

Würzburger Sinologische Schriften  
herausgegeben von  
Dieter Kuhn

Das Siegel *Weieribao Hanxue congkan* wurde von Herrn Wang Yugong in  
Beijing geschnitten.

Würzburger Sinologische Schriften  
Institut für Kulturwissenschaften Ost- und Südasiens – Sinologie  
Universität Würzburg, Am Hubland, Philosophiegebäude, D-97074 Würzburg  
<http://www.sinologie.uni-wuerzburg.de>

**Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek**  
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen  
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über  
<http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

**Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek**  
Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche  
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at  
<http://dnb.ddb.de>.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted  
in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy,  
recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in  
writing from the copyright holder.

© 2008 edition forum, Dr. Hans-H. Schmidt, Dantestraße 35, 69115 Heidelberg,  
Tel. +49 (0) 62 21 1385220, Fax +49 (0) 62 21 1385240,  
[schmidt@komplus.de](mailto:schmidt@komplus.de)

Printed on acid-free paper, 90g Munken Premium Cream 1.5 vol.

Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-927943-29-2  
ISSN 0938-6416

Perceptions of  
Antiquity in  
Chinese Civilization  
edited by  
Dieter Kuhn & Helga Stahl

edition forum Heidelberg 2008

*continued*

State	Title	Inscription	Reference
Huang	Huangzi 黃子	Huangzi <i>ding</i> 黃子鼎	KG 4 (1984): 319
		Huangzi <i>dou</i> 黃子豆	KG 4 (1984): 319
		Huangzi <i>li</i> 黃子鬲	KG 4 (1984): 320
		Huangzi <i>ku</i> 黃子壺	KG 4 (1984): 319
<i>Et cetera</i>			
Yue	Yue Wang 越王	Yue Wang Zhongou <i>jian</i>	WNB 4.22.1988, 2
		越王州句劍	
		Yue Wang Zhuzhi <i>mao</i>	WNB 4.22.1988, 2
		越王者旨矛	
		Yue Wang Goujian zhi zi <i>jian</i>	# 11595
		越王句踐劍	
Li:	Li Wang 呂王	Han <i>zhong</i> 黠鐘	XCH 279-281

**Table 2** Ranks of the Regional Rulers Reconstructed by Takeuchi based on the *Chunqiu* (Takeuchi, "Shunjū kara mita gotō shakusei," p. 44)

<i>Gong:</i>	Song 宋, Zhou 州, (Guo 號), (Yu 虞)*
<i>Hou:</i>	Qi 齊, Wei 衛, Jin 晉, Chen 陳, Cai 蔡, Ji 紀, Deng 鄧, Xing 邢, Sui 隨, (Lu 魯)
<i>Bo:</i>	Zheng 鄭, Cao 曹, Qi 杞, Xue 薛, Qin 秦, Shan 單, Mao 毛, Bei- yan 北燕, Zhai 祭, Fan 凡, Gu 穀, Hua 滑, Cheng 鄭, (Rui 芮)
<i>Zi:</i>	Zhu 邾, Chu 楚, Yu 莒, Teng 滕, Xiaozhu 小邾, Wu 吳, Dun 頓, Hu 胡, Zeng 鄧, Shen 沈, Liu 劉, Tan 鄆, Tan 譚, Wen 溫, Kui 葵, Gao 郛, Su 蘇, Lu 潞, Xu 徐, Rongman 戎蠻
<i>Nan:</i>	Xu 許, Su 宿

\* States in parenthesis added by author: Lu, Guo, Yu, and Rui. Although the *Chunqiu* uses the posthumous titles (*gong*) of the Lu rulers to form its chronological frame, the *Zuozhuan* indicates that the Lu rulers were called Luhou 魯侯 in the diplomatic scene. The rulers of the states of Guo and Yu were both referred to as *gong* and were active during the first century of the Spring and Autumn period before 655 B.C. The ruler of the state of Rui was referred to in the *Zuozhuan* as *bo*.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PHILOSOPHICIZATION OF ROYAL ZHOU RITUAL

