small sample set available establishes a biseasonal schedule for the *chi* 𡗗 rite; for that viewpoint, see Dong Lianchi, “Yin Zhou diji tanzhen,” *Renwen zazhi* 1994.5, 75-8, which assigns the rite to summer and autumn.

³⁰ *Bamboo Annals*, King Cheng, 13th year. See Legge, *The Shoo King*, vol. 1, Prolegomena, 146; future references will indicate page numbers in this edition. Lu was founded by the Duke of Zhou’s descendants; see Shaughnessy, “The Duke of Zhou’s Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Minister-Monarch Debate in Chinese

targeted “the former kings” (*xian wang* 先王) and is attributed to that king himself.³¹ As public ancestral rites devoted to patrilineal ancestors, performed by both the Zhou king and the representatives of a powerful branch lineage, and recorded as major events, these are essentially compatible with the image of *chi* 饗 presented in the bronze inscriptions.

2.2.1.1.4: Summary

The ritual practice known as *di/chi* 饗 was performed during the early Western Zhou (King Kang) and the middle Western Zhou periods, during which time its occurrences left direct records in the corpus of inscribed bronzes; based on the *Zhushu jinian* records, it may have been performed under King Cheng as well. In particular, it saw its heyday during the reign of King Mu, to which three of the inscriptions mentioning it probably date. The Zhou kings performed it occasionally as part of major ceremonial events. Other powerful Zhou elites, including the “Duke” (*gong*) of the Fan *you* inscription and, probably, Da of the Da *gui* inscription, performed it as well, with the blessing of the Zhou royal house.³²

Di/chi involved, or at least admitted, a livestock sacrifice (Lie *ding*, Xiao Yu *ding*, Da *gui*). It was frequently performed in conjunction with *guan*-libations (Xiao Yu *ding*, Xian *gui*) and was not discernibly tied to a particular place or time; the Zhou kings performed it in multiple

Political Philosophy,” *Early China* 18 (1993), 48-50; Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 58. The Temple of the Duke of Zhou (*Zhougong miao* 周公廟) was probably in the area still known by that name today, where substantial Western Zhou remains have been discovered; on the archaeological work in this area, see Xu Tianjin, “Zhougongmiao yizhi de kaogu suohuo yu suosi,” *Wenwu* 2006.8, 55-62. Thus, after the campaign was complete, the forces of Lu traveled to and made offerings at a temple in the heartland, devoted to their recently deceased lineage founder, before traveling back to their homeland in the eastern reaches of north China.

³¹ *Bamboo Annals*, King Kang, 3rd year, 147. Note that the *Zhushu jinian* record of King Kang’s *di*-rite assigns it to the third year of his reign, definitively precluding the possibility that it refers to the same event recorded in the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription.

³² As mentioned above, the “New Text” *Bamboo Annals* offer one more example: that of representatives of Lu 魯 making offerings to the Duke of Zhou, the progenitor of the state’s ducal line.

locations (the Zhou Temple [Xiao Yu *ding*], Yi [Lie *ding*], Pangjing [Xian *gui*]) and at different times. It was, however, typically accompanied by an official recounting of a subordinate's merit (usually indicated by the term *mieli* 蔑歷, except in the Xiao Yu *ding* case). As such, it was an opportunity for the instantiation of hierarchical bonds between superior and subordinate in the context of patrilineal ancestral ritual. The conferral of official recognition and rewards in conjunction with a superior's ancestral cult activities conditioned the subordinate to conceive of his success in terms of the favor of the superior's ancestors and the well-being of his ancestral line. Rewarding elites who assisted with the ritual event, as recorded in the Lie *ding* inscription, extended the patronage opportunities beyond the individual relationship celebrated in the recounting of merit. This in turn would have encouraged elites in a sense of cooperative well-being, as the ancestral rituals associated with the honoring and rewarding of one created opportunities for others to distinguish themselves and receive rewards.³³ *Di/chi* events thus encouraged elites to develop interdependent assignments of status within the rubric of Zhou elite interaction; to use Callon's terms, they strove to establish *interessement*, to engage different elites in the problematization that was the formation of Zhou elite identity.³⁴

The Zhou kings did not monopolize *di/chi*. They performed it at various locations, including on the territory of at least one other lineage; and judging from the Da *gui* inscription, at least one Zhou king – probably King Mu – materially promoted its performance by elites outside the royal lineage. Royal patronage of the *di/chi* rite would have encouraged local elite lineages such as Da's to manage internal relationships in terms of ancestral ritual, as the Duke did in the events recorded by the Fan *you* inscription. Knowledge of the source of that patronage, conveyed in

³³ This is not to say that such ritual events were idyllically cooperative. Recounting the merits of one party requires passing over those of many others; and it is entirely conceivable that, for every elite like La who assisted the king in an important ritual event, several more failed to win that privilege.

³⁴ See Michel Callon, "Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St. Brieuc Bay," 206-11.

particular by the production of inscribed bronzes, generated prestige for members of those lineages; this in turn would have allowed the royal house to influence the ongoing performance of local group identities.³⁵

2.2.1.2: *Lao* 牢/*Da lao* 大牢

As implied by its character form, the term *lao* 牢 is generally understood in both the Shang oracle bones and the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions to indicate pen-raised livestock animals, especially those intended as sacrificial offerings, and as a verb indicating the offering of those animals.³⁶ There can be no doubt that *lao*, in its sense as an animal sacrifice, made its way into the Zhou cultural milieu. It appears unambiguously in non-royal bronze inscriptions from the middle Western Zhou period, especially in the phrase *da lao* 大牢, and it is ubiquitous in later received texts.³⁷ The role of *lao* in early Western Zhou ritual is unclear, however, as is the question of whether the Zhou kings themselves ever approached *lao* as performers rather than patrons.

2.2.1.2.1: Royal instances of *lao* in the Western Zhou inscriptions (or the lack thereof)

Only two inscriptions offer any evidence that the Zhou kings might, like the Shang kings before them, have performed a rite known by the name *lao*. One, the *Zi zun* 子尊 (6000), may be of Shang rather than Western Zhou date; in its inscription, the term effectively functions as a

³⁵ On the performative definition of group identity, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 34.

³⁶ For a summary of prevailing opinions on the term, see *JGWZGL* 1548, 1504-17; *JWGL* 100, 527-8. The *Shuowen* has it simply as “an enclosure for the care of cattle and horses”; see Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1981, 52.

³⁷ Debate has long taken place on the details of *da lao* vs. *shao lao*; for a brief summary of this problem, see Yuan Jing, “Dongwu kaoguxue yanjiu de xin faxian yu xin jinzhan,” *Kaogu* 2004.7, 57.

measure word – albeit measuring animals to be used as sacrificial victims in a specified rite.³⁸

In the second, that of the Haozi *you* 貉子卣 (5409), the term *lao* probably functions as a mundane verb meaning “to pen up [game],” as on a hunt.³⁹ I am thus reluctant even to suggest that any Zhou kings employed a sacrifice called by that name. Non-royal elites certainly did, however, and were occasionally supported in their efforts by higher-ranking or even royal patrons, as we shall shortly see.

2.2.1.2.2: Non-royal instances of *lao* in Western Zhou inscriptions

Three more instances of the term *lao* occur among the Academia Sinica inscriptions; the database dates one of them to the early and two to the middle Western Zhou.⁴⁰ All three employ the term not singly, but as part of the compound phrase *da lao* 大牢, seen commonly in both the Shang oracle bones and the later received texts.⁴¹ The early Western Zhou case and one of the middle cases resemble the Zi *zun* inscription in that they use the term to refer to a gift received with the intent that it be used as a sacrificial offering. To make the case that the term *da lao* 大牢 could itself describe an offering, it is therefore advantageous to present the remaining middle Western Zhou case first:

³⁸ The AS database dates the Zi *zun* to the late Shang or early Western Zhou. Liu Yu treats the *zun* as an early Western Zhou vessel in his treatment of the term 卣, in which he takes the events of the inscription as a show of subservience by Zi, an elite of Shang heritage, to the Zhou king; see Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 509. Chen Xianfang similarly suggests that Zi was a Shang elite who had submitted to the Zhou; however, Chen views the inscription as evidence that remnant Shang elites retained some Shang cultural characteristics after the conquest. See Chen Xianfang, “Fu gui zun yu Zi zun,” *Wenwu* 1986.1, 44-5.

³⁹ See *Duandai*, 123.

⁴⁰ See the Lübo *gui* 呂伯簋 (3979), Rong Zhong *ding* (NA1567), and Ren *ding* (NA1554) inscriptions.

⁴¹ For examples of *da lao* in the Shang oracle bones, see H21548, H28244, H29561, etc.; for *da lao* in later received texts, see for example Zhouli, “Qiu guan si kou,” “Zhang ke,” in *Shisanjing zhushu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980, 900-2; Yili, “Pin li,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1048; Liji, “Wang zhi,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1337; etc.

𠄎 (呂) 白 (伯) 乍 (作) 𠄎 (厥) 宮室寶 𠄎 彝 殷，大牢，其萬年祀 𠄎 (厥) 祖考。
 The Elder of Lü makes a precious, revered *gui*-tureen for the hall of his palace and performs a great *lao*-offering. May he make offerings to his grandfathers and deceased father for ten thousand years. (Lübo *gui* 呂伯簋 [3979])

The vessel that bears this inscription, the Lübo *gui*, is no longer extant; it is known from its line drawing and inscription rubbing in *Xiqing*.⁴² *Duandai* dates it to the reign of King Kang, noting that a figure called Lübo appears also in the inscription of the Ban *gui*, which Chen dates to King Cheng.⁴³ Judging from the apparent depth of the vessel, its facing-bird decorations, and its cover, however, JC is probably right in assigning it to the middle Western Zhou period.⁴⁴ The syntax of the inscription leaves little room for doubt that the instance of the phrase *da lao* it contains was meant to indicate an ancestral offering. The phrase is grammatically independent of the preceding and following sentences, both of which follow common Western Zhou inscripational formulae. It must contain a verb, for which *lao* is the obvious choice. Based on the context of the inscription, it is highly unlikely that the Elder of Lü was meant to be capturing or penning up anything. *Lao*, like the rest of the inscription, relates somehow to the ancestral cult for which the bronze was produced; given the uses of the phrase *da lao* in both earlier and later materials, it is reasonable to assume that it refers to an offering here as well.⁴⁵

The remaining two vessels are both relatively recent additions to the corpus; the Rong Zhong *ding* 榮仲鼎 (NA1567) is a recent acquisition of the Poly Museum, the Ren *ding* 任鼎 (NA1554) of the Chinese National Museum.⁴⁶ Li Xueqin compares the former vessel to the

⁴² *Xiqing* 27.11.

⁴³ *Duandai* 88, 128; 12, 24-7.

⁴⁴ Compare, for example, the Chang Xin *gui* (3581-2), which Shaughnessy offers as exemplar of his “Style II *gui*”; see Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Chang’an Puducun Xi Zhou mu de fajue,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1957.1, 75-85, esp. 79, plate 2; Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 129-30, fig. 22. Shaughnessy dates the Ban *gui* to the middle Western Zhou period as well; see *Sources*, 107.

⁴⁵ See note 41.

⁴⁶ On the Rong Zhong *ding*, see Li Xueqin, “Shilun xin faxian de Ban fangding he Rong Zhong fangding,” *Wenwu*

Zhong *fangding* (2751), an early Western Zhou bronze illustrated in *Bogutu*, and to the Xian *ding* (NA0703); the AS database editors assign the former to the early and the latter to the middle Western Zhou.⁴⁷ Its inscription records an honorary gift that a party called Zi 子 conferred on Rong Zhong, in the wake of the king's construction for Rong Zhong of a structure that AS renders as *gong* 宮, "palace, office," and Li identifies as *xu* 序, "school."⁴⁸ The fact that Rong Zhong issues invitations⁴⁹ to the sons of the Elder of Rui (*Ruibo* 芮伯) and the Marquis of Hu (*Huhou* 胡侯) lends Li's theory some support, as does the intriguing fact that Zi rewarded Rong Zhong after the king constructed a building on his behalf.

This Zi may have been the son or sons of the Elder and the Marquis; a royal scion; or perhaps even a powerful former Shang noble, as Liu Yu proposed for the Zi of the Zi *zun* inscription. What brings the event to our attention here is the fact that Zi's gifts to Rong Zhong included *sheng da lao* 牲大牢, "a great *lao* for sacrifice." It is notable that the inscription relates this gift to 1) the king's construction project and 2) Rong Zhong's invitation to two powerful Zhou leaders. Assuming a relationship between Zi and the king, the inscription suggests that, in its commissioner's view, the Zhou royal house's setting up of physical infrastructure on behalf of a local elite was directly associated with its patronage of his ancestral cult activities. Thanks to this act of patronage, Rong Zhong in turn was able to issue an invitation to the Elder of Rui and the Marquis of Hu (or to their sons), drawing on the prestige and material resources awarded him by Zi to support hospitality activities and forge bonds with other powerful Zhou affiliates.⁵⁰ Zi

2005.9, 59-69, and Feng Shi, "Ban fangding, Rong Zhong fangding ji xiangguan wenti," *Kaogu* 2006.8, 67-73; on the Ren *ding*, see Wang Guanying, "Ren ding mingwen kaoshi," *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2004.2, 20-5.

⁴⁷ See Li Xueqin, "Shilun," 62; AS database.

⁴⁸ AS database; Li Xueqin, "Shilun," 62-3.

⁴⁹ Reading *su* 速 in the inscription as "to summon, to invite," as Li does; see Li Xueqin, "Shilun," 64.

⁵⁰ Having examined the rubbing, I suspect that the repetition mark that both JC (AS database) and Li Xueqin read after the character *zi* 子 at the end of the seventh line may be a flaw in the bronze or the rubbing. If that is the

then rewarded Rong Zhong yet again, providing him with the metal to support the casting of a bronze to commemorate the event. The *da lao*, the offering animals, in question were the medium (or mediator, to use Latour's term) that allowed Rong to leverage the infrastructure built for him by the king and the prestige of royal recognition to make these horizontal, inter-lineage connections, at once winning status for himself and strengthening the perceived intra-lineage connections around which the Zhou state was organized.

If the role of Zi in the Rong Zhong *ding* inscription raises questions about the connection of the royal house to the prestation activities described therein, the Ren *ding* inscription presents no such ambiguities.⁵¹ It records Ren's receipt of an official recounting of merits from a representative of the king, Meng Lianfu, after a series of unusual circumstances.⁵² The recounting was accompanied by gifts, which again included a *da lao* meant for the express purpose of sacrifice (the phrase used is *ting sheng tai lao* 脔牲太牢, "a great *lao* for meat-sacrifice").⁵³ Beyond the fact of the royal patronage of the ancestral cult through the distribution of sacrificial victims, two additional commonalities between the two inscriptions are of note. One is that the gifts in question were in both cases conveyed through an intermediary rather than by the king himself; we might attribute this to the convenience of delegating the management of

case, then Rong Zhong issued an invitation to the Elder and the Marquis themselves rather than their sons, after which Zi presented him with a gift of metal. See Li Xueqin, "Shilun," 64, for the rubbing image.

⁵¹ The dating of the Ren *ding* to the middle Western Zhou period is unproblematic as well; see Wang Guanying, 20.

⁵² Wang Guanying reads the sequence as follows: the king was presented with a beast of some sort, probably either a female ape or an elephant; a *ding*-cauldron was broken, possibly by the wild beast itself; Ren then purchased another cauldron (see Wang Guanying, 22). Wang rightly notes that the idea that ritual vessels could be bought and sold is controversial; on the question of inalienable goods in the Western Zhou context, see Constance A. Cook, "Wealth and the Western Zhou," *BSOAS* 60.2 (1997), 253-94. He suggests the alternate reading *mi* 鼎, taking it to mean that the cauldron in question was covered or sealed, but is dissatisfied with that reading's failure to account for the problem of the broken cauldron. I would like to suggest that *ding xi* 鼎盥 and *mi* 鼎 could be read as a single sentence, with *mi* carrying its *Shuowen* meaning of "to put a wooden pole through a cauldron's ears and carry it" (which meaning Wang himself points out; see p. 23). That sentence would then mean something like "a *ding*-cauldron broke its carrying-pole."

⁵³ Both JC and Wang use the character *tai* 太 in their transcriptions, in analogy with the *tai lao* mentioned in later texts such as the *Gongyang zhuan*; see Wang Guanying, 23. There was no difference between *tai* 太 and *da* 大 in the early script.

animals to specialists, or to someone whose own herds were closer to the site of the gift; but the inscription of the *Da gui*, wherein the king, at Zheng, personally conveys a reward of cattle for use in the *di*-offering, offers a counter-example. The other is that both Rong Zhong and Ren dedicated their vessels using *tiangan* funerary names, a potential sign of Shang heritage; this is especially notable given the role played by Zi in the events of the former inscription.

2.2.1.2.3: Summary

In the Shang inscriptions, the term *lao* appears frequently to designate offerings of varying numbers of penned livestock animals. It is occasionally qualified as “greater” (*da* 大) or “lesser” (*xiao* 小); the former term, at least, was apparently of variable number and could potentially indicate a single animal. In the Western Zhou materials, on the other hand, there is no indication that the simple term *lao* could refer to the offering of an animal, the two extant early examples notwithstanding. The phrase *da lao*, on the other hand, refers to an offering at least once, in the inscription of the Lü Bo *gui*, as well as describing royal gifts of livestock in at least two other inscriptions.

No extant material, inscriptional or otherwise, confirms the performance of an offering called *lao* by a Western Zhou king; only the Lü Bo *gui* inscription records the actual performance of the rite by a Zhou lineage head. The remaining relevant cases describe gifts of livestock meant to support the ancestral cult activities of other elites. The problematic *Zi zun* case, if we accept it as a Western Zhou vessel, describes the gift of livestock victims by an elite of potential Shang royal extraction to the king, for which he was well rewarded with a *zan*-jade – an important piece in the context of Western Zhou elite ornamentation – and a large volume of

cowries; through his support of royal cult activities, he was able to convert his material wealth into a form that denoted status within the Western Zhou sphere of elite interaction.⁵⁴ The Rong Zhong *ding* and Ren *ding* inscriptions, in contrast, record royal patronage of ancestral offerings by lesser elites. In the former inscription, the king issues Rong Zhong gifts, including a *da lao* for use in ancestral offerings, after building him a structure, and Rong Zhong subsequently issues invitations to other ranking elites; here Zi's gift helps integrate Rong Zhong into an interaction network composed of ranking Zhou elites while tying him directly to the king through royal patronage of his ancestral cult. The Ren *ding* inscription records a similar situation, although Ren seems already to have rendered the king special service, judging from both the recounting of merits (*mieli* 蔑歷) he received and the unusual events described in the early part of the inscription. Both of these inscriptions bear clan marks and dedications employing *tiangan* funerary names, raising the possibility that *lao* or *da lao*, as of the middle Western Zhou, was seen as relating to Shang heritage; however, the Lü Bo *gui* inscription contains neither.

There is some ambiguity, then, as to whether the Zhou kings ever performed *lao* as it was understood under the Shang. The Zhou kings did, however, recognize the utility of sacrificial livestock victims as a vehicle of patronage, allowing them to exert influence in the context of the ancestral cults of local elite lineages. Provisioning ancestral offerings allowed the royal house, as Latour might put it, to perpetuate the short-lived bonds of face-to-face interaction in a more durable physical form;⁵⁵ the built-in redistribution mechanism of feasting ensured that the meat into which the kings infused those bonds would reach throughout patronized lineages and

⁵⁴ On the exchange of cowries during the Western Zhou period, see Li Yung-ti, "On the Function of Cowries in Shang and Western Zhou China," *JEAA* 5 (2006), 1-26; Cook, "Wealth and the Western Zhou," 260-5. We cannot know at present to what degree this exchange was symmetrical, and by extension, what degree of coercion was involved; though my sense is that a hundred strings of cowries was a very large volume indeed. Further work on the relative values of exchange items in the Western Zhou inscriptions is in order.

⁵⁵ See Latour, 64-8, 70-2.

potentially, as in the Rong Zhong *ding* case, horizontally to other powerful Zhou elites. *Lao*, or rather *da lao*, was a medium for that process. Its disappearance from the inscriptional record after the middle Western Zhou may have heralded a change in the policy of the royal house with respect to ritual patronage, as the demographics of the Zhou state evolved; a rejection of the practice by Zhou elites in favor of other modes of ritual offering; or a shift in the institution of the production of inscribed bronzes, such that its purposes no longer intersected with the performance of *lao* or *da lao*.

2.2.2: Rites appearing mainly during the early Western Zhou

2.2.2.1: *Liao* 燎 (burnt offering)

The JC inscriptions contains only one case of the character *liao* 燎, a term generally understood to refer to ritual burning; plus a second case, written 祭, that is probably meant to indicate the same thing. Both of these refer to ceremonies held in the wake of successful military campaigns.⁵⁶ The former appears in the inscription of the Xiao Yu *ding*, mentioned above in the section on the *di* rite. As part of the great victory celebration with which he is honored at the Zhou Temple (*Zhoumiao* 周廟), Yu makes a formal presentation of ears severed from his foes; this is accompanied by a *liao* rite. The poor condition of the surviving rubbings makes it difficult to determine precisely who conducted the *liao* in question:

王乎（呼）...令...𠄎（厥）𠄎⁵⁷（職）入門，獻西旅，自（以）...入燎周廟，孟...入三門，即立中廷，北鄉（嚮），孟告。

The king called on...to order...their ears in through the gate and present [the results of] the western travels, therewith...to submit a *liao*-offering at the Zhou Temple.

⁵⁶ This is often noted; see for example Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 508.

⁵⁷ The transcription of this character follows *MWX*, 41.

Yu...entered the three gates and took up position in the center of the hall facing north; Yu reported.

Provided that the term *ling* 令, “to order, to command,” in the above excerpt is taken as a verb rather than as a personal name, however, it is unlikely that the king carried it out himself; my sense is that Yu, as leader of the successful military campaign, enjoyed the honor of performing a *liao*-rite in the king’s presence. Here, the *liao*-offering by itself was only one part of an extended ritual event that brought together military officials, local potentates, and the king himself for drinking, libations, a dress parade, reporting of a successful campaign, invocations, divinations, offerings to the royal ancestors, and the granting of rewards.

The Yongbo X *gui*, on which the second occurrence appears, was reportedly discovered in the vicinity of Xi’an, Shaanxi, in the ancient Zhou heartland.⁵⁸ JC dates it to the early Western Zhou; judging from the shape and décor of the vessel, however, it was probably produced no earlier than the reign of King Zhao, and potentially during that of King Mu.⁵⁹ The inscription commemorates a reward received by Yongbo X – based on his name, the head of a lineage known as Yong – after the king’s return from a campaign against two troublesome populations:

隹（唯）王伐逯魚，隹伐淖黑，至奈于宗周，易（賜）臺（庸）白（伯）鬲貝十朋，敢對揚王休，用乍（作）朕（朕）文考寶障彝，其萬年子子孫孫其永寶用。

When the king attacked the Laiyu, came out, and attacked Zhuo?hei, [he] arrived and performed a *liao*-offering at Zongzhou. [The king] presented Yongbo X with ten strings of cowries. [Yongbo X] praises the king’s beneficence in response, thereby making a precious, revered vessel for my deceased father. May [his] descendants eternally treasure and use it for ten thousand years. Yongbo X *gui* 庸伯鬲 簋 (4169)

⁵⁸ See *Sandai* 8.50.4. *Duandai* dates it to the reign of Kings Zhao-Mu; see *Duandai*, 137.

⁵⁹ With a bottom-heavy belly and a relatively flat surface dominated by facing bird decorations, the vessel fits well into Shaughnessy’s “*Gui* type 2” classification, which he dates to the time of King Mu; see *Sources*, 127-32.

The king led the campaign mentioned in the inscription himself, and accordingly, it seems that he also conducted the subsequent *liao*-offering personally as well. The inscription unfortunately does not provide enough information to determine Yongbo's degree of involvement in the campaign and the *liao* rite that followed it. Yongbo may have participated in the campaign with the king; he may have assisted the king in performing the *liao* rite; or he may simply have been present.⁶⁰ Whatever the logic behind his reward, he evidently received it in conjunction with the king's *liao* rite.

The practice of burning offerings is attested in the prehistoric Chinese context, particularly in what is now eastern coastal China;⁶¹ Chen Mengjia connected this to the proposed western migration of the Shang population.⁶² Whether or not they brought it from the east, a rite known as *liao* was common in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, and judging from the form of its character, it probably involved burnt offerings.⁶³ Initially, it was offered to a wide range of natural entities and ancestral spirits, but it underwent phases of greater or lesser popularity, and its range of targets eventually decreased.⁶⁴

The Zhou acquired the custom of *liao* from the Shang, and they probably performed it in the pre-conquest period, judging from its appearance in the Zhouyuan oracle bones. Their stipulated targets for the rite were limited to a figure which may or may not be the River (*He* 河), as well as the Marshals (*Shishi* 師氏), real figures known from the Zhou bronze inscriptions.

⁶⁰ Yongbo is mentioned in one other JC inscription, that of the Yongbo *dinggai* 庸伯鼎蓋 (NA1754), reputedly discovered in the Xi'an area as well; see Wang Changqi, "Xi'an shi wenwu zhongxin suocang Shang Zhou qingtongqi," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1990.5, 9.15. Unfortunately, this inscription merely states that Yongbo commissioned the vessel; it gives no further details.

⁶¹ See Li Jinshan, "Liaoji qi yuan yu dong bu yan hai di qu," *Zhongguo wenwu yanjiu* 7 (Spring 1995), 41-2; for an argument on the feasibility of assessing cultural distribution based on the materials used in burnt offerings, see Xu Ke, "Gudai liaoji yongwu jiqi yiyi," *Sichuan daxue xuebao* 2008.3, 138-43, esp. 42-3.

⁶² Chen Mengjia, "Guwenzi zhong," 133.

⁶³ See *JGWZGL* 1526, pp. 1466-70; Chen Mengjia, 107. Jiao Zhiqin finds 982 individual instances of the *liao* rite in *HJ*; see Jiao Zhiqin, "Buci liaoji de yanbian," *Yindu xuekan* 2001, 27.

⁶⁴ Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 508; Jiao Zhiqin, 29. On the range of entities targeted by *liao* in the Shang oracle bones, see Chen Mengjia, "Guwenzi zhong," 113-33.

The involvement of the latter in the rite suggests that it was already developing an association with military endeavor by the time the relevant Zhouyuan bones were produced.⁶⁵

Based on the records in the bronze inscriptions and in the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu*, after the conquest of Shang, the Zhou royal house adopted the custom of *liao* specifically as a portion of celebrations of military victories. The Yongbo *gui* inscription mentions this phenomenon; the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription and, in all likelihood, the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu* describe it in some detail. The victory ceremonies described in the “Shi fu” example in particular are remarkably similar to the traditional model of the Roman triumph. In particular, the king’s ceremonial arrival, apparently separate from his actual arrival, and the parading of the remaining captives through the city adorned in finery, progressing to the temple, have analogues in surviving accounts of the Roman process.⁶⁶

The Xiao Yu *ding* account describes a triumph in miniature, held under the watchful eye of the Zhou king. A fruitful contrast can be drawn between this account of *liao* and that connected with King Wu’s victorious return to the Zhou homeland, given in the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu*.⁶⁷ The “Shi fu” account shares most of the above elements, but the overall sequence is quite different; the king and his adherents follow a formalized progression from outside the city walls to the Zhou temple, with accompanying offerings at each stage. The greater freedom of movement shown in the “Shi fu” account, I suspect, derives from the king’s personal performance of the rite and, by extension, his personal enjoyment of the benefits thereof. The triumphal ceremonies afforded to Yu took place in a fixed location and under the close control of the king and royal representatives; the royal house seems to have been aware of the danger inherent in allowing Yu to perform *liao* and to have taken pains to integrate that

⁶⁵ *Zhouyuan jiaquwen*, 4, 26; Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 508.

⁶⁶ See the discussion of Pompey’s triumphs in Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 7-41.

⁶⁷ See Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu jiaopu zhuyi*, Xi’an: Sanqin, 2006, 210-21, esp. 218.

performance into an overall framework dominated by the king's hospitality activities – manifested especially in the performance of *guan*-libations – and by royal ancestral offerings.⁶⁸ This framework helped maintain the royal house as an “obligatory passage point” for prestige and recognition in the wake of a major military victory, which, though auspicious, was a potentially destabilizing event from the standpoint of the budding Zhou hierarchy.

Liao may not have had a standard, orthodox format during the Western Zhou; it was tied to military victories, the political details of which would have varied from campaign to campaign, and its paucity of appearances in contemporary sources suggests that it was rare. As the centerpiece of the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription and the “Shi fu” account, *liao* was the anchor of multi-day ritual events that involved offerings dedicated specifically to ancestors. Whether the *liao* performed during the Western Zhou were themselves ancestral offerings, however – that is, whether the ears or other items being burnt were meant as an offering to ancestral spirits – is impossible to confirm, since no target is listed in any of the inscriptions. The performance of *liao* in the Zhou Temple (*Zhou miao* 周廟) suggests that they may have been; but by itself, this is insufficient evidence. Given, however, that *liao* was quite explicitly a devotional offering, both ancestral and non-ancestral, during the Shang period, and given that the understanding of *liao* as a burnt offering survived in received texts of much later date, I am inclined to believe that the devotional sense of *liao* remained intact during the early Western Zhou period, at least. On those grounds, I have included it in this chapter.

2.2.2.2: *Rong* 彤

⁶⁸ Appendix 1 includes a discussion of the problematic topic of *guan*-libation.

In the bronze inscriptions, the term *rong* 𠄎 is rare compared to such terms as *di* and *hui*.⁶⁹ It is central to the short inscriptions adorning the Wu yin zuo Fu Ding *fangding* 戊寅作父丁方鼎 (2594) and the Fu Yi *zun* 父乙尊, two bronzes of likely Shang date.⁷⁰ In Western Zhou inscriptions, it appears only in conjunction with other rites;⁷¹ in fact, two of the three Western Zhou inscriptions containing it – those of the Shu Ze *fangding*, the Mai *fangzun*, and the Fan *you*, have already appeared in the above discussion. In the Shu Ze *fangding* inscription, as we have seen, the Zhou king – probably King Cheng – conducts an ancestral entreaty (*hui*) at Chengzhou in advance of an audience with his retainers, at which he rewards the vessel commissioner Shu Ze. The *rong* in question is associated with that entreaty. The inscription of the Mai *fangzun* 麦方尊 (6015) describes the visit of a regional lord, the Marquis of Xing, to the center of Zhou power at Zongzhou, where an early Western Zhou king – probably King Kang – installs him in the position by which the inscription names him.⁷² After his appointment, the new Marquis of Xing travels to the nearby city of Pangjing, where the king is conducting an event that involves feasting, ancestral devotions, and the conferral of gifts. Here, *rong* is again part of the ritual program, occurring in association with a feast, the day before the *da li* rite for which the Mai *fangzun* inscription is best known.

⁶⁹ As opposed to the Shang oracle bones, in which it is well represented. The CHANT OBI database lists 2059 occurrences of the character. See the Chinese Ancient Texts database maintained by the Chinese University of Hong Kong [<http://www.chant.org>], hereafter referred to as CHANT.

⁷⁰ JC dates both of these bronzes to the late Shang. Syntactically, it is feasible that the *rong* in the Fu Yi *zun* inscription was the name of the person who commissioned the bronze, although I know of no other case in which *rong* served as a personal name.

⁷¹ For this reason, Liu Yu interprets the Western Zhou version of *rong* as an auxiliary or supplemental rite; see Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 500. This is in accord with Liu Yuan’s assessment that, in the Shang OBI, *rong* indicated a stage or portion of ritual events – usually one occurring near the beginning – rather than referring to such events in their entirety; see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, p 116. I would suggest that in the Fan *you* inscription, at least, *rong* plays as important a role as *di*, the other rite conducted with it.

⁷² For a detailed discussion of the Mai *fangzun* inscription, see the section on *da li* 大禮 in the following chapter.

Both the Mai *fangzun* and the Shu Ze *fangding* are early Western Zhou vessels; their inscriptions record ritual events that the Zhou kings conducted while establishing the political infrastructure of the Zhou state. The Fan *you*, in contrast, is a middle-Western-Zhou vessel commissioned by a subordinate (and likely kinsman) of a figure called by the title “Duke” (*gong* 公).⁷³ Its inscription records two separate instances of *rong* within a short time of each other:

佳（唯）九月初吉癸丑，公酏祀，季旬又一日辛亥，公啻（禘）酏辛公祀，卒事亡𠄎...

It was the ninth month, the *chuji* moon phase, the *guichou* day. The Duke performed a *rong*-offering. Eleven days later, on the *xinhai* day, the Duke performed the *di/chī* offering and *rong* to Duke Xin. The business was completed without harm... (Fan *you* 繁卣 [5430])

The Fan *you* inscription unambiguously describes two separate instances of *rong*, separated by a significant chronological gap.⁷⁴ No additional rite term is given for the first instance, as in the Shu Ze *fangding* inscription. Given that fact; considering the chronological separation between the first instance and the second (*rong/di*) instance; and given that both the Mai *fangzun* inscription and the Fan *you* inscription match *rong* with the term *si* 祀, “offering, sacrifice,” it appears that by the time Fan commissioned his *you*-vessel, at least, *rong* was a viable rite in its own accord, conducted in conjunction with other rites but understood as separate. Like the personage conducting the rite, the target of the second *rong*, at least, carried the title *gong* 公; we can reasonably assume that Duke Xin was an ancestor of the contemporary Duke and that the *rong* in question should thus definitely be understood as ancestral rites.

As recorded in the Western Zhou inscriptions, *rong* was held only in conjunction with other rites – in two out of three cases, as part of multi-day ritual events – and only in contexts in

⁷³ On the dating of the Fan *you* and the likely identity of Fan, see section 2.1.1.1.2 above.

⁷⁴ On the problem of the dates specified in the inscription, see note 18 above. The important point here is that the two occurrences did not occur on successive days, for instance.

which political activities were conducted that left traces in the bronze inscriptions. The two early Western Zhou cases of *rong* were part of major events at which the Zhou king sought to legitimize his authority in a ritual context and strengthen bonds between the royal house and the uppermost echelon of Zhou adherents.⁷⁵ The single middle Western Zhou inscription containing *rong*, that of the Fan *you*, records no associated inter-lineage political activities. It does, however, explicitly record that the performance of the *rong* and *di* rites created an opportunity for Duke (*gong* 公) to grant rewards to a subordinate and likely kinsman (Fan). Apparently, then, *rong* was not a personal rite, as *hui* and *yu* sometimes were; it appears in the Western Zhou materials only in cases in which multiple attendees are mentioned by name or title.⁷⁶

The Fan *you* inscription contains the latest appearances of *rong* 𠄎, not just in the bronze inscriptions, but in any source. It has been suggested that *rong* was equivalent to *rong* 彤 and that both that term and the related term *yi* 纒 served a similar purpose in later received texts.⁷⁷ The case for this theory is weak, and the use of *rong* 𠄎 in the Western Zhou inscriptions does not support its identification as a “next-day” rite; *rong* 彤 is more likely a separate concept that existed in parallel with, and apparently survived longer than, the practice known as *rong* 𠄎. Like *yu*, but unlike *hui*, *rong* 𠄎, it would seem, did not become part of the overall shared milieu of Zhou ritual as expressed in the bronze inscriptions. Its specific association with major, multi-day ritual and largesse-distribution events likely contributed to its decline, as the Zhou royal

⁷⁵ For more on the Shu Ze *fangding* as a record of a political event, see the preceding section on *hui*. For a full translation of the Mai *fangzun* inscription and its analysis both as a ritual event and as an exemplar of the forces driving the institutionalized creation of inscribed ritual bronzes, see chapter 4.

⁷⁶ By contrast, compare the highly personal inscription of the Zuoce Yi *you*, or the many vessels with inscriptions commissioned for the purpose of *hui*.

⁷⁷ Scholars fall into two camps in this regard: those who feel that it probably indicated a liquor offering, at least at some point; and those who connect it with the character 彤 and hold that it indicated the performance of a rite on the day after a different rite. The former group includes Chen Mengjia and Yu Xingwu; the latter includes Tang Lan and Liu Yu. See the excellent summary of the prior debate in Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 500, n. 2.

house and other powerful Zhou elites shifted gears to promote a different model of legitimacy and pursue different strategies for maintaining the established hierarchy of the Zhou state.

2.2.2.3: *Yu* 禦 (*exorcism/warding*)

The bronze inscriptions contain a few examples of the term *yu* 禦, used by both the Shang and the Zhou to denote what one might call a “negative entreaty” – that is, a plea to the spirits to prevent or, more often, to repair some uncomfortable situation.⁷⁸ Chronologically, the occurrences of *yu* in the bronze inscriptions group neatly into two clusters: a few dating to the late Shang or early Western Zhou, and two appearing in the unusual late Western Zhou inscriptions associated with King Li, with none whatsoever dating to the middle Western Zhou period. These break neatly along a primary criterion of this study as well – the early Western Zhou occurrences were all the work of non-royal elites, while the two late Western Zhou occurrences appear on the King Li bronzes. The following section will thus approach them separately, beginning with the late Shang and early Western Zhou cases.

2.2.2.3.1: Non-royal instances of *yu* 禦 (early Western Zhou)

A total of four early Western Zhou bronzes contain the term *yu* 禦 as a rite name in their inscriptions. Of these, the key source inscriptions on the term *yu* 禦 are borne by two vessels: the *Wo ding* 我鼎 (2763) and the *Zuoce Yi you* 作冊益卣 (5427).⁷⁹ Reputedly discovered near

⁷⁸ As opposed to the “positive entreaty,” represented by *hui*, in which a particular benefit is requested. Liu Yuan draws on these two terms as the basis of his characterization of late Shang ancestral worship; see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 119-31. As we will see, *hui* is much better represented in the Western Zhou inscriptions than *yu*, and the negative nature of the latter is less clear in the main later example.

⁷⁹ The remaining two vessels, the *X zun* 兪尊 (5952) and the *Zuo Yu Fu Xin zhi* 作禦父辛觯 (6472), are simple

Luoyang, the former vessel was obtained in several pieces and later restored.⁸⁰ Its inscription describes a ritual event dedicated to two ancestral couples but focusing on the ancestresses, who received additional secondary rites. The ritual vocabulary of the inscription is quite unusual in the Western Zhou context. The secondary rites targeting the Two Mothers mentioned in the inscription – *yue* 禴 and *sai* (束又示) – have no further precedent in the JC bronze inscriptions; they appear only in the *Wo ding* inscription (see Appendix 1). The latter, however, appears as a rite name in the Shang oracle bones, wherein, as is the case here, it is frequently an auxiliary rite.⁸¹

Based on this point of vocabulary, on the use of Shang-style funerary names for both ancestors and ancestresses, on the inclusion of a clan mark, and on the reported discovery of the bronze at Luoyang, it is tempting to conclude, as Liu Yu does, that the *Wo ding* is of Shang rather than Western Zhou provenance.⁸² Without stronger internal evidence in the inscription requiring a pre- or post-conquest dating, however, that distinction is impossible to make. If, as MWX and JC hold, the *Wo ding* is indeed a Western Zhou vessel, then it is a strong point of continuity between the pre- and post-conquest ritual practices of Shang-heritage elites.⁸³ As will later become clear, such continuity was a specific concern of early Western Zhou kings. Here, our main concerns are that such continuity of practice included the use of the *yu* rite; that in this case, the *yu* rite admitted the use of secondary rites; and that it could target ancestor-ancestress pairs as well as ancestors.

liquor vessels of unknown provenance. Though JC dates them to the early Western Zhou, their dedications to figures with *ganzhi* names and, in the Zuo Yu Fu Xin inscription, the use of a clan mark raise the question of a possible Shang connection. Their inscriptions offer little information of use on *yu* 饗 beyond citing instances of its performance.

⁸⁰ JC 2763.

⁸¹ Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi zhong*, 105-6.

⁸² Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong.” 505-6, dates the *Wo ding* to the Shang.

⁸³ For the MWX dating, see MWX 125, 85.

If the *Wo ding* inscription shows the possible range of targets of the *yu* rites and confirms its continued performance among Shang-heritage elites, the Zuoce Yi *you* inscription confirms its continued use as a measure to ward off misfortune. Chapter 1 considered this inscription briefly; a full translation appears below:

乍（作）冊嗑乍（作）父辛障，罕（厥）名義，曰：子子孫孫寶。不泉（祿）嗑子子征先靈死，亡子。子引有孫，不敢婦變祝⁸⁴（貺）鑄彝，用乍（作）大禦于罕（厥）且（祖）匕（妣）、父母、多申（神），母（毋）念哉，弋勿刊⁸⁵嗑鰥寡，遣祜石（祐）宗不剝。

Document Maker Yi makes a *zun*-vessel for Father Xin. Its inscription is meant to say, “Sons’ sons and grandsons’ grandsons treasure [it].” Unfortunately Yi’s departed son has already passed on ahead of him, and he has no sons. It is through sons that one has grandsons (i.e., descendants). Not daring to (?) bestow a cast vessel, [Yi] thus performs a great *yu*-exorcism rite toward his grandfathers and grandmothers, his father and mother, and the many spirits. Ah, remember!⁸⁶ Indeed, do not cut Yi off, widowed and alone; grant blessings and aid [so that] the *zong*-line is not cut off. (Zuoce Yi *you* 作冊益卣 [5427])⁸⁷

The Zuoce Yi *you* (fig. 2.1, Appendix 2) was created in the wake of the death of Document Maker Yi’s son; it seems to have been a retooling of a previously commissioned vessel to fit Yi’s unpleasant new circumstances. The loss of Yi’s only son was a tragedy from both a personal and familial standpoint; since Yi’s son left behind no sons of his own, Yi’s ancestral line was in danger of ending with him. Under these stressful circumstances, Yi turned to the *yu* rite, retooling his vessel for that purpose as an appeal to his ancestors to alleviate his misfortune. The list of targets Yi provided was extensive, including his parents, the previous generations of his

⁸⁴ The transcription of the previous three characters follows *MWX*, 95; the gloss of *kuang* 貺 is from the AS database.

The meaning of the clause is unclear; see *MWX*, 95 n. 4.

⁸⁵ My transcription and interpretation of this character follow *MWX*, 95 n. 7.

⁸⁶ I take *wu* 毋 as an intensifier here, as per *MWX*’s reading; see *MWX*, 95.

⁸⁷ Ma Chengyuan interprets this inscription differently, taking some of the characters as the name of Document Maker Yi’s son; see *MWX* 142, 95, n. 4. It is also possible that Yi’s son had been dead for some time before the commissioning of the vessel. My impression, however, based on Yi’s objection to the typical closing of the inscription, is that a vessel with a more regular inscription had already been commissioned when the tragedy struck.

family, and the vague category “the many spirits,” which may have simply referred to other deceased family members or may have included outside forces. This unusual breadth of target likely reflects Yi’s extreme personal distress and desperation. Yi here intended *yu* in the same sense it carried in the Shang oracle bones: as a provision of ritual offerings intended to secure the help of the spirits in correcting a misfortune in the face of which the petitioner felt helpless.⁸⁸

2.2.2.3.2: Royal instances of *yu* (late Western Zhou)

After the above cluster of inscriptions, the term *yu* 禦 disappears from the Western Zhou inscriptions, only to resurface in those of the Hu *gui* 馱簋 (4317) and the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* 五祀馱鐘 (358), both dating to the late Western Zhou and generally attributed to King Li.⁸⁹ In both inscriptions, the term appears in the closing lines as a declared purpose of the vessel, in line with the later uses of *hui* seen above. In fact, the Hu *gui* inscription contains both terms, as we have seen above in the section on *hui*. Despite the lack of detail of the clause containing *yu*, its use in the Hu *gui* inscription does suggest two important ideas: first, that Hu planned on

⁸⁸ Malinowski discusses in detail the idea of anxiety over uncontrollable circumstances, especially with respect to death, as a driving force behind the practice of magical rites among the Trobriand islanders; see Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science, and Religion and Other Essays*, Garden City: Doubleday, 1954, 28-32. For Malinowski, the *yu* rite of Document Maker Yi would fall firmly in the category of “magic” as opposed to “religion,” given that it had a specific goal; see p. 38. For an early critique of this position, see George C. Homans, “Anxiety and Ritual: The Theories of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown,” *American Anthropologist* 43.2.1 (Apr.-Jun. 1941), 164-72; for a later one, see Stanley J. Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 65-83, esp. 68-70. For an excellent aggregate treatment of the targets, beneficiaries, sacrificial methods, and sacrificial quantities associated with *yu* in the Shang materials, see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 122-31, esp. tables 7 and 8. In keeping with his practice of avoiding focusing on rite names, Liu refers to the phenomenon by the term *rangfei zhi ji* 禳禳之際, “rites of exorcism.” The specific examples cited in the section, however, consistently contain the term *yu*, and Liu’s table 8 contains a column labeled “person exorcised” (*bei yu zhe* 被禦者). Unlike in the bronzes, the character *yu* 禦 had yet to be consistently differentiated from *yu* 御 in the Shang OBI. In fact, *JGWZGL* identifies a range of characters 𠄎 𠄏 𠄐 𠄑 𠄒 𠄓 𠄔 𠄕 𠄖 𠄗 𠄘 𠄙 𠄚 𠄛 𠄜 𠄝 𠄞 𠄟 𠄠 𠄡 𠄢 𠄣 𠄤 𠄥 𠄦 𠄧 𠄨 𠄩 𠄪 𠄫 𠄬 𠄭 𠄮 𠄯 𠄰 𠄱 𠄲 𠄳 𠄴 𠄵 𠄶 𠄷 𠄸 𠄹 𠄺 𠄻 𠄼 𠄽 𠄾 𠄿 𠅀 𠅁 𠅂 𠅃 𠅄 𠅅 𠅆 𠅇 𠅈 𠅉 𠅊 𠅋 𠅌 𠅍 𠅎 𠅏 𠅐 𠅑 𠅒 𠅓 𠅔 𠅕 𠅖 𠅗 𠅘 𠅙 𠅚 𠅛 𠅜 𠅝 𠅞 𠅟 𠅠 𠅡 𠅢 𠅣 𠅤 𠅥 𠅦 𠅧 𠅨 𠅩 𠅪 𠅫 𠅬 𠅭 𠅮 𠅯 𠅰 𠅱 𠅲 𠅳 𠅴 𠅵 𠅶 𠅷 𠅸 𠅹 𠅺 𠅻 𠅼 𠅽 𠅾 𠅿 𠆀 𠆁 𠆂 𠆃 𠆄 𠆅 𠆆 𠆇 𠆈 𠆉 𠆊 𠆋 𠆌 𠆍 𠆎 𠆏 𠆐 𠆑 𠆒 𠆓 𠆔 𠆕 𠆖 𠆗 𠆘 𠆙 𠆚 𠆛 𠆜 𠆝 𠆞 𠆟 𠆠 𠆡 𠆢 𠆣 𠆤 𠆥 𠆦 𠆧 𠆨 𠆩 𠆪 𠆫 𠆬 𠆭 𠆮 𠆯 𠆰 𠆱 𠆲 𠆳 𠆴 𠆵 𠆶 𠆷 𠆸 𠆹 𠆺 𠆻 𠆼 𠆽 𠆾 𠆿 𠇀 𠇁 𠇂 𠇃 𠇄 𠇅 𠇆 𠇇 𠇈 𠇉 𠇊 𠇋 𠇌 𠇍 𠇎 𠇏 𠇐 𠇑 𠇒 𠇓 𠇔 𠇕 𠇖 𠇗 𠇘 𠇙 𠇚 𠇛 𠇜 𠇝 𠇞 𠇟 𠇠 𠇡 𠇢 𠇣 𠇤 𠇥 𠇦 𠇧 𠇨 𠇩 𠇪 𠇫 𠇬 𠇭 𠇮 𠇯 𠇰 𠇱 𠇲 𠇳 𠇴 𠇵 𠇶 𠇷 𠇸 𠇹 𠇺 𠇻 𠇼 𠇽 𠇾 𠇿 𠈀 𠈁 𠈂 𠈃 𠈄 𠈅 𠈆 𠈇 𠈈 𠈉 𠈊 𠈋 𠈌 𠈍 𠈎 𠈏 𠈐 𠈑 𠈒 𠈓 𠈔 𠈕 𠈖 𠈗 𠈘 𠈙 𠈚 𠈛 𠈜 𠈝 𠈞 𠈟 𠈠 𠈡 𠈢 𠈣 𠈤 𠈥 𠈦 𠈧 𠈨 𠈩 𠈪 𠈫 𠈬 𠈭 𠈮 𠈯 𠈰 𠈱 𠈲 𠈳 𠈴 𠈵 𠈶 𠈷 𠈸 𠈹 𠈺 𠈻 𠈼 𠈽 𠈾 𠈿 𠉀 𠉁 𠉂 𠉃 𠉄 𠉅 𠉆 𠉇 𠉈 𠉉 𠉊 𠉋 𠉌 𠉍 𠉎 𠉏 𠉐 𠉑 𠉒 𠉓 𠉔 𠉕 𠉖 𠉗 𠉘 𠉙 𠉚 𠉛 𠉜 𠉝 𠉞 𠉟 𠉠 𠉡 𠉢 𠉣 𠉤 𠉥 𠉦 𠉧 𠉨 𠉩 𠉪 𠉫 𠉬 𠉭 𠉮 𠉯 𠉰 𠉱 𠉲 𠉳 𠉴 𠉵 𠉶 𠉷 𠉸 𠉹 𠉺 𠉻 𠉼 𠉽 𠉾 𠉿 𠊀 𠊁 𠊂 𠊃 𠊄 𠊅 𠊆 𠊇 𠊈 𠊉 𠊊 𠊋 𠊌 𠊍 𠊎 𠊏 𠊐 𠊑 𠊒 𠊓 𠊔 𠊕 𠊖 𠊗 𠊘 𠊙 𠊚 𠊛 𠊜 𠊝 𠊞 𠊟 𠊠 𠊡 𠊢 𠊣 𠊤 𠊥 𠊦 𠊧 𠊨 𠊩 𠊪 𠊫 𠊬 𠊭 𠊮 𠊯 𠊰 𠊱 𠊲 𠊳 𠊴 𠊵 𠊶 𠊷 𠊸 𠊹 𠊺 𠊻 𠊼 𠊽 𠊾 𠊿 𠋀 𠋁 𠋂 𠋃 𠋄 𠋅 𠋆 𠋇 𠋈 𠋉 𠋊 𠋋 𠋌 𠋍 𠋎 𠋏 𠋐 𠋑 𠋒 𠋓 𠋔 𠋕 𠋖 𠋗 𠋘 𠋙 𠋚 𠋛 𠋜 𠋝 𠋞 𠋟 𠋠 𠋡 𠋢 𠋣 𠋤 𠋥 𠋦 𠋧 𠋨 𠋩 𠋪 𠋫 𠋬 𠋭 𠋮 𠋯 𠋰 𠋱 𠋲 𠋳 𠋴 𠋵 𠋶 𠋷 𠋸 𠋹 𠋺 𠋻 𠋼 𠋽 𠋾 𠋿 𠌀 𠌁 𠌂 𠌃 𠌄 𠌅 𠌆 𠌇 𠌈 𠌉 𠌊 𠌋 𠌌 𠌍 𠌎 𠌏 𠌐 𠌑 𠌒 𠌓 𠌔 𠌕 𠌖 𠌗 𠌘 𠌙 𠌚 𠌛 𠌜 𠌝 𠌞 𠌟 𠌠 𠌡 𠌢 𠌣 𠌤 𠌥 𠌦 𠌧 𠌨 𠌩 𠌪 𠌫 𠌬 𠌭 𠌮 𠌯 𠌰 𠌱 𠌲 𠌳 𠌴 𠌵 𠌶 𠌷 𠌸 𠌹 𠌺 𠌻 𠌼 𠌽 𠌾 𠌿 𠍀 𠍁 𠍂 𠍃 𠍄 𠍅 𠍆 𠍇 𠍈 𠍉 𠍊 𠍋 𠍌 𠍍 𠍎 𠍏 𠍐 𠍑 𠍒 𠍓 𠍔 𠍕 𠍖 𠍗 𠍘 𠍙 𠍚 𠍛 𠍜 𠍝 𠍞 𠍟 𠍠 𠍡 𠍢 𠍣 𠍤 𠍥 𠍦 𠍧 𠍨 𠍩 𠍪 𠍫 𠍬 𠍭 𠍮 𠍯 𠍰 𠍱 𠍲 𠍳 𠍴 𠍵 𠍶 𠍷 𠍸 𠍹 𠍺 𠍻 𠍼 𠍽 𠍾 𠍿 𠎀 𠎁 𠎂 𠎃 𠎄 𠎅 𠎆 𠎇 𠎈 𠎉 𠎊 𠎋 𠎌 𠎍 𠎎 𠎏 𠎐 𠎑 𠎒 𠎓 𠎔 𠎕 𠎖 𠎗 𠎘 𠎙 𠎚 𠎛 𠎜 𠎝 𠎞 𠎟 𠎠 𠎡 𠎢 𠎣 𠎤 𠎥 𠎦 𠎧 𠎨 𠎩 𠎪 𠎫 𠎬 𠎭 𠎮 𠎯 𠎰 𠎱 𠎲 𠎳 𠎴 𠎵 𠎶 𠎷 𠎸 𠎹 𠎺 𠎻 𠎼 𠎽 𠎾 𠎿 𠏀 𠏁 𠏂 𠏃 𠏄 𠏅 𠏆 𠏇 𠏈 𠏉 𠏊 𠏋 𠏌 𠏍 𠏎 𠏏 𠏐 𠏑 𠏒 𠏓 𠏔 𠏕 𠏖 𠏗 𠏘 𠏙 𠏚 𠏛 𠏜 𠏝 𠏞 𠏟 𠏠 𠏡 𠏢 𠏣 𠏤 𠏥 𠏦 𠏧 𠏨 𠏩 𠏪 𠏫 𠏬 𠏭 𠏮 𠏯 𠏰 𠏱 𠏲 𠏳 𠏴 𠏵 𠏶 𠏷 𠏸 𠏹 𠏺 𠏻 𠏼 𠏽 𠏾 𠏿 𠐀 𠐁 𠐂 𠐃 𠐄 𠐅 𠐆 𠐇 𠐈 𠐉 𠐊 𠐋 𠐌 𠐍 𠐎 𠐏 𠐐 𠐑 𠐒 𠐓 𠐔 𠐕 𠐖 𠐗 𠐘 𠐙 𠐚 𠐛 𠐜 𠐝 𠐞 𠐟 𠐠 𠐡 𠐢 𠐣 𠐤 𠐥 𠐦 𠐧 𠐨 𠐩 𠐪 𠐫 𠐬 𠐭 𠐮 𠐯 𠐰 𠐱 𠐲 𠐳 𠐴 𠐵 𠐶 𠐷 𠐸 𠐹 𠐺 𠐻 𠐼 𠐽 𠐾 𠐿 𠑀 𠑁 𠑂 𠑃 𠑄 𠑅 𠑆 𠑇 𠑈 𠑉 𠑊 𠑋 𠑌 𠑍 𠑎 𠑏 𠑐 𠑑 𠑒 𠑓 𠑔 𠑕 𠑖 𠑗 𠑘 𠑙 𠑚 𠑛 𠑜 𠑝 𠑞 𠑟 𠑠 𠑡 𠑢 𠑣 𠑤 𠑥 𠑦 𠑧 𠑨 𠑩 𠑪 𠑫 𠑬 𠑭 𠑮 𠑯 𠑰 𠑱 𠑲 𠑳 𠑴 𠑵 𠑶 𠑷 𠑸 𠑹 𠑺 𠑻 𠑼 𠑽 𠑾 𠑿 𠒀 𠒁 𠒂 𠒃 𠒄 𠒅 𠒆 𠒇 𠒈 𠒉 𠒊 𠒋 𠒌 𠒍 𠒎 𠒏 𠒐 𠒑 𠒒 𠒓 𠒔 𠒕 𠒖 𠒗 𠒘 𠒙 𠒚 𠒛 𠒜 𠒝 𠒞 𠒟 𠒠 𠒡 𠒢 𠒣 𠒤 𠒥 𠒦 𠒧 𠒨 𠒩 𠒪 𠒫 𠒬 𠒭 𠒮 𠒯 𠒰 𠒱 𠒲 𠒳 𠒴 𠒵 𠒶 𠒷 𠒸 𠒹 𠒺 𠒻 𠒼 𠒽 𠒾 𠒿 𠓀 𠓁 𠓂 𠓃 𠓄 𠓅 𠓆 𠓇 𠓈 𠓉 𠓊 𠓋 𠓌 𠓍 𠓎 𠓏 𠓐 𠓑 𠓒 𠓓 𠓔 𠓕 𠓖 𠓗 𠓘 𠓙 𠓚 𠓛 𠓜 𠓝 𠓞 𠓟 𠓠 𠓡 𠓢 𠓣 𠓤 𠓥 𠓦 𠓧 𠓨 𠓩 𠓪 𠓫 𠓬 𠓭 𠓮 𠓯 𠓰 𠓱 𠓲 𠓳 𠓴 𠓵 𠓶 𠓷 𠓸 𠓹 𠓺 𠓻 𠓼 𠓽 𠓾 𠓿 𠔀 𠔁 𠔂 𠔃 𠔄 𠔅 𠔆 𠔇 𠔈 𠔉 𠔊 𠔋 𠔌 𠔍 𠔎 𠔏 𠔐 𠔑 𠔒 𠔓 𠔔 𠔕 𠔖 𠔗 𠔘 𠔙 𠔚 𠔛 𠔜 𠔝 𠔞 𠔟 𠔠 𠔡 𠔢 𠔣 𠔤 𠔥 𠔦 𠔧 𠔨 𠔩 𠔪 𠔫 𠔬 𠔭 𠔮 𠔯 𠔰 𠔱 𠔲 𠔳 𠔴 𠔵 𠔶 𠔷 𠔸 𠔹 𠔺 𠔻 𠔼 𠔽 𠔾 𠔿 𠕀 𠕁 𠕂 𠕃 𠕄 𠕅 𠕆 𠕇 𠕈 𠕉 𠕊 𠕋 𠕌 𠕍 𠕎 𠕏 𠕐 𠕑 𠕒 𠕓 𠕔 𠕕 𠕖 𠕗 𠕘 𠕙 𠕚 𠕛 𠕜 𠕝 𠕞 𠕟 𠕠 𠕡 𠕢 𠕣 𠕤 𠕥 𠕦 𠕧 𠕨 𠕩 𠕪 𠕫 𠕬 𠕭 𠕮 𠕯 𠕰 𠕱 𠕲 𠕳 𠕴 𠕵 𠕶 𠕷 𠕸 𠕹 𠕺 𠕻 𠕼 𠕽 𠕾 𠕿 𠖀 𠖁 𠖂 𠖃 𠖄 𠖅 𠖆 𠖇 𠖈 𠖉 𠖊 𠖋 𠖌 𠖍 𠖎 𠖏 𠖐 𠖑 𠖒 𠖓 𠖔 𠖕 𠖖 𠖗 𠖘 𠖙 𠖚 𠖛 𠖜 𠖝 𠖞 𠖟 𠖠 𠖡 𠖢 𠖣 𠖤 𠖥 𠖦 𠖧 𠖨 𠖩 𠖪 𠖫 𠖬 𠖭 𠖮 𠖯 𠖰 𠖱 𠖲 𠖳 𠖴 𠖵 𠖶 𠖷 𠖸 𠖹 𠖺 𠖻 𠖼 𠖽 𠖾 𠖿 𠗀 𠗁 𠗂 𠗃 𠗄 𠗅 𠗆 𠗇 𠗈 𠗉 𠗊 𠗋 𠗌 𠗍 𠗎 𠗏 𠗐 𠗑 𠗒 𠗓 𠗔 𠗕 𠗖 𠗗 𠗘 𠗙 𠗚 𠗛 𠗜 𠗝 𠗞 𠗟 𠗠 𠗡 𠗢 𠗣 𠗤 𠗥 𠗦 𠗧 𠗨 𠗩 𠗪 𠗫 𠗬 𠗭 𠗮 𠗯 𠗰 𠗱 𠗲 𠗳 𠗴 𠗵 𠗶 𠗷 𠗸 𠗹 𠗺 𠗻 𠗼 𠗽 𠗾 𠗿 𠘀 𠘁 𠘂 𠘃 𠘄 𠘅 𠘆 𠘇 𠘈 𠘉 𠘊 𠘋 𠘌 𠘍 𠘎 𠘏 𠘐 𠘑 𠘒 𠘓 𠘔 𠘕 𠘖 𠘗 𠘘 𠘙 𠘚 𠘛 𠘜 𠘝 𠘞 𠘟 𠘠 𠘡 𠘢 𠘣 𠘤 𠘥 𠘦 𠘧 𠘨 𠘩 𠘪 𠘫 𠘬 𠘭 𠘮 𠘯 𠘰 𠘱 𠘲 𠘳 𠘴 𠘵 𠘶 𠘷 𠘸 𠘹 𠘺 𠘻 𠘼 𠘽 𠘾 𠘿 𠙀 𠙁 𠙂 𠙃 𠙄 𠙅 𠙆 𠙇 𠙈 𠙉 𠙊 𠙋 𠙌 𠙍 𠙎 𠙏 𠙐 𠙑 𠙒 𠙓 𠙔 𠙕 𠙖 𠙗 𠙘 𠙙 𠙚 𠙛 𠙜 𠙝 𠙞 𠙟 𠙠 𠙡 𠙢 𠙣 𠙤 𠙥 𠙦 𠙧 𠙨 𠙩 𠙪 𠙫 𠙬 𠙭 𠙮 𠙯 𠙰 𠙱 𠙲 𠙳 𠙴 𠙵 𠙶 𠙷 𠙸 𠙹 𠙺 𠙻 𠙼 𠙽 𠙾 𠙿 𠚀 𠚁 𠚂 𠚃 𠚄 𠚅 𠚆 𠚇 𠚈 𠚉 𠚊 𠚋 𠚌 𠚍 𠚎 𠚏 𠚐 𠚑 𠚒 𠚓 𠚔 𠚕 𠚖 𠚗 𠚘 𠚙 𠚚 𠚛 𠚜 𠚝 𠚞 𠚟 𠚠 𠚡 𠚢 𠚣 𠚤 𠚥 𠚦 𠚧 𠚨 𠚩 𠚪 𠚫 𠚬 𠚭 𠚮 𠚯 𠚰 𠚱 𠚲 𠚳 𠚴 𠚵 𠚶 𠚷 𠚸 𠚹 𠚺 𠚻 𠚼 𠚽 𠚾 𠚿 𠛀 𠛁 𠛂 𠛃 𠛄 𠛅 𠛆 𠛇 𠛈 𠛉 𠛊 𠛋 𠛌 𠛍 𠛎 𠛏 𠛐 𠛑 𠛒 𠛓 𠛔 𠛕 𠛖 𠛗 𠛘 𠛙 𠛚 𠛛 𠛜 𠛝 𠛞 𠛟 𠛠 𠛡 𠛢 𠛣 𠛤 𠛥 𠛦 𠛧 𠛨 𠛩 𠛪 𠛫 𠛬 𠛭 𠛮 𠛯 𠛰 𠛱 𠛲 𠛳 𠛴 𠛵 𠛶 𠛷 𠛸 𠛹 𠛺 𠛻 𠛼 𠛽 𠛾 𠛿 𠜀 𠜁 𠜂 𠜃 𠜄 𠜅 𠜆 𠜇 𠜈 𠜉 𠜊 𠜋 𠜌 𠜍 𠜎 𠜏 𠜐 𠜑 𠜒 𠜓 𠜔 𠜕 𠜖 𠜗 𠜘 𠜙 𠜚 𠜛 𠜜 𠜝 𠜞 𠜟 𠜠 𠜡 𠜢 𠜣 𠜤 𠜥 𠜦 𠜧 𠜨 𠜩 𠜪 𠜫 𠜬 𠜭 𠜮 𠜯 𠜰 𠜱 𠜲 𠜳 𠜴 𠜵 𠜶 𠜷 𠜸 𠜹 𠜺 𠜻 𠜼 𠜽 𠜾 𠜿 𠝀 𠝁 𠝂 𠝃 𠝄 𠝅 𠝆 𠝇 𠝈 𠝉 𠝊 𠝋 𠝌 𠝍 𠝎 𠝏 𠝐 𠝑 𠝒 𠝓 𠝔 𠝕 𠝖 𠝗 𠝘 𠝙 𠝚 𠝛 𠝜 𠝝 𠝞 𠝟 𠝠 𠝡 𠝢 𠝣 𠝤 𠝥 𠝦 𠝧 𠝨 𠝩 𠝪 𠝫 𠝬 𠝭 𠝮 𠝯 𠝰 𠝱 𠝲 𠝳 𠝴 𠝵 𠝶 𠝷 𠝸 𠝹 𠝺 𠝻 𠝼 𠝽 𠝾 𠝿 𠞀 𠞁 𠞂 𠞃 𠞄 𠞅 𠞆 𠞇 𠞈 𠞉 𠞊 𠞋 𠞌 𠞍 𠞎 𠞏 𠞐 𠞑 𠞒 𠞓 𠞔 𠞕 𠞖 𠞗 𠞘 𠞙 𠞚 𠞛 𠞜 𠞝 𠞞 𠞟 𠞠 𠞡 𠞢 𠞣 𠞤 𠞥 𠞦 𠞧 𠞨 𠞩 𠞪 𠞫 𠞬 𠞭 𠞮 𠞯 𠞰 𠞱 𠞲 𠞳 𠞴 𠞵 𠞶 𠞷 𠞸 𠞹 𠞺 𠞻 𠞼 𠞽 𠞾 𠞿 𠟀 𠟁 𠟂 𠟃 𠟄 𠟅 𠟆 𠟇 𠟈 𠟉 𠟊 𠟋 𠟌 𠟍 𠟎 𠟏 𠟐 𠟑 𠟒 𠟓 𠟔 𠟕 𠟖 𠟗 𠟘 𠟙 𠟚 𠟛 𠟜 𠟝 𠟞 𠟟 𠟠 𠟡 𠟢 𠟣 𠟤 𠟥 𠟦 𠟧 𠟨 𠟩 𠟪 𠟫 𠟬 𠟭 𠟮 𠟯 𠟰 𠟱 𠟲 𠟳 𠟴 𠟵 𠟶 𠟷 𠟸 𠟹 𠟺 𠟻 𠟼 𠟽 𠟾 𠟿 𠠀 𠠁 𠠂 𠠃 𠠄 𠠅 𠠆 𠠇 𠠈 𠠉 𠠊 𠠋 𠠌 𠠍 𠠎 𠠏 𠠐 𠠑 𠠒 𠠓 𠠔 𠠕 𠠖 𠠗 𠠘 𠠙 𠠚 𠠛 𠠜 𠠝 𠠞 𠠟 𠠠 𠠡 𠠢 𠠣 𠠤 𠠥 𠠦 𠠧 𠠨 𠠩 𠠪 𠠫 𠠬 𠠭 𠠮 𠠯 𠠰 𠠱 𠠲 𠠳 𠠴 𠠵 𠠶 𠠷 𠠸 𠠹 𠠺 𠠻 𠠼 𠠽 𠠾 𠠿 𠡀 𠡁 𠡂 𠡃 𠡄 𠡅 𠡆 𠡇 𠡈 𠡉 𠡊 𠡋 𠡌 𠡍 𠡎 𠡏 𠡐 𠡑 𠡒 𠡓 𠡔 𠡕 𠡖 𠡗 𠡘 𠡙 𠡚 𠡛 𠡜 𠡝 𠡞 𠡟 𠡠 𠡡 𠡢 𠡣 𠡤 𠡥 𠡦 𠡧 𠡨 𠡩 𠡪 𠡫 𠡬 𠡭 𠡮 𠡯 𠡰 𠡱 𠡲 𠡳 𠡴 𠡵 𠡶 𠡷 𠡸 𠡹 𠡺 𠡻 𠡼 𠡽 𠡾 𠡿 𠢀 𠢁 𠢂 𠢃 𠢄 𠢅 𠢆 𠢇 𠢈 𠢉 𠢊 𠢋 𠢌 𠢍 𠢎 𠢏 𠢐 𠢑 𠢒 𠢓 𠢔 𠢕 𠢖 𠢗 𠢘 𠢙 𠢚 𠢛 𠢜 𠢝 𠢞 𠢟 𠢠 𠢡 𠢢 𠢣 𠢤 𠢥 𠢦 𠢧 𠢨 𠢩 𠢪 𠢫 𠢬 𠢭 𠢮 𠢯 𠢰 𠢱 𠢲 𠢳 𠢴 𠢵 𠢶 𠢷 𠢸 𠢹 𠢺 𠢻 𠢼 𠢽 𠢾 𠢿 𠣀 𠣁 𠣂 𠣃 𠣄 𠣅 𠣆 𠣇 𠣈 𠣉 𠣊 𠣋 𠣌 𠣍 𠣎 𠣏 𠣐 𠣑 𠣒 𠣓 𠣔 𠣕 𠣖 𠣗 𠣘 𠣙 𠣚 𠣛 𠣜 𠣝 𠣞 𠣟 𠣠 𠣡 𠣢 𠣣 𠣤 𠣥 𠣦 𠣧 𠣨 𠣩 𠣪 𠣫 𠣬 𠣭 𠣮 𠣯 𠣰 𠣱 𠣲 𠣳 𠣴 𠣵 𠣶 𠣷 𠣸 𠣹 𠣺 𠣻 𠣼 𠣽 𠣾 𠣿 𠤀 𠤁 𠤂 𠤃 𠤄 𠤅 𠤆 𠤇 𠤈 𠤉 𠤊 𠤋 𠤌 𠤍 𠤎 𠤏 𠤐 𠤑 𠤒 𠤓 𠤔 𠤕 𠤖 𠤗 𠤘 𠤙 𠤚 𠤛 𠤜 𠤝 𠤞 𠤟 𠤠 𠤡 𠤢 𠤣 𠤤 𠤥 𠤦 𠤧 𠤨 𠤩 𠤪 𠤫 𠤬 𠤭 𠤮 𠤯 𠤰 𠤱 𠤲 𠤳 𠤴 𠤵 𠤶 𠤷 𠤸 𠤹 𠤺 𠤻 𠤼 𠤽 𠤾 𠤿 𠥀 𠥁 𠥂 𠥃 𠥄 𠥅 𠥆 𠥇 𠥈 𠥉 𠥊 𠥋 𠥌 𠥍 𠥎 𠥏 𠥐 𠥑 𠥒 𠥓 𠥔 𠥕 𠥖 𠥗 𠥘 𠥙 𠥚 𠥛 𠥜 𠥝 𠥞 𠥟 𠥠 𠥡 𠥢 𠥣 𠥤 𠥥 𠥦 𠥧 𠥨 𠥩 𠥪 𠥫 𠥬 𠥭 𠥮 𠥯 𠥰 𠥱 𠥲 𠥳 𠥴 𠥵 𠥶 𠥷 𠥸 𠥹 𠥺 𠥻 𠥼 𠥽 𠥾 𠥿 𠦀 𠦁 𠦂 𠦃 𠦄 𠦅 𠦆 𠦇 𠦈 𠦉 𠦊 𠦋 𠦌 𠦍 𠦎 𠦏 𠦐 𠦑 𠦒 𠦓 𠦔 𠦕 𠦖 𠦗 𠦘 𠦙 𠦚 𠦛 𠦜 𠦝 𠦞 𠦟 𠦠 𠦡 𠦢 𠦣 𠦤 𠦥 𠦦 𠦧 𠦨 𠦩 𠦪 𠦫 𠦬 𠦭 𠦮 𠦯 𠦰 𠦱 𠦲 𠦳 𠦴 𠦵 𠦶 𠦷 𠦸 𠦹 𠦺 𠦻 𠦼 𠦽 𠦾 𠦿 𠧀 𠧁 𠧂 𠧃 𠧄 𠧅 𠧆 𠧇 𠧈 𠧉 𠧊 𠧋 𠧌 𠧍 𠧎 𠧏 𠧐 𠧑 𠧒 𠧓 𠧔 𠧕 𠧖 𠧗 𠧘 𠧙 𠧚 𠧛 𠧜 𠧝 𠧞 𠧟 𠧠 𠧡 𠧢 𠧣 𠧤 𠧥 𠧦 𠧧 𠧨 𠧩 𠧪 𠧫 𠧬 𠧭 𠧮 𠧯 𠧰 𠧱

performing several instances of *yu*; and second, that at this point, the same vessel could be involved in both *yu* and *hui*, the positive entreaty. The closing lines of the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* offer one additional, important tidbit:

...𡗗其萬年永𡗗（𡗗）尹四方，保大令，乍（作）寔才（在）下，御大福，其各。唯王五祀。

May [I,] Hu, oversee and be chief of the Four Directions for ten thousand years eternally; protect the great mandate, and make prostrate those below; and perform *yu*-exorcism for great fortune. May [I] fulfill [these expectations]. It was the king's fifth offering-cycle.

The Fifth-year Hu *zhong* employs the character *yu* 御, absent the altar radical, in place of *yu* 禦; the similarity of the two inscriptions suggests this reading, which is otherwise uncommon in the bronze inscriptions.⁹⁰ The notable difference here is that this case of *yu* has *da fu* 大福, “great fortune,” as its object. The stipulation of a positive goal for *yu* is a departure from the understanding of the rite in the Shang OBI and in the Zuoce Yi *you*, in which it was employed to ward off misfortune and alleviate disaster rather than to seek blessings. Judging from this point, from the use of *yu* together with *hui* in the Hu *gui* inscription, and from that inscription's apparent assumption that the performance of several future *yu* could be predicted, the composers of the above two inscriptions understood *yu* differently than did Zuoce Yi and his early Western Zhou contemporaries. The use of the term in the King Li inscriptions suggests that their commissioners saw *yu* as an ordinary, predictable rite aimed at procuring favor from the ancestors rather than as an ameliorative measure for use in times of crisis. Given the term's complete absence from the inscriptions of the middle Western Zhou, the rite itself must have fallen out of favor, at least as a purpose of ancestral bronzes; its use in the King Li inscriptions

⁹⁰ For this reading see the AS database; Mu Haiting and Zhu Jieyuan, “Xin faxian de Xi Zhou wangshi zhong qi Wusi Hu zhong kao,” *Renwen zazhi* 1983.2, 118. This portion of the rubbing is exceedingly difficult to make out. With respect to *yu* 御 as a loan for *yu* 禦, I have surveyed all 93 occurrences of the former character in JC and have found only this case in which it seems to refer to a rite.

was likely meant to evoke a sense of venerable antiquity without concern for the details of its previous performance.⁹¹

2.2.2.3.3: *Yu* in the Zhouyuan oracle bones

Bone H11:1 of the Zhouyuan oracle bones contains a character that *Zhouyuan jiaguwen* transcribes as 𠄎. The transcription is certainly correct in assessing the upper-right element of the character as 𠄎. However, I suspect Liu Yu is still correct in identifying this character as *yu* 御.⁹² This inscription then provides a point of linkage between Shang and Zhou practices of *yu*, appealing, as it does, to the last Shang king, Di Yi, in the latter portion of the inscription.⁹³ Unfortunately, the details of the inscription reveal little about the Zhou approach to *yu* beyond its continuity with the practices reflected in the Shang oracle bones.

2.2.2.3.4: Summary

Bronze inscriptions, Zhouyuan oracle bone inscriptions, and received texts all record that the early Western Zhou saw the use of a rite known as *yu*. Judging from the Zuoce Yi *you* inscription in particular, that rite was similar in purpose to its Shang predecessor – that is, it was meant to prevent or eliminate misfortune through an appeal to ancestral spirits, both male and female. The instances of *yu* recorded in early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions were all

⁹¹ Rawson sees the use of built-in square stands like that of the Hu *gui* as a hint of archaicism; see Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” in *Cambridge History*, 439.

⁹² See *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, 1. The Zhouyuan case adds an altar radical *shi* 示 to the base character *yu* 御 (or rather, in this case, 𠄎); apparently this custom, which became the norm in the bronze inscriptions, had been taken up by the Zhouyuan oracle bone scribes.

⁹³ The role of Shang kings and ancestors in the Zhouyuan oracle bones is the topic of some controversy; see the discussion of *hui*-entreaty in the Zhouyuan oracle bones below.

conducted by non-royal elites who referred to their deceased ancestors with Shang-style *ganzhi* funereal names; probably the practice was held over among former Shang-affiliated elites who participated in the activities that gave rise to the institution of inscribed bronzes as a widespread phenomenon. The appearances of *yu* in the Zhouyuan oracle bones and in the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu* suggest that Zhou kings at least occasionally performed the *yu* rite; however, no surviving bronze inscriptions record royal *yu* rites as political events, as with the *di* and *hui* rites.⁹⁴

As practiced by the Shang kings (and other Shang elites) during the late Shang, and by former Shang elites and, potentially, by Zhou kings during the early Western Zhou, *yu* 禦 served to alleviate anxiety under extreme circumstances.⁹⁵ This may explain why the Zhou kings did not make *yu* part of their political program. No extant inscriptions narrate the attendance of elites at political events centered on *yu*, as with the *di* and *hui* rites. Neither do any record royal gifts or gifts from superiors intended to support *yu*, as we have seen with the previous rites; in fact, the most detailed inscription mentioning *yu*, that of the Zuoce Yi *you*, suggests that its vessel was retooled to support the commissioner’s exigent need for a *yu*-rite. *Yu*, it would seem, was meant to deal with specific, unpleasant circumstances – like, for example, the bloody aftermath of the conquest of Shang⁹⁶ – and as such was unsuitable for the kind of planned, bond-forging events that the Zhou royal house organized around *di* and *hui*. It was a poor basis for the distribution of royal largesse, since for the king to award goods to someone for use in *yu* would have been tantamount to wishing misfortune on them. Likewise, its unpredictable chronology made it a poor medium for strengthening bonds between the royal house and subordinate elites;

⁹⁴ See Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, 211.