LOTHAR VON FALKENHAUSEN

University of California, Los Angeles

### Contents

Introduction	
Case I: The Commentary by He Xiu on the <i>Gongyang Zhuan</i>	
The Textual Locus	
The Archaeological Evidence	
Case II: A Commentary Passage Concerning the Xiaoxu in the <i>Zhouli</i>	
The Textual Locus	
The Archaeological Evidence	
Conclusions	

### Introduction

It is widely acknowledged today that the traditional perception of China's remote antiquity rests on written sources of questionable reliability. Scholars realize that the not very numerous transmitted texts from the pre-Qin period were significantly reworked later on, and the accounts of early history in texts of later (in some cases, much later) composition all push their respective authors' agenda rather than making any attempt to convey historical truth. To separate authentic information from ideologically motivated additions, indigenous scholarship on the classical texts, especially since the seventeenth century A.D., developed sophisticated philological methods, and the early twentieth century Doubters of Antiquity (*yigupai* 疑古派) further energized the field by their healthy skepticism.<sup>1</sup> Shifting their focus from the transmitted texts to inscriptions and newly found

<sup>1</sup> For initial orientations in English, see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Joey Bonner, *Wang Kuo-wei: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986); Laurence A. Schmeider, *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History: Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1971); and Q. Edward Wang, *Inventing China Through History: The May Fourth Approach to Historiography* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 2001) (qq. v. for further references).

archaeological remains, scholars during the past one hundred years have been able significantly to reassess and refine our understanding of the early Dynastic phase of Chinese civilization. But even today, text-based treatments of that period often mix data of very uneven reliability, and are often seemingly more concerned with the sheer quantity of sources quoted than with their original context, likely date of composition, and position in extant filiations. The challenge of revising traditional perceptions of antiquity in the light of the results of rigorous applications of philology and new archaeological and epigraphic data is no less acute today than it was a century ago.

That the transmitted texts contain information of considerable historical importance is undeniable. It would be foolish to disregard them out of hand. Yet their reliability must be tested on a case-by-case basis. In this essay, I shall present two specific instances that illustrate how archaeological research can contribute to such an endeavor. Harmonizing archaeological and textual data has been high on the agenda of archaeologists, historians, and philologists ever since the beginnings of modern archaeology in China in the 1920s. Unfortunately, most of the time, the archaeological evidence is merely pigeonholed into ready-made, textually based schemes, resulting in tautological reasoning. To avoid this, I heartily endorse the great Xia Nai's 夏鼐 (1910–1985) insistence that archaeological research be conducted in an epistemologically independent manner.<sup>2</sup> “Getrennt marschieren, vereint schlagen” (march separately, strike jointly) must be our strategy if we are to verify (or falsify) textual information by means of archaeological material.

In the following, I shall present two cases in which recently recovered archaeological materials of pre-Warring States period date seem incontrovertibly to substantiate transmitted textual information. What makes these cases particularly interesting is the fact that the texts in question are not from any of the pre-Qin classics, but from their commentaries, written during, or in one case even after, the Eastern Han period (A.D. 25–220). Moreover, archaeological finds demonstrate that, in these two cases, the commentaries reflect situations that predate not only the commentaries themselves, but also — by several centuries — the composition of the texts that are commented upon. My main aim here is to describe this astonishing phenomenon. How nuggets of reliable early information on so much earlier times could have been handed down for centuries alongside with

the newer texts that were circulating during the Warring States (ca. 450–221 B.C.) and Han (202 B.C.–A.D. 220) periods is a question I cannot answer at present. I will, however, indulge in some preliminary speculations at the end of the essay.

### Case I: The Commentary by He Xiu on the *Gongyang Zhuan*

#### The Textual Locus

My first case comes from the commentary by He Xiu 何休 (A.D. 129–182) on the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (Gongyang Chronicle).<sup>3</sup> The context is an event recorded in the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) under year 2 of Huan gong 桓公 (710 B.C.), when the army of Lu 魯, in its campaign against Song 宋, obtained as its prize booty the large tripod of Gao 鄒.<sup>4</sup> The *Gongyang* commentary on this episode is concerned with the principle by which ritual vessels were assigned their names; for this tripod anomalously derives its name from its polity of origin and not from the person on whose behalf it was made. As always, the explanation proposed in the *Gongyang* is predicated on the assumption that the compiler of the *Chunqiu* meant to convey a profound political meaning by this formulation. He Xiu, commenting in turn on the *Gongyang* locus, describes how the Son of Heaven awarded vessels to vassals of different ranks. His commentary is, in this instance, not very closely related to the main text of this part of the *Chunqiu* or the *Gongyang zhuan*. The incidental information provided is, however, of great potential interest to those exploring the material manifestation of social ranks in Zhou (ca. 1046–256 B.C.) dynastic China.