⁹⁵ See note 88.

⁹⁶ This is the context of the *yu* recorded by the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu*.

the times of crisis that called for *yu* would have been precisely the times when those bonds were tested most strenuously.

After the early Western Zhou, the rite called *yu* disappears from the record, only to resurface in the inscriptions of two late Western Zhou vessels commissioned by King Li. Given the chronological gap between the King Li vessels and the prior appearances of *yu* as a rite name, the term's use in the inscriptions is likely part of an effort at antiquarianism.⁹⁷ Either way, the Fifth-year Hu *zhong*'s declared purpose of *yu* for “great fortune” (*da fu* 大福) does not accord with the prior understanding of the rite as a defense against undesirable events; the composers of the inscription may not have been aware of this association or may have seen it as flexible.

The relative paucity of *yu* in the bronze inscriptions as compared with the Shang oracle bones was due to its failure to serve these interests of the Zhou royal house. Certainly, the suitability of inscribed bronzes as a materialization of positive interactions with the king played a role in the expansion of their use during the Western Zhou, as compared with the periods preceding and following.⁹⁸ *Yu* served that purpose poorly, at least from the standpoint of the royal house. It is no surprise, then, that *yu* failed to gain a foothold in the custom of the creation of inscribed bronzes, as its positive counterpart *hui* did; its disappearance as of the middle Western Zhou period, when the format of inscriptions came to reflect the royal control of prestige in an even more formulaic manner, makes good sense.⁹⁹

Later occurrences of the term show that *yu*, “warding,” “exorcism,” or “defense,” continued to be understood as a goal of ritual, if not as a specific rite, well after the power of the Zhou royal

⁹⁷ See note 91.

⁹⁸ See the discussion of inscribed bronzes as a manifestation of the royal presence, following Gell's model of “distributed presence,” in chapter 1.

⁹⁹ On this shift, see the discussion of appointment inscriptions in chapter 4.

house was broken.¹⁰⁰ It is likely that the propitiation of ancestors as a ritual phenomenon continued after its disappearance from the bronze-inscriptional record; that it left little trace in the inscriptions simply because its purposes did not coincide with the interests that drove the creation of inscribed bronzes; and that the severing of that association weakened the specific ritual implications of the term *yu*, so that the composers of the King Li bronzes used it differently than in the earlier inscriptions, and the compilers of later texts clarified its meaning with additional terms.¹⁰¹

2.2.3: Terms forming the shared rubric of Western Zhou ritual

2.2.3.1: *Hui* 奉 (entreaty)¹⁰²

The activity referred to as *hui* 奉, “entreaty,” is one of the most ubiquitous devotional practices in the Western Zhou inscriptions.¹⁰³ JC lists 18 distinct inscriptions containing the term in this sense and dating to the Western Zhou, along with an additional case of ambiguous late Western Zhou-Spring and Autumn date and two cases of definitive Spring and Autumn date (see Appendix).

¹⁰⁰ See Dong Zengling, *Guoyu zhengyi*, Guiji Zhang shi shixuntang, 1880, 406; *Liji*, “Jifa,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1590-1; Chen Qiyu, *Lüshi chungqiu jiaoshi*, Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984, 422.

¹⁰¹ The *Guoyu* and *Liji* cases listed above use *han* 扞/捍, “to ward off,” while the *Lüshi chungqiu* case uses *nuo* 儺, “to exorcise.” See *ibid.*

¹⁰² This section consistently replaces the Academia Sinica’s renderings of *hui* with the font character 奉.

¹⁰³ This character is unused in modern Chinese but can be pronounced as *hui* (based on its *Shuowen* entry); see *Shuowen*, 497. It has many other functions in the Western Zhou inscriptions; besides serving as a personal name, it appears frequently as a chariot implement (in the fixed phrase 奉輶); sometimes as a type of garment; and, in forms both with and without the added radical *chuo* 𠂔, in the sense of “assist.” For uses of 奉 as a personal name, see the Jing *gui* (04273) and Shanfu Shan *ding* 膳夫山鼎 (2825) inscriptions; for occurrences as a garment, see the Jifu *hu* 幾父壺 (9721-2) and Wang Chen *gui* 王臣簋 (4268) inscriptions; for occurrences referring to a chariot implement, see the Mu *gui* 牧簋 (4343), Wu *fangyi gai* 吳方彝蓋 (9898), and Shi Ke *xu (gai)* 師克盥(蓋) (4467-8) inscriptions; and for cases of “assist,” see the Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤 (10175) and He *zun* (6014) inscriptions (with the *chuo* 𠂔 radical) and the Guaibo *gui* 乖伯簋 (4331) inscription (without). These various readings of the character are discussed in *JWGL* 1359, 6127-53.

The following section will separately consider the inscriptional traces of *hui*-entreaty left by the Zhou kings and those left by other Zhou elites. The first category records mostly specific occurrences of *hui*-entreaty, while the second consists mainly of inscriptions declaring *hui*-entreaty as a purpose of the vessels bearing them, though there are important individual exceptions in each case.

2.2.3.1.1: Royal performances of *hui* recorded by high-ranking elites

Descriptions of *hui* performed by the Zhou king occur mainly in inscriptions dating to the early Western Zhou period, when royal ritual events at which *hui*-entreaties occurred provided a context for management of relations with elites of the very highest ranks. A recently excavated bronze, the *Shu Ze fangding*, describes a relevant instance of the rite tied to major political events of the early Western Zhou period:

佳 (唯) 十又四月，王𠄎大𠄎奉 在成周。咸奉，王乎殷厥士，齊叔矢以台、衣、車、馬、貝卅朋。敢對王休，用乍（作）寶尊彝，其萬年揚王光厥士。¹⁰⁴
 In the fourteenth month, the king performed a *rong* rite and greatly used documents to perform entreaty (*hui*) at Chengzhou. When the entreaty was finished, the king called an audience of his retainers,¹⁰⁵ [rewarding?] Shu Ze with a (?), a garment, a chariot and horse, and thirty strings of cowries.¹⁰⁶ [Shu Ze] dares to respond to the king's beneficence, therewith making a precious, revered vessel. May [he] praise the king's honoring of his retainers for ten thousand years.

The *Shu Ze fangding* was recovered from the cemetery of the rulers of the state of Jin, in the Fen river valley of Shanxi.¹⁰⁷ Li Boqian has plausibly suggested that it dates to the reign of King

¹⁰⁴ This transcription follows Li Boqian, “Shu Ze fangding mingwen kaoshi,” *Wenwu* 2001.8, 39.

¹⁰⁵ I here take *yin* 殷 as equivalent to *jin* 覲, “to have audience,” following Ma Chengyuan’s interpretation in *MWX* 115, 80, n. 1b.

¹⁰⁶ Following Li Boqian, 40, I refrain from identifying the character 台.

¹⁰⁷ On this vessel see Beijing daxue kaogu wenbo yuan and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiu suo, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi

Cheng, based partly on the Shang-style use of a fourteenth, intercalary month; certainly, the reference to Chengzhou in the inscription means that it postdates the construction of that polity.¹⁰⁸ Based on a paleographical analysis of the character *ze* 矢, Li further suggests that the vessel was probably produced by the figure known in historical records as Tangshu Yu 唐叔虞, the first ruler of the Jin state and younger brother of King Cheng, whom the *Bamboo Annals* record was installed by King Cheng during the tenth year of his reign.¹⁰⁹ Whether or not Tangshu Yu in particular commissioned the vessel, the circumstances of its discovery make it quite likely that it belonged to an early member of the Jin marquisal line.

The case describes a pattern common in the inscriptions: The king conducts a major ritual event involving one or more ancestral rites; during or after the ceremonies, he then publicly rewards a subordinate, who casts an inscribed bronze to commemorate the event. The provenance of the Shu Ze vessel in particular suggests its association with a lesser scion of the royal family – one whose new domain would later become one of the most powerful states to emerge from the collapse of Zhou royal power. Unlike most of the *di/chi* inscriptions, the Shu Ze *fangding* inscription records no recounting of merits, assistance with the rite, report of a successful campaign, or other justification for the commissioner's presence, beyond the assumption that he was one of the "retainers" (*shi* 士) that the king summoned. The vessel commissioner's status itself was apparently sufficient justification for both his presence at the rite and the reward. We will see below that this is generally characteristic of the accounts of royal entreaty rites in the early inscriptions.

Beizhao Jinhou mudi di liu ci fajue," *Wenwu* 2001.8, 4-21, esp. 9, 14-5; Li Boqian, "Shu Ze fangding mingwen kaoshi," *Wenwu* 2001.8, 39-42.

¹⁰⁸ See Li Boqian, 40-1. Li sees the use of a fourteenth month as an indication that Zhou calendrical techniques had yet to progress beyond those known under the late Shang.

¹⁰⁹ Li Boqian, 40-1; see *Bamboo Annals*, King Cheng, 10th year, 146. On Tangshu Yu's relationship to King Cheng, see *Shiji*, 1635-6.

If Tangshu Yu or one of his near descendants did indeed commission this vessel, he would have had a personal investment in the rites conducted, belonging as he did to the same patriline as the king; likewise, the king would have had a strong interest in maintaining good relations with him, as the assigned ruler of one of the most powerful and strategically significant regional domains. I strongly suspect that Li Boqian is correct in attributing the vessel to Tangshu Yu, or that it was produced by his son at the latest. The inscription refers to its commissioner by the seniority term *shu* in combination with a personal name, suggesting that, in the context referred to by the inscription, the commissioner's seniority status within his generation needed more emphasis than the specific lineage to which he belonged; this would surely have been true of a scion of the royal house.¹¹⁰

In this inscription, then, we see the utility of ancestral rites as a relationship management tool in the political context of the early Western Zhou. The occasion of the entreaty and associated devotions offered motivation for Shu Ze, likely a member of the Jin marquisal line and descendant of the Zhou kings, to attend the king at Chengzhou; this in turn allowed the king to reinforce bonds with his kinsman through the gift of prestige goods, while situating those bonds within the hierarchical relations between king and retainer.

Another bronze, the Xianhou *ding*, confirms that King Cheng in particular conducted *hui* in the Zhou heartland as well:

唯成王大率，才（在）宗周，商（賞）獻侯鬯貝，用乍（作）丁侯鬯彝。（鬯）¹¹¹。

When King Cheng conducted a great entreaty at Zongzhou, [he] awarded cowries from (?) to the Marquis of Xian.¹¹² [The Marquis] therewith makes a revered vessel for Marquis

¹¹⁰ Characters preceded by seniority terms are generally interpreted as personal names; words *preceding* seniority terms, on the other hand, are usually understood as lineage names, as in the example of “Da Zhong” in the *Da gui* inscription, cited above. See the discussion of branch lineage names in Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 252.

¹¹¹ For this transcription of the clan mark on this bronze, see *MWX*, 24.

¹¹² The character preceding *bei* 貝 is to be read as *xiao* 釁; I am indebted to Li Feng (personal communication, May 2012) for this observation. *MWX* reads this character as the personal name of the Marquis; see *MWX*, 16 n. 2. I am inclined to see it instead as a specification of the origin of the cowries. Shirakawa raises this possibility; see

Ding. (Clan mark.) (Xianhou *ding* 獻侯鼎 [2626-7])

Unfortunately, the identity of Xianhou, translated here as “the Marquis of Xian,” and the location of the state Xian 獻, if indeed there was such a state, are unclear.¹¹³ Xianhou appears to have been of Shang cultural affiliation, judging from the inclusion of the clan mark 𠄎, common on Shang bronzes and from the use of the *ganzhi* designation *ding* 丁 to refer to the vessel dedicatee.¹¹⁴ The format of the name of the dedicatee Dinghou opens up the possibility that the Xian in Xianhou might not have referred to the location of the bearer’s state, as would be usual for a name of the “X hou” format. Without further information on a potential state of Xian, it is difficult to speculate on the exact relationship between Xianhou and the Zhou king. However, Xian’s likely Shang heritage, combined with the fact that Xian is absent from the *Zuo zhuan* list of Ji-surnamed regional states founded during the early Western Zhou, suggests that the two did not share patrilineal blood ties, as was likely the case with Shu Ze.¹¹⁵ Xianhou was probably an allied elite of relative importance, judging from his bearing of the title *hou* 侯, reserved for certain regional lords. Here again, then, in the context of an entreaty to the royal ancestors, the king awards largesse to an aristocrat of high rank. The inscription again records no particular service rendered to the king by the recipient, implying an assumed right of the recipient to the king’s patronage based on status.

One further early Western Zhou inscription, the document duplicated on the Yu *gui* 鬲

Shirakawa 7.29, 335-6.

¹¹³ *Xiqingyi* suggests the possibility that the Marquises Xian and Ding mentioned in the inscription were the similarly named rulers of the royal line of the state of Qi; see *Xiqingyi* 1.6. Shirakawa refrains from this identification; see p. 338.

¹¹⁴ On the commonality of the clan mark, see MWX 24, n. 3, 16; on *ganzhi* names, see On *ganzhi* cult names, see David N. Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape*, Berkeley: UC Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies, 2000, 33-5, and Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, Albany: SUNY Press, 19-56.

¹¹⁵ See *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Xi 24, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1817. On this and the other numberings of Western Zhou regional states, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 71.

簋 (3824-5), the Yu yan 圉鬲 (00935), and the Yu you 圉卣(5374), records the king's rewarding of an elite in the context of a *hui*-entreaty with no additional context provided:

王率于成周，王易（賜）圉貝，用乍（作）寶鬲彝。

The king conducted an entreaty at Chengzhou. The king awarded Yu cowries. [Yu] therewith makes a precious, revered vessel. (Yu *gui* 圉簋 [圉簋] [3824-5])¹¹⁶

The Yu set of inscriptions offers us even less information about their commissioner than did the Xianhou *ding*. Fortunately, the provenance of the Yu vessels is well understood. They were recovered in the 1970s, from tomb M253 in the Yan 燕 state cemetery at Liulihe, Fangshan, Beijing (with the exception of Yu *gui* no. 1, JC no. 3842, which had reputedly found its way to a tomb at Kazuo county, Liaoning province).¹¹⁷ Given the size of tomb M253 and the richness of its grave goods, and given that Yu was able to commission a number of elaborately decorated vessels with the same inscription at a time when vessel sets were not yet the norm, we can surmise that Yu was a figure of substantial influence in the early Western Zhou political world, probably a scion of the marquisal line of the state of Yan.¹¹⁸ Again, then, the Yu inscriptions record the bare fact of attendance of an influential figure at a royal entreaty – potentially the same entreaty recorded in the Shu Ze *fangding* inscription – without additional justification; in this case, the attendee would have had to travel across most of modern China in order to take part.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ On the Yu *gui*, see Beijing shi wenwu yanjiu suo, *Liulihe Xi Zhou Yan guo mudi, 1973-1977*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1995, 80, 84-6; for the *yan*, 88-9; for the *you*, 95-9.

¹¹⁷ On tomb M253, see *Liulihe*, 26-7; on Yu *gui* no. 1, see *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1993-8, 6.12.

¹¹⁸ For this assessment see *Liulihe*, 128-9. As the report notes, since the tomb contains vessels cast by a figure called Jin 堇 as well, it cannot be determined whether or not Yu was the tomb occupant.

¹¹⁹ Li Feng has noted the possibility that these two bronzes record rewards that occurred at the same event; see *Bureaucracy*, 259.

2.2.3.1.2: Royal *hui* as an opportunity for subordinate elites

The above inscriptions record interactions between the royal house and the upper echelons of the Zhou aristocracy in the context of *hui*-entreaties. These entreaties provided political opportunities and responsibilities for elites of lesser status as well; such opportunities spurred greater elaboration in the inscriptional record due to the indirect nature of the rewards they produced. Two early Western Zhou inscriptions, the Yu *jue* 孟爵 (9104) and the Shu *gui* 叔簋 (4132), record such interactions.

The Yu *jue*, a bronze liquor cup probably dating to the reign of King Kang, records the Zhou king's dispatching of a representative to the state of Deng, probably located in modern Henan:¹²⁰

佳（唯）王初奉于成周，王令孟寧𠄎（鄧）白（伯），賓（儻）貝，用乍（作）父寶罍彝。

When the king first conducted an entreaty at Chengzhou, the king ordered Yu to pacify the Elder of Deng. [Yu] received a guest-gift of cowries. [Yu] therewith makes a precious, revered vessel for [his] father[s]. (Yu *jue* 孟爵 [9104])

In this case, the initial contact between the vessel commissioner and the royal house that justified the inscription took place in the context of the entreaty event, while the reward that financed the creation of the vessel was received later and secondhand, from the upper-level aristocrat to whose service the commissioner was assigned. Yu, it would seem, was not important enough to receive a royal gift directly at the entreaty. However, the occasion of the entreaty created the opportunity for Yu's assignment to a lucrative position by the king, and so it was duly recorded

¹²⁰ MWX 64, 44, n. 2. There is some debate as to the relationship of the Yu that commissioned this vessel to the Yu that commissioned the Xiao Yu *ding* and Da Yu *ding*; for a summary of that debate, see Shirakawa 35, 385-91. Shirakawa dates the vessel to the Cheng-Kang period, while MWX assigns it specifically to King Kang; see MWX, 44.

in the inscription.

The Yu referred to in the inscription was quite possibly the same Yu known from the Da Yu *ding* (2837) and Xiao Yu *ding* (2839) inscriptions, and potentially the Yu *you* (5399) inscription.¹²¹ If so, two interesting points come to mind. One is that Yu did not receive a direct royal reward at the *hui* ceremony, despite the fact that by the end of King Kang's reign, he would enjoy not one, but two special royal acknowledgement ceremonies; we will see one of these in more detail in chapter four. Either the king's first entreaty rite predated the rise of Yu's star at the royal court, or convention prevented Yu from receiving a reward without attached conditions; perhaps his official rank was not high enough. The second point is that the Yu of the Da Yu *ding* and Xiao Yu *ding* inscriptions was an accomplished warrior; the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription records, among other things, the king's acknowledgement of his successful campaign against the Guifang.¹²² If the Yu that commissioned the Yu *jue* was the same figure, one wonders what was involved in the duty of "pacifying" (*ning* 寧) the Elder of Deng. Certainly Yu received the cowries that supported the commissioning of the inscription as a guest-gift (*bin* 賓); but it seems possible that the king's choice of Yu in particular as his emissary reflected a coercive element to the interaction.

Another two bronzes of probable early Western Zhou date, the two Shu *gui* 叔簋 (4132-3), record the queen's involvement in an interaction between elites on the occasion of a *hui*

¹²¹ See previous note; see also Shirakawa 35, 394. *MWX* does not go so far as to suggest outright that the Yu of the Yu *you* is the same as the Yu of (according to Ma) the Da Yu *ding* and the Yu *jue*; see *MWX*, 44-5. Another Yu is now known to have been active during the Western Zhou, based on a pair of *ding* discovered in a cache in Hubei in 1996; see Hubei Huanggang shi bowuguan and Hubei Qichun xian bowuguan, "Hubei Qichun Dacheng Xinwuwan Xi Zhou tongqi jiaocang," *Wenwu* 1997.12, 29-33. These, however, employ the alternate character



form (image from AS database). Based on that and on their discovery in Hubei rather in Shaanxi, where the other Yu bronzes were discovered, they were likely produced by a different Yu. The characters naming the caster of the so-called Yu *yan* (NA1591) are difficult to confirm due to damage.

¹²² See the Xiao Yu *ding* 小孟鼎 (2839).

rite:¹²³ During a royal entreaty at Zongzhou, Shu was lucky enough to receive the queen's command to attend the Grand Protector, also known as the Duke of Shao, whose vital role in the administration of the early Western Zhou state is well known.¹²⁴ The Grand Protector's generous reward to Shu for his service was comprised entirely of prestige goods of both inherent utility and ritual significance; metal could be used to make vessels, while dark wine and grain-fed cattle were potential offerings for ancestral devotions.¹²⁵ Again, the reward that the vessel commissioner Shu received came from the Grand Protector, to whom he had been sent, rather than directly from the king (or, in this case, the queen); by thanking the Grand Protector in the dedication, Shu makes that clear. However, the inscription still records the royal *hui* rite as the origin point of the interaction, maximizing the prestige involved by noting Shu's connection with the royal house in explicit terms.

During the early Western Zhou, then, a series of royal entreaties of ancestors conducted during the reigns of Kings Cheng and Kang provided a venue for political interactions between the royal house and elites of various levels of prestige. Involvement of different levels of elites gave rise to different sorts of inscriptional records. Greater detail in those records did not coincide with greater status of the commissioners. In fact, the inscriptions recording attendance of higher-ranking elites at the royal *hui* rites seem to have required less detail in order to justify the involvement of their commissioners, suggesting that elites of high status were assumed to be potential attendees. High-ranking Zhou aristocrats were apparently eligible for direct royal

¹²³ These vessels appear in Shirakawa under the heading "Shu *suiqi*" 叔隨器; see Shirakawa 6, 77-83. Shirakawa compares their calligraphy to that of the Cheng Wang *fangding* (1734), implicitly suggesting a corresponding date; JC notes that Yu Xingwu has questioned the authenticity of that vessel. *Duandai* assigns the Shu *gui* to King Cheng, while Tang Lan assigns them to King Kang; see Shirakawa, 77.

¹²⁴ See Shaughnessy, "The Role of Grand Protector Shi in the Consolidation of the Zhou Conquest," in *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics*, 137-64.

¹²⁵ *Baijin*, "white metal," is also mentioned in the Western Zhou inscriptions of the Rong Zhong *ding* (NA1567) and the Ping Zhong 粵鐘(48); *yuchang* 鬱鬯, "dense wine," appears in the Xiaozhi Sheng *zun* 小子生尊 (6001) inscription; grain-fed livestock are mentioned, as we have seen, in the Da *gui* inscription.

rewards, while lesser figures made do with lucrative appointments that produced later benefits by virtue of their connections with resource-distributing elites of rank.

The distribution of those bronzes for which provenance is known suggests that ranking elites traveled appreciable distances in order to attend. Unlike the *di* rite, which took place at peripheral locations such as Pangjing and Yi, the royal *hui*-entreaties were held only at the key centers of Zhou power, Zongzhou, at the capitals of Feng/Hao in the Zhou heartland, and Chengzhou, the recently founded eastern capital.¹²⁶ The royal house of the early Zhou apparently employed the *hui* rite as a context for managing relationships with high-ranking elites from across the Zhou cultural sphere, both by rewarding them directly, as in the Shu *Ze fangding*, Xianhou *ding*, and Yu vessel set inscriptions, and by dealing with them through intermediaries, as with the Elder of Deng in the Yu *jue* and the Grand Protector in the Shu *gui*.

2.2.3.1.3: Non-royal sponsorship of *hui*: the Ze Ling bronzes

Based purely on quantity of occurrences, the practice of *hui* by non-royal aristocrats seems to have been fairly widespread and to have endured throughout most of the Western Zhou period.¹²⁷ The traces of non-royal *hui* in the inscriptional record, however, are of quite different character than those left by the kings' entreaties. *Hui* apparently described one of the primary motivations behind the creation of inscribed bronzes, and, as such, most of its appearances in non-royal inscriptions are formulaic in character. Still, one exception from the early Western

¹²⁶ There is some debate on the location of Zongzhou; for a summary, see Maria Khayutina, *T'oung Pao* 96 (2010), 6, n. 13.

¹²⁷ I find four inscriptions suggesting the performance of non-royal *hui*-entreaty dating to the early Western Zhou, four dating to the middle Western Zhou, and one to the late Western Zhou (all dates following the AS database). These are compiled in table 2.1, Appendix 2 ("Vessels declaring *hui* as a purpose"), with the exception of the inscription shared by the Ze Ling vessels, for reasons discussed here. The Hu *gui*, which also appears in that table, was probably commissioned by King Li (see note 145).

Zhou furnishes even more detail about *hui* than did the royal cases: that of the Ze Ling *fangzun* 矢令方尊 (6016) and Ze Ling *fangyi* 矢令方彝 (9901) inscriptions.

The Ze Ling vessels, reputedly discovered in 1929 at Mapo, Luoyang, Henan, were once owned by Liu Tizhi; the *fangzun* is now in the collections of the Palace Museum, Taiwan, and the *fangyi* in those of the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C.¹²⁸ Much like the Mai *fangzun* inscription, the Ze Ling inscriptions begin with an account of honors that the vessel commissioner's superior – in this case, Ming Bao 明保, the Duke of Zhou's son – was granted at a royal audience.¹²⁹ After receiving a broad-ranging appointment from the king,¹³⁰ Ming Bao (also called “Duke Ming” [*Minggong* 明公] in the inscription) then undertook a mission to the eastern capital Chengzhou, where he issued orders to a variety of officials of different levels. Ze Ling, the vessel commissioner, was probably present for this; based on the word order of the inscription, it appears that he was ordered to accompany Ming Bao to Chengzhou in order to work with the Ministry (*qingshiliao*) there.¹³¹ Ming Bao completed his business with a series of sacrificial offerings at important venues in the Chengzhou area: the Jing Temple (*Jinggong* 京宮), probably related to the “Jing Hall” mentioned in the He *zun* inscription;¹³² the Kang Temple

¹²⁸ See *JC* 6016, 9901 (AS database); *Zhensong* 7.19.

¹²⁹ On Ming Bao, and for a full translation of the Ze Ling inscriptions, see *Bureaucracy*, 50-2. For a full account of the Mai *fangzun* inscription, see chapter 4.

¹³⁰ The king grants Ming Bao control over “the Three Affairs in the four directions” and the Ministry (see *Bureaucracy*, 51). That is to say, Ming Bao is granted supervisory capacity over the top-ranking military, civil, and agricultural officials across the sphere of royal control, as well as over the body of officials directly associated with the royal court (for more detail on the relevant offices, see *Bureaucracy*, Appendix I, 305-14). This appointment must have made Ming Bao one of the most powerful officials, if not *the* most powerful, besides the king himself.

¹³¹ There is some ambiguity in the inscription here on two points: first, whether it was Ming Bao (referred to as “duke” [*gong* 公] elsewhere in the inscription) or the Duke of Zhou (at whose *gong* 宮 the order occurred) who issued the order to Ze Ling; and second, whether the Ministry with which Ze Ling was to work was the version located at the western or eastern capital. Given that the sources trace the Ze Ling bronzes to the vicinity of Luoyang (see *Zhensong* 7.19v), I am inclined to think that Ze Ling was employed at Chengzhou and that the inscription records his assignment to relocate to that area (or perhaps to return, given that Ze Ling seems to have been of Shang descent).

¹³² On the possible relationship between these two locations and with the *jingzong* 京宗 mentioned in the inscription

(*Kanggong* 康宮);¹³³ and a location called *wang*, “royal,” likely identifiable with *wangcheng* 王城, the “King’s City,” around which centers much debate on the early structure of Chengzhou/Luoyang.¹³⁴ After the third leg of his sacrificial tour, Duke Ming issued the rewards that make up the germane portion of the inscription:

...明公歸自王，明公易（賜）亢師鬯、金、小牛，曰：用禕。易（賜）令鬯、金、小牛，曰：用禕。迺令曰：今我唯令女（汝）二人，亢眾矢，奭有¹³⁵（左）右于乃寮（僚）曰（以）乃友事。乍（作）冊令（命）敢揚明公尹¹³⁶（厥）室，用乍（作）父丁寶¹³⁷，敢追明公賞于父丁，用光父丁。（*舊*¹³⁶冊）

...Duke Ming returned from Wang[cheng]. Duke Ming awarded Kang Shi dark wine, metal, and a small (young?) ox, saying, “Use these for *hui*-entreaty.” [The Duke] awarded Ling dark wine, metal, and a small ox, saying, “Use these for *hui*-entreaty.” [He] then issued commands, saying, “Now I command you two men, Kang and Ze, to fervently assist your colleagues and allied officials.”¹³⁷ Document Maker Ling dares to respond to Duke Ming’s beneficence, thereby making a precious, revered vessel for Father Ding, daring to procure Duke Ming’s reward for Father Ding,¹³⁸ thereby to glorify Father Ding. (Clan mark.)

The dynamic of Duke Ming’s relationship with his various subordinates is of note. The broad mandate which the Duke brought to Chengzhou was granted at a personal audience with the king; given the scope of his commands, Duke Ming was effectively the royal representative at Chengzhou. Ming Bao either could not or did not, however, command the personal presence

of the Ban *gui* 班簋 (4341), see Tang Lan, “He zun mingwen jieshi,” 63.

¹³³ As Li Feng notes in *Bureaucracy*, 51, the Kang Palace is the subject of disagreement in the field. The main problem is whether the term necessarily referred to a structure established for the posthumous worship of King Kang, which would then require a post-King Kang date for the Ling vessels. The full argument is beyond the scope of this dissertation; for lists of relevant sources and an English-language approach to the problem, see *Bureaucracy*, 1, n. 16, and Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 193-216. It has now been shown, however, that the locations known as *gong* 宮 were sometimes named for living individuals who used them as personal workspaces; see Li Feng, “‘Offices’ in Bronze Inscriptions and Western Zhou Government Administration,” *Early China* 26-7 (2001-2), 1-72, esp. 4-14.

¹³⁴ See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 64-5.

¹³⁵ The transcription of this character follows *MWX*, 69/

¹³⁶ The transcription of this clan mark follows *MWX*, 69.

¹³⁷ Following Ma’s reading in *MWX*, 68, n. 8.

¹³⁸ That is, as Li Feng puts it, to “forward” the reward on to the deceased Father Ding. See *Bureaucracy*, 51. I follow Li Feng also in rendering 室 as “beneficence.”

of the wide range of elites over whom he had been granted temporary authority; rather than summoning the officials and regional rulers in question, he is said to have “sent out” (徯[*chu* 出]) orders.¹³⁹ In fact, after his commands were finished, Duke Ming was apparently compelled personally to visit several important local venues to make offerings. It is particularly notable that he performed sacrifices at the royal compound, despite the fact that the king must still have been in the heartland at the time. My impression is that the brief sacrificial tour afforded Ming Bao the opportunity to shore up local support, both from powerful Chengzhou-area lineages and from the personnel of the royal holdings at Chengzhou. The eastern capital was still relatively new at this point, and Duke Ming must have needed the support of local elites in order to function effectively as a royal representative.

The rewards that Duke Ming issued after completing the sacrificial tour, and the offerings they were meant to support, facilitated the channeling of prestige from the royal house, through the organization of the central government at large, into the social context of individual lineages. While directing their cooperation in the operation of the Chengzhou branch of the Ministry, Ming Bao rewarded Ze Ling and Kang Shi with sets of goods that included all the basic material resources necessary for sponsoring an offering event: liquor for drinking, livestock animals for feasting, and metal for producing bronzes. This created a direct relationship between the service Ze Ling and Kang Shi rendered to Duke Ming in his governmental activities and their ability to provide for the activities of their lineage cults. We know that Ze Ling then intentionally made the provenance of these resources, and hence the details of this relationship, known in the context of his cult activities, based on the use of the terms *zhui* 追, “pursue, [here] direct,” and *guang* 光, “glorify,” at the end of the inscription.

¹³⁹ *MWX*, 63, n. 8.

By “glorifying” Father Ding with the goods received from Duke Ming, Ze Ling improved his father’s, and hence his own, profile within the context of the ancestral cult; he converted recognition received for actions outside the lineage to prestige and recognition within the lineage through the medium of the *hui*-offering. When recording this recognition on an inscribed devotional bronze, he detailed not only the circumstances of his own service to Ming Bao and concomitant reward, but the entire sequence of events beginning with the king’s assignation of special authority to Ming Bao. The bronze produced thus allowed Ze Ling to maximize the impact of his accomplishments within the social context of his lineage cult by drawing an indirect connection to the Zhou royal line.

2.2.3.1.4: *Hui* as a declared vessel purpose

Several Western Zhou inscriptions declare *hui*-entreaty as an intended purpose of the creation of the vessels that bear them (table 2.1, Appendix 2). It is thanks to these cases, in fact, that we can state with some confidence that the practice referred to as *hui* in the Western Zhou inscriptions, like the corresponding Shang rite, involved requesting favors of supernatural forces.¹⁴⁰ Parallel use of similar verbs in a number of inscriptions confirms this; consider, for example, the inscription of the Bo Hu *gui* 伯 椁 簋 (4073), an early-middle Western Zhou vessel,¹⁴¹ in which *hui* is used as a compound verb with *qi* 祈, “to pray for,” in a request for

¹⁴⁰ On *hui* as a rite of entreaty in the oracle bones, see *JGWZGL* 1533; Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi zhong*, 109; Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 501-2; Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 119-28. As Liu Yuan’s table shows, *hui*-entreaties in the OBI target a much broader range of entities than those seen in the Western Zhou inscriptions, including royal ancestors both distant and near, both male and female, as well as natural entities such as the River (*He* 河) and the Peaks (*Yue* 岳). For examples, see H00378.r, H01588, H00460, H00385. (OBI identifiers in this work follow the numbering scheme used in the CHANT database maintained by the Chinese University of Hong Kong [<http://www.chant.org>].)

¹⁴¹ The AS database assigns the vessel to the early Western Zhou; *Duandai*’s incomplete analysis states King Gong

longevity. Several cases of *hui* in the inscriptions are of this type. They are well distributed chronologically, ranging across the entire period and continuing down into the early Spring and Autumn inscriptions. Geographically speaking, most such bronzes with established provenance were found in the Zhou heartland in Shaanxi, though one Spring and Autumn-era bronze, the Qi Bo Mei Wang *pan* 杞伯每亡盆 (10334), was discovered in Shandong.¹⁴²

Performers occupied a variety of positions along the parallel status continua of state and lineage.¹⁴³ A number of the vessel commissioners bore the epithet *bo*, “Elder,” suggesting their status as first sons or lineage heads; the name of the commissioner of the Ji Xin *zun* 季奭尊 (05940), however, suggests that he ranked low in the sequence of his siblings.¹⁴⁴ From a political standpoint, the preeminent commissioner of such a bronze was King Li, with whom the Hu who cast the Hu *gui* is normally identified.¹⁴⁵ Xing, commissioner of the Xing *zhong* 夔鐘 (246), seems also to have been of high status, given that several of his ancestors, including his father, carried the epithet *gong* 公.¹⁴⁶ The political status of the other commissioners is difficult to determine, but Shi Chen, for example, would seem based on his title to have been someone’s subordinate.¹⁴⁷ The inscription of the Shi Chen *ding* 事晨鼎 (2575) helps to confirm that assumption; its use of the actions of a lineage head, “Elder Father Yin” (*Bo Yinfu* 伯殷父),

as a *terminus ante quem*. See *Duandai*, 338.

¹⁴² Places of discovery following the AS database.

¹⁴³ Based on the usual syntax of the inscriptions in question (see for example the Bo Hu *gui* inscription, translated above), I suspect that bronzes declaring their production for the purpose of *hui* were actually used for such by their commissioners; that is to say, I assume that the commissioner of a vessel was the understood subject of the term *hui* in its inscription, unless otherwise stated. It is admittedly possible that bronzes commissioned “for use in entreaty” (*yong hui* 用奉) were open for use by other lineage members; however, I know of no specific evidence to support this idea.

¹⁴⁴ On seniority terms, see Sena, 123-4.

¹⁴⁵ On this argument, see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 110-1, 169-70.

¹⁴⁶ The Xing *zhong* is from the famous Zhuangbaicun bronze cache no. 1, the most extensive hoard of Western Zhou bronzes yet discovered, which produced the Shi Qiang *pan* and other important bronzes; see Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui, “Shaanxi Fufeng Zhuangbai yi hao Xi Zhou qingtongqi jiaocang fajue jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1978.3, 1-18.

¹⁴⁷ The term *shi* 事, the first component of Shi Chen’s name, means “to serve.”

as a dating reference suggests that Shi Chen occupied a subordinate position within his patriline.

Judging solely from its occurrence as a declared purpose of vessels, the concept of *hui*-entreaty was apparently widespread among Western Zhou elites, regardless of comparative status within either lineage or state, who were in a position to participate in the production of inscribed bronzes and the devotional activities for which they were used. Bronzes that declare *hui* as a purpose rarely specify the intended target of the entreaty as an object of the verb *hui*.¹⁴⁸ When targets are obliquely specified, they are patrilineal ancestors of the vessel commissioners.¹⁴⁹ The inscriptions sporadically record the intended goals of the entreaties to be conducted; the most common goal is longevity, though the Ji Xin *zun* and the Yi *zhi* break this pattern. Overall, these cases portray *hui*-entreaty as a standard mode of ancestral ritual activity, solidly entrenched throughout Zhou society and closely tied to the institutional production of bronzes, which endured throughout the Western Zhou period.

The relationship of this use-pattern of *hui* to the examples in accounts of royal events bears consideration. Based especially on its occasional appearance together with *qi* 祈, “to pray,” it is theoretically possible to interpret *hui* in these cases as a generic verb meaning “to pray,” rather than as a specialized ritual term.¹⁵⁰ However, the earliest of these cases – those of the Ji Xin *zun*, the Bo Hu *gui*, and the Shi Chen *ding* – were contemporary with, or at least not far distant from, the major royal events of the early Western Zhou for which *hui* was a justifying principle; their commissioners must have been aware of the royal use of *hui* as a lynchpin of ritual events. Moreover, the nature of the gifts conveyed by Ming Bao to his helpers, as recorded in the Ze

¹⁴⁸ The “targets” listed in the Appendix are all such cases, with the exception of the Wei *ding* inscription, in which Ji Zhong is simply listed as the vessel dedicatee.

¹⁴⁹ One may feasibly read “the prior cultured men” (*qian wen ren* 前文人) of the Xing *zhong* inscription as a general reference to admirable figures of previous generations, regardless of lineage; I suspect, however, that the phrase simply refers to deceased members of the lineage who are not mentioned by name.

¹⁵⁰ On the problematic nature of this distinction, see note 152.

Ling inscriptions, indicate that the *hui* he envisioned them conducting would take place in the context of ancestral devotions. It should be noted as well that no cases of *hui* in the sense of “entreaty” target living figures or other supernatural entities; as far as the inscriptions show, *hui*-entreaty was a technical process restricted to the ancestral cult.¹⁵¹

To my mind, the clear statement of the bronzes themselves that they were to be used for *hui* demands the interpretation of the term as an ancestral-ritual activity, if not a full rite in and of itself.¹⁵² In the absence of specific and compelling evidence for a discontinuity between the records of individual *hui*-entreaties – particularly that in the Shu Ze *fangding* inscription – and declarations of intent to *hui* with ritual bronzes, I take the two usage patterns as aspects of the same continuous and intrinsically ritual phenomenon.

2.2.3.1.5: *Hui* in the Zhouyuan oracle bone inscriptions

As Liu Yu has pointed out, two of the Zhouyuan oracle bones bear inscriptions mentioning the *hui*-entreaty:

貞王其率又𠄎𠄎周方白(X)𠄎 正不𠄎于受又又

Divined: Shall the king entreat (*hui*) assistance¹⁵³ from Da Jia and perform *ce*¹⁵⁴ toward the Elder of the Zhoufang...¹⁵⁵ correct, not to hinder¹⁵⁶ receiving assistance. (H11:84r)

¹⁵¹ There are cases in which *hui* takes a living person as its object; see the inscriptions of the Guaibo *gui* 乖伯簋 (4331) and the Gua Zi *you* 寡子卣 (5392). In these cases, the context makes clear that the term means “to assist” and can be understood as a substitution for the form of the character with an added *chuo* radical 辵, for which see the inscriptions of the He *zun* (6014), the Shi Qiang *pan* (10175), etc.

¹⁵² The distinction between “rite” and “ritual action” is problematic. Most of the terms considered here, including *rong*, *liao*, etc., appear in the inscriptions as elements of ritual events rather than free-standing events in their own right, despite their obvious ritual character – as is the case, for example, with the *hui*-entreaty and *rong*-offering recorded in the Shu Ze *fangding* inscription. Through a case study of the Mai *fangzun*, chapter 5 of this work will address how the Zhou royal house combined these individual ritual actions into coherent events that pursued varying strategies of group formation and maintenance. For further discussion of this issue, see the Introduction to this work.

¹⁵³ Reading *you* 又 as *you* 佑, “to assist.”

¹⁵⁴ This reading is extremely tentative. The relationship of the terms here to the following phrase *Zhoufang Bo*, “the Elder of the Zhoufang,” is unclear. The term *ce* 𠄎 and the related characters *ce* 冊 and 𠄎 have enjoyed a

彝文武丁...貞王翌日乙酉其奉鬯中...武丁豐 ... 𠄎王

Vessel (?) Wen Wu Ding...divined: On the next day, the day *yiyou*, shall the king make a *hui*-entreaty, raising a flag...¹⁵⁷ Wu Ding (?)¹⁵⁸ ...to hinder the king. (H11:112)¹⁵⁹

These two bones sparked an intense debate in the field concerning the relationship between the ritual practices of the pre-conquest Shang and Zhou populations.¹⁶⁰ Based on the use of the term *fang* 方 to refer to the Zhou – a usage which is to my knowledge otherwise unrepresented in the Zhou materials – I think we can safely state that, as Liu Yu has suggested,

variety of interpretations, as Martin Kern has recently pointed out in “The Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China,” 152-4. These three terms are to a certain degree interchangeable in the OBI, although there is a demonstrable distinction between 𠄎 and 𠄎 as well; see *JGWZGL*, 2969. In the Shang OBI, 𠄎 frequently acts as a verb, often referring to a manner of sacrificial offering; see Matsumaru Michio and Takashima Ken’ichi, eds., *Koukotsu moji jishaku souran*, Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku, 1993, 12, 259-62, 585; cited in Kern, “The Performance of Writing,” 153; see also *JGWZGL*, 2964-9. There is some question as to what the particular nature of this offering was, as the opinions gathered in Matsumaru and Takashima, 12, show (again, see Kern, 1953). Without taking a reductive stance on this issue, we may note that in the phrase *ce hui* 禘 in the inscription of the *Shu Ze fangding*, discussed above, *ce* 禘 is in the normal position for an adverb, suggesting that the king “entreated with documents.” It is possible that the *ce* 禘 both here and in the *Shu Ze fangding* inscription meant “to cut,” a meaning which has been observed for *ce*-series characters in the OBI (on which see in particular Yu Xingwu, “Shi ‘ce,’” *Jiaguwenzi shilin*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979, 172-4, cited in *JGWZGL*, 2967-8). However, Wang Yuxin has pointed out that *ce* 𠄎 in the sense of “cutting” was normally used towards sacrifices of lower status, including animals; see “Zhouyuan miaoji jiagu ‘ce Zhoufang bo’ xinxi,” *Wenwu* 1998.6, 67-71, esp. 71). It is thus likely that the *ce* 𠄎 element of the character in both these bone inscriptions and the *Shu Ze fangding* inscription was here meant in its later sense, indicating that documents were used in association with a *hui*-entreaty.

¹⁵⁵ The reading of the character here rendered *xin* 𠄎 is problematic. Shaughnessy reads it as *si*, meaning “desire,” while Li Xueqin reads *si* 斯, “this,” and Xu Xitai suggests *xi* 西, “west.” See Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Zhouyuan Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: Entering the Research Stage?,” *Early China* 11-2, 156-7; Li Xueqin, “Are They Shang Inscriptions or Zhou Inscriptions?,” *EC* 11-2, 173-4; Xu Xitai, *Zhouyuan jiaguwen zongshu*, Sanqin, 1987, 59.

¹⁵⁶ Shaughnessy, “Zhouyuan,” 156, reads the character 𠄎 as “harm”; Li Xueqin, “Are They Shang Inscriptions or Zhou Inscriptions?,” uses “mistake”; Xu Xitai, 59-60, suggests “inconvenience.”

¹⁵⁷ This reading follows Li Xueqin, “Are They Shang Inscriptions or Zhou Inscriptions?,” 173, and Xu Xitai, 72, in reading the phrase here transcribed 鬯中 as “to set up a banner.”

¹⁵⁸ Li Xueqin, “Are They Shang Inscriptions or Zhou Inscriptions?,” 173, reads *feng* 豐 here as *li* 醴, “wine, to drink”; Xu Xitai, 72, identifies it as a ritual item.

¹⁵⁹ *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, 64, 78. Transcriptions follow those given in that work. Shaughnessy offers a fuller transcription of H11.84r, including a transcription of the character marked (X) (left untranscribed in *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*), in Shaughnessy, “Zhouyuan,” 156.

¹⁶⁰ The main issues in this debate were whether the king mentioned was the Shang king; whether the Zhou elite could make offerings to the Shang kings; and whether the bones were produced at Zhouyuan, or produced at Anyang or another site of Shang power and then taken to Zhouyuan separately. See the series of articles beginning with Shaughnessy, “Zhouyuan,” and including Wang Yuxin, “Once Again on the New Period of Western Zhou Oracle Bone Research,” *Early China* 11-2, 164-72; Li Xueqin, “Are They Shang Inscriptions or Zhou Inscriptions?,” 173-6; Fan Yuzhou, “Some Comments on Zhouyuan Oracle Bone Inscriptions: A Response to Edward L. Shaughnessy,” *EC* 11-2, 177-81; and “Extra-Lineage Cult in the Shang Dynasty: A Surrejoinder,” *EC* 11-2, 182-94. For a later update, see *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, 1-8.

the bones in question were produced before the conquest of Shang.¹⁶¹ They are sufficient proof to show that certain Zhou elites (specifically, the “Elder of the Zhou People” mentioned in the inscription) must have been familiar with the *hui*-entreaty as practiced by the Shang – though perhaps not enough to show that the Zhou practiced it themselves, as Liu Yu suggests.¹⁶²

2.2.3.1.6: Summary

Hui is, fortunately, a common term in the Western Zhou inscriptions, and furnishes us with a substantial pool of examples for consideration. The above examination has shown that the Zhou elite, like the Shang before them, used the term *hui* to refer to the ritual entreatment of spirits for blessings.¹⁶³ Judging from their production of bronzes for the purpose, Zhou elites of various ranks practiced *hui*-entreaty, ranging from the royal house to local subordinate elites (such as Shi Chen). However, the geographic distribution of bronzes bearing the term *hui* with known provenance is mainly limited to the Zhou heartland. Despite the relative commonality of the term, the existing evidence is thus insufficient to show that the practice of *hui*-entreaty was disseminated across the entire Zhou cultural sphere; it would seem, however, that it did cross-cut distinctions of rank.

The Western Zhou inscriptions mostly lack details on offerings associated with *hui*. The Ze Ling inscriptions record that Ming Bao’s gifts to his subordinates, intended to support *hui*-entreaty, included liquor, oxen, and metal -- goods capable of supporting a wide range of

¹⁶¹ See Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 501-2. The term *fang* 方, in Shang usage, referred both to the extremes of the cardinal directions and to the outlying populations they held, relative to the power-holding Shang at the center of the system. The Zhou were thus unlikely to apply the term to themselves, although, as the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839) inscription shows, they did continue to apply it to problematic populations such as the Guifang 鬼方.

¹⁶² Liu Yu, *Jinwen zhong*, 501-2.

¹⁶³ For an excellent resource on *hui*-entreaty during the Shang, see the tables in Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 126-8.

devotional activities. This fact, and the extraordinary typological variety of bronze vessels that record their creation for the purpose, suggest that in the Western Zhou period, *hui*-entreaty was not tied to a specific mode of sacrifice, but was seen as a general purpose of or framework for devotional offerings.¹⁶⁴

Bronzes recording entreaties performed by the Zhou kings do not record the favors for which the ancestors were entreated.¹⁶⁵ Vessels of various dates that record *hui*-entreaty as a purpose of their creation, however, do specify goals, typically longevity or the receipt of blessings. That the inscriptional records of specific cases of *hui* do not do so is likely because such details were not important to the commissioners of the inscriptions, whose interests in recording the rite centered on the rewards they received.

During the early Western Zhou, the Zhou royal house conducted a number of high-profile *hui*-entreaties that served as venues for the negotiation and maintenance of political relationships with various ranks of elites. These entreaties took place at the major centers of Zhou power (Zongzhou, in the Zhou heartland, and Chengzhou, the newly built capital to the east); high-ranking Zhou aristocrats from across north China, such as Shu Ze 叔矢, the Marquis of Xian 獻侯, and Yu 鬲, traveled substantial distances to attend. These powerful elites received largesse directly from the Zhou king, with no justification given in the relevant inscriptions; their right to attend the royal *hui*-entreaties seems to have been implicit, although their receipt of royal rewards at these events was still sufficient grounds for producing inscribed bronzes. The desire

¹⁶⁴ This line of thought approaches the distinction between “rite name” (*jiming* 祭名) and “sacrificial method” (*yongshengfa* 用牲法) that Liu Yuan has recently and rightfully called into question; see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 19-24. I would suggest that there is no reason to expect that the Shang, or even the Zhou, would themselves have recognized the distinction, and substantial reason to believe that their conception of certain ritual actions such as *hui*-entreaty was fluid enough to admit different diagnostic criteria in different social contexts; what was *hui* at a royal ritual event might not map perfectly to *hui* in the context of local ancestral cults. On this idea of “fluidity” as an attribute of “social objects,” see Mol and Law, 659-60.

¹⁶⁵ Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 502.

of the royal house to manage its relationship with important power-holders such as the Elder of Deng and the Grand Protector also created opportunities for lesser elites such as Yu 孟 and Shu 叔 to earn recognition and rewards, which they then recorded on inscribed bronzes for use in the ancestral cult, allowing them to leverage those rewards for status and prestige within the context of their individual lineages. Whatever its devotional import, the royal practice of *hui*-entreaty during the early Western Zhou helped the Zhou kings shore up the interpersonal relationships between regional elites that made up the infrastructure of the newly formed Western Zhou state.

After the early Western Zhou, the Zhou kings seem to have performed *hui*-entreaty less, or at least under less high-profile conditions; only the Hu *gui* attests to royal performance of *hui* after that point. Based on this, Liu Yu has characterized the early Western Zhou as the “golden age” of the *hui*-entreaty among the Zhou.¹⁶⁶ If we account for inscriptions recording concern with *hui* among non-royal elites, however, the custom seems to have remained popular during the middle Western Zhou period and to have survived throughout the Western Zhou era and into the early Spring and Autumn period. *Hui* is virtually absent from received texts, however, as well as from bronze inscriptions dating to the middle Spring and Autumn period and later. Given the relatively centralized distribution of bronzes that record their production for the purpose of *hui*, it is likely that the term, if not the custom it described, was specifically associated with the Western Zhou institution of inscribed bronze production, with its focus on contact with the Zhou kings.¹⁶⁷ As the importance of the Zhou royal house as arbiter of prestige faded, the term *hui* as a reference to entreaty of ancestral spirits receded from the historical record. Further work on Eastern Zhou sources will help determine whether the custom itself waned as well.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 501.

¹⁶⁷ On the Zhou king as a prestige hub to which elite lineages were connected through “nexus ancestors,” see chapter 1; on the efforts of the royal house to maintain the king as an “obligatory passage point,” in Callon’s terms, see the conclusions to this chapter and the following chapter.

2.2.3.2: Zheng 烝/蒸 (*deng* 登)

The bronze inscriptions contain several instances of characters of the approximate form 𩇛, alternately transcribed as *zheng* 烝, *zheng* 蒸, *deng* 登, and *deng* 鄧, depending on the transcribers' sense of its meaning.¹⁶⁸ The character functions as a rite name (in which sense it is usually read as *zheng* 烝 or *zheng* 蒸) in the inscriptions of several vessels of Western Zhou date, as well as one probable Shang vessel and one early Spring and Autumn vessel. Much as with *hui*, the occurrences of *zheng* include records of specific cases conducted as well as declarations of *zheng* as the purpose for which the vessel in question was cast. The former category includes only cases in which the Zhou king was the prime actor, while the latter includes only vessels of non-royal provenance. The following analysis will thus begin from this division.

2.2.3.2.1: Cases of *zheng* in Western Zhou inscriptions: royal performances

Vessels recording the Zhou king's performance of the ritual act referred to as *zheng* 蒸 survive from throughout the Western Zhou period. The famous Da Yu *ding* (2837), one of the longest and most detailed inscriptions of the early Western Zhou period, contains two occurrences of the term *zheng*.¹⁶⁹

The first is part of a royal announcement characterizing the activities of the king's predecessors. The Da Yu *ding* inscription is special in that most of its length directly records a

¹⁶⁸ For example, the AS database lists *zheng* 烝 for the character in the inscription of the Taishi Cuo *dou* 大師盧豆 (4692), *zheng* 蒸 for the first occurrence in that of the Da Yu *ding*; *deng* 登 for that in the Deng Zuo Zun Yi you 登作尊彝卣 (5115) inscription; and *deng* 鄧 for that in the inscription of the Deng Xiaozhong *ding* 鄧小仲鼎 (2528), despite the essential similarity of the characters. See Appendix 2, fig. 2.2.

¹⁶⁹ The Da Yu *ding* is generally dated to the reign of King Kang, along with the Xiao Yu *ding*; see MWX 62, 37; Duandai 100-4. Shaughnessy includes it as one of his dating standards; see *Sources*, 110-1.

royal speech given on an occasion when the king appointed Yu, who had assisted in the king's education, to a new office and granted him lavish rewards.¹⁷⁰ Yu's new appointment seems to have had a regulatory function, in which vein the king's speech took pains to promote King Wen as the moral model to be followed. As a lead-in to this point, the king characterized the moral accomplishments of King Wen and, in particular, King Wu. Among the latter figure's good points, we are told, was his temperance in the performance of the rites 鬯 and 彝; the latter of these is certainly *zheng* 蒸.¹⁷¹ The account offers no further details, but it is certainly of note that 1) the current king held that King Wu had performed *zheng*, and 2) *zheng* was, at the time of composition of the Da Yu *ding* inscription, seen as a process in which consumption, and perhaps over-consumption, of liquor might be expected.¹⁷²

The most concrete example of royal performance of *zheng* from the early Western Zhou is that noted in the inscription of the Gao *you* (5431), a vessel known only from the Song collections:¹⁷³

（亞）。隹（唯）十又二月，王初饗旁，唯還在周，辰才（在）庚申，王禽（飲）西宮，豈（蒸），咸，釐，尹易（賜）臣隹 燹。¹⁷⁴揚尹休，高對乍（作）父丙寶

¹⁷⁰ Following the model proposed in *MWX*, wherein Yu had worked in the king's "school"; see *MWX*, 39, n. 14. The Da Yu *ding* is in a sense the prototypical appointment inscription, produced at a time when the process had yet to be codified to the degree seen in the middle Western Zhou inscriptions.

¹⁷¹ I am less than convinced that the former term is *chai* 紫, as JC renders it; see the discussion on *chai* in the Appendix.

¹⁷² The latter portion of the Da Yu *ding* inscription contains an instance of the character form 豈, the form used for *zheng* in the Gao *you* and Duan *gui* inscriptions. The context is quite different; as part of his admonitions to Yu on future service, the king requests that Yu should "morning and night assist me, the solitary man, with *zheng* for the Four Directions" (夙 [夙]夕 豈 [召]我一人豈 [蒸]四方). *MWX* draws on an *Erya* gloss to suggest that *zheng* here means something like "to rule, to be lord of"; see *MWX*, 40, n. 22. Given the context, I am inclined to agree with this reading.

¹⁷³ The recent edition of *Duandai* suggests a Cheng-Kang date for the Gao *you*; see *Duandai*, 343.

¹⁷⁴ The punctuation of the preceding clause follows *Duandai*, 343, though the transcription of the character *bo* 燹 is still that of the AS database. I follow *Duandai*, 343, in reading *zhui* 隹 and the element transcribed in AS as *xiao* 小 together as one character 隹, largely because the element here rendered *zhui* 隹 in AS bears little resemblance to the other cases of *zhui* in the inscription. The transcription has been adjusted accordingly.

障彝，尹其互萬年受卑（厥）永魯，亡競才（在）服，異長矣（疑）其子子孫孫寶用。

(*Ya.*) It was the twelfth month, when the king first feasted at Pang. When he returned to Zhou, on the morning of the *gengshen* day, the king hosted drinking at the Western Palace and performed *zheng*. When it was finished, gifts were awarded.¹⁷⁵ The Chief gave servants [from among the] Que?bo.¹⁷⁶ Praising the Chief's beneficence, Gao responds by making a precious, revered vessel for Father Bing. May the Chief continue for ten thousand years to confer his eternal brilliance, without peer in service. May the descendants of Zhi, the head of the Ji, treasure and use it.¹⁷⁷ (Gao *you* 高卣 [5431])

The prestation relationships recorded in this inscription were complex. The Zhou king held the drinking event and associated *zheng*-offering that occasioned the gift to Gao, which in turn precipitated the casting of the inscription. The king did not, however, give this gift/reward; instead, it was carried out by a figure called the Chief (*yin* 尹).¹⁷⁸ The vessel commissioner Gao then praised the Chief's beneficence in response, designating him as the significant patron for purposes of the gift. Gao went on to cast the Gao *you* for Father Bing, commemorating the reward in the context of his ancestral cult. He referred to the aforementioned Chief near the end of the inscription, making reference to his "service" (*fu* 服). The final clause of the inscription,

¹⁷⁵ I differ with the transcription given in the AS database in finding a sentence break immediately after *xian* 咸. The word *li* 釐 I read here as referring to the subsequent conferral of gifts, on analogy with, for example, the inscription of the Hai *gui* 簋 (NA1891).

¹⁷⁶ I suspect that the "Que?bo" 夔夔 referred to the same group called *bo* 夔 led by assignatories of the Zhou court on campaign against the Eastern States (*dong guo* 东国) during the middle Western Zhou, as recorded in the inscriptions of the Shi Mi *gui* (NA0636) and the Shi Yuan *gui* (4314), or to a subset of that group. In the latter inscription, the list of parties led against the east also includes the Tiger Servants (*hu chen* 虎臣) and the Ji 異, mentioned in the last line of the Gao *you*. It is likely that all these terms referred to parties operating in the direct service of the king at the Zhou royal court. The term Ji 異 was also the name of an aristocratic lineage and potentially of a regional state, as seen in the inscriptions of the Ji Zhong *zhi* 異仲觶 (6511) and the Jihou Di *ding* 異侯弟鼎 (2638). The groups designated Ji may have been related; my sense, however, based on the use of the term *zhang* in the final line of the Gao *you* inscription, is that the Ji referred to in the Gao *you*, Shi Mi *gui*, and Shi Yuan *gui* inscriptions was a vocational group, unrelated to the Ji 異 lineage. It is possible that the feasting and prestation events recorded in the Gao *you* inscription were related to the campaign mentioned in the Shi Mi *gui* and Shi Yuan *gui* inscriptions; however, this is far from certain.

¹⁷⁷ Rather than reading *zhi* 矣 as *yi* 疑, as in the JC inscription, I take it as the personal name of the figure Ji Zhang, "the head of Ji." For another example of *zhi* used as a personal name, see the inscription of the Yanhou Zhi *ding* 宴侯旨鼎 (2628).

¹⁷⁸ Li Feng notes the later use of *yin* 尹, "Chief," to refer to the Chief Interior Scribe (*Neishi Yin* 内史尹); see *Bureaucracy*, 77. The Cheng-Kang dating for the Gao *you* suggested by *Duandai*, however, would make it too early a vessel to support that connection.

however, commits the vessel to the use of the descendants of “Zhi, the head of the Ji” (*Ji zhang Zhi* 冀長矣).¹⁷⁹ Based on the location of its appearance, this phrase likely refers to Gao himself, but that is not certain.¹⁸⁰

The relative status of the various parties mentioned is difficult to decipher based on the Gao *you* inscription alone. In all likelihood, the Chief was a subordinate of the king who took part in the drinking event and the *zheng*-offering.¹⁸¹ Gao, to whom the Chief gave the “servant” or “servants” (*chen* 臣) after the *zheng* rite, may have been the Chief’s subordinate, or he may have been a royal functionary whom the king tasked the Chief to reward. He may have played a role in the drinking event and the *zheng*-offering, or he may simply have been present at the time and reaped the benefits; these may or may not have been redistributions of a corresponding reward given by the king to the Chief. We can state with certainty only that the king hosted a drinking event that included an instance of the offering called *zheng*, and that the occasion created a context for the Chief to convey a reward of servants to a figure named Gao, who commissioned an inscription to commemorate the occasion.

Before leaving the Gao *you* inscription, we should note that the event occasioning the king’s performance of *zheng* was a drinking-party rather than a combined feast and drinking event, as is sometimes specified in the inscriptions.¹⁸² This suggests a connection between *zheng* and liquor compatible with that appearing in at least one received textual source of possible

¹⁷⁹ I depart from the AS database in its reading of *zhi* 矣 as *yi* 疑.

¹⁸⁰ The final clauses of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions often commend the vessels bearing them to the use of the commissioners’ ancestors; examples are too numerous to list.

¹⁸¹ Whether the Chief was a permanent attaché of the Zhou royal court, or whether he made a special trip to attend the events described, is not certain; based, however, on the frequent use of *yin* 尹 as an addendum to titles for royal officials, I am inclined to think that the Chief was probably a regular member of the royal court. See the examples of “Chief Document Maker” (*Zuoce Yin* 作冊尹) and “Chief Interior Scribe” (*Neishi Yin* 內史尹), described by Li Feng in *Bureaucracy*, 311 and 309, respectively.

¹⁸² See for example the inscription of the Tianjun *gui* 天君簋 (4020).

Western Zhou date.¹⁸³ It may be obliquely relevant that the vessel bearing this inscription, according to *Bogu*, was of a type normally used to hold liquor.¹⁸⁴

The inscription of the Duan *gui* 段簋 (4208), a middle Western Zhou vessel of unknown provenance held by the Shanghai Museum, records another instance of *zheng* performed by the Zhou king:¹⁸⁵ The case of *zheng* described in the Gao *you* inscription was held on the king's home ground at Zongzhou; in fact, the king conducted it only after returning from nearby Pangjing. Here, in contrast, the king conducted a *zheng*-offering at Bi – a location of importance to the royal house, but apparently, based on the king's mentioning of the name Bi Zhong, also the territory of another elite lineage.¹⁸⁶ The multi-day event of the king's visit included both the *zheng*-offering and a recounting of merits for Duan, the commissioner of the vessel. During the latter process, the king recalled the lineage of a figure named Bi Zhong, presumably an ancestor of Duan's; this suggests that Duan was related at least peripherally to an elite lineage with authority over the area.¹⁸⁷ With Duan's merits recounted, the king then ordered a figure called Gong Zhi 龔 玆 to make a great apportionment of land to Duan.¹⁸⁸ As no further details are offered on Gong Zhi, it is not possible to determine whether he was a local elite or whether he

¹⁸³ See the discussion of the *Shijing* poems “Feng nian” and “Zai shan” below.

¹⁸⁴ *Bogu* 11.18, cited in AS database. Since the vessel is no longer extant, this is difficult to confirm; collections sometimes disagree about the shape category to which a particular vessel belongs. It is harder still in the case of the Gao *you*, for which *Bogu* lists only the cover.

¹⁸⁵ JC dates the Duan *gui* to the middle Western Zhou; Shirakawa assigns it to King Zhao; see Shirakawa 74, 829. See also MWX 261, 188, which dates the bronze to a much later king (King Yih).

¹⁸⁶ On the location of Bi, see *Bureaucracy*, 151-2 and n. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Since Duan's presumptive ancestor bore the seniority term *zhong* 仲, “second son,” he may have been the founder of a branch of the main Bi lineage; on the other hand, it is at least possible that the lineage of Bi Zhong became the dominant one in the area. On the problem of interpreting the nomenclature format (lineage name) (seniority term), see Sena, 123-4. The Bi lineage was likely connected to the royal house through the figure of Duke Bi (*Bigong* 畢公), a clansman of King Wu (see *Shiji*, “Wei shi jia,” 1835; *Bureaucracy*, 56, 56 n. 27); who, according to several received historical texts, played a key role in the conquest of Shang and the events of the early Western Zhou period; see *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 120-1; “Wei shi jia,” 1835; *Bamboo Annals*, King Kang 12th year, 148; *Shangshu*, “Gu ming,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 237; “Bi ming,” 244. Li Feng notes Duke Bi's appearance in the inscription of the Shi Tian *gui* 史 鬲簋 (4030-1); see *Bureaucracy*, 56 n. 27. For the tradition that Bi was founded by a son of King Wen, see *Zuozhuan*, Duke Xi, 24th year, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1817, cited in *Shiji*, 1835 n. 1.

¹⁸⁸ For this reading, see MWX, 189, n. 4.

traveled to Bi along with the king. Here, then, as in the *Gao you* case, the royal performance of *zheng* formed part of a wider ritual event that included the conferral of rewards to subordinate elites.

As noted above, the *Gao you* inscription does not clarify whether the Chief's gift of "servants" that it mentions originated with the Chief himself or with the king.¹⁸⁹ However, that gift came, if not from the king himself, at least as a result of the Chief's service; it thus further bound both the Chief and his subordinate to the royal house, as Gao recognized and recorded the Zhou king's *zheng*-offering as the context of the Chief's generosity.¹⁹⁰ The king's allotment of land to Duan likewise took place through the intermediary Gong Zhi, despite the fact that the king himself performed the acknowledgement of merits for Duan. Since Duan thanked the king, rather than Gong Zhi, for the honors conveyed, it appears that Gong Zhi was seen as a functionary rather than an active agent for the purposes of the transaction. To borrow Latour's terms, the king reduced Gong Zhi to service as an *intermediary* in the Duan *gui* reward transaction; while the Chief manifestly acted as a *mediator* in the events of the *Gao you* inscription, in that he occupied a key role in the network of interpersonal relations formed by the conferral of gifts.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ The above three inscriptions are the most direct sources on the performance of *zheng* by Western Zhou kings. Two more inscriptions associated with the Zhou king, however, should be accounted for: those of the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* (358) and the Hu *gui* (4317), both commonly considered products of the late Western Zhou King Li. The character rendered in JC (AS database) as *zheng* is virtually illegible in the rubbing included in the collection; I suspect it is rendered as *zheng* by analogy with the inscription of the Hu *gui*, as the editors transcribe a character therein, readily identifiable as *zheng*, in the same manner. However, the use of the character in the Hu *gui* inscription, in conjunction with *xian* 憲 does not readily admit its interpretation as a devotional offering (see *MWX*, 279, n. 6). Drawing on an *Erya* gloss, *MWX* offers the simple reading of *zheng* as *mei* 美, "beautiful, good"; I am inclined to agree with that interpretation. Understanding the *zheng* in the Hu *gui* inscription in that sense then raises the possibility of reading the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* case, if indeed it is *zheng*, in the same way. Without further evidence, I see no reason to take the occurrences of *zheng* in the Hu vessel inscriptions as references to the rite.

¹⁹⁰ This case exemplifies the success of the royal house at casting itself as an obligatory passage point, a la Callon, in the interaction model of the Zhou state; on the model of the "obligatory passage point," see Callon, 203-6.

¹⁹¹ See Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 36-40.

2.2.3.2.2: Western Zhou vessels cast for the purpose of *zheng*: non-royal inscriptions

Two further cases of *zheng* appear in JC inscriptions dating to the second half of the Western Zhou and declaring the practice as the purpose of vessels produced by non-royal elites.¹⁹² The Taishi Cuo *dou* 大師盧豆 (4692) is no longer extant; it is known from its inclusion in *Yunqing*.¹⁹³ It can be dated to the late Western Zhou period, however, by connection with the Taishi Cuo *gui* (4251-2), reputedly discovered in Xi'an in 1941 and still held by the Palace Museum, Beijing.¹⁹⁴ The Ji *ding* 姬鼎 (2681) is also in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. Its provenance is unknown; however, *Zhensong* suggests that it was cast as the second half of a two-vessel set, the missing member of which carried the first half of the inscription.¹⁹⁵ The format of its inscription accords well with this idea. Ji was a common surname during the Western Zhou; when such a surname appears in the inscriptions, it is usually in reference to a woman.¹⁹⁶ This fact, combined with the lack of a verb between the characters *Ji* 姬 and *jiang* 釭,

¹⁹² There is a third possible example, that of the Zhonghou *gui* (3589), dated by JC to the late Western Zhou. JC transcribes its inscription as follows: 革侯乍(作)釭(登)寶段 (“The Marquis of Zhong[?] makes a *deng* precious *gui*-tureen”). The character rendered *deng* here is quite close to that rendered as *zheng* in JC’s Da Yu *ding* transcription and could feasibly be read as such; however, since the inscription is so brief as to offer no supporting context, I have omitted it from the following analysis and from the master list in the Appendix.

¹⁹³ *Yunqing* 3.1.

¹⁹⁴ The vertical ribs decorating the Taishi Cuo *gui* are relatively unusual in Western Zhou bronze décor. Based both on this point and on a consideration of the probably life sequence of figures named in the inscription, Shaughnessy argues for a King Xiao date for the vessel; see *Sources*, 262-6. For another detailed discussion of the relationship of the Taishi Cuo *gui* to other bronzes, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 19, n. 29. Li notes Ma Chengyuan’s dating of the vessel to the reign of King Yi, for which see *MWX*, 263-4.

¹⁹⁵ *Zhensong* 3.20. The appearance of the Ji *ding* clearly marks it as a late Western Zhou bronze. Its footed legs, semicircular shape, and band of alternating long and short lozenge decorations are quite close to those of the Maogong *ding*, on the dating of which see note 285. Meanwhile, the “wave patterns” (*bolangwen* 波浪紋) on its belly appear on a series of bronzes assigned by Wang, Chen, and Zhang to their *ding* style 4; of these, the Ji *ding* is closest in shape to the Han Huangfu *ding* no. 1 函皇父鼎 (2745), specifically dateable to the late Western Zhou, and probably King Xuan, based on its association with the “August Father.” Indeed, the other Han Huangfu *ding*, produced by the same figure, is even closer in shape to the Ji *ding* and the Maogong *ding*, though it lacks the wave patterns. the style 4 *ding* series, see *Xi Zhou qingtongqi fenqi duandai yanjiu*, 31-40, esp. 35 (for the phrase *bolangwen* 波浪紋, see e.g. p. 31); on the “August Father,” see *Bureaucracy*, 40-1, 90.

¹⁹⁶ See the list and discussion of *xing* 姓 surnames in Appendix 2, table 1.1.

suggests that this inscription may have been prefaced by a statement specifying the vessel's production by a male on behalf of his female family member X Ji.

Beyond the fact that both vessels were commissioned by ranking elites of non-royal status for the purpose of *zheng*-offering, a few points are of note. One is that both are food vessels; this stands in contrast with the admittedly weak association of *zheng* with liquor in the early inscriptions discussed above.¹⁹⁷ Another is that both inscriptions, and the Taishi Cuo *dou* inscription in particular, state directly that the *zheng* in question were to be performed as devotions to patrilineal ancestors;¹⁹⁸ though this was likely true of the early, royal cases as well, the relevant inscriptions lack evidence to that effect. Yet another is that the Ji *ding* was almost certainly produced to support the ritual activities of a married woman on behalf of her husband's patriline, and that *zheng* was part of those activities. And yet another is that the combination of the terms *zheng* and *chang* in the phrase 用饗 (蒸) 用嘗 *yong zheng yong chang*, "therewith to perform *zheng*-offering and *chang*-offering," is the first occurrence of a formula that sees use in later inscriptions, as well as of an association that recurs in the later ritual texts.¹⁹⁹

By the late Western Zhou, then, a model of *zheng* had emerged among non-royal elites that involved the offering of foodstuffs to patrilineal ancestors in association with the pursuit of longevity and other blessings.²⁰⁰ The provision for these activities in the context of the lineage

¹⁹⁷ Since it is now known only from its rubbing in a collection, the vessel type of the Taishi Cuo *dou* would normally be up for debate; however, the inscription's identification of its own vessel as a *dou*-plate is probably reliable. The inscription of the Ji *ding* adds the grain radical 米 to the character *zheng*, perhaps to specify its association with food here (see Appendix 2, fig. 2.3)

¹⁹⁸ In the case of the Ji *ding*, this is clear from its appearance in parallel with the terms *xiao* 孝 and *xiang* 享.

¹⁹⁹ Specifically, the inscriptions of the Chenhou Wu vessels, a group dating to the early Warring States period, employ this formula; see the Chenhou Wu *gui* 陈侯午簋 (4145), Tenth-year Chenhou Wu *gui* 十年陈侯午簋 (4648), and Fourteenth-year Chenhou Wu *gui* 十四年陈侯午簋 (4646-7). On the association of *zheng* and *chang* in the ritual texts as part of the "seasonal rites" model, see *Zhouli*, "Da zong bo," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 758-9; "Si zun yi," 773-4; *Liji*, "Wang zhi," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1335-6; "Ming tang wei," 1489-90; "Ji tong," 1606.

²⁰⁰ Based on the syntax of the relevant inscriptions, I am not comfortable saying that *zheng* was performed for the purpose of obtaining blessings – only that it was seen as part of a regimen of ritual activity, performed with bronzes, that included those goals. On the idea of chronologically regular devotional activities (*changsi* 常祀) as

cult was apparently sufficient justification for the creation of an inscribed bronze without reference to the activities of the royal house. Per the inscription of the Ji *ding*, the devotional activity of *zheng* (as well as that of *chang*) could be performed by a married woman, assuming that she was provided with the necessary tools in the form of ritual bronzes.

2.2.3.2.3: *Zheng* in received texts of possible Western Zhou date

Compared with the terms previously considered, *zheng* is well represented in received texts of possible Western Zhou date. As a term for an offering, it appears in the “Luo gao,” potentially one of the earlier chapters of the *Shangshu*, as well as in two of the *Shijing* songs classified as “Zhou hymns.”²⁰¹

The *Shijing* poems “Feng nian” and “Zai shan” both describe agricultural activities and their relationship with the envisioned Zhou social order of which ancestral devotions served as an organizing motive. As befits its name, the poem “Feng nian” covers only the harvest side of the equation, celebrating the results thereof. The poem “Zai shan” is much longer; it gives a full and idealized account of the organized agricultural process, celebrating the rustic virility of the cultivators and arguing for the antiquity of the agricultural cycle and its concomitant devotional

a classification system for Zhou ritual, see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 47-95, esp. 47-8. It should be noted that the character in the Ji *ding* inscription that JC glosses as *zheng* is quite different from the character form in the earlier inscriptions; the grain radical has been transposed to the left-hand side of the vessel radical, and the character form *ci* 此 added to the top (see table 2.1). In this respect it may be seen as an intermediate form between the earlier examples and later cases such as those in the inscriptions of the Chen Gongzi Shu Yuanfu *yan* 陳公子叔原父鬲 (an early Spring and Autumn vessel, per JC) and the Chenhou Wu *gui* (a Warring States vessel, per JC). The case in the Taishi Cuo *dou* inscription, however, is essentially similar to the earlier cases (see table 2.1). Since the Taishi Cuo *dou* was almost certainly a food vessel and states *zheng* as its purpose, I am inclined to think that the character used in the Ji *ding* was meant as an alternate form of *zheng* contiguous with prior uses, rather than as an effort at composing a new character to indicate food offerings in contrast to a previous model of *zheng*.

²⁰¹ On the likely Western Zhou date of the “Luo gao,” see Zhu Fenghan, *Xian Qin shi yanjiu gaiyao*, 41-2; Shaughnessy, “Shang shu,” in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 376-80.

activities. The portion of the poem describing the harvest, however, is almost identical to the corresponding lines in “Feng nian”:

...載穫濟濟、有實其積、萬億及秭。
為酒為醴、烝畀祖妣、以洽百禮...

...The harvesters flow in, filling their stores, ten thousand, a million, even a billion [grains],

Making liquor, making sweet wine, for *zheng* and giving to ancestors and ancestresses, in accordance with the Hundred Rites... (Zai shan)²⁰²

The poems specify quite clearly that the grains accrued from the harvest will be used to produce alcohol of various types, that the alcohol will then support the performance of *zheng* rites to patrilineal ancestors and ancestresses, and that this process is a customary and understood accompaniment of the harvest process.²⁰³ The specified use of liquor for *zheng* is of note, echoing the association between the two in the relevant early Western Zhou inscriptions.²⁰⁴ So too is the association of *zheng* with the harvest; this may have played a role in its characterization as a seasonal rite in later sources.

The above poems describe *zheng* as, if not a harvest rite, at least a rite that was performed after the harvest, once the fruits thereof had been processed into liquor that could be used for hosting drinking events. They mention no special association with the Zhou royal house; there is no reason they might not have been used by any Zhou elite household. The relevant passage from the “Luo gao” offers less detail on *zheng* itself, but more on its use as one component of a royal ritual event.

On the face of it, the “Luo gao” narrates the various ceremonies associated with the establishment of the eastern Zhou capital at Chengzhou during the regency of the Duke of Zhou.

²⁰² For “Feng nian,” see *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 594; for “Zai shan,” see 601-2.

²⁰³ Both *jiu* and *li* also appear as verbs in the Western Zhou inscriptions; see chapter 1.

²⁰⁴ See the brief discussion of the Xiao Yu *ding* in Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 19.

The question of the appropriate role of the king – as a direct governor, or as a ritual head of state – runs throughout the passage, thanks to its concern with the relationship between King Cheng and the Duke of Zhou.²⁰⁵ As such, the narrative contains a number of significant terms relating to Zhou ritual; we will return to the passage repeatedly throughout this work. Here, the relevant portion concerns a series of offerings that King Cheng makes as accompaniment to his assignment of the Duke of Zhou to handle affairs at Chengzhou in the king’s absence:²⁰⁶

戊辰，王在新邑，烝祭歲。文王騂牛一，武王騂牛一。王命作冊。逸祝冊，惟告周公其後。王賓，殺、禋，咸格，王入太室裸。王命周公後，作冊，逸誥。在十有二月，惟周公誕保文武受命、惟七年。

On the *wuchen* day, at the New City (*Xinyi*), the king performed *zheng*-sacrifice 烝.²⁰⁷ He offered one red ox to King Wen and one red ox to King Wu in *sui*-offering. The king ordered Document Maker Yi to perform an invocation (*zhu* 祝) with documents, announcing that the Duke of Zhou would remain behind.²⁰⁸ The king acted as [ritual] guest; he killed (the sacrificial victim) (*sha* 殺). When the offering was complete, he entered.²⁰⁹ The king entered the Great Hall (*Taishi* 太室) and performed *guan*-libation. The king commanded the Duke of Zhou to remain behind; Document Maker Yi made the announcement.²¹⁰ It was the twelfth month, when Dan, the Duke of Zhou, preserved the command received by Kings Wen and Wu; it was the seventh year.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Legge, *The Shoo King*, 433.

²⁰⁶ *Shangshu*, “Luo gao,” in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 214-7, esp. 217. The excerpt follows the CHANT database edition, except where specified.

²⁰⁷ I have altered the punctuation to break this clause between *ji* 祭 and *sui* 歲 rather than between *sui* and *wen* 文, as the CHANT edition does.

²⁰⁸ I do not observe the break inserted by CHANT between *Zuoce*, the common title “Document Maker,” and *yi* 逸; I hold this to be the compound name “Document Maker Yi.” On the title of Document Maker, see *Bureaucracy*, pp. 310-11, and Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu, *Xi Zhou jinwen guanzhi yanjiu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986, 34-6. With respect to the meaning of *hou* 後 here, I follow Legge in taking it as referring to the following contents of the passage, i.e., to the king’s leaving the Duke of Zhou behind at Chengzhou. See Legge, *The Shoo King*, 444-5, 451-2.

²⁰⁹ My sense is that *xian* 咸 and *ge* 格 are independent of each other and that the passage uses *ge* 格 and *ru* 入 to describe the king’s entry into the overall compound and the Great Hall, respectively. The change does not substantially affect the meaning of the passage. On my reading of *yin* 禋 as “offering” in a general sense, see the section devoted to that term below.

²¹⁰ See the above note on Document Maker Yi (208).

²¹¹ *Dan* 誕 here is probably a substitution for *dan* 旦, the personal name of the Duke of Zhou. This line indicates that the above events (i.e., the ceremonies that close out the chapter) occurred during the twelfth month of the seventh year of the Duke of Zhou’s regency.

The king's *zheng* accompanied but was not equivalent to his *sui*-offering 歲, in which he offered one red ox each to both his father and grandfather. These rites, as well as the king's performance of an offering called *yin* 禋, apparently took place outside the complex containing the Great Hall (*Taishi* 太室), presumably because, as the passage specifies, the ritual sequence involved the king personally killing the sacrificial victims.²¹² Along with them, an official with the title "Document Maker" (*Zuoce* 作冊) performed, at the king's behest, an invocation with documents; potentially relating to the king's upcoming command to the Duke of Zhou.²¹³ Their performance finished, the king proceeded inside to perform *guan*-libation and issue the official announcement, through the intermediary Document Maker Yi, that the Duke of Zhou would remain behind in Chengzhou.

By now it should come as no surprise that the individual offering *zheng* was here characterized as one component of an extended ritual sequence performed by an early Western Zhou king. As we have seen, many of the surviving accounts of Zhou ritual are of this sort; chapter 4 of this work will explore the implications of this fact in greater detail. With respect to the characterization of *zheng* itself, the notable points here are that the king performed it outside, or at least outside the compound containing the Great Hall; that it happened in conjunction with an accompanying livestock sacrifice, here designated *sui*; and, in particular, that it happened during the seventh month -- near, if not at, the time of the harvest.

²¹² See the corresponding sections of this chapter for more on *sui* 歲 and *yin* 禋.

²¹³ There is room to speculate as to whether attendees might have seen a distinction between two separate events: one consisting of the *zheng* and *sui* offerings and an invocation by Document Maker Yi at the king's behest; and a second comprising the king's ritual guesthood, the *yin*-offering, the *guan*-libation, and the announcement of the king's command to the Duke of Zhou. The grammar of the passage accommodates but does not require the reading of a break between the characters *ce* 冊 and *wei* 惟. Since a separate date is not given for the second grouping of ritual actions, however, and since the king's "killing" might reasonably refer to the oxen mentioned as part of the *sui* offering, I am inclined to read the entire sequence as a single extended event.

2.2.3.2.4: Summary

Like most of the terms considered here, the term *zheng/deng* came to the Zhou from the Shang, among whom it designated a practice that included the offering of either foodstuffs or liquor to ancestors, but may also have involved the mustering of troops or large groups of personnel.²¹⁴ Based on inscriptional evidence, it seems that a practice designated by the character persisted throughout the Western Zhou period. Early Western Zhou inscriptions record only cases of *zheng* carried out by the Zhou king; the two specific cases captured in the early Western Zhou inscriptions were part of major prestation events involving multi-tiered bonds of patronage. As of the late Western Zhou, inscriptions emerge that, rather than recording specific cases of *zheng*, note the production of the bronzes bearing them by non-royal elites for the express purpose of *zheng*. By the late Western Zhou at the latest, then, the practice of the *zheng*-offering had spread amongst other portions of the aristocratic populace, and attitudes toward ancestral-ritual practices had come to admit the production of inscribed bronzes for the purpose of *zheng*, without the need for direct reference to the activities of the Zhou kings.

The concrete nature of the *zheng* offering is still a point of contention. Liu Yu notes the use of the term in the polemical warning of the Da Yu *ding* inscription, which suggests that the early Western Zhou practice of the rite involved the offering of liquor.²¹⁵ The Gao *you*, too, records that a royal *zheng*-offering took place in conjunction with a drinking event. The use of the term in certain “Zhou song” poems substantiates its association with liquor, as does the existence of earlier Shang oracle bone inscriptions stipulating the *zheng/deng*-offering of

²¹⁴ For a potential example of this use, see bone H39864.

²¹⁵ Liu Yu, *Jinwen zhong*, 512.

liquor.²¹⁶ However, by the late Western Zhou, multiple food vessels record their production for the purpose of *zheng*; in the understanding of their commissioners, *zheng* must have admitted, if not required, the offering of foodstuffs. Given that alcohol is produced from grain, it is likely that *zheng* was conceived of generally as the offering and enjoyment of the fruits of the harvest in both their processed and unprocessed forms.

The “Zhou song” poems seen above characterize *zheng* as a ritual endpoint for the harvest, when organized agricultural activity produced grain that was distilled into alcohol for offering to ancestral spirits. The two specific cases of *zheng* recorded in the early Western Zhou inscriptions took place in the eleventh and twelfth months, firmly in the winter range, and so would have relied on stored foodstuffs as provisions; assuming that they included offerings of alcohol, the timing likely accommodated the delay necessary for the maturation of liquor produced with the newly harvested grain. In later, received sources on Zhou ritual that enumerate an official sequence of rites corresponding with the four seasons, the declared spring and summer rites vary; *zheng*, however, is consistently assigned to the winter. The longevity of *zheng*’s seasonal associations was likely due to its close association with the harvest, a phenomenon fundamentally dependent on the natural cycle.²¹⁷

2.2.3.3: *Zhu* 祝 (*invocation*)²¹⁸

2.2.3.3.1: *Zhu* 祝 in the Western Zhou inscriptions

²¹⁶ Liu Yuan notes this in *Jizuli*, 58, citing Yao Xiaosui, ed., *Yinxu jiagu keci leizuan*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1989, 366-7.

²¹⁷ In contrast with rites such as *di* 禘, which, though sometimes listed as a seasonal rite, had no discernible association with the summer; see the seasonal rite models cited in note 274.

²¹⁸ The *Shuowen* defines *zhu* 祝 as “when the master of a ritual speaks words of praise”; see *Shuowen*, 6. Two important pieces of received textual evidence support the understanding of *zhu* in this sense in the Western Zhou sources; on these see below.

Inscriptions ranging in date from early to late Western Zhou make reference to the practice of *zhu* 祝, or “invocation.” Most such inscriptions refer to the “Invoker,” an official position that persisted, in various locations and at various levels of the institutional hierarchy, throughout the Western Zhou period.²¹⁹ In the early Western Zhou inscriptions, however, the term *zhu* 祝 appears twice as an active verb that, based on its use in received texts, probably refers to the process of speaking or reading formulaic utterances aloud – i.e., “invocation” – as part of the performance of ritual.²²⁰ One of these appearances is in the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription; though the syntax is somewhat irregular due to lacunae, it is clear that the king, as part of the ritual events following Yu’s victory celebration, personally performed an invocation.²²¹ The second is the Qin *gui* inscription, almost certainly dating to the reign of King Cheng and famous because it records activities of the Duke of Zhou and his eldest son, Qin:²²²

王伐 豳（蓋）侯，周公某（謀），禽祝，禽又（有） 啟祝，王易（賜）金百孚（鈔），禽用乍（作）寶彝。

The king attacked the Marquis of Gai. The Duke of Zhou did the planning. Qin performed an invocation (*zhu*). Qin also had a full-vessel invocation.²²³ The king presented [Qin] with one hundred *lue* of metal. Qin uses it to make a precious vessel.

²¹⁹ On the office of Invoker, see *Bureaucracy*, 311.

²²⁰ Despite its extreme commonality in later materials, *zhu* 祝 occurs only twice in received texts of likely Western Zhou date. One of these occurrences is in the final passage of the “Luo gao” chapter of the *Shangshu*, translated above in the discussion of *zheng*. There, during the series of offerings he performs before departing, King Cheng orders Document Maker Yi (*Zuoce Yi* 作冊逸) to perform an invocation with documents (*ce* 冊) relating to the Duke of Zhou’s subsequent assignment. A further potential occurrence of *zhu* appears in the “Ke Yin” chapter of the *Yizhoushu*, a section of possible Western Zhou date (see Zhu Fenghan, *Xian Qin shi yanjiu gaiyao*, 42-3). There it serves as part of the title “Temple Invoker” (*zongzhu* 宗祝), a figure whom the leader of the Zhou orders to honor important guests and conduct prayers among the Zhou troops after the conquest of Shang (Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, 182-3; note that the standard text prints the character as *si* 祀 rather than *zhu* 祝; however, both Huang and the CHANT database edition [on which see <http://www.chant.org/>] correct this to *zhu* 祝). Both of these cases are consistent with an understanding of *zhu* 祝 as “invocation.” The later ritual texts offer a bit of weak corroboration in that they mention a *zongzhu*; see Zhouli, “Yu ren,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 923; Liji, “Li yun,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1425-6.

²²¹ See the Xiao Yu *ding* 小孟鼎 (2839), generally dated to the reign of King Kang (see note 169).

²²² On the identity of Qin, referred to as Bo Qin, see *Shiji*, p. 1518.

²²³ The translation follows Ma’s suggested reading of the character 啟; see *MWX* 27, 18, n. 3.

Here Qin's invocation is part of the preparations for the king's campaign, the ritual counterpart to his father's planning. It is tempting to see the division of preparatory responsibilities between the Duke of Zhou and Qin in relation to the Duke's controversial domination of the Western Zhou government during King Cheng's earlier years, as stipulated by the classic historical narrative.²²⁴ Indeed, Qin was not involved in this single event by chance; he held the official title of "Grand Invoker" (*Dazhu* 大祝), as we know from the inscription of the *Dazhu Qin ding* 大祝禽鼎 (1937-8).

No further cases of invocation appear in the inscriptions. However, an additional three inscriptions commemorate the appointment of Zhou elites as either Invokers or assistants to Invokers. The *Shen guigai* (4267), a middle Western Zhou vessel, records Shen's appointment to assist the Grand Invoker; since his responsibilities in this regard included supervision of a different group of Invokers known as the Invokers of the Nine Xi (*jiu xi zhu* 九盥祝), we can reasonably assume that Shen himself carried the title of Invoker as well.²²⁵ Notably, the inscription specifies that Shen is to succeed his father and grandfathers in this service, suggesting that Shen's lineage had a semi-hereditary assignation as Invokers, albeit one that required the king's confirmation. The inscription of the *Chang Xin he* (9455), another middle Western Zhou vessel, substantiates the continued existence of the office of Grand Invoker with its description of that official's participation in a formal archery competition; given that the Grand Invoker was paired with the Elder of Jing (*Jingbo*) in that event, it stands to reason that his status at the Zhou court was quite high.²²⁶ Finally, the *Qian gui* (4296-7), a late Western Zhou vessel,

²²⁴ See *Shiji*, 1518-20. Shaughnessy summarizes these affairs in "Western Zhou History," 310-7.

²²⁵ *MWX* identifies this term simply as a "conferred settlement" (*caiyi* 采邑); see *MWX*, 161, n. 1. Li Feng identifies the character as *xi* 戲 and reads it as referring to military camps; see *Bureaucracy*, 77-9.

²²⁶ The Elder of Jing (*Jingbo*) was an influential figure of the middle Western Zhou period; for a discussion of his role in the relative dating of bronzes, see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 116-20. The *Chang Xin he* dates to the reign of

commemorates the king's extension of its commissioner Qian's appointment as Invoker for the Five Cities; the beginning portion of the inscription specifically refers to Qian as "Invoker Qian."²²⁷

By the middle to late Western Zhou period, then, the office of Invoker had developed both an internal hierarchy of ranks and hereditary associations with particular lineages. Inscriptions from this period fail to record any specific examples of invocation as a practice. This was in keeping with overall trends in the content of inscriptions. However, given that the dedicated vocation of Invoker, and in particular the royally mediated office of Grand Invoker, continued to exist, the complete lack of cases of invocation suggests that the office may have shifted focus over the course of the period, moving away from ritual management in favor of other administrative or courtly duties.

2.2.3.3.2: Summary

In the early Western Zhou as in the late Shang, the king could and did perform *zhu*-invocation, but he also could and did appoint official representatives to do so.²²⁸ The early

King Mu; see *Sources*, 110-1.

²²⁷ The Qian *gui* are known from their depictions in *Kaogutu* 3.9-10. With their three raised feet and horizontal ribbing beneath a narrow band of ornamentation, they can unproblematically be dated to the late Western Zhou; compare, for example, the two Zhong Youfu *gui* 中友父簠 (3755-6) from a cache in Qijiacun, pictured in detail in *Zhouyuan*, 29. This décor is the essence of what Shaughnessy calls "Gui Style IV," dating to Kings Yi, Li, and Xuan; see *Sources*, 130-2.

²²⁸ The Shang oracle bones record several clear cases of divination about royal invocations to the ancestors; see for example H01076.r.1, H02331, H19806, etc. The term *zhu* also appears on a number of Shang oracle bones in the position normally reserved for the diviner of record; see for example H23712, H23713, H23717, etc. Based on their punctuation (i.e., on the placement of a comma between *zhu* 祝 and *zhen* 貞), it seems that the CHANT editors see the *zhu* in these examples as a verb indicating that invocation formed a part of the divination process. It is simpler, I think, to read the *zhu* in these cases as the name or title of the diviner. It is conceivable that this individual happened to have the personal name Zhu; however, given that *zhu* indicated a type of official assignment throughout the Western Zhou period and that the Zhou adopted certain official titles such as *Zuoce* (on which see *Bureaucracy*, Appendix 1, 310-11; Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu, *Xi Zhou guanzhi yanjiu*, 34-6) from the Shang, it seems at least possible that the *zhu* referred to as the source of many divination records was a Shang elite who bore the title of Invoker.

Western Zhou kings already maintained dedicated personnel for the purpose of invocations. Middle and late Western Zhou inscriptions attest to a significant expansion of those personnel. The title of Grand Invoker survived into the middle Western Zhou at least, and a number of lesser offices had been created as well. Some of these were known simply as “Invoker,” while others, such as “Invoker of the Five Cities” and “the Invokers of the Nine Military Camps,” were identified with specific locations, extending the royal ritual model across the Zhou cultural sphere.

Post-early-Western Zhou inscriptions contain no reference at all to specific instances of *zhu*. Judging, however, from the frequent and detailed references to *zhu* in a variety of received texts dating of dates ranging across the Eastern Zhou and Han periods, we can safely say that the practice of *zhu*-invocation achieved substantial penetration throughout the Zhou cultural sphere and that *zhu*, as invocation, survived and thrived throughout the rest of the pre-Qin period.²²⁹ The expansion of officially designated Invokers was thus probably part accompanied by the continued practice of invocation throughout the Western Zhou state. The lack of references to specific invocations in middle and late inscriptions reflects not an overall waning of the practice, but changes in the royal practice of ritual and its relationship to the cultural institution of inscribed bronze casting.

2.3: Ancestral rituals performed only by Zhou kings

Though the situation is unusual, there are two ritual acts in the Western Zhou inscriptional record that are only performed by Zhou kings, both associated with the management

²²⁹ *Zhu* appears several times in later portions of the *Shangshu* and the *Shijing*, and two later chapters of the *Yizhoushu* purport specifically to record historically important invocations of the Shang and Zhou periods; see for example *Shangshu*, “Jin teng,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 196; *Mao shi*, “Chu ci,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 468; Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, 412-24. It is particularly prevalent in the *Sanli*, however, appearing more than 80 times in the *Yili* alone, with double-digit occurrences in the *Zhouli* and *Liji* as well, per the CHANT database concordances.

of the Shang-remnant population. The following section will consider these with a view toward characterizing their role in the ritual program of the Zhou royal house.

2.3.1: Su (𠄎)²³⁰ (AS glosses as 餽)

2.3.1.1: Su in inscriptions

A relevant but problematic term appears in the inscription of the X Shi *zun* 𠄎士尊 (5985):²³¹

丁巳，王才（在）新邑，初 𠄎²³²（餽），王易（賜）𠄎士鄉貝朋，用乍（作）父戊 𠄎 彝。（子 𠄎²³³）。

On the *dingsi* day, the king was at the New City and first performed *su*. The king gave X Shi Qing a string of cowries, with which [Qing] makes a revered vessel for Father Wu. (Clan mark).

The character that denotes the royal activity occasioning X Shi Qing's gift 𠄎 appears only this once in the entire corpus of bronze inscriptions. No *Shuowen* entry exists to hint at its concrete

²³⁰ This image is taken from the Academia Sinica database's transcription of the relevant vessel inscription, reprinted below.

²³¹ The X Shi Qing *zun* was reportedly found at Luoyang; see *Zhensong* 7.18.1. Shirakawa 7.27, 321, assigns it to the earliest stages of the Western Zhou period, and *Duandai*, 65, similarly dates it to King Cheng. Citing Chen, Shirakawa observes that vessels employing the term *Xinyi* 新邑 rather than the term *Chengzhou* to refer to that site seem to trend earlier in date. The site may not have been called Chengzhou, Shirakawa suggests, until its completion (as implied by the name *Chengzhou*, or "Completion of Zhou"). See Shirakawa 7.27, 318-9; for Chen Mengjia's discussion of the use of the name *Xinyi* vs. *Chengzhou* 成周 as a method of dating, see *Duandai*, 64-5. This would indicate that the X Shi *zun* does indeed date to the period of Chengzhou's initial construction, and the instance of *su* 餽 mentioned in its inscription would thus have occurred in the context of the early establishment of Zhou royal authority over the recently composed Luo river valley community. For a general summary of the establishment of Chengzhou and the various regional states during the early Western Zhou period, see Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 311-7; for a more detailed consideration of the sociopolitical circumstances surrounding the construction of Chengzhou, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 62-6. On *Xinyi*, see Chen Gongrou, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de Xinyi Chengzhou yu Wangcheng," in *Qingzhu Su Binqi xiansheng kaogu wushiwu nian lunwenji*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1989, 386-97.

²³² I have replaced the AS database transcription of the character with this one, prepared based on the following discussion.

²³³ The second portion of this clan mark does not appear in the AS database.

meaning.²³⁴ *MWX* suggests that it may mean something along the lines of *kui* 餽, “to give food as a gift,” or *gui* 歸, “return, give back to,” presumably based on the character’s left-hand element; Shirakawa notes this possibility as well.²³⁵ The AS database, on the other hand, glosses the character as *su* 餽.²³⁶

Without more examples from the inscriptions, the character cannot be definitively identified. I am inclined, however, to suspect that the character was indeed intended as *su* 餽. The *Jiaguwenzi gulin* identifies a number of variants of the *su* character in the oracle bones, all, according to the editors, used as rite names (fig. 2.5, Appendix 2).²³⁷ Most of the components making up the X Shi *zun* character appear in one or another of the characters cited in *JGWZGL*. The right-hand component, a *shu* 束 with an added *you* 又, is essentially similar to that of OBI character 3207.²³⁸ The lower-left-hand components of *zhi* 止 and *gong* 工 could easily have been derived from the *wang* 往 component 𠄎 (*JGWZGL* 837) making up the right-hand side of OBI character 3206 and simplified and placed in the lower left of character 3207. The upper-right-hand portion of the X Shi *zun* character is problematic, as it seems clearly to contain the element 𠄎 (*JGWZGL* 3001) 𠄎 (*JWGL* 1806). A scribe dealing with an unfamiliar character, however, could easily convert the (*mian* 𠄎 + *dou* 豆) element of the left-hand portion of 3209.4 into *guan* 官. The presence of the *zhi* 止 element below making up the top portion of *wang* 往 might have encouraged that parsing of the character, by analogy with *zhui* 追 𠄎 (*JGWZGL* 3004)

²³⁴ *MWX* 128, 87-8, n. 1.

²³⁵ *MWX* 128, 87-8, n. 1; Shirakawa 1.7, 320.

²³⁶ JC 5985. This identification appears in the AS database version. It bears noting that the CHANT database

version of this inscription leaves the character unidentified, but glosses a character 𠄎 from the inscription of the Yin Guang ding 尹光鼎 (2709) as *su* 餽; in the Academia Sinica version, the situations are reversed.

²³⁷ See *JGWZGL*, 3206-9, 3226-9.

²³⁸ See *JGWZGL*, 3226-7.

往 (JWGL 198, from the *Ze fangyi* [9901]). This in turn would encourage the scribe, assuming that the *zhi* 止 element went with what was above rather than under it, to approach the bottom-left component as a separate character, here a *gong* 工, rather than as the bottom part of *wang* 往.²³⁹

Assuming that the variants above indeed represent the same word, the character *su* 餼 seems to have admitted the use of either the *shi* 食 or *you* 酉 radicals.²⁴⁰ I suspect, then, that the character in the X Shi *zun* inscription was intended as a version of *su* after the model of 3207, but substituting the *dou*-plate with lid 𠄎 radical of 3209.4 for the *you*-urn 酉 radical of the former character. Interpreting the middle of the left-hand-side as *zhui* 追, the scribe then detached the bottom-left portion of the character, part of the *wang* 往 element as seen in 3207, into a free-standing *gong* 工. The intended character, then, would have referred to a rite, as is typical of *su* in the oracle bone inscriptions.²⁴¹ This fits well with the syntax of the X Shi *zun* inscription.

2.3.1.2: *Su* in received texts of possible Western Zhou date

The problem remains, however, of what precisely the ceremonial activity *su* entailed. The OBI give little evidence beyond the likelihood, based on the character forms, that it involved an offering of vegetable matter or liquor.²⁴² Received texts are of little help as well; the earliest

²³⁹ Yu Xingwu and Yao Xiaosui approach the *gong* element as a separate character; see the discussion in Shirakawa, *Kinbun tsuushaku*, 319. It is of note that the formulation of the character *wang* 往 seen in 3206 and 3207 caused scribal problems from a very early point. *JGWZGL* notes that alternate forms of the character substituted a *tu* 土 for the phonetic component *wang* 王 and that the small seal script form of the character combined *zhi* 之 and *tu*; see *JGWZGL*, 834. The shape of the bottom of *wang* 往 seems to have lent itself easily to misinterpretation.

²⁴⁰ *JGWZGL*, 3228.

²⁴¹ See *JGWZGL*, 3206-9, 3226-9.

²⁴² For the viewpoint that the rite may have involved the offering of vegetables, see *JGWZGL*, 3229 (3209 entry).

use of the term, and the source of many later references,²⁴³ is in a line from the *Zhouyi*:

九四：鼎折足，覆公餗，其形渥 [劇]，凶

94: The cauldron's broken leg overturns the duke's stew (*su*); his punishment is execution. Inauspicious.

《象》曰：「覆公餗」、信如何也。

The *Images* say: “[It] overturns the duke's stew (*su*)’ means “to trust how it is.” (*Zhouyi*, “Ding,” no. 50)²⁴⁴

Yijing line-statements are notoriously difficult to interpret, but it seems clear that the term *su* in this line referred to a foodstuff of some sort. The fact that the line associates *su* with a *ding*-cauldron 鼎, a Shang and Zhou bronze ancestral-ritual vessel type that would eventually become associated with the well-being of the state in general, lends circumstantial support to the idea that *su* referred to a food offering.²⁴⁵ Such an interpretation would help explain why the overturning of a cauldron would be inauspicious enough to warrant execution, as per Shaughnessy's reading of the line.


2.3.1.3: Summary

In the X Shi Qing *zun* inscription, the *su* 餗 food-offering provided a venue for the demonstration of royal power, the strengthening of personal bonds with local power-holders, and, perhaps most important, the distribution of largesse in a politically sensitive context. The king awarded cowries to X Shi Qing, who, judging from the inscription's use of a Shang-style clan

²⁴³ Including, for example, *Hanshu*, “Xu zhuan,” in Ban Gu, author, Wang Xianqian, ed., *Hanshu buzhu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983, 1730; Su Yu, *Chunqiu fanlu yi zheng*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1992, “Jing hua,” 97.

²⁴⁴ See *Zhouyi zhengyi* in *Shisanjing zhushu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982, 61. The translation follows Shaughnessy's in Shaughnessy, “The Composition of the *Zhouyi*,” Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1983, 177-82. The alternate characters offered in the transcription are Shaughnessy's suggestions.

²⁴⁵ On the conceptual connection between *ding* and the state, see Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual*, 95-100. *Ding* were one of the most frequently inscribed vessel types; of the approximately 6000 inscribed vessels of Western Zhou date in the Academia Sinica JC database, about 1100 of them are *ding*.

mark  and the use of the *ganzhi* name “Father Wu” (*Fu Wu* 父戊) to refer to Qing’s father, was probably of Shang heritage.²⁴⁶ The award may have been intended to support or repay his participation in the construction and maintenance of the “New City” of Chengzhou, new home to the relocated Shang remnants;²⁴⁷ alternatively, it may simply have been meant to strengthen the bonds between the Zhou kings and X Shi Qing and his lineage.²⁴⁸

Either way, the performance of a *su* food-offering created a pretext for the award that situated it in a context of royal authority and religious privilege familiar from the practices of the Shang royal house, while at the same time fitting within the developing Zhou framework of association between provision of hospitality, royal ritual, and prestige distribution.²⁴⁹ Such a situation would have been ideal in the context of the construction of Chengzhou, when it was in the interest of the Zhou royal house to take the path of least resistance in marshaling the labor resources of the Shang remnant populations. While the lack of further references to *su* 餼 in the bronze inscriptions may simply reflect the patchiness of the sources, it bears considering whether the Zhou kings might have abandoned the term and, possibly, the practice once the infrastructure

²⁴⁶ On *ganzhi* cult names, see Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape*, 33-5, and Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, 19-56; on clan marks, see Gao Ming, *Guwenzi leibian*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982, cited in Boltz, “Language and Writing,” in *Cambridge History*, 113-4. Note also that the X Shi Qing *zun* was reportedly recovered at Luoyang, suggesting that Qing’s family lived there.

²⁴⁷ The “Shao gao” describes a marshaling of local human resources to build Chengzhou, some of whom were identified as “the people of Yin” (*Yin shu* 殷庶), in keeping with the tradition that the remnant population of Shang was relocated to the Luo river valley. See “Shao gao,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 211; Legge, 424; *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 133-4; Nienhauser, ed., 65. In general, the “Shao gao” is concerned with the control and management of the remnant Shang populations in the context of the building of Chengzhou and the succession of King Cheng. In the wake of the first major conflict over the royal succession and the combined rebellion of the Overseers and the leader of the remaining Shang populace, this task cannot have been simple; for a summary of the situation, see Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 310-1.

²⁴⁸ This early in the Western Zhou, at least, Cook suggests that cowries may have been an inalienable good in Weiner’s sense – that is to say, a non-transferable medium of prestige distribution rather than a spendable commodity – though she notes the possibility of their use as a standard of exchange as well. See Cook, “Wealth and the Western Zhou,” 262-5. Cook also points out that Shang bronzes record no gifts other than cowries (p. 260).

²⁴⁹ The associations between hospitality, feasting, ancestral ritual, gift-giving, and prestige distribution have been discussed in the previous chapter and will be described further in the next section of this chapter.

of their state and their control over the remnants of the Shang was better established.


2.3.2: Yue 禴

2.3.2.1: Yue in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions

Yue 禴 is difficult to assess. Its base form *yue* 龠 appears in the bronze inscriptions in contexts associated with music, wherein it is often read as *yue* 簫, “pipes,” or *he* 龠, a term associated with the tonal properties of bells.²⁵⁰ In one case, however, it unambiguously refers to the Zhou king’s performance of a major ceremony. That case is the inscription shared by the Shi Shang *you* 士上卣 (5421-2), Shi Shang *zun* 士上尊 (5999), and Shi Shang *he* 士上盃 (9454), a set of early Western Zhou vessels associated with the Zhou settlement at Luoyang:²⁵¹

佳（唯）王大龠（禴）于宗周，衺饗莽京年，才（在）五月既望（望）辛酉，王令士上眾史寅寢（殷）于成周，瑟百生（姓）豚，眾賞卣、鬯、貝，用乍（作）父癸寶罍彝。（臣辰册佚）。

It was the year when the king performed a great *yue*-rite at Zongzhou and then gave feasting at Pangjing. In the fifth month, during the *jiwang* moon phase, on the *xinyou* day, the king ordered Shi Shang and Scribe Yin to attend an audience at Chengzhou and to give the Hundred Surnames suckling pigs;²⁵² [the king] also awarded [Shi Shang] a *you*-urn of dark liquor and cowries. [Shi Shang] therewith makes a precious and revered vessel for Father Gui. [Clan mark.]

²⁵⁰ See for example the JC (AS) transcriptions of the inscriptions of the Zhe Jian *zhong* 者減鐘 (196-8), an early Spring and Autumn bell set, and the Ke *ding* 克鼎 (2836), a late Western Zhou vessel; as well as MWX 534, 363, and MWX 297, 215-7, esp. 217, n. 21, for the relevant readings. Some Western Zhou inscriptions, including those of the Liang Qi *zhong* 梁其鐘 (187-92) and the Xing *zhong* 癉鐘 (246, 253), contain a character  which JC (AS) glosses as a compound of *yue* 龠 and *li* 力. Ma glosses this character as *yuele* 樂; see MWX, pp. 273-4; 194-5, no. 3. On *he* 龠 as a description for bells, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 41-3; in his translation of the Xing *zhong* inscription, von Falkenhausen renders the term 龠 as “harmonically.”

²⁵¹ MWX situates these as part of a complex of inscriptions, including those of the Xiaochen Zhuan *gui* (4206) and the Zuoce Xi *you* 作册鬲卣 (5400), mentioning a major royal audience hosted at Chengzhou, which he dates to the reign of King Zhao; see MWX 115-8, 80-3. *Duandai* dates the Shi Shang vessels to King Cheng; see *Duandai* 21, 41-3. The vessels were reportedly unearthed at Mapo, Luoyang, Henan, in 1929; see JC (AS).

²⁵² I follow MWX’s reading of this line in the translation; see MWX, 81-2. For Ma’s explanation of *yin* 殷 as *jin* 覲, “to have audience,” see MWX 115 (Zuoce Xi *you* 作册鬲卣), 80, n. 1b.

The syntax of the first portion is comparable to that of the He *zun* (6014), discussed previously; the events of the inscription were not demonstrably associated with the rite, but draw on it as a marker of the year. Liu Yu holds this inscription forth as evidence that *yue* 禴 was an important ancestral rite of some sort, based on its appearance in conjunction with *wan/xiang* (夗 + 食) as a year-marker.²⁵³ The latter, he suggests, can be identified as a specific rite commemorating the accession of a new ancestor to the patriline based on the pattern of its use as a year marker in the inscriptions.²⁵⁴ That is a stretch; but the fact that this *yue* rite was considered important enough to mark a year puts it in a very small group of ceremonies that serve that function, including *da feng/li* 大豐 and *hui* 奉.²⁵⁵

2.3.2.2: Yue in received texts of possible Western Zhou date

Yue also appears frequently in received texts, including some of likely Western Zhou date. Most notable for the present purposes is its appearance in two lines of the *Zhushu jinian*. The “New Text” edition thereof contains the following line in the entry for the last Shang king, Di Xin:

六年，西伯初禴于畢。

In the sixth year, the Earl of the West first performed the *yue*-rite at Bi.²⁵⁶

The place called Bi 畢 listed here as the site of the rite is traditionally known as the resting place of the first few Zhou rulers; Li Feng has recently shown that it referred in the bronzes to a

²⁵³ Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 511.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 502-3. The question of *wan/xiang*’s nature will be addressed further in the following section.

²⁵⁵ *Feng/li* appears as a year-marker in the He *zun* (6014) inscription; *hui* does so in the inscription of the recently discovered *Shu Ze fangding* (on which see Li Boqian, “Shu Ze fangding mingwen kaoshi”).

²⁵⁶ *Bamboo Annals*, Di Xin, 6th year, 139. Liu Yu has observed the term’s appearance in the *Zhushu jinian*; see Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 511. For the use of the name “the Western Earl” to refer to King Wen before his break with the Shang, see *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 116.

division of the holdings of the Western Zhou royal house, likely near the city of Hao.²⁵⁷ Here, then, we have an unusual example of the performance of a rite 1) associated with the Shang royal house 2) by King Wen 3) in the Zhou heartland 4) before the conquest of Shang was accomplished. This rare piece of evidence recalls the assertion, made in the “Wei qing” and the “Wo jiang” poems in the “Zhou song” section of the *Shijing*, that King Wen was responsible for the establishment of ritual standards for the Zhou state – an assertion that contrasts with the traditional view that the Duke of Zhou laid down the rules for Zhou ritual.²⁵⁸

Yue also features in no less than three *Zhouyi* line statements. Two simply advise the suitability of the *yue*-rite; little is to be gleaned from these other than as additional evidence suggesting the antiquity of the term.²⁵⁹ The third contrasts the *yue*-offering with a theoretical different ceremony for which it would be an appropriate substitute:

九五：東鄰殺牛，不如西鄰之禴祭實受其福。

9.5: Killing an ox in the eastern neighborhood is inferior to making a *yue*-offering in the western neighborhood, [which] truly receives its good fortune (allotment of meat?). (Section 63, “Already Crossed”)²⁶⁰

Liu Yu suggests that the *yue* rite specifically did not involve an animal sacrifice, based on its use in contrast with the killing of an ox in this passage.²⁶¹ I would suggest that the clearer point of contrast in the line is the association of *yue* with the western direction as opposed to the eastern direction of the hypothetical ox slaughter. Liu’s interpretation is plausible, but it is just as possible that *yue* was simply used as another term also referring to an animal offering. The most that can be said without reservation is that, in at least one situation, the authors of the line

²⁵⁷ On both these points, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 151-2 and n. 3.

²⁵⁸ See *Mao shi*, “Wei qing,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 584; “Wo jiang,” 588. On the tradition of the Duke of Zhou as author of the *Zhouli* and, by implication, of the ritual practices of the Zhou state, see William G. Boltz, “Chou li,” in *ECT*, 26-7.

²⁵⁹ These are in section 45, “Gathering,” and section 46, “Ascending.” See *Shisanjing zhushu*, 58.

²⁶⁰ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 72.

²⁶¹ Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 511.

statement considered the *yue* offering to be at least equivalent in effectiveness to the offering of an ox.

2.3.2.3: Summary

Though rare in the bronzes, the ceremony known as *yue* 禴 is common in the oracle bones, but the terseness of the bone inscriptions limits their usefulness.²⁶² It often appears together with the term 𣎵, sometimes read as *sai*; with 𣎵, generally read as *bin* 賓; and/or with 𣎵, the base form of *rong* 彤.²⁶³ From this we can gauge at least that it was a frequent part of royal ancestral-ritual activities under the Shang, usually in conjunction with other rites.²⁶⁴ Per the *Bamboo Annals*, it was adopted and performed in the Zhou heartland by King Wen as early as the reign of the last Shang king, Di Xin. The inscriptions of the Shi Shang bronzes confirm that at least one of the early Western Zhou kings then conducted it in the post-conquest period. This event was unusual enough to merit its use as a year-marker in a bronze inscription. Since the inscriptions do not directly discuss the *yue* rite in question, however, there is little to be gleaned about it apart from the fact that it was performed by the king at Zongzhou.

The audience described in the Shi Shang vessel inscription was not necessarily associated

²⁶² The base character *yue* 禴 appears on 46 bones in the CHANT OBI database. The surrounding syntax makes it clear that it is used to indicate a rite in many of these occurrences. See also *JGWZGL*, 751-3, 733-9.

²⁶³ *JGWZGL* 1122, 2066, and 3327, respectively; the first two images follow *JGWZGL*, pp. 1065, 2023. On the reading of the former term as *sai*, see *JGWZGL* 1122, 1065-71; Yu Xingwu, “Shi 𣎵,” in *Jiaguwenzi shilin*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979, 36, cited in Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 506. Inscriptions H22882, H23079, H23112, etc. contain all four of these terms. *Yue* 禴 appears in at least one case to have been a place name as well; see H04720, in which the taking of jade from *yue* 禴 is ordered.

²⁶⁴ Of the OBI containing the term that state an object of the offerings, nearly all refer to a Shang royal ancestor rather than a natural force; see for example H23241, H27178, H41003, retrieved from CHANT. Liu Yu observes the term’s use as an ancestral rite in the OBI as well; see Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 511. One possible exception (H24883) contains the phrase *bu gou yu* 不葍雨. This may or may not refer to the object of the *yue* rite, as *gou* can serve as a rite name in and of itself; see Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi*, 112.

with the king's hosting of the *yue* rite.²⁶⁵ If it was, though, the rite provided an opportunity for the king to demand an audience with subordinate elites Shi Shang and Scribe Yin, wherein, according to Ma's interpretation, he called upon them to distribute suckling pigs (*tun* 豚) – a frequent sacrificial offering under the Shang – to the Hundred Surnames (*baixing* 百姓).²⁶⁶ Given the location of the event, the association of the vessels with Luoyang, and the fact that the commissioner's deceased father is assigned the funereal name Father Gui (*Fu Gui* 父癸), it is likely that Shi Shang and Scribe Yin were of Shang heritage.²⁶⁷ The king's command concerning the distribution of suckling pigs may then be seen as a royal employment of local intermediaries to ensure the provisioning of local elites, many of whom were also of Shang descent,²⁶⁸ for the continuation of offerings carried out under the Shang kings;²⁶⁹ alternatively, the king might have been providing largesse that was expected after the performance of a major ceremony.

Either way, the king's provision of suckling pigs suggests an effort to maintain the commitment of Chengzhou-area elites to familiar modes of ritual interaction under a new ruler. His compensation of Shi Shang and Scribe Yin with dark liquor (*chang* 鬯) – itself a common ritual offering – as well as cowries suggests a similar motivation on the level of individual

²⁶⁵ Given that the king hosted feasting at Pangjing later that year, however, it is likely, if not certain, that the *yue* rite and the audience of Shi Shang and Scribe Yin took place during the same tenure of the king at Chengzhou. The trip between Chengzhou and the Zhou heartland, where Pangjing was probably located, was not to be undertaken lightly. Inscriptional sources suggest that it required about a month and a half's travel one-way; on this see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 65, and 65, n. 113.

²⁶⁶ Suckling pigs are a common offering in the oracle bones, sometimes in great volume; see for example H15521, in which a hundred goats, a hundred dogs, and a hundred suckling pigs are to be killed for the Directions (*fang* 方).

²⁶⁷ A similar argument is made above for X Shi Qing, commissioner of the X Shi Qing *zun*. I have not cited the clan mark on the Shi Shang vessels as evidence because, to my eye, its format is unusual.

²⁶⁸ On the relocation of Shang-remnant populations to Luoyang, see note 247.

²⁶⁹ Historical tradition holds that the Zhou kings were concerned with continuing offerings to the Shang ancestors, for which reason King Wu installed remnants of the Shang royal family in the state of Song; see *Shiji*, 1607-11.

interaction.²⁷⁰ The performance of the *yue* rite then appears as an effort to arrogate the legitimacy of the Shang royal-ritual institution; to maintain the loyalty of Shang remnant elites through the giving of prestigious and ritually significant gifts; and to express a new expected order of hierarchical relations in terms those elites would understand.

2.4: Ancestral rites never performed by the Zhou king in the inscriptions

A small but significant range of terms for rites or ritual techniques appear on Western Zhou bronzes, but are never attributed to the Zhou kings. By and large, these are restricted to middle and late Western Zhou inscriptions. . Some of these terms are quite common in the received textual record, suggesting the advent of an alternative ritual vocabulary among non-royal Zhou elites. The following section will consider these terms individually; the chapter conclusion will approach their collective implications for the state of Zhou ritual in the middle to late Western Zhou period.

2.4.1: *Chang* 嘗

The term *chang* is a rare creature indeed – a ritual term from the Zhou bronzes that has no precedent in the Shang oracle bones.²⁷¹ It appears first in two late Western Zhou inscriptions, both of which declare it as an intended purpose of their production.²⁷² The Sixth-year Zhousheng *gui* 六年琯生簋 (4293) (also known as the Shaobo Hu *gui*) puts it as follows:

²⁷⁰ On specific uses of the dark liquor *chang* 鬯 in Zhou ancestral ritual, see the discussion of *di/chi* 帝/啻 below.

²⁷¹ JGWZGL contains no reference for *chang*, and the CHANT OBI database contains no cases thereof.

²⁷² These are not, however, the first instances of the character *chang* 嘗 in the inscriptions; it indicated a location or lineage as well, judging from its appearance in the inscriptions of the Xiao *you* (5433) and Xiao *zun* (6009) as part of the name Changgong 嘗公.

...琯生對揚朕（朕）宗君其休，用乍（作）朕（朕）刺（烈）且（祖）鬯（召）
公嘗 鬯...

...In response, Zhousheng praises the beneficence of his ancestral lord, thereby making a tasting (*chang*) *gui*-tureen for his brilliant ancestor the Duke of Shao...

This case is somewhat ambiguous; but the inscription of the Ji *ding*, mentioned in the section on *zheng* above, offers confirmation that *chang* referred to a ritual practice, placing it in parallel with *zheng* in the phrase *yong zheng yong chang* 用烝用嘗, “for use in *zheng*-offering and *chang*-offering.”²⁷³

The Ji *ding* instance is the first case of a pattern of use that would come to characterize *chang* in later materials, both inscriptional and received. The classic textual understanding of *chang* as a rite name designates it as an autumn rite, pairing it with *zheng* designated as a winter rite in later formulations of the seasonal rites of the Zhou state.²⁷⁴ The *zheng/chang* pairing recurs in Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions as well; it appears in the Chenhou Wu *gui* (4145) and the Fourteenth-year Chenhou Wu *gui* vessel set (4646-8), dated by JC to the late Western Zhou period.²⁷⁵ Based on these appearances in later texts and on its mundane meaning of “to taste,” Liu Yu suggests that *chang* 嘗 was a rite in which the fruits of the new year’s harvest were first formally sampled.²⁷⁶ The rite’s association with the harvest is probably behind its consistent

²⁷³ Ji *ding* 姬鼎 (2681).

²⁷⁴ This model appears in the “Wang zhi,” “Ji tong,” and “Ming tang wei” sections of the *Liji*, as well as the “Da zong bo” section of the *Zhouli*; notably, *chang* and *zheng* are consistently named as the autumn and winter rites, while the spring and summer rites vary between models. See *Zhouli*, “Da zong bo,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 758-9; “Si zun yi,” 773-4; *Liji*, “Wang zhi,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1335-6; “Ming tang wei,” 1489-90; “Ji tong,” 1606. In the absence of other rite names, *zheng* and *chang* are still commonly paired in the “Shang song” and “Xiao ya” sections of the *Shijing* in particular; see *Mao shi*, “Na,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 620-1; “Chu ci,” 468; “Lie zu,” 621-2. *Zhouli*, “Si zun yi,” pairs the two as well; see 773-4. *Zuo zhuan*, Xigong 33rd year lists *di* 禘, *zheng*, and *chang* together without a fourth item; see 1834. The “Xiao ya” poem “Tian bao” also lists the series *yue ci zheng chang*, though it does not assign seasons to the individual rites; see 412.


²⁷⁵ Also extant is the pairing *sui chang* 歲嘗; this appears in a cluster of inscriptions of Warring States Chu origin, including those of the Chu Wang Xiong Qing(?) Ye(?) *ding* 楚王熊冑鈍鼎 (2479), the Chu Wang Xiong Qing(?) *ding* 楚王熊冑鼎 (2623), the Chu Wang Xiong Gan *ding* 楚王熊悍鼎 (2794-5), etc.

²⁷⁶ Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 511.

presentation along with *zheng* in post-Western Zhou materials; as noted with respect to *zheng*, a direct connection with the natural world would tend to perpetuate seasonal associations as compared with rites, such as *yue* 禴, that had no known connection therewith.

For our purposes, the notable points about *chang* are that it appears abruptly in the inscriptional record near the end of the Western Zhou period as a declared purpose for bronzes; that, as in its later textual manifestations, it was associated with *zheng* 烝, such that the two could be common purposes for the same bronze, and so was probably a food offering; and that, as implied by the existence of the *Ji ding*, it could be carried out by an appropriately equipped aristocratic woman.²⁷⁷

2.4.2: *Sheng* 升

Chen Mengjia identifies the term *sheng* 升, early form , later meaning “to lift up,” as a ritual term; he suggests that it is related to the terms *deng* 登 and *xian* 獻, both generally meaning “to present.”²⁷⁸ The Western Zhou inscriptions contain one case in which *sheng* operates in this fashion. That is in the inscription of the *You gui* 畚簋 (4194), probably a late Western Zhou bronze, which commemorates the king’s recounting of You’s merits and gift of oxen.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ It is tempting to cast *chang* as a new rite in the sphere of late Western Zhou elite ritual activities, entering the scene as part of the same changes in the dynamics of royal vs. non-royal ritual that seem to have driven other changes in the ritual of the Zhou. A line from the New Text *Bamboo Annals* complicates that picture by stipulating that King Cheng, during the fourth year of his reign, “first tasted the wheat” (*chu chang mai* 初嘗麥); see *Bamboo Annals*, King Cheng, 4th year, p. 145. This case of *chang* was sufficiently well known to lend its name to a chapter of the *Yizhoushu*; see Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, 313-21. No inscriptions predating the late Western Zhou employ the term, however.

²⁷⁸ Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi zhong*, 140. The character image is from *JGWZGL* 3220, p. 3235.

²⁷⁹ JC dates this bronze to the middle Western Zhou. Noting the late proliferation of ridged, “tile-patterned” vessels, Shirakawa nonetheless suggests a King Mu date for this particular vessel; see Shirakawa 18.238-42, esp. 242.

...春既拜顙首，升于𠄎（厥）文取（祖）考...

You then bows and strikes his head, performing *sheng* to his cultured grandfathers and deceased father...

Two further possible cases appear in the JC Western Zhou inscriptions, in the late Western Zhou inscriptions of the Bo Taishi Li *xu* 伯大師盨 (4404) and the Shi Ke *xugai* 師克盨蓋 (4468).

Both of these are in the phrase *lü sheng* 旅升, however, declared as the purpose of the vessels in question, and I suspect that this phrase simply means “for carrying [*sheng*] during travel,” i.e., “portable.”²⁸⁰

The sense of *sheng* to ancestors or natural forces as a technical ritual term seems to have waned in the later sources. Later bronze inscriptions most often use *sheng* as a unit of volume.²⁸¹ In Eastern Zhou received texts, the term most often means either this unit of measurement or “to lift up, to ascend” in a mundane sense; the former is its *Shuowen* gloss, while the latter accounts for most of its many appearances in the *Liji*, for example.²⁸² It appears in the *Zhouli* only as a unit of measurement as well.²⁸³ One brief passage in the “Li qi” chapter of the *Liji* points to a lingering sense of its meaning as a ritual act.²⁸⁴

It is difficult, based on the You *ding* inscription alone, to suggest that *sheng* survived into the Western Zhou period as a term for a ritual act, given that it mostly lost that sense in later materials. If we do read the You *ding* inscription in this manner, though, then it is notable that the one case thereof in the inscriptions does not appear until late in the period.

²⁸⁰ Many bronzes record their creation simply for *lü*, “travel”; see for example the Xiaochen *gui* 小臣簋 (2678), the Bo Mifu *ding* 伯密父鼎 (2487), etc.

²⁸¹ See for example the Third-year Zhao Shi *ding* 三年詔事鼎 (2651), the Qingong *gui* 秦公簋 (4315), etc.

²⁸² See *Shuowen*, 719; *Liji*, “Qu li [shang],” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1248; “Yue ling,” 1370, etc.

²⁸³ *Zhouli*, “Li shi,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 917; “Zi ren,” 925.

²⁸⁴ *Liji*, “Li qi,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1440.

2.4.3: *Sui* 歲

The famous inscription of the Maogong *ding* 毛公鼎 (2841), a late Western Zhou vessel commemorating the king's confirmation of a Father An 父厯 to high office and conferral upon him of lavish rewards, contains a case of *sui* that may refer to a ritual act:²⁸⁵ The statement appears at the end of the king's enumeration of his gifts to Father An, which included a chariot with implements:

...易（賜）女（汝）丝（茲）𠄎（賸），用歲用政（征）。

...[I] give you this vehicle for use in *sui* and on campaign. (Maogong *ding* 毛公鼎 [2841])

This ambiguous example is the only case in the Western Zhou inscriptions in JC in which *sui* potentially refers to a ritual act; other Western Zhou examples use the term to mean “[with] the season.”²⁸⁶ Later inscriptions, however, frequently use *sui* in such a sense; in particular, a complex of vessels associated with the eastern Zhou-affiliate states describe the process of “serving the *sui*” (*shi sui* 事歲), and another group of vessels produced by kings of Chu pair *sui* with *chang* 嘗, presumably referring to ritual activities associated with the harvest.²⁸⁷

In most pre-Qin texts, the term *sui* means “season” and by extension “year”; the phrase *sui zhong* 歲終, “year’s end,” dominates its use even in the ritually focused *Zhouli*, for

²⁸⁵ Li Feng dates the Maogong *ding* to the late Western Zhou based on comparison of its shape and ornamentation with the Guo Wengong *ding* 虢文公鼎 (2636) and the Song *ding* 頌鼎 (2829). See *Bureaucracy*, 85, n. 92; see also *Daxi*, 136; *MWX*, 316-9; and Shirakawa 30.181, 637-87, all cited therein, and Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 107 n. 2.

²⁸⁶ See the inscriptions of the Hu *ding* 魯鼎 (2838) and the Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤 (10175). The Li *gui* 利簋 (4131) inscription, which commemorates the conquest of Shang by King Wu, contains the term in its sense as Jupiter, “the Harvest Star.”

²⁸⁷ The former include the Guo Cha X 國差 罍 (10361), which describes its production on behalf of the Marquis of Qi 齊, as well as the Chen Xi *hu* 陳喜壺 (9700), the Chen Zhang *hu* 陳璋壺 (9703), the Gongzi Tu Zhe *hu* 公子土折壺 (9709), the Chen Jiang *jian* 陳璋 罍 (9975), the Chen Chun *fu* 陳純釜 (10371), and the Zi 子禾子釜 (10374); the latter are the various Chu-affiliate vessels cited above under *chang* 嘗.

example.²⁸⁸ In the Shang bone inscriptions, *sui* already carried this meaning, but it also indicated a manner of offering livestock animals, or sometimes human victims. *JGWZGL* suggests its congruity with the related character *gui* 剋, “to cut, to stab,” noting the *Guangyun* gloss of that character as *ge* 割.²⁸⁹ A single example from early texts suggests that this method of offering was known to King Cheng among Western Zhou kings, at least; that is the final portion of the “Luo gao,” already examined above in the section on *zheng*, in which this line appears:

戊辰，王在新邑，烝祭，歲文王騂牛一，武王騂牛一。

On the *wuchen* day, the king was at the New City; he performed a *zheng*-offering. He *sui*-offered one red ox to King Wen and one to King Wu. (“Luo gao”)²⁹⁰

Fundamentally, this is in accord with the use of the term in the OBI, with respect to which *JGWZGL* expresses difficulty in distinguishing its use as a “method of offering” (*jifa* 祭法) from its use as the name of an offering in and of itself (*jiming* 祭名).²⁹¹ It is of note that the only such case in the Western Zhou record describes the king’s actions at Chengzhou, the new capital in the former Shang heartland and home to the relocated remnants of the Shang populace.

By the Eastern Zhou, then, and, if the Maogong *ding* example is applicable, by the end of the Western Zhou, the sense of *sui* as the ritual cutting of a livestock offering – once implemented publicly by the Zhou king – had faded from elite consciousness, such that the term

²⁸⁸ See for example *Zhouli*, “Da zai,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 650; “Gong zheng,” 657. The *Zhouli* even contains a section on the duties of an official designated *zhisui* 職歲, whose duties concerned the management of taxes rather than the arrangement of a *sui* rite; see *Zhouli*, “Zhi sui,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 682.

²⁸⁹ *JGWZGL*, 2406.

²⁹⁰ See note 206. The transcription follows the CHANT edition; however, I have changed the punctuation given by CHANT to reflect my understanding of the relationship of *sui* 歲 to the following phrases.

²⁹¹ *JGWZGL*, 2406. This common difficulty is one of Liu Yuan’s arguments against the utility of the “rite name” approach; see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 19-31. As mentioned above, the distinction is of little concern for our purposes.

could be repurposed to refer to other types of rite, in particular those associated with the harvest.²⁹²

2.4.4: *Yin* 禋

Yin is another term that, like *chang*, is absent from the Shang oracle bones, appearing in the inscriptional record for the first time in the Western Zhou bronzes. Its earliest occurrence is in the long, detailed inscription of the Shi Qiang *pan*, a middle Western Zhou inscription containing a panegyric list of the commissioner's patrilineal ancestors.²⁹³ There *yin* appears in the compound phrase *yin si* 禋祀, apparently referring to livestock offerings in general, judging from the colorful language of the inscription. The same is true of its one remaining occurrence in a Western Zhou inscription, that of the Nanshi Dian *hu* 鬯史戾壺 (9718), a late Western Zhou bronze that records as its creation "for use in making offerings (*yin si*) in this ancestral temple hall" (*yong yin si yu zi zong shi* 用禋祀于茲宗室). In Eastern Zhou materials as well, both inscriptional and received, *yin* is almost always paired with *si* or *xiang* 享 and used to refer to ancestral offerings in a general sense.²⁹⁴

Two received texts of possible Western Zhou date employ the term by itself, if not in a vacuum. One is the "Zhou song" poem "Wei qing," which celebrates King Wen's establishment of Zhou ceremonial tradition; in that context, it almost certainly refers to sacrificial offerings in

²⁹² The Shang rite/ritual method known as *sui* had no relation with the seasons, judging from a cluster of oracle bone inscriptions containing the term that give the months of their composition; see H00102, H00319, H00313, H00320, H00339, H00340, and H00377.


²⁹³ The Shi Qiang *pan* is generally accepted as a King Gong vessel, since the list of Zhou kings in its inscription runs up to and including King Mu. See Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 111.

²⁹⁴ See the inscriptions of the Ai Cheng Shu *ding* 哀成叔鼎 (2782), the Caihou 蔡侯申尊 (蔡侯尊) (6010) and Caihou *pan* 蔡侯盤 (10171), and the Zhongshan Wang X *hu* 中山王響壺 (9735); the latter pairs *yin* with a character absent from the *Shuowen* but which may well be *zhai* 齋. See also *Zuozhuan*, Yingong 11, Huangong 6, and Xianggong 9, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1736, 1750, 1943; *Zhouli*, "Da zongbo," 757-8; "Da zhu," 811; "Da sikou," 871, and "Xiao sikou," 874; and *Mao shi*, "Da tian," 477; "Sheng min," 529-30; and "Yun han," 561.

general.²⁹⁵ The other is once again the “Luo gao.” One of its cases of *yin*, in which the term refers back to a ceremony at which the king acted as ritual guest and killed a sacrifice, has already appeared above in the section on *zheng* 烝. The others appear earlier, when the Duke of Zhou describes his receipt of two *you*-urns of dark liquor that he will use in offerings to Kings Wen and Wu.²⁹⁶ The use of the term *yin* 禋 to indicate an offering of liquor, followed soon afterward by another appearance in which it refers to a livestock offering, suggests that the compilers or editors of the “Luo gao” understood it to denote ancestral offerings in general, as in the other cases considered here.

All told, two points respecting *yin* deserve particular note: one, that it emerged in the middle Western Zhou as a previously unattested term for ancestral offerings; and two, that in the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription, the capacity to conduct offerings in general, as indicated by the compound term *yin si* 禋祀, was seen as sufficient characterization for Scribe Qiang’s ancestor Grandfather Xin in the sequential enumeration of his ancestral line.

2.4.5: *Zhuo* 酌

Zhuo, “to ladle wine, to toast,” is yet another term with later ritual connotations that does not seem to exist in the Shang OBI, though certain unidentified characters such as *JGWZGL* 2729 and 2738 resemble its later form  enough that an argument could be made.²⁹⁷ It makes its first appearance in a single late Western Zhou inscription, that split between the two Bo Gongfu *shao* 伯公父勺 (9935-6), discovered in a cache at Yuntang village in Fufeng county,

²⁹⁵ *Mao shi*, “Wei qing,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 584.

²⁹⁶ Here I follow Legge’s reading; see Legge, *The Shoo King*, 449.

²⁹⁷ See *JGWZGL*, 2700, 2738. Image following JC 9935 (AS).

Shaanxi, in 1976.²⁹⁸ The *shao* themselves are, as the name implies, finely decorated, ladle-shaped wine cups clearly intended for the *zhuo* that they declare as a purpose of their creation, along with *xian* 獻, “presentation,” *xiang* 享, and *xiao* 孝 (though the inscription intriguingly refers to the vessels as *jue*-cups rather than *shao*-ladles). To my knowledge, this is the only appearance of the character *zhuo* 酌 in any pre-Qin bronze inscription.

The term assumes some importance in later texts, especially in the *Yili*, wherein its appearances are too frequent to list; it is common in the *Liji* and *Zhouli* as well, and it gives its name to both a *Yizhoushu* chapter and a poem from the “Zhou song” section of the *Shijing*.²⁹⁹ In light of its importance as a ritual technique, though certainly not a ceremony in its own right, in the received texts, I have thought it well to include it here; to note that the only inscription containing it adorns a pair of vessels produced by a powerful regional lord of the late Western Zhou, rather than a king; and to note as well that the vessels in question are of an archaic type and call themselves by an archaic name.³⁰⁰

2.5: Conclusions

Traditional records hold, and the contents of the Zhouyuan oracle bones confirm, that the Zhou royal house was familiar with some ritual practices of the Shang before the uprising of the

²⁹⁸ See JC (AS database); Shaanxi sheng Zhouyuan kaogudui, “Shaanxi Fufeng xian Yuntang, Zhuangbai er hao Xi Zhou tongqi jiaocang,” *Wenwu* 1978.11, 6-10, esp. 8. MWX assigns the vessels to King Xiao; see MWX 304, 220.

²⁹⁹ See for example *Yili*, “Shi guan li,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 956; *Zhouli*, “Si zun yi,” 773-4; *Liji*, “Li qi,” 1441; Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, “Wen zhuo jie,” 27-37. The poem “Zhuo” is, however, one of the few to bear a traditional title that does not appear in the body of the poem itself. “Zhuo,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 604.

³⁰⁰ Of 41 vessels identified by the AS database as *shao*, 24 are dated to the Shang; one to either the late Shang or early Western Zhou; two to the early Western Zhou; two (the Bo Gongfu *shao* themselves) to the late Western Zhou; and the remaining 12 to the Warring States period. The Bo Gongfu *shao* are thus quite unusual for their time.

western coalition.³⁰¹ After the conquest of Shang – immediately after, in point of fact – the Zhou kings began a program of public ritual activity that included a variety of ancestral rites with their origins in Shang practice. Their activities in this regard included hosting major ritual events at centers of power both old (the conquered city of Yin, Zongzhou and other sites in the Zhou heartland) and new (the “New City” of Chengzhou on the Luo River). These events, which combined offerings to royal ancestors with feasting and drinking, formal recognition of the accomplishments of subordinates, and direct distribution of largesse, created a context linking prestige, recognition, and wealth in the post-Shang order with the coherence of the Zhou royal line. At the highest level of the formative Zhou elite community, they created chances for the kings to manage relationships with local power-holders from across the far-flung scope of the new Zhou territory. At lower levels, by creating opportunities for subordinate elites to participate in the royal process of relationship-building, they encouraged such elites to conceive of ancestral ritual as a medium through which status was to be achieved, thus providing an alternative for the ongoing system of military success and patronage.

The ritual events hosted by the Zhou royal house pursued a participatory strategy; taking part was a privilege accompanied by rewards rather than an opportunity for discipline and intimidation.³⁰² These royal rewards provided both the material and immaterial resources to support the production of inscribed bronzes for the ancestral cults of participants; the majority of early Western Zhou records of specific rites are relics of this process, though certain texts such as the “Luo gao” chapter and the *Bamboo Annals* play their part. The spreading practice of the production of inscribed bronzes – itself inherited from Shang ritual practices and expanded upon

³⁰¹ See for example *Mao shi*, “Wei qing,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 584.

³⁰² The lack of large-scale human sacrifice in Zhou as compared with Shang rites is, I suspect, a manifestation of this participatory strategy, related to the Zhou effort to unite a broad swath of northern China under a unified coalition rather than as a network of tributary states.

– allowed the relationships enacted at these events to reach across otherwise insurmountable distances in space and time.³⁰³ The complex of royal ancestral ritual attendance, reward, and implementation of the reward in local ancestral ritual carried the message of a Zhou elite identity in which the king operated as an “obligatory passage point,” through whom status within both state and lineage must be sought.³⁰⁴ This complemented the political model pursued by the early Zhou kings, wherein they delegated complete but conditional authority over far-flung settlements to local rulers bound to the royal house by (real or imagined) lineage ties.³⁰⁵

During the middle Western Zhou period, the Zhou royal house occasionally engaged in direct patronage of the ancestral cults of non-royal elites (cf. *Da gui*, *Rong Zhong ding*, and *Ren ding*), in the form of gifts of livestock for the *di*-rite and the offering known as *da lao*. Along with the hosting of royal ancestral-ritual events and the royal sponsorship of the physical infrastructure of ancestral worship during the early Western Zhou,³⁰⁶ this patronage shows the specific interest of Zhou kings in disseminating their brand of ancestral worship – based on Shang practice, but with significant differences – throughout the formative Zhou state.³⁰⁷ Non-royal Zhou elites took up individual ritual practices to varying degrees, at least as gauged by their appearance in the bronze inscriptions. In particular, the *hui*-entreaty gained traction as a

³⁰³ The problem of enabling associations created by ephemeral face-to-face interactions to endure long enough to support group formation is one of the forces driving the inclusion of non-humans (such as inscribed bronzes) in social networks; see Latour’s characterization in *Rethinking the Social*, 63-86, esp. 69-72.

³⁰⁴ See Callon, 203-6.

³⁰⁵ For the model of the Western Zhou state as a “delegatory kin-ordered settlement state,” see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 294-9. For an example of the composition of a lineage myth to fit a regional state into the political system created by the Zhou expansion, see the account of the foundation of Wu 吳 in *Shiji*, 1445-6.

³⁰⁶ On the involvement of the Zhou kings in setting up the physical infrastructure of ancestral ritual, see chapter 1. The inscription of the *Rong Zhong ding*, discussed in this chapter, contains another likely example.

³⁰⁷ Liu Yu has previously noted the general trend of ceremonial terminology in the inscriptions away from Shang vocabulary; see Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” pp 514-5. Liu’s assumption seems to be that the Zhou held closely to Shang practices early in the Western Zhou period due to the superior degree of advancement of Shang culture. I follow the alternative interpretation that Shang-style rites provided common ground for the Zhou royal house and Shang-remnant aristocracy at a time when the management of former Shang populations was still the source of much difficulty for the Zhou central powers. In the dissertation conclusion, I will argue that important points distinguishing the ancestral ritual of the Zhou royal house from that of the Shang were in place at the beginning of the Western Zhou period.

common declared purpose of the production of inscribed bronzes; the *zheng*-offering survived throughout the period, also becoming a purpose for the casting of bronzes in certain cases; and the *zhu*-invocation, or at least a variety of offices named for it, developed into an elaborate institution. These had certain natural factors acting on their behalf. *Zheng* was associated with the natural phenomenon of the harvest; *zhu* provided a venue for the arrogation of public attention outside the context of military endeavor, serving the interests of parties both inside and outside the royal house; *hui* denoted an action fundamental to the entire concept of the ancestral cult, i.e., the appeal to ancestral spirits for blessings.

A wide variety of rites or ritual techniques introduced by the royal house in the early Western Zhou period, however, including *di*, *yu*, *rong*, *liao*, *su*, *yue*, and *sui*, disappeared from the inscriptional record. Some of these – in particular, *su* and *yue* – were closely associated with Shang remnant populations, the consolidation of Zhou power in north-central China, and the establishment of the new capital of Chengzhou. Concern of the Zhou kings with these rites may have waned as distance from the Shang era grew and the remaining Shang-affiliate elites developed a deeper investment in the Zhou group identity. Rites that enjoyed direct royal patronage – *di* and *lao* in particular – faded despite initial royal efforts to support their performance among non-royal elites. Combined with changing models of patronage and political appointment, this likely indicates a redirection of royal resources after the middle Western Zhou period.³⁰⁸ Other rites, such as *sui* and potentially *chang*, were performed by kings at the beginning of the period but then disappeared from the record, only to reappear in the late Western Zhou in non-royal inscriptions – sometimes, as with *sui*, in radically different forms. Beyond *chang* and *sui*, certain terms for types of ritual practice arose in middle or late Western

³⁰⁸ Chapter 4 will explore changes that took place in ritual manifestations of patronage during the middle Western Zhou period, especially with respect to the practice known as *mieli* 蔑歷 and the much-vaunted appointment ceremony.

Zhou inscriptions independent of any recorded royal activities; among these, *sheng*, like *sui*, had precedent in the Shang oracle bones, while *yin* and *zhuo*, like *chang*, did not.

The fading of accounts of specific royal rituals from the inscriptional record, the cessation of royal patronage of livestock offerings after the middle Western Zhou, and the changes in ritual vocabulary that began in the middle Western Zhou and continued into the late Western Zhou suggest a shift in the strategy of the Zhou royal house away from ancestral rites as preferred intermediaries in the continuing performance of Zhou identity. The disappearance of records of royal performance or patronage of ancestral-ritual acts from bronze inscriptions does not, however, guarantee that those acts ceased to be performed everywhere. Judging from the continued appearance of terms such as *hui* and *zheng* on non-royal bronzes, Zhou elites continued to conduct ancestral rites of early vintage that carried intrinsic value for them; and the renewed appearance of *sui* and in particular *chang* may reflect revival of practices that had lost royal favor among non-royal performers. Further, many terms that emerged first in the bronze inscriptions in the middle or late Western Zhou and in association with non-royal elite activities – *chang*, *yin*, *zhuo*, and *lao*, for example – became quite common in later treatments of Zhou ritual, indicating that the kernels of later understandings of Western Zhou ritual derived from practices serving interests other than those of the Zhou royal house. Overall, it appears that the middle portion of the Western Zhou period saw a severing of the direct connections between royal ancestral-ritual practices and those of non-royal elites.

The middle Western Zhou also saw substantial changes in the approach of the Zhou kings to the public recognition of subordinates, the assignment of offices, and the distribution of largesse. The following chapters will explore the changes that took place in ritual manifestations of authority and patronage over the course of the Western Zhou period, considering the

relationship of those changes to the shifting roles of ancestral ritual in the Zhou state project and the creation of inscribed bronzes. The conclusion to the dissertation will connect these trends with the set of phenomena elsewhere referred to as the “ritual revolution” as part of an overall characterization of the evolution of Zhou elite ritual along with the Western Zhou state.

CHAPTER 3 FIGURING THE KING: MIMESIS, PRODUCTION, AND THE RITUAL PORTRAYAL OF ZHOU KINGSHIP

Mighty, mighty King Wu protects and sees to his men. Throughout the Four Directions, he is able to settle their households...

Shijing, “Huan”¹

3.1: Introduction

The performance of Shang-style ancestral rituals provided the early Western Zhou kings with a framework for the construction of a coherent Zhou group identity in the wake of the Shang conquest. Royal ancestral-ritual events created opportunities for the instantiation of patronage relationships between kings and high-ranking elites and between those elites and their subordinates. Inscribed bronzes cast to commemorate those events supported the performance of similar ancestral offerings at the local level, making the “distributed personhood” of the king a physical part of the formation of lineage identity.

This framework did not, however, constitute the entire ritual program of the Zhou royal house. The Zhou kings supplemented it with a small number of ritual techniques generating prestige for the king by framing him against locations, tasks, and other, non-Zhou populations. In the early Western Zhou, these rites focused on the reach and potency of the Western Zhou king as a military leader, emphasizing his maintenance of control over the territory of the Zhou. In the middle Western Zhou period, however, new forms of ritual recast the king as the driving force behind the production of key resources, emphasizing the centrality of the king to the well-being of the state.

This chapter examines ritual efforts to frame the Western Zhou kings against the backdrop of non-devotional activities. It will characterize these rituals as a component of the

¹ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 604-5.

ongoing figuration of the Zhou king as a representative spokesperson of the formative Zhou group identity.² These framing efforts, it will argue, drew on the historical underpinnings of the Zhou as a military coalition and were directly connected to specific geopolitical concerns of the Zhou royal house.

Based on the limited range of such activities during the early Western Zhou and the introduction of new rites during the middle Western Zhou period, the chapter will show that changes in the symbolic characterization of the Zhou king at that point sought to broaden the royal identity from coalition head to cultural epitome. These changes, I will argue, formed part of a wider effort to intensify royal control over disparate aspects of the operation of the Zhou state. While the pursuit of this goal created strong motivations for commitment to the royal house, it also facilitated the formation of a Zhou elite identity divorced from royal interests.

3.2: Rituals framing the Zhou king as mediator³

While the Zhou implementation of Shang ancestral ritual created a framework of relations centered on the Zhou royal house and leading back to the conquest of Shang, it did not establish a qualitative distinction between the Zhou kings and other Western Zhou elites. Indeed, the emergent model of the Mandate of Heaven promoted the interchangeability of elite lineages, implying that the Zhou royal house, like the Shang before them, could be replaced under the right circumstances.⁴ Certain non-ancestral Western Zhou ritual techniques, however, sought to establish the Zhou king as a perceived nexus point not just between the royal lineage and lesser noble lineages, but also between the Zhou as a collective and the surrounding human and natural

² On the phenomenon of figuration of agencies, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 52-4.

³ On the technical meaning of mediators in actor-network theory, see *ibid.*, 37-42.

⁴ On the origin of the concept of the Mandate of Heaven in Western Zhou materials, see Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 314-7.

worlds.⁵ The prototypical effort to achieve this goal, and, perhaps not coincidentally, the best narrated in the inscriptions, is the practice referred to as *feng* 豐 or *li* 禮, and, in particular, the ceremony called the *da feng/li* 大豐/禮, or “great rite.”

3.2.1: *Feng/li* 豐/禮

The first chapter of this work approached the inscription of the He zun 兕尊 (JC 6014) as a trace of the promulgation of ancestral ritual by the early Western Zhou kings. The introductory line of that inscription contains a term that played a key role in Western Zhou ritual formulations of kingship:

佳王初 嚳 宅于成周，復甬 珙（武）王豐，裸自天...

It was when the king first moved to take up residence at Chengzhou, offered the *feng/li* to King Wu, and performed libations from (starting with?) Heaven...⁶

The character *feng* 豐 is usually, though not universally, read in this inscription as representing the later character *li* 禮, referring to “rites” in a general sense.⁷ Derived ultimately from the character *feng* 豐,⁸ the term *li* 禮 would by the late Spring and Autumn period come to denote

⁵ This model of the distinction argued for is problematic; as the following pages and the discussion in chapter 5 will show, the relevant characterization here was between Zhou-adherent elites, to be integrated into the Zhou state, and non-Zhou-elite entities (human and animal), to be controlled or eliminated.

⁶ This introductory line of the He zun inscription is problematic. Some scholars read the character *fu* 福, with the probable meaning of “allotments of sacrificial meat,” in place of the *guan* 裸 offered by the JC transcription; see Tang Lan, “He zun mingwen jieshi,” *Wenwu* 1976.1, 60-3, esp. 60; Li Xueqin, “He zun xin shi,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1981.1, 35-45, esp. 35; *MWX*, 20-1, n. 2. For further discussion of this point, see the section on *guan* in Appendix 1.

⁷ See Tang Lan, “He zun mingwen jieshi,” 60, 63, n. 1; *MWX*, 20-1, n. 2. Note that *MWX* reads the character as a modifier to the (as Ma sees it) *fu* 福 following it and takes the combination to mean “ceremonial meat.” To my knowledge, this is the only case in the Western Zhou inscriptions in which the character *feng* may refer to “rites” in a general sense. Still, in light of the inscription’s reference to King Wu and of the activities attributed to that king in the Tian Wang *gui* inscription (considered below), I am inclined to read the term in that sense here, rather than as the more specific *li* 禮.

⁸ See the entries for *li* and *feng* in Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1981, 2, 208.

ritual practices in general and the ritual practices associated by *ru* 儒 thinkers with the Western Zhou royal house and the Duke of Zhou in particular. This was the sense of the term on which Confucius drew when describing his project of directed enculturation.⁹

In the early stages of the Chinese script, however, *li* and *feng* had yet to be distinguished graphically.¹⁰ In the Shang and Zhou inscriptions, *feng* carried a series of meanings – some clearly associated with ritual, others less so. The following section will review the etymology of the term *feng* 豐 and its various uses in the inscriptions, prior to a detailed consideration of the specific rite known in the inscriptions as *da feng* 大豐 or *da li* 大禮.

3.2.1.1: The etymology of feng/li

The oracle bone inscriptions contain three character forms of relative similarity to *feng*. *JGWZGL* 2809 (fig. 3.1, Appendix 2) is the most “standard” of these, commonly identified by scholars with the *Shuowen* entry for *feng* 豐 and often read as *li*.¹¹ This character appears to have acted as a noun referring to some kind of ritual implement; based on its frequent use in conjunction with the term *yong* 庸, the *JGWZGL* editors suggest that it may have had to do with

⁹ As expressed, for example, in the famous line from the *Lunyu*:

子曰：「道之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥；道之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格。」

The Master said, “Guide them with policies and regulate them with punishments, and the people will shamelessly avoid them; guide them with virtue and regulate them with the rites, and the people will have a sense of shame and thus conform to them.”

See Liu Baonan, *Shisanjing Qing ren zhushu: Lunyu zhengyi*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990, 41-3.

¹⁰ In fact, as late as the Han, the two characters were considered to be related and somewhat interchangeable, as the *Shuowen* entry for *feng* 豐 shows:

豐行禮之器也。从豆。象形。凡豐之屬皆从豐。讀與禮同。

Feng 豐 is an implement for the performance of rites. It is derived from the *dou* 豆 radical and is pictographic.

All [characters] in the *feng* 豐 category are derived from it. It is read in the same way as *li* 禮.

See *Shuowen*, 208.

¹¹ Luo Zhenyu, Wang Guowei, and Sun Haibo all draw the first connection, while Wang Xiang and Sun Haibo both draw the second, as do the *JC* editors; see the discussion in *JGWZGL* 2809, 2786-8; *JC* 6014, 6015, 4261.

music.¹² The variant 2808, with wood radicals replacing the strings of jade in the top part of the character, appears once as a place name; *JGWZGL* identifies it as a different character.¹³

JGWZGL likewise reads variant 2807 in all its forms as a distinct character, which it identifies with *feng* 豐. This character appears in the OBI both as a personal name component and as a stand-alone divination sentence, the latter of which *JGWZGL* leaves uninterpreted.¹⁴

The AS database identifies a number of occurrences of *feng* 豐 in the Western Zhou inscriptions.¹⁵ A cursory inspection suggests that most of these appear to follow *JGWZGL* character 2809 (fig. 3.2, Appendix 2), though some are difficult to distinguish (e.g., Tian Wang *gui*, Zuoce Hu *you*), and the Fenggong *ding* (2152) character in particular seems to me to be an instance of number 2807. The range of characters thus identified by the AS database encompasses a variety of uses, however, which we must rely on context to distinguish.¹⁶

Two specific uses of the character are most relevant for the study of Western Zhou ritual techniques. First, *feng* is also interpreted as *li* 醴, “sweet wine,” in some contexts (see fig. 3.2,

¹² *JGWZGL*, 2788.

¹³ *JGWZGL*, 2786.

¹⁴ *JGWZGL*, 2786.

¹⁵ To be precise, JC identifies 96 inscriptions of Western Zhou date containing the character *feng* 豐 and 4, including the Mai *fangzun* inscription discussed below, as containing *feng* 豐.