<sup>2</sup> For details on the date of composition of the classical texts discussed hereafter, one may consult Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> *Shizongying zhushu*, new edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 4.20, p. 2214. Gao was a small polity in present-day western Shandong; see Chen Pan 陳槃, *Chunqiu dashi biao lieguo juexing ji cunmie biao zhuan* 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表撰異 (Sorting Records Different from the Table on the Major Events during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Table on the Ranks and Surnames and the Persistence and Termination of the Many States) (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo zhuankan: 25) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1969 [new ed. 1996]), pp. 196a–199a.

<sup>2</sup> Xia Nai, “What Is Archaeology?” *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 20.4 (1988): 58–67; originally published as “Shenme shi kaoguxue” 甚麼是考古學, *KC* 10 (1984): 931–935, 948.

He Xiu writes:

In performing sacrifices according to ritual propriety, the Son of Heaven (*tianzi* 天子) [uses] nine *ding* tripods, the Several Lords (*zhuhou* 諸侯) seven, Ministers (*qing* 卿) and Magnates (*dafu* 大夫) five, and First-Rank Gentlemen (*yuanshi* 元士) three.<sup>5</sup>

This is the only systematic statement of *ding* 鼎 tripod gradations in the classical literature. All other traditional commentators have not, however, accepted it as the ultimate wisdom on the subject, for when combining bits and pieces from various classical texts, one can find evidence for sets of tripods containing different numbers of vessels from those mentioned here. The anonymous subcommentary on this passage of He Xiu's commentary, for instance, mentions sets of twelve tripods and single tripods. It states:

This explanation accords with the *Chunqiu* and the *Shuowen* 說文, but the “Shanfu” 膳夫 [section of the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Institutes of Zhou)] states: “The king once daily presents the sacrificial victims of the twelve *ding* tripods;”<sup>6</sup> yet Mr. He does not adopt this. And the “Shi guanli” 士冠禮 and “Shi sangli” 士喪禮 [chapters of the *Yili* 儀禮 (Ceremonies and Rites), which give the protocol, respectively, for the capping ritual and the mourning rituals performed by aristocrats of Gentleman (*shi* 士) status] both mention [the use of merely] a single *ding* tripod;<sup>7</sup> [He Xiu fails to mention this] because the capping and mourning rituals of Gentlemen were omitted from the official sacrifices.<sup>8</sup>

The subcommentator seems to refer to the legend of the Nine Tripods cast by King Yu 禹 of Xia and handed down to the Shang (ca. 1600 – ca. 1046 B.C.) and Zhou as a symbol of the Heavenly Mandate, which is alluded to in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Chronicle) – though not in the *Chunqiu* itself<sup>9</sup> – and also forms part of the definition of *ding* “tripod” in Xu Shen's 許慎 (ca. 58–147) *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Script Explained and Characters

Elucidated).<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that both loci mention that Yu cast tripods using the metal donated by the Nine Guardians (i.e. the governors of the Nine Provinces [nizhou 九州] of Yu's empire, as configured in legendary cosmology); neither locus explicitly specifies the number of tripods cast. That there were nine tripods has, however, been conventionally understood in later classical scholarship, and the thrust of the subcommentator's explanation is that He Xiu basis himself on this legend in defining the king's sumptuary privilege. Basing themselves on the *Zhouli* locus cited by the subcommentator, other authorities have disagreed, assigning a set of twelve *ding* to the king. Dispute on this point continues even today.<sup>11</sup>

Unable to offer any solution to this debate, I would like to sidestep it here. The kernel of transmitted historical information I want to focus on is not the specific numbers of tripods per rank, or the maximum and minimum numbers of tripods assigned, but the principle of coordinating graded sets of (at least normally) an odd number of *ding* with specific social statuses; and