¹⁶ A number of inscriptions refer to an “Elder of Feng” (*Fengbo* 豐伯); see for example the *Fengbo ge* 豐伯戈 (11014) and the *Fengbo fu* 豐伯簠 (NA0042). Early inscriptions also refer occasionally to a “King of Feng” and a “Fenggong,” suggesting either that the name Feng was shared between different locations, or that the recognized status of the location or lineage known as Feng within the Zhou social sphere was initially fluid. The geographic distribution of the bronzes referring to these personages suggests that multiple locations or lineages may have carried the name Feng. See the *Fengwang fu* 豐王斧 (11774), the *Fengwang tongpao* 豐王銅泡 (11848-50), and the *Fenggong ding* 豐公鼎 (2152). According to JC, the *Fengwang fu* was reportedly found in Yi 易 County, Hebei; the provenance of the three *Fengwang tongpao* is unknown. The *Fenggong ding* was discovered in tomb 7 of the Yu state cemetery at Baoji; see JC 2152; Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng, *Baoji Yu guo mudi*, 108, fig. 85.1, cited therein.

Aside from its use as a name component, *feng* appears in the Zhou inscriptions as part of the name of the Feng-Hao capital complex maintained by the Zhou royal house in present-day Fufeng county, Shaanxi, near Xi’an; for a list of scholarship on the capitals Feng and Hao and a summary of archaeological work done there, see Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” in *Cambridge History*, 393-7. This location is generally identified with another place-name, Zongzhou 宗周, or “Ancestral Zhou,” also common in the inscriptions, though there is some debate on this point; see Maria Khayutina, T’oung Pao 96 (2010), 6 note 13.

Chang Xin *he* [9455]), particularly when appearing in conjunction with *xiang/wan* 饗, “to feast”; although *li* 禮 has another form 𡗗 in the inscriptions as well.¹⁷ Second, in three specific cases, all dating to the early Western Zhou period, the term *feng* refers to large-scale ritual activities conducted by the Zhou king and as such is often interpreted as standing for the character *li* 禮.¹⁸ One of these, the inscription of the He *zun*, opened this section. That inscription appears to use the term in a general sense, referring to the “rites” of King Wu as an overall body of practice rather than as a specific event; we will revisit this below.

The remaining cases make up part of the compound phrase *da feng* 大豐 or *da li* 大禮, which referred to a specific and elaborate ceremony conducted occasionally throughout the early Western Zhou period and into the middle Western Zhou. The following section reviews the evidence for this ceremony and considers its role in the characterization of the Zhou kings’ relationship with the state and with the known world in general.

3.2.1.2: *Da feng* 大豐/*da li* 大禮 (“the Great Rite”)

Both the Mai *fangzun* 麥方尊 (6015) and Tian Wang *gui* 天亡簋 (4261) record instances of a ceremony called *da feng* 大豐 or *da li* 大禮, or “the Great Rite.” Considered together, they provide a relatively complete description of the contents of the rite. As these two inscriptions are

¹⁷ The example shown is from the inscription of the Da *gui* 大簋 (2807), dated by JC to the middle Western Zhou. Sweet wine is of importance in later reconstructions of early ritual; see, for example, this line from the “Mingtang wei” chapter of the *Liji*:

夏后氏尚明水，殷尚醴，周尚酒。

The lineage of the Lords of Xia exalted bright water; the Yin exalted sweet wine (*li*); the Zhou exalted wine.

See *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1491.

¹⁸ JC and MWX are in agreement on this point; see JC 4261, 6014, 6015; MWX, 14-5, 20-1, 46-7. In his treatment of the Tian Wang *gui* inscription, Shirakawa gives a detailed summary of prior readings of the character in the Tian Wang *gui* and, in most cases, the Mai *fangzun* inscriptions. Most of these take the character as *li* 禮, though *Kezhai* and *Conggu* both apparently read it as the name of the city Feng 豐. See Shirakawa 1.1, 5-9.

of great importance in characterizing the relations between ritual terms, they are referred to frequently throughout this work. Chapter 5 contains a full translation and discussion of the inscription and the multi-day event it records; this discussion will focus on the portion of most relevance to the study of *feng/li*.

The Mai *fangzun* (6015) is an exceptional vessel in every regard. Both its décor and its inscription are extraordinarily detailed, and it records a meeting between the king and one of the most powerful non-royal personages of the early Western Zhou era. The vessel's commissioner, Mai, served the Marquis of Xing (*Xinghou* 邢侯) in the position of Document Maker (*zuoce* 作冊) at the time of the former's accession and associated audience with the Zhou king.¹⁹ The Marquis awarded Mai metal on his return from that audience, and Mai recorded the circumstances of his ruler's meeting with the king in the inscription of the vessel he subsequently commissioned. That meeting included an instance of the "Great Rite":

王令辟井（邢）侯出坏，侯于井（邢），雩若二月，侯見于宗周，亡述（尤），迨（會）王饗羣京，酏祀。雩若翌（翌），才（在）璧（辟）黼（雍），王乘于舟，為大豐²⁰（禮），王射大彘禽，侯乘于赤旂舟，從，死咸...

The king commanded the sovereign Marquis of Xing to come out from Huai and take up the Marquisate of Xing. Around the second month, the Marquis presented himself at Zongzhou; there were no problems. He arrived when the king was holding a *wan/xiang* feast at the Pang Capital; a *rong* offering was conducted. The next day, at the *biyong* pond, the king rode in a boat and conducted a great *feng/li* rite. The king shot large birds, and the Marquis followed in a boat with a red flag; all (the birds?) were killed... (Mai *fangzun* 麥方尊 [6015])

As described by the Mai *fangzun* inscription, the situation was as follows: After receiving his

¹⁹ For this interpretation, see *Bureaucracy*, 43 n. 3 and 260-3. Maria Khayutina disagrees; see Khayutina, 22, n. 52. On the position of Document Maker, see *Bureaucracy*, 250, 310; see also Martin Kern, "The Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China," in Sergio La Porta and David Shulman, eds., *The Poetics of Grammar and the Metaphysics of Sound and Sign*, Leiden: Brill, 2007, 117-9, 127-40.

²⁰ The AS database transcribes this character as 豐; however, as fig. 3.2 shows, it is clearly a case of *feng* 豐. I have altered the above transcription accordingly.

orders to take control over the state of Xing, the newly minted Marquis had an audience at Zongzhou.²¹ During the Marquis's visit to the Zhou heartland, the king hosted a feast at Pangjing, another frequent site of Zhou royal activity, and the Marquis was in attendance.²² The king offered devotions to his ancestors, probably during the feast;²³ the next day, he performed the *da feng/li* rite in question.

This rite took place on the *biyong* pond, a location described in later texts as a circular body of water with an island at the center on which a building known as the *Mingtang*, or “Brilliant Hall,” stood.²⁴ In it, the Zhou king rode a boat around the *biyong* pond and shot birds, while the Marquis of Xing followed in his wake, riding a boat displaying red flags. Once this process was completed, the Zhou king received the Marquis with unusual warmth, welcoming him into his personal chambers and awarding him gifts that included a chariot worthy of a king.²⁵

The inscription of the Tian Wang *gui* 天亡簋 (4261),²⁶ dateable to the reign of King Wu

²¹ The *Mai fangzun* is sometimes considered one of a small range of vessels that describe the installation of regional rulers by the Zhou king; see *Bureaucracy*, 43, n. 3. For a conflicting opinion, see Khayutina, 22, n. 52, cited above. The state of Xing was most likely in modern-day Hebei province; see *Landscape and Power*, 68-9; *Bureaucracy*, 262.

²² On Pangjing, see *Bureaucracy*, 152-3; Khayutina, 6-7, n. 15.

²³ See the section on the *rong* rite in the preceding chapter.

²⁴ Hence the pond's association with the *bi* 璧, a type of circular jade disk with a round hole in the center, associated symbolically with the heavens; see Wang Junhua, “Biyong kao 辟雍考,” *Xungen* 2007.3, 59, which brings together most of the relevant pre-Qin references. On the *biyong* pond, see *MWX*, p. 14, note 2; *Bureaucracy*, 152-3. Li Shan and Li Guitian argue, based on their interpretation of the *Shi* poem “Wen Wang you sheng,” that the *biyong* pond was built during the reign of King Mu and that the bronzes mentioning it must therefore date to that reign or later; see Li Shan and Li Guitian, “*Shi* ‘biyong’ kao,” *Hebei shifan daxue xuebao* 2003.4, 70-7. However, both Wang and Li and Li omit from their discussions a line statement from the “Di Xin” section of the “new text” *Zhushu jinian*:

三十七年周作辟雍。

In the thirty-seventh year, the Zhou made the *biyong* [pond]. (*Bamboo Annals*, p. 140)

Provided that one accepts the “new text” *Zhushu jinian* as a viable source (on which see the Introduction), this line suggests an early (i.e., pre-Shang conquest) origin for the *biyong* pond and thus supports a more standard dating for the bronzes discussed in this section.

²⁵ Li Feng reads the inscription as stating that the Marquis was awarded “the right to rite in the royal chariot”; see *Bureaucracy*, 262. *MWX* seems to read the phrase as indicating the kind of chariot in which a king would ride, or, perhaps, a chariot in which the king had already ridden; see *MWX*, 46-7, n. 14. I follow the latter reading here.

²⁶ The Tianwang *gui* is also commonly known as the Da Feng *gui* 大豐簋, a name derived from just the event under

based on the contents of its inscription,²⁷ describes a similar process, but provides one additional key detail:

乙亥，王又（有）大豐，王凡三方，王祀于天室，降，天亡又王，衣祀于王不（丕）顯考文王，事喜上帝，文王德在上，不（丕）顯王乍（作）省，不（丕）饗（肆）王乍（作）虘（庸），不（丕）克乞（訖）衣（殷）王祀。丁丑，王鄉（饗）大宜，王降亡²⁸助 爵、退橐，佳（唯）朕（朕）又（有）蔑，每啟王休于尊白（殷）。

On the *yihai* day (12), the king had a great *feng/li* rite. The king boated in three directions. The king made offerings in the Great Hall. He descended, and Tianwang assisted the king in greatly²⁹ making offerings to his greatly brilliant deceased father King Wen and in serving and delighting the High Lord. King Wen's virtue is on high. The greatly brilliant king acts as overseer; the great succeeding king sets norms.³⁰ Greatly he (i.e., King Wu, the "succeeding king") finished the sacrifices of the Yin kings. On the *dingchou* day (14), the king held a feast with a great offering-table (?).³¹ The king sent a [?] *jue*-cup and a retiring(?) sack down to [Tian] Wang [? This clause is unclear.]³² It was I who had a *mie* (*li*). [I] respectfully praise the king's beneficence³³ in a revered *gui*-tureen.

Here two important points about the process known as *da feng/li* are clarified. One is that the king himself rode in a boat to perform the rite; this was likely based on the use of the term *cong* 從, "to follow," in the Mai *fangzun* inscription, but had not been explicitly stated. The second is that the king boated around the entirety of the pond, traveling in three directions.

Given the cosmological associations of the *biyong* pond, we may consider the *da feng/li* ritual as a leveraging of the mimetic logic of ritual to lend the Zhou king's position a sense of

discussion. I rely heavily on the reading given in *MWX*, 14-6, in my interpretation of this inscription.

²⁷ As such, it is accepted as a dating standard for the reign of King Wu; see *Sources*, 110.

²⁸ The AS database inscription places a comma between *jiang* 降 and *wang* 亡; I have removed that comma to reflect the understanding that the latter is the object of the former.

²⁹ *Yi* 衣 is sometimes interpreted as a specific rite (and as equivalent to *yin* 殷) in early sources; see for example Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi*, 109, 138. It is also, however, known as a synonym for "great" or "extravagant;" see for example *MWX*, 14-5, n. 5, wherein Ma reads it as such in this inscription. I follow that reading here. For an alternative explanation of *yin* 殷 as representing *jin* 覲, "to have audience," see *MWX* 115, 80, n. 1b.

³⁰ Taking *si* 肆 as *si* 嗣, "to succeed to, to inherit."

³¹ This translation of *da yi* 大宜 follows *MWX*, which identifies *yi* as a loan for *fang* 房 based on rhyme; based on its appearance in one of the "Lu song," Ma glosses *da fang* 大房 as an offering table. See *MWX*, p. 15, n. 10.

³² Ma refrains from rendering this sentence based on lack of ready explanation for the characters; see *ibid.*, 15, n. 11.

³³ Following Ma's reading, which takes *mei* 每 as *min* 敏, here meaning respectful, and transcribes the character here rendered *qi* 啟 as *yang* 揚, a more usual choice in this position. See *ibid.*, 15, n. 13.


determinacy. By traveling to the extremes of the pond, the king mimetically extended his agency throughout the known world.³⁴ The addition of shooting, as in the Mai *fangzun* inscription, strengthened and clarified the implications of this act. By bringing down birds in the mimetically significant space of the *biyong* pond, the king stated ritually that his military might extended over the entirety of the known world.

In the instance of the ritual described by the Mai *fangzun* inscription, the king's overt proclamation of force must have intimated to the newly installed Marquis of Xing – delegated to administer a distant domain in Hebei, beyond the immediate control of the royal forces – the potentially perilous consequences of flying too high, as it were.³⁵ The Zhou king installed a safety valve in the threat, however, by assigning the Marquis himself a place in the ceremony. Riding behind the king in a boat festooned with red flags, the Marquis was construed as the king's bannerman, supporting him in military endeavors; but he was also witness to the symbolic consequences of defying royal authority.³⁶ The warmth and beneficence with which the king received the Marquis after the ceremony – inviting him into the royal chambers and showering him with lavish gifts – were the carrot accompanying the stick of the *da feng/li* ceremony.

The king's procession in three rather than four directions is of note. In order to move across a roughly symmetrical body of water in a boat, it was of course necessary to have a launching point, and the "three directions" mentioned in the narrative of the ceremony can correspondingly

³⁴ I avoid the term "symbolic" in favor of the term "mimetic" on the grounds that I suspect the actions in question were considered to have the power to help bring about the events they depicted. To the extent that the participants internalized the model of royal authority and relations between the king and other elites depicted in the ritual, this consideration must have been true. For a more detailed discussion of this point, see the Introduction.

³⁵ On the location of the state of Xing, see note 21.

³⁶ To accompany the king on campaign was a fundamental responsibility of the installed regional lords under the Western Zhou political system; see *Bureaucracy*, 246-8. The title *hou* 侯, translated here as "marquis," depicts an arrow beneath a roof  and initially denoted a person dispatched to guard the country. For a summary of the evidence on this point, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 44, n. 4.

be taken to refer to those from which the king did not launch his vessel.³⁷ Under this model, the king would thus have reached the extremes of all four directions of the pond over the course of the ceremony: the three in which he traveled, and the one from which he started. The center of Zhou culture was located on the western fringes of the sphere of influence of the Shang, from whom the Zhou adopted much, and textual sources suggest that the Zhou conceived of themselves as “men of the western lands.”³⁸ It may be that the procession of the *biyong* rite in three directions was meant to echo the extension of Zhou authority across the lands perceived as falling within the Shang cultural sphere.³⁹

The above two inscriptions are, to my knowledge, the only cases in the Western Zhou inscriptions in which the term *feng/li* definitively denoted a specific ritual activity. The common appearance of the modifier *da* and use of a boat in both cases suggest that, in the early Western Zhou, the term *da feng/li* referred to a particular royal ceremony in which a boat was used rather than to the performance of ritual in general. Given the frequency with which other ceremonies are mentioned in the inscriptions, and given its relatively elaborate setup requirements, the paucity of references to the *da feng/li* ceremony probably reflects the comparative rarity of its performance rather than a simple dearth of surviving evidence.

3.2.1.3: The Bo Tangfu ding event: an occurrence of the “Great Rite”?

³⁷ MWX, 14-6. On the *biyong* pond, see MWX, 14, note 2.

³⁸ See James Legge, ed. and tr., *The Chinese classics, vol. 3: The Shoo King*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1970, 300-1.


³⁹ Tang Lan makes the observation about three directions as well, in his *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fendai shizheng*, Zhonghua shuju 1986, p. 11; cited in Li Shan and Li Guitian, 75-6. Li and Li cite Tang Lan’s interpretation of the character here rendered 凡 as *tong* 同, as well as Guo Moruo’s explanation of the character as *feng* 夙 (see *Daxi*, vol. 2, plate 1), as preferable options to Ma’s reading as *fan* 汎 (see MWX, 14-5, n. 2), based on the king’s progression in three rather than four directions. This overlooks the point that Tang Lan’s interpretation is equally applicable to movement in a boat. Wang Aihe notes the representative potential of the three directions with respect to the Zhou as well, in *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 60-2.

In fact, another inscription survives which, though it lacks the term *da feng/li*, records a ceremonial event markedly similar to the rites discussed above. The Bo Tangfu *ding* (NA0698), recovered from tomb 183 at Zhangjiapo, Chang'an county, Shaanxi, bears an inscription describing activities of the Zhou king on the *bichi* 辟池 at Pangjing, the site of the ceremony recorded on the *Mai fangzun*.⁴⁰ As this inscription contains several problematic points worthy of examination, and as it is germane to several portions of this work, I present it here in its entirety:

乙卯，王饗莽京，王奉辟舟，臨舟龍，咸奉。白（伯）唐父告備。王各，𨾏（乘）辟舟，臨奉白 [伯?] 旂，用射絳、𨾏 虎、貉、白鹿、白狼于辟池，咸奉。王蔑曆，易（賜）矩鬯一卣、貝廿朋，對揚王休，乍（作）安公寶障彝。

On the *yimao* day, the king feasted at Pangjing. The king conducted a *hui*-entreaty(?)⁴¹ toward the *bi*[*yong* pond] boat,⁴² approaching⁴³ the boat dragon.⁴⁴ When the *hui*-entreaty(?)

⁴⁰ On the discovery of the Bo Tangfu *ding*, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Fengxi fajue dui, “Chang’an Zhangjiapo M183 Xi Zhou dong shi mu fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1989.6, 524-9. The excavators date the tomb containing the vessel to the early part of King Mu’s reign (see p. 528). As for the *bichi*, most scholars agree in considering it equivalent to the *biyong* pond; see Liu Yu, “Bo Tangfu ding de mingwen yu shidai,” *Kaogu* 1990.8, 741-2; Liu Huan, “Ye tan Bo Tangfu ding mingwen de shidu – jian tan Yin dai jisi de yige wenti,” *Wenbo* 1996.6, 27-9; Yuan Junjie, “Bo Tangfu ding ming tongshi buzhen,” *Wenwu* 2011.6, 38-43, esp. 39.

⁴¹ Prior analyses of the Bo Tangfu *ding* inscription are unanimous in reading four of the characters in the inscription as *hui* 𨾏 and in taking them to refer to the *hui*-entreaty rite discussed in the prior chapter of this work; see Zhang Zhenglang, “Bo Tangfu *ding*, Meng Yuan *ding*, yan mingwen shiwen,” *Kaogu* 1989.6, 551-2; Liu Yu, “Bo Tangfu ding,” 741-2; Liu Huan, 27; Yuan Junjie, 38-9. Syntactically speaking, this reading is logical and fits well in the phrase *xian hui* 咸奉, which, in combination with the description of the shooting of animals, suggests an understanding of the term as a process rather than as a single action. The use of the *hui*-entreaty toward a series of objects (see below) would, however, be the only such case in the entire corpus of Western Zhou inscriptions; to my knowledge, it would in fact be the only case anywhere in the inscriptions in which an offering was made to an entity other than an ancestral spirit or Heaven/the sky (*Tian*). This point by itself warrants a close look at the reading. Complicating the situation is the fact that the main readable instance of the character in the inscription  (the vessel is badly corroded, and the damage shows in the published rubbing of the inscription) is morphologically unique, bearing as it does additional elements both underneath and to the sides of the core element (see the relevant table in the Appendix). Without a clearer rubbing – which may not be possible, due to the damage that the vessel has suffered – it is difficult to judge whether this holds true for all of the characters rendered as *hui* in the available transcriptions. I believe it is at least possible that all of these characters may represent a different word entirely (as, indeed, is often the case with modified forms of *hui* in the inscriptions; see the aforementioned table in the Appendix). Accordingly, I have translated these characters as “the *hui*-entreaty” but have marked them with question marks; and I have not included the Bo Tangfu *ding* in the main discussion of *hui* (for which see chapter 2).

⁴² Given the close parallels between the processes described in the *Mai fangzun* and Bo Tangfu *ding* inscriptions, the *bichi* can probably be identified with the *biyong* pond; see note 40.

⁴³ Both Liu Huan and Yuan Junjie suggest for *lin* 臨 the meaning of *zhi* 至, “to arrive” (see Liu Huan, 29; Yuan Junjie, 39), while Liu Yu takes it as “to be near to” (Liu Yu, “Bo Tangfu ding,” 741).


⁴⁴ Most scholars have interpreted the phrase *zhou long* 周龍 in the inscription as referring to a particular kind of boat, the *long* indicating either that it was formed or decorated in the shape of a dragon (for which see Zhang Zhenglang,

was complete, the Elder Father Tang announced that [the preparations were] complete. The king entered and rode in the *bi*[yong pond] boat. [He] approached and conducted *hui*-entreaty(?) with a white (the Elder's?) flag;⁴⁵ [the king] thereby shot an ox,⁴⁶ a striped tiger,⁴⁷ a panther,⁴⁸ a white deer, and a white wolf on the *bi* pond.⁴⁹ When the *hui*-entreaty was completed, the king performed the recounting of merits (*mieli*), awarding [Bo Tangfu?] a *you*-urn of dark liquor and twenty strings of cowries. [Bo Tangfu?] praises the king's beneficence in response, therewith making a precious, revered vessel for Duke An.⁵⁰

Although the Bo Tangfu *ding* inscription does not contain the term *da feng/li*, the process it narrates is remarkably similar to that described in the Mai *fangzun* inscription. The king conducted a feasting event at Pangjing; he carried out what may have been ancestral offerings;⁵¹ he then set out on the *biyong* pond in a boat and shot animals. Like the Mai *fangzun* inscription, the Bo Tangfu *ding* inscription does not specify that the king traveled to the sides of the pond, as is mentioned on the Tian Wang *gui*; however, given that the targets of the shooting were all land

551, and Yuan Junjie, 39) or perhaps simply that it was large and meant for royal use (Liu Huan, 29). Liu Yu offers the alternate reading *long* 壟, suggesting that it referred to a raised area for mooring boats (see Liu Yu, “Bo Tangfu *ding*,” 741), whereas Yuan Junjie has suggested that it may have referred to a completely separate entity associated, perhaps, with the water of the *biyong* pond and acting potentially as the target of the devotional rite (see 41). I have followed the former interpretation in the translation.

⁴⁵ The phrase *bai qi* 白旗 deserves consideration. All other treatments of the inscription have rendered it simply as *bai* 白, “white”; see Zhang Zhenglang, 551; Liu Yu, “Bo Tangfu *ding*,” 741; Liu Huan, 27; Yuan Junjie, 38, 40-1. Certainly this is a viable reading; the subsequent occurrences of the character in the phrases *bai lu* 白鹿, “white deer,” and *bai lang* 白狼, “white wolf,” show that the color white held some significance in the proceedings. However, the characters *bai* 白 and *bo* 伯, “Elder,” as in “Elder Father Tang,” are orthographically identical in the

Western Zhou inscriptions. It is conceivable that the  in the present clause referred to the “Elder” – i.e., Bo Tangfu – and that the phrase *bo qi* indicated the “Elder’s flag.” The reference to the flag of Nangong 南公 in the inscription of the Da Yu *ding* (2837) provides a comparable example confirming the use of flags as personal emblems during the Western Zhou. The case for this reading is strengthened somewhat by comparison with the Mai *fangzun* ceremony, in which the Marquis of Xing rode behind the king in a boat flying a flag (specifically, a red flag) during the *da feng/li* rite; it is possible that Elder Father Tang played a similarly important role in the Bo Tangfu *ding* event.

⁴⁶ Following Liu Yu in reading 紉 as an oblique term for a sacrificial ox; see Liu Yu, “Bo Tangfu *ding*,” 741-2.

⁴⁷ Following Liu Yu’s reading of *li hu* 𧆏虎; see *ibid.*, 742.

⁴⁸ Following Zhang Zhenglang’s suggestion of reading the character 𧆏 as *mo* 貙; see Zhang Zhenglang, 551.

⁴⁹ In the absence of measure words, there is no way to judge whether one or many of each of the above animals was shot; I have translated them in the singular by default.

⁵⁰ Unlike many inscriptions, that of the Bo Tangfu *ding* does not name the individual who received gifts from the king and commissioned the vessel in its final lines. Its designation as the “Bo Tangfu *ding*” is based on the reasonable assumption that the only figure named in the inscription beside the king was its commissioner. The other contents of Zhangjiapo tomb 183 are of little help, since the other inscriptions found in the tomb employ different names; see “Chang’an Zhangjiapo M183,” 526-8.

⁵¹ Depending on one’s reading of the term *hui* and its target; see the above notes on the inscription.

animals, it is likely that such was the case.⁵² This inscription shows that ceremonial royal shooting of animals on the *biyong* pond, with elite guests playing a role in the proceedings, was carried out at least once during the early phase of the middle Western Zhou.⁵³

The animals used in the Bo Tangfu *ding* event are of crucial importance to both the dating of the vessel and the understanding of the rite it records. The discussion of the Mai *fangzun* and Tian Wang *gui* rites made much of the mimetic role of the *biyong* pond and its implications for the interpretation of the *da feng/li* rite. This mimetic function, I suspect, was at work in the selection of the targets for the shooting in the Bo Tangfu *ding* event. The *Guoyu*, and the *Shiji* after it, contains an account of King Mu's military adventures in the western reaches of Zhou territory.⁵⁴ In it, the king's advisors urge against his plans to campaign against the western population known as the Quanrong/Xianyun.⁵⁵ As the passage records, however, the king carried through with his attack anyway, and he brought back "four white wolves and four white deer" (*si bail u yu si bai lang* 四白狼四白鹿) to the capital.⁵⁶

The Bo Tangfu *ding*, as we have seen, is of likely King Mu date, and its inscription makes specific mention of both white wolves and white deer as shooting targets. It is of course impossible to confirm that the wolves and deer supposedly brought to the Zhou heartland by

⁵² The king's shooting at the sides of the pond was of potential mimetic significance, especially given the historical context of King Mu's reign; for a fuller discussion, see the section on the ritual implementation of archery below. It is possible, however, that land animals may have been placed upon islands in the *biyong* pond; I am indebted to Li Feng for this observation.

⁵³ For the argument on the dating of the tomb containing the Bo Tangfu *ding*, as well as that of the vessel itself, see "Chang'an Zhangjiapo M183," 528. The excavators hold that Meng Yuan, mentioned in other inscriptions from the tomb, was its occupant, and note that his relationship with Bo Tangfu cannot be determined. However, they note that the vessels are generally comparable in shape, conforming to a type that they date to the King Zhao-King Mu transition.

⁵⁴ For a discussion of the role of King Mu's western campaigns in the overall trope of Western Zhou military history, in which this passage is mentioned, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 145-6.

⁵⁵ On the identity of these names, see *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Dong Zengling, *Guoyu zhengyi*, Kuaiji Zhang shi shi xun tang, 1880, 23-43, esp. 42; *Shiji*, 135-6. The above excerpt is from the former. Liu Yu has noted this parallel; see "Bo Tangfu *ding*," 742. The *Guoyu* is of course a much later text, and so the usual caveats apply to its use as a historical source; still, the mention of white wolves and white deer in a passage concerning King Mu is a remarkable coincidence.

King Mu were the same ones used in the event in which Bo Tangfu took part. Still, there is no mention of wolves anywhere else in the AS inscription database, and deer are mentioned only a few times; they were not part of the usual range of reward items with which the inscriptions are concerned.⁵⁷ If the specific animals were not the same, it is likely at least that wolves and/or deer were somehow associated conceptually with the Quanrong/Xianyun population and that King Mu drew upon that association in conducting his ritual activities on the *bi* pond. In the case of wolves, the orthography of the terms Quanrong and Xianyun offers some small support to that assertion.⁵⁸

I have previously argued that the king's progression around the *biyong* pond in the *dafeng/li* rite, coupled with his shooting of birds at the pond's edges as in the Mai *fangzun* case, created a mimetic argument about the ability of the Zhou royal house to exercise its military potency throughout the entire Zhou territory. By placing animals associated with an outlying population, and quite possibly taken from them on a recent campaign, among the creatures to be killed at the edges of the pond, the king in the Bo Tangfu ding inscription – probably King Mu – strengthened the mimetic value of this argument in two ways: by reinforcing the correspondence between the edges of the pond and the edges of Zhou territory, and by shoring up the argument with tangible evidence of his recent military “success” on the borders of the Zhou state. This degree of consideration for the symbolic value of animals may have been an innovation of the middle Western Zhou period, a time, as we will soon see, of substantial innovations in the ritual

⁵⁷ These are the Ming *gui* 命簋 (4112) and the Haozi *you* 貉子卣 (5409).

⁵⁸ For an account of the connections between the terms Xianyun and Quanrong, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, Appendix 2. Li Feng suggests that the association of the Xianyun with dogs, and hence the emergence of the term Quanrong, developed later, when their name came to be written with the characters 獫狁. Indeed, the Western Zhou cases of the term do not normally contain the canine radical; see the inscriptions of the Duoyou *ding* 多友鼎 (2835), the Xijia *pan* 兮甲盤 (10174), the Guoji Zibai *pan* 虢季子白盤 (10173), etc. Still, the Bo Tangfu *ding* inscription offers one small piece of evidence that the association of the Xianyun with dogs may have preceded its manifestation in orthography.

characterization of the king and his relationship to the surrounding world.

3.2.1.4: Summary

The Mai *fangzun*, Tianwang *gui*, and Bo Tangfu *ding* inscriptions are sufficient evidence to allow the following statements:⁵⁹ A rite referred to in early inscriptions as *da feng/li* 大豐, or “the Great Rite,” was carried out twice during the early Western Zhou period – once by King Wu and once by either King Cheng or King Kang. The king performed this rite, which involved the use of boats and, in at least one case, the shooting of birds. The rite was conducted in conjunction with ancestral offerings, as indicated by the use of the term *rong* in the Mai *fangzun* inscription and the description of offerings to King Wen in the Tianwang *gui* inscription.

A similar rite – captured in the inscription of the Bo Tangfu *ding*, though it is not called *da feng/li* in that inscription – occurred during the early phase of the middle Western Zhou, probably during the reign of King Mu. Like the previous instances, this rite involved the king moving about the *biyong* pond on a boat; as in the Mai *fangzun* case, the king was joined in the proceedings by an elite attendee in whose presence he shot animals and to whom he later showed material favor. While the Mai *fangzun* event involved the king shooting birds, however, the Bo Tangfu *ding* event saw the king shoot a number of exotic land animals. This event may or may not have included ancestral offerings, depending on one’s interpretation of the character in the inscription often rendered *hui* 奉 and its objects.

⁵⁹ This discussion opened by noting the appearance of *feng* in the introductory line of the He *zun*. If that appearance is taken to mean “rites” in general, as in the later sense of the term *li* 禮, it would be the only such case in the corpus of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. It is, however, conceivable that the occurrence of *feng* in the He *zun* inscription refers to the performance of a separate instance of the *da feng/li* ritual described in the Mai *fangzun* and Tianwang *gui* inscriptions, missing the designation *da*, “great.” However, since the He *zun* inscription uses the event that it designates *feng/li* as a time marker rather than narrating it in detail, there is no way to compare it with those recorded in the Mai *fangzun*, Tian Wang *gui*, and Bo Tangfu *ding* inscriptions. It is therefore impossible to assert the identity of the events in question with any certainty. On those grounds, I have omitted it from the present discussion of *da feng/li*.

Per its association with the *biyong* pond and, in the case of the Tianwang *gui*, with directionality, the rite had a cosmological component, drawing a mimetic connection between the body of water on which it was conducted and the entirety of the known world. By adding animals as campaign spoils to the process, the Bo Tangfu *ding* rite intensified both the mimetic potential and the historical specificity of the rite, transforming it from a general materialization of the king's military might into a direct reference to recent achievements.

3.2.2: *Jitian/jinong* 籍田/籍農 (“ploughing fields”)⁶⁰

The Western Zhou inscriptions record a single occasion when the king is said to have organized an agricultural rite. The event is recorded in the inscription of the Ling *ding* 令鼎 (2803), a vessel discovered in Ruicheng County, Shanxi, and dated by *MWX* to the reign of King Zhao:⁶¹

王大耤（藉）農于淇田，錫（觴）。王射，有嗣（司）眾師氏、小子卿（會）射。王歸自淇田，王駮（馭），濂仲廋⁶²（僕）令眾奮先馬走，王曰：「令眾奮乃克至，余其舍女（汝）臣十⁶³家」。王至于濂宮，毖，令拜頤首，曰：「小子迺學。」令對揚王休。

The king greatly ploughed the land at the fields of Qi and feasted.⁶⁴ The king held archery, and the Supervisors, the Marshals, and the scions shot together. When the king returned from the fields of Qi, the king drove, and Zhai Zhong's servants Ling and Fen went in front of the horses [i.e., as the king's vanguard]. The king said, “Ling and Fen, if you acquit yourselves well [lit, “are able to arrive,”] I shall transfer to you ten households of servants.”⁶⁵ The king arrived at the palace of Zhai and was pleased.⁶⁶ Ling bowed and

⁶⁰ I am indebted to Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 71, for bringing the existence of this rite to my attention.

⁶¹ JC 2803; *MWX* 97, 69-70. My reading of this inscriptions closely follows that in *MWX*.

⁶² The transcription of this character follows *MWX*, 70.

⁶³ The AS database transcription has *sa* 卅, “thirty,” here. I follow *MWX*, 69-70, in reading this character as *shi* 十, “ten.” The additional marks to the sides of the character are probably relics of damage to either the inscription or the rubbing.

⁶⁴ On the reading of *shang* 錫（觴） as “feasting,” see *MWX*, 70, n. 1.

⁶⁵ I follow *MWX*'s reading of the preceding two lines; see *MWX*, 70, n. 3-4. I differ with Ma, however, in seeing Zhai Zhong's name here as referring to the affiliation of Ling and Fen rather than indicating that the “Second Eldest of Zhai” himself took a hand in the driving. For the reading of *pu* 僕 as one who preceded the horses in a procession, see *Liji*, “Qu li,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1252; this passage is cited in *ibid*.

struck his head, saying, “The young son will study [this], then.” Ling praises the king’s beneficence in response.

The key phrase in consideration here is *jinong* 籍農; based on the syntax of the line, it must function as a verb phrase or verb-object combination meaning that the king “greatly ploughed the fields.” We may safely assume that the Zhou king did not regularly work as an agricultural laborer; the ploughing in question must have been ceremonial, although the syntax suggests that the king took a direct hand in the process. Additional group activities framed the king’s ploughing as a ceremonial action. The statement later in the inscription about the king’s return from Qi, the place where the ploughing was performed, confirms that the other activities mentioned at the beginning – namely, feasting and archery – also happened at Qi as part of the same overall event.

The situation seems to have been as follows: The king, along with a number of other ranking elites, traveled to Qi and performed a ceremonial ploughing of the fields.⁶⁷ Afterward, the king hosted feasting and archery, in which his aristocratic entourage participated. On the way back from the site designated for the ceremony, a group of people associated with the Zhai 濂 lineage took charge of the king’s transportation needs, likely because the return trip passed

⁶⁶ *MWX* reads this character as *xi* 嬰, which the *Shuowen* defines as “pleased”; see *MWX*, 70, n. 5.

⁶⁷ Scholars regularly characterize the royal performance of ploughing as “symbolic”; see *MWX*, 70, n. 1; Yang Kuan, 217. Undoubtedly there is some truth to this, in that the furrows plowed by the king and/or by other aristocrats were intended not to accomplish the entire work of agriculture directly, but to describe the king as the source of sedentary agriculture as a phenomenon and the nourishment that it provided; the assertion of the Zhou royal house’s descent from Hou Ji 后稷 (“the Lord of Millet”) made the same argument. (For this tradition, see *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 111-3.) However, we cannot discount the possibility that the king’s personal involvement in the opening of the agricultural season was seen by some, at least, to have a genuine effect on the later growth of crops. Certainly encouraging this viewpoint would have been one of the goals of the practice described in the Ling *ding* inscription. I hesitate to use the word “symbolic” in this circumstance, as that term implies a less direct connection between the action performed and the action it was meant to indicate. Here, as far as we know, the king does not perform some other action that indexes the process of ploughing; he ploughs the soil himself, though undoubtedly not for long. His action exemplifies and initiates rather than symbolizes.

through the lineage's territory.⁶⁸ Figures called Ling and Fen, subordinates of Zhai Zhong (the “Second Eldest of Zhai”), rode out as the king's vanguard, for the successful performance of which service the king promised a gift of ten households of servants (*chen shi jia* 臣十家). The inscription is somewhat ambiguous about the recipient of the reward, employing only the term *ru* 汝, “you.” Given the size of the reward — and the concomitant cost of its upkeep, my sense is that it was probably intended for the Zhai lineage as a whole rather than for Ling, Fen, or both.

Once the royal caravan arrived at the Zhai lineage headquarters, the king expressed his satisfaction with the performance of Ling and Fen.⁶⁹ Ling had a chance to respond to this acknowledgement in person, as his expression of gratitude and admiration is recorded near the end of the inscription. It is possible that Ling may have received some other remuneration, either directly from the royal household or as a “trickle-down” gift from the lineage, that supported his commissioning of an inscribed bronze to commemorate the occasion; however, this cannot be confirmed.

On at least this one occasion, then, the king conducted a ceremonial ploughing event. The inscriptions unfortunately offer little further evidence that this was a regular practice. One late Western Zhou inscription, that of the *Zai gui* (4255), however, records the appointment of its commissioner to the office of Supervisor of Land (*situ* 司土), with the understanding that he is to “take official charge of the ploughing of fields” (*guan si ji tian* 官嗣[司]藉[藉]田):⁷⁰

⁶⁸ A number of inscriptions of King Cheng's reign record the activities of a figure called the Duke of Zhai or Duke Zhai (*Zhaigong* 濂公); see the *Si ding* 嗣鼎 (2659), the *Hou Chuo ding* 厚越鼎 (2730), and the two *X ding* 寧鼎 (2740-1). The further inscriptions of the *Zhai Ji li* 濂季鬲 (495), the *Zhai Ji gui* 濂季簋 (3978), and the *Zhai Sufu ding* 濂俗父鼎 (2466) confirm that the term designated a lineage as well as an individual.

⁶⁹ On the question of *gong* as “offices” for individuals or lineages, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 116-7. Li makes specific reference to the Zhai Gong in this argument.

⁷⁰ JC 4255. It is difficult to date the *Zai gui* with exactitude, since it is known only from its record in *Kaogutu* 3.22-3, the drawing in which is exceedingly rough. *MWX* dates the *Zai gui* to the reign of King Xiao (231), while *Duandai* assigns it to King Gong (175-6). Shirakawa suggests a late King Zhao-early King Mu dating based on the calligraphy of the inscription; see Shirakawa 20.110, 412-8. Here, however, I follow *Daxi* (which assigns the

佳（唯）正月乙巳，王各于大室，穆公入右 戠⁷¹，立中廷，北鄉（嚮），王曰：戠，令女（汝）乍（作）嗣（司）土（徒），官嗣（司）藉（藉）田，易（賜）女（汝）戠衣、赤 𠄎 市、纒（纒）旂、楚走馬，取 𠄎⁷² 五孚（錚），用事。戠拜頷首，對揚王休，用乍（作）𠄎（朕）文考寶 𠄎，其子子孫孫永用。

During the first month, on the *yisi* day, the king entered the Great Hall. Duke Mu entered and acted as *youzhe* for Zai, standing in the center of the hall, facing north. The king said, “Zai, I command you to act as Supervisor of Land, taking official charge of the ploughing of fields. I award you a gathered garment, a red (?) kneepad, a flag with bells, a palfrey,⁷³ and five *lve* of captured (?), for use in service. Zai bowed and struck his head, praising the king’s beneficence in response. I [he] thereby make a precious *gui*-tureen for my cultured deceased father. May [my] sons’ sons and grandsons’ grandsons eternally use [it].

Despite the clear interest of the Supervisor of Land in the management of agriculture in general, this statement is generally taken to refer to the royal ploughing rite rather than to the “ploughing of fields” in general.⁷⁴ Given the rarity of the term *ji* 籍 elsewhere in the inscriptions, I am inclined to agree with that interpretation.⁷⁵ The close dates of the Ling *ding* and Zai *gui* inscriptions would then suggest a concerted, multilayered effort at the control of agricultural land through royally sponsored ritual, beginning probably with King Zhao and extending into the late Western Zhou period.

3.2.2.1: Ritual ploughing in later texts

bronze to King Xuan – see vol. 3, 139-40), the AS database, and *Bureaucracy*, p. 71, in dating the bronze to the late Western Zhou period.

⁷¹ The AS database offers the transcription 戠 for this character. I follow the original *JC* entry (see *JC* 4255), as well as *MWX*, 231, and *Bureaucracy*, 348, in transcribing it as 戠.

⁷² The transcription of this character follows that given in *MWX*, 231.

⁷³ I take the term *chu* 楚 in the sense of “orderly, clear,” referring here to the horse’s gait.

⁷⁴ Yang Kuan, Chen Mengjia, and Li Feng all express this view; see Yang Kuan, *Xi Zhou shi*, 269; *MWX*, 231, n. 2b; Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 91.

⁷⁵ *JC* records a total of 4 occurrences of the term *ji* in the inscriptions, two of which appear above. One of the remaining occurrences (the Mibo Shi Ji *gui* 弭伯師藉簋 [4257]) is a personal name. The other, in the Mu *gui*, is a likely misreading. Li Feng reads the character differently; see *Landscape and Power*, 100-1. The use of *ji* in the Ling *ding* inscription, then, does not seem to be a repurposing of an otherwise common term to describe a ritual phenomenon. I am therefore inclined to take its use in that inscription as the basis for understanding its meaning in the Zai *gui* inscription.

Both the *Guoyu* and the *Lüshi chunqiu* contain references to a ceremonial initial ploughing of the fields by the Zhou king or other ruler.⁷⁶ The most detailed account of the *yili* rite appears in the “Zhou yu – shang” 周语上 chapter of the *Guoyu*, under the pretext of a memorial submitted to the late Western Zhou King Xuan protesting its cancellation.

In his *Xi Zhou Shi*, Yang Kuan devotes a full chapter to the explication of this rite and his vision of its role in the exploitation of the populace at large by the Western Zhou elite.⁷⁷ Yang argues that the phrase *jitian* 籍 originally referred to fields held and worked in common at the village level to provide emergency aid and support ritual offerings. As state-level organizations emerged, he suggests, the fruits of these fields were diverted to support elite interests. The term *ji* 籍 became a codeword for the organized exploitation of common labor by aristocrats, and the *jitian* or *jili* ceremony was the ritual framework through which that practice was justified and maintained.⁷⁸

Based on the *Guoyu* account, Yang offers a description of the rite in stages: its initial scheduling by royal officials; the hosting of a preliminary round of drinking, in which hierarchical relations between the participants were set; the formal performance of the rite itself, in which the king ploughed a single furrow, the next grade of aristocrats ploughed three, the next nine, and so on until commoners completed the work on the allotted space; a round of feasting after the rite’s completion; and, finally, an extensive examination of the work done and exhortation of the aristocracy to ensure the quality and completeness of work done. This last portion is the key to Yang’s argument, showing, as he argues, the severity with which the Zhou

⁷⁶ *Guoyu zhengyi*, 62-73; *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi*, 2-14, 1711-7.

⁷⁷ Yang Kuan, *Xi Zhou shi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2003, 268-82; cited in *Bureaucracy*, 71, n. 63.

⁷⁸ Yang Kuan, 268-82, esp. 280-2.

elite arrogated the labor of the populace to support their interests.⁷⁹

Early though it may be when compared to the ritual books, the *Guoyu* chapter in all likelihood still postdates the reign of King Xuan by several hundred years.⁸⁰ Its use as a source on the Western Zhou calls for extreme caution, especially given that the earliest strata of received texts are silent on the topic.⁸¹ I would note two particular points of departure between the Ling *ding* account and Yang's description. First, no mention is made of ceremonial archery in the *Guoyu*-based account, while that activity is explicitly recorded in the Ling *ding* inscription. Second, there is no trace of a quality control phase – that is to say, an inspection of the ploughing and concomitant exhortation of responsible elites – in the Ling *ding* narrative. This difference is key, as such a process would have involved the praise or criticism of elites, would likely have been accompanied by awards, and would therefore spur the production of bronzes. If the king's ploughing event had included such a phase, it would be of intrinsic interest to an elite audience and would therefore probably be mentioned in the inscription – as was the archery meet, despite the fact that Ling, if he took part in it, apparently did not distinguish himself. The fact that such a phase is not mentioned suggests that it was not part of the sequence of events associated with the ploughing rite.

Based on the Ling *ding* inscription, then, the focus of the Zhou king at the ceremonial ploughing event was not on maintaining the quality of local agricultural activities. To understand the motivations behind the rite, we may benefit from a comparison with similar phenomena in other cultures.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 268-70.

⁸⁰ *Early Chinese Texts* cites Wei Juxian as dating the “Zhou yu” section of the *Guoyu* to 431 BCE; see Wei Juxian, *Gushi yanjiu*, Shanghai: Xinyue shudian, 1928, cited in Chang I-ren, William G. Boltz, and Michael Loewe, “Kuo yü,” in *ECT*, p. 264.

⁸¹ I have found nothing on *jitian* or *jili* in the *Shangshu*, the *Yizhoushu*, or the *Zhouyi*. The *Shi* refers briefly to *ji* in the “Zhou song” and Zheng Xuan's commentary thereupon; see Yang Kuan, 277.

3.2.2.2: *The coercive implications of ritual ploughing*

The performance of special ceremonies by the ruler to mark the beginning of the planting season is frequent among societies of a certain level of development. Apart from the early Chinese case, Yang Kuan mentions the example of predynastic Egypt (ca. 3000 BCE),⁸² citing the famous Scorpion Macehead, which shows a king – identifiable from his depiction adorned with the Crown of Upper Egypt, a standard iconographic element – clutching a hoe, potentially in preparation to break ground ritually for irrigation.⁸³ We may add the example of the Inka, who conducted a rite in which the ruler, his consort, and his entourage tilled the first field of the season by way of ceremonially fighting and conquering the soil.⁸⁴

All three of these royal ploughing rites share an association with war. This connection is particularly well recorded for the Inka case, wherein songs of triumph were sung and the tilling of the earth was referred to as “disboweling,” thanks to the existence of early ethnographic records from the Inka period.⁸⁵ The scene on the Scorpion Macehead includes bows, an element symbolizing Egypt’s military opponents, and a number of dead birds that have been understood to represent defeated populations.⁸⁶ The Ling *ding* inscription records that an archery competition was held in conjunction with the *jitian/jinong* rite; as we have seen above in the

⁸² See the chronology in Bruce Trigger, “The Rise of Civilization in Egypt,” in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 1, 546-7.

⁸³ Yang Kuan, *Xi Zhou shi*, 281. Yang describes but does not identify the Scorpion Macehead; on that item, see I.E.S. Edwards, “The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History I.2, Early History of the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press, 1971, 3-10, 51-3, and Trigger, 521-4, 527. On Scorpion’s adornment with the Crown of Upper Egypt, see Edwards, 6, specifically. For the interpretation of its scene as a royal tilling/irrigation ritual, see Bruce Williams, Thomas J. Logan, and William J. Murnane, “The Metropolitan Museum Knife Handle and Aspects of Pharaonic Imagery Before Narmer,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46.4 (Oct. 1987), 265; for the suggestion that the depiction is symbolic, see Edwards, 6.

⁸⁴ Brian S. Bauer, “Legitimization of the State in Inka Myth and Ritual,” *American Anthropologist* 98.2 (Jun 1996), 328-32.

⁸⁵ Bauer, 328. In particular, Bauer cites Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Perú*, H. V. Livermore, trans., Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989 (1609).

⁸⁶ Edwards, 3-6; Williams et al., 265. It is notable that the combination of bow and bird connotes civil violence in both the Egyptian and Chinese contexts; see the discussion of the Mai *fangzun* above.

discussion of the *feng/li* rite and will discuss below, archery played a key symbolic role in the ideology of Zhou royal power. These chronologically and geographically disparate regimes all found that the king's performance of the ceremonial role of "prime tiller" benefited from the concurrent expression of royal military might.

Following Yang's approach to the motivations behind the *jitian/jinong* rite, we might suggest that in the Zhou case, the connection of the rite with military activities offered a view of the consequences for any locals failing to conform to the elite program of labor appropriation by which their former institution of shared agricultural labor, dedicated to providing for offerings and the well-being of the unfortunate, had been subsumed. Commoners of the Western Zhou period undoubtedly experienced frustration at the need to work on the behalf of others.⁸⁷ The existence of an institution such as Yang asserts is, however, impossible to prove. For the usual reasons, little evidence of non-elite ritual practices survives from the Western Zhou and before.

The records of the *jitian/jinong* rite derive from sources serving elite interests, however, and we can certainly consider the utility of the rite in the management of relations between aristocrats. In this context, the king's performance of the plowing rite must have served as a reminder of the reach of royal authority and privilege, given, as is apparent from the inscription, that the host area of Qi belonged to the territory of a non-royal lineage. The ploughing rite recorded in the Ling *ding* inscription afforded the king an opportunity to keep up relations with the local elites controlling Qi. The act of ploughing itself, here as among the Inka, made a ritual argument for royal control of the local land and for the conception of the king as the starting point and source of agricultural activities.⁸⁸ The accompanying archery meet would have

⁸⁷ The difficulties of labor exploitation are addressed elsewhere in pre-Qin sources; see, for example, *Mencius* 1.3, *Shisanjing zhushu* 2666-7.

⁸⁸ The traditional construction of Zhou genealogy, in which the Zhou were said to be descended from Houji 后稷, "the Millet Lord," makes a related argument. See *Shiji*, "Zhou ben ji," 111-3.

reinforced the coercive implications of this argument, involving as it did a demonstration of the martial abilities of royal representatives such as the Supervisors.⁸⁹

The king's subsequent honoring of the representatives of the Zhai lineage provided a carrot to go with the stick, soliciting the loyalty of a particular local power group. The gift of thirty households of servants was quite substantial by Western Zhou standards and must also have materially strengthened the Zhai lineage, thus helping ensure that royal interests were represented in the area. By connecting this gift with the ploughing rite, the king created a motivation for local elites to “enroll” in the understanding of the Zhou state that the rite promoted, one in which the king enjoyed ultimate control over the land and was the necessary source – in other words, the “obligatory passage point” – of the resources it produced.⁹⁰

3.2.3: *Zhiju* 執駒 (“catching foals”)

In addition to the ploughing of the fields, the Zhou king also conducted a ceremonial “catching of foals” (*zhiju* 執駒). Several vessels discovered over the course of the second half of the twentieth century have furnished us with relatively rich records on this ceremony.

3.2.3.1: *The foal-catching rite in the Western Zhou inscriptions*

First and most distinctive among these was the *Li juzun* (6011), a middle Western Zhou vessel found in Mei county, Shaanxi, and mentioned in the previous chapter (fig. 3.3, Appendix 2).⁹¹ Its full inscription appears below:

⁸⁹ The pairings of competitors in the Ling *ding* archery meet are unclear, but other meets pitted groups of royal partisans against local representatives; for a more detailed discussion, see the following chapter.

⁹⁰ On the “obligatory passage point,” see Callon, 203-6.

⁹¹ See *Bureaucracy*, 153, n. 10; I am indebted to that source for bringing the foal-catching rite to my attention. *MWX* dates the vessel to the reign of King Yi; see *MWX*, 189. The appearance of Marshal Ju in the events recorded problematizes this dating; see *Bureaucracy*, 231, n. 50; Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 249, n. 62 (note that Shaughnessy

佳（唯）王十又二月，辰才（在）甲申，王初執駒于啟，王乎（呼）師虞召（詔）盨，王親旨（詣）盨，駒易（賜）兩，拜頤首曰：王弗望（忘）年（厥）舊宗小子，喆皇盨身。盨曰：王棚下，不（丕）其則，邁（萬）年保我邁（萬）宗。盨曰：余其敢對揚天子之休，余用乍（作）朕文考大中（仲）寶障彝。盨曰：其邁（萬）年世子孫孫永寶之。

It was the king's twelfth month; the time was the *jiashen* day, [when] the king first performed the catching of foals at An.⁹² The king called on Marshal Ju to summon Li, and the king personally acknowledged Li and awarded him two foals. Li bowed and struck his head, saying, "The king does not forget the young scion of his old ancestral line, but honors Li himself."⁹³ Li said, "The king is friendly to his subordinates. May he then for ten thousand years greatly protect our ten thousand *zong*!" Li said, "May I dare to respond by praising the beneficence of the Son of Heaven. I therewith make a precious sacrificial vessel for my cultured deceased father Da Zhong." Li said, "May [my] generations of sons and grandsons' grandsons for ten thousand years eternally treasure it."

Unfortunately, no concrete details are provided on the catching of foals itself. Presumably, the ceremony involved the corralling of the newest colts in the royal herds and, possibly, their breaking to the harness.⁹⁴ As with the spring plowing rite, the king's role in the catching of foals was clearly demonstrative; others must have carried out the bulk of the actual work of catching and breaking horses.⁹⁵ The ceremony provided an opportunity, however, for the king to

refers to the above vessel as the Tuan *juzun*). The vessel probably dates to no later than the reign of King Gong. Zhu Fenghan has suggested a King Mu dating; see "Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan de ji jian tongqi," paper presented at the conference "Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Shouyang Studio and Elsewhere: An International Conference Commemorating Twenty Years of Discoveries," Nov. 5-7, 2010, 14. The unique appearance of the vessel makes it difficult to situate in standard typologies.

⁹² Li Feng cites the discovery of the Zhong Jiang *ding* (2191), commissioned by a king for a certain Zhong Jiang 仲姜, as further evidence of royal activity in this area in Mei county, Shaanxi; see *Bureaucracy*, 153, n. 11. Yang Kuan feels instead that it indicates the performance of the foal-catching on the shores (*an* 岸) of the *biyong* pond; see Yang Kuan, "'Zhiju' de lizhi," in *Xi Zhou shi*, 828-9.

⁹³ The character 喆 is problematic. Ma suggests a phonetic connection with *hui* 輝; see *MWX*, 190, n. 5. The meaning of *huang* 皇, however, is clear; in the translation, I have treated the two as a compound phrase.

⁹⁴ This was the meaning of the phrase in later texts; see below. Given the importance of chariot warfare in the Zhou military model, one might expect that the royal house would have hosted some sort of equestrian or charioteering competition. However, as is shown below, depictions of the performance of archery in the inscriptions are quite explicit about the competitive aspect, naming the individuals involved and even, in one case, describing the award won by the victor (see the Zhabo *gui* 柞伯簋 [NA0076]). Given the absence of named competitors in the Li *juzun* inscription, it seems unlikely that the "foal-catching" it describes had a strong participatory element.

⁹⁵ Indeed, the diagnosis of the foal-catching as a rite relies, I hold, on the assumption that the king's performance of such a relatively menial activity must have been symbolic. I believe that this assumption is correct in this case.

distribute resources and prestige through the established network of Zhou aristocratic kinship. As noted in the first chapter, Li, the commissioner of the inscription and recipient of two foals from the king, claims a direct connection of kinship with the Zhou king himself and phrases his thanks in a way that suggests that the gift fulfilled an expectation of royal patronage.⁹⁶ Li's call for royal protection of the ten thousand *zong* 宗 suggests that in the context of the ceremony, at least, Li already conceived of the *zong* as the basic unit of Zhou elite society.

Li evidently placed special importance on the nature of the king's gift or on the context in which he received it – so much so that he made the unusual choice to cast the vessel commemorating it in the realistically molded shape of a horse.⁹⁷ Given this fact, considering the nature of his gift, and noting that the king summoned Li through the intermediary Marshal Ju rather than calling him directly, it seems likely that Li himself was involved in the care, training, or use of horses and that the gift he received from the king in the Li *juzun* inscription was a reward for his performance during the foal-catching rite. If true, this raises further questions about the relationship between the developing ritual apparatus of the Zhou and the royal kinship group.

The excavations at Zhangjiapo, Fufeng county, Shaanxi in the 1980s uncovered a set of three vessels with identical inscriptions, all recording a second occurrence of the foal-catching rite:⁹⁸

佳（唯）三年五月既生霸壬寅，王才（在）周，執駒于鬲丘，王乎嵩趨召達，王易（賜）達駒，達拜頤（稽）首，對鬲（揚）王休，用乍（作）旅盥。

The appearance of the term in the *Zhouli* (see below) may have contributed to its interpretation as a type of ceremony among scholars, though it bears mentioning that, in that text, the term appears *in conjunction with* the name of an offering rather than as a ceremony name in its own right.

⁹⁶ On Li's membership in the Shan lineage and his possible relationship to the royal house, see chapter 1, note 42.

⁹⁷ Vessels molded in realistic shapes were not, by and large, the norm for any point in the Western Zhou period.

⁹⁸ *Zhangjiapo*, 310-1; Zhang Changshou, "Lun Jingshu tongqi – 1983-1986 nian Fengxi fajue ziliao zhi er," *Wenwu* 1990.7, 32-35.

It was the third year, the fifth month, the *jishengba* moon phase, the *renyin* day. The king was at Zhou. [He] conducted the catching of foals at the Li 瀆 Residence. The king called on Sui Yi to summon Da. The king gave Da a foal. Da bows and strikes his head, praising the king's beneficence in response. [He] therewith makes a portable *xu*-vessel.

Zhu Fenghan has suggested the dating of these vessels, known collectively as the Da *xu* 達盥 (NA0692-4), to the reign of King Xiao, based on calendrical criteria; this dating is in concert with general knowledge about the use of vessels of the *xu* type.⁹⁹ In addition to providing evidence of the continued practice of foal-catching, the inscription offers us a few new tidbits of information on the circumstances of the rite. It records the time of year when the rite was performed – probably late spring, judging from its assignment to the fifth month. It informs us that the venue of the rite, the “Li Residence” (*liju* 瀆居), fell within the overall location of Zhou; this means in turn that the Li Residence was seen as a facility or a sub-site rather than a location in its own right. But two commonalities between the inscriptions are perhaps the most significant points: first, that the king made contact with the vessel commissioner through an intermediary who “summoned” the honoree;¹⁰⁰ and second, that the commissioner was rewarded with a foal, presumably one of those caught in the process. Despite the different location of performance, then, and the relative lack of detail about the actual process of catching foals, there was a degree of continuity between the processes of patronage and reward associated with the Li *juzun* and Da *xu* foal-catching events.

It has been suggested that Da was the name of Jingshu 井叔, the occupant of the tomb from which the Da *xu* were recovered.¹⁰¹ It so happens that the unusual inscription of the Yi *zhi*

⁹⁹ “Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan de ji jian tongqi,” 14. This conforms to the Zhangjiapo excavators’ dating of the tomb to their period 3, encompassing the reigns of Kings Yih and Xiao; see *Zhangjiapo*, 368. Generally speaking, bronze *xu* are confined to the latter half of the Western Zhou dynasty; see Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 433-6.

¹⁰⁰ On this intermediary, see the discussion of the Zuoce Wu *he* below.

¹⁰¹ See Yang Kuan, “‘Zhiju’ de lizhi”; Zhang Changshou, “Lun Jingshu,” 33.

趯解 (6516) records an appointment ceremony in which a Jingshu serves as the *youzhe* to a figure called Yi 趯, the same name borne by the *sui* 嵩 in the *Da xu* foal-catching event.¹⁰² That event took place in the third year of the reign of King Xiao, according to Zhu Fenghan; the *Yi zhi* inscription does not contain a year-record, but it has been dated to the reign of King Yih, though not by all.¹⁰³ If the *Yi zhi* is in fact a King Yih-era vessel, it is entirely possible that the Yi mentioned in the *Da xu* inscription was the commissioner of the *Yi zhi*, and in turn that the Jingshu that served as *youzhe* at Yi's appointment was the Da whom Yi later summoned to receive a foal from the king.¹⁰⁴ If that is the case, as I suspect it is, then the two vessels provide us with a rare glimpse into relations of reciprocity between non-royal elites at work beneath the surface of royal expressions of patronage.

One more inscription directly mentions the process of foal-catching. The *Zuoce Wu he* 作冊吳盃, a vessel in a private collection in Hong Kong, has recently come to scholars' attention thanks to discussions by Zhu Fenghan and Edward Shaughnessy.¹⁰⁵ The dating of this vessel is distinctly problematic. Its high year-count would seem only to accommodate datings to the reigns of King Mu or King Xuan.¹⁰⁶ Though I am less than persuaded of the possibility of exact

¹⁰² Unusual in that it is one of the few appointment inscriptions containing the phrase *mieli*; see chapter 4, note 23.

¹⁰³ On the dating of the *Yi zhi*, see Appendix 2, table 4.3.

¹⁰⁴ Zhang Changshou, "Lun Jingshu," 33.

¹⁰⁵ "Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan de ji jian tongqi"; Xia Hanyi, "Cong Zuoce Wu he zai kan Zhou Mu Wang zaiwei nianshu ji niandai wenti," in *Xin chu qingtongqi yu Xi Zhou lishi*, 52-5. The character choice in the transcription appearing here follows Shaughnessy's except where noted; I have added punctuation and glosses for some of the more commonly recognized character readings.

¹⁰⁶ Zhu Fenghan suggests the option of King Li as well, though he eliminates it on calendrical grounds; see "Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan de ji jian tongqi," 15. Following the chronology adopted by *Sources*, xix, and shared by *Bureaucracy* and by this work, however, a King Li dating is not possible. Shaughnessy follows King Mu option, based at least in part on the identity of *Zuoce Wu* with the figure of the same name and title who commissioned the *Zuoce Wu fangyi* (9898); see Xia Hanyi, "Cong Zuoce Wu," 53. (Shaughnessy assigns the *Wu fangyi* to King Yih. *MWX* agrees with this, suggesting identity of the commissioner with the "Interior Scribe Wu" [Neishi Wu 內史吳] mentioned in the *Shi Hu gui* inscription; see *MWX*, 246. Li Feng supports the identification as well; see *Bureaucracy*, p. 76.) Zhu Fenghan opposes the King Mu dating based on a calendrical conflict with the date format of the *Xian gui*; he finds King Xuan to be the only acceptable dating based on a combination of calendrical criteria and comparison with the ornamentation of other bronzes. See "Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue

calendrical dating for the Western Zhou period, I am inclined to favor Zhu Fenghan's suggestion of a King Xuan dating, suggestion based on his comparison of the décor of the *he* with that of such vessels as the Du Bo *xu* 杜伯盥 (4448-52) and the Shanfu Ke *xu* 善夫克盥 (4465).¹⁰⁷

Certainly the narrative of the Zuoce Wu *he* inscription is quite close to those of the Li *juzun* and Lai *xu* inscriptions; however, descriptions of the appointment ritual from the middle and late Western Zhou periods show similar consistency.¹⁰⁸ If Zhu is correct, then the Zuoce Wu *he* offers us evidence that the ritual catching of foals by the Zhou king continued into the late Western Zhou period.¹⁰⁹

Again, beyond the significance of its possible datings, the Zuoce Wu *he* inscription adds some details in its description of the foal-catching event; it thus appears here in its entirety:

佳（唯）卅年四月既生霸壬午，王在（在）𨔵，執駒于𨔵南林。初執駒，王乎嚳
𨔵 召作冊吳立唐門。王曰，“易（賜）駒。”吳拜稽首，受駒以出。吳敢對揚天子
不（丕）顯休，用作叔姬般（盤）盃。

It was the thirtieth year, the fourth month, the *jisiba* moon phase, the *renwu* day. The king was at (?).¹¹⁰ The catching of foals was held at the Southern Forest of (?). When the catching of foals was first¹¹¹ performed, the king called on Sui He(?)¹¹² to summon

you guan de ji jian tongqi,” 12-5.

¹⁰⁷ For Zhu Fenghan's dating of the bronze, see the above note. The dating of the Zuoce Wu *he* cannot be completely resolved based on our current evidence. To my mind, however, the issue as it stands boils down to whether it is more likely that two people bore the title-name combination “Document Maker Wu” over the course of the Western Zhou, or that a vessel produced during the reign of King Mu bore decoration characteristic of late Western Zhou bronzes. Given that there are confirmed examples in which a Western Zhou lineage member occupied an official post previously held by his ancestors (on which see *Bureaucracy*, 192-9), and given also that the decoration of King Mu-era vessels is generally quite distinctive (*ibid.*, 37), I find the former option to be more likely.

¹⁰⁸ Compare, for example, the inscription of the Li *fangzun*, cited by *Bureaucracy*, 105, n. 17, as one of the earliest appointment inscriptions, with that of the Song *ding*, translated on the same page (105-6) and dating probably to King Xuan (see *Bureaucracy*, 105, n. 19; see also *MWX*, p. 302). The process narrated is remarkably similar despite the chronological separation of the bronzes.

¹⁰⁹ “Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan de ji jian tongqi,” 14. That is not to say, however, that there may not have been interruptions in the practice. An antiquarian quality has been observed in some late Western Zhou bronze vessels (see Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” in *Cambridge History*, p. 439); there is no reason that this aesthetic may not have extended to ritual practices as well.

¹¹⁰ Zhu Fenghan notes the appearance of this place-name in the inscription of the San Shi *pan* 散氏盤 (10176); see *ibid.*, 13.

¹¹¹ Zhu Fenghan reads this character as *yi* 衣 and glosses it as *cu* 卒; see “Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan

Document Maker Wu to stand at the Tang Gate.¹¹³ The king said, “Give [Wu] a foal.” Wu bowed and struck his head, took the foal, and left. Wu dares in response to praise the great and brilliant beneficence of the Son of Heaven, therewith making a basin-ewer¹¹⁴ for Shu Ji.

The catching of foals at which Document Maker Wu was rewarded occurred not at the site of either of the previous examples, but at a third location called 覲; it would seem that the ceremony moved from place to place, perhaps to allow the king to distribute the privilege (or burden) of hosting between different interest groups. The party on whom the king called to summon the reward recipient bore the title *sui* 騶; this was so in the *Da xu* case but not the *Li juzun* case, in which Marshal Ju did the honors. Perhaps most interestingly, the inscription specifies that Wu received the foal right away rather than as a later disbursement, taking it with him as he left;¹¹⁵ this may suggest that this instance of the ceremony was conducted in a location suitable for the keeping of livestock. Finally, I would draw attention to the fact that the ceremony was conducted in the thirtieth reign-year, suggesting that the king was of relatively advanced age at the time. Zhu has suggested that the king’s catching of foals was probably

de ji jian tongqi,” 13. The distinction is between whether the line states that the king “first” or “initially” caught foals, or that the following events occurred when the catching of foals was over. Either viewpoint is supportable, the former based on comparison with the *Li juzun* inscription, the latter on the internal logic of the inscription itself.

¹¹² The intermediary responsible for summoning the grantee carries the title *sui* 騶 in both the *Da xu* and *Zuoce Wu he* inscriptions. Zhu Fenghan suggests that this term referred to a type of body-servant or high-ranking valet for the Zhou king; see “Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan de ji jian tongqi,” 14. In this regard Zhu adduces Li Xueqin’s argument in “Shang mo jinwen zhong de zhiguan ‘xie,’” in *Shihai zhenji – qingzhu Meng Shikai xiansheng qishi sui wenji*, Xin Shiji chubanshe, 2006. Since, as Zhu notes (14), the only Western Zhou inscriptions containing the title are those of the *Zuoce Wu he* and the *Da xu*, both of which describe the catching of foals, it is worth considering whether the Zhou may not have used the term to refer to a specific role in the foal-catching process.

¹¹³ The term *tang* is quite rare in the Western Zhou inscriptions; according to the AS database, it appears in only two inscriptions of Western Zhou date (the Bo Tangfu *ding*, discussed above, and the Tang Zhong Duo *hu* 唐仲多壺 [9572]). In both of those inscriptions, it serves as a name element, and so I reluctantly read it in the same way here, taking *tang men* 唐門 to mean “the gate of the Tang [lineage hall].” How and why the Tang lineage might have been involved in the foal-catching process I cannot explain.

¹¹⁴ The phrase 般 (盤) 盥 *ban (pan) he* refers to the use of *he*-ewers (like the *Zuoce Wu he*) and *pan*-basins together for washing one’s hands; see *MWX*, 179, n. 3.

¹¹⁵ Zhu Fenghan draws attention to this detail in “Xi Zhou qingtong zhongqi: *Zuoce Wu he*,” 4.

symbolic.¹¹⁶ The late reign-year of the Zuoce Wu *he* inscription lends some oblique support to that assumption.

Since, as the above inscriptions show, the catching of foals was performed with some regularity, one might expect that the royal house would establish some physical infrastructure to support it. One source hints at this possibility. The inscription of the Ninth-year Qiu Wei *ding* 九年衛鼎 (2831) records the king's receipt of an emissary of Mei'ao, a figure known also from the inscription of the Guaibo *gui* (4331), at a location called the "Foal Palace:"

佳（唯）九年正月既死霸庚辰，王才（在）周駒宮，各廟。眉敖者膚卓事見于王...
It was the ninth year, the first month, the *jisiba* moon phase, the day *gengchen*. The king was at the Foal Palace at Zhou and entered the temple. The emissary of Mei'ao Zhefu Zhuo was presented to the king...¹¹⁷

Li Feng has suggested that the "Foal Palace" (*Jugong* 駒宮) mentioned here might have been dedicated to the ritual catching of foals mentioned in the Li *juzun* inscription.¹¹⁸ Without additional material connecting the location directly with the catching of foals, this cannot be stated with certainty; in fact, the available inscriptional evidence suggests that different occurrences of the catching were held in different locales. However, the general habits of use of the place-name suffix *gong* 宮 in the Western Zhou inscriptions suggest that the Foal Palace probably did play host to events associated with horsemanship and/or charioteering.¹¹⁹

3.2.3.1: The foal-catching rite and the management of horseflesh in early China

¹¹⁶ "Jian lun yu Xi Zhou niandaixue you guan de ji jian tongqi," 14.

¹¹⁷ I follow Ma Chengyuan's reading of the excerpted lines here; see MWX 203, 136-8, esp. 137. The Ninth-year Qiu Wei *ding* is a dating standard for the reign of King Gong; see *Sources*, 111.

¹¹⁸ *Bureaucracy*, 162.

¹¹⁹ The "Study Palace" (*Xuegong* 学宫), for example, was actually used for the training of youths; see the inscription of the Jing *gui* (4273).

Like the Shang before them, the Zhou practiced chariot warfare – possibly on a much greater scale than the Shang, in fact.¹²⁰ Inscriptions such as that of the Duoyou *ding* (2835) confirm that the Zhou fielded large numbers of chariots on campaign, as did some of their opponents.¹²¹ The possession and use of horses was thus a key element of elite military endeavor and, by extension, of elite status among the Zhou. The king’s distributing of horses to client elites was not simply an expression of material patronage; it was also an arbitration of status-group membership, a way to mark individuals as participating in the upper echelons of Zhou elite culture.

By celebrating the king’s role in the husbandry of horses –the most important resource in the pursuit of the Zhou elite style of warfare, along with bronze – the catching of foals emphasized the provision, rather than the demonstration, of military strength.¹²² As a counterpoint to the spring plowing rite, the catching of foals argued for the king’s status as the ultimate source of all resources, both agricultural (as depicted in the spring plowing rite) and military (as depicted in the catching of foals). Naturally, to justify that status, the king had to distribute the resources in question; and indeed, the inscriptions mentioning the catching of foals all commemorate royal gifts of foals to lesser elites. The regular performance of the ceremony would have promoted its traditionalization and lent the vision of the king as resource arbiter a sense of inevitability and “inherited value,” to borrow Baudrillard’s term.¹²³

The relationship between the catching of foals and the overall management of horseflesh

¹²⁰ On the amount of chariots found at Zhou vs. Shang sites, see Shaughnessy, “Historical Perspectives on the Introduction of the Chariot into China,” *HJAS* 48.1 (June 1998), 189-237, esp. 190-1, 198-9.

¹²¹ See the translation and discussion of the Duoyou *ding* in Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 147-50.

¹²² This is not to say that the Zhou had no rites that overtly celebrated the exercise of military prowess. The Mai *fangzun* (JC: 6015) inscription cited above, for example, records the participation of the new ruler of the state of Xing in a rather transparent mimetic enactment of the king’s military might. Other rites – in particular, the *she* 射 /archery competition and the *liao* 燎 /presentation of ears – fulfilled this role in a more participatory fashion; see the relevant sections in the preceding and following chapters.

¹²³ Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, 88-9.

in the Zhou state is still vague. Given the frequency with which chariot-and-horse teams appear as royal gifts in the inscriptions,¹²⁴ the Zhou kings must have required a ready supply of horses; certainly, the existence of the Foal Palace shows that they created some infrastructure to support such a supply. It is possible that royal herds were kept at all of the places in which foal-catching ceremonies were held – An 𡗗 in Mei county, Li 瀆, and 𡗗 – and that their management provided occasions for the Zhou king to acknowledge subordinate elites and confer gifts. Since each foal-catching took place at a different location, however, it is equally possible that the herds producing the foals were maintained by local lineages rather than the royal house and that the king arrogated some or all of them for his own purposes, be they personal use or redistribution to favored recipients.

The king's performance of the foal-catching rite would then appear in much the same light as the example of the ploughing rite examined above – as a ritual effort to figure the Zhou king as an “obligatory passage point” in local production activities, to remind local elites of the reach of royal authority, and to renew and maintain relations with valued allies on the king's terms. Although the foal-catching rite positioned the king as the ultimate source of equine resources, however, its regular employment of an intermediary representative admitted indirect trajectories of patronage. Thus, alongside the case of the king's present of foals to Li, which appeared (at least to Li himself) as an expression of favor and fulfillment of obligations to royal kin, we have the Da *xu* case, in which a lineage potentate was called to his royal reward by the same functionary whose official appointment he sponsored under a previous king.

It should be mentioned that the term *zhiju* 執駒 appears a few times in later received texts,

¹²⁴ See Huang Ranwei, *Yin Zhou qingtongqi shangci mingwen yanjiu*, Hong Kong: Longmen, 1978, 173-84, 205-6 fig. 26; Chen Hanping, *Xi Zhou ceming zhidu yanjiu*, Shanghai: Xuelin, 1986, 239-50.

mainly in the ritual compendia.¹²⁵ The “Xia guan – Sima” 夏官司馬 (“Summer Offices – Master of Horse”) chapter of the *Zhouli* discusses it under the sections on the *xiaoren* 校人 and *souren* 廋人:

春祭馬祖。執駒。夏祭先牧。頒馬攻特。秋祭馬社。臧僕。冬祭馬步。獻馬講馭夫。

In the spring, [he] made offerings to the Horse Ancestors and caught the foals (*zhiju*). In the summer, he made offerings to the Former Herdsman and sought out horses for training in specialties. In the fall, he made offerings at the Altar of Earth of the Horses¹²⁶ and [selected?] good servants.¹²⁷ In the winter, he made offerings to the Horse Gait,¹²⁸ presented horses, and lectured the drivers.¹²⁹

廋人掌十有二閑之政。教以阜馬佚特。教馱。攻駒。及祭馬祖。祭閑之先牧。及執駒散馬耳。圉馬。

The *souren* (“Searcher”) held responsibility for the governance of the twelve enclosures. With instruction, he made the horses abundant and broke them to the specialties;¹³⁰ he instructed the three-year-olds and trained the foals;¹³¹ he made offerings to the Horse Ancestors and the Former Herdsmen of the enclosures; also, he caught the foals, loosened the horses’ ears, and stabled the horses.¹³²

This study cannot rely on the *Sanli* for evidence corroborating the existence or the details of a particular rite, as one of its main goals is to establish a baseline understanding of Western Zhou ritual to which the later ritual texts can be compared. As linguistic sources, however, the later

¹²⁵ Specifically, the phrase is found twice in the *Zhouli*, once in the *Da dai liji*, and once in the “Da qu” chapter of the *Mozi*; in the latter, it forms part of a semantic argument with no contextual information of use here. See *Shisanjing zhushu*, 860-1; Wang Pingzhen, *Da Dai liji jiegou*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983, 36-7; Zhang Chunyi, *Mozi jijie*, Shanghai: Shijie shuju, 1936, 383. Ma Chengyuan notes the *Zhouli* occurrences in his gloss of the inscription; see *MWX*, 190, n. 1a.

¹²⁶ The traditional commentary describes the *ma she* 馬社 as “the first to ride horses”; see *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 860.

¹²⁷ Zheng Xuan glosses *pu* 僕, “servants,” as “the servants that drive the Five Roads’”: see *ibid.*

¹²⁸ The “Horse Gait” or “Horse Step” (*Ma Bu* 馬步), the commentary suggests, was a spirit that brought harm upon horses; see *ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 860.

¹³⁰ Following the traditional commentary in reading *yi* 佚 as *yi* 逸, meaning, as the commentary puts it, 用之不使甚勞, 安其血氣也 (“It is that using them would not require extreme labor; to calm the *qi* of their blood”). See *Shisanjing zhushu*, 861.

¹³¹ The *Shuowen* identifies 馱 as three-year-old horses versus *ju* 駒 as two-year-olds; see *Shuowen*, 461. The traditional commentary notes this distinction as well; see *Shisanjing zhushu*, 861.

¹³² *Shisanjing zhushu*, 861.

texts are of some value in corroborating the basic assumption that the phrase *zhiju* 執駒, “catching foals,” referred to the breaking off of young foals from the herds for training. The first passage above, in particular, suggests an understanding of *zhiju* as the first point in the life cycle of the horse as work animal. The “Xia xiao zheng” chapter of the *Da dai liji* offers further detail on the understanding of the phrase in its time:

執陟攻駒。執也者，始執駒也。執駒也者，離之去母也。陟，升也，執而升之君也。攻駒也者，教之服車數舍之也。

“To catch the advance and train the foal.” “To catch” is to first catch the foal. To first catch the foal is to separate it from its mother. “To advance [it]” is to present it upward; it is caught and presented to the ruler. To train the foal” is to teach it to serve (i.e., pull) a cart and repeatedly to abandon (?) it.¹³³

Its gloss corroborates the idea that the process called “foal-catching” involved removing the foals from their mothers’ care and entering them into training, as well as the assumption that by the later Han, at least, the term referred to the carrying out of this process on a ruler’s, if not the royal, behalf.¹³⁴

The use of the term *zhiju* in the inscriptions, then, seems to conform well with its meaning in the later ritual texts as far as the basic details go. This is hardly surprising, as the exigencies of large-scale animal husbandry probably changed little over the six hundred years or so between Li’s era, for example, and the advent of the Han. It is important, however, not to read too much into the similarity. The *Zhouli* passages pose a particular danger of this, with their detailed description of the ritual calendar of horse husbandry and their frequent references to

¹³³ *Da Dai liji jiegou*, 36-7. The transcribed excerpt is taken from the CHANT database. However, the phrase 陟，升也 does not appear in the CHANT version; I have added it in order to conform with the text as given in *Da Dai Liji jiegou*. The *Da Dai Liji* is probably a later text even than the *Sanli*; see Jeffrey Riegel, “Ta Tai Li chi,” in *ECT*, 456-9, and on the “Xia xiao zheng” chapter, 458-9, as well as Benedykt Grynpas, *Les écrits de Tai l’Ancien et le petit calendrier des Hia*, Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient A. Maisonneuve, 1972, cited therein. Its value here is mainly as a gloss of the phrase in the *Zhouli*.

¹³⁴ On the later Han date for the *Da Dai Liji*, see Riegel, 456.

supernatural forces associated with horses. None of these supernatural figures (the Horse Ancestors [*Mazu* 馬祖], the Former Herdsman [*Xian Mu* 先牧], the Earth Altar of Horses [*Ma She* 馬社], and the Horse Gait [*Ma Bu* 馬步]) are mentioned in the JC bronze inscriptions, nor, to my knowledge, do they feature in any pre-Qin or Han-era text other than the *Zhouli*.¹³⁵ Neither am I aware of any evidence that the Zhou venerated horses in a capacity beyond their value as prestige goods, military tools, and markers of elite status. The figures in the *Zhouli* passage portray a peculiar understanding of the ritual institutions associated with horse husbandry that cannot be verified as valid for the Western Zhou period – nor, for that matter, for any period up through the Han dynasty. Such potential dangers should be borne in mind when considering the applicability of the *Sanli* and other later texts to the study of Western Zhou phenomena.¹³⁶

3.3: Conclusion: figuring and refiguring the Zhou king

Latour identifies four points of entry for inquiry into the formation of groups: the designation of spokespeople to carry out the ongoing work of group definition; the specification of “out-groups” to contrast with the “in-group” being formed; the demarcation of boundaries distinguishing the group from other threatening identities; and the involvement of social scientists in establishing and perpetuating a definition for the group.¹³⁷ This last type of “trace” he associates with developed societies; we may leave it behind for now, although it may be of some use in characterizing Spring and Autumn-era approaches to the ritual component of Zhou

¹³⁵ A search of the CHANT and AS databases produced no other results for these phrases.

¹³⁶ The *Zhouli* assertions on the timing of and party responsible for the rite should also be addressed. The Li *juzun* inscription states that the catching of foals took place in the king’s twelfth month; this dating method is unfortunately ambiguous as to the timing of the rite within the year. As for the responsible parties, neither Marshal Ju nor Li verifiably held the position of *sima* 司馬. The inscription of the Li *fangyi* (9900), however, does record Li’s appointment to a position with authority over the Three Supervisors of the Six Armies; this would mean that Li had some *sima* as subordinates. On the connection between this bronze, the Li *juzun*, and the Shi Ju bronzes, see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 249 n. 62; Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 231, n. 50.

¹³⁷ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 30-3.

identity.¹³⁸ The former three, however, are of specific interest to the current discussion. After the Zhou conquest of Shang, the new royal house leveraged its access to ritual techniques in an effort to promote a coherent group identity among its adherents; the previous two chapters have explored this process in detail. To maintain its position of ascendancy, however, the Zhou kings sought also to distinguish themselves as spokespersons, to borrow Latour's term, for the Zhou elite group identity. The rites considered here may be understood as steps toward this goal; the particulars thereof – especially those of the “Great Rite” – show traces of the royal house's efforts toward the second and third goals.¹³⁹ The pursuit of these goals required an ongoing effort at the figuration of the Zhou king as a key actant in the narrative of the Zhou state;¹⁴⁰ the traces of that effort have provided the material for this chapter.

Historical traditions emphasize that the Zhou kings rose to power at the head of a military coalition of disgruntled peoples in response to oppression at the hands of a centralized, theocratic authority.¹⁴¹ The development of the Western Zhou repertoire of royal ritual framings conforms well to this model. Rather than propitiating natural spirits, as is often seen in the records of Shang rites in the oracle bone inscriptions, the ritual framings of the Zhou kings against the surrounding world bore strong traces of military organization – even the single recorded instance of the spring ploughing rite happened in conjunction with an archery meet – and argued for the supremacy of human institutions over non-human forces (including land, animals, and non-Zhou populations). The king appeared in them as a “first among equals;” he was characterized as excelling at skills which everyone possessed or originating activities in which everyone took part.

¹³⁸ See *ibid.*, 34.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁴⁰ On the figuration of actants, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 52-4. Throughout this work, I unapologetically pursue a figuration of the Zhou royal house, and of the individual Zhou kings, as key agencies in the narrative of Western Zhou history, with discernible motivations. As justification, I would point out that, as portrayed in all surviving materials from the period, this figuration was of singular importance in Zhou elites' conceptions of state and identity.

¹⁴¹ See “Mu shi” in *Shangshu zhengyi, Shisanjing zhushu*, 182-3.

Generally speaking, rites figuring the Western Zhou kings evoked specific geopolitical interests inherent to the establishment of the infrastructure of Zhou power -- the founding of Chengzhou, the control of the borders of Zhou territory, the counterbalancing of delegated authority over outlying areas, the maintenance of control over the strategic chokepoint of Qi.

Outside the realm of ancestral offerings,¹⁴² the bronze inscriptions record one ritual technique used to frame the image of the early Western Zhou kings against the surrounding world. This was the ceremonial boating called the *da feng/li* rite. Like many aspects of Zhou ritual, the kings inherited certain aspects of this practice from their Shang predecessors, particularly the habit of conducting archery on a body of water. The Zhou implementation of the practice, however, introduced several innovations that emphasized the mimetic aspects of royal boating and shooting. In particular, by staging the rite on the regularly shaped, cosmologically significant *biyong* or *bichi* pond, the Zhou kings made a statement about the extent of royal authority and its role in the new, post-Shang order. The rite simultaneously situated both the king and the performance site at the imagined center of the Zhou state, while emphasizing the king's ability to reach to the bounds of that state and beyond. The addition of shooting to the ritual sequence reinforced its martial implications. Using specific animals associated with antagonistic border populations as targets drove home the portrayal of the king as military leader, bolstered the mimetic connection between the *biyong* pond and the area of Zhou control, and encouraged an understanding of Zhou royal adherents as “in-group” in contrast to sub-human “out-groups” of border-dwellers.

The innovative effectiveness of the “Great Rite” lay in its formulation of the Zhou state

¹⁴² This is not to suggest that the *da feng/li* ceremony was completely divorced from the ancestral-ritual context; on the contrary, the *Mai fangzun* instance, for example, took place in conjunction with royal ancestral rituals, and depictions of the rite in the inscriptions of ancestral bronzes extended its efficacy into local contexts. The point is simply that the rhetorical effectiveness of the *da feng/li* process itself did not rely on reference to the world of ancestral spirits.

as a geographically delimited territory within which the king, assisted by elite followers, exercised the power of life and death. This idea evidently took hold in both the governmental and ritual strategies of the Zhou kings from the earliest stages of the period. Li Feng has noted that, while the Zhou kings conceived of their state in territorial terms, their efforts to control it consisted of the delegation of administrative functions to regional rulers, together with the assumption that the king could if necessary carry out defensive military actions anywhere within the overall territory of the state.¹⁴³ The rites conducted on the *biyong* pond neatly depict this state of affairs, their scope restricted mainly to portraying the king's ability to kill effectively in any direction within the known world. Limitation of the activity of accompanying participants, as depicted in the Mai *fangzun* inscription and Bo Tangfu *ding* inscriptions, ritually counterbalanced the delegation of authority to figures such as the Marquis of Xing that was inherent to the composition of the early Zhou state. The ritual shooting of animals by the king in the Mai *fangzun* inscription was an effort to remind participants of the reach of royal military power beyond the king's limited range of direct administrative control.

Cases of the *da feng/li* rite reach across the early Western Zhou and into the early stages of the middle Western Zhou, with the last occurrence dating probably to the reign of King Mu. Further records, however, portray the introduction of new ritual models of the place of the king in the world around the beginning of the middle Western Zhou. The first case of the ritual plowing of the earth by the king, and the only case of which a definite record survives, happened probably during the reign of King Zhao. Either King Gong's or King Mu's saw the first recorded case of the *zhiju*, or catching of foals, a ceremonial tradition repeated under later kings. Between them, these two rites moved toward a figuration of the Zhou king as the source and arbiter of the key resources of the Zhou state, both agricultural and military; they framed the king

¹⁴³ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 287-8.

as foundation as well as center of the state.

Though the new rites of the late-early and middle Western Zhou period portrayed the king as a fundamental, indispensable source of – an “obligatory passage point” for – vital production activities, evidence from the *Da xu* and *Yi zhi* inscriptions shows that they could also afford room for patronage relations originating outside, if still flowing through, the royal house.¹⁴⁴ In all likelihood, similar relations circulated under the surface of official appointment rituals, royally sponsored archery meets, and other ritual activities claiming the Zhou king as arbiter but requiring intermediaries for their completion. By itself, this does not necessarily imply the subversion of royal authority. A “ruler” as a political individual is always a figuration of agencies, and to maintain its integrity, that figuration can and must endure constant reformulation in order to incorporate competing and concurrent visions of the group.¹⁴⁵ Figuration also requires exclusion, however;¹⁴⁶ and if the formulated identity of the king can incorporate outside interests, then those interests can likewise incorporate elements of the formulation of royal authority to advance their interests. By emphasizing the qualitative distinction between the king and other Zhou elites, the ritual refiguring of the king as source and arbiter of production activities simultaneously created powerful new motivations for enrollment in the Zhou state identity and opened up the possibility of a Zhou elite identity separate from the ruling house.¹⁴⁷

The assignment of responsibility for “spring plowing” in the *Shi Zai gui* inscription, and

¹⁴⁴ On the “obligatory passage point,” see Callon, 203-6.

¹⁴⁵ On the figuration of agencies, and in particular on individual identity as such, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 52-8. Group identity is of course inherent in the figuration of rulership, in that a ruler is defined in terms of his or her relationship to subjects. The ruler is both the epitome of a group identity and the one person who can never be part of it, a sentiment expressed in the early Chinese expressions *guaren* 寡人, “the lonely man,” and *wofu yi ren* 我/余一人, “I, the solitary man” (for the latter of which, see first the inscription of the *Da Yu ding* [2837]).

¹⁴⁶ Latour draws an analogy between the postulation of anti-groups as part of the performance of groups and the denial of agencies as part of the figuration of other agencies; see *Reassembling the Social*, 56.

¹⁴⁷ On the concept of “enrollment” (*interesement*), see Callon in Law, 206-11.

the existence of a “Foal Palace” as seen in the Ninth-year Qiu Wei *ding* inscription, show that the broadening of the Zhou kings’ repertoire of framing rituals accompanied efforts to establish institutional control over the production activities with which they were associated. Over the course of the middle Western Zhou period, changes in the political and military situation changed the priorities of the royal house, motivating the Zhou kings to intensify their control over various aspects of state operation.¹⁴⁸ The introduction of the ploughing rite and the catching of foals formed part of a multifaceted intensification of control over multiple aspects of the operation of the Zhou state. In addition to the addition of these new rites framing the king against the background of the natural world, this process drove further changes in the ritual manifestations of patronage, recognition, and reward. The following chapter will characterize those changes.

¹⁴⁸ On the substantial political changes made to the state during the middle Western Zhou period, see *Bureaucracy*, 34-8.

CHAPTER 4
ENROLLING ALLIES: RECOGNITION, REWARD, AND THE RITUAL
INSTANTIATION OF PATRONAGE

The king said, “Hey! Elder lords of our allied states; governors of affairs; Supervisors of Land, Supervisors of Horse, and Supervisors of Works; lesser campaigners; Marshals; chiefs of a thousand men, and chiefs of a hundred men; and men of Yong, Shu, Jiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, Peng, and Pu. Raise your halberds, line up your shields, and stand up your spears. I will make a pledge!”

Shangshu, “Mu shi”¹

4.1: Introduction

The Zhou kings did not sally forth from the West, conquer the Shang unaided, and bring the rest of the *Huaxia* world to heel. Traditional accounts hold, and archaeological materials confirm, that the early Zhou state was a conglomerate of interest groups with varying types and degrees of connection to the Zhou royal house.² With the overthrow of the Shang kings, the single greatest external point of contrast for the definition of the coalition as a group faded. Maintaining the coherence of the Zhou cultural project in its absence was one of the greatest challenges faced by the Zhou kings in the construction of their state. The promulgation of Shang-style ancestral ritual played an important role in that process. Other types of ceremonies, however, helped establish and maintain patronage relationships between high-status Zhou elites and their subordinates. These ceremonies, involving the conferral of both material wealth and

¹ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 182-3.

² Some were relatives, some were other Western peoples, some were former Shang adherents, and some were independent populations from the south and east. The “Mu shi,” cited above, is a standard source on the involvement of other fringe populations in the conquest; for the classic accounts of the assignments of states to royal relatives, see *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 111-73. Archaeological evidence on the constituent populations of the early Zhou state is both abundant and complex. For a summary of the archaeology of the Zhou and their allied populations both before and after the Shang conquest, see Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” in *Cambridge History*, 375-413. For an inscriptional source on the integration of diverse populations into the fabric of the early Zhou state, see the *Ke lei* 克罍 (JL 987), associated with the establishment of the state of Yan, near modern Beijing, by a relative of the Duke of Shao. On the discovery of this vessel, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo/Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo Liulihe kaogudui, “Beijing Liulihe 1193 hao da mu fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1990.1, 20-31, esp. pp. 24-5. An English translation of this inscription appears in *Bureaucracy*, 241-2; 242, n. 2, offers a list of studies of the individual populations mentioned in the inscription.

prestige, enjoyed a substantial degree of overlap with the operation of the ancestral cult, spurring the creation of a significant proportion of the Western Zhou period's most extensively inscribed bronzes.

This chapter examines the three main ritual instantiations of patronage portrayed in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions: the *mieli*, or “recounting of merits”; the ceremonial performance of archery; and the appointment ceremony common in the middle and late Western Zhou inscriptions. Considering the different approaches of these rites to the enrollment of subordinates in the Zhou state project, it shows that the Zhou kings diversified their deployment of resources in the ritual instantiation of patronage during the middle Western Zhou period. This initiative bolstered a weakening model of military patronage dating back to the Shang, creating new ritual contexts of recognition and reward of subordinates. These new contexts, the chapter argues, both accompanied and helped create a deeper sense of distinction between the Zhou kings and non-royal elites, a situation reflected in the portrayal of ancestral rituals in the bronzes of the late Western Zhou period.

4.2: *Mieli* 蔑歷 (“recounting of merits”)

Most bronze inscriptions of any length, and especially those of the early Western Zhou, record the conveyance of recognition, material reward, or patronage to their commissioners in one way or another. The pithiest expression of those motives, however, and one which likely indicated a specific ceremony, was the term *mieli* 蔑歷. *Mieli* has been subject to a variety of speculative readings since the beginnings of academically rigorous philological study of bronze script.³ Dissenting opinions on its precise nature continue to emerge.⁴ Separate studies by Tang

³ Jiang Yunkai and Wang Yutang, “Mie li, ran gan shi,” *Hunan shiyuan xuebao* 1981.2, 93-4, contains an

Lan and Yan Yiping, however, established a reading of the phrase as “to recount merits” or “to recognize achievements.”⁵ In all likelihood, this process involved the reading and/or creation of a written record of the merits being recounted.⁶ Most treatments identify the term *mie* 蔑 in the phrase with the character *fa* 伐, used in the phrase *foyue* 伐鬪, of Han vintage, to describe a similar procedure of detailing a government functionary’s life history.⁷ Li Feng has recently put forth the alternate reading of *mie* as *mie* 滅, meaning both “to extinguish” and “to fill”; the latter reading, he suggests, further supports an understanding of *mieli* as including the composition (or “filling out”) of a written account of the target’s accomplishments.⁸

Whether it indeed involved a written record or not, there is no question that *mieli* was a regularized ceremony conducted by Western Zhou authority figures that expressed satisfaction toward a subordinate and was frequently accompanied by physical gifts.⁹ The following discussion will consider those aspects of *mieli* in finer detail, with an eye toward changes in the patterns of its performance over the course of the Western Zhou period.

The body of inscriptions considered in the present study records 41 distinct occurrences of the *mieli* ceremony. The *Xiaozi X you* 小子鬻卣 (5417), a late Shang vessel, holds one of these; of the rest, 12 date to the early Western Zhou, 26 to the middle Western Zhou, and only 3 to the late Western Zhou. Between the early and middle Western Zhou periods in particular, the

informative summary of some of the earliest readings of the phrase.

⁴ See for example Luo Zhenyue, “‘Mieli’ yici zai jinwen zhong de hanyi ji ci shi,” *Guizhou daxue xuebao* 19.5 (2001), 69-72, which puts forth the opinion that *mieli* indicated the conferral of foodstuffs; and Zhu Qizhi, “‘Mieli’ xin shuo,” *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 2010.6, 53-5, which reads the phrase as “to add rites” (*jia li* 加禮).

⁵ Tang Lan, *Tang Lan xiansheng jinwen lunji*, Beijing: Zijincheng, 1995, 224-35; Yan Yiping, “Mieli guyi,” *Zhongguo wenzi* 10 (1962), 1-13. See also Shirakawa Shizuka, “Betsureki kai,” *Koukotsugaku* 4-5 (1959), 89-104.

⁶ Li Feng, “Literacy and the Social Contexts of Writing in the Western Zhou,” in Li Feng and David Prager Braner, eds., *Writing and Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011, 277-9. See also Cook, “Wealth and the Western Zhou,” 278-9.

⁷ Tang Lan, *Tang Lan xiansheng*, 226-34; Yan Yiping, “Mieli guyi,” 9-13; Cook, “Wealth and the Western Zhou,” 278-80; see also Li Feng, “Literacy and the Social Contexts,” 278.

⁸ Li Feng, *ibid.*, 279.

⁹ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 226-9; “Literacy and the Social Contexts,” 278.

circumstances of *mieli* recorded in the inscriptions show significant differences. The following section will thus approach the known cases based on this chronological division.

4.2.1: *Mieli in the early Western Zhou inscriptions*

Inscriptions dated by AS to the early Western Zhou record a total of 12 instances of *mieli* associated with 10 distinct patronage relationships (table 4.1, Appendix 2). The Zhou kings performed half of these. The remaining cases were performed by an assortment of powerful lineage chiefs of the early Western Zhou period, including Bo Maofu 伯懋父, Bo Xinfu 伯犀父, the Duke of Zhai (*Zhaigong* 濂公), etc.; though one case, that recorded in the inscription of the Xiaochen Lai *gui* 小臣 謏簋 (4238-9), took place at the explicit request of the Zhou king.

Certain trends common among both royal and non-royal cases suggest a strong Shang association for the early performances of *mieli*. Of the five of these Western Zhou vessels on whose discovery information survives, only one, the Tian Wang *gui* 天亡簋 (4261), is said to have its origins in the Zhou homeland; the remaining four are associated with Henan and with the Luoyang area in particular.¹⁰ Six of the inscriptions contain dedications to ancestors named with Shang-style *tiangan* names; only one names a dedicatee in other terms.¹¹ Together, these points suggest that the Zhou adopted the model of *mieli* from the Shang – an idea corroborated by the use of the term in the inscription of the Xiaozi X you 小子 鬻 卣 (5417), a late Shang

¹⁰ These are the Bao *you* and the Bao *zun* inscriptions, recording the king's honoring of Bao; and the Jing *gui*, Xiaochen Lai *gui*, and Si *ding*, all recording cases of *mieli* performed by non-royal elites. The Xiaochen Lai *gui* (4238) is said to come from Lujiang county, Anhui (4238) and Xun county, Henan, to the southeast of Anyang (see the AS database); the rest are associated with Luoyang. On the Xiaochen Lai *gui*, see *Zhensong* 6.6-7, *Zhenbu* 1.28-9; for the (Yushi) Jing *gui*, see *Zhensong* 5.40 (both cited in *Bureaucracy*, Appendix 2); on the Si *ding*, see *Zhenbu* 1.11.1; on the Bao *you* and the Bao *zun*, see *Duandai* 2, 7-9, 568-9.

¹¹ The former six are the Jing *you* and Jing *gui*, the Bao *you* and Bao *zun*, the Fan *gui*, the Yu *gui*, and the Naizi Ke *ding*. The Si *ding* may be another case; it is dedicated to a Father X, the final line of the inscription being too damaged to make out. The one exception mentioned is the inscription of the Geng Ying *you*, which is dedicated to "her cultured mother-in-law" (*jue wen gu* 厥文姑).

vessel – and continued its use for the management of relationships with, and potentially between, elites of Shang heritage.¹²

With the exception of the Tian Wang *gui* – at any rate a questionable case – all of the inscriptions record gifts of prestige goods from superior to subordinate. However, the particular items given vary substantially, including metal, silk, hides, cowries, horses, garments, jewels, vessels, and “treasures” generally construed.¹³ This is in accord with the understanding of *mieli* as a framework for the recognition of success on military campaign; rewards granted would have depended on the spoils taken in the combat action just completed.¹⁴

There is an important distinction to be made, however, between the early performances of *mieli* among non-royal elites and its implementation by the Zhou royal house. Those bronze inscriptions which record additional details about non-royal cases of *mieli* relate them only to military endeavors; thus Petty Minister Lai was recognized for his work on campaign against the Eastern Yi, Jing for fighting against the Southern Yi, and Fan for his campaign support of the Elder of Ji. The royal cases, by contrast, record wide variance in the context of the ceremony’s performance. Bao’s receipt of *mieli* came in conjunction with his assignment to the effort of subjugating Yin remnants in the east. The inscriptional record of *mieli* for Yu 寓 notes only that he was assigned to assist a generic group of “great men” (*da ren* 大人), however, and the Tian Wang *gui* case is associated with the vessel commissioner’s assistance of the king in an ancestral rite. The recipients of royal *mieli* ceremonies for which no context was recorded included Geng Ying, who, judging from her designation with the *xing*-term Ying and the dedication of one of

¹² This vessel’s use of *mieli* is noted in *Bureaucracy*, 228.

¹³ Bao *you* (5415), Bao *zun* (6003).

¹⁴ Li Feng notes the connection of early Western Zhou *mieli* with military campaigns; see *Bureaucracy*, 228.

her vessels to her mother-in-law (*gu* 姑), was almost certainly female.¹⁵ The situation with Yu 馯 is less certain; however, the king's gift of finished, courtly robes suggests that the value of Yu's service may have lain in the administrative realm.¹⁶ Evidently, the Zhou kings extended the interaction model of *mieli* beyond the context of military endeavor, putting it to work as a tool for managing relationships with civil officials and even powerful elite women. Given the lack of evidence for such use in non-royal inscriptions, it would appear that this retooling of *mieli* was an innovation of the Zhou royal house.¹⁷

4.2.2: *Mieli in the middle Western Zhou inscriptions*

The majority of cases of *mieli* – 24, distributed between 26 inscriptions – appear in inscriptions that JC/the AS database dates to the middle Western Zhou period (table 4.2, Appendix 2). Many of the trends in its performance established during the early Western Zhou carry over to this period. As with the early cases, these split almost precisely between instances of *mieli* carried out by non-royal elites and those performed by the Western Zhou royal house. Most cases of the former were still associated with military and police actions; in particular, the campaigns of a figure known as (Marshal/Elder) Father Yong (*Bo/Shi Yongfu* 伯/師雍父)

¹⁵ This likely precluded her from substantial military service among the Zhou. For a possible counter-argument, see the description of the famed Shang figure Fu Hao in Robert L. Thorp, *China in the Early Bronze Age: Shang Civilization*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, 136-7; see also Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Yinxu Fu Hao mu*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1980. I am not aware of any such cases dating to the Western Zhou period, however.

¹⁶ This is in contrast with the gifts given in non-royal cases of early Western Zhou *mieli*, which were restricted to unfinished goods (hides, silk, metal) and portable wealth (cowries, horses, a *zhang*-jade).

¹⁷ The paucity of evidence makes it difficult to draw a contrast between the use of *mieli* under the Shang and its implementation by the Zhou kings. The OBI do not, to my knowledge, contain the phrase *mieli*, and the one case in the Shang bronze inscriptions, mentioned above, records that the recipient received the vague order to “first use men at Jin” (先以人于堇). It is thus difficult to say whether the use of *mieli* for non-military purposes was a break with Shang practice. Given that such cases do not appear among non-royal inscriptions, despite the fact that powerful non-royal elites must have had subordinates with civil responsibilities (on which see *Bureaucracy*, 248-52), I am inclined to think that the use of *mieli* in non-military contexts was pioneered by the Zhou kings.

resulted in a number of *mieli* ceremonies and concomitantly produced bronzes.¹⁸ There are notable exceptions, however, both associated with elite lineages designated as *gong* 公, “dukes.” The inscription of the Fan *you* (5430), discussed in chapter 2, records that “the Duke” performed *mieli* for Fan after completing a series of his own ancestral rites, while the *mieli* in the inscriptions of the Ci *you* and Ci *zun* came in the wake of Ci’s appointment as an agricultural overseer by a figure called Gong Ji.¹⁹ Notably, both of these *mieli* were accompanied by gifts of finished goods – a fur coat (*qiu* 裘) for Ci, a set of ancestral vessels (*zongyi* 宗彝) for Fan – in contrast with the militarily oriented cases, in which only cowries and metal were awarded.²⁰ Judging solely from the inscriptions, the contextually diverse royal approach to *mieli* was taken up by certain powerful non-royal elites by the middle Western Zhou period, though the main context of the practice among non-royal elites continued to be military in nature.²¹

¹⁸ The inscriptions of the Yu yan 遇甗 (948), the X ding 𩇑鼎 (2721), the Lu gui 录簋 (4122), the Lu you 录卣 (5419-20), the Ju you 稽卣 (5411), and the You zun 畀尊 (6008) all record cases of *mieli* performed either by or on behalf of Bo/Shi Yongfu (table 4.2). These form part of a block of inscriptions mentioning Yongfu and generally dated together, on which see Shirakawa, vol. 2, chapter 17, 179-233. *MWX* dates these inscriptions to the reign of King Mu (see *MWX*, 113-23), as does *Daxi* (see 32a; 31b; 34b; 33b; 32b; and 33a, respectively). Shirakawa associates them with the southern campaigns of King Zhao (see vol. 2, 232), but also notes the similarity of their calligraphy to materials from the King Mu period, (vol. 2, 229). *Duandai*, on the other hand, dates most of this group to the latter half of King Kang’s reign; see *Duandai*, 2, no. 93). Together, these inscriptions contain half of the non-royal cases of *mieli* recorded in the bronze inscriptions.

The datings of *Daxi*, *MWX*, and Shirakawa do not necessarily contradict each other. If King Zhao indeed perished during a campaign to the south, as would now seem relatively certain (see the discussion below), it is quite likely that some bronzes commemorating events associated with that campaign were in fact cast during the reign of the following king, King Mu. It is hardly surprising that most inscriptional records associated with that campaign would record interactions with non-royal power-holders, as those serving with the king at the time of his demise were presumably not honored for their efforts.

¹⁹ Following the naming conventions of the bronze inscriptions, Gong Ji was probably a woman of the Ji 姬 surname who was married to a figure bearing the title *gong* 公; see chapter 1.

²⁰ This excludes the *mieli* mentioned in the inscriptions of the Si gui 肆簋 (4192-3) and the Shi Zai ding 師鬲 鼎 (2830), which, though performed by non-royal elites, occurred ultimately at the behest of the king; these included the presentation of courtly garments and equestrian accoutrements.

²¹ In chapter 2, the same observation was made for the *di/chu* rite, which the Duke in question carried out in advance of his performance of *mieli* for Fan. Given that the *rong* 彤 and *di/chu* 禘/啻 rites recorded in the Fan *you* were both performed by the Zhou king at major ritual events (see chapter 2) and that the Da gui 大簋 (4165) records a *mieli* at which the gift given was specifically meant to support the *di/chu* rite, it is likely that the Duke’s performance of a non-military *mieli* was a direct emulation of royal ritual practices.

As in the early Western Zhou, royal performances of *mieli* during the middle Western Zhou occurred in a variety of contexts. Royal *mieli* lost its military character almost completely during this period, such that only one of the royal *mieli* rites was devoted to military personnel; that *mieli*, mentioned in the inscription of the Shi Wang *ding* (2812), targeted a Marshal Wang, described as “scion of the Grand Marshal” (*Taishi xiaozi* 太師小子).²² Other royal *mieli* occurred in association with the appointment of a new Supervisor of Works (Mian *you* 免卣 [5418]/Mian *zun* 免尊 [6006]), a royal feasting and drinking session with which the honoree assisted (Shi Ju *fangyi* 師遽方彝 [9897]), and other events of importance in the sphere of civil governance.²³ These were accompanied by gifts of finished courtly clothing and jade accoutrements, in contrast with the raw, portable wealth conferred on non-royal recipients of military *mieli*.²⁴

²² Ma dates the Shi Wang *ding* to King Gong (see *MWX*, 146), as does *Daxi* (see *Daxi* 63a). Li Feng suggests its dating to the reigns of Kings Yih-Xiao; see *Bureaucracy*, 227. This dating is based on its connections with a range of different bronzes, on which see Li Xueqin, *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1990, 85-7; for another consideration of the Shi Wang network of bronzes, see Shirakawa, vol. 3, 67-80. Another vessel, the Shi Zai *ding* 師鬲鼎 (2830), records the performance of *mieli* for Marshal Zai by “the Elder Grand Marshal” (*Bo Taishi* 伯太師) at the behest of the king; given that the Grand Marshal was his direct superior, Marshal Zai was almost certainly a military official. A reference to “my august deceased father King Mu” (*zhen huang kao Mu Wang* 朕皇考穆王) in the Shi Zai *ding* inscription dates it unambiguously to the reign of King Gong; see *Sources*, 111.

²³ One intriguing inscription, that of the Yi *zhi* 趯觶 (6516), commemorates a classic instance of the Western Zhou appointment ceremony (see below) and records the recipient’s expression of gratitude to the king for his *mieli*, suggesting a perceived commonality between the practices. Both *MWX* and *Duandai* date this inscription to the reign of King Yih 懿; see *MWX*, 178; *Duandai*, 184-5. Another of the above inscriptions, that shared by the Mian *you* and the Mian *zun*, records the performance of a *mieli* as part of an official appointment ceremony. A full translation and discussion of this inscription appears in *Bureaucracy*, p. 228; again, both *MWX* and *Duandai* date it to the reign of King Yih (see *Duandai*, 183; *MWX*, 178). To my knowledge, these are the only points of contact between these two phenomena in the Western Zhou record. Given the number and chronological distribution of independent occurrences of both *mieli* and the appointment ceremony, I am inclined to think that no regular connection existed outside these two occurrences.

²⁴ Mian received a black leather kneepad with white hemp-colored band (following the reading in *MWX*, 179, n. 1); Yi, a gathered jacket (*shi yi* 戡衣) and a black leather kneepad with white hemp-colored bands (again,); Marshal Ju, a mian-jade tablet (*mian? gui* [玉+面]圭) and four jade ring-ornaments (*huan zhang* 環璋). Recipients of *mieli* associated with ceremonial archery meets received similar items (see table 4.2).

The royal program of ancestral ritual provided the context for three *mieli* carried out by middle Western Zhou kings. The inscriptions of the Xian *gui/pan* 鮮盤 (10166) and the Da *gui* 大簋 (4165), both probably dating to around the time of King Mu, associate *mieli* with the rite called *di/chi*.²⁵ The former commemorates Xian's honoring with *mieli* after the king's performance of *di/chi* for King Zhao, while the latter notes Da's receipt of livestock intended for use in *di/chi* as a reward following *mieli*. The Duan *gui* 段簋 (4208) records the events of a royal visit to Bi 畢 in which the king performed *zheng*-offerings, distributed gifts, and performed a *mieli* for the vessel commissioner Duan, apparently a scion of the local ruling family.²⁶ The Zhou kings thus connected the existing patronage model of *mieli* with the ancestral ritual of the royal house, encouraging local elites to associate the receipt of material wealth and prestige with the successful propitiation of the royal ancestors. These events combining royal ancestral ritual, recognition, and reward must have presented attractive targets for emulation at the local level. The Zhou king's active promotion of the *di/chi* rite as seen in the Da *gui* inscription suggests that such emulation was a specific goal of the royal house.

The middle Western Zhou saw the conjunction of *mieli* with another emerging mode of ritual prestige distribution, that of the ceremonial archery competition. The inscriptions of the Yi *hegai* 義盃蓋 (9453) and the Chang Xin *he* 長田盃 (9455) both record performances of *mieli* associated with major archery competitions (*she* 射).²⁷ The former took place in the context of a grand convocation between the king, local rulers, and governmental officials at Lu 魯, in

²⁵ Based on its description of an ancestral rite for King Zhao, the Xian *gui* may be accepted as a standard vessel for the reign of King Mu; on the common use of this dating standard, see *Sources*, 108. On the dating of the Da *gui*, see chapter 2, n. 22.

²⁶ The inscription of the Duan *gui* makes clear that Duan claimed descent from a Bi Zhong 畢仲; this name would have indicated either a second son of the Bi lineage or a branch lineage descended from such a son. On the *zheng*-offerings mentioned, see chapter 2.

²⁷ A fuller discussion of the Yi *hegai* appears later in this chapter. The Chang Xin *he* is a standard vessel for the reign of King Mu, thanks to the naming of that king in its inscription; on this see *Sources*, 110-1.

present-day Shandong. Yi's role in this meeting is left unspecified; however, the discovery of the Yi *hegai* in a tomb in the Zhangjiapo cemetery, near the Western Zhou heartland, suggests that he was part of the royal party. The Chang Xin *he* inscription will be considered more fully in the section on *she*. Here, it bears mentioning that the *mieli* in question was associated with Chang Xin's assignment to the Elder of Jing (*Jingbo* 井伯), an influential figure in middle Western Zhou politics,²⁸ and that the syntax of the inscription is ambiguous as to whether Chang Xin received *mieli* from the king himself, from the Elder of Jing, or from both in succession. It is possible that the Chang Xin *he* inscription, like those of the Si *gui* and, probably, of the Shi Zai *ding*, records a case in which the Zhou king delegated the responsibility of performing *mieli* to an appropriate subordinate.²⁹

Early Western Zhou vessels that record instances of *mieli*, when they bear dedications, are mostly dedicated to ancestors bearing Shang-style *tiangan* names (see above). Many middle Western Zhou cases – namely, the Tun *ding* 屯鼎 (2509-10), the Lu *gui* 录簋 (4122), the Lu Dong you 录彘卣 (5419-20), the Ju you 稽卣 (5411), the Fan you 繁卣 (5430), and the You zun 畎尊 (6008) – share this quality. Several other such vessels, however, describe their dedicatees with names of apparent “Zhou” style; the Shi Wang *ding*, for example, is dedicated to “my august deceased father Duke Gui” (*zhen huang kao Guigong* 朕皇考宥公), while the Da *gui* was created to honor Dazhong 大仲, deceased father of the vessel commissioner Da 大.³⁰ Some of the vessels whose dedicatees bear *tiangan* names describe those ancestors with more typically

²⁸ See chapter 2, note 226.

²⁹ The Si *gui* 肆簋 (4192-3) is unambiguous on this point; it records Rong's assignment to perform *mieli*, issue commands, and confer insignia. In the Shi Zai *ding* 師鬲鼎 (2830) inscription, the king rewards Marshal Zai, who then receives *mieli* from his direct superior, the Elder Grand Marshal (*Bo Taishi* 伯太師); the sequence suggests that the Elder Grand Marshal may have performed the recognition ceremony at the behest of the king.

³⁰ Further examples include the Shi Zai *ding*, the You *gui* 畎簋 (4194), and the Shi Ju fangyi 師遽方彝 (9897). For a full list of dedicatees of all vessels considered in this work, see the Appendix.

“Zhou” vocabulary; the Lu *you*, for example, is dedicated to “[Lu’s] cultured father Duke Yi” (*wen kao Yigong* 文考乙公), rather than to “Father Yi.”³¹ Combined with the change in geographic distribution – in contrast with the early Western Zhou cases, none of the middle Western Zhou vessels with known provenance were discovered in Henan – this suggests a spreading of the relevance of the *mieli* patronage model beyond the Shang cultural remnants.³²

Dating Western Zhou bronzes to specific reigns is a difficult undertaking under the best of circumstances. Fortunately, as noted in the above discussion, the middle Western Zhou vessels describing instances of *mieli* include two (the Chang Xin *he* and the Xian *gui*) that can be accepted as dating standards for the reign of King Mu, and numerous others that can be related to each other based on the appearance of common figures in their inscriptions. Based on these features, most bronzes bearing the term *mieli* can be dated relative to each other, in rough terms. Table 4.3, Appendix 2, presents a number of scholars’ assessments of the dates of these bronzes.

The chronological trend is immediately obvious. Recorded cases of *mieli* performed by non-royal Zhou elites are mainly concentrated in the early phase of the middle Western Zhou, during the reigns of King Zhao and King Mu; these are largely, though not exclusively, associated with the military activities of Marshal/Elder Father Yong. The main exceptions to this are associated with royal efforts to promote ancestral rituals involving livestock offerings; these include the inscription of the Xian *gui*, connected with the king’s performance of the *di/chi* livestock offering, and that of the You *gui*, in which the king gives the honoree, You, three oxen which You then offers to his deceased father.³³ By contrast, following the datings of Ma

³¹ Early Western Zhou vessels recording *mieli* and dedicated to male members of the preceding generation use the term *fu* 父, as does the Tun *ding*, a middle Western Zhou vessel; see the Appendix. The Ju *you*, like the Lu *you*, uses *kao* 考; the phrase used is “[his] cultured deceased father Ri Yi” (*wen kao Ri Yi* 文考日乙).

³² Whether this was due to the fading significance of Shang cultural identity in general or to the shifting focus of royal ritual activities away from the Henan area, is unclear.

³³ The Chang Xin *he* is another potential exception; as discussed above, however, its syntax leaves questions as to

Chengyuan, Shirakawa, Chen Mengjia, and Li Feng, the cases of *mieli* performed by Zhou kings occurred mainly during the following two reigns, those of Kings Gong and Yih 懿.

4.2.3: *Mieli in the late Western Zhou inscriptions*

The practice of *mieli* fades from the inscriptional record after the middle Western Zhou period.³⁴ The term *mieli* appears in only three inscriptions of late Western Zhou date (Appendix 2, table 4.4). One of these inscriptions, that shared by the two Cheng *gui* (3912-3), offers little detail beyond the fact that a figure named Fusheng 鬲生 performed *mieli* for another figure called Cheng 甬, who then cast a vessel dedicated to yet another figure called by the combined seniority title of Ji 季 and *tiangan* designation Ri Yi 日乙.³⁵ The two that provide contextual details both record *mieli* performed by the king. The Wu *gui*, likely dating to the reign of King Li, commemorates the *mieli* received by Wu, a subordinate of the powerful late Western Zhou personality Duke Wu, in the wake of the former's successful defense of the central region of Zhou power against encroachment by the southern population known as the Huaiyi.³⁶ The Liang Qi *zhong* inscription is notable as the only case in which *mieli* was commemorated on a bell; the recounting of merits it records took place after the king appointed Liang Qi as “Great Rectifier of the Lords of States” (*bangjun dazheng* 邦君大正), a position probably implying oversight of

whether the king himself performed *mieli* for Chang Xin.

³⁴ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 228-9.

³⁵ It should be noted that little information is extant on the two Cheng *gui*; images are not publicly available. The dating of the two bronzes was, I suspect, done on the basis of the calligraphy; and in fact, the calligraphy of 3912 and 3913 is quite different in style. See *Jungu* 2.2.68.2; *Zhoujin* 3.108.3. The assignment of the two bronzes to the late Western Zhou must be considered tentative.

³⁶ The Wu *gui* appears in *Bogu* 16.36. The drawing in that source is fortunately quite detailed, such that the Wu *gui* can readily be identified as a late Western Zhou bronze by comparison with such excavated vessels as the Guo Ji *gui* 虢季簋 (NA0016-21), the Tai Shi *gui* 太師簋 (3633) or the Wang Zuo Jiang Shi *gui* 王作姜氏簋 (3570). MWX dates the vessel to King Li, as does Li Feng; see MWX, 286; *Bureaucracy*, 140. Shirakawa is essentially in agreement, based on the mention of the Elder of Rong in the inscription; see Shirakawa 164, 469-77, esp. 477.

local power-holders on behalf of the royal house.³⁷ Both late Western Zhou recipients of royal *mieli*, then, took part in events of national-level import. This may explain why their recognition warranted the performance of what had become an unusual practice, *mieli* by then having largely been supplanted by the official appointment ceremony.³⁸

4.2.4: Summary and further discussion

While the ceremony known as *mieli* had its origins in Shang practice, our knowledge of it comes mainly from the many Western Zhou bronze inscriptions for whose creation it served as a primary motivator. These show that *mieli* denoted a form of military patronage among early Western Zhou lineage chiefs; that it was accompanied by gifts of portable wealth probably obtained as campaign booty; and that the early Western Zhou kings used *mieli* as a tool for managing subordinates in a variety of contexts both military and civil. Given the equal proportion of early Western Zhou *mieli* performed by kings to those performed by non-royal elites, and given that the contexts of its performance by non-royal elites are less variable than those of royal instances, it is doubtful that the Zhou kings were its point of origin among the Western Zhou elite population; it is more likely that the practice was known already among former Shang adherents and that the royal house retooled it to serve non-military purposes.

Through both their distribution (concentrated largely in Henan) and their dedications (weighted toward ancestors with *tiangan* names), early Western Zhou bronzes and their inscriptions suggest a strong association of *mieli* with Shang cultural remnants. By the middle Western Zhou – numerically speaking, the heyday of portrayal of *mieli* in bronze inscriptions –

³⁷ MWX dates the Liang Qi *zhong* bell set to the King Yi-King Li period; see MWX, 273. Zhang and Liu see *zheng/dazheng* as a generic term for “chief” or “leader”; see *Xi Zhou jinwen guanzhi yanjiu*, 58.

³⁸ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 228-9. In fact, the process recorded in the inscription of the Wu *gui* included elements common in the appointment ceremony, specifically the appearance of a higher-ranking *youzhe*, “assistant” or “attendant on the right.”

both of these associations were on the wane. After the reigns of Kings Cheng and Kang, the political and military focus of the Zhou royal house shifted from the former Shang heartland in Henan to the periphery of Zhou territory and especially to the south, where King Zhao conducted a series of campaigns.³⁹ This change in the main theater of Zhou expansion may have predicated a decrease in the proportion of *mieli* recipients using *tiangan* funerary names, as elites of other regional backgrounds became involved in activities of import to the Zhou state.⁴⁰ As the Zhou conquest of Shang receded further into the past, it is also feasible that the relative importance of claims of Shang heritage faded in the lives of elite families with developing traditions of participation in Zhou state activities.⁴¹ Assessment of the relative importance of these factors must await further inquiry.

During the early years of the middle Western Zhou period, *mieli* performed by the royal house were completely divorced from military affairs; the only royal *mieli* of likely King Mu date either accompanied royal ceremonial events – particularly, the *di/chi* rite (as in the *Xian gui*) and archery (as recorded in the *Chang Xin gui*) – or justified royal patronage of the ancestral rites of non-royal elites through gifts of livestock offerings (as in the *You gui* and the *Da gui*).⁴² Non-royal cases, however, remained a tool for powerful Western Zhou military leaders to recognize, reward, and manage personnel; in particular, the figure known as Marshal/Elder Father Yong conducted a number of *mieli* for his subordinates as part of his activities at Hu 胡 and at the “Old Encampment” (*gu shi* 古師). Recent work on the bronze inscriptions has

³⁹ See Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 322-3; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 93-5, 327-9; Yang Kuan, *Xi Zhou shi*, 555-8. On the manifestations of King Zhao’s campaigns in the inscriptions, see Lu Liancheng, “An di yu Zhao Wang shijiu nian nanzheng,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1984.6, 75-79; Li Yubiao, “Xin chu tongqi mingwen suo jian Zhao Wang nanzheng,” in Zhu Fenghan, ed., *Xin chu jinwen yu Xi Zhou lishi*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011, 275-85.

⁴⁰ Elsewhere, I suggest that similar factors led to the waning of certain vocabulary items relating to ancestral ritual; see the sections on *su* and *yue* in Chapter 3.

⁴¹ This connects to the overall question of the degree to which Shang-remnant elites retained a sense of their Shang identity throughout the Western Zhou and into the Eastern Zhou period. This area is ripe for further inquiry.

⁴² Based on this commonality, I suspect that the *Da gui* dates specifically to the reign of King Mu.

confirmed the assertions of early Chinese sources that the Zhou royal house suffered severe military setbacks in the southern reaches of Zhou territory during the reign of King Zhao, who was killed in an unsuccessful campaign in the south.⁴³ It is likely that the military infrastructure of the Zhou royal house and, concomitantly, the network of relations between the Zhou kings and elites that followed them in times of war were compromised by these setbacks. The lack of royal military *mieli* during the reign of King Mu, combined with the use of the ceremony in conjunction with royal ceremonies and patronage of ancestral ritual, may thus indicate an effort to shore up patronage relations between the king and other powerful Zhou elites through expansion of non-military activities at a time of unprecedented military vulnerability for the Zhou royal house. I will argue later that changes made in the strategic use of ritual by the Zhou kings at this time laid the groundwork for a break between the ritual practices of local elites and the central government of the Zhou state.

After the reign of King Mu, the royal house became more active in its implementation of *mieli*; most relevant inscriptions from the remainder of the Western Zhou period record royal performances of the ceremony.⁴⁴ As we will later see, the middle Western Zhou saw the rise of the official appointment ceremony as well; the above discussion has noted the brief points of overlap between *mieli* and the appointment ceremony (as identified by the physical orientation of the appointer and appointee and/or the presence of the *youzhe*).⁴⁵ The appointment ceremony,

⁴³ See note 39.

⁴⁴ The degree of connection between these royal *mieli* and the military organization of the state is a potential topic for further inquiry. None of the remaining middle Western Zhou *mieli* bronzes mention specific campaign actions; however, *mieli* such as those recorded in the Shi Zai *ding* and the Shi Wang *ding* inscriptions would seem, based on their references to the Grand Marshal (*taishi* 太師), to have related to the military infrastructure of the Western Zhou state. This may represent a recovery of control over military infrastructure on the part of the Western Zhou kings; certainly, without some degree of recovery, the Zhou kings would likely have lost control over the state (as indeed happened later during the Gonghe interregnum). Li Feng sees just such a recovery of control in the bronzes of King Mu's era, particularly those of the figure called Li 隳; see *Landscape and Power*, 95.

⁴⁵ The Da Yu *ding*, for example, records a courtly ceremony of appointment in some detail; it does not, however, share the common traits of appearance of the *youzhe*, positioning of the appointee in the center of the audience

however, remained common throughout the Western Zhou period, while the practice of *mieli* waned after the middle Western Zhou.⁴⁶ This begs the question: why did the practice of *mieli* fall by the wayside, while that of the appointment ceremony thrived?

Mieli was performed by both the Zhou kings and non-royal elites throughout the period of its use, though it was sometimes more common among one group than the other. In the previous chapter, we have seen that the approach of the early Western Zhou royal house to ancestral ritual events strove to establish the Zhou kings as an “obligatory passage point” for the arrogation of prestige and status by non-royal elites. Prestige rites arguing for the king’s status as mediator of the forces of the natural world, as well as royal patronage of ancestral offerings of livestock, continued this project into the middle Western Zhou period. As a ceremony known across the Zhou elite cultural sphere, *mieli* presented a valuable tool for the royal house to reiterate and reinforce relations of patronage with non-royal elites; but the commonality of *mieli* also conflicted with the royal project of exclusive control over the distribution of prestige and arbitration of status. As the royal appointment ceremony became known and institutionalized as a vehicle of recognition and reward, it is likely that the royal house moved to emphasize the former, in which the king occupied a spatially and ideologically central position, over the latter, which could be performed in the field and admitted the substitution of other elite patrons.

Especially during the early Western Zhou, *mieli* was strongly associated with personal achievement and endeavor.⁴⁷ Even into the middle and late Western Zhou periods, a sizeable proportion of *mieli* inscriptions record the specific deeds for which their commissioners were

hall, etc., that characterize the great mass of official appointment inscriptions dating from the reign of King Mu onward. On this distinction, see section 4.4.1, “Physical orientation of participants in the appointment ceremony.”

⁴⁶ For an example set of relatively detailed appointment inscriptions, including several from both the middle and late Western Zhou periods, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 201-15.

⁴⁷ The inscriptions of the Bao *you* and *zun*, the Tian Wang *gui*, and the Fan *gui* all contain relatively direct references to the deeds of their commissioners; see table 4.1.

recognized.⁴⁸ The standardized appointment ceremony thus offered another advantage over *mieli*: it lacked this preexisting association and so was more readily implemented for both hereditary appointments and appointments of individuals with no prior history of official service.⁴⁹ Li Feng has shown that the system of hereditary appointment practiced during the Western Zhou was in fact quite flexible and afforded the Zhou kings room for engagement in the process.⁵⁰ The appointment ceremony provided a structured vehicle for that engagement, allowing the Zhou kings to bring new individuals into the system and to shift existing participants between positions without specific regard for prior accomplishments.⁵¹ It may thus have provided a more attractive ritual model of patronage for the Zhou royal house in an environment of expansion of elite lineages without corresponding expansion of the geographic resources of the Zhou royal house.⁵² The increased density of elite lineage members in such an environment would have created a surplus of potential candidates competing for official positions.⁵³ The focus of royal ceremonial activities on the selection of candidates for office, rather than on the recognition and retention of existing candidates, was likely a result of this phenomenon.

4.3: *She* 射 (archery)

Archery is among the best-recorded ceremonial practices of the late Zhou dynasty, enjoying dedicated chapters in each of the *Sanli* texts.⁵⁴ The idea of ritual archery has received

⁴⁸ The inscriptions of the Shi Wang *ding*, the Duan *gui*, the Yin ji *li*, the Shi Zai *ding*, the Yu *yan*, the Dian *ding*, the Ci *you* and *zun*, and the Fan *you* are all relatively straightforward about the deeds of their commissioners; see Appendix 1, table 4.2.

⁴⁹ There are, however, certain middle Western Zhou *mieli* inscriptions – for example, those of the Shi Wang *ding* and the Duan *gui* – that make direct reference to the illustrious ancestors of the recipients of *mieli*.

⁵⁰ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 192-9.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 201-17.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 36-8, 95.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 36, 62-3, 215-7.

⁵⁴ See “She yi,” in *Liji zhengyi*, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1686-9; “Xiang she” and “Da she,” in *Yili zhengyi*, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 993-1014 and 1027-46, respectively; “She ren,” in *Zhouli zhengyi*, *Shisanjing zhushu* 845-6;

correspondingly heavy attention among modern scholars of early China. Dedicated studies of the practice of shooting (*she* 射) in pre-Qin China tend to approach the Western Zhou manifestations of the term as a preface to its more detailed records in Eastern Zhou received texts.⁵⁵ However, Liu Yu has put forth an extensive and comparatively nuanced compilation of the records of ceremonial archery in the Western Zhou inscriptions.⁵⁶ Rather than duplicating Liu's efforts, the following section will focus on the relationships between the different varieties and goals of ritual archery previously observed in the Western Zhou inscriptions, supplementing its arguments with inscriptional sources unavailable at the time of Liu's writing.⁵⁷

4.3.1: Royal archery as military metaphor

Both the Zhou and their predecessors the Shang used the bow as a principal weapon of elite warfare. The appearance of archery equipment in elite tombs dating to the late Shang and throughout the Western Zhou period attests to this fact.⁵⁸ Skill at archery was considered indicative of military ability in general, such that the powerful individuals responsible for the protection of the reaches of the Shang and, later, the Zhou states were known as *hou* 侯, the character for which depicts a target for practice shooting.⁵⁹ The bow was thus part of the “materialized ideology” of authority among the elites of Bronze Age China. Its use was a valuable tool for making arguments about the place of the king in elite society and in the world

⁵⁵ Dedicated studies on the topic are too numerous to list exhaustively, but include Yang Kuan, “‘She li’ xin tan,” in *Xi Zhou shi*, 716-41; Jiang Nan, “‘She li’ yuanliu kao,” *Beijing ligong daxue xuebao* 2004.6, 94-6; Zhao Honghong, “Shilun Xian Qin sheli de chansheng he xingcheng,” *Jiangnan daxue xuebao* 2010.2, 57-63; Hu Xincheng, “Xi Zhou shiqi san lei butong xingzhi de sheli jiqi yanbian,” *Wen shi zhe* 2003.1, 112-7.

⁵⁶ Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” *Kaogu* 1986.12, 1112-20.

⁵⁷ Specifically, the Zhabo *gui*, discussed below, was discovered only recently.

⁵⁸ See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Yinxu de faxian yu yanjiu*, Beijing: Kexue, 1994, 314-5; *Zhangjiapo*, 179-80.

⁵⁹ On that character see JGWZGL, 2542-5; JWGL, 3457-69; Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 44, n. 4.

in general.⁶⁰ The Shang kings conducted demonstrations of skill that took advantage of the usefulness of the bow in that respect. The kings of the early Western Zhou, successors to the ritual vocabulary of the Shang, elaborated upon these demonstrations, adding additional elements that magnified the mimetic efficacy of royal shooting.

The oracle bone inscriptions of the late Shang provide evidence that the elites of the period conducted regular archery practice, particularly on various bodies of water.⁶¹ The extraordinary Zuoce Ban *yuan* 作冊般鼈, acquired by the Chinese National Museum in 2003, offers a detailed glimpse at one of these events.⁶² The inscription of the Zuoce Ban *yuan* describes the successful shooting of a turtle by the Shang king and his attendants, among whom the vessel commissioner, Document Maker Ban, likely numbered; this was followed by the king's granting of a reward to the Document Maker for a still-debated purpose.⁶³ The vessel, or rather item, itself offers a further level of detail; it is cast in the shape of the turtle in question, with bronze arrowhead attachments marking the location and trajectory of the lethal shots.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ For the classic statement on materialized ideology, see DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, 15-31. The passive term “materialized” or “materialization” risks underestimating the agency of objects in the formation of groups, on which see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 63-86. To claim that an object – or, to avoid confusion, a “non-human,” as Latour puts it (see p. 72) – plays an active role in the instantiation of a group does not, however, mean that it cannot be a (grammatical) object, i.e., that it must act itself but cannot be acted upon. The core of the two approaches to the role of objects in the formation and maintenance of groups is similar, in that both highlight the importance of objects in extending and maintaining interaction models through otherwise insurmountable distances in time and space (see DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, 16-7; Latour, 67-8).

⁶¹ Song Tianhao, “Cong xin chu jiagu jinwen kaoshu wan Shang sheli,” in *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2006.1, 10-18.

⁶² Li Xueqin, “Zuoce Ban tong yuan kaoshi,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2005.1, 4-5. Additional analyses include Zhu Fenghan, “Zuoce Ban yuan tanxi,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2005.1, 6-10; Wang Guanying, “Zuoce Ban tong yuan san kao,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2005.1, 11-3; Qiu Xigui, “Shang tong yuan ming bushi,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2005.6, 4-5; Song Tianhao, “Cong xin chu jiagu jinwen kaoshu wan Shang sheli”; and Li Kai, “Shilun Zuoce Ban yuan yu wan Shang sheli,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2007.3, 46-50.

⁶³ Li Xueqin suggests that the king was commanding Zuoce Ban to commemorate the event in song; see “Zuoce Ban tong yuan kaoshi,” 4-5. Wang Guanying is in accord with this view; see “Zuoce Ban tong yuan san kao,” 12. Zhu Fenghan suggests that the commemoration was to be done with a vessel, i.e., the Zuoce Ban *yuan* itself; see “Zuoce Ban yuan tanxi,” 7-8. Qiu Xigui parses the relevant clause differently, suggesting that it indicated that Zuoce Ban was to send the slain turtle to a worksite for some manner of processing; see “Shang tong yuan ming bushi,” 5. Li Kai presents the various views as to the grammar of the clause, as well as his own interpretation that it refers to two different types of ceremony, in “Shilun Zuoce Ban yuan yu wan Shang sheli,” 47-8.

⁶⁴ Li Xueqin, “Zuoce Ban tong yuan kaoshi,” 4; Li Kai, “Shilin Zuoce Ban yuan yu wan Shang sheli,” 47. The latter contains an informative discussion on the likely position of the shooters. Zhu Fenghan, “Zuoce Ban yuan tanxi,”

Whatever one's reading of the reward line of the inscription, it is certainly the case that the Shang attached great cosmological importance to turtles, such that the successful shooting of one must have made a strong symbolic statement about the power of the Shang royal house.⁶⁵ The inclusion of Document Maker Ban and his fellows in that process⁶⁶ allowed them to share in its symbolic potency as collaborators with the Shang king. The issuing of a performance-based reward afterward would have encouraged them in the pursuit of archery as a vehicle for the pursuit of both material wealth and prestige within the context of the Shang royal project.

Inscriptions from the early Western Zhou record similar demonstrations of prowess performed by the early Zhou kings. These derive from the complex of feasting, ancestral offerings, and provision of hospitality known in some inscriptions as the *da feng/li* 大豐/禮, “the great rite” or “the great abundance,” in which the king proceeded in a boat around the terrain feature known as the *biyong* pond, firing at targets along the way.⁶⁷ These targets varied from occasion to occasion; the *Mai fangzun* records that the king shot birds, while the *Bo Tangfu ding*, a late early-early middle Western Zhou bronze, records the king's shooting of an enormous variety of land animals, including both herbivores and carnivores.⁶⁸ Turtles did not, however,

provides the best images of the bronze itself.

⁶⁵ See Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, 103-11. Li Kai makes note of the importance of turtles among the Shang; see “Shilin Zuoce Ban yuan yu wan Shang sheli,” 48.

⁶⁶ In all likelihood, Document Maker Ban was one of three attendants to the king on the hunting trip; see Li Kai, “Shilin Zuoce Ban yuan yu wan Shang sheli,” 47.

⁶⁷ On the question of precisely which Western Zhou kings performed archery demonstrations, and for a full treatment of the *da feng/li* rite, see the previous chapter, section 4.2.1.2.

⁶⁸ On the discovery of the *Bo Tangfu ding*, see the previous chapter, section 4.2.3.1. In his treatment of the *Zuoce Ban gui*, Li Kai argues that the turtle shot by the king and his men must have been captured separately and intentionally placed as a fixed target. In doing so, he makes a similar argument for the range of animals, including deer, leopards, tigers, etc., shot by the king in the events of the *Bo Tangfu ding*. See “Shilin Zuoce Ban yuan yu wan Shang sheli,” 48-9. I am less sure than Li that four separate Shang archers might not have successfully hit a free-roaming turtle, especially given that the *Zuoce Ban gui* is in many ways exceptional and thus might have recorded an unusual occurrence. Li is undoubtedly correct about the *Bo Tangfu ding*, however; that a menagerie of creatures including tigers, leopards, and white deer and wolves would have wandered near the shore of the *biyong* pond just as the king's boat passed beggars belief.

number among them.⁶⁹ If the early Zhou kings weakened the cosmological implications of archery demonstrations by not shooting turtles, however, they strengthened them by conducting their shoots on the controlled terrain of the *biyong* pond.⁷⁰ Operating as a microcosm of the Zhou sphere of influence, the *biyong* pond (or, as it is called in the inscription of the Bo Tangfu *ding*, the *bichi*, or “sovereign pond”) was a slate on which the king, through his own motions, inscribed arguments about the power of the Zhou royal house relative to both allies (who, as in the Mai *fangzun* and Bo Tangfu *ding* cases, might follow the king as observers) and enemies (as represented by the targets of hunting).⁷¹ The movement of the king to the directional extremes of the pond, and his subsequent shooting of animals, was a mimetic extension of royal military might across the reaches of the Zhou sphere of influence.

We know from these inscriptions that the early Zhou kings shot animals as an element of political theater; a received source of likely early Western Zhou date records a case when humans served as the targets. The latter portion of the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu* narrates a ritual event of grand scale, marking the triumphant return of the Zhou royal party to the Feng/Hao area.⁷² With them, the passage tells us, the royal partisans brought a large group of former Shang functionaries, referred to as “evil ministers.” Arraying these captives outside the gates of the city, the Zhou king ordered a scribe to read an announcement of condemnation; the assembled Shang ministers were then shot as a preface to the King’s entry into the city.

⁶⁹ It should be noted that the Zhou did record “fishing” (*yu* 漁) expeditions in bronze inscriptions and that Liu Yu considers these to be ceremonial demonstrations of archery as well; see Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” *Kaogu* 1986.12, 1112-20, esp. 1112-3. Liu’s argument seems to rely on the later constructions of “ritual archery” vs. “practice archery” presented in the ritual books; see pp. 1112-3; *Liji*, “She yi,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1689. I see no specific evidence in the inscriptions themselves to suggest that these fishing events involved the shooting of a bow. If they did, however, it is entirely possible that the targets sought included turtles.

⁷⁰ The cosmological associations of the *biyong* pond are argued for in detail in the section on *da feng/li* in the previous chapter.

⁷¹ It is intriguing to speculate as to whether the targets chosen for royal archery demonstrations were chosen for their symbolic relationships to problematic populations. For a detailed account of this question, see chapter 3, section 4.2.1.5.

⁷² See Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu jiaopu zhuyi*, 210-21.

By dispatching the ministers outside the city walls, on the fringes of the center of Zhou power, the king crafted an ideological statement about the relationship between the old Shang and new Zhou orders. He promoted the executed Shang ministers as a physical, political, and moral out-group against which the formative Zhou identity – including as it did many elements of Shang practice and, in fact, large populations of Shang-heritage elites – was to take shape.⁷³ At the same time, by killing the ministers on the edges of the active space of the ritual – in this case, the city of Feng/Hao⁷⁴ – the king reiterated the geopolitical model promoted mimetically by the *biyong* pond shooting rites, depicting and representing (in the literal sense) the capacity of the Zhou coalition to kill effectively on the distant edges of its territory.⁷⁵

It is of note that, while certain important captives were beheaded at this event, the mass group of “evil ministers” was simply shot. In this sense also, their role echoed, or was echoed by, that of the animal victims in the later *biyong* pond rites. Rather than standing as full human beings in their own right, they both represented populations of non-Zhou allegiance and served as a vehicle for the king to promote the perception of his military potency.

4.3.2: Archery as education vs. archery as diplomacy

⁷³ On the definition of group boundaries and anti-groups as a diagnostic criterion of the process of group formation, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 32-3.

⁷⁴ The full ritual sequence described in the section involves a procession from the city limits, through the city, to the ancestral temple of the king. The structure of the city itself was thus the base scale of the ritual event in question, with the city walls forming its boundaries. For more on this point, see the discussion of the “Shi fu” in chapter 5 of this work.

⁷⁵ As the Zhou coalition was composed of “men of the west,” the city of Shang itself was the distant eastern edge of Zhou territory immediately post-conquest; and indeed, the project of pushing still further eastward would require much of the subsequent reign of King Cheng. See Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 310-1.. As the ritual event described in the “Shi fu” preceded those recorded in the Mai *fangzun* and the Bo Tangfu *ding* inscriptions, it is perhaps more correct to say that it “iterated” the model, and that later performances on the *biyong* pond reiterated it.

The inscription of the very recently discovered Zhabo *gui* 柞伯簋 (NA0076) offers a detailed image of a royally sponsored archery competition:⁷⁶

佳（唯）八月辰才（在）庚申，王大射才（在）周，王令（命）南宮率王多士，師𠄎父率小臣，王𠄎（遲）赤金十反（鈹），王曰：「小子、小臣敬又（有）𠄎⁷⁷（賢）隻（獲）則取。」柞白（伯）十𠄎（稱）弓，無灋⁷⁸（廢）矢。王則畀柞白（伯）赤金十反（鈹），𠄎（遂）易（賜）𠄎（祝）虎，柞白（伯）用乍（作）周公寶尊彝。

It was the eighth month, on the morning of the *gengshen* day. The king greatly performed archery at Zhou. The king ordered Nangong to lead the many royal retainers and Shi Xfu to lead the petty ministers. The king held back ten plates of red metal.⁷⁹ The king said, “Those among the scions and petty ministers who are reverent and have worthy accomplishments may take [them].” Zhabo was called on to shoot ten times and did not lose (i.e., miss with) a single arrow. The king thus gave Zhabo the ten plates of red metal, then further awarding him an instrument-tiger (some kind of jade item?). Zhabo therewith makes a precious, revered vessel for the Duke of Zhou.

The sequence of events itself requires little explanation; our interest lies in the specific parties involved in the event. Identifying the “many retainers” of the beginning of the inscription with the “scions” (*xiaozi* 小子) mentioned in the king’s speech, Wang Longzheng and others cast the event as a contest with an educational aspect, held between aristocratic sons (the “scions” of the above translation) on the one hand, and royal servants with a military bent (the “petty ministers”) on the other.⁸⁰ A figure called Zhabo (“the Elder of Zha”) distinguished himself in

⁷⁶ On the discovery of the Zhabo *gui*, see Wang Longzheng et al., “Xin faxian de Zhabo gui jiqi mingwen kaoshi,” *Wenwu* 1998.09, 53-8. Wang et al. suggest a King Kang date for the Zhabo *gui* based on similarities in form and calligraphy with a variety of other vessels, including in particular the Da Yu *ding*. The AS database dates the vessel to the reign of King Zhao.

⁷⁷ I have replaced the transcription offered in the AS database with this symbol.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Reading *chi* 遲 as “to hold back.” The sense is that the king reserved these metal plates for the winner of the contest.

⁸⁰ Wang Longzheng et al., “Xin faxian de Zhabo gui jiqi mingwen kaoshi,” 55-7. The inscriptions of the Ling *ding* and the Jing *gui* lend this interpretation some support, although, as we will see below, the relationship between ceremonial archery and the education of noble youths is less than exclusive.

The identity of the individual referred to in the inscription as Nangong (“Southern Palace”) is a matter of some debate. Wang Longzheng and the other authors suggest that Nangong was an official with specific responsibility for the training of aristocratic scions, while citing the alternate viewpoints that the term referred to the Zhou royal heir, to one of the royal sons, or to Nangong Kuo; see Wang Longzheng et al., “Xin faxian de

this contest and thereby received not just the reward stipulated by the king, but also an additional valuable item. Wang and the other authors plausibly identify Zhabo as a descendant of the Duke of Zhou and chief of the ruling line of the Zha state; he would thus fall into the “scions” category stipulated in the inscription.⁸¹ One wonders whether the *xiaochen* involved in the competition had the capacity to distinguish themselves in this manner, or whether they were meant to serve as a backdrop for the skill of the young Zhou aristocrats.

Prior scholarship has made much of the use of communal archery among the Zhou as a tool for the martial education of elites.⁸² The designation in the inscriptions of a certain elite servant as an archery teacher at the Palace of Study (*Xue Gong* 學宮), along with the appearance of the location name “the Archery Hut (*Shelu* 射廬),” leaves little doubt that a royally sponsored program of institutional instruction in archery existed by the early phase of the middle Western Zhou at the latest, and probably before.⁸³ Several of the most informative inscriptional records of ceremonial archery, however, focus on the participation of powerful and presumably adult office-holders, up to and including the king himself. The inscription of the Yi *hegai* 義盃蓋

Zhabo gui jiqi mingwen kaoshi,” 54-5; Li Xueqin, “Zhong fangding yu ‘Zhouyi’,” *Weiwu yanjiu* 1989.6, 197-201; Wang Guowei, “Mingtang miao qin tongkao,” *Congshu jicheng xubian*, vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994; Xu Zongyuan, “Jinwen zhong suo jian guanming kao,” *Fujian shifan xueyuan xuebao* 1957.2, 176-210.

⁸¹ Wang Longzheng et al., “Xin faxian de Zhabo gui jiqi mingwen kaoshi,” p. 54. The argument is based on both references to the *Zuozhuan* and the dedication of the vessel to the Duke of Zhou.

⁸² See for example Wang Longzheng et al., “Zhabo gui yu da sheli ji Xi Zhou jiaoyu zhidu,” *Wenwu* 1998.09, 59-61, esp. 60; Yang Kuan, “‘Sheli’ xin tan,” pp. 734-8.

⁸³ See the discussion of the Jing *gui* 靜簋 (4273) and the Ban *gui* 班簋 (4341) in Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1114. Wang Longzheng et al. plausibly date the Zhabo *gui* to the reign of King Kang based on both stylistic criteria and the appearance of the figure Nangong, although I think a King Zhao date is possible as well; see “Xin faxian de Zhabo gui jiqi mingwen kaoshi,” 53-4. Based on its connection with the Ban *gui*, the Jing *gui* is probably dateable to the reign of King Mu; see Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1114; Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 250-2. (The inscription of the Jing *gui* is translated below.) These two inscriptions thus give us a *terminus post quem* of King Kang for the staging of royally sponsored archery meets, and King Mu for the existence of a dedicated institutional infrastructure for the teaching of archery. The “Archery Hut” (*Shelu* 射廬) appears in the inscriptions of the Fifteenth-year Quecao *ding* 十五年 趙曹鼎, a dating standard for the reign of King Gong, and the Kuang *you* 匡卣 (5423), a dating standard for King Yih (see *Sources*, 111).

(9453), discovered in tomb 304 of the Zhangjiapo cemetery at Fengxi, Shaanxi, offers the most detailed example:⁸⁴

佳（唯）十又一月既生霸甲申，王才（在）魯，卿即邦君、者（諸）侯、正、有嗣（司）大射，義蔑曆，眾于王速義易（賜）貝十朋，對揚王休，用乍（作）寶罍，子子孫孫其永寶。

It was the eleventh month, during the *jishengba* moon phase, on the *jiashen* day. The king was at Lu. He came together with the lords of the states, the many lords, the regulators, and the Supervisors and greatly conducted archery.⁸⁵ Yi received the recounting of merits, and the king also arranged for Yi to be given ten strings of cowries.⁸⁶ He responds by praising the king's beneficence, therewith making a precious, revered *he*-vessel; may his sons' sons and grandsons' grandsons eternally treasure [it].

Here no hint appears of the participation of “scions”; instead, the inscription portrays a meeting, apparently held in the eastern redoubt of Zhou territory, at which the king brought regional state rulers of various degrees of importance together with official appointees with a wide range of responsibilities over the operation of the Zhou state. This event provided the context for Yi's receipt of the *mieli* recognition ceremony; the fact that the Yi *hegai* was discovered in the Zhangjiapo cemetery suggests strongly that Yi belonged to the royal party and accompanied the king back to the Zhou heartland. The inscription makes no effort to connect the king's recognition of Yi with the details of the archery performance; it would seem that Yi was honored

⁸⁴ On the discovery of the Yi *hegai*, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Fengxi fajuedui, “1984 nian Fengxi Dayuancun Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1986.11, 977-83. The excavators suggest a late Zhou dynasty date for the tomb based on ceramic vessels (p. 981); however, the content and calligraphy of the Yi *hegai* inscription both demand a Western Zhou date, and the AS database plausibly assigns the vessel to the middle Western Zhou.

⁸⁵ The offices of the Three Supervisors (*yousi*) existed at various levels of the Zhou hierarchy and between them had responsibility for oversight over military, civil, and legal affairs; see Zhang and Liu, *Xi Zhou jinwen guanzhi yanjiu*, 8-26; *Bureaucracy*, 305-8. The term *zheng* unquestionably refers to a group of people here, appearing as it does in series with *bangjun*, *zhuhou*, and *sanyousi*. For an interpretation of the term *zheng* as a generic term meaning “chief” or “leader,” see Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu, *Xi Zhou jinwen guanzhi yanjiu*, 58. Li Feng has raised important methodological concerns about the recognition of official titles in *Bureaucracy*, 42-3; he does not include *zheng* in his list of official titles of the Western Zhou period.

⁸⁶ The AS database transcription places a comma between *wang* 王 and *lai* 迷; here I follow the suggestion of Li Feng (personal communication, March 21, 2012) that *wang* is to be seen as the subject of the verb *lai*.

for his overall service to the king, or perhaps his assistance with the staging of the ceremony, rather than for his performance in the archery competition.⁸⁷

In the events of the Yi *hegai* inscription, the archery shoot acted as a context for political interaction among the upper echelons of established Zhou power-holders, rather than as infrastructural support for the indoctrination and recognition of up-and-coming Zhou youths.⁸⁸

The Chang Xin *he* inscription offers a similar example, also including a *mieli* ceremony.

Discovered in a tomb in Chang'an county, Shaanxi, in the 1950s, the Chang Xin *he* calls King Mu by name in its inscription, making it one of the standard dating bronzes for that king's reign.⁸⁹ It commemorates the recognition and reward of Chang Xin at an event including an archery meet. While not without difficult points, the narrative of events is short and simple enough to allow the inscription to speak for itself:

佳（唯）三月初吉丁亥，穆王才（在）下泃_𠄎，穆王鄉（饗）豐（醴），即井白（伯）、大祝射，穆穆王蔑長由 𠄎（以）速即井白（伯），井白（伯）氏彌不姦，長由蔑_𠄎，敢對揚天子不_𠄎（丕）休，用肇（肇）乍（作）_𠄎彝。

During the third month, in the *chuji* moon phase, on the *dinghai* day, King Mu was at the City of the Lower Moat.⁹⁰ King Mu feasted with drinking and brought the Elder of Jing and the Grand Invoker to perform archery. King Mu recounted Chang Xin's [merits] by assigning him to go to the Elder of Jing.⁹¹ The Elder of Jing was greatly reverent and not

⁸⁷ Liu Yu suggests that Yi may have been responsible for gathering the participants in the ritual at Lu; see “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1115.

⁸⁸ Liu Yu recognizes the common use of ritual archery as a context for royal supervision and control of powerful elites; see *ibid.*, 1116.

⁸⁹ See *Sources*, 110. On the discovery of the Chang Xin *he* and the Chang Xin *gui*, see Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Chang'an Puducun Xi Zhou mu de fajue,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1957.1, 75-85, 220-5; for an early reading of the inscription, see Guo Moruo, “Chang Xin he ming shiwen,” *Wenkan* 1955.2, 128.

⁹⁰ Following *MWX*, 105, n. 1, in reading the character _𠄎 as *ju* 居, referring to a settlement.

⁹¹ The roles of the terms *mie* 蔑 and *lai* 速 in the preceding clause is problematic. Given the occurrence of the full phrase *mieli* 蔑歷 later in the inscription, I have rendered *mie* here as “recounting [merits]”; for another likely case of *mie* by itself serving the function of *mieli* 蔑歷, see the Tian Wang *gui* inscription, translated in chapter 3. Given the connections between *mie* and *fa* 發, however (on which see the discussion of *mieli* in chapter 4), the single *mie* here could mean that the king “sent Chang Xin out.” As for the *lai* 速, the rendering here is based on Ma Chengyuan's reading of the character as equivalent to *lai* 勅 and his reading of that character as “work” or “service”; see *MWX*, 105, n. 3. There were, however, people active in the Zhou heartland with the name Lai (the commissioner of the Shi Lai *ding* [2464-5] and the Shi Lai *jiao* [9063], for example), and it is possible that the *ji* 即 here meant that the king assigned Chang Xin to bring a person by that name to the Elder of Jing. For an

false.⁹² Chang Xin's merits were recounted.⁹³ [Chang Xing] dares in response to praise the great and brilliant beneficence of the Son of Heaven, thereby beginning and making a revered vessel. (Chang Xin he 長由盃 [9455])

The king began the Chang Xin *he* event assemblage with a hospitality event, followed by an archery meet in which a royal employee (the Grand Invoker) faced off against the elder of the Jing lineage (*Jingbo* 井伯). The Chang Xin *he* inscription does not state explicitly that the meet was a competition.⁹⁴ However, the assessment that the Elder of Jing, one of the main participants, was “greatly reverent and not false” suggests that Chang Xin was assigned to monitor the Elder during the proceedings, implying that the shooting had a competitive aspect. After the shooting, Chang Xin received an official recounting of merits that may have come at the king's hand or may have been performed by the Elder of Jing at the king's behest. Either way, Chang Xin attributed the impetus behind the recounting to the king in the latter portion of the inscription commissioned to commemorate the event.

The Chang Xin *he* event brought together elites who were close to the royal house in both geographic and political terms. The Grand Invoker was a direct employee of the royal house, and the role of the Jing lineage of which the Elder of Jing was head in the courtly politics of the middle Western Zhou period is well documented.⁹⁵ Chang Xin seems to have been a royal functionary, based on his role in the archery meet; the discovery of the vessel in a tomb in

example in which *ji* 卽 served a similar function, see its use (also in combination with *yi* 以) in the inscription of the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839).

⁹² Here I follow *MWX*'s reading of the characters rendered in AS as *shi mi* 氏彌 as *qi yin* 祇寅, meaning “greatly reverent,” and of *jian* 姦 as “false”; see *MWX*, 105, n. 4.

⁹³ The inscription is ambiguous as to whether the Elder of Jing or the king recounted Chang Xin's merits. I suspect that the Elder did so at the king's behest. Other examples of this phenomenon occur in the inscriptions; see the discussion of *mieli* in this chapter.

⁹⁴ For an inscription that directly describes the competitive element of a royal archery meet, see the *Zhabo gui* 柞伯簋 (NA0076), translated and discussed in chapter 4.

⁹⁵ On the Grand Invoker, see the discussion of the term *zhu* 祝 in chapter 2. On the Jing lineage of the middle Western Zhou period, see Wang Hui, “Xi Zhou jinei diming xiaoji,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1985.3, 26-31, esp. 26-7; Lu Liancheng, “Xi Zhou Ze guo shiji jiqi xiangguan wenti,” in *Xi Zhou shi yanjiu*, Xi'an: 1984, 232-48, esp. 236 (fig.); Zhu Fenghan, *Shang Zhou jiazhu xingtai yanjiu*, 368-9.

Puducun, Chang'an county, Shaanxi, near the capitals of Feng and Hao, tends to confirm that assertion.⁹⁶ The sequence of the event assembly reflected this assumption. Like the Mai *fangzun* sequence, it began with the royal provision of hospitality, suggesting that the participants were already seen as having acquiesced to the royal project (or, to put it in Callon's terms, as being "enrolled" in the Zhou identity as arbitrated by the king).⁹⁷ The archery meet, however, still created a dynamic of competition between royal and local representatives which, judging from Chang Xin's involvement, potentially required arbitration. As a whole, the ritual event assemblage thus progressed along a continuum from lesser to greater differentiation, beginning with the collective enjoyment of royal hospitality, progressing to a competition between members of the collective, and ending up – at least in the inscription's narrative – with the singling out of an individual for official recognition.⁹⁸

A similar event commemorated in the inscription of the Ehou Yufang *ding* (2810), a much later vessel, saw the king personally face the Marquis of E (*Ehou*) in an archery match held on the way back from a successful campaign to the south:⁹⁹

王南征，伐角、僑，唯還自征，才（在）坏，噩（鄂）侯駮（駮）方內（納）壺于王，乃鄗（裸）之。駮（駮）方春（侑）王。王休宴，乃射，駮（駮）方卿（會）王射。駮（駮）方休闌，王宴，咸畚（飲），王窺（親）易（賜）駮（駮）

⁹⁶ On the location of discovery of the vessel, see "Chang'an Puducun Xi Zhou mu fajue."

⁹⁷ On the concept of enrollment, see Callon, "Some elements of a sociology of translation," 211-4.

⁹⁸ This model of course reflects Chang Xin's interests in the narrative of the ritual assembly. It is entirely likely that others besides Chang Xin were honored after the archery meet, whether for their performance in the shooting (as in the Zhabo *ding* inscription) or, like Chang Xin, for other services rendered. Still, the separate recognition of a variety of individuals would not hinder the sequence of differentiation.

⁹⁹ The Ehou Yufang *ding* is generally recognized to date to the reign of King Yi or King Li; see Shirakawa, vol. 3a, no. 142, 260-9; *MWX*, p. 280; Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 178; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 103, n. 37. Li has suggested that the anachronistic shape of the vessel reflects its production in a regional workshop; see Li Feng, "Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders: Evidence from the Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Zhou Period (1045-771 B.C.)," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 74 (June 2002), 210-42.

方玉五穀、馬四匹、矢五束，駸（馭）方拜手頤首，敢[對揚]¹⁰⁰天子不（丕）顯休
 賚（釐），[用]¹⁰¹乍（作）罍鼎，其邁（萬）年子孫永寶用。

The king campaigned to the south and attacked Jiao and Ju.¹⁰² Returning from his campaign, the king was at Pei. The Marquis of E, the Border Protector,¹⁰³ presented a *hu*-vessel¹⁰⁴ to the king and then performed *guan*-libation.¹⁰⁵ The Border Protector toasted(?) the king.¹⁰⁶ The king awarded a feast¹⁰⁷ and then conducted archery. The Border Protector paired with the king to perform archery. The Border Protector struck the target (frame?).¹⁰⁸ The king feasted¹⁰⁹ and, when finished, hosted drinking. The king personally gave the Border Protector five *jue*-units of jade,¹¹⁰ four horses, and five

¹⁰⁰ I have added these characters to the transcription to fill lacunae, as does *MWX*, 281; they follow the usual format of such lines in the bronze inscriptions.

¹⁰¹ See previous note.

¹⁰² On these locations see *MWX*, 281, n. 1.

¹⁰³ I follow Li Feng in translating the title *yufang* as Border Protector. See “Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders,” 222-3; see also Xia Hanyi, “Shi Yufang,” *Guwenzi yanjiu* 9 (1984), 97-109.

¹⁰⁴ While the AS database, along with Liu Yu, reads the character here 壺 as *hu* 壺, many scholars, including Chen Mengjia, Shirakawa, and Ma Chengyuan, take it as *feng* 豐, representing the character *li* 醴, meaning “drinking” or “sweet wine.” See Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1115; *Duandai* 154, 217; Shirakawa 142, 264; *MWX*, 281. My sense is that the relatively simple character appearing in this inscription is more readily

identifiable with *hu* 壺 (taken here from the Zuo Lü *hu* 作旅壺 [9519]) than with the relatively complicated *feng* (several examples of which appear in chapter 3, fig. 3.1). Neither is a close match, and it is possible that the character was meant as a different word entirely.

¹⁰⁵ *Duandai*, 218, and Shirakawa 142, 264, agree with AS in reading this character as *guan* 裸. In this regard, *Duandai* follows Wang Guowei, “Shi ‘you,’” *Guantang bieji*, in *Wang Guowei yishu*, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1983, vol. 4, 5-6. Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1115, and *MWX*, 281, refrain from identifying the character, though Ma’s explanation of the clause implies a definition of *yin* 飲, “to drink.”

¹⁰⁶ The character here rendered *you* 侑 is sometimes given as *you* 宥 (see *Duandai* 154, 217-8; Wang Guowei, “Shi ‘you,’” 5.); Some scholars feel that it indicates that the Marquis of E toasted the king (see Wang Guowei, “Shi ‘you,’” 6; *Duandai* 154, 217). Shirakawa suggests that it meant “to present”; see 142, 264. *MWX*, 281, identifies it as 侑 and glosses it as *bao* 報, “to repay,” based on the “Shi gu” chapter of the *Erya*. I have tentatively followed the first reading here.

¹⁰⁷ The use of the term *xiu* 休 in this inscription is complex. *Duandai* 154, 218, and *MWX*, 281, n. 5, agree in taking *xiu yan* 休宴 here to mean that the feast stopped; *Duandai* explains this with a gloss from the “Shi gu” chapter of the *Erya* equating *xiu* with *xi* 息. Shirakawa 142, 264, takes this first *xiu* in its more usual meaning of “to give.”

¹⁰⁸ *Duandai*, 219, and Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1115, both take the *xiu* here to refer to the striking of the arrow; though their explanations differ; *Duandai* sees a connection between the words *xiu* and *zhong* 中 based on their use as names in certain bronze inscriptions, while Liu Yu cites the *Shuowen* gloss of *xiu* as “to stop.” *Duandai*, however, drawing on a gloss of *lan* 闌 from the “Shi gu” as *zhe* 遮, “cover,” suggests that the Marquis hit the target, while Liu Yu, citing the *Shuowen* gloss of the same character as *men zhe* 門遮, “door cover,” holds that the Marquis hit the frame holding the target and, further, that he did so intentionally in order to let the Zhou king win. Shirakawa, meanwhile, takes the phrase to mean simply that the result of the Marquis’s shooting was good; see 124, 264-6. *MWX*, 281, n. 6, takes it to mean that the archery performance ended; Li Feng renders the phrase similarly in “Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders,” 222-3. I see no grounds for choosing between these interpretations based on current evidence.

¹⁰⁹ Some scholars read the *yan* 宴, “feast,” here as a different character; see *Duandai*, 217, 219; Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1115-6. Liu Yu in particular takes this character to mean that the king missed the target high. In his discussion of the irregular calligraphy of the inscription, however, Li Feng identifies this as a miswritten incidence of *yan* 宴; see “Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders,” 228. I have followed that reading here.

¹¹⁰ For the reading of this character as *jue* 珽, referring to a combination of two jade pieces, see *MWX*, 281, n. 8.

bundles of arrows. The Border Protector bowed and struck his head, daring [in response to praise] the greatly brilliant and beneficent gift of the Son of Heaven; [he] therewith makes a revered *ding*-cauldron. May [his] sons and grandsons for ten thousand years eternally treasure and use [it]. (Ehou Yufang *ding* 鄂侯馭方鼎 [2810])

The Marquis of E is well-known from late Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as a figure of significant influence in the southern reaches of the Zhou sphere of influence, as befits his additional title of “Border Protector.”¹¹¹ The relations of E with the Zhou court were apparently complex. On the one hand, a Marquis of E at some point provided a daughter as a bride for the Zhou king, as recorded in the Ehou *gui* 鄂侯簋 (3929-30); on the other hand, shortly after the campaign mentioned in the above inscription, the Marquis would lead a rebellion of southern peoples in a major attack against the Zhou heartland.¹¹²

Certain points in the ritual sequence recorded in the Yufang *ding* inscription bespeak awareness on both sides of the instability of political ties between Zhou and E. On his arrival, the Marquis presented a vessel of liquor to the king, performed a libation, and toasted the king (presumably with his own liquor). Only once the Marquis had offered these gestures did the king see fit to provide hospitality in the form of a feast; this is in contrast with the Chang Xin *he* account, in which royally sponsored feasting with drinking was the beginning of the sequence. The Marquis apparently had to confirm his loyalty with this gesture in order to be considered part of the group by virtue of sharing in the king’s hospitality. Once this was, done, however, the king saw fit to match himself against the Border Protector in an archery match rather than assigning him a partner, as in the Chang Xin *he* event; this can be read as either an acknowledgement of the Marquis’ importance or an effort to allow the king to compare

¹¹¹ For additional inscriptional evidence on the state of E 鄂, see “Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders,” 228-30; Li Xueqin, “Lun Zhou chu de E guo,” *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 2008.4, 1-8.

¹¹² See “Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders,” pp. 223-4; *Landscape and Power*, 103-5; Shaughnessy, ed., *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1997, 82-4.

favorably with him. More feasting and drinking followed afterward. The king then personally gave the Border Protector gifts, again suggesting an effort to acknowledge his relative importance.

The degree of personal involvement of the king in the Yufang *ding* event framed the interaction as a direct connection between the Border Protector and the king, rather than situating the Border Protector within an envisioned system of in-group relationships as in the Chang Xin *he* event. The Marquis's initial presentation of a gift before the provision of hospitality suggests doubt about his degree of enrollment that needed to be assuaged on both sides. The lack of description of the king's performance in the shooting (depending on one's reading of the relevant characters) likewise puts the focus on integrating the Marquis into the activities of the Zhou forces rather than creating differentiation between him and other Zhou adherents. In general, the event sequence suggests a tentative contact between parties of relatively equal status rather than an effort at internal management of assumed subordinates.

The prior descriptions of ritual archery events in this chapter emphasized the efforts of the Zhou royal house to perpetuate the collective of Zhou identity and its own role in that collective. Undoubtedly, the royal desire to create enduring relations with adherents played a vital role in the staging of the Ehou Yufang *ding* event, and the king's reception of the Marquis seems to have created a temporary rapprochement between the two leaders.¹¹³ The behavior of the Marquis in the beginning of the narrative, however, is unusual compared with the other accounts considered here. By presenting a gift to the king and, in particular, by toasting him before the beginning of the feast, the Marquis encroaches on roles that in inscriptional narratives

¹¹³ As we know from the inscription of the Yu *ding*, this rapprochement soon dissolved into one of the worst conflicts of the late Western Zhou period. On the Yu *ding*, see Xu Zhongshu, "Yu ding de niandai jiqi xiangguan wenti," *Kaogu xuebao* 1959.3, 53-67; Shirakawa 27:162, 451-2; *MWX*, 281-3; *Sources*, 179; *Landscape and Power*, 103, n. 37.

are usually reserved for the Zhou king himself.¹¹⁴ Li Feng has suggested, based on its formal characteristics, that the Ehou Yufang *ding* itself was probably produced in E rather than in the Zhou heartland.¹¹⁵ These points suggest that the Border Protector was himself able to leverage the opportunity provided by the ritual event assembly for the materialization of his own idealized status;¹¹⁶ he engaged the Zhou king in competition over the ritual narrative.¹¹⁷

The Yi *hegai* and Ehou Yufang *ding* were products of the Zhou king's travels outside his central realm of control; as recorded in each of their inscriptions, the performance of archery brought together representatives of the royal party/central government (the Supervisors and *zheng* in the Yi *hegai* case, the king himself in the Ehou Yufang *ding* inscription) and regional-level rulers (the *bangjun* and *zhuhou* of the Yi *hegai* inscription, the Border Protector Marquis of E himself in the latter case) in a context of simultaneous hospitality, cooperation, and competition.¹¹⁸ In his interactions with these powerful border elites, the king advertised the benefits of adherence to the royal house by providing hospitality in the form of liquor and honoring subordinates with methods of official recognition such as the *mieli* ceremony staged for Yi. At the same time, he demonstrated the royal government's maintenance of the martial tradition of archery and, by extension, its continued military might and relevance within the Zhou sociopolitical sphere, thus discouraging distant power-holders from breaking away from

¹¹⁴ Gifts to rather than from patrons are not completely unheard of in the inscriptions. The reward occasioning the commissioning of the Jin *ding* 莒鼎 (2703) was given in thanks for the vessel commissioner's delivery of a gift from the rulers of Yan to the Duke of Shao in the Zhou heartland; see *Liulihe*, 105; *Landscape and Power*, 335-6. To my knowledge, however, the Ehou Yufang *ding* is the only inscription recording a gift given directly to the Zhou king. As for the prerogative of toasting, the account of the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription above offers an example in which the first toasts were proposed by rather than to the king.

¹¹⁵ Li Feng, "Literacy Crossing Cultural Boundaries," 225.

¹¹⁶ On the materialization of ideology as a competitive ground, see DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, 16.

¹¹⁷ Provided that the vessel was in fact produced in E, the Marquis would have had the freedom to emphasize aspects of the narrative casting him as a driving agent in the ritual sequence.

¹¹⁸ On the reading of the title *yufang* 馭方, see Xia Hanyi, "Shi Yufang," 97-109.

the Zhou state project.¹¹⁹ The interaction between the royal house and central government (as represented by the Grand Invoker) and the Elder of Jing, recorded in the Chang Xin *he* inscription, was probably similarly motivated; though the homeland of the Jing lineage was geographically close to the royal domain, the Jing kinship group enjoyed substantial influence in the politics of the middle Western Zhou era, such that management of relations with them must have been a key concern of King Mu's reign.¹²⁰

The inscription of the celebrated Jing *gui* 靜簋 (4273), one of the main pieces of evidence for the institutional teaching of archery at the royal court, describes the involvement of specific important elite lineage members in a supervisory capacity.¹²¹ It thus provides an image of the conjunction between the education of elite youths in archery and the use of archery meets for political purposes by the Zhou royal house:

佳（唯）六月初吉，王才（在）莽京，丁卯，王令靜嗣（司）射學宮，小子眾服、眾小臣、眾尸僕學射。𠄎八月初吉庚寅，王呂（以）吳奉、呂劬、斚（師）、邦周射于大池，靜學無眈（尤），王易（賜）靜鞞、斚，靜敢拜頤首，對揚天子丕（丕）顯休，用乍（作）文母外姑尊簋，子子孫孫其萬年用。

It was the sixth month, the *chujì* moon phase; the king was at the Pang Capital. On the *dingmao* day, the king ordered Jing to take charge of archery at the Study Palace. The scions, servants, petty ministers, and Yi-servants studied archery. In the eighth month, during the *chujì* moon phase, on the *gengyin* day, the king led Wu Hui and Lü Gang to meet with the Bin X Armies and the states of Zhou to perform archery at the Grand Pond.¹²² Jing's instruction was without problems. The king presented Jing with a knife

¹¹⁹ In the case of the Marquis of E, this effort was ultimately unsuccessful, in that the Marquis staged an unsuccessful rebellion shortly thereafter. Rather than contradicting the argument, however, the sequence of events suggests that King Li was aware, during his southern campaign, of the need to shore up the loyalty of the rulers of E, and that he chose an archery meet as the vehicle for that effort.

¹²⁰ See chapter 2, note 226.

¹²¹ The Jing *gui* is part of the Sackler collection of bronzes; see *Sackler*, 424-9; *MWX*, 111. It appeared first in *Xiqing* 27.14. See also note 83.

¹²² Ma Chengyuan reads the phrase *bin x shi* 斚（師）斚師 as a personal name here, based on a line from the inscription of the Qi *gui* (4266) which reads 命汝作斚師家司馬, and the phrase *bang zhou* 邦周 as a personal name by analogy; see *MWX*, 111, n. 4. This reading has the virtue of matching up Wu Hui and Lü Gang, two individuals, with another two individuals. However, the placement of the word *shi* 師 at the end rather than the beginning of a name would be unusual. I suspect that the 斚師 of the Qi *gui* and the 斚斚師 of the Yi *hegai* both refer to the location known as the Bin Encampment, referred to also in the inscription of the Shan *ding* 善丁

with tassel and scabbard.¹²³ Jing dares to bow and strike his head, praising the Son of Heaven's great and brilliant beneficence in response, therewith making for his cultured mother Wai Ji a revered *gui*-vessel; may his sons' sons and grandsons' grandsons use it for ten thousand years.

Jing's commissioning of the vessel was occasioned by a reward the king gave him for his successful training of a variety of lower-status groups, including the aforementioned "scions" (*xiaozi*) and "petty ministers" (*xiaochen*), in preparation for an archery meet.¹²⁴ The specified participants in the event were not limited to these groups, however, nor were they the focus of the record. The inscription instead emphasizes the participation of lineage members Wu Hui and Lü Gang, as well as of parties specified only as political entities: the "states of Zhou" (*Zhou bang* 周邦) and the "Bin X Army[ies]" or "Bin X Encampment[s]" (*Bin X shi*).¹²⁵ Nor are Jing's protégés praised for their excellence at archery, as the Elder of Zha was in the events of his eponymous inscription; instead, Jing is rewarded because his students simply carried off the event "without problems" (*wu you* 無尤). The overall sense is that, from the royal perspective, the actions of the scions, servants, petty ministers, etc. were important mainly as a background

(2820):

令汝佐胥彙 侯，監黷師戍

I command you to assist the Marquis of X in overseeing the garrison of the Bin Encampment...

The appointment described in the Qian *gui* inscription would then be to "serve as Supervisor of Horse for the household[s] of the Bin Encampment." By extension, the phrase *bangzhou* in the Yi *hegai* inscription probably referred to a location as well, perhaps analogous to the more common *zhoubang*, or "states of Zhou" (appearing, for example, in the inscriptions of the Ke *ding* 克鼎 [2836] and the Hong *gui* 匄簋 [4321]). The relationship between Wu Hui and Lü Gang on the one side, and these two locations on the other, is difficult to determine from the syntax of the inscription. It may be that these two competed against single representatives from the two locations in archery; perhaps the king designated Wu and Lü as leaders of the two "teams" in the competition; or, alternatively, perhaps Wu and Lü were merely "used" by the king to bring the two factions together in the archery meet and did not personally participate.

¹²³ Following *MWX* in the reading of 鞞 剌; see *MWX*, 111, n. 6.

¹²⁴ On the question of the identity of the "scions" (*xiaozi* 小子) and the "petty ministers" (*xiaochen* 小臣), see Wang Longzheng et al, "Xin faxian de Zhabo gui jiqi mingwen kaoshi," pp. 55-7. For a detailed consideration of the relative status of various *xiaochen* during the Western Zhou period, see Zhang and Liu, 43-5; on *xiaozi*, see 45-7.

¹²⁵ Wu Hui and Lü Gang are likely the Wu and Lü known from the Ban *gui* 班簋 (4341) inscription. See Liu Yu, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli," 1114; *MWX*, 108-11, esp. 109, n. 7-8; 111, n. 4.

context for the interaction between the royal representatives Wu Hui and Lü Gang on the one hand, and those of the semi-independent Zhou states and the Bin X Encampment on the other.

All told, then, the Western Zhou inscriptions contain traces of several different but complementary motives for the ceremonial performance of archery competitions at major events. Certainly, archery meets provided a venue for young, powerful Zhou elites such as Zhabo to achieve public recognition and win rewards from the Zhou royal house. The desire to prepare young aristocrats for these endeavors led to institutionalized education in the proper performance of archery, which itself created opportunities for excellence and recognition in both the preparation of participants for ritual events and the maintenance of dedicated facilities for the purpose; the inscriptions of the Jing *gui*, the Shi Tangfu *ding* 師湯父鼎 (2780), and the Kuang *you* 匡卣 (5423) record this phenomenon.¹²⁶ However, the bulk of inscriptional records of actual archery meets focus less on the performance of the lesser participants (scions, petty servants, etc.) and more on the accompanying ceremonies and other opportunities created for interaction between the Zhou king, high-ranking Zhou state officials, and powerful rulers and administrators of local polities. The Ling *ding* and Jing *gui*, in which “scions” (*xiaozi*) participated but were not singled out, both record archery meets that followed this model, as do several inscriptions – those of the Yi *hegai*, the Chang Xin *he*, and the Ehou Yufang *ding* – in which scions are not mentioned. The Yi *hegai* and the Ehou Yufang *ding* in particular commemorate events that took place on the periphery of the Zhou cultural sphere, in or near areas which repeatedly caused military difficulties for the Zhou royal house.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Shi Tangfu *ding* 師湯父鼎 (2780), Kuang *you* 匡卣 (5423).

¹²⁷ On the rebellion of the Marquis of E, see note 113. The state of Lu, where the events recorded in the Yi *hegai* inscription took place, was in the western portion of Shandong province, in the eastern reaches of the Zhou state. A conflict between the royal house and the regional state of Qi, in the area just east of Lu, occurred during the reign of King Yi. See *Landscape and Power*, 97-9.

In addition to its benefits as a method of education/indoctrination and a venue for young Zhou elites to seek recognition outside existing models of employment and patronage, then, group competition in archery was one of the more commonly recorded diplomatic tools in the Zhou royal arsenal.¹²⁸ Institutionalized instruction in archery thus would seem to have been a necessary component of preparation for official and/or military service on the Zhou periphery, where the ability to acquit oneself in high-pressure contexts of simultaneous rivalry and cooperation could directly affect the ongoing relations between local power-holders making up the Zhou state.

4.3.3: Summary and further discussion

Sources from the late Shang period show that the Shang kings occasionally engaged in public demonstrations of their prowess with the bow. As portrayed in our most detailed record, the Zuoce Ban *gui*, this process took place on a body of water, involved the shooting of animals that may or may not have been prepared as fixed targets, and included chances for other elite bowmen to participate with the king and to win rewards for their performance. The inscriptions of the Mai *fangzun* and the Bo Tangfu *ding* show that early Western Zhou kings adopted many elements of this practice. They conducted ceremonial shooting sessions on the *biyong* pond; they killed animals in the process; and they provided opportunities for visiting elites to take part.

Certain distinctions in the process, however, bespeak a different approach to the strategic implementation of ritual shooting demonstrations as a political tool. Where the Zuoce Ban *gui* event bagged a cosmologically significant turtle, the Zhou royal demonstrations targeted birds in one case and a variety of prepared animal targets in another. The choice of the central and cosmologically significant space of the *biyong* pond, however, strengthened the mimetic efficacy

¹²⁸ Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1116.

of the ritual, allowing the movements of the Zhou king to the extremes of the pond to make a statement about the effective reach of the royal house's military power. Shooting animals at the edges of the pond, while probably a practical necessity, thus took on the aspect of the killing or subjugation of populations on the borders of the Zhou sphere of influence. The shooting of the "evil ministers" during King Wu's triumphal return ceremonies, as described in the "Shi fu" chapter of the *Yizhoushu*, seems to have followed the same model, arguing simultaneously for the identity of the Shang as an "out-group" rather than the cultural predecessors of the Zhou and for the Zhou capital as center versus Yin as periphery.¹²⁹ Likewise, the following along of visiting elites recalled the origins of the royal house as leaders of a military coalition that succeeded in its rebellion against the Shang. In some cases, this may even have been the first chance for particular elites to take part in a "campaign" led by the Zhou king.¹³⁰

The approach of the early Zhou kings to the performance of ritual archery demonstrations on water thus put much heavier emphasis on the cosmological associations of the process, portraying the site of the ritual as a microcosm of the Zhou state. This retooling emphasized the role of the Zhou homeland and the Zhou kings as conceptual center of the new state order, an understandable departure from the practices of the late Shang kings, whose status as such was well-established. It also betrays a conception of the Zhou state as a bounded, geographically

¹²⁹ Geopolitical realities would soon change that approach, as the Zhou determined the need to construct a new base of operations in the vicinity of the former Shang capital. The events of the "Shi fu" account (for which see Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu jiaopu zhuyi*, 210-21), however, predate that determination. The effort to establish Feng/Hao as ideological center of the new order, with Shang-heritage prisoners at the periphery representative of Yin, recalls the organization of the Inka capital of Tawantinsuyu (Cuzco), wherein the positions of populations settled around the city center reiterated the positions of their homeland within the Inka empire, thus establishing the capital as a microcosm of the empire as a whole. See John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990, 62-5; Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, *Los Incas: economía, sociedad, y Estado en el era de Tawantinsuyo*, Lima: Amaru, 1987, 319-21; DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, 19, 29.

¹³⁰ The Marquis of Xing, mentioned in the Mai *fangzun* inscription, was a new appointee to that position; his advancement presumably betokened either a progression of authority within his family (i.e., his succession of his deceased father as lineage head) or a grant of additional authority to his lineage from the king. The language of the inscription is unfortunately not specific enough to allow a determination between these possibilities. A full translation of the inscription appears in the following chapter.

delimited territory, internally placid, the borders of which could be controlled with sufficient effort. Over the course of the Western Zhou period, the central portion of the Zhou state would grow closer to this conceptual ideal, as demographic expansion reduced the space between the territory of individual lineages, forcing the royal house to resort to piecemeal grants of land as a tool of political reward.¹³¹ Its pursuit seems to have been a concern of the Zhou kings from early in the period, however, and to have driven the delegatory element of the Zhou political model that made possible the rapid expansion of the early Western Zhou period.¹³²

In fact, the ritual shooting demonstration recorded in the Mai *fangzun* inscription was specifically connected with just such a delegatory event, namely the assignation of Mai's patron to control the territory of Xing. The degree of involvement afforded to the non-royal participants in the Mai *fangzun* and Bo Tangfu *ding* events is thus also of interest. While the Zuoce Ban *gui* records that the Shang king's attendants took part in the shooting of the turtle in question, the *da feng/li* sequences described in the Western Zhou vessels make no specific suggestion that the non-royal participants of honor took an active part in the shooting.

On the occasion of the rite depicted in the Mai *fangzun* inscription, the king had just assigned the Marquis as the primary power-holder and Zhou representative in a more or less far-flung region. The project of state expansion pursued by the earliest Western Zhou kings (Kings Wu, Cheng, and Kang in particular) relied on the delegation of nigh-absolute control over

¹³¹ On the shrinkage of royal land grants as a manifestation of this process, see *Bureaucracy*, 36-7; *Landscape and Power*, 122-7.

¹³² For instance, in the inscription of the Yihou Ze *gui*, the king consults a map as he assigns the territory to Yihou Ze, showing a specific concern with territory covered by the grant, despite the fact that the grant itself is described in terms of populations contained; see *Bureaucracy*, 238-41. Li Feng points out that, though the Zhou kings conceived of their state from a territorial standpoint, their state-building efforts focused on full military control – that is, the ability to defend any part of the state at any time – rather than on administrative control; see *ibid.*, 288-9. This is precisely the thrust of the mimetic argument made by the *da feng/li* rite. On the delegatory model of state authority in the Western Zhou, see *ibid.*, 294-9.

outlying areas to trusted representatives on a semi-permanent and semi-hereditary basis.¹³³ When, as occasionally happened, those representatives rebelled, the results were historically formative moments of crisis for the Zhou state.¹³⁴ It is hardly surprising that, when abrogating authority in this fashion, the early Zhou kings sought out ritual counterbalances to the delegation process, ways to persuade adherents that their own presence, their own control, still encompassed the whole of the domain to which the state laid claim. The ceremonial demonstration of archery by the Zhou king on the *biyong* pond was one such method. It is natural that the king, facing the necessity of ceding practical power over an area to a potential rival, would wish to maintain his monopoly on symbolic power over the entire realm. To cast further participants in the *da feng/li* rite as followers/observers was a step toward such a monopoly.

The few surviving records of individual royal demonstrations of archery are associated with the *da feng/li* rite and confined mainly to the reigns of the first few Western Zhou kings.¹³⁵ Toward the end of this period, as the balance of the Zhou state project shifted from establishment and expansion to consolidation and maintenance, the royal house began a program of institutionally sponsored archery competitions, along with the educational infrastructure necessary to support their performance. The events of the Zhabo *gui* inscription, the earliest record of such an event, probably date to the King Kang-King Zhao period; as Liu Yu has elsewhere noted, inscriptional records of archery meets reached their heyday during the reign of

¹³³ On the degree of authority of regional lords under the Western Zhou model, see *Bureaucracy*, chapter 6, 235-70, esp. 245.

¹³⁴ See note 127.

¹³⁵ The Mai *fangzun* probably dates to around the reign of King Kang; see *MWX*, 46; Shirakawa, vol. 1b, 628-46 (Shirakawa suggests its dating to the latter years of King Cheng or the early years of King Kang). On the dating of the Bo Tangfu *ding*, see the translation and discussion of its inscription in chapter 3. Other vessels referring to the *da feng/li* process – the Tian Wang *gui* and the He *zun* – date to the reigns of Kings Wu and Cheng, respectively; these vessels do not, however, explicitly mention shooting as a part of the sequence. For a more detailed discussion of these dates, see the section on the *da feng/li* rite.

King Mu, but at least one record of a royally sponsored archery meet – that in the Ehou Yufang *ding* inscription – survives from the late Western Zhou.¹³⁶

While the early Western Zhou royal shooting demonstrations arrogated most of the conceptual weight of the process to the king himself, royally sponsored archery competitions welcomed and, indeed, mandated the participation of a wide spectrum of Zhou elites. These took place both at specially prepared locations in the heartland of Zhou royal control and on the far eastern and southern periphery of the Zhou cultural sphere. Usually, these meets paired direct affiliates of the royal court with semi-independent power-holders such as regional rulers and heads of prominent lineages. Those held within the royal area of control might also include “scions,” a fact which has been taken to indicate the use of archery as an educational framework.¹³⁷ Some such cases also admitted the involvement of *xiaochen*, “petty ministers,” perhaps, as Liu suggests, in an organizational capacity.¹³⁸

Beyond the simple hospitality provided, archery meets offered a number of potential benefits to non-royal participants. Archers had the opportunity to distinguish themselves based on their performance of what was still, during the Western Zhou period, a core military skill, without requiring the pretext of a campaign action. In addition to the prestige of recognition, they might obtain concrete, material rewards, as in the Zhabo *gui* event. Participation placed them close to the center of Zhou power – geographically in cases of meets conducted in the Zhou heartland, politically in those cases associated with royal journeys. It afforded non-local aristocrats a chance for direct contact with the Zhou king. For some more powerful aristocrats – regional rulers such as the Marquis of E, for example – this would allow a public reiteration of the relations that implicitly underlay their authority. Others of lesser standing, particularly those

¹³⁶ Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1116-7.

¹³⁷ Wang Longzheng et al., “Zhabo gui yu da sheli ji Xi Zhou jiaoyu zhidu,” esp. 60.

¹³⁸ Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1118.

who served distant lords such as the Dukes of Lu or the Marquises of E, might otherwise have little or no chance for contact with the king; archery meets thus afforded them unprecedented opportunities to achieve distinction outside of established local hierarchies.

From the royal perspective, sponsoring archery meets created a point of contact between central representatives directly responsible to the king, and regional lords and powerful lineage heads who owed allegiance to the Zhou state but enjoyed substantial autonomy.¹³⁹ The established context of competition directed the instincts and efforts of these potentially opposed groups, providing a venue of controlled violence for the negotiation of relative status.¹⁴⁰ The capacity for participants to win rewards and recognition encouraged an understanding of the king as linchpin of the state and source of both material and immaterial wealth, even among those elites who had little contact with the Zhou royal house; this allowed the king to insert himself into the patronage relationships making up Zhou society at the local level. Combined with the establishment of institutionalized instruction in archery for elite youths, these strategies engaged non-royal elites in the process of “enrollment” in the Zhou state and cultural project; that is to say, they encouraged non-royal elites to expend energy and resources in perfecting skills of

¹³⁹ On the autonomy of Western Zhou regional lords, see n. 113; on the Jing lineage, see n. 100.

¹⁴⁰ As a competitive group activity with associations of violence and broad cultural penetration, the Mesoamerican ballgame provides fertile ground for comparison with ritual archery. For an account of the ballgame as an instantiation and perpetuation of boundaries between territories and groups, see Susan D. Gillespie, “Ballgames and Boundaries,” in Vernon L. Scarborough and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Mesoamerican Ballgame*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991, 317-46. On the ballgame as a venue of controlled competition between elites, see Robert S. Santley, Michael J. Berman, and Rani T. Alexander, “The Politicization of the Mesoamerican Ballgame and its Implications for the Interpretation of the Distribution of Ballcourts in Central Mexico,” in *ibid.*, 1-25, esp. 14-7. On the ballgame as a tool of political and cultural merging of center and periphery, see John W. Fox, *Maya Postclassic State Formation: Segmentary Lineage Migration in Advancing Frontiers*, Cambridge: 1987, 246-54, cited in J. Jefferson MacKinnon and Emily M. May, “The Ballcourts of C’haben K’ax and its Neighbors: the Maya Ballgame and the Late Classic Colonial Impulse in Southern Belize,” in Gerard W. van Bussel, Paul L.F. van Dongen, and Ted J.J. Leyenaar, *The Mesoamerican Ballgame: Papers presented at the International Colloquium ‘The Mesoamerican Ballgame 2000 BC-AD 2000,’ Leiden, June 30th-July 3rd, 1988*, Leiden: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1991, 71-80, esp. 79-80. See also E. Michael Whittington, ed., *The Sport of Life and Death: The Mesoamerican Ballgame*, Charlotte: Mint Museum of Art in conjunction with Thames and Hudson, 2001.

importance to the Zhou king¹⁴¹ and argued for an understanding of the king as the origin point, if not the sole immediate source, of prestige and recognition.¹⁴²

Royally sponsored archery meets began in the late phase of the early Western Zhou or the early phase of the middle Western Zhou.¹⁴³ Their traces in the inscriptions are concentrated mainly around the reign of King Mu. Noting this concentration, Liu Yu ties it to the newfound peace that settled over the realm at that time.¹⁴⁴ Recent work has cast this era in a very different light. The preceding reign of King Zhao, it has long been known, was cut short by the killing of that king and the routing of his armies at points south.¹⁴⁵ Li Feng has recently shown that the reign of King Mu saw a retaliatory incursion of southern populations into Zhou territory, as well as a royal attack against the “Western Rong” or “Dog Rong” populations dwelling on the western Zhou flank that set the precedent for a dynasty-long enmity between the two peoples.¹⁴⁶

To suggest that archery meets were a product of peacetime idleness thus contradicts new understandings about the Western Zhou historical sequence. I would put forth the alternate theory that intensification and institutionalization of royally sponsored archery was meant to shore up relations between the royal apparatus and its more powerful adherents in a time of crisis.

¹⁴¹ Not archery in its own right so much as the capacity to compete with rivals in a controlled environment of hospitality without unpleasantness; that is to say, diplomatic skill.

¹⁴² There is a distinction to be made here from Callon’s “obligatory passage point” model, in that, as portrayed in the performance of archery and of the *mieli* rite, the king retained the capacity to delegate the distribution of prestige to a secondary party, what might be called an “optional passage point.” Hence, for example, in the inscription of the Chang Xin *he*, after participating in an archery meet, the Elder of Jing is involved in the recounting of Chang Xin’s merits. Since the Zhou kings relied on designated rulers for the administration of outlying regions, this power of delegated prestige distribution was a necessary component of their strategy of governance. The desire to control it more closely was one of the factors driving the introduction and expansion of the official appointment ceremony. This point will be elaborated upon in the Conclusion.

¹⁴³ This is based on the possibility of a King Zhao date for the Zhabo *gui*, a feasible dating based on physical comparisons with other vessels and on the mode of dating used in the inscription. See Wang Longzheng et al, “Xin faxian de Zhabo gui jiqi mingwen kaoshi,” 53-4; although Wang Longzheng et al. suggest a King Kang dating for the vessel based on the form of the calligraphy and in particular on the appearance of the personage Nangong 南宮 (on whom see n. 88).

¹⁴⁴ Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1116-7.

¹⁴⁵ On the inscriptional evidence for King Zhao’s campaigns to the south, see notes 18 and 39. For a summary of the received historical evidence, see Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 322-3.

¹⁴⁶ Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 96-7, 145-6.

The reign of King Mu saw the end of the overall project of expansion of the Western Zhou state, despite Pyrrhic victories against the Quanrong,¹⁴⁷ and the beginning of concomitant shifts in the ritual instantiation of patronage relations. By creating new opportunities for socialization and competition between royal partisans and powerful, semi-independent lineage heads, and by emphasizing the connection of the royal house with military skills and the possibility of recognition by the king for those skills, archery meets provided a source of prestige that helped counterbalance the loss of royal campaign largesse inherent in the slowing rate of Zhou military expansion.¹⁴⁸

4.4: The official appointment ceremony

The middle Western Zhou, and in particular the reign of King Mu, saw the rise of a variety of bronze inscription recording the appointment of the vessel commissioner to an official position by the Zhou king.¹⁴⁹ Earlier kings of course appointed subordinates – the Da Yu *ding*, usually dated to King Kang, commemorates one such case – but inscriptional records of appointments become both more numerous and more formulaic as of the King Mu era, suggesting that an organized reform of the official appointment process took place during that reign.¹⁵⁰ These inscriptions have generally become known as *ceming mingwen* 册命铭文 or *ceming jinwen* 册命金文, or “appointment inscriptions” in English.¹⁵¹ Several dedicated

¹⁴⁷ Received sources suggest that King Mu was successful in his attacks on the Quanrong; however, the Zhou do not seem to have gained any territory in the process, and the rivalry thus begun with the Quanrong would eventually prove to be the royal house’s undoing. For the classical sources on the origin of this conflict, see the discussion of the Bo Tangfu *ding* in the previous chapter; for a detailed discussion of the conflicts between the Zhou and the Quanrong/Xianyun, see *Landscape and Power*, 141-92 and Appendix 2, “The relationship between the Quanrong and the Xianyun,” 343-6.

¹⁴⁸ On the slowing of Zhou military expansion during the reign of King Mu, see *Bureaucracy*, 33-4, 105.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, 36. On the date of the Da Yu *ding*, see chapter 2, note 169.

¹⁵¹ For a review of the history of the study of these inscriptions, see He Shuhuan, *Xi Zhou ximing mingwen xin yan*, Wenjin, 2007, 28-58. As the title of that work indicates, He Shuhuan employs the term *ximing* 锡铭 for these

treatments of this body of inscriptions and the appointment process they depict have emerged, particularly over the last ten years.¹⁵² In the meantime, the discovery of Western Zhou bronzes bearing appointment inscriptions has continued apace. One such inscription, that of the recently discovered Jingbo Lu *gui* 井伯親簋, will suffice as an example narrative of the appointment ritual from the very earliest times of its performance:¹⁵³

惟廿有四年九月既望庚寅，王在周，格太室，即位，司工（空）遷入右親，立中庭，北鄉（向），王呼作冊尹冊（申）命親曰：“更（賡）乃祖服，作冢司馬。汝迺諫訊有糞（嫌），取徵十錡。錫汝赤市幽黃，金車、金勒、旂。汝迺筭（敬）夙夕勿法（廢）朕命。汝肇享。“親拜稽首，敢對揚天子休，用作朕文祖幽伯寶簋，親其萬年孫子其永寶用。

It was the twenty-fourth year, the ninth month, the *jiwang* phase, the *gengyin* day. The king was at Zhou; he entered the Great Hall and took up his position. Supervisor of Works X entered and served as *youzhe* for Lu, [who] stood in the center of the hall facing north. The king called upon the Chief Document Maker to extend Lu's command with documents, saying, "Succeed to the service of your ancestor[s?], serving as Grand Supervisor of Horse.

inscriptions; on this point see also He Shuhuan, "Sishi'er nian Lai ding 'lai shu,' 'ce lai' shiyi – fu 'ceming mingwen' ming shi bianzheng," *Zhengda zhongwen xuebao* 2006.12, 75-102, esp. 95-7. The term *ceming* indicates the use of a document to convey the royal command, which, if taken as a necessary diagnostic component, may disqualify some inscriptions that otherwise follow the pattern. Wang Zhiguo raises the question of the various details of the ceremony as diagnostic criteria in "Sishi'er nian Lai ding suo fanying de Xi Zhou wanqi ceming liyi de bianhua," in Zhu Fenghan, ed., *Xin chu jinwen yu Xi Zhou lishi*, 297-304, esp. 299. Li Feng voices a similar objection in *Bureaucracy*, p. 104, n. 15, reacting to Yoshimoto Michimasa's restriction of his inquiry into the phenomenon to those inscriptions containing the term *ceming* itself; for that treatment, see Yoshimoto, "Sei Shuu satsume kinbun kou," *Shirin* 74.5 (1991), 38-66.

¹⁵² These include Zhang Guangyu, "Jinwen zhong ceming zhi dian," *Xianggang zhongwen daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 10.2 (1979); Chen Hanping, *Xi Zhou ceming zhidu yanjiu*, Xuelin, 1986; Yoshimoto, "Sei Shuu satsume"; Yang Kuan, "'Ceming li' de yishi," in *Xi Zhou shi*, 820-5; Musha Akira, "Sei Shuu satsume kinbun bunrui no kokoromi," in Matsumaru Michio, ed., *Sei Shuu seidouki to sono kokka*, Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku, 1980, 49-132; Wang Zhongwen, *Xi Zhou ceming jinwen suo jian guanzhi yanjiu*, Guoli, 1999; He Shuhuan, *Xi Zhou ximing mingwen xin yan*. For English-language treatments of the appointment inscriptions, see Virginia Kane, "Aspects of Western Zhou Appointment Inscriptions: the Charge, the Gifts, and the Response," *Early China* 8 (1982-3), 14-28; Martin Kern, "The performance of writing in Western Zhou China," in Sergio La Porta and David Shulman, eds., *The poetics of grammar and the metaphysics of sound and sign*, Leiden, 2007, 140-51; and particularly Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 103-14.

¹⁵³ The Jingbo Lu *gui* was acquired by the National Museum of China in 2005. Both its bird-motif decorations and its association with the figure the Master of Horse, the Elder of Jing, mark it as a middle Western Zhou bronze, dating almost certainly to the reign of King Mu due to the high year-number of its date. On these points, and for images of the bronze and its inscription, see *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2006.3, and in particular Wang Guanying, "Lu gui kaoshi," 4-6; Li Xueqin, "Lun Lu gui de niandai," 7-8; Xia Hanyi, "Cong Lu gui kan Zhou Mu Wang zaiwei nianshu ji niandai wenti," 9-10; Zhang Yongshan, "Lu gui zuoqizhe de niandai," 11-3. The transcription given here follows that given by Li Xueqin except where otherwise noted.

You must then admonish and inquire where there is wrongdoing,¹⁵⁴ taking an emolument of ten *lüe* [of bronze].¹⁵⁵ [I] award you a red kneepad, a dark *huang*-jade,¹⁵⁶ a bronze chariot, a bronze harness, and a banner. You, then, respectfully day and night refrain from wasting my command! You make the offerings!” Lu bowed and struck his head, daring in response to praise the beneficence of the Son of Heaven. [I] therewith make a precious *gui*-tureen for my cultured ancestor the Elder of You. May Lu’s grandsons and sons eternally treasure and use [this vessel] for ten thousand years.

The sequence narrated in the Jingbo Lu *gui* inscription follows the basic model shared by the vast majority of appointment inscriptions.¹⁵⁷ First, the king takes up his position in the ritual venue.¹⁵⁸ Next, the recipient of the appointment (and so the commissioner of the inscription) is led or summoned into the appointment venue by the *youzhe*, or sponsor.¹⁵⁹ The candidate stands in the middle of the hall facing north, i.e., towards the king, with the sponsor to his right.¹⁶⁰ The

¹⁵⁴ The transcription and translation here follow Li Xueqin’s reading of the character here rendered 嫌 as *xian* 嫌, the phrase *youxian* then referring to persons under suspicion; see Li Xueqin, “Lun Lu gui de niandai,” p. 7; Wang Guanying, “Lu gui kaoshi,” pp. 4-5. Wang Guanying reads the phrase as 有葬, which Tang Lan has elsewhere read as *youlin* 有鄰, taking it as referring to an aspect of agricultural organization; see Tang Lan, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fendai shizheng*, Zhonghua: 1986, cited in Wang Guanying, “Lu gui kaoshi,” 4-5.

¹⁵⁵ On the reading of this phrase as referring to official emoluments, see Wang Guanying, “Lu gui kaoshi,” 5; Chen Hanping, *Xi Zhou ceming zhidu yanjiu*, 260-2.

¹⁵⁶ Reading *huang* 黃 as *huang* 璜, as does Wang Guanying, “Lu gui kaoshi”; see 6.

¹⁵⁷ See the sources cited in note 153 above for further narrations of the appointment ritual sequence. Many of these, including *Bureaucracy*, “The Performance of Writing,” and *Xi Zhou Shi*, draw on late Western Zhou bronzes as basic examples of the ceremony; see 105-7, 141-50, and 820-5, respectively. I therefore present an early case here for comparison.

¹⁵⁸ The usual phrase is *wang ji wei* 王即位, “the king took up his position,” the latter term later becoming a normal expression for the idea of “the throne” in the abstract sense.

¹⁵⁹ *Youzhe* were virtually always of higher status than the parties they “assisted”; see Chen Hanping, 110. It is of note that among the many possible readings of the character *you* in *youzhe* is *you* 右, “right (vs. left),” and many scholars indeed hold that the *youzhe* stood to the right of the appointee during the ceremony; see *Bureaucracy*, 107-9. Chen Hanping emphasizes the use of *you* as a verb or an indicator of location, rather than a personal title, in the inscriptions; see p. 106.

¹⁶⁰ Li Feng and Musha Akira have both pointed out that the inscriptions vary as to whether the *youzhe* entered the hall with the appointee or afterward; see *Bureaucracy*, 108-9; Musha Akira, 270-6.

“To face north” would later become a code for the paying of fealty, just as “to face south” would express the idea of ruling. Consider the following lines from the “Shi xun” chapter of the *Yizhoushu*:

小寒之日，鴈北向，又五日鵲始巢，又五日雉始雊。鴈不北向，民不懷主，鵲不始巢，國不寧，雉不始雊，國大水。

On the day of the Small Cold, the geese face north; in five days, the magpies start their nests; in five days, the pheasants start calling. If the geese do not face north, then the people do not cherish the lord; if the magpies do not start their nests, the state is not at peace; if the pheasants do not start calling, the country will flood.

(*Yizhoushu jiaopu*, 283-4)

king then calls upon the scribe or scribes in attendance to read the official royal command to the appointee from prepared documents.¹⁶¹ As in the case cited above, the official command would include descriptions of both the office the appointee was to occupy and the accoutrements that he was to be awarded for his service. The appointee then made his obeisances to the king and left;¹⁶² later, he commissioned a bronze commemorating the occasion, its inscription based probably on the document of command used during the appointment ceremony.¹⁶³

The above steps appear in virtually all accounts of the appointment ritual beginning with the very earliest examples (such as that of the Jingbo Lu *gui* itself); they constitute the common core of the ritual maintained throughout the remainder of the Western Zhou period. Beyond these steps, some inscriptions, particularly of later date, record the appointee's departure from the venue and subsequent return to present an item of jade.¹⁶⁴ Some specify as well the participation, if not the location, of a royal scribe, or, in later inscriptions, of two such scribes.¹⁶⁵ The discovery of a set of foundations at Yuntang, Fufeng county, Shaanxi, that are commonly taken as the ruin of an ancestral temple has provided a context for the visualization of this set of movements.¹⁶⁶

See also Chen Qiyu, *Hanfeizi jishi*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1974, 28 ("Gong ming"), 507-12, esp. 509; Liang Qixiong, ed., *Xunzi jianshi*, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936, "Ru xiao," 75-6; Wang Shumin, *Zhuangzi jiaozhu*, "Tian dao," 472. To my knowledge, the appointment inscriptions (and that of the Xiao Yu *ding*) are the earliest expression of this standard of spatial correspondence.

¹⁶¹ For this interpretation of the role of documents in the process, see Li Feng, "Offices," 50; *Bureaucracy*, 109; Kern, "The Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China," 150-1. For a description of the role played by two scribes in the appointment ceremony, see Kern, "The Performance of Writing," 151. Wang Zhiguo has recently pointed out that the involvement of two scribes is characteristic of late Western Zhou cases; see 299-301.

¹⁶² I follow Li Feng in reading the formulaic "expression of gratitude" offered by the appointee as representing an actual utterance and action performed during the ceremony; see *Bureaucracy*, 110.

¹⁶³ On this point see *Bureaucracy*, 110; Kern, 150.

¹⁶⁴ On this phenomenon, of which much was made in the later ritual texts, see Wang Zhiguo, 301-4, and Sun Qingwei, "Shuo Zhou dai ceming li de 'fan ru jin zhang' he 'fan ru jin gui,'" *Zhou Qin wenming luncong* 1, Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 2006, 162-6.

¹⁶⁵ See for example the Song *ding* 頌鼎 (2829), translated in *Bureaucracy*, 105-7. On the participation of two scribes as a King Xuan-era innovation in the appointment ceremony, see Wang Zhiguo, 299-301.

¹⁶⁶ On the Yuntang ruins, see Zhouyuan Kaogudui, "Shaanxi Fufeng xian Yuntang, Qizhen Xi Zhou jianzhu yizhi 1999-2000 niandu fajue jianbao," *Kaogu* 2002.9, 3-26; Xu Lianggao and Wang Wei, "Shaanxi Fufeng Yuntang Xi Zhou jianzhu jizhi de chubu renshi," *Kaogu* 2002.9, 27-35. Li Feng offers a diagram of the appointment

The following discussion will note a few points concerning the appointment ceremony that are of greatest relevance to the overall evolution of Western Zhou royal ritual.

4.4.1: Physical orientation of ritual participants

Inscriptional records of early Western Zhou rituals, though profoundly concerned with the identities of participants in major ritual events, give little consideration to the physical positions of those participants during the events in question. Among the many inscriptions marking the participation of their commissioners in royal feasts or drinking events, none specify the seating of the commissioner nearer to or farther from the king, for example; nor do the records of royal *rong*-rites or *hui*-rites specify the arrangement of the visiting elites during the ceremonies. The main exception to this rule is the *da feng/li* rite, in which, as we have seen, certain high-ranking elites enjoyed the double-edged privilege of following the king during his progression through the mimetically significant space of the *biyong* pond.¹⁶⁷ One other early Western Zhou record, that of the exceptional Xiao Yu *ding* (2839) inscription, shows traces of concern with the physical orientation of participants in a court ceremony.¹⁶⁸

The focus on physical orientation in appointment inscriptions of King Mu and later date is thus a significant departure. The degree of detail in the description of physical positions is unprecedented in earlier materials, with the single and partial exception of the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription.¹⁶⁹ Even the most detailed early account of the *da feng/li* rite offers only the bare-

ceremony superimposed on the Yuntang site in *Bureaucracy*, p. 108.

¹⁶⁷ For the specific inscriptions, see the section on the *biyong* pond in chapter 3.

¹⁶⁸ For a full treatment of this inscription, see the following chapter. It is of note that the related Da Yu *ding* inscription, a predecessor of sorts of the appointment inscriptions, records no details about the physical orientation of the characters involved in the events it records. In the early Western Zhou inscriptions, such details are for the most part restricted to accounts of the investment of regional states; see *Bureaucracy*, 105.

¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately, lacunae in the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription obscure some key portions of its account of the physical positions of the participants; see the full translation in chapter 4.

bones statement that the king “rode the boat in three directions.”¹⁷⁰ Consistent as it is across the body of appointment inscriptions, this focus suggests a new effort on the part of the royal house, and particularly of King Mu, to control the fine details of physical orientation in court ceremony, or at least to leverage their depiction in the inscriptions of ancestral bronzes as a tool of enculturation. Detailed description of the relative positioning of the body during early Chinese rituals would eventually reach its peak in the *Yili*, the accounts of which record minute and repetitive details of participants’ movements. The understanding of such movements as a key factor in the enculturation of Zhou aristocrats was one of the characteristic innovations of the thought of Confucius as portrayed in the *Analecets*.¹⁷¹ The codification and recording of such ritual movements appears for the first time in the appointment inscriptions.

In addition to the detail with which they record physical positions of human bodies, the appointment inscriptions are notable for the stillness of the scene they depict. The main prior case of concern with ritual positions, the *da feng/li* rite, relied on the movement of the king and his adherents through the space of the *biyong* pond for its mimetic significance. The sequence of the appointment ceremony instead describes a process whereby participants took up set positions relative to each other, and particularly relative to the Zhou king, whose entry into the hall and taking up of his position marked the beginning of the rite.¹⁷² The creation of a tableau of human figures is a new phenomenon in the depictions of rituals of the period.¹⁷³ It suggests a new focus of the royal house on the consolidation and maintenance of a particular, fixed image of social order, combined with a desire to leverage the mimetic efficacy of courtly ceremony to promote

¹⁷⁰ Tian Wang *gui* (4261); see chapter 3.

¹⁷¹ The classic statement of this model is *Lunyu*, “Wei zheng” 3. “Zi han” 3 offers confirmation that the Confucian formulation of the rites still included physical positioning of participants. See *Shisanjing zhushu*, 2461, 2489-90.

¹⁷² *Bureaucracy*, 105-11.

¹⁷³ Both Zhou and Shang elites presumably had experience with the creation of a fixed tableau of human bodies in the context of tomb burials. The late Shang kings in particular employed large numbers of human sacrificial victims; on this phenomenon see Thorp, 186-91. The innovation here is the emphasis on the relative (fixed) positions of living participants, as well as the detailed depiction of those positions in writing.

that image and to link it with the material patronage of the Zhou king.¹⁷⁴

4.4.2: The appointment ceremony and changing models of patronage

The appointment ceremony and its associated inscriptions emerged as a large-scale phenomenon at a moment of unprecedented military vulnerability for the Zhou royal house.¹⁷⁵ The preceding discussion has noted the hybrid use of *mieli*, a military-tinged patronage ceremony with strong Shang associations, by the royal house during the early portions of the period, as well as the complete lack of royal military *mieli* during the reign of King Mu. Li Feng has argued that the emergence of the appointment ceremony at this point allowed the substitution of official, bureaucratic appointment for military honors, in the context of the frustration of Zhou ambitions of expansion.¹⁷⁶ Observing that the middle-late Western Zhou kings exercised a relatively free hand in appointing officials, he notes that the Zhou system of formal appointment would have created an environment in which individual achievements, social connections, and personal wealth could all influence the entry of candidates into service.¹⁷⁷ I would note in addition that, unlike the established *mieli* ceremony that provided the context for many early Western Zhou gifts, the appointment ceremony required no specific evidence of past accomplishment and thus allowed the Zhou kings to weigh the above factors in any combination when making appointments. Moreover, unlike the ideal of military patronage expressed in the *mieli* rite, the bureaucratic appointment of officials was a relatively new phenomenon, and so the Zhou kings had the opportunity to dominate the ideological message of the associated ritual.

¹⁷⁴ For further discussion of the mimetic efficacy of the human tableau as a tool of enculturation, see DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," as discussed in the Introduction to this work.

¹⁷⁵ See notes 18 and 39; also see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 33-8.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 104-5.

¹⁷⁷ See *ibid.*, 215-6.

Li has noted the division of participants in the appointment ceremony into two “classes,” placing the king and his representative royal scribes in physical opposition to the *youzhe* and the appointee.¹⁷⁸ A similar division occurred as well in many royally sponsored archery meets, which, as noted above, left most of their traces in the inscriptions of King Mu’s reign. Considered together, these trends suggest an organized effort employing rituals to argue that the division between the king and his personal subordinates and the remainder of the elite community was fundamental to Zhou society. The division of these parties in ritual contexts would have complemented contemporaneous efforts to establish a functional distinction between the administration of the Zhou royal territory and that of outlying areas.¹⁷⁹

These factors, I would suggest, contributed to the continued performance of the appointment ceremony and its association with the institutional production of bronze inscriptions throughout the Western Zhou period, in contrast with the waning of the model of patronage expressed by the *mieli* rite.

4.4.3: Written documents, the appointment ceremony, and the production of inscribed bronzes

As portrayed in the standardized appointment inscriptions, a royal scribe or, in some later cases, two royal scribes were necessary participants in the Western Zhou appointment ceremony.¹⁸⁰ Many of the inscriptions record that the king’s command of appointment was written on a bamboo document and recited during the ceremony. The use of these written documents was a usual, if not a necessary, component of the appointment ceremony, such that inscriptions recording it are now generally though not universally known in Chinese as *ce ming*

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 111.

¹⁷⁹ On the administrative separation of the area of direct royal control from the Western Zhou state apparatus, see *Bureaucracy*, 63-70.

¹⁸⁰ See Wang Zhiguo, 299-301.

mingwen 冊命銘文, or “inscriptions of commands with documents.”¹⁸¹ Li Feng cites this as evidence of the spread of elite literacy during the Western Zhou period.¹⁸²

Our understanding of the documents used in the Western Zhou appointment ceremony of course comes not from examples of those documents – no writings so perishable survive from the Western Zhou period – but from the evidence of their existence in the inscriptions of more durable ritual bronze vessels commemorating official appointments.¹⁸³ In many cases, these documents were given to the appointees after the attending scribes read them, and it has been plausibly suggested that they formed the basis for the commemorative inscriptions on ancestral bronzes commissioned by appointees.¹⁸⁴ Given the large number of appointment inscriptions that survive from the middle and late Western Zhou periods, the provision of written documents representing the words of the king for inclusion in bronze inscriptions must have placed a substantial volume of recorded royal utterances into the ancestral-ritual material assemblages of Western Zhou officials. Together with the standardization of the process of official appointment, this custom would have created a consistent portrayal, reaching across the boundaries between elite lineage cults, of the Zhou king as the legitimizing force behind the body of officials that conducted the day-to-day operations of the Zhou state.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 111-2, which lists several examples of the involvement of scribes and written documents in the appointment ceremony. The question of the necessity of the written document in the appointment ceremony underlies a continuing debate over the use of the term *ce ming mingwen*. Yoshimoto restricts his list of appointment inscriptions to those that contain the term *ce ming* 冊命 itself; see Yoshimoto, 40-2. Li Feng objects to this limitation in *Bureaucracy*, p. 104, n. 15, noting that it excludes many inscriptions that obviously record official appointment ceremonies conducted according to the same standard. At the other side of the spectrum, objection to this criterion drives He Shuhuan’s use of the term *ximing*, “conferral of command,” rather than *ce ming*; see note 152.

¹⁸² Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 113-4.

¹⁸³ The simple use of the term *ce* 冊 in the inscriptions is, I believe, sufficient evidence of the existence of such documents. The precise role of the documents in the appointment ceremony is, however, still a matter of debate; on this see Martin Kern, “The Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China,” 152-7.

¹⁸⁴ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, 110-1.

¹⁸⁵ The promotion of a consistent portrayal of the king in the inscriptions of locally used ritual bronzes was part and parcel of the “distributed personhood” of the Zhou kings, through which they sought to extend their face-to-face interactions with lesser elites into local contexts. On the concept of distributed personhood, see Gell, *Art and*

To achieve maximum ideological effectiveness, this portrayal would have relied on the performance of ancestral offerings and hospitality events at which interested parties were exposed to inscribed bronzes.¹⁸⁶ As an earlier chapter has noted, the middle Western Zhou saw an effort on the part of the Zhou kings to patronize the performance of Shang-style ancestral rituals, and in particular livestock offerings, among non-royal elites.¹⁸⁷ Such performances would have created opportunities for bronzes inscribed with records of royal appointments to operate on local elites, at once aggrandizing their commissioners and encouraging their associates in conceptions of official position as a route to prestige and of the Zhou king as the font from which that prestige sprang. At the same time, the kings' effort to encourage Shang-style ancestral offerings and hospitality events among local power-holders had the potential to dull one of their sharpest ideological tools, i.e., the hosting of major ancestral-ritual events, the accompanying distribution of hospitality and largesse, and the leveraging of those occasions of contact in the context of local ancestral cults through the customary casting of inscribed vessels recording them. The standardized appointment ceremony and its recording in bronze inscriptions was a potential counterbalance to this adulteration of royal ancestral ritual. It allowed the Zhou kings to encourage the expansion of offerings such as the *di* rite among non-royal lineages, while maintaining a presence in the ideological rhetoric of those offerings and partaking of the opportunity they provided to promote the image of the king as linchpin of a

Agency, 102-4, 230-51. The “ethic of presence” driving the production and use of bronzes is discussed in Chapter 1.

From Latour’s standpoint, the “ethic of presence” was an effort to engage actors such as bronzes, bronze inscriptions, and local cult participants as intermediaries rather than as mediators, representing the royal agenda faithfully and without change; on the distinction, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 37-42. Thanks in part to the degree of distribution of the ancestral cult practices on which the Zhou kings had based their earliest ritual attempts at promoting cohesion, this effort was ultimately unsuccessful, as the conclusion to chapter 2 of this work has shown. The role of bronzes acting as mediators in thwarting this process will be considered further in the conclusion to this work.

¹⁸⁶ The category of “interested parties” could potentially include the deceased ancestors of elite lineages as well as living Zhou elites, at least in the conceptions of the living persons taking part in the process.

¹⁸⁷ See chapter 2.

well-ordered and coherent state.

4.5: Conclusion: evolving strategies of patronage and enrollment

At the time of the conquest, the Zhou kings enjoyed relationships with a variety of adherents connected to them through diverse ties of kinship, customary intermarriage, and shared mixtures of antagonism and loyalty toward the Shang state. Interpersonal interactions are, however, among the weakest forces involved in the formation of groups, requiring reinforcement through heightened and normatively charged modes of expression – that is, with ritual – and solidification through the mediating potential of objects in order to support shared group identities in the long term.¹⁸⁸ Relations of patronage – that is, the maintenance of loyalty through the official recognition and reward of adherents – were thus as important to the Zhou royal house as to any would-be state-builders. Early in the period, the Zhou kings adapted a ritual model inherited from the Shang and embedded in the context of military campaigns for the expression and perpetuation of these relations. Later, they introduced new ritual expressions of patronage that together divorced the process from military campaigning, while still perpetuating the model of the ideal Zhou aristocrat as an accomplished warrior. The result was a shift in the model of enrollment in the Zhou state project from one of allegiance to a war leader to one of service to a sovereign with intrinsic rights over the operation of the state.¹⁸⁹ This shift complemented and, indeed, formed part of a simultaneous effort to distinguish the prerogatives of the royal house

¹⁸⁸ On the weakness of face-to-face interactions, and on the roles of objects in perpetuating those interactions, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 63-86. In a sense, Latour is hearkening back to the arguments underlying Mauss's examination of *kula* exchange in *The Gift* (see W.D. Halls, tr., Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, London: Routledge, 1990, 8-18); with the caveat that Latour would, I believe, read humans and *kula* items as playing symmetrical roles in the exchange, with the ultimate goal of forming and re-forming the exchange-group. Constance Cook has applied some of these ideas to the Western Zhou context in her consideration of royal gifts as prestation, *Wealth and the Western Zhou*.

¹⁸⁹ On the concept of "enrollment" (*interessement*), see Callon in Law, 206-11.

and powerful non-royal elites in the governmental sphere.¹⁹⁰ The opposition of those two groups is thus often reflected in the ritual manifestations of patronage in the middle and late Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

In the early Western Zhou inscriptions, the main non-devotional rite of prestige distribution was the expression of military patronage and recognition known as *mieli*; this rite with apparent Shang origins was practiced with some frequency by both the Zhou kings and lesser elites, though its use in civil contexts seems to have been an innovation of the new royal house. By the end of the early Western Zhou, this practice had been joined by the royal sponsorship of archery meets, providing a new ritual context for archery that welcomed the participation of a wide spectrum of Zhou elites rather than focusing on the king. During the reign of King Mu, Zhou royal performance of *mieli* for subordinates slackened, with most cases relating to ritual events rather than military affairs; however, a large group of non-royal military *mieli* dates to this period. The King Mu era was also the heyday of the hosting of royally sponsored archery, seeing the establishment of infrastructure to support its institutionalized performance. Perhaps most importantly, the reign of King Mu saw the beginning of the frequent recording of a standardized ceremony of official appointment in bronze, a subject that would dominate the inscriptional record for the remainder of the period. Evidently, King Mu's reign saw a full suite of changes in the approach of the royal house to the use of non-ancestral ritual in distributing prestige and negotiating status.

It has already been noted that King Mu's reign was a point of military crisis for the royal house. In light of the complete absence of military character in the records of *mieli* of the period, the set of changes implemented in royal prestige ritual at that time can be seen as an effort to

¹⁹⁰ On the administrative separation of the area of direct royal control from the Western Zhou state apparatus, see *Bureaucracy*, 63-70. Implicit in this division, I believe, is the assumption that non-royal elites will be active in the second realm; otherwise no division would be necessary.

shore up the authority of the king in the context of a failing model of military patronage. The early Western Zhou state had its roots in a military coalition focused on the overthrow of the Shang; as we have seen in the previous chapters, the ancestral ritual of the early Western Zhou acted to perpetuate the interpersonal relationships making up that coalition through successive generations. The frustration of the ongoing project of Zhou expansion, occasioned by the death of King Zhao in the south and the subsequent retaliatory attacks, must have compromised the relationships making up the Zhou state on a basic level – not least because the king could not provide honors and largesse to military adherents, as seen in the lack of military *mieli* attributed to King Mu.¹⁹¹ Non-royal elites could and did, however, as shown by the body of inscriptions associated with the “Old Encampment.” The absence of the royal house from military patronage activities created a hole that could potentially be filled by non-royal Zhou elites engaging in the same patronage practices that supported the formation of the state. The development of a new, dedicated model of the ritual instantiation of royal patronage helped to stem this potential crisis of royal authority.

The measures taken to systematize official appointment rituals and to intensify ceremonial archery during King Mu’s reign created new contexts for royal sponsorship, providing opportunities for the king to win and reward adherents and for elites to distinguish themselves outside existing relationships of military patronage. The subsequent creation of bronzes recording the king’s formulaic speeches in direct address created a consistent portrayal of the king as administrative center of the state in the context of local ancestral cults. This portrayal would of course have relied on the hosting of hospitality events and performance of ancestral offerings at the local level for its conveyance, and it is perhaps not coincidental that the middle Western Zhou also saw royal efforts at material support of Shang-style livestock

¹⁹¹ See notes 18 and 39.

offerings among powerful local elites. The capacity for “distributing presence” already inherent in the institutionalized production of inscribed bronzes provided the Zhou kings with the tools to disseminate a new model of the relationship between the king, his adherents, and the world in general. The conclusion to this work will relate these changes to the movement of the Zhou royal strategy away from the use of ancestral rites as intermediaries in the performance of Zhou group identity. In doing so, it will propose a combined ritual and political explanation for the vaunted “ritual reform” or “ritual revolution.”

CHAPTER 5 WESTERN ZHOU RITUAL: A SEQUENTIAL AND REINTEGRATIVE ANALYSIS

5.1: Introduction

The previous chapters of this work have considered the organizational and material underpinnings of Western Zhou ritual; the introduction, spread, and eventual co-opting of specific Shang-style ancestral rites among Zhou-affiliate elites; the ritual figuration of the king and his relationship to the state, and the changes in that figuration over time; and the evolution of ritual instantiations of patronage over the course of the period. These analyses have focused on individual phenomena such as *zong* temples, kinship terms, the *di* and *hui* rites, the “Great Rite,” royal archery meets, and the like. While that approach has allowed us to observe patterns in the approaches of both kings and non-royal elites to ritual over the course of the period, it does not reflect the manner in which Western Zhou kings actually deployed ritual techniques. In practice, individual ritual techniques were not employed in a vacuum, but in combination with each other and in conjunction with the overall political strategies of the royal house. This final chapter thus offers a comprehensive, chronologically organized review and analysis of the royal ritual of the Western Zhou period as described in the bronze inscriptions. It will show that Western Zhou royal ritual evolved in close complement to the geopolitical situation of the Zhou state.

The early Zhou kings, the chapter will argue, drew on their expertise with ritual techniques of Shang provenance to create multivalent ancestral-ritual event assemblies encouraging enrollment in the Zhou elite group identity and state project. The narratives of these assemblies relied on a conception of the king as military coalition leader and member of an ancestral patriline, above but essentially similar to the other elites making up the state; this complemented the Zhou royal strategy of expansion through the delegation of near-absolute authority to local

representatives.¹ A transition to a different focus of state ritual, in which royal ancestral offerings played less of a role, began during the reign of King Zhao and continued under King Mu. The latter reign, however, saw the revival of some older techniques, as the royal house struggled to retain its relevance after King Zhao's untimely death and the stymieing of Zhou expansion. This combination of old and new techniques, including in particular the introduction of the official appointment ritual, made the reign of King Mu the peak of diversity in Western Zhou royal ritual.

After King Mu, the royal house abandoned the public performance of most of the rites it used during the early Western Zhou, focusing on newer techniques that naturalized royal authority, intensified royal control over resource production and political appointment, and created new contexts for competition and differentiation among Zhou elites. This shift in focus was chronologically close to the changes in bronze vessel types, decoration, and assemblages sometimes called the "ritual revolution" or "ritual reform," which similarly allowed increased differentiation and naturalization of existing models of status in the context of lineage ritual. The two sets of changes, the chapter will suggest, were facets of the same royal program of change in the implementation of ritual as a tool for the maintenance of the Zhou collective.

Though royal ancestral ritual disappeared from the inscriptions, ancestral offerings remained a matter of concern for elites at all levels of Zhou society. The appearance of a new vocabulary of non-royal ancestral offerings in the late Western Zhou suggests a divergence in royal and non-royal conceptions of Zhou elite identity. That divergence set the tone for later characterizations of Western Zhou ritual. Its timing in the late Western Zhou, the chapter will argue, suggests a continued degree of royal engagement in the ritual customs of individual lineages throughout the middle Western Zhou period, in keeping with the "top-down" model of the "ritual reform."

¹ On the authority of Western Zhou regional rulers, see *Bureaucracy*, 245-8.

5.2: Ancestors and the ethic of presence: early Western Zhou ritual

In the early years of the Western Zhou period, the Zhou reached out from their homeland in Shaanxi, swept the Shang kings aside, and extended their influence across most of what is now North China. Early texts tell us that they did so at the head of a coalition of western populations unhappy with the immoral and tyrannical rule of the last Shang king.² If we accept that model, the question remains: Why did the Zhou kings and their adherents, rather than some other interest group, emerge at the forefront of this coalition, and how did they stay there? The deployment of ritual techniques by the Zhou royal house was a key element of this equation. That later generations recalled the emphasis of the royal house on ritual is clear from the Zhou characterization of the failure of the Shang project in the “Zhou ben ji,” which attributed the fall of Shang at least in part to the breakdown of its system of ritual offerings.³

We have seen that the early Zhou kings had a high degree of access to Shang ritual techniques, including ancestral offerings, exorcisms, and written records of pyromantic divination, even before the Shang conquest.⁴ The Zhou royal line used this ritual expertise as a primary tool of legitimization from the earliest stages of its ascendancy. By providing an alternative to the direct military domination of subject populations, and by magnifying the rhetorical effect of specific military interventions,⁵ this tradition of ritual allowed the kings to minimize the commitment of military resources necessary to maintain the newly formed Zhou

² *Shangshu*, “Mu shi,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 182-3; *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 121-5.

³ *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 125-6.

⁴ See in particular the discussion of the Zhouyuan oracle bones in chapter 2. Perhaps most tellingly, though several bronze-using cultures engaged in relations with the Shang, the Zhou are the only one of those populations that developed a tradition of pyromantic divination with inscribed records.

⁵ The ritual event recorded in the *Xiao Yu ding*, which included the execution of prisoners from among the Guifang 鬼方 as a coercive element of the narrative, provides an example of this.

collective.⁶ The kings thus consistently accompanied governmental and infrastructural changes – the delegation of authority to regional rulers, the establishment of the eastern capital Chengzhou, the consolidation of official appointments in the middle Western Zhou – with ritual materializations of ideological arguments.

In the early-middle Western Zhou period, the Zhou royal house sought to perpetuate the links between its adherents through the shared experience of patrilineal ancestral worship. Specifically, Zhou ritual encouraged participants to define themselves as members of patriline, and the royal house argued for a definition of lineages based on their connections to the royal house through “nexus ancestors.” In effect, according to this model, any individual lineage was “born” at the moment of its nexus ancestor’s forging of a bond of cooperation with the royal house, typically, but not always, during the reigns of Kings Wen and Wu. To follow the Zhou king on campaign was depicted as the “reaggregative” moment for a lineage, marking its entry into the “reconstituted order” of the Zhou cultural identity. This moment of rejoining was referred to in royal announcements such as that of the He *zun* inscription and made immediate by the Great Rite, allowing Zhou adherents to experience it anew.⁷

It has been noted that Zhou ancestral ritual focuses on near ancestors to a much greater extent than that of the Shang.⁸ This might have happened because the model of patrilineal kinship was comparatively new to the Zhou and/or some of their adherents; certainly, as seen in the bronze inscriptions, kinship group identity expanded greatly over the course of the Western Zhou period.

⁶ On the role of ritual in creating power by soliciting participation, see Bell’s discussion of Foucault in Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 199-201.

⁷ On the concept of “reaggregation” as the destination of the liminal phase in rites of passage, see Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago: Aldine, 1969, 94-130, esp. 94-5; for the phrase “reconstituted order,” see the discussion of Turner in Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 40. The suggestion here is that the Zhou royal house approached the reigns of the late Shang kings and the conquest itself as a “liminal period” (see Turner, 94) in which the social order formerly known under the Shang was dismantled and had to be rebuilt. I will explore this idea further in future work.

⁸ Liu Yu, “Jinwen zhong,” 515.

The differential deployment of specific Shang-style offerings in conjunction with the establishment of Chengzhou, however, suggests that the early Zhou kings took a nuanced view of the role of ritual in managing interactions with elites of former Shang affiliation. It is likely that the royal house intentionally promoted a more recently focused model of ritual, with the “nexus ancestors” as *terminus ante quem*, in order to deemphasize previous ties to the Shang royal house or local power holders in favor of a model in which prestige and status derived ultimately from connections with the Zhou kings.

The expanded use of inscribed bronze vessels during the Western Zhou period supported this model.⁹ Rather than duplicating canonical texts or accounts of events of shared historical significance, the inscriptions of Western Zhou bronzes (like those of Shang bronzes before them) typically record specific moments of contact between powerful patrons – most often the Zhou king – and beneficiaries. The customary use of inscribed bronzes in Western Zhou ritual thus allowed the Zhou kings to pursue a complementary strategy of “distributed personhood,”¹⁰ wherein bronzes served as constant indices of the presence of the Zhou kings.¹¹ The increased level of detail of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions allowed the narratives of royal ritual events to play a role in the ancestral cult activities of geographically distant lineages, exerting royal influence on elites who might otherwise have little or no contact with the king.

5.2.1: Separating from Shang: The formation of Zhou ritual in the period of expansion

⁹ On the comparative paucity of long inscriptions dating to the Shang, see Keightley, “Shang History,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 235, n. 9.

¹⁰ On “distributed personhood,” see Gell, *Art and Agency*, 102-4, 228-32.

¹¹ On the index as a variety of sign, see Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, vol. 2: *Elements of Logic*, Cambridge: Belknap, 1960, chapter 2, no. 248, 143. On the indexing of presence, see Gell’s discussion of *kula* exchange in *Art and Agency*, 230-2.

The early Zhou kings built major, multivalent ancestral-ritual events around a broad range of ritual techniques derived from the Shang. In particular, the *hui*-entreaty 萃; the livestock offering known as *di*/*chi* 禘/啻; the *rong*-offering 鬯; the burning of captured ears known as *liao* 燎; the rite known as *su* 餼, possibly a grain offering; the *yue*-rite 禴; the *zheng*-offering 烝, probably involving the presentation of liquor; and the *zhu*-invocation 祝 all made up part of the ritual toolkit of the early Western Zhou kings. Events centered on these techniques brought elites from across the sphere of Zhou expansion together at the royal centers of Zongzhou, Pangjing, and Chengzhou. Combining offerings to the royal ancestors with the provision of hospitality, the granting of material rewards, and, often, with the ceremony of official recognition known as *mieli*, they created opportunities for interaction between the king and power-holders to whom the royal house had delegated responsibility over portions of the newly claimed Zhou territory; these included lesser scions of the Zhou royal house, local chiefs whose polities had been integrated into the Zhou state model, and influential elites of former Shang affiliation.¹² Participation in these events brought lesser elites into contact with the preeminent figures in the new Zhou government, including the king himself; the receipt of material rewards encouraged them to conceive of the patrilineal-ancestral model, and the Shang-style offerings that supported it, as a vehicle to status and wealth, with the Zhou king as preeminent performer of such rites. The forging of this association was a key facet of the enrollment of non-royal elites in the royal vision of Zhou elite identity.

¹² The states of Lu, granted to the descendants of the Duke of Zhou (himself a brother of King Wu), and Jin, granted to Tangshu Yu, are classic examples of the first type.; for inscriptional evidence of the latter grant, see the Ke lei (JL: 987). The state of Yu 虞, near present day Baoji, was likely an example of the second type; see Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng, *Baoji Yu guo mudu*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1988; *Landscape and Power*, 183. The state of Song is the classic example of the third type; see *Shiji*, “Song Weizi shijia,” 1607-35. The Daqinggong site in Henan is likely the burial site of Weizi; on this see Wang Entian, “Luyi Daqinggong Xi Zhou da mu yu Weizi feng Song,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2002.4, 41-5; *Landscape and Power*, 75-6. For the site report, see Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Zhoukou shi wenhuaju, *Luyi Daqinggong Changzi Kou Mu*, Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 2000.

Though most of the above ritual techniques were of Shang provenance, the Zhou royal implementation thereof did not adhere completely to Shang precedent. Certain of these techniques – *di/chi* and *liao* in particular – saw more specialized use under the Zhou than the Shang; the former was applied only to recently deceased ancestors, the latter only to the burning of ears taken from captives.¹³ The application of the *mieli* ceremony of recognition in non-military contexts seems also to have been an innovation of the Zhou kings. Perhaps the greatest addition to the early Western Zhou ritual repertoire, however, was the “Great Rite” (*da feng/li* 大豐/禮) performed on the *biyong* pond by several early Western Zhou kings. Though royal shooting on bodies of water was known under the Shang, the Great Rite of the Zhou clarified and intensified its ideological effect with the specification of controlled movements around the cosmologically charged space of the *biyong* pond. Together with the continued use of *mieli* in military contexts and the presentation of ears to the ancestors, the Great Rite figured the Zhou king as the leader of a military coalition. These departures from Shang precedent suited the political and military environment of the early Western Zhou, which saw the rapid expansion of the Zhou across and beyond the former Shang territories, the integration of allied populations and Shang survivors into the Zhou coalition, and the suppression of outlying, non-participating peoples such as the Guifang.¹⁴

Shang-style rituals were not limited to the Zhou kings. Records of non-royal *hui*-entreaty, of the *mieli* recognition ceremony, and, in particular, of the negative entreaty known as *yu* 禦 all

¹³ Shang *di* targeted both ancestors and natural spirits, while Zhou *di* was only for recent ancestors; on this point see chapter 2, note 29. Likewise, the Shang initially performed *liao* toward a vast range of entities, though its range of targets shrank over the course of the period, while the Zhou used it only in military contexts; see chapter 2, note 64, and the discussion of *liao* in general.

¹⁴ For details on the relationship between the Zhou and the Guifang, see the inscription of the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839).

survive from the early Western Zhou.¹⁵ Non-royal performances of the former two rites occur with some frequency throughout the early, middle, and, in the case of *hui*-entreaty, the late Western Zhou, suggesting that they achieved good penetration among the Western Zhou elite community in general. Judging from the funereal names of ancestors, the records of *mieli* and *yu* carried out by non-royal elites of the early Western Zhou show strong Shang associations. Their appearance in bronze inscriptions of that period likely reflects the significant role played by parties of former Shang affiliation in the formation of Western Zhou elite society.

5.2.2: *Early Western Zhou ritual assemblies: the example of the Mai fangzun*

As the inscriptions translated throughout this work have shown, royal ceremonies combined ancestral offerings, rites of figuration, and ritual expressions of patronage, along with the provision of hospitality and nourishment, into ritual event assemblies, the traces of which made their way into the activities of non-royal lineages through the medium of inscribed bronzes. This tendency was particularly strong during the early Western Zhou, when the Zhou kings still employed a broader range of individual ancestral offerings than would later be the case.

By far the clearest manifestation of the operation of a royal ritual event at multiple levels of the Zhou hierarchy is the narrative of the *Mai fangzun* 麥方尊 (6015).¹⁶ We have delved into this inscription already as a record of a case of the “Great Rite.” The later events in the sequence, however – those relating to the vessel commissioner Mai – offer a vision of the extension of the effect of that most centralizing of rites into a local context. A case study of that inscription will

¹⁵ As discussed in chapter 2, the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu* suggests that the early Zhou kings may also have performed the *yu* rite at least once; however, its negative nature did not lend itself to incorporation into the integrative ritual narratives pursued by the Zhou royal house.

¹⁶ The *Mai fangzun* is generally dated to the reign of King Cheng or King Kang, along with other bronzes connected with Mai; see *MWX*, 46; Shirakawa 11.60, 645-6; *Bureaucracy*, 261, n. 58. For more details on the *Mai fangzun*, see the discussion of the Great Rite in chapter 3.

show that the event it recorded combined techniques crossing the spectra of present and absent, living and dead, royal and non-royal, formal and casual, into a ritual event assembly, creating a compressed narrative of enrollment in the Zhou collective.¹⁷ As major political and cultural events, royal rituals like those conducted at the Mai *fangzun* event involved the upper echelons of Zhou elite society; but, as the discussion will reveal, the “ethic of presence” associated with the creation of inscribed bronzes allowed them to extend ritual materializations of royal ideology through successive ranks and lineages. In making these points, the following discussion will seek finally to paint a convincing actor-network portrait of early Western Zhou rites as efforts to resolve controversies about the formation and re-formation of the Zhou group identity.¹⁸ The full inscription appears below:

王令辟井（邢）侯出坏，侯于井（邢），**𠄎**若二月，侯見于宗周，亡**述**（尤），**迨**（會）王**饗****莽**京，**酏**祀。**𠄎**若**𠄎**（翌），才（在）璧（辟）誰（雍），王乘于舟，為大豐¹⁹（禮），王射大**𠄎**禽，侯乘于赤旂舟，從，死咸。之日，王**𠄎**（以）侯內（入）于寢，侯易（賜）玄周（琯）戈。**𠄎**王才（在）**𠄎**，巳（己）夕，侯易（賜）者（赭）**𠄎**臣二百家，劑（齋）用王乘車馬、金勒、冂衣、市、舄，唯歸，**𠄎**（揚）天子休，告亡尤，用**𠄎**（恭）義（儀）寧侯，**𠄎**考于井（邢）侯。乍（作）冊麥易（賜）金于辟侯，麥揚，用乍（作）寶**𠄎**彝，用**𠄎**侯**逆****述**（授），**𠄎**（揚）明令，唯天子休于麥辟侯之年鑄，孫孫子子其永亡冬（終），冬（終）用**述**（造）德，妥（綏）多友，**𠄎**（享）旋走令。

The king commanded the sovereign Marquis of Xing to come out from Huai and take up the Marquisate of Xing. Around the second month, the Marquis presented himself at Zongzhou; there were no problems. He met the king for a *wan/xiang* feast at the Pang

¹⁷ On the “collective” as an assembly of previously ungathered entities, see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 75; on the need for its composition to include both humans and non-humans, see p. 164. On the figuration of agencies, see pp. 53-4. I am proposing here that the concept of Zhou 周 as a coherent entity was itself a figuration in this sense. With the term “ritual assemblies” I intend the idea that the combination of individual ritual techniques and registers of communication under the rubric of a single event was itself the assembly of a separate collective, one that operated both directly and mimetically to complement the assembly of the collective that was Zhou. On the assembly of collectives, see pp. 16-7; on the operation of ritual tableaux through the mimetic rule of similarity, see the discussion of Gell in the Introduction.

¹⁸ On the deployment of controversies in pursuit of actor-network analysis, see *ibid.*, 21-5.

¹⁹ The AS database transcribes this character as 豐; however, as fig. 3.2 shows, it is clearly a case of *feng* 豐. I have altered the above transcription accordingly.

Capital; a *rong* offering was conducted. The next day, at the *biyong* pond, the king rode in a boat and conducted a great *feng/li* rite. The king shot large birds, and the Marquis followed in a boat with a red flag; all (the birds?) were killed. That day, the king brought the Marquis into his chambers. The Marquis was presented with a dark, patterned *ge*-blade. When the king was at An, in the evening, the Marquis was presented with two hundred households worth of red-footed servants;²⁰ he also received the privilege of riding in the royal chariot-and-horse,²¹ a metal bridle, a hat,²² a garment, a kneepad,²³ and shoes. When he returned, he praised the beneficence of the Son of Heaven and reported that (the trip) went without incident. He thereby conducted a respectful ceremony for Marquis Ning (the Peaceful Marquis), and had an audience with (?) his deceased father as the Marquis of Xing.²⁴ Document Maker Mai received a gift of metal from the sovereign; Mai praises (him) and thereby makes a precious and revered vessel, with which to receive²⁵ the Marquis, to welcome the conferral [of rewards],²⁶ and to praise the brilliant command. It was cast in the year in which the Son of Heaven showed beneficence to Mai's sovereign the Marquis; [may Mai's] descendants endure without end and long use [it] to receive²⁷ virtue, mollify their many colleagues, and contribute their diligent efforts to the mandate.²⁸

Laying out the sequence of events recorded and/or implied in the inscription will allow us to consider certain points.

1. **Summoning:** At some unspecified point, the Zhou king issued a command installing the Marquis of Xing as such.

²⁰ Following Ma Chengyuan's reading of 跣 as *huai* 踝, "ankle, foot." Ma suggests that these were criminals; see *MWX*, 47, n. 13. The use of the measure word *jia* 家, "households," seems to me to mitigate against this reading; my sense is that criminals would more likely be measured as individuals rather than household units.

²¹ The rendering follows *Bureaucracy*, 261, in taking this clause to refer to the privilege of using the royal chariot rather than to the chariot itself; for a contrasting opinion, see *MWX*, 47, n. 14.

²² Following Ma's reading of 冕 as *mian* 冕; see *ibid.*

²³ Again following Ma's reading; see *ibid.*

²⁴ The syntax of this clause is unusual. My sense is that the Marquis is greeting his deceased father for the first time as the recognized Marquis of Xing. *MWX*, on the other hand, reads it as meaning that Document Maker Mai "respectfully and majestically set the Marquis [of Xing] at ease"; see *MWX*, 47, n. 17. Li Feng follows this reading as well in *Bureaucracy*, 262.

²⁵ See *MWX*, 48, notes 20 and 1, for a gloss of 至 as *zhi* 至, "to arrive." The sense here is that the vessel was to be used in entertaining the Marquis during visits to Mai's residence.

²⁶ Here I follow Li Feng in reading *ni shou* 逆迺 as "to welcome the conferral," taking 迺 as *shou* 受 or 授 rather than as *zao* 造; see *Bureaucracy*, 15, for examples from other bronzes. *MWX* explains this reading on 48, n. 20. I have changed the transcription accordingly.

²⁷ See previous note.

²⁸ I follow *MWX* in reading the phrase rendered in the AS database as *xuan zou* 旋走 as *ben zou* 奔走, "to hurry about [in pursuit of a task]"; see *MWX*, 48, n. 25.

2. **Appointment:** In the second month after his appointment, the Marquis of Xing traveled to Zongzhou, the center of Zhou government.²⁹ Probably, this trip involved some form of formal registration or recognition of his new office. The Marquis's visit to Zongzhou may well have involved an entirely separate ritual event;³⁰ the *Mai fangzun* does not narrate the process.
3. **Feasting and royal ancestral offerings:** After conducting his business at Zongzhou, the Marquis traveled to the nearby secondary capital of Pangjing, where he took part in a feast that the king hosted.³¹ A *rong*-rite, an ancestral offering derived from the Shang, was conducted during or shortly after this feast; this would have targeted the king's ancestors. Though no other figures are mentioned, we may assume that the feast and by extension the rite were public events bringing together several Zhou elites under the rubric of royal hospitality.
4. **The "Great Rite":** The sequence of the "Great Rite" itself and its implications have already been discussed in chapter 3.
5. **A private audience:** After the Great Rite was completed, the king took the Marquis into his personal chambers and there gave him a valuable, decorated weapon.³² Given the venue, and since the weapon was the only item that the king gave at that time, this would seem to have been a personal gesture rather than a public conferral of official accoutrements.

²⁹ On the question of the identity of Zongzhou with the capital Feng/Hao, see the summary in see Maria Khayutina, *T'oung Pao* 96 (2010), 6, n. 13. For the reading that the Marquis arrived at Zongzhou two months after receiving the king's command, see Shirakawa 11.60, 631, 644; *Landscape and Power*, 114.

³⁰ The *Yihou Ze gui* 宣侯矢簋 (4320) records an example of the investiture of a personage as *hou* 侯, "Marquis"; for a translation, see *Bureaucracy*, 238-41. Due to the paucity of examples, it is unclear as of yet whether the process recorded therein has any standardized elements that might be called "ritual."

³¹ On Pangjing, see *Bureaucracy*, 152-3; Khayutina, 6-7, n. 15.

³² For the reading of the character as *qin* 寢, see Shirakawa 11.60, 637. Shirakawa suggests that the term here was equivalent to the Great Hall (*Taishi* 太室); for the reading of *qin* 寢 as "bedchamber," see *Bureaucracy*, 262.

6. **Public reward and outfitting:** The king's personal gesture was followed by a separate, formal bequest at a location called An.³³ There the Marquis of Xing received a full courtly outfit and a very large number of "red-footed servants" as gifts; further, he was awarded the privilege of riding in the king's carriage. The provision of these gifts and distinctions marked the Marquis as a participant in the highest level of Zhou elite culture.³⁴
7. **Return and reporting:** Upon returning to his home base,³⁵ the Marquis presented himself to his deceased father in his new role as the Marquis of Xing and reported (*gao* 告) that his visit to the center of Zhou royal power went well..³⁶ Like many bronzes, the *Mai fangzun* records that its commissioner "praised the beneficence of the Son of Heaven" (*yang tianzi xiu* 揚天子休).³⁷ This inscription specifies that this praise occurred after the commissioner of the vessel returned home from his audience with the king; most are ambiguous on this point.
8. **Reward of subordinate:** The Marquis gave metal to Mai, a subordinate who carried the title of Document Maker (*Zuoce* 作冊). No specifics are given on the nature of Mai's service to the Marquis.³⁸ It is possible that Mai was rewarded simply for being present at the *gao*-announcement. Since Mai's title suggests that he was responsible for producing

³³ This may well be the same location that later hosted the foal-catching rite recorded in the inscription of the *Li juzun*, as suggested in *MWX*, 47, n. 11. I do not, however, follow Ma in considering the term to refer to the banks of the *biyong* pond. Since the gifts the Marquis received included a chariot and horse, it is possible that the location called An was already associated with equestrian activities by the time of the *Mai fangzun* events.

³⁴ See *Bureaucracy*, 262-3.

³⁵ The inscription does not inform us whether this referred to the Marquis's prior home at Huai or to a new residence associated with his appointment over Xing, located in present-day Hebei; see *Landscape and Power*, 28.

³⁶ On the phenomenon of the *gao*-report, an important link in the chain between royal and local rituals, see chapter 1.

³⁷ See for example the inscriptions of the *Li juzun* (6011) and the *Zuoce Wu he*, both translated in chapter 3.

³⁸ Again, the differences in Li Feng's reading of the inscription yield a slightly more detailed account of Mai's involvement; see *Bureaucracy*, 262. Even that reading, however, describes the quality rather than the concrete details of Mai's service.

written documents, however, it is likely that his reward was meant as compensation for producing an account of the trip used in the Marquis's report to his ancestors.

- 9. Commissioning of the vessel:** The reward that Mai received allowed him to produce the *Mai fangzun*. Here and in the following dedication, Mai specified a number of uses for the vessel. It would assist Mai in hosting the Marquis; “praise the command/mandate”;³⁹ support the career efforts of Mai's descendants; help them keep up relations with acquaintances; and, perhaps most importantly, it would allow them to “receive virtue” – that is, to inherit and carry on the virtuous potency of their ancestors, among whom Mai would then number.⁴⁰ The vessel was thus clearly intended for use in Mai's ancestral cult. We may therefore add to the sequence of events:

- 10. Use of the vessel for hosting visitors and associates and for making offerings to the commissioner's ancestors**

5.2.3: Early Western Zhou royal ritual and political strategies

During the early Western Zhou period, the Zhou royal house pursued an integrative rather than an exclusive strategy of ritual. Royal ritual events combined hospitality provision, ancestral offerings, and individual rewards into narrative sequences depicting the consolidation of the Zhou state project and the incorporation of non-royal power-holders into that project. Some

³⁹ The term “praise” here is *yang* 揚, the same term customarily used in response to royal favor, as under heading 7 above. The “command” or “mandate” in question (*ming/ling* 命/令; these characters are not distinguished in the bronze script) is ambiguous. Theoretically, it could refer to the “Mandate” in its sense as the Zhou state project (on the dating of which the Western Zhou inscriptions see Martin Kern, “Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shijing*, and the *Shangshu*: The Evolution of the Ancestral Sacrifice during the Western Zhou,” in John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion, Part 1: Shang through Han, [1250 B.C.-220 A.D.]*, Brill, 2009, 143-200, esp. 148). My sense, however, is that, both here and in the vessel dedication, the term refers to the personal duties of Mai in the service of the Marquis (and, in the latter case, those of his descendants).

⁴⁰ On the concept of *de* during the Western Zhou period, see Vassili Khryukov, “Symbols of Power and Communication in Pre-Confucian China (On the Anthropology of De): Preliminary Assumptions,” *BSOAS*, vol. 58, no. 2 (1995), 314-33.

effort was made, through the performance of the Great Rite at events like that recorded on the *Mai fangzun*, at the ritual distinction of the Zhou king from other elites; but even that figured the king as war leader rather than theocrat. Overall, the approach of the early Zhou kings to ritual aimed more to tie disparate groups together with the shared institution of lineage ritual than to distinguish the royal family as qualitatively different from other aristocrats.

This vision of early Zhou royal ritual is in contrast with the character of late Shang ritual as depicted in the oracle bone inscriptions, wherein the Shang kings were the main, if not the only, performers of state-sponsored divination, and eligibility to take part in royal feasts was a fixed status rather than a point of contention.⁴¹ The late Shang state model appears to have relied on regular royal travel, providing direct contact between the king and distant power-holders, as a means of maintaining the coherence of Shang affiliation through time.⁴² Late Shang ritual intensified the effect of those brief contacts by naturalizing and obscuring the origins of royal authority.⁴³ By the time of the conquest, the geographic range of activity of the Shang kings had decreased considerably, as had the number of other populations and leaders with whom they conducted joint operations.⁴⁴ The Shang state was undergoing a process of contraction and consolidation, and the ritual of the late Shang kings correspondingly tended to emphasize the might of the king and to systematize ritual communications.⁴⁵ These changes supported the intensification of royal control while reducing the potential of rites as mediators of various types of interpersonal ties.

The strategies manifest in the grand ritual event assemblies of the early Zhou kings, on

⁴¹ On the king as the main religious specialist in the late Shang oracle bones, see Keightley, "Shang History," 261-2, 289; on the lack of divination about feast attendees in later oracle bones, see 260.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 288-9.

⁴³ On this concept see Nora Scott, tr., Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, 171-5.

⁴⁴ Keightley, "Shang History," 288-9.

⁴⁵ See Keightley, "Shang History," 237-45, 272-7, 288-9.

the other hand, supported the Zhou state as a recently composed coalition of varied populations.⁴⁶ Reinforcing the ties between these populations, so as to maintain the coherence of the coalition and accommodate a project of rapid geographic expansion, was a primary concern of the Zhou kings during the early part of the period. Event assemblies like those recorded in the *Mai fangzun* and *Xiao Yu ding* inscriptions incorporated depictions of Zhou military might into compressed narrative sequences depicting different ways of relating to the Zhou state project. These ritual narratives leveraged individual cases of recognition and patronage to encourage the continued enrollment of subordinate rulers in the Zhou collective.⁴⁷

Tradition holds that the Zhou “was based on the rites of the Shang.”⁴⁸ The Zhou kings acquired an enormous amount of individual ritual techniques, along with both the conceptual and material bases of patrilineal-ancestral ritual, from the Shang; their relative familiarity with these techniques was probably a primary factor in their rise to prominence. However, the overall character of their implementation of those techniques, as gauged by their combination of the “social objects” of ritual into event assemblies, was quite different from that of the late Shang kings. Important differences between Shang and Zhou ritual were thus in place from the very start of the Western Zhou period.

It is tempting to claim that the different political strategies of the late Shang and the early Zhou kings led them to approach ritual differently. To do so, however, is to fall prey to the sort of reversal of causality that Latour warns against, wherein the separate existence of the “body politic” is said to drive the production and manifestation of associations on the micro-level. The political and ritual strategies of the Zhou kings were one and the same, composed from and

⁴⁶ See note 2.

⁴⁷ On the notion of enrollment, see the discussion of Callon in the introduction.

⁴⁸ *Lunyu*, “Wei zheng” 23, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 2463. For an early consideration of the inscriptional evidence on this point, see Chen Mengjia, “Guwenzi zhong de Shang Zhou jisi,” 149-51.

linked through the same elements: inscribed bronzes, campaign spoils, the fruits of the harvest, ceremonial rewards, patrilineal ancestors. Like military campaigns and material patronage, ritual action was a primary mediator in the assembly and ongoing re-assembly of the Zhou collective; the strategies of its employment cannot be separated from those driving the creation and maintenance of the Zhou state.

5.2.3.1: *Lineage and the state in early Western Zhou ritual*

The combined complex of royal ritual event assemblies, the creation of inscribed bronzes, and the shared custom of patrilineal-ancestral ritual complemented the royal political strategy of the early Western Zhou, when the kings strove to spread Zhou out across a vast geographic area (*fu you si fang* 敷有四方)⁴⁹ by delegating authority over conquered or subdued areas to other lineages sharing greater or lesser kinship ties with the royal house. Elites traveling to the capital for occasions like the Mai *fangzun* event received royal hospitality and witnessed the ancestral rituals of the royal house, including ritual techniques such as the *hui*-entreaty, the *rong*-offering, and the *di/chi* rite. They received acknowledgements and rewards at these events, whether in association with a specific appointment, like the Marquis of Xing, or through the established patronage model of the *mieli* recognition ceremony. These elites then conducted similar ceremonies in their home territories, passing both material and intangible benefits on to subordinates and reporting their interactions with the royal house to ancestors. This promulgated certain basic assumptions of patrilineal ancestral ritual about society: that lineage identity was the most significant element of personal identity; that the prestige of a lineage was the result of

⁴⁹ For a contemporary example of the use of this phrase, see the inscription of the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (2837).

its association with the Zhou royal house;⁵⁰ that the prestige an individual derived from service to the king was a reiteration of the relationship between the royal house and the lineage; and that an individual's activities on behalf of the king were therefore of intrinsic interest, and ultimately a source of status, in the context of the ancestral cult.

Inscribed bronzes typically recorded instances of immediate contact with the king (or, occasionally, with other major power-holders). Their use in local ancestral rituals therefore anchored the ties created and maintained by those rituals to the network of relations between lineage units and the Zhou royal house. This was possible because royal and non-royal ritual shared a style, in Gell's terms.⁵¹ Rather than striving for a monopoly of ritual prestige, as was apparently the case for the late Shang kings, the Zhou royal house leveraged the shared rubric of ancestral-ritual practices and the "ethic of presence" common to bronze inscriptions to distribute the royal presence and materializations of royal ideology across great distances. The utility of bronze inscriptions for this purpose may explain why the Western Zhou was the heyday of the inscribed bronze, while the royal production of inscribed oracle bones, tied closely to the activities of the king, fell by the wayside.⁵²

5.2.3.2: *Persuasive royal strategies of group formation*

Despite the diversity of ritual techniques and communicative registers assembled in the event performed at Pangjing and recorded on the Mai *fangzun*, the overall strategy was one of persuasion. Provision of hospitality, demonstration of the efficacy of ancestral ritual, and the

⁵⁰ The inscription of the Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤 is the most direct expression of this assumption from the period. For an English translation and analysis of its inscription, see *Sources*, 183-92.

⁵¹ On Gell's concept of style and its relationship to "culture," see *Art and Agency*, 155-220.

⁵² Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 297, n. 12, notes that, while pyromantic remains are widespread at Western Zhou sites, shell and bone fragments bearing inscriptions are restricted mainly to early remains in the Zhou heartland.

granting of both private and public rewards all sought to incentivize attendees to participate in the royal vision of the Zhou collective, with the king as coalition leader and paragon lineage head. The coercive implications of the Great Rite have been discussed in chapter 3; however, even that rite relied on the participation of the Marquis in building its message. The balance of the multi-day event was weighted towards positive appeals and depictions of the benefits of participation in the Zhou state.

The Zhou king combined an impressive variety of ritual techniques and communicative registers into the Pangjing event. The first stage, a combined feasting event (*wan/xiang*) and ancestral offering (*rong*), presented the king as provider of hospitality and paragon lineage head. The second stage executed the Great Rite as a mimetic mechanism for figuring the king as military protector of the Zhou territory. Audience with the king in his private chambers provided a more casual context for contact between the king and a single subordinate; by contrast, the conferral of accoutrements of authority at An was a more formal portrayal of the king as patron. This constant shifting engaged the full spectrum of ritual approaches available to the Zhou king, allowing the Mai *fangzun* event assemblage to promote a nuanced vision of the Zhou group identity and the king's place in it.⁵³

Likewise, the sequence of events through which the king led the new Marquis of Xing focused a progressively greater degree of attention on the Marquis and positioned him in varying ways with respect to both other elites and the king. The first night's activities situated the Marquis as a member of a common peer group of elites sharing the experience of royal

⁵³ Tambiah discusses the phenomenon of variance of “verbal forms” within a single ritual sequence in *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*, Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1985, 17-54, esp. 17-22. Here, the variance in “communicative registers” extends to the material circumstances of individual actions making up the ritual assembly, e.g., the conferral of a private reward in the king's chambers as contrasted with the public conferral of the accoutrements of leadership.

hospitality, with the king and his ancestors as the focus point.⁵⁴ The Great Rite of the following day was still focused on the king, but included the Marquis in a conspicuous supporting role; it marked the Marquis as a privileged if still subordinate associate of the king, partaking in the king's mimetically instantiated capacity to wage war at any point throughout the Zhou territory. This would have encouraged both the observers and the Marquis himself to view him as part of a distinct upper echelon of elites directly responsible for the security of the Zhou state.

Immediately afterward, the Marquis was invited into the King's private chambers. This privilege, and the material gift of a weapon received along with it, established (or perhaps renewed) a direct, personal, private relationship between the royal house and the Marquis; at the same time, it likely further encouraged those elites not included in the process to see the Marquis as a qualitatively distinct partisan of the Zhou.⁵⁵ Finally, the public granting of large quantities of prestige goods brought the focus of the event fully to bear on the Marquis, depicting him as a fully actualized ruler within the Zhou state hierarchy. The Pangjing event assemblage thus progressively figured the Marquis as one allied elite among many and co-witness of the ancestral-ritual model tied to state authority; trusted follower and co-captain in the protection of the Zhou state; and individual honoree and client ruler, all within the space of a few days.⁵⁶ This rapid sequential enactment of client elite identity, and others like it put forth at other royal ritual events of the early Western Zhou, must have been a potent encouragement for observers toward enrollment in the Zhou royal project,⁵⁷ arguing as they did that power, wealth, and recognition

⁵⁴ I am operating under the assumption that the Marquis received no unusual recognition during the king's feasting activity, given that the inscription takes pains to describe the details of the various other honors that the Marquis enjoyed throughout the event.

⁵⁵ Undoubtedly the granting of a private audience in the middle of the sequence was a very great privilege; it must have acted to distinguish the Marquis from other guests at the event who were not afforded the same honor.

⁵⁶ On figuration, see note 17.

⁵⁷ On the concept of enrollment, see Callon, "Some elements of a sociology of translation," 211-4.

were the direct results of participating in the patrilineal ancestral model, accepting the role of the king as first among lineage heads, and supporting the king on campaign.

5.2.3.3: *Materialized ideology and the relaying of royal rites through bronzes*⁵⁸

In prior chapters, we have seen that ritual bronzes instantiated the ideal of lineage ritual and shared feast in durable material form; rites of figuration made arguments about the role of the king physically manifest; and bronze inscriptions, through their strong ethic of presence, distributed the agency of the royal person across multiple objects.⁵⁹ All of these elements of materialized ideology assisted in the “institutionalization and extension” of ideals of royal authority, lineage organization, and Zhou elite identity.⁶⁰ In the Mai *fangzun* inscription, we have a detailed picture of the points of articulation between these phenomena – of the “zigzag” between humans and non-humans – that made them so effective in forging the collective that was Zhou elite identity.⁶¹

In the Mai *fangzun* account, the above elements enter the equation immediately upon the Marquis’s arrival at Pangjing, in that the performance of an ancestral offering at the royal feast suggests that there were bronzes present.⁶² The royal performance of ancestral offerings in the

⁵⁸ On materialized ideology, see DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, “Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies.”

⁵⁹ Chapters 1, 3, and 1, respectively.

⁶⁰ On “institutionalization and extension,” see DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, 31.

⁶¹ For the “zigzag” between humans and objects, and for the concept of the “collective” in opposition to the concept of “society,” see Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 74-5. Undoubtedly speech acts, inscriptions, and ritual movements are all “materialized ideology” in the sense used by DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle; see “Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies,” 16.

⁶² This assertion is not without controversy. Only two currently known bronzes, the Hu *zhong* and the Hu *gui*, are generally accepted to have been cast by a Western Zhou king; on these vessels see chapter 2. It is theoretically possible that the Zhou kings did not commission bronzes for their own ancestral temples in any volume. Given the demonstrated efforts of the Zhou kings to encourage local-level elites in the practice of the same rituals they used themselves (on which see chapter 2), however, I am quite convinced that the Zhou royal house must have possessed and used significant collections of bronzes. Our comparative lack of royal bronzes, I suspect, is but one facet of the overall lack of archaeological evidence on the Zhou kings, reflecting the fact that we may not have found the remains of their tombs or lineage temples (though for a potential counterexample, see Xu Tianjin, “Zhougongmiao yizhi de kaogu suohuo ji suosi,” *Wenwu* 2006.8, 55-62; see especially Xu’s discussion of

context of hospitality provision provided attendees with a precedent of the social engagement of bronzes in an environment of combined camaraderie and political opportunity; they would have seen the bronzes personally and received material sustenance from them as an expression of the favor of the king as lineage head. On the following day, the Great Rite created a chronologically compressed and mimetically charged depiction of the role of the king and his relationship to favored clients; this figuration was made physically manifest through the cosmologically significant space of the *biyong* pond, the relative position of the king and the Marquis, and, not least, the king's ability to shoot birds.⁶³ The subsequent conferral of abundant and sumptuous accoutrements upon the Marquis created another ritual manifestation of patronage, this time emphasizing the rewards and recognition it produced.

Effective though they might have been, these materializations of desired human relationships in ritual could operate directly only on their direct observers and participants. The items that the Marquis received – the ornate dagger-axe, chariot and horse, courtly clothes, and, of course, the human gifts – could carry some of the ideas expressed at the event about his status, both as a powerful figure capable of possessing valuables and as a protégé, and thus by implication a subordinate, of the king. More ephemeral aspects of the process, however – the image of the Marquis in his red-flagged boat following the king about the pond, the triumphant moment of his receipt of the accoutrements of rulership – were in danger of disappearing, and the gifts themselves of becoming divorced from the contexts that provided them.

Here, the bronzes and their inscriptions stood ready to pick up the relay. The custom of the production of inscribed bronzes for lineage cults provided a ready physical medium for the

previous opinions on the nature of the Zhougongmiao site on pp. 61-2). It is also possible that some of the many extant bronzes without inscriptions belonged to Zhou kings; for reasons discussed in chapter 2, there is a tendency for the longest bronze inscriptions to adorn bronzes commissioned by lower-ranking elites.

⁶³ On figuration, see note 17.

commemoration of the Pangjing event at the local level. The ethic of presence inherent to that custom ensured that the portrayal would record concrete details of moments of contact between the Zhou king and the beneficiary of the event.⁶⁴ The result was a relatively faithful record of the ephemeral manifestations of idealized relations at the Pangjing event in durable bronze. The use of those bronzes in lineage ritual ensured that a local-level audience of Zhou-affiliate elites would be exposed to the efforts of the Pangjing event to materialize relations. The inscription recorded the physical details of the Great Rite for the visualization of local ritual participants, and it contextualized the lavish accoutrements brought back by the Marquis in terms of the royal patronage that produced them. In the meantime, the bronzes themselves created a physical manifestation of the lineage in terms of the favor that individual members had received outside it. Accompanying practices such as *gao*-reporting to ancestors and *zhu*-invocation ensured that the content of the inscriptions would reach the ears of lineage members, both living and dead; and indeed, the Mai *fangzun* inscription informs us that the Marquis performed just such an announcement on his return from Pangjing. The bronzes thus passed the torch of royal patronage and ideology back to living observers and participants.

The sequence does not stop there, however. Most of the bronze inscriptions translated in this work record honors that their commissioners received directly from the king or, occasionally, other power-holders. The Mai *fangzun* does not; though most of its inscription is dedicated to the Marquis's activities, the vessel itself was produced by the Marquis's subordinate Mai. Whether to partake in a share of the event's prestige, because he had taken part in the event himself, or because he was involved in the production of the commemorative record, Mai saw fit to include the details of the Pangjing event in the inscription of the bronze he commissioned after receiving a reward of metal from the Marquis. This bronze was then to support interactions with

⁶⁴ On the "ethic of presence" in the creation of inscribed bronzes, see chapter 1.

the ancestors, compatriots, and patrons of Mai and his descendants (as the inscription itself specifies), all of whom would thereby come into contact with the material manifestation of the event.

The Marquis's gift to Mai, then, supported the creation of another link in the relay of materialized ideology from Zongzhou into the local context. The Mai *fangzun* inscription does not specify the details of the relationship between the Marquis and Mai, though we know from Mai's other bronzes that he held a post of some responsibility in Xing; it is possible that the two belonged to the same lineage.⁶⁵ Based on Mai's declaration that the *fangzun* would play a role in hosting the Marquis, however, we may presume that Mai belonged either to a different lineage than the Marquis or to a branch lineage with a separate household unit and separate cult facilities. The material manifestation of royal ritual in Mai's bronze and the record of the Pangjing event assemblage it bore thus cascaded down into another level of the local interaction sphere.

In most cases, the material transmission of royal ritual ideology was set down after local elites commissioned bronzes commemorating their personal contact with the king.⁶⁶ Its efficacy was from that point on limited by the degree of exposure to bronzes, their inscriptions, and the gifts they recorded that was available to local elites through the workings of ancestral cult events. It was therefore in the interest of the Zhou kings to encourage the performance of such events, which they did by conducting exemplary feasts with ancestral offerings and, eventually, by providing livestock offerings for sacrifice.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ The inscription of the Mai *ding* 麥鼎 (2706), for example, records that Mai accompanied the Marquis on a military campaign.

⁶⁶ The inscription of the Ze Ling vessels offers another example of the operation of royal influence in the local ancestral cult as mediated by a gift from royal appointee to subordinate, though its description of the contact between the king and the appointee Duke Ming is much less detailed. This inscription is discussed in part in chapter 2; for a full translation, see *Bureaucracy*, 51.

⁶⁷ On this point see chapter 2.

The Zhou kings did not, however, have a monopoly on the depiction of patronage in bronze inscriptions. Many bronzes record recognition and rewards received from individuals with the titles *gong* 公 and *hou* 侯, showing that non-royal elites sometimes arrogated the power of inscribed bronzes in their own interest. Competition likely existed within the ritual assemblages of lineages between figurations of the king and of his client rulers as agents of patronage. The “ethic of presence” facilitated that competition, allowing the distributed presence of the king to exercise far more direct influence in local contexts than would be possible without the mediating help of vessels and their inscriptions.⁶⁸ Sources such as the Mai *fangzun* and the Ze Ling inscriptions suggest that the royal figuration sometimes won out, driving the creation of narratives of indirect contact with the king even when the gift prompting creation of the bronze was received at the hands of a lesser patron.⁶⁹ The exceptional narrative of the Mai *fangzun* inscription thus offers an unusually detailed glimpse of the power of royal ritual to penetrate local contexts through the medium of bronzes and their inscriptions, made possible by the aggregation of ancestral offerings, ritual of figuration, and patronage ritual in the royal event at Pangjing.

5.3: The transformation of Western Zhou ritual

Inscriptions of the late-early and early-middle Western Zhou – that is to say, those dating to the reigns of King Zhao, King Mu, and, to a much lesser extent, King Gong – portray a wide range of changes in the approach of the Zhou royal house to ritual events. Major royal events based around Shang-style offerings to the royal ancestors, like those recorded in the Shu Ze *fangding*, Mai *fangzun*, and Xiao Yu *ding* inscriptions, disappear from the record as of the reign

⁶⁸ On the concept of “distributed presence,” see Gell, *Art and Agency*, 102-4, 230-51.

⁶⁹ It is perhaps of note that both Mai and Ze Ling bore the title of Document Maker and so may have had a greater than usual interest in the content and format of their inscriptions.

of King Zhao. The last recorded royal performances of the *su*, *yue*, *rong*, and *hui* ritual techniques thus predate that reign. Nor, based on currently available inscriptions, does it seem that the reign of King Zhao saw a royal performance of the *di* offering, though the *Xian gui* records such an offering conducted under King Mu. Generally speaking, judging from the bronze inscriptions, the range of Shang-style ancestral-ritual techniques that the Zhou kings publicly performed during this period shrank significantly from that of the earlier reigns.

This is not to say, however, that the kings of this era abandoned Shang-style ancestral ritual as a strategy of group formation. The *Ren ding* and the *Rong Zhong ding*, both dating to approximately this period, record the royal gift, through intermediaries, of pen-raised cattle to non-royal elites for ancestral offerings ([*ting*] *sheng da/tai lao* 脔牲大/太牢). The latter gift took place after the king constructed a building for *Rong Zhong*, suggesting a royal interest in supporting the physical infrastructure of lineage ritual. The *Da gui*, dating probably to the reign of King Mu, describes a royal gift of livestock to a non-royal figure for the purpose of conducting the *di*/*chi* offering. Though the kings of the post-Kang period may have reduced the range of Shang-style offerings incorporated into their own events, inscriptions thus show that these kings – in all likelihood, King Mu in particular – made a concerted effort to support the performance of ancestral livestock offerings among non-royal elites as a venue of elite interaction and patronage. The record of the Duke's performance of *di* and *rong* in the *Fan you*, probably a King Mu vessel, shows that this effort took hold in some cases. The fact that the middle Western Zhou saw the greatest overall production of inscribed bronzes declaring the *hui*-entreaty, a mainstay of early Western Zhou royal ancestral-ritual events, as their purpose may be seen as additional evidence of that point; alternatively, it may simply reflect the ongoing importance of ritual communication with ancestors in the lives of non-royal elites.

As the Zhou kings scaled back their use of earlier, ancestral-ritual offerings at hospitality events, they introduced a host of new ritual techniques highlighting internal relations between the king and various elements of the state. The earliest recorded case of a royally sponsored archery meet probably occurred during the reign of King Zhao, as recorded in the recently discovered Zhabo *gui*. So too did the main case of the ritual ploughing of fields by the king known from the Western Zhou period, recorded on the Ling *ding*. The reign of King Mu saw further royal sponsorship of archery meets as well as the appearance of the institutional infrastructure of archery in the inscriptional record, as reflected in the inscriptions of the Chang Xin *he*, the Ban *gui*, and the Jing *gui*. King Mu's reign, or possibly King Gong's, was also the time of the first foal-catching rite, the symbolic catching and subsequent distribution of foals by the king, commemorated both on and by the extraordinary Li *juzun*. Finally, the official appointment ritual emerged during the reign of King Mu in much the same form that it would bear for the rest of the Western Zhou period, quickly coming to dominate the corpus of long inscriptions.

In the meantime, the use of the old recognition ceremony of *mieli* continued through this period, though its association with elites of Shang heritage weakened. The royal implementation thereof was separated entirely from the military infrastructure during King Mu's reign; outside the royal house, however, the powerful figure Marshal/Elder Father Yong conducted several *mieli* in conjunction with his campaign activities. King Mu conducted one lavish instance of the rare but vital "Great Rite," recorded in the inscription of the Bo Tangfu *ding*; no such case survives from the reign of his predecessor King Zhao. Royal performances of the *zheng*-offering, recorded in the Duan *gui* inscription, and the burning of ears known to the Zhou as *liao*, recorded on the Yongbo X *gui*, also probably date to this period.⁷⁰ No records of *zhu*-invocations from

⁷⁰ Based on its appearance, my personal suspicion is that the Yongbo X *ding* dates to the reign of King Mu; see chapter 2.

this period exist; however, the appearance of figures bearing the title of *zhu*, “Invoker,” in inscriptions such as that of the Chang Xin *he* suggest that the position, if not the practice, was institutionalized by the reign of King Mu, if not before. All these points, along with King Mu’s performance of the *di/chi* offering as recorded on the Xian *gui*, attest to some selective continuation of the ritual techniques of the early Western Zhou.

5.3.1: The crisis of Zhou royal power and the historical context of the transition

The above material shows that the reigns of King Zhao and King Mu saw a substantial shift in the ritual program of the Zhou royal house. The precise role of King Zhao in this process is difficult to determine. Due to the higher prevalence of dating-standard bronzes, some of which have furnished data on particular rites for this study, it is easier to date bronzes to the reign of King Mu with relative certainty than to that of King Zhao.⁷¹ Still, the record suggests that the reign of King Zhao hosted a number of changes in the Zhou royal ritual program. New practices such as the royal sponsorship of archery meets and the symbolic ploughing of fields by the king coincided with a near-complete lack of most of the Shang-style ritual techniques that contributed to early Western Zhou ritual event assemblies. With respect to the infrastructure of royal ancestral ritual, the reign of King Zhao seems to have seen the first creation of a structure dedicated to a single king, the “Kang Palace” or “Kang Temple” (*Kang Gong* 康宮) at Zhou, which would later house several cases of the official appointment ceremony.⁷² It appears likely

⁷¹ Shaughnessy lists seven dating standard bronzes for the reign of King Mu, as opposed to three – all commissioned by the same figure – for King Zhao; see *Sources*, 110-1.

⁷² The question of the nature of the structures called *gong* 宮 and their role in the religious and political life of the Western Zhou has been an active debate in the field for decades. Tang Lan argued convincingly that *gong* bearing the names of Western Zhou kings were ancestral temples dedicated to those kings; see Tang Lan, “Xi Zhou jinwen duandai zhong de Kang Gong wenti,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1962.1, 15-48. This likely argument is complicated by the fact that no extant inscriptions describe sacrifices made to deceased kings in the *gong* bearing their names; see *Bureaucracy*, 107. Others have read the *gong* bearing royal names as palaces in which those kings lived; see *Duandai*, 35-40; *Daxi*, 7. Li Feng has recently shown that the *gong* mentioned in Western Zhou inscriptions fall

that King Zhao intended a change in the role of ritual in the Zhou royal government. What direction that change might eventually have taken, and what effect it might have had on the subsequent course of early Chinese history, is impossible to say, due to the early demise of the king and its aftershocks.

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the death of King Zhao on his unsuccessful campaign of southward expansion and the various military actions, both defensive and offensive, of King Mu's reign together sounded the death knell for the expansion of the Zhou state. From this point in the Western Zhou period on, the Zhou kings found themselves in a situation much like that of the last Shang kings: struggling simultaneously to consolidate control over the core regions of the Zhou state and to maintain the allegiance of a vast network of affiliate sites sharing many common elite practices and tied to the royal house through varying degrees of kinship and marriage. The relative proportions and character of royal and non-royal *mieli* ceremonies dating to King Mu's reign suggest the degree to which royal models of patronage were shaken by these events; non-royal *mieli* inscriptions record mostly the patronage activities of the powerful aristocrat Marshal/Elder Father Yong, while King Mu himself conducted *mieli* mainly in conjunction with ritual events.

5.3.2: The peak of Western Zhou ritual diversity under King Mu

into three basic categories: those named after kings, which were in all likelihood sites of ancestral-ritual devotions toward those kings; those named after individuals or official titles, which were "offices" in which those persons worked and, potentially, lived and carried out ancestral-ritual activities; and those with names suggesting particular uses or describing their physical surroundings, a few of which in fact served as royal domiciles. See *Bureaucracy*, 114-8 (on the performance of the official appointment ceremony in the *Kang Gong*, see p. 119); Li Feng, "Offices," 65-71. For further discussion of the problem of the *Kang Gong*, see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 199-201. Of note to the present discussion is that the *Kang Gong* is the first such location named after an individual Western Zhou king; following the model that it was dedicated to a deceased king as a site for offerings, it would therefore probably have been built during the reign of King Zhao. That the beginning of this custom occurred during King Zhao's reign offers further evidence that certain changes which (as is discussed below) became standard aspects of Western Zhou royal ritual began at that point.

It can hardly be a coincidence that the reign of King Mu also saw the peak of the range and diversity of royal ritual techniques. The royal ritual of the early Western Zhou relied heavily on patronage models with roots in military endeavor and the ritual figuration of the king as leader of a military coalition. However, the failed campaigns in the south presumably produced neither spoils for distribution nor victories to support polemical rituals such as that depicted in the Xiao Yu *ding* narrative; and what gains there were from the defensive war that followed seem to have accrued to Marshal/Elder Father Yong rather than the king. Subsequent campaigns by King Mu to the west provided resources, both material and symbolic, supporting the final performance of a “Great Rite” in the Western Zhou record; but these campaigns do not seem to have driven further ritual events involving the acknowledgement of non-royal elites, as with the Xiao Yu *ding* event or the various cases of *mieli* in the inscriptions. King Mu was thus faced with a shortage of the rhetorical capital that supported key elements of many early Western Zhou ritual event assemblies.

In the face of this shortage, the king drew on a number of emergent ritual techniques to support the continued reiteration of the collective of the Zhou state with the Zhou kings at its head. New rites of royal figuration simultaneously portrayed the king as the necessary source of vital resources and created ritual contexts of royal control over key production activities. New ritual instantiations of royal patronage standardized the process of official recognition and created outlets for competition between non-royal elites. Together with the institutionalization of the infrastructure of ritual archery and invocation, these new techniques formed an overall ritual program aimed at heightening the degree of control that the king exercised over the details of the operation of the Zhou state. They created new opportunities for royal patronage, but they

also refocused royal efforts on the internal differentiation of adherents in an environment of limited material and ideological resources.

While these recent innovations provided the king with a number of new tools for the ritual consolidation of the Zhou collective and the fine control of state operations, King Mu supplemented them with older techniques of both Shang and Zhou provenance. The last recorded performance of the Great Rite depicted King Mu's western campaigns in the same terms as those of earlier kings. The king performed the offering known as *di/chi* himself while at the same time working to support the use of ancestral livestock offerings, including *di/chi*, among non-royal lineages; this effort seems to have borne fruit, judging from the Duke's use of *rong* and *di/chi* in the event recorded on the Fan *you*. Neither the *di/chi* rite nor the Great Rite was conducted under King Zhao's watch, as far as can be told from the extant inscriptions. King Mu seems intentionally to have revived outmoded ritual techniques, broadening the overall royal ritual program, in an effort to create non-military opportunities for interaction with and patronage of non-royal Zhou elites.⁷³

In terms of the overall variety of both ritual techniques and strategies of group performance, the reign of King Mu was the heyday of Western Zhou royal ritual. If, as the saying goes, "the great affairs of the state lie in offerings and war," then King Mu and his faction seem to have expanded the former to compensate for contraction of the latter.⁷⁴ Much of this diversity was lost in the subsequent reigns, or at least ceased to drive the production of inscribed bronzes. The reign of King Mu saw the last recorded occurrences of the *di* and *rong* offerings, as well as of the Great Rite that played such an important role in early Western Zhou figurations of the king. The evidence for the continuation of the royal ploughing rite is weak. Royally sponsored archery

⁷³ The royal *zheng*-offering recorded in the inscription of the Duan *gui* may be another case of this; unfortunately, it is not feasible to date the Duan *gui* definitively to the reign of King Mu versus that of King Zhao.

⁷⁴ Zuozhuan, Duke Cheng, 13th year, 8.13, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1911.

meets continued as important linchpin events of ritual assemblies, however, and the foal-catching rite seems likewise to have survived throughout most of the period. Most famously, the standardized appointment ritual introduced during King Mu's day became the single most common subject of long bronze inscriptions throughout the rest of the Western Zhou period.

Ritually speaking, the contrast between the diversified strategy of the reign of King Mu and the consolidative strategy of those following was enormous. It is perhaps due to the degree of this contrast that King Mu became known to later generations as frivolous and unconcerned with vital affairs of state.⁷⁵ Through late Western Zhou eyes, the range of ritual activities conducted under King Mu must have seemed extravagant; in their time, however, they helped bridge the gap between incommensurate formulations of the Zhou collective and the king's place in it.

5.3.3: The rites of the post-King Mu period

The reign of King Mu was the swan song of publicly performed, Shang-style royal ancestral offerings. Of the various ritual techniques of Shang provenance described above, only the *hui*-entreaty, the *yu*-negative entreaty, the *zheng*-offering, and the *zhu*-invocation appear in bronze inscriptions of post-King Mu date.⁷⁶ Moreover, *yu* appears only in two inscriptions attributed to King Li, in which it is not distinguished from the positive entreaty *hui*; *zhu*-invocation is mentioned in the inscription of the Qian *gui* as the name of an office; and *zheng* and *hui* appear only as declared purposes of non-royal vessels.

Royal ritual activities recorded in post-King Mu bronze inscriptions are confined mainly to the new techniques introduced during the reigns of King Zhao and King Mu, including the

⁷⁵ The classical sources of this tradition are summarized in Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 323.

⁷⁶ The one possible exception of which I know is the Da *gui*, which, as mentioned above, may date to the reign of King Mu or that of King Gong, the following king.

foal-catching rite, ritual archery meets, the official appointment ritual, and, potentially, the royal ploughing rite. The foal-catching rite appears on inscriptions dating probably to the reigns of Kings Gong, Xiao, and Xuan; the Ninth-year Qiu Wei *ding*, a dating standard for the reign of King Gong, mentions a structure called the “Foal Palace,” hinting that some infrastructure may have been established to support the rite. Whether the royal ploughing rite introduced under King Zhao continued during this period remains in question; however, the royal instruction to the Supervisor of Land Zai to take charge of the ploughing of fields, recorded in the *Zai gui*, may indicate that it persisted into the later Western Zhou. Royally sponsored archery meets, seen for the first time during King Zhao’s reign and intensified during King Mu’s, continued in the following reigns. The inscription of the Ehou Yufang *ding* records one such event dating to the reign of King Yi or, more likely, King Li; meanwhile, the Fifteenth-year Quecao *ding* and the Kuang *you* show that official facilities for archery, first mentioned during the reign of King Mu, continued to exist through at least the reign of King Yih.⁷⁷ Kings Gong and Yih continued the storied custom of the *mieli* recognition ritual with some frequency and in circumstances suggesting that they had recovered a degree of military influence; this custom continued at least until the reign of King Li, likely time of production of the *Wu gui* (4323), albeit less frequently. Meanwhile, the official appointment ritual introduced under King Mu thrived, becoming the single most common topic of long bronze inscriptions from the post-King Mu period. As portrayed in the inscriptions, the royal ritual of the post-King Mu period thus consisted mainly of ritual techniques that both figured the king as the source of vital resources and established royal control over those resources; and ritual techniques that facilitated differentiation between adherent elites and created organized venues for competition for royal patronage outside the infrastructure of the Zhou military. The *mieli* of the subsequent reigns suggest also that those

⁷⁷ The first such mention was that of the “Archery Study Palace” in the inscription of the *Jing gui*; see chapter 4.

kings reestablished some degree of interface with the military administration as a venue of patronage.

Outside the realm of royal activity, the post-King Mu inscriptions offer a wealth of data on the ancestral ritual activities of non-royal elites. The *hui*-entreaty continues as a declared purpose of several non-royal vessels. It is joined by the *zheng*-offering, stated as the purpose of the commissioning of the Taishi Cuo *gui* and the Ji *ding*, as well as the technique known as *chang* 嘗, likely referring to an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, which is mentioned on the Sixth-year Zhousheng *gui* (probably dating to King Xuan) and on the Ji *ding* together with *zheng*. Individual inscriptions record cases of the techniques *sui* (recorded in the Maogong *ding*) and *zhuo* (mentioned on the Bo Gongfu *shao*, which were clearly intended for the purpose). *Sui*, *chang*, and *zhuo* appear for the first time in the late Western Zhou bronze inscriptions as potential ritual techniques, although *sui* has ample precedent in the Shang oracle bones and is attributed to King Cheng in the *Shangshu*. The term *yin* sees its first Western Zhou appearance earlier, in the famous inscription of the Shi Qiang *pan*, wherein Scribe Qiang uses it in the compound term *yinsi* to refer to his grandfather's ritual offerings; it appears also in the later inscription of the Nanshi Dian *hu*.

All told, then, the post-King Mu inscriptions contain no shortage of references to specific ritual offering techniques. Some of these, such as *hui*-entreaty and *zheng*-offering, carried on ritual traditions dating back to the Shang; *hui* in particular is a commonly expressed purpose for the casting of inscribed bronzes. Others, particularly those dating to the late Western Zhou, are innovations in ritual vocabulary, or, like *sui* (and like King Li's use of the negative entreaty term *yu*), seem to have diverged from the senses they carried in earlier sources. Two vital points may be gleaned from this state of affairs. First, the disappearance of specific ancestral devotions from

royal ritual event assemblies did not indicate that the overall population of Zhou elites had discarded the performance of patrilineal-ancestral ritual. Indeed, the creation of facilities named for deceased kings continued probably through the reign of King Xuan, suggesting that the kings also continued to conduct ancestral offerings; but the narratives of these royal offerings did not play the role in the inscriptional record that they previously had.⁷⁸ Second, the post-King Mu period saw a divergence of the ritual concerns of non-royal elites and those of the royal house, with the former achieving a greater degree of representation in the inscriptions of bronze vessels. This culminated in the introduction of several new terms for ritual techniques in the inscriptions of the late Western Zhou, suggesting that by the late Western Zhou period the ritual practices of non-royal lineages had diverged appreciably from those of the Zhou kings.⁷⁹

5.4: The issue of the “ritual reform” or “ritual revolution”

⁷⁸ Li Feng observes that *gong* 宮 named for Kings Kang, Zhao, Mu, and Yi 夷 appear in the inscriptions; see *Bureaucracy*, 153. In addition, there is a set of bells the inscriptions of which narrate an event carried out in the “La 刺 Palace of the Kang [Palace] at Zhou” (*Zhou Kang La Gong* 周康刺宮) (*Ke zhong* 克鐘 [204, 206, 208, 209]). The term *la* 刺 is used to indicate King Li in the inscriptions of the Wu Hu *ding* 吳虎鼎 (NA0709) and the Lai *pan* 迷盤 (NA0757). On these vessels see Li Xueqin, “Wu Hu ding kaoshi – Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng kaoguxue biji,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1998.3, 29-31; Mu Xiaojun, “Shaanxi Chang’an xian chutu Xi Zhou Wu Hu ding,” in *ibid.*, 69-71; *Wenwu* 2003.6, 16-27. It is thus quite likely that the *La Gong* mentioned in the *Ke zhong* inscription was a facility dedicated to King Li, established in all likelihood during the reign of King Xuan rather than that of the usurper Gong He. Falkenhausen thus includes King Li in his corresponding list in *Chinese Society*, 64, n. 56.

The lack of references to buildings dedicated to King Yih 懿 and King Xiao can be explained politically. The succession of King Xiao was irregular, inasmuch as he was the uncle rather than the son of the preceding King Yih. After his death, King Xiao was succeeded by King Yi, who was King Yih’s son. The throne thus transitioned out of and then back into the main line of the royal house, a very unusual situation for the Zhou; this may have indicated factionalism within the royal court. (On this situation see *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 140-1; *Bureaucracy*, 34.) It is quite likely that King Xiao did not arrange for the creation of a space dedicated to King Yih, given that King Yih was not in fact King Xiao’s ancestor. Likewise, King Yi’s succession was a restoration of the direct royal line of descent, and so it is not unlikely that King Xiao was intentionally left out of the physical infrastructure of royal lineage activities, whether because he did not fit the genealogical mold or out of political opposition to his rule. Explaining the absence of a space dedicated to King Gong from the inscriptions, however, will require further evidence than is now available.

⁷⁹ Most scholars date the Sixth-year Zhousheng gui to the reign of King Xuan; see *Landscape and Power*, 107, note 50. For a list of these datings, see Shirakawa 3.2.194-5, 841, 860. Ma Chengyuan dissents, dating it to King Xiao; see *MWX* 290, 209. The Maogong ding is probably also a King Xuan bronze; see *Daxi*, 136; *MWX*, 447; *Bureaucracy*, 85. Both the excavators and the AS database assign the Bo Gongfu shao to the late Western Zhou; for the former, see *Wenwu* 1978.11, 7.

This work has focused largely on the practice of ritual by the Zhou, and the Zhou kings in particular, in the era preceding the changes in the Western Zhou archaeological record now generally known as the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform.”⁸⁰ That focus derives from the reliance of the work on bronze inscriptions as sources on Western Zhou ritual, in contrast with the chief characterizations of the “ritual reform,” based mainly on analyses of the types, quantities, and physical qualities of bronze vessels.⁸¹ Falkenhausen has previously noted a chronological gap between indications of social change in the inscriptional and archaeological records of the Western Zhou.⁸² This study has confirmed that the gap in question extended to the royal implementation of ritual practices. It is my hope that the above observations on early-middle Western Zhou ritual have drawn a clearer background against which the sudden changes of the ritual reform may be better understood.

Many of the individual ritual techniques observed in this study fade from the inscriptional record or disappear altogether after the reign of King Mu. Based on the disappearance of those phenomena, on earlier considerations of the “ethic of presence” and other ideological conceptions underlying Zhou ritual at different points, and on the changes in the Zhou royal strategy of ritual throughout the period, the following pages put forth some tentative suggestions as to the nature and timing of the ritual revolution and its relationship to the changing figurations of the Zhou collective.

⁸⁰ Jessica Rawson and Lothar von Falkenhausen are the main proponents of this model. For the most recent statements thereof, see Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 433-46; Rawson, “Statesmen or Barbarians? The Western Zhou as Seen through their Bronzes,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 75 (1989), pp. 89-93; Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 56-64. Shaughnessy has put forth an analysis of the “Zhou song” that draws on Rawson’s model; see *Before Confucius*, 184-7.

⁸¹ See previous note. Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, engages in some detailed discussion of bronze inscriptions; however, the emphasis is on the sequence of the Wei lineage rather than the vocabulary of ritual in the inscriptions.

⁸² Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 29 n. 1, which notes that Shaughnessy singles out the reign of King Mu as a time of political and military reform; for this account see Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 323-8.

5.4.1: The “ritual reform” argument and its correlation with the bronze inscriptions

The essence of the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform” argument is that the types and numbers of bronze vessels used in Zhou ancestral ritual underwent a systematic change sometime after the midpoint of the period. In particular, many of the vessel types used for liquor during the Shang and early Western Zhou periods were dispensed with in favor of one main type of large wine vessel, usually found in pairs, and the food vessels known as *gui*-tureens and *ding*-cauldrons began to appear in matching sets. Bronze ornamentation became larger, rougher, and more abstract; and sets of bronze *zhong*-bells entered the repertoire of casters in the Zhou heartland.⁸³ These changes, it is suggested, related to a systemic change in the performance of Zhou elite ritual, likely involving the expansion of audiences, the scaling down of wine offerings, and the strengthening of the division between participants and observers of the ritual performance.⁸⁴ The chief proponents of this model have put forth different datings of these changes. Rawson situates them in the reigns of the latter half of the middle Western Zhou (Kings Yih-Yi) and sees them as having originated from the center of the Zhou state.⁸⁵ Falkenhausen locates these changes in the reign of King Li and emphasizes their likely intent to support the existing government; hence, he refers to the phenomenon as the “Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform.”⁸⁶

The textual evidence on Zhou ritual contained in the bronze inscriptions shows that changes in the techniques and strategy of royal ritual events began as early as the reign of King

⁸³ Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 435-8; *Sackler*, pp. 93-8. On the use of *gui* and *ding* sets as markers of rank, see also Yu Weichao and Gao Ming, “Zhou dai yong ding zhidu yanjiu,” *Beijing daxue xuebao* 1978.1, 85-99; 1978.2, 85-98; 1979.1, 84-97.

⁸⁴ On the growth of the ritual audience and the division between participants and observers, see Rawson, “Statesmen or Barbarians?,” 89-91; Shaughnessy relates the Zhou Hymns to this proposed division in *Before Confucius*, 165-6, 184-7; see also “Western Zhou History,” 332-3. On the scaling down of wine offerings, see Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 49.

⁸⁵ Rawson, “Statesmen or Barbarians?,” 87-93; “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 433-40; *Sackler*, 93-110, 125.

⁸⁶ Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 29-31, 43-53.

Zhao, when long narratives built around royal ancestral offerings subsided, the first evidence for royally sponsored archery meets and the royal ploughing rite appeared, and the first facility named for a single deceased king (the *Kang Gong*) was probably built. Some of these changes were reversed under King Mu, who made use of older ritual techniques such as *di/chi* and the Great Rite. However, King Mu (or, at least, his administration) continued and institutionalized the custom of archery meets begun earlier and also introduced the dominant meme of the appointment ritual and, probably, the foal-catching rite.

As is pointed out above, the royal rituals of King Mu's reign were the most diverse of the entire Western Zhou period in terms of the range of ritual techniques and strategies of group formation they pursued. While these changing royal strategies of ritual are clear from the inscriptional record, however, they did not produce correspondingly drastic changes in bronze vessels. The vessels of King Mu's reign do show a high degree of distinctiveness in their ornamentation;⁸⁷ suggesting that the king's special interest in ritual may have included a program of control over the design of bronzes; however, the vessel types of the transitional period are essentially similar to those of the earlier reigns.⁸⁸

The royal ritual repertoire of the post-King Mu period contracted substantially. It was concerned mainly with the differential recognition of Zhou elites through the relatively recent technique of the appointment ritual, along with the occasional royal archery meet; as well as the ongoing figuration of the king as an obligatory passage point for vital production activities, through the foal-catching rite and, potentially, the continuation of the royal ploughing rite. Royal ancestral offerings go almost completely unmentioned in post-King Mu inscriptions. By contrast, the records of non-royal ancestral-ritual activities in the inscriptions continue to be rich,

⁸⁷ See *Bureaucracy*, 37.

⁸⁸ Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," 360.

judging in particular from the declaration of *hui*-entreaty and *zheng*-offering as the purposes behind the creation of vessels. By the late Western Zhou, these terms were joined by the new vocabulary items *chang*, *sui*, and *zhuo* as expressions of non-royal elite ritual activities. In essence, the ancestral offerings of the Zhou royal house ceased to drive the production of ritual bronzes, while those of non-royal elites remained an important factor in the process. However, most recorded *mieli* ceremonies postdating King Mu were performed by the Zhou kings. The same was true of archery meets and of the appointment ceremony.⁸⁹

In the traces of ritual techniques in the post-Mu inscriptions, then, there is a sharp division between royally sponsored activities, consisting almost entirely of interactions between the king, subordinate elites, and the infrastructure of resource production; and non-royal activities, in which ancestral devotions still played a vital role. This state of affairs corresponds fairly closely to the timing of the changes that Rawson observes in the Western Zhou archaeological record. The shift in focus of royal ritual techniques away from Shang-style ancestral offerings occurred by the reign of King Gong, the reign before Rawson proposes that the ritual revolution began.⁹⁰

In all likelihood, the removal of exemplary Shang-style royal-ancestral offerings from ritual event assemblies, the focus on archery competitions and the appointment ceremony, and the proliferation of numbered sets of bronzes in the archaeological record – a key element of the archaeological formulation of the “ritual revolution” – all formed part of an ongoing royal effort to achieve consolidation and differentiation within the Zhou collective.⁹¹ This effort at

⁸⁹ Among the hundred-plus records of the appointment ceremony, there are only two very special cases that were not performed by the king; see *Bureaucracy*, 40.

⁹⁰ See note 87.

⁹¹ These changes overlap with the increased bureaucratization that is now widely recognized to have occurred during the middle Western Zhou period; the processes may have been related or have stemmed from similar motivations. See *Bureaucracy*, 63-85, 104-5; Hsu and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, 227; Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 326. In particular, *Bureaucracy*’s observations on the changing relationship between the positions of Document Maker and Interior Scribe suggest an effort to consolidate royal power over precisely the reigns to which Rawson assigns the ritual revolution; see *Bureaucracy*, 76-7. On the use of numbered sets of bronzes as a

consolidation and reinforcement of Zhou royal ritual is reminiscent of the process Keightley observes with respect to the ritual practices of the final Shang kings.⁹² It was part of a similar effort to shore up royal control in the core regions of a shrinking interaction sphere.⁹³

At the same time, the cessation of example performances of ancestral rites by the Zhou kings, and of the direct royal patronage of ancestral livestock offerings, created a break between the ritual conducted at royal events and that carried out under the rubric of individual elite lineages. The continuing production of bronzes earmarked for *hui*-entreaty shows that ancestral devotions remained important to non-royal elites in the wake of this break. The emergence of a new vocabulary of ancestral ritual in non-royal inscriptions of the late Western Zhou suggests that non-royal ritual practices had developed their own character by that point.

Many of these practices emerged after the set of changes observed by Rawson were complete. This offers some support for Rawson's model of a top-down effort to control ritual assemblies dating to the reigns of Kings Yih, Xiao, and Yi, as it likely indicates that the royal house maintained an ongoing interest in the ritual of non-elite lineages throughout that preceding period.

Many of the new vocabulary items emerging at this point – *chang*, *zhuo*, and *yin* in particular – became important parts of later characterizations of Zhou ritual. This fact, along with the above observations on the changing strategies of Western Zhou royal ritual, may help us to understand the relationship between the depictions of ritual in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and those in received texts of purported Western Zhou date.

hallmark of the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform” argument, see Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” 435; Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 49-52.

⁹² See notes 41 and 45.

⁹³ See *Bureaucracy*, 36-7; *Landscape and Power*, 122-7.

5.4.2: Causes of the “ritual reform”

At the time of the “ritual reform,” after the transition period of Zhou ritual, the royal house faced the aftereffects of the failure of the expansion that had previously sustained its state project. The royal house recovered somewhat from the crisis point reached after the death of King Zhao and during the reign of King Mu, regaining some control over the state military apparatus. However, the overall military situation of the Zhou did not improve appreciably over the remainder of the Western Zhou period. There was to be no second great expansion, but instead an ongoing process of consolidation and defense.⁹⁴

That had serious implications for the model of group formation pursued by the Zhou kings. A lack of newly captured territory and wealth meant that the large bequeathals of populations and territories that prior kings had conducted were no longer possible, and smaller bequeathals of wealth had to come from the resources of the royal house.⁹⁵ Further, the cessation of expansion on the periphery removed a key tool that had previously helped manage surfeits of influential figures close to the throne, as with the granting of states to the lines of the Dukes in the early Western Zhou.⁹⁶ The intangible but still limited resource of prestige won on campaign with the king was also in short supply, reducing the number of opportunities for the king to promote himself as the arbiter of status within the Zhou collective. Finally, the failure of the expansionist project called into question the figuration of the king as war leader that had held sway during the early Western Zhou.

Demographic issues compounded these problems. It has been proposed elsewhere that the expansion of elite lineages and their division into branches led to a loosening of connections with

⁹⁴ See *Bureaucracy*, 35-6; *Landscape and Power*, 3; Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 320-5.

⁹⁵ See *Bureaucracy*, 36-7; *Landscape and Power*, 122-7.

⁹⁶ On the conflict between the Dukes of Gong and Shao as a factor in the political history of the Western Zhou, see Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 313-7.

the royal house.⁹⁷ Chapter 1 of this work has shown that expressions of kinship as an element of elite individual identity became more common over the course of the Western Zhou period.

These loosening ties took political form in the loss of royal control over the eastern states during the reign of King Mu.⁹⁸ It seems that the non-royal elite population was expanding despite the difficulties of the Zhou royal house and the failure of Zhou expansion.

The middle Western Zhou kings were thus in need of a new approach to the management of relations with and between adherents. They needed ways to give out less land and wealth while still maintaining the coherence of the patronage relations that held the state together; to intensify royal control over key state resources in the territory they still controlled; and to naturalize and obscure the authority of the royal house, casting it as the natural order of the world rather than an outgrowth of the king's now-compromised figuration as leader of a military coalition. Diplomatically speaking, they needed a way to interest the upper echelons of non-royal lineages in maintaining the ongoing vision of the Zhou collective with the king at its head, rather than breaking away to pursue models of identity based on individual and lineage; at the same time, they needed a venue of interaction with powers in the east and south with whom they shared cultural traits, but who were not fully cowed by the authority of the Zhou king.

5.4.2: The political logic of the “ritual reform” and the post-King Mu changes in Zhou royal ritual

Both the post-King Mu changes to Zhou ritual discussed above and many classic points of the “ritual reform” offered potential benefits of this sort. The foal-catching rite (and, in all likelihood, the royal ploughing rite) acted to naturalize and obscure the origins of royal authority

⁹⁷ Shaughnessy has previously noted the expansion of branch lineages and the distancing of relations with the royal house; see “Western Zhou History,” 327-8, 323.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 323-5.

by casting the king as the “obligatory passage point” for necessary resources. This offered an alternative to the failing image of the king as war leader prevalent in the early Western Zhou. At the same time, it intensified royal control over the production of key resources; the foal-catching rite in particular appears to have involved the royal claiming and redistribution of horses from different locations. The official appointment ritual created a wealth of new images of the king as disburser of status and riches in a context other than military victory. By standardizing the sequence of appointment to office, it both intensified royal control over the developing bureaucratic apparatus and institutionalized and legitimized a new context of competition between elites, thus creating new opportunities for differentiation of status among its adherents. Eventually, it created a source of revenue for the royal house in the expected contribution of jade items by appointees.⁹⁹ Royally sponsored archery meets similarly created a context of competition and differentiation between elites, and in particular between representatives of the king and of powerful lineages (as, for example, in the inscription of the Chang Xin *he* [9455]). At the same time, they provided a venue for diplomatic relations between Zhou royal representatives and other elites with Zhou cultural leanings, but of questionable allegiance; the interactions between the king and the elites of peripheral areas recorded in the Ehou Yufang *ding* and the Yi *hegai* are of this sort.

The classic manifestation of the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform,” the creation of matching sets of *ding*-cauldrons and *gui*-tureens in varying numbers, is generally suggested to have been a marker of rank, as in later formulations of sumptuary rules.¹⁰⁰ No inscriptional evidence from the bronzes themselves is available to support this assertion. If true, however, sets of vessels served as a mechanism for differentiation both between lineages, in that the right to

⁹⁹ See *Bureaucracy*, 107, 110.

¹⁰⁰ See note 83.

use a certain number of vessels adhered to a lineage based on its relative status, and within lineages, inasmuch as the inscriptions on such vessels still tend to record the actions of individual lineage members.¹⁰¹ The assignment of particular numbers of vessels to lineages of particular rank would also have tended to naturalize the authority and coherence of individual lineage identities, providing motivation for lineage heads of high rank to maintain their positions within the Zhou cultural complex.¹⁰²

If, on the other hand, lineage members had some discretion in the number of bronzes they produced, then the capacity to cast multiple vessels would have created a venue for competition and differentiation within lineages based on personal wealth, allowing individual elites to maximize the representation of their individual royal audiences within the assemblages of their lineage cults. This would have served the interests of those individuals, in that they could best leverage their wealth to achieve status, as well as those of the royal house, whose “materialized ideology” would thus achieve greater impact with no additional expense.¹⁰³

The shift from larger numbers of smaller wine vessels to pairs of two large *hu* in vessel assemblages would both have accommodated the service of larger numbers of participants and allowed central control of the amount of liquor distributed. This was probably necessary in order to accommodate greater numbers of high-ranking elites with claim to the privilege of attendance at ritual events, as indicated by the apparent expansion of lineage identities over the course of the period. Using a single, central set of bronze liquor vessels would have conserved resources at lineage events, in terms not so much of amounts of food as of the amount of bronze needed to

¹⁰¹ Exceptions exist, most notably the famous inscription of the Shi Qiang *pan* (10175), which offers a detailed history of its commissioner’s lineage; see *Sources*, 183-92; Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 55-6. As a *pan*-basin, however, that vessel was intended for a very different purpose than the *ding* and *gui* normally found in late Western Zhou sets; see for example *Chinese Society*, 342.

¹⁰² See note 43. Falkenhausen plausibly connects the differentiating function of vessel sets with demographic expansion and accompanying “lineage splitting” in *Chinese Society*, 67-70, 404-6.

¹⁰³ On “materialized ideology,” see the discussion of DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle in the introduction.

support lineage ritual. This in turn suggests the need to include elites who were not expected to furnish their own bronze vessels; the expansion of lineages had probably produced many such elites. The model of centralized service of liquor at ritual events would have created an additional opportunity for differentiation between participants able and unable (whether due to lack of wealth or lack of privilege) to furnish the liquor vessels used.

Changes in the ornamentation of vessels supported these efforts. It has been suggested that they indicated a division of attendees between a core group of participants and an audience who could look at the vessels from afar and see them as manifestations of the power of the lineage and their individual donor.¹⁰⁴ This would have created a corresponding distinction between more and less privileged classes of attendees.

The institution of musical performances as a common element of Zhou elite ritual may have been its own reward; still, it offered certain advantages in the disposition of resources. Creating sets of bells allowed an initial investment to yield a potentially unlimited ongoing return in terms of offerings to the ancestors.¹⁰⁵ The playing of music would also have created an offering in which all attendees could simultaneously partake, regardless of differential access to food and liquor; assuming an expanded ritual audience, the savings of time would potentially have been great. Finally, the possibility of casting a bell set created the opportunity for an investment of unparalleled scale in the material basis of the ancestral cult. Few commissioners could have mustered the resources to support the casting of a set of bells; they would have served as yet another venue for differentiation based on wealth and access to the cultural resource of expertise in music.

¹⁰⁴ Rawson, "Statesmen or Barbarians?", 89-91. Falkenhausen refers to the Dionysian vs. Apollonian dichotomy as formulated by Nietzsche, which has this idea as one of its facets; see *Chinese Society*, 48-9; Douglas Smith, tr. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

¹⁰⁵ Some ongoing investment would of course still have been necessary to support musicians.

Both the inscriptions and the corpus of Western Zhou vessels in general, then, portray a concerted movement over the course of the post-King Mu reigns toward ritual techniques affording more centralized control over the distribution of resources, naturalization of authority, and, in particular, institutionalized, ritual mechanisms of differentiation between elites. For the royal house, this involved a casting off of many prior techniques, particularly ancestral offerings of Shang provenance, in favor of others introduced as the expansion of the Zhou state ground to a halt. Both the bronzes and their inscriptions, however, make it clear that ancestral devotions continued to play a vital role in the lives of non-royal elites. The phenomena referred to as the “ritual reform” or “ritual revolution” reflect related changes in those devotions.

The appearance of a new vocabulary of ancestral offerings in the late Western Zhou inscriptions suggests that the elimination of ancestral offerings from royal ritual assemblies opened the way for new developments in ancestral ritual at the non-royal level. The fact that this divergence happened late in the period, well after high-profile royal ancestral offerings no longer appear in the inscriptions, would seem to argue for a centralized imposition of standards for lineage ritual during the latter half of the middle Western Zhou. Combined with the relative completeness of the changes in the archaeological record observed by Rawson, this suggests that the changes in the royal ritual program – reflected in the inscriptions – and those in lineage ritual – reflected in the archaeological corpus of bronzes – together formed a coherent royal program of reform of elite ritual to better maintain the Zhou collective in the face of the new sociopolitical realities of the post-King Mu period.

5.5: Conclusion

The changes seen in Zhou ritual over time, as portrayed in the bronze inscriptions, were

closely related to the evolving military and political fortunes of the Zhou royal house. Early Western Zhou ritual assemblies leveraged the Zhou kings' familiarity with ritual techniques of Shang provenance to create compressed narratives of enrollment in the formative Zhou state identity. Events combining ancestral offerings with patronage rites and, in particular, the "Great Rite" figured the Zhou king as leader of a military coalition and paragon performer of the patrilineal-ancestral ritual that was a basic element of the shared identity of Zhou elites. This participatory model of ritual complemented the political strategy of the royal house during the early Western Zhou expansion, when the kings frequently delegated authority over far-flung, conquered territories to relatives and affiliate elites.

As the period progressed and elite demographics expanded, the royal house moved toward new techniques creating better opportunities for differentiation within, rather than enrollment into, the Zhou elite group identity. The crisis in royal power following the death of King Zhao and the failure of Zhou expansion occasioned a backslide in the royal implementation of ritual during King Mu's reign, as the king sought new ways to shore up the power of the royal house. In the subsequent reigns, however, any revivalist tendencies in royal ritual were dispensed with, in favor of a strict program of institutionalized distribution of prestige and status, figuration of the king as a necessary element of the well-being of the state, and competition and differentiation between Zhou elites. Certain facets of this program's effects in the realm of ancestral-lineage ritual survive in the archaeological record as the "ritual reform."

This close correlation between political circumstances and royal ritual techniques is no surprise, as no effective distinction can be made between the ritual and political activity of the Western Zhou. The consistent use of ritual event assemblies to political ends by the Zhou kings is well documented in the inscriptions. The sources make clear, however, that ancestral ritual

was a matter of concern to Zhou elites well after its disappearance from the record of royal ritual events. Why the Zhou kings abandoned the public performance of their own ancestral devotions when such acts still held relevance for non-royal elites is a question that deserves further investigation. That they did, however, allowed for later developments in the characterization of non-royal ancestral ritual that had a profound effect on later characterizations of the rites of Zhou.

CONCLUSION

The Western Zhou period occupies a special place in the history of China. Though many of the cultural techniques that the Zhou royal house possessed – writing, ancestral ritual, and, potentially, the production of bronze vessels – were derived from their Shang predecessors, the Zhou kings used them more efficiently and in new combinations, spreading the common cultural identity that they supported across most of north China. In a very real sense, the formation of the Zhou state was the beginning of China as a coherent nation, as the title of Creel’s early work on the Western Zhou period expressed.¹⁰⁶ Its accomplishment depended in large part on the familiarity of the Zhou kings with Shang-style ritual, which allowed them to supplement their military endeavors with materializations of ideology designed to perpetuate the relationships on which the conquest coalition was built. Early Chinese scholars recalled the deft use of ritual in the formation of the Zhou state and the Zhou elite identity; Confucius expressed this clearly with his declaration that in matters of ritual, “I follow the Zhou.”¹⁰⁷

This work has explored in detail the role played by ritual, and by royal ritual in particular, in the creation and conveyance of the associations that made up the Zhou state and the Zhou elite identity. Royal implementations of ritual techniques evolved in concert with the changing geopolitical concerns and strategies of the royal house, progressing generally from a focus on enrollment of elites in the Zhou state project to one with internal differentiation of participants in the Zhou elite identity and intensification of royal control over the core operations and resources of the state. As the period progressed, effective use of ritual required a balancing act between the intensifying concern of Zhou elites with ancestral lineage identity and the need of the royal

¹⁰⁶ See Herrlee G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China, Vol. 1: The Western Zhou Empire*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

¹⁰⁷ Lunyu, “Ba yi” 14; *Shisanjing zhushu*, 2467.

house for new techniques of patronage, differentiation between supporters, control of resources, and figuration of royal authority. Sweeping changes in both the inscriptional and archaeological evidence for Western Zhou ritual dating to after the reign of King Mu – including the “ritual revolution” alternately proposed for the reigns of Kings Yih-Yi and King Li – sought to fulfill both of those concerns. The ritual practices of the late Western Zhou thus truly followed a pendulum track between kin and king.

The strength of the cultural legacy of Western Zhou ritual was such that later thinkers of the early period invested enormous time and resources in attempts to recreate it, of which the *Zhouli* was simply the most comprehensive. These efforts dominated later understandings of Western Zhou ritual until the rise of modern archaeology provided, in the corpus of inscribed bronzes, a new pool of data for the investigation of Western Zhou ritual practices.¹⁰⁸ This work has attempted a comprehensive review of the evidence in that pool of data concerning ritual practices. It is my hope that the observations it presents allow for a clearer, more detailed, and more contemporary understanding of the role played by Western Zhou ritual techniques in the formation of elite identity; their close relationship with the geopolitical circumstances of the royal house; and their connections to the ritual practices of the subsequent era.

This work has attempted a comprehensive review of the evidence in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions concerning ritual practices. As with most attempts to be comprehensive, it has undoubtedly glossed over some points, elided others, and stopped short of pushing still others to their logical conclusions. It cannot even hope to be thorough, because the rate of new discoveries in early China studies is such that vital new evidence will no doubt have emerged by

¹⁰⁸ Inscribed bronzes have of course been found and catalogued in some quantity for a thousand years. The archaeological efforts of the twentieth century have, however, furnished a much larger pool of vessels and inscriptions for consideration, and the techniques of modern archaeology, in conjunction with paleographical studies, have driven significant advances in the relative dating of Western Zhou vessels. For more on this point, see Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 17-8, 106-55.

the time this work is read. I cannot apologize for these shortcomings; they are the nature of the beast. My main hopes are that the work introduces Western Zhou ritual to a broader audience, perhaps one familiar with the period mainly from Eastern Zhou and Han sources, as I was before I began the training that led to this study; and that it succeeds in providing both pre-Qin specialists and non-China scholars with a useful springboard for further specialized inquiry on early Chinese ritual. In that hope, I would like to close with a few suggestions for future research building on the foundation established here.

The findings of this analysis have tended to confirm the idea of the “ritual revolution” in the formulation put forth by Jessica Rawson based on art-historical observations; further, they have tied that set of changes to the geopolitical specifics of the middle Western Zhou period. This has created a point of contact between the visions of Western Zhou ritual presented in textual and archaeological sources. Further work may link that point of contact with textual materials known from both the received record and from excavated manuscripts; in particular, the portions of the Tsinghua slips dealing with Western Zhou events may prove fruitful ground for inquiry. Comparing the chronology of Zhou ritual strategies put forth here with those put forth in received and excavated texts will, I hope, improve our overall understanding of the pre-Qin textual corpus.

New ritual terms that emerged in the bronze inscriptions in the wake of the middle Western Zhou suggest a break between official royal ritual and the practices of non-royal elites. These terms contributed significantly to later textual characterizations of Zhou ritual. With detailed study on Spring and Autumn sources, excavated materials of Warring States, Qin, and Han date, and the *Sanli*, it may one day be possible to characterize in greater detail the

transmission of historical traditions about Western Zhou ritual and their relationships to the emergent regional identities of the Spring and Autumn period.

The above discussion has observed the vital importance of the “ethic of presence” to the action of Western Zhou inscribed ritual bronzes as social mediators, focusing especially on the role of bronzes in bringing the distributed presence of the king into play in lineage cult activities. In doing so, it has skirted the issue of the personal relationships of Zhou elites with the bronzes they produced for use in lineage ritual. To take the lineage as a basic scale of inquiry is to elide the fact that a lineage, like any other group, is “star-shaped,” in Latour’s terms; it is made of chronologically situated associations between disparate elements, including humans, objects, and places, each of which itself shares associations with entities dispersed throughout time and space.¹⁰⁹ Inscribed bronzes brought the presence of the king and other elite patrons into the lineage cult, but only through the mediation of the elites who produced them and of whom, in a very real sense, they were embodiments, materializations. In the context of ancestral offerings, inscribed bronzes, and by extension the elites they embodied, truly stood “between kin and king.” Further theoretical consideration of the deposition of bronzes in the archaeological record, their combination into assemblages, and the messages, verbal and otherwise, that they conveyed will clarify their relationships with the individuals who produced them, casting light in turn on the role of standardized bronze sets in later ritual instantiations of Zhou elite identity.

¹⁰⁹ See *Reassembling the Social*, 204-5, 208-9, 212-3, 217.


APPENDIX 1 ADDITIONAL TERMS

7.1: Introduction

This Appendix contains a discussion of two terms (*guan* 裸 and *chai* 柴) that are substantially ambiguous of reading and interpretation, but have important implications for the understanding of Western Zhou ritual as portrayed in the bronze inscriptions. I present a consideration of these terms here both in the interest of completeness and as important background for the interpretation of certain key inscriptions and/or terms discussed above.

7.2: The question of *guan* 裸 (libation/toasting)

The inscriptions of the Yuzu Ding *you* 毓祖丁卣 (5396), a late Shang bronze; the Wo *ding*; the He *zun*; and the De *fangding* (2661) share a character depicting hands lifting up what appears to be a liquor vessel before an altar (fig. 7.1, Appendix 2). The Wo *ding* case is unclear, but it seems to indicate an object given to the vessel commissioner by the king along with a gift of five strings of cowries. The other cases may well refer to actions:


辛亥王才（在）廩，降令曰：歸于我多高处（處）、山。。。¹

On the *xinhai* day, the king was at Guang. [He] sent down a command saying, “Return [i.e., offer] X? to our many high places and mountains...” (Yuzu Ding *you* 毓祖丁卣 [5396])

佳王初宅于成周，復再（武）王豐，自天...

It was when the king first moved his dwelling to Chengzhou, repeated the rite of King Wu, and performed X? from [i.e., starting with?] Heaven... (He *zun* [6014])

¹ My punctuation and reading of this inscription differs somewhat from that given in the AS database. That source places a break between *gao* 高 and *jiu* 処, in which case “Jiushan” 処山 would likely be the name of the recipient of the gift detailed in the next part of the inscription. I differ also in taking *jiu* here as standing for *chu* 處, “place” or “to stop/dwell at,” a reading followed by the AS database in its transcription of the later Ejun Qi *chejie* 鄂君啟車節 (12110).

佳（唯）三月王才（在）成周，征（延）珙自彝（鎬），咸。王易（賜）德貝廿朋，用乍（作）寶彝彝。

It was the third month; the king was at Chengzhou. [He] extended the X? of King Wu from the city of Hao. When it was completed, the king awarded De twenty strings of cowries, with which he makes a precious, revered vessel. (De *fangding* 德方鼎 [2661])

This character is the root of an ongoing debate in the study of early Chinese inscriptions. The AS database identifies these, as well as several other similar but not identical characters, as the term *guan* 裸, referring according to its *Shuowen* entry to the pouring of a libation (fig. 7.1).² Some scholars, however, read the character *fu* 福, with the probable meaning of “allotments of sacrificial meat,” in place of the *guan* 裸 offered by the AS transcription of the He *zun* and, in at least one case, the De *fangding*.³ The occurrence of another, clearer form of *fu* would seem to complicate that reading.⁴

I am inclined to read the character in the He *zun* inscription, as well as in many of the cases that the AS database transcribes as *guan* 裸, as referring to a ceremonial pouring or presentation of liquor. The clearest evidence for that comes from the inscriptions of the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839) and the Ehou Yufang *ding*, the former dating to the reign of King Kang, the latter to the late Western Zhou.⁵ The Xiao Yu *ding* inscription gives a detailed, step-by-step description of a

² *Shuowen*, 6.

³ See Tang Lan, “He zun mingwen jieshi,” *Wenwu* 1976.1, 60-3, esp. 60; Li Xueqin, “He zun xin shi,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1981.1, 35-45, esp. 35; MWX, 20-1, n. 2.

Li Xueqin reads the He *zun* inscription in conjunction with that of the De *fangding*. Holding that the two inscriptions refer to the same event, Li draws the conclusion that the use of *fu* indicates the receipt of sacrificial meat apportioned from offerings made to King Wu at the western capital Hao; he correspondingly takes the *feng* here as *li* 醴, “sweet wine/sacrificial wine,” an established reading in the Western Zhou inscriptions. See Li Xueqin, “He zun xin shi,” 36-7; for a case of *feng* commonly read as *li* in the inscriptions, see the Chang Xing *he* (9455), glossed as such by AS. Ma Chengyuan, on the other hand, reads the *yan* 延 in the De *fangding* inscription as meaning that the king continued a process of offerings that had been begun at Hao; he reads the character in question as a case of *fu* 福 referring to these offerings rather than to the meat itself.

⁴ See for example the inscriptions of the Shenzi Ta *guigai* 沈子它簋蓋 (4330) and the Qi you 啟卣 (5410).

⁵ The Xiao Yu *ding* is considered a dating standard for the reign of King Kang, based on its mention of the prior kings Wen (presumably, based on the position of the “Zhou King” in the list), Wu, and Cheng; see *Sources*, 110;

ritual event staged to honor an early Western Zhou military commander known as Yu 孟 after a victorious campaign against a population called the Guifang.⁶ Liquor played an important role throughout the event, but especially in the second stage, the account of which appears below:

...□咸，賓即立（位）、鬲（瓚）賓。王乎（呼）鬲（瓚）贊孟，呂（以）□□□進賓，□□大采，三周入服酉（酒）。王各（廟），祝。征（延）□□邦賓，不（丕）鄭（裸），□□用牲畜⁷（禘）周王、武王、成王，□□卜有臧，王鄭（裸），鄭（裸）述，鬲（瓚）王邦賓。王乎（呼）□□令孟呂（以）區入，凡區呂（以）品。鬯若蠲（翌）乙酉，□三事大夫入服酉（酒）。王各（廟），鬲（瓚）王邦賓。征王令賞孟，□□□□弓一、矢百、畫一、貝冑一、金冪（盾）一、臧戈□□□□，用作□白（伯）寶障彝。佳（唯）王廿又五祀...⁸

...When...was finished, the guests took up their places. The guests were encouraged to drink.⁹ The king called for Yu to be urged to drink,¹⁰ using...approached the guests...

At the hour of “Great Allotment,”¹¹ the three Zhou entered and did service with liquor.¹² The king entered...Temple and performed a *zhu*-invocation. Reaching...the guests of the states, greatly poured libations (*guan*)¹³...used a sacrificial victim in *di*-offering to the Zhou King, King Wu, and King Cheng,...divination was auspicious.¹⁴ The king poured a libation (*guan*). Having performed libations (*guan*),¹⁵ the King and the guests of the states were

MWX, 41; *Landscape and Power*, 127, n. 98. On the dating of the Ehou Yufang *ding*, see the discussion of that vessel in chapter 4 of this work.

⁶ The Shang also had a history of conflict with the Guifang, who probably occupied part of northern Shaanxi province and may have been related to the Ordos bronze-producing culture; for a summary of the available evidence on this point, see *Landscape and Power*, 54-5.

⁷ I follow MWX, 42, in reading *chi* 鬯 here, and have adjusted the transcription accordingly.

⁸ I have substituted the character 鬯 for the corresponding AS font character in this inscription.

⁹ Following Ma in interpreting *zan* 贊 here as “to urge to drink”; see MWX, 43, n. 19.

¹⁰ See the previous note.

¹¹ Following MWX in reading *da cai* 大采 as the name of a specific time of day; see *ibid.*, n. 20.

¹² The identity of the “Three Zhou” is problematic; the phrase appears nowhere else in the body of inscriptions contained in the AS database. MWX leaves the character here rendered *zhou* 周 untranscribed; see p. 41.

¹³ Ma reads this character here as *lu* 廬, which he interprets as the name of an offering; see MWX, 43, n. 22. It is, however, clearly akin to many other cases of *guan* in the Western Zhou inscriptions (see Table 7.1).

¹⁴ MWX does not attempt to identify the characters rendered in the AS transcription as *bu you zang* 卜有臧; see p. 42.

¹⁵ MWX follows the *Shuowen* in reading *shu* 述 here as *xun* 循, indicating that the libation occurred “in compliance with the rites”; see MWX, 43, n. 24. I suspect the character may instead have been *sui* 遂, meaning “then.” The forms are orthographically similar; compare *shu* in the hand transcription of the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription 𠄎 with *sui* in the inscription of the Zhabo *ding* 柞伯鼎 [NA0076] 𠄎. The AS database transcription reads a case of *shu* as *sui* in the inscription of the Jinhou Su *zhong* 晉侯 魴鐘 (NA0878).

urged to drink.¹⁶ The king called on...to order Yu to bring in the captured items, all items [entering] type by type...¹⁷

In this inscription, the character in question forms part of a ritual sequence including livestock sacrifice to the ancestors, crack-divination, and substantial consumption of liquor. Its position relative to the phrase *bang bin* 邦賓, “the guests of the states,” suggests that it involved acknowledging living attendees in some form; given that its second occurrence appears immediately before a reciprocal toast between the king and his noble guests, it is quite likely that the acknowledgement in question included or was related to the toasting process. Its connection with the term *zan* 贊, here taken as the action of urging someone to drink, further supports the idea that *guan* involved the use of liquor.¹⁸

The relevant portion of the Ehou Yufang *ding* inscription leaves little doubt that the case of the character it includes referred to an action of ceremonial recognition involving liquor:

...噩（鄂）侯駸（馭）方內（納）壺于王，乃酈（裸）之。駸（馭）方奢（侑）王...
...The Marquis of E, the Border Protector,¹⁹ presented a *hu*-vessel²⁰ to the king and then performed *guan*-libation [toward him].²¹ The Border Protector toasted(?) the king...²²

¹⁶ The sense of this, I believe, is that they mutually exchanged toasts. For the connection between *zan* and *chou* 酬, see *MWX*, 43, n. 19.

¹⁷ Following *MWX*, 43, n. 25, in taking *qu* 區 as *ou* 毆, meaning “captured items,” and *pin* 品 as referring to the division of the items by type.

¹⁸ See note 9.

¹⁹ I follow Li Feng in translating the title *yufang* as Border Protector. See “Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders,” 222-3; see also Xia Hanyi, “Shi Yufang,” 97-109.

²⁰ While the AS database, along with Liu Yu, reads the character here 壺 as *hu* 壺, many scholars, including Chen Mengjia, Shirakawa, and Ma Chengyuan, take it as *feng* 豐, representing the character *li* 醴, meaning “drinking” or “sweet wine.” See Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1115; *Duandai*, 217; Shirakawa 142, 264; *MWX*, 281. My sense is that the relatively simple character appearing in this inscription is more readily identifiable with *hu* 壺 (taken here from the *Zuo Lü hu* 作旅壺 [9519]) than with the relatively complicated *feng* (several examples of which appear in chapter 3, fig. 3.1).

²¹ *Duandai*, p. 218, and Shirakawa 142, 264, agree with AS in reading this character as *guan* 裸. In this regard, *Duandai* follows Wang Guowei, “Shi ‘you,.’” Liu Yu, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de sheli,” 1115, and *MWX*, 281, refrain from identifying the character, though Ma’s explanation of the clause implies a definition of *yin* 飲, “to drink.”

²² The character here rendered *you* 侑 is sometimes given as *you* 宥 (see *Duandai* 154, 217-8; Wang Guowei, “Shi

In this passage, the character in question clearly takes the pronoun *zhi* 之 as its object, requiring that it must be a verb; the king is the most likely antecedent for the *zhi* in question.. That the Marquis performed this action immediately after presenting the king with a liquor vessel strongly suggests that the liquor played a role in it.

With these cases, one early and one late, as precedent, there is justification for reading the character forms in question as a ceremonial acknowledgement involving liquor; this conforms with the gloss of *guan* 裸 in the *Shuowen*, though the character forms are not precisely equivalent.²³ That reading probably held true for the inscriptions that begin this section, as well as for the many occurrences of similar characters in the Shang oracle bones.²⁴ The inscriptions

‘you,’” 5.); Some scholars feel that it indicates that the Marquis of E toasted the king (see Wang Guowei, “Shi ‘you,’” 6; *Duandai* 154, 217). Shirakawa suggests that it meant “to present”; see 142, 264. *MWX*, 281, identifies it as 侑 and glosses it as *bao* 報, “to repay,” based on the “Shi gu” chapter of the *Erya*. I have tentatively followed the first reading here.

²³ Many of the cases in question contain the graphic element 罍 (fig. 7.1). However, one apparently clear-cut case of the character *guo* 果 is known from the Western Zhou inscriptions; see the inscription of the Guo *gui* 果簋 (3474). The form of that character is similar to but clearly distinct from the elements found in the cases under consideration.

²⁴ For examples of relatively clear cases of the character in the OBI, see H00719r, H22630, and H41173, among many others. It is of note that the CHANT database distinguishes the character forms 1093C-E, which depict hands lifting up the vessel (as in, for example, character 1093E 禱 [禱]), the closest to the bronze forms under consideration here), from the series of forms (designated 1092, H1092A, 1093, 1093A, and 1093B) in which no hands appear. CHANT provides a custom transliteration for the former, while it transcribes the latter as *fu* 福, or, in cases in which the altar radical is absent, as the element 畀. This distinction is not observed in *JGWZGL*, which groups all of these characters together under entry no. 1123. That source rejects the *fu* transcription and favors the use of *guan*, but refrains from making a definite identification; see pp. 1072-8. (The above images of bronze characters are derived from CHANT and its accompanying fonts; see <http://www.chant.org>.)

It should be noted that, based solely on syntax, the Xiao Yu *ding* and Ehou Yufang *ding* cases of the character may have taken living humans as targets – the king in the latter case, and either the king, the guests, or both in the former. It is therefore theoretically possible that the inclusion of the altar radical *shi* 示 in the character, as in the OBI examples and the Yuzu Ding *you*, Wo *ding*, He *zun*, and De *fangding* cases, differentiated the action’s use as an ancestral offering (or, in the Yuzu Ding *you* case, an offering toward natural spirits) from its use toward living humans. Since the Xiao Yu *ding* cases are vague, however, and since the Wo *ding* case probably refers to an object, I am inclined to view the loss or replacement of the altar radical as an evolution of the character rather than a systematically applied distinction.

of the Shou Gong *pan* 守宮盤 (10168) and the two Bu Zhi *ding* 不指鼎 (2735-6), both of middle Western Zhou date, contain further cases.²⁵

There are, however, several cases in which the term apparently refers to a valuable object, usually one given as a gift. The Wo *ding* has already been mentioned; the Geng Ying *ding* 庚應鼎 (2748) and Maogong *ding* 毛公鼎 (2841) inscriptions provide early and late Western Zhou examples:²⁶

...丁巳，王蔑庚嬴麻，易（錫）鄠（裸）、鞞（璋）、貝十朋...
 ...On the day *dingsi*, the king performed *mieli* for Geng Ying, giving her a *guan*, a *zhang*-jade, and ten strings of cowries... (Geng Ying *ding* 庚應鼎 [2748])²⁷

...易（賜）女（汝）秬鬯一卣、鄠（裸）、圭、鬲（瓚）寶、朱市（芾）...
 ...[I] award you one *you*-urn of dark liquor, a *guan*, a jade *gui*-tablet, a *zan*-libation cup jewel, a red kneepad... (Maogong *ding* 毛公鼎 [2841])²⁸

Further examples appear in inscriptions dating to throughout the Western Zhou period.²⁹ The Rong *gui* 榮簋 (4121), in particular, pairs the character with *zan* 瓚 in such a way as to make it difficult to determine the grammatical role of the latter:

²⁵ The AS database dates all of these bronzes to the middle Western Zhou. The Bu Zhi *ding* probably date to the reign of King Mu; see the discussion of the two Bu Zhi *ding* in chapter 2. The Shou Gong *pan* is another middle Western Zhou bronze. MWX, 181, dates it to King Yi, as do *Daxi*, vol. 3, 93, and *Duandai*, 185-7; see also *Sackler*, 723, and Shirakawa 21.119, 495-507. The Wan *zhi* 萬觶 (6515), another middle Western Zhou bronze per the AS database (though *Duandai*, p. 127, assigns it to King Kang), contains a possible additional example; however, the unusual syntax of that inscription makes it difficult to determine the grammatical role of the character therein.

²⁶ The Geng Ying *ding* was probably produced under King Kang; see MWX, 36; *Daxi*, vol. 3, 43-5. The Maogong *ding* is generally considered a King Xuan-era bronze; see *Daxi*, vol. 3, 134-9; MWX, pp. 316-9; Shirakawa 30.181, 637-87; *Bureaucracy*, 85.

²⁷ On the likelihood that Geng Ying was female, see the discussion of *mieli* in chapter 4.

²⁸ The punctuation of this passage given here differs from that in the AS database inscription, wherein no serial comma is placed between *guan* 裸 and *gui* 圭.

²⁹ Specifically, the Shi Shou *ding* 史獸鼎 (2778), the Rong *gui* 榮簋 (4121), the Xian *gui* 鮮簋 (10166), and, potentially, the Guan *yi* 媯匱 (10177) (fig. 7.1). The Shi Shou *ding* is an early Western Zhou bronze dating probably to King Cheng or King Kang; see MWX 134, 90; *Duandai*, 2, 90; Shirakawa 7.33, 366-72. The Rong *gui* dates to the early Western Zhou, and probably to King Kang; see *Duandai*, 126-7; Shirakawa 11.59, 591-607; *Sackler*, 420. The Xian *gui* is a dating standard for King Mu by virtue of its description of an ancestral rite for

...王休易（賜）季（厥）臣父爨 鬲（瓚）王酈、貝百朋...
 ...The king beneficently gave his servant Father Rong a *guan* for urging the king to drink (*zan*)³⁰ and one hundred strings of cowries... (Rong *gui* 榮簋 [4121])

The characters *zan wang guan* 瓚王裸 may be read as a single phrase meaning “a *guan* for urging the king to drink,” as above, or as two separate items (“a *zan*-libation cup and a royal *guan*), as in the Maogong *ding* inscription. Precisely what manner of object the character refers to in these inscriptions is unclear; however, given its verbal uses and its close association with the term *zan* 瓚, it likely referred to a personal liquor or fluid vessel of some sort. The labeling of the Guan *yi* 媿匱(10177), with the single character 媿 provides some anecdotal support.

The character complex transliterated in the AS database as *guan* includes some cases that referred definitively to objects and some that were unquestionably meant to describe a ritual action. There seems to have been some confusion even among the Western Zhou scribes as to the grammatical function of the character and of the related term *zan*. In combination with the high level of morphological variance of the character, that has led to a diverse range of readings throughout the corpus of inscriptions containing it.³¹ Considering the above cases as a group reveals a coherent corpus of occurrences with substantial morphological and grammatical differences, but held together by a shared logic of use.

King Zhao; on this dating method, see *Sources*, 108. The AS database assigns the Guan *yi* to the late Western Zhou. The Guan *yi* inscription is a single character, making it difficult to judge whether it was meant as a noun or a verb.

³⁰ I here take *zan* as referring to the act of urging someone to drink, as *MWX* proposes for its reading in the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription (see above). A figure called Rong plays an important role in the events recorded on the Xiao Yu *ding*; it is possible that this was the same Rong and even that he had occasion to use the king's gift in the drinking events recorded on the Xiao Yu *ding*.

³¹ To give an extreme example, Ma Chengyuan reads the character in the He *zun* inscription as *fu* 福, that in the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription as *lü* 慮, that in the Rong *gui* as *jue* 爵, and that in the Shou Gong *pan* case as *guan* 裸, while he transliterates the Ehou Yufang *ding* case with no gloss. See *MWX*, 20, 21, note 2; 43, note 22; 84, 85, note 1a; 181, note 1; 281, note 3.

The earliest uses of the character as a verb in the bronze inscriptions, those dating to the late Shang or the reign of King Cheng, are consistent with its formulation as an offering to spirits, in which vein it often appears in the Shang OBI. Later cases are less clear; the Xiao Yu *ding* occurrences could either be offerings to spirits or recognitions of the living participants, while the Ehou Yufang *ding* case quite likely took the king as its target. Though sparse, this trend is in basic accord with the shifting of the bronze-inscriptional corpus away from records of ancestral-ritual offerings over the course of the Western Zhou period, as detailed in chapter 5. However, though it may have ceased to refer to such offerings, the term in question saw continued use as both noun and verb throughout the Western Zhou period. To avoid shoehorning it into the otherwise useful categories of “ancestral rites” or “rites of recognition,” I have therefore presented it here.

7.3: *Chai* 鬯/柴/崇

The inscription of the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (2837), an early Western Zhou vessel,³² begins with the narration of a royal warning against excessive drinking:


隹（唯）九月，王才（在）宗周，令盂。王若曰：「盂，不（丕）顯玟（文）王，受天有（佑）大令，在珷（武）王嗣玟（文）乍（作）邦，開（闢）𠄎（厥）匿（慝），匍（敷）有四方，𠄎（峻）正𠄎（厥）民，在𠄎（于）𠄎（御）事，𠄎，酉（酒）無敢醜（醜），有鬯（崇）𠄎（蒸）祀，無敢醜（醜³³）。古（故）天異（翼）臨子，灋（法）保先王，𠄎有四方...

It was the ninth month; the king was at Zongzhou. He commanded Yu, saying, “Yu, great and illustrious King Wen received the great command of Heaven’s blessing. When King Wu succeeded King Wen in setting up the states, he cut apart their ills, spread out and possessed the four directions, controlled and made upright their people; in the

³² Dating suggestions fall mostly into the reigns of King Cheng or King Kang, although Dong Zuobin dates the vessel to King Mu; see Shirakawa 2.61, 647.

³³ I follow *MWX*’s and *JC*’s reading of 醜 as *chou* 醜 (see *JC* 2837, *MWX* 62, 37-9, n. 8); I have altered the transcription accordingly. The translation follows this reading.

handling of affairs, ah! he did not dare to overindulge in drink, nor did he urge toasts when conducting the *chai* and *zheng* rites. Thus Heaven helped and looked down upon its children, molding and protecting the former kings, [spreading] out to possess the Four Directions...

In its explanation of King Wu's restraint, the inscription's recording of the royal command uses two specialized characters to describe his performance of ritual offerings (in addition to the more generic *si* 祀). One of those is readily identifiable as *zheng* 蒸, a term discussed in detail in chapter 2. The other is the subject of some disagreement. *MWX* identifies the character in question  as *chai* 柴, a term glossed in the *Shuowen* as "to burn firewood as an offering to Heaven and/or the spirits"; according to the "Shun dian" chapter of the *Shangshu*, the ancient emperor Shun is supposed to have performed this offering upon his arrival at Mt. Tai.³⁴ *JC* makes the same identification, transcribing the character as *zi* 𣎵 and glossing that reading as *chai*.³⁵ Shirakawa, on the other hand, refrains from identifying the Da Yu *ding* character.³⁶

The association of *chai*, or, rather, of the related character *chai* 柴, with royal ritual practices appears in all three of the major later ritual texts, the *Sanli*.³⁷ The "Jin li" 覲禮 ("Royal Audience") chapter of the *Yili* states that the burning of firewood was practiced as an offering to Heaven (*Tian* 天), while the "Chun guan" 春官 ("Spring Officials") chapter of the *Zhouli* assigns the national-level official known as the "Great Ancestral Elder" (*Da zongbo* 大宗伯) responsibility for *chai*-offerings to the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies.³⁸ It is mentioned

³⁴ *Shuowen*, 4; *Shangshu*, "Shun dian," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 127. The *Shuowen* entry for the character assigns this phrase to the "Yu shu." The character image here is after the AS database.

³⁵ *JC* 2837; see above.

³⁶ Shirakawa 2.61, 654-5, 673-4.

³⁷ The *Sanli* does not contain the character *chai* 柴; instead, it consistently uses the character *chai* 柴 as both noun and verb. Context makes it clear that many uses of the second character in the *Sanli* accord with the *Shuowen* gloss of the first; I believe the two can be considered interchangeable.

³⁸ *Shisanjing zhushu*, 757-8, 1094.

most often in the *Liji*, however, wherein its association with the royal house is strong. The king is said to perform a *chai*-offering before traveling to the four directions; to have offered *chai* at Mount Dai during his eastward patrols; and to have commanded the Four Supervisors to provide firewood (*xin chai* 薪柴) for *liao*-offerings.³⁹ Most notably for our purposes, the “Da zhuan”大傳 (“Great Account”) chapter of the *Liji* states that King Wu performed a *chai*-offering after his defeat of the Shang forces at Muye:

牧之野，武王之大事也。既事而退，柴於上帝，祈於社，設奠於牧室。遂率天下諸侯執豆、籩，遂奔走；追王大王亶父、王季歷、文王昌；不以卑臨尊也。

The field of Mu was the great affair of King Wu. When he had completed the affair and withdrawn, he performed a *chai*-offering to the High Lord (Shangdi), prayed at the altar of earth (*she* 社), and set up libations (*dian*) at the Hall of Mu. He then led the many lords from across the world in taking up *dou*-vessels and *bian*-baskets, returning, and rushing about, following the king [in making offerings to] the Great King Danfu; Wang Ji, named Li; and King Wen, named Chang; he did not place the base near the exalted.⁴⁰

This assertion is echoed in the “Wu cheng” chapter of the *Shangshu*.⁴¹ Evidently, by the time of composition of these portions of the *Yili* and the *Shangshu*, there existed a tradition that King Wu had performed a *chai*-rite as part of the ceremonies commemorating the conquest of the Shang.⁴² Perhaps these passages in particular have inspired the reading of the character in the Da Yu *ding* inscription as *chai*, given that term’s association with King Wu in the later texts.


³⁹ *Liji*, “Jiao te sheng,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1450; “Wang zhi,” 1328; and “Yue ling,” 1384, respectively. The “Ji Fa” 祭法 (“Methods of Offerings”) chapter also contains a line stating that the burning of firewood (*fan chai* 燔柴) was an offering made to Heaven; see *Liji*, “Jifa,” in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1588. Some associate the term *chai* with the term *liao* 燎, presumably because they both involve burnt offerings; see Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi*, 113-33, 138. Later in the chapter, I will discuss *liao* and will point out that, unlike *chai*, it was definitely used under the Western Zhou to denote a specific type of burnt offering.

⁴⁰ *Liji*, “Da zhuan,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1506.

⁴¹ *Shangshu*, “Wu cheng,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 184.

⁴² As one of the “old text” chapters, the “Wu cheng” chapter of the *Shangshu* is probably not of Western Zhou date; see Zhu Fenghan, *Xian Qin shi yanjiu gaiyao*, 41-2; Shaughnessy, “Shang shu,” in Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 376-80. Shaughnessy has argued that the “Shi fu” chapter of the *Yizhoushu* was in fact the work originally known under the name “Wu cheng” as part of the *Yizhoushu*; see *Before Confucius*, 37-40. Given the commonalities in the “Wu cheng” account and the “Da zhuan” chapter of the *Liji*, it is likely that the two shared a

Verifying the Da Yu *ding* character as *chai* is difficult, as comparable examples are in short supply. The *Jiaguwen heji* editors find no examples of the character *chai* 柴 or its frequent later substitute *chai* 柴, nor does the *Jinwen gulin* cite examples of either.⁴³ JC likewise identifies no further occurrences of the character in the bronze inscriptions. JC does, however, contain several other instances of *zi* 髭, all dating to the late Shang and used as name components;⁴⁴ *Heji* contains two cases of this character, glossed with the character form *zi* 髭.⁴⁵ As noted in the *Jiaguwenzi gulin*, these other instances of *zi* lack the additional top component *ci* 此 shown in the Da Yu *ding* character and contained in the character s *chai* 柴 and *chai* 柴.⁴⁶ Qiu Xigui interprets this as the addition of a phonetic component to clarify the identity of the character as *zi* 髭.⁴⁷

All told, we are left with no contemporary paleographic cases of the character *chai* 柴 or *chai* 柴 to support its identification with the character *zi* 髭/髭; and no alternate examples of the Da Yu *ding* character form  to support its identification as *zi* 髭/髭 – especially notable given that all other occurrences thereof form parts of names, while the Da Yu *ding* character clearly does not. The identification of that character as *chai*, and the concomitant assertion that the Zhou used the term *chai* to refer to a form of offering, thus rests on very shaky ground. Even if we do accept the gloss of the Da Yu *ding* character as *chai*, however, it will then be the earliest example of the (probable) use of that term to indicate a variety of offering, separated from its occurrences in the *Sanli* by a gap of several hundred years. Without further inscriptional

common source.

⁴³ *JGWZGL*, *JWGL*.

⁴⁴ See the *Jing gui* (3975), the *Zi ding* (1033), etc.

⁴⁵ *Heji* H27740, H27742; see *Jiaguwenzi gulin* 258, 316.

⁴⁶ See *Shuowen*, 4, 252.

⁴⁷ Qiu Xigui, “Du Anyang xin chu de niujiagu ji qi keci,” *Kaogu* 1972.5, cited in *JGWZGL*, 316.

evidence, no more can be done than to note that later tradition used the term *chai* to refer to a type of burnt offering often conducted by the king and generally targeted at the sky/Heaven (*tian* 天), mountains, and other natural phenomena; but the contemporary Western Zhou sources cannot corroborate that *chai* was performed in this manner under the Zhou. I have therefore listed it here in the Appendix rather than incorporating it into the main body of this work.

**APPENDIX 2
TABLES**

Table 0.1: The chronology of the Western Zhou kings¹

PRE-CONQUEST	
King Wen	1099/56-1050
EARLY WESTERN ZHOU	
King Wu	1049/45-1043
Duke of Zhou	1042-1036
King Cheng	1042/35-1006
King Kang	1005/3-978
King Zhao	977/75-957
MIDDLE WESTERN ZHOU	
King Mu	956-918
King Gong	917/15-900
King Yih	899/97-873
King Xiao	872?-866
King Yi	865-858
LATE WESTERN ZHOU	
King Li	857/53-842/28
Gong He	841-828
King Xuan	827/25-782
King You	781-771

¹ The dates given here follow those adopted in Shaughnessy, *Sources*, xix, and continued in Li Feng, *Bureaucracy*, xv. As in the latter work, periodization follows that of Chen Mengjia; see *Duandai*, 354, 491-524.

Table 1.1: Frequency of *xing* 姓 names in dateable Shang and Western Zhou bronze inscriptions (following the AS database)¹

<i>Xing</i>	(Shang)	Early Western Zhou	Middle Western Zhou	Late Western Zhou	Total W. Zhou occurrences
Ji 姬	0	14	33	74	121
Jiang 姜	0	11	24	43	78
Huai 媿	0	0	5	4	9
Ji 媿	0	7	8	22	37
Ren 妊	2	3	5	7	15
Yun 妘	0	1	1	10	12
Ying 嬴	0	1	2	0	3

¹ The dates followed in this table are those given in the AS database as of the date of compilation (December 2008). Inscriptions dated to “early or middle Western Zhou,” to “middle or late Western Zhou,” or to “late Western Zhou or early Spring and Autumn” have not been included. “Individual occurrences” refers to uses of the term in a single sense in a single document; multiple occurrences of the same term of address within a single inscription are counted once, as occurrences in duplicate or near-duplicate inscriptions.

Table 1.2: Western Zhou tombs with vessel assemblages from the Yu state cemetery at Baoji¹

Site	Tomb number	<i>Ding</i> 鼎	<i>Gui</i> 簋	<i>Yan</i> 甗	<i>Li</i> 鬲	<i>Zhi</i> 卣	Other bronze vessels	Ceramic vessels	Total bronze vessels	Date per report
Yu state cemetery, Baoji, Shaanxi	BZFM1 (looted) ²	4 (1 square)	5	1	2	1	1 <i>lei</i>	15 <i>guan</i> (1 proto-porcelain, 14 ceramic)	14	Cheng
	BZM1	5	3				1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>pan</i>	5 <i>guan</i> , 3 <i>li</i>	10	Kang
	BZM2							7 <i>guan</i>	0	Zhao-Mu
	BZM3	1	1					20 <i>guan</i>	2	Cheng-Kang
	BZM4	4 (1 square) (main), 3 (accomp.)	2 (main), 1 (accomp.)	1 (main)	1 (main), 2 (accomp.)	2 (main), 1 (accomp.)	1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> , 1 <i>pan</i> (main)	4 <i>guan</i> , 1 <i>bei</i> (cup), 1 <i>he</i>	16 (main), 7 (accomp.)	Zhao
	BZM5							8 <i>guan</i>	0	Mu-Gong
	BZM6							6 <i>guan</i>	0	Cheng-Kang
	BZM7	3 (main), 1 (accomp.)	2 (main), 1 (accomp.)			1 (main), 1 (accomp.)	2 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 2 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> (main), 1 <i>lei</i> ,	9 <i>guan</i> , 1 <i>lei</i>	13 (main), 4 (accomp.)	Kang-Zhao
	BZM8	1	1			1	1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>jue</i>	5 <i>guan</i>	7	Cheng-Kang
	BZM9 ³	2	2					2 <i>li</i> , 1 <i>guan</i> , 1 <i>dou</i>	4	Mu-Gong
	BZM10							4 <i>guan</i>	0	Cheng-Kang
	BZM11	1						5 <i>guan</i>	1	Cheng-Kang
	BZM12							6 <i>guan</i>	0	Mu or earlier ⁴

¹ These data are gathered from Lu Liancheng and Hu Zhisheng, *Baoji Yu guo mudi*, 2 vols., Beijing: Wenwu, 1988.

² *Baoji Yu guo mudi*, 41.

³ The excavators note that one *ding* and both *gui* from this tomb were made of tin (*xi* 锡); see *ibid.*, 468.

⁴ The excavators date this tomb relative to BZM5 and BZM9, which they assign to the period of Kings Mu-Gong; see *ibid.*, 269.

BZM13	7 (2 square) (main), 2 (accomp.)	3 (main), 1 (accomp.)	1 (main)		1 (main)	1 <i>dou</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 2 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> -ladle, 1 <i>he</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> , 1 <i>pan</i> (main)	6 <i>guan</i>	22 (main), 3 (accomp.)	Kang
BZM14	1	1					6 <i>guan</i>	2	Wu, Cheng, Kang
BZM15								0	Cheng- Kang
BZM16								0	Cheng- Kang
BZM17					1		3 <i>guan</i>	1	Zhao-Mu
BZM18	1	1					5 <i>guan</i>	2	Cheng- Kang
BZM19	1	1					4 <i>guan</i>	2	Wu, Cheng, Kang
BZM20	2	2				1 <i>he</i> -box	5 <i>guan</i>	5	Wu, Cheng, Kang
BZM21							5 <i>guan</i>	0	Cheng- Kang
BZM22							1 <i>guan</i>	0	Cheng- Kang
BRM1 甲	5	4						9	Mu
BRM 乙	8 (3 square)	5	1	2	1	4 <i>dou</i> , 2 <i>niao zun</i> , 1 <i>xiang zun</i> , 2 <i>zun</i> (round), 1 <i>you</i> , 1 <i>lei</i> , 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>dou</i> -ladle, 2 <i>hu</i> , 2 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>gai</i> - lid	9 ceramic <i>guan</i> , 1 proto-porcelain <i>guan</i> , 2 proto-porcelain <i>dou</i>	36	Mu
BRM2	6 (1 square)	5	1	3		2 <i>dou</i> , 2 <i>he</i> , 1 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>yu</i>	8 <i>guan</i>	21	Mu
BRM3 ⁵								0	
BRM4							5 <i>guan</i>	0	

⁵ The situation of BRM3 is quite unusual, in that it is very large, but contains almost no grave goods, and its occupant shows signs of having been strangled to death; see *ibid.*, 385-6. It is included here for completeness's sake, but it should not be taken as a useful example of elite burial assemblages.

Table 2.1: Vessels declaring *hui* 奉 as a purpose⁶

Vessel name	Vessel date (following the AS database)	Alternate performer	Performed at the behest of	Target	Blessings entreated	Place of discovery (following the AS database)
Ji Xin <i>zun</i> 季 盃尊 (5940)	Early Western Zhou				“Good fortune” (<i>fu</i> 福)	Liujiacun, Fufeng county, Shaanxi
Bo Hu <i>gui</i> 伯 梳簋 (4073)	Early Western Zhou			“His august deceased father” (<i>jue huang kao</i> 厥皇考)?	“Ten thousand years” (<i>wan nian</i> 萬年)	
Shi Chen <i>ding</i> 事 晨鼎 (2575)	Early Western Zhou					
Wei <i>ding</i> 衛 鼎 (2733)	Middle Western Zhou			Ji Zhong 己仲, Wei’s deceased father? (vessel dedicatee)	“Longevity” (<i>shou</i> 壽)	
Xing <i>zhong</i> 夔 鐘 (246)	Middle Western Zhou			"High Ancestor Duke Xin" (<i>gao zu Xingong</i> 高祖辛公), "Cultured Ancestor Duke Yi" (<i>wen zu Yigong</i> 文祖乙公), "august deceased father Duke Ding" (<i>huang kao Dinggong</i> 皇考丁公), "the prior cultured men" (<i>qian wen ren</i> 前文人) (?)	“Longevity” (<i>shou</i> 壽)	Zhuangbaicun, Fufeng county, Shaanxi
Yi <i>zhi</i> 趯 解 (6516)	Middle Western Zhou				"That the generations of [my] descendants should not dare to slacken" (<i>shi zisun bu gan chi</i> 世子孫不敢弛)	
Bo Jifu <i>gui</i> 伯 幾父簋 (3765-6)	Middle Western Zhou					Qiangjiacun, Fufeng county, Shaanxi
Du Bo <i>xu</i> (<i>gai</i>) 杜 伯盥(盞) (4448-52)	Late Western Zhou			"The august spirits of [his] deceased father and grandfathers" (<i>huang shen zu kao</i> 皇神祖考)?	“Longevity” (<i>shou</i>)	On the border between Hancheng and Chengcheng, Shaanxi (4448)
Hu <i>gui</i> 誅 簋 (4317)	Late Western Zhou				“Longevity” (<i>shou</i>)	Qicun, Fufeng county, Shaanxi

⁶ Vessel dates and places of discovery in this chart follow the AS database. Entries under “Target” marked with question marks are mentioned in the inscription, but do not act as the grammatical object of the verb *hui*.

Table 4.1: Instances of *mieli* in early Western Zhou inscriptions

Vessel name	Location	Venue	Chief performer	Target	Performed on behalf of	Gifts	Other ceremonies	Other people	Other important events
Bao <i>you</i> (5415), Bao <i>zun</i> (6003)	Zhou 周?		The king	Bao 保		“Treasure” (<i>bao</i> 寶)	“Offerings” (<i>si</i> 祀)	“The five marquises of the eastern states of Yin” (<i>Yin dong guo wu hou</i> 殷東國五侯); the Six Types (<i>liu pin</i> 六品 (per <i>MWX</i> , p. 23, n. 2); “the [representatives of the] four directions” (<i>si fang</i> 四方)? (following <i>MWX</i> , p. 23, n. 6)	The king orders Bao to travel to the eastern portions of the former Yin sphere of influence and eliminate the people of the Six Types
Tian Wang <i>gui</i> 天亡簋 (4261) ¹	[Pangjing?]		The king?	“I” (<i>yu</i> 于) (i.e., Tian Wang 天亡)			<i>Fenglli</i> 豐/禮; “offerings” (<i>si</i> 祀)	King Wen (<i>Wen Wang</i> 文王); the High Lord (<i>Shang Di</i> 上帝); the Yin kings (<i>Yin wang</i> 殷王)	
Geng Ying <i>you</i> 庚嬴卣 (5426)		Geng Ying's palace/office (Geng Ying gong 庚嬴宮)	The king	Geng Ying 庚嬴		Cowries (ten strings); cinnabar (one tube) (<i>dan yi gan</i> ? 丹一楛) (following <i>MWX</i> , p. 37, n. 2, in reading 楛 as a loan for <i>guan</i> 管, “tube”)			
Geng Ying <i>ding</i> 庚嬴鼎 (2748)		The Zhou Palace (Zhougong 瓏宮)?	The king	Geng Ying 庚嬴		A <i>zhang</i> -jade 璋, a <i>guan</i> -cup 裸 (<i>MWX</i> reads this character as <i>jue</i> 爵; see <i>MWX</i> , p. 37), cowries (ten strings)			The king enters the Zhou Palace for “great affairs” (<i>yishi</i> 衣事) ²
Yu <i>gui</i> 敬簋 (4166)	Zhou	The Great Hall (Taishi 太室)	The king	Yu 敬		A dark jacket and a red robe (<i>xuan yi chi gun</i> 玄衣赤袞)			
Yu <i>ding</i> 寓鼎 (2756)	Pangjing?		The king	Document Maker Yu (Zuoce Yu 作册寓)	The great men (<i>da ren</i> 大人)?	Unclear		The great men (<i>da ren</i> 大人)	The king sends Yu to assist the great men (<i>da ren</i> 大人)

¹ This inscription uses the term *mie* 蔑 by itself, without *li* 歷; the situation generally accords with the use of *mieli* in other inscriptions.

² Following *MWX* in reading *yi* as *yin* 殷; see p. 37, n. 2.

Xiaochen Lai <i>gui</i> 小 臣速簋 (4238-9)		The Mu Encampment (<i>Mu Shi</i> 牧師)	Elder Father Mao (<i>Bo Maofu</i> 伯懋 父)?	Petty Minister Lai (<i>Xiaochen Lai</i> 小臣速)	The king	Cowries		The Eastern Yi (<i>Dong Yi</i> 東夷); the Eight Armies of Yin (<i>Yin Ba Shi</i> 殷八師); "the armies" (<i>shi</i> 師)	Elder Father Mao leads the Eight Armies of Yin on a campaign against the Eastern Yi people
Jing <i>you</i> 競 卣 (5425)	Pi 坯	"The bureau" (<i>guan</i> 官)	Elder Father Xi (<i>Bo Xifu</i> 伯犀父)	Jing 競		A <i>zhang</i> -jade 璋		The Cheng Armies (<i>Cheng shi</i> 成 師); the Southern Yi (<i>Nan Yi</i> 南 夷)	Bo Xinfu takes the Cheng Armies eastward to defend against the Southern Yi
Jing <i>gui</i> 競 簋 (4134-5)			Elder Father Xi (<i>Bo Xifu</i> 伯犀父)	Yushi Jing 御事競		Metal			
Si <i>ding</i> 嗣 鼎 (2659)			Duke Zhai (<i>Zhaigong</i> 謙公)	Si 嗣		Horses		The king first (?) at Chengzhou	
Fan <i>gui</i> 繁 簋 (4146)			The Elder of Ji (<i>Jibo</i> 冀 伯)	Fan 繁	The Duke (<i>Gong</i> 公)	Twenty hides? (枝), cowries (ten strings)			The Duke (<i>Gong</i> 公) assigns Fan to accompany the Elder of Ji on an attack
Naizi Ke <i>ding</i> 乃子 克鼎 (2712)			The Elder of Xin (<i>Xinbo</i> 辛伯)	Naizi Ke 乃 子克		Silk (fifty <i>lue</i>)			

Table 4.2: Instances of *mieli* in middle Western Zhou inscriptions³

Vessel name	Location	Venue	Chief performer	Target	Performed on behalf of	Gifts	Other ceremonies	Other people	Other important events
Shi Wang <i>ding</i> 師望鼎 (2812)			The king	"The descendants of the sagely man" (<i>sheng ren zhi hou</i> 聖人之後) (i.e., the descendants of Duke Gui (<i>Guigong</i> 兗公), including Marshal Wang, "scion under the Grand Marshal" (<i>Taishi xiaozi</i> 太師小子師望)		"Beneficences" (<i>xiu</i> 休)		The former king(s) (<i>xian wang</i> 先王); the Grand Marshal (<i>Taishi</i> 太師)	Duke Gui, Marshal Wang's deceased father, served under the former king(s)
Da <i>gui</i> 大簋 (4165)	Zheng 鄭		The king	Da 大		Livestock sacrifice (<i>sheng</i> 牲) (red, grain-fed), awarded by the king for use in the <i>di</i> 簋 (禘) offering to Da's father	<i>Di</i> / <i>chi</i> 禘/音		
You <i>gui</i> 春簋 (4194)			The king	You 春		Oxen (three)	"Offering up" (<i>sheng</i> 升)?		
Duan <i>gui</i> 段簋 (4208)	Bi 畢		The king	Duan 段		A large allotment of land (<i>da ze</i> 大則) ⁴	<i>Zheng</i> 蒸 ("steamed offerings"); "enjoyment" (<i>xiang</i> 享; "offerings" (<i>si</i>	Bi Zhong 畢仲 (an ancestor of Duan); Long Ge 龍覯 ⁵	

³ I have omitted the Shi Qiang *pan* and the Shi Yu *guigai*, since the *mieli* they describe are hypothetical.

⁴ On the reading of the character as *ze* 則 and its gloss as "an allotment of land," see *MWX*, 189, n. 4.

⁵ Following *MWX* in reading this as a personal name and the following character as *kui* 饋, "to give a gift"; see *ibid.*

							祀)		
Mian you 免卣 (5418), Mian zun 免尊 (6006)	Zheng 鄭	The Great Hall (Taishi 太室)	The king	Mian 免, a Supervisor of Works (<i>sigong</i> 四工)		A black leather kneepad with white hemp-colored band (following the reading in <i>MWX</i> , p. 179, n. 1)			The king appoints Mian as Supervisor of Works? (This inscription may relate to the appointment, or it may simply acknowledge Mian's status; the distinction is unclear from the inscription.)
Yi zhi 趯卣 (6516)	Zhou	The Great Hall (Taishi 太室)	The king	Yi 趯		Gathered jacket (<i>shi yi</i> 戔衣), black leather kneepad with white hemp-colored bands (see <i>MWX</i> , p. 179, n. 1, under the Mian zun), banner	Appointment ceremony, <i>hui</i> (萃) (entreaty)	Yi's father and grandfather/ancestors (<i>jue zukao</i> 厥祖考)	
Yi hegai 義盃蓋 (9453)	Lu 魯		The king	Yi 義		Cowries (ten strings)	Archery (<i>she</i> 射)		The king hosts an archery tournament in which numerous subordinate rulers participate
Mian pan 免盤 (10161) ⁶	Zhou		The king	Mian 免		One hundred containers of salt (<i>lu bai</i> X 鹵百 匱) (following the reading in <i>MWX</i> , p. 179, n. 1b)		The Document Maker and Interior Scribe (<i>Zuoce Neishi</i> 作冊內史)	
Shi Ju fangyi 師遽方彝 (9897)	Zhou	The Kang Bedchamber at Zhou (Zhou Kang qin 周康寢)	The king?	Marshal Ju (Shi Ju 師遽)		A <i>mian</i> (?) jade tablet (<i>mian</i> [?] <i>gui</i> 瑁 圭), four jade ring-ornaments (<i>huan zhang</i> 環璋)	"Feasting" (<i>wan/xiang</i> form 2 鄉)"drinking" (<i>li</i> 醴) (?)	Superintendent Li (<i>Zai Li</i> 宰利)	
Xian gui/pan	Pangjing		The king?	Xian 鮮		A <i>zhang</i> -jade 璋; three jade items for	<i>Di/chi</i> 禘/嘗; libation (<i>guan</i>	King Zhao (<i>Zhao Wang</i> 昭王)	

⁶ This inscription contains the simple character *mie* (穢) rather than the full phrase *mieli* 蔑歷. Based on the contents of the inscription, I believe the meaning is equivalent here.

鮮盤 (10166)						guan-libation (<i>guan yu san pin</i> 裸玉三品), cowries (twenty strings)	裸)		
Chang Xin <i>he</i> 長 甸 盃 (9455)	The City of the Lower Moat (<i>Xia Yu Ju</i> 下 澗 厓 [居]) ⁷		King Mu (<i>Mu Wang</i> 穆王)? (1); the Elder of Jing (<i>Jingbo</i> 井伯) (2)	Chang Xin 長 甸	The king (2)		Archery (<i>she</i> 射), "drinking" (<i>li</i> 禮) (?); "feasting" (<i>wan/xiang</i> form 2 鄉)	The Grand Invoker (<i>Da zhu</i> 大 祝)	The king holds a feast; the Elder of Jing and the Grand Invoker perform archery; after that, Chang Xin has his merits recounted and is assigned to the Elder of Jing. Whether both the king and the Elder recount Chang Xin's merits, or whether the king assigns the responsibility thereof to the Elder, is unclear.
Gong Ji <i>li</i> 公 姑 鬲 (753)		The ? Pond ([?] <i>chi</i> ? 池)	"The Heavenly Ruler (<i>tianjun</i> 天 君)" (the queen?)	Gong Ji 公 姑 (i.e., the duke's wife of the Ji surname?)		Fish (three hundred)	"Offerings" (<i>si</i> 祀)	Zi Zhong 子 仲	Zi Zhong fishes (<i>yu</i> 漁) at the ? Pond
Yin Ji <i>li</i> 尹 姑 鬲 (754-5)	The Zhou Forest (<i>Zhou lin</i> 繇 林)	The ancestral hall of Yin Ji (<i>Yin Ji zongshi</i> 尹 姑)	"The [Heavenly] Ruler" (<i>[Tian] jun</i> 天 君) (the queen?)	Yin Ji 尹 姑 (i.e., the Chief's wife of the Ji surname?) (to be identified with Gong Ji 公 姑?)		Five items of jade (<i>yu wu pin</i> 玉 五 品), three horses		Duke Mu (<i>Mugong</i> 穆 公)	Duke Mu builds an ancestral hall for Yin Ji
Si <i>gui</i> 肆 簋 (4192-3)			Rong 榮	Si 肆, etc.	The king	Flags with bells (<i>luan qi</i> 鑾 旂)?		"The distant states" (<i>wang bang</i> 往 邦)	The king sends Rong to perform the recounting of merits and issue commands and accoutrements to "the distant states" (<i>wang bang</i> 往 邦); Si is one

⁷ Following *MWX*'s reading of the third character 厓 as *ju* 居, glossed as "city/capital"; see *MWX*, 105, n. 1.

									recipient of the king's gesture
Shi Zai <i>ding</i> 師 𠄎 鼎 (2830)			The Elder Grand Marshal (<i>Bo Taishi</i> 伯太師)	Marshal Zai (<i>Shi Zai</i> 師𠄎)	The king?	A dark robe with fine embroidery (<i>xuan gun</i> [?] <i>chun</i> 玄袞 組 [𠄎] 純); a red kneepad (<i>chi fu</i> 赤市), a vermilion sash (<i>zhu</i> ? 朱 纁) (per <i>MWX</i> , p. 136, n. 6), a flag with bells (<i>luan qi</i> 鑾旂), the metal horse-girdle of a Grand Marshal (<i>Taishi jin ying</i> 大師金膺) (<i>MWX</i> , p. 136, n. 7), and a bridle (<i>you le</i> 攸勒), given to Marshal Zai by the king		"My august deceased father King Mu" (<i>zhen huang kao Mu Wang</i> 朕皇考穆王); "the former kings" (<i>xian wang</i> 先王); "a Grand Marshal" (<i>Taishi</i> 太師) (used to describe an accoutrement); "your sagely grandfathers and deceased father" (<i>nai sheng zu kao</i> 乃聖祖考); "Duke High Father (Hu?)" (<i>Gong Shangfu</i> [Hu?]) 公上父胡); "the former ancestors" (<i>xian zu</i> 先祖); "the descendant" (<i>sun zi</i> 孫子) (referring to Shi Zai, per <i>MWX</i> ; see p. 136, n. 13); "the martial servants [of the Elder Grand Marshal]" (<i>Bo Taishi wuchen</i> 伯太師武臣) (this may refer instead to the Elder Grand Marshal himself); "his (the Elder Grand Marshal's?) fierce grandfathers" (<i>jue lie zu</i> 厥烈祖); "my [i.e., Zai's] deceased father Guo (per JC) Jifu" (<i>zhen kao Guo Jifu</i> 朕考號季父)	The king rewards Zai, who served under his predecessor as well; the Elder Grand Marshal, Zai's superior, performs the recounting of merits for him.
Yu yan 遇 羸 (948)	"the Old Army" (<i>Gu shi</i> 古師)		The Marquis of Hu (<i>Huhou</i> 胡侯)	Yu 遇	Marshal Yongfu (<i>Shi Yongfu</i> 師雍父)?	Metal		Marshal Yongfu (<i>Shi Yongfu</i> 師雍父)	Marshal Yongfu garrisons his troops at "the Old Army [Camp]." He sends Yu to the Marquis of Hu. ⁸
Tun <i>ding</i> 屯 鼎 (2509-10)	Kang Wei 亢衛? ⁹		Kang Wei?	Tun 屯					

⁸ Shirakawa gives an orthographic argument for the identity of the Yu of the *Yu yan* and the X of the *X ding*; see Shirakawa, vol. 2, p. 182.

⁹ The role of the phrase Kang Wei 亢衛 in this inscription is ambiguous; it may refer to the person carrying out the *mieli* ceremony for Tun, or it may refer to the location of the ceremony. The phrase appears nowhere else in the AS database inscriptions.

X <i>ding</i> 𩇛 鼎 (2721)	Hu 胡		Qifu 其父	X 𩇛	Marshal Yongfu (<i>Shi Yongfu</i> 師雍父)?	Metal		Marshal Yongfu (<i>Shi Yongfu</i> 師雍父)	X follows Marshal Yongfu on an inspection of roads, arriving at Hu
Lu <i>gui</i> 𩇛 簋 (4122)			Elder Father Yong (<i>Bo Yongfu</i> 伯雍父)	Lu 𩇛		Red metal (<i>chi jin</i> 赤金)			Elder Father Yong comes from Hu 胡 and recounts Lu's merits
Ci <i>you</i> 次 𠂔 (5405), Ci <i>zun</i> 次 尊 (5994)			Gong Ji 公姑?	Ci 次		A horse, a fur coat (<i>qiu</i> 裘)		"The men of the fields" (<i>tian ren</i> 田人)	Gong Ji commands Ci to take charge of "the men of the fields" (<i>tian ren</i> 田人)
Ju <i>you</i> 𩇛 𠂔 (5411)	"the Old Encampment" ¹⁰ (<i>gu shi</i> 古師)		Marshal Yongfu (<i>Shi Yongfu</i> 師雍父)?	Ju 𩇛		Cowries (thirty <i>lue</i>)			Ju follows Marshal Yongfu to garrison the Old Encampment (<i>gu shi</i> 古師)
Lu <i>you</i> 𩇛 𠂔 (5419-20)	"the Old Encampment" (<i>gu shi</i> 古師) (see Ju <i>you</i> [5411])		Elder Father Yong (<i>Bo Yongfu</i> 伯雍父)	Lu Dong 𩇛 𠂔		Cowries (ten strings)		The Huaiyi 淮夷; the Marshals of Chengzhou (<i>Chengzhou shishi</i> 成周師氏)	The king sends Lu Dong to garrison the Marshals of Chengzhou at the Old Encampment, in response to attacks on the inner states (<i>neiguo</i> 內國) by the Huaiyi
Fan <i>you</i> 𩇛 𠂔 (5430)			The duke (<i>gong</i> 公)	Fan 繁		Ancestral temple vessels (<i>zongyi</i> 宗彝) (one set? Si 肆), chariot, horses (two)	<i>Di/chi</i> 禘/晉; <i>rong</i> (𩇛) (twice)	Duke Xin (<i>Xingong</i> 辛公)	
You <i>zun</i> 𩇛 尊 (6008)	"the Old Encampment" (<i>gu shi</i> 古師) (see Ju <i>you</i> [5411])		Zhong Jingfu 仲競父	You 𩇛		Red metal (<i>chi jin</i> 赤金)		Elder Father Yong (<i>Bo Yongfu</i> 伯雍父)	You follows Elder Father Yong to garrison the Old Encampment

¹⁰ I depart from the AS database transcription in reading the element 𩇛 here as *shi* 師, "army/encampment," rather than as *ci* 次.

Table 4.3: Datings of middle Western Zhou *mieli* inscriptions¹¹

Vessel name	Date per MWX	Date per Shirakawa	Date per <i>Duandai</i>	Other	Royal or non-royal?
Si <i>gui</i> 肆簋 (4192-3)	King Zhao (124)		King Zhao (94)		Non-royal (on behalf)
Lu <i>you</i> 淩卣 (5419-20)		Probably King Zhao (17: 205 [5419])	King Kang (see p. 2)	King Mu (<i>Daxi</i> 33b); King Mu? See <i>Bureaucracy</i> 226, n. 40	Non-royal
Yin Ji <i>li</i> 尹姑鬲 (754-5)	King Xiao (316) (vessel 755)	King Zhao (72, pp. 800-1)	King Zhao (97)		Royal (queen)?
Gong Ji <i>li</i> 公姑鬲 (753)		King Zhao (72, pp. 800-1 [by connection with the Yin Ji <i>ding</i>])	King Zhao (98)		Royal (queen)? ¹²
Ci <i>you</i> 次卣 (5405), Ci <i>zun</i> 次尊 (5994)		King Zhao (72, p. 800-1, 806 [by connection with the Gong Ji <i>li</i> and the Yin Ji <i>li</i>])	King Zhao (see p. 2)	<i>Zhoujin</i> 2.34.3, 5.90.1 (5405)	Non-royal
Chang Xin <i>he</i> 長由盃 (9455)	King Mu (163)	King Mu (19:103)	King Mu (103)	King Mu standard vessel (see <i>Sources</i> , pp. 110-1)	Royal?
Xian <i>gui/pan</i> 鮮盤 (10166)				<i>Ouyi</i> 108; King Mu (<i>Xi Zhou qingtongqi fenqi duandai yanjiu</i> , p. 60); dating standard for King Mu ; but see <i>Sources</i> , p. 285, for a King Xuan dating	Royal?
Yu <i>yan</i> 遇卣 (948)	King Mu (183)	King Zhao-King Mu? (see note 26)	King Kang (78)	King Mu (<i>Daxi</i> 32a)	Non-royal
X <i>ding</i> 𩇛鼎 (2721)	King Mu (184)	King Zhao-King Mu? (see note 26)	King Kang (see p. 2)	King Mu (<i>Daxi</i> 31b)	Non-royal
Lu <i>gui</i> 淩簋 (4122)	King Mu (175)	King Zhao-King Mu? (see note 26)	King Kang (see p. 2)	King Mu (<i>Daxi</i> 34b); see <i>Bureaucracy</i> 226, n. 40	Non-royal
Ju <i>you</i> 稽卣 (5411)	King Mu (182)	King Zhao-King Mu? (see note 26)		King Mu (<i>Daxi</i> 32b)	Non-royal
Fan <i>you</i> 繁卣 (5430)	King Mu (191)				Non-royal

¹¹ This chart includes many inscriptions often dated to the reign of King Zhao. Though the standard periodization of the Western Zhou period assigns King Zhao to the late phase of the early Western Zhou and his successor, King Mu, to the early phase of the middle Western Zhou, this study has found that certain important changes in the royal practice of ritual suggest that King Zhao's administration was in many ways different from its predecessors; see chapter 5.

¹² On the possibility that the Yin Ji *li* and Gong Ji *li* inscriptions record *mieli* performed by the Zhou queen for the wife of a lesser lord, see Shirakawa 72, p. 802.

You <i>zun</i> 鬲尊 (6008)	King Mu (186)	King Zhao-King Mu? (see note 26)	King Kang (see p. 2)	King Mu (<i>Daxi</i> 33a)	Non-royal
You <i>gui</i> 簠簋 (4194)		King Mu (18: 238)	King Zhao (96)		Royal
Da <i>gui</i> 大簋 (4165)	King Yi 夷 (393)	Kings Mu-Gong (118, pp. 491-4)	King Gong (121)	On the dating of this bronze, see chapter 2, n. 22.	Royal
Shi Ju <i>fangyi</i> 師遽方彝 (9897)	King Gong (197)	Early King Mu? (19:99, p. 303)	King Gong (115)	See <i>Bureaucracy</i> 231, n. 50 (either Mu or Gong)	Royal?
Shi Zai <i>ding</i> 師釁鼎 (2830)	King Gong (202)	King Gong or King Xiao (appendix, vessel 9)		<i>Bureaucracy</i> : King Gong (p. 338); <i>Wenwu</i> 1975.8 (King Gong) ¹³	Non-royal (on behalf)
Shi Wang <i>ding</i> 師望鼎 (2812)	King Gong (213)	Probably King Gong (22:130)		See <i>Bureaucracy</i> 227, n. 41; Kings Yih-Xiao	Royal
Duan <i>gui</i> 段簋 (4208)	King Yih 懿 (261)	King Zhao (14:74)			Royal
Mian <i>you</i> 免卣 (5418), Mian <i>zun</i> 免尊 (6006)	King Yih 懿 (249) (vessel 6006)	Kings Gong-Yih (21:115)	King Yih 懿 (183) (vessel 6006)		Royal
Yi <i>zhi</i> 趯卣 (6516)	King Yih 懿 (248)	King Gong (21:114)	King Yih 懿 (132)		Royal
Yi <i>hegai</i> 義盃蓋 (9453)				Late Zhou dynasty (<i>Kaogu</i> 1986.11); see note 92	Royal
Mian <i>pan</i> 免盤 (10161) ¹⁴	King Yih 懿 (250)	Kings Gong-Yih (21:115)	King Yih 懿 (131)		Royal
Tun <i>ding</i> 屯鼎 (2509-10)				<i>Sandai</i> 3.27.2	Non-royal

¹³ Wu Zhenfeng and Luo Zhongru, “Shaanxi sheng Fufeng xian Qiangjiacun chutu de Xi Zhou tongqi,” *Wenwu* 1975.9, 57-62, 103-4; for the dating, see p. 58.

¹⁴ This inscription contains the simple character *mie* (穢) rather than the full phrase *mieli* 蔑歷. Based on the contents of the inscription, I believe the meaning is equivalent here.

Table 4.4: Instances of *mieli* in late Western Zhou inscriptions

Vessel name	Location	Venue	Chief performer	Target	Gifts	Other ceremonies	Other people	Other important events
Wu <i>gui</i> 敌簋 (4323)	Chengzhou	the Great Temple (<i>damiao</i> 大廟)	The king	Yu 啟	A jade <i>gui</i> -tablet 圭, a <i>zan</i> libation-cup 瓚, fifty strings of cowries, fifty fields of land at Han 畝, fifty fields of land at Zao 早	"Reporting" (<i>gao</i> 告)	Duke Wu (<i>Wugong</i> 武公); the southern Huaiyi (<i>Nan Huaiyi</i> 南淮夷); the Elder of Rong (<i>Rongbo</i> 榮伯)	The Southern Huaiyi launch an attack in the center of Zhou power, around the Luo river; Wu conducts a successful campaign against them, taking many captives.
Cheng <i>gui</i> 甬簋 (3912-3)			Fusheng 甬生	Cheng 甬				
Liang Qi <i>zhong</i> 梁其鐘 (187-92)			The king/Son of Heaven	Liang Qi 梁其			"[My/our] greatly illustrious august grandfathers and deceased father" (<i>pi xian huang zu kao</i> 丕顯皇祖考); "the former kings" (<i>xian wang</i> 先王); "the lords of states" (<i>bang jun</i> 邦君); "the Great Rectifier of the Lords of States" (<i>bang jun da zheng</i> 邦君大正) (a position to which Liang Qi is appointed); "the former cultured men" (<i>qian wen ren</i> 前文人)	The King appoints Liang Qi as "Great Rectifier of the Lords of States" (<i>bang jun da zheng</i> 邦君大正)

Fig. 2.1: The inscription of the Zuoce Yi you 作冊益卣 (5427) (after JC 5427, following the AS database)



Fig. 2.2: Selected instances of *zheng* in the bronze inscriptions (after the AS database)



Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (2837)



Gao you 高卣 (5431)



Duan *gui* 段簋 (4208)



Fifth-year Hu *zhong* 五祀詛鐘 (358)



Hu *gui* 誅簋 (4317)



Taishi Cuo *dou* 大師盧豆 (4692)



Ji *ding* 姬鼎 (2681)



Chen Gongzi Shu Yuanfu *yan* 陳公子叔原父甗 (947)



X Fu Ji *lei* 父己鬯 (9788)¹⁵



Chenhou Wu *gui* 陳侯午敦 (4646)

¹⁵ The X Fu Ji *lei* is a late Shang vessel, according to the AS database. It appears here for purposes of comparison, because the AS database glosses the “X” in its inscription as *zheng* 烝.

Fig. 2.3: Variants of the character *su* 𪚩 in the oracle bones (after *JGWZGL*), with the Xi Shi *zun* 𪚩士尊 (5985) character (after the AS database)

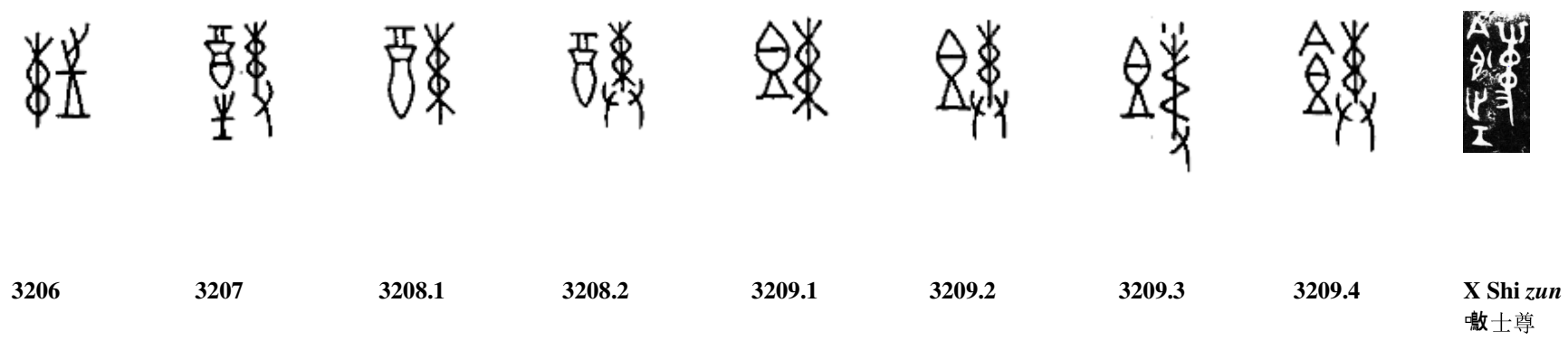


Fig. 3.1: Variants on *feng*/related characters in the OBI (after JGWZGL)

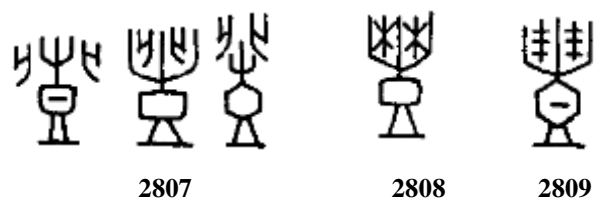


Fig. 3.2: Examples of *feng* in the bronze inscriptions (after the AS database)



Mai *fangzun* 麥方尊 (6015)



Tian Wang *gui* 天亡簋 (4261)



He *zun* 頤尊 (6014)



Fengbo *ge* 豐伯戈 (11014)



Fengwang *fu* 豐王斧 (11774) (*hewen* with *wang* 王)



Fenggong *ding* 豐公鼎 (2152)



Xiaochen Zhai *gui* 小臣宅簋 (4201)



Zuocuo Hu *you* 作册尪卣 (5432)



Chang Xin *he* 長由盃 (9455) (read in JC as *li* 禮)

Fig. 3.3: The inscription of the *Li juzun* (after *JC* 6011, following the AS database)



Fig. 7.1: Instances of *guan* 裸 in the AS inscriptions (after the AS database)



Yuzu Ding you 毓祖丁卣 (5396)



Wo ding 我鼎 (2763) (cover)



Wo ding (2763) (vessel)



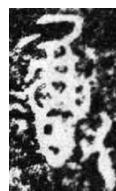
He zun 兕尊 (6014)



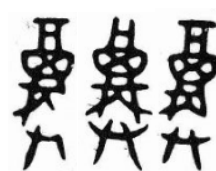
De fangding
德方鼎 (2661)



Geng Ying ding 庚嬴鼎 (2748)



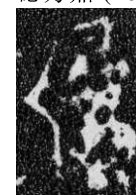
Shi Shou ding 史獸鼎 (2778)



Xiao Yu ding 小孟鼎 (2839)



Rong gui 榮簋 (4121)



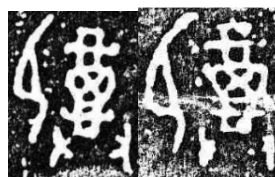
Shou Gong
pan 守宮盤
(10168)



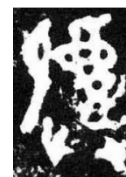
Bu Zhi ding 不指鼎 (2735)



Bu Zhi ding 不指鼎 (2736)



Xian gui 鮮段 (鮮盤) (10166)



Ehou Yufang ding 鄂侯馭方鼎 (2810)



Guan yi 媯匜
(10177)



Maogong ding 毛公鼎 (2841)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AS database: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan shiyusuo jinwen gongzuoshi 中央研究院史語所金文工作室, *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫 (“Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions”). Accessible at <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>.

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BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

Bureaucracy: Li Feng. *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Conggu: Xu Tongbai 徐同柏, *Conggu tang kuanzhi xue* 從古堂款識學, 16 juan, Shanghai: Tongwen shuju, 1886. Preface by Ruan Yuan, 1839.

Daxi: Guo Moruo 郭沫若, *Liang Zhou jinwen ci daxi tulu kaoshi* 兩週金文辭大係圖錄考釋, 8 vols., Beijing: Kexue, 1958. Page numbers refer to *shiwén* 釋文 unless otherwise specified.

Duandai: Chen Mengjia 陈梦家. *Xi Zhou tongqi duandai* 西周銅器斷代. Ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所. Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004.

EC: *Early China*

ECT: Loewe, Michael, ed. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*. Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993.

Guwenzi zhong: Chen Mengjia 陈梦家. “Guwenzi zhong de Shang Zhou jisi 古文字中的商周祭祀.” *Yanjing xuebao* 18-19 (1935.1), 91-155.

HJAS: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*

JC: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所, ed. *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成. 18 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984-94.

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- Jizuli*: Liu Yuan 刘源. *Shang Zhou jizuli yanjiu* 商周祭祖礼研究. Beijing: Shangwu, 2004.
- JL*: Liu Yu and Lu Yan 卢岩, eds. *Jinchu Yin Zhou jinwen jilu* 近出殷周金文集录. Beijing: Zhonghua, 2002.
- Jungu*: Wu Shifen 吴式芬. *Jungu lu jinwen* 攏古錄金文. 9 vols. Haifeng: Wushi, 1895.
- JWGL*: Zhou Fagao 周法高, ed. *Jinwen gulin* 金文詁林. 15 vols. Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue, 1974-1975.
- Kaogutu*: Lü Dalin 呂大臨. *Kaogu tu* 考古圖. In Song ren zhulu jinwen congkan chubian 宋人著录金文丛刊初编. Beijing: Zhonghua, 2005 (1092).
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- MWX*: Shanghai bowuguan Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan bianxiezu 上海博物馆商周青铜器铭文选编写组. *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwenxuan* 商周青铜器名文选. 4 vols. Beijing: Wenwu, 1986-90. Page numbers are in volume 3 unless otherwise specified.
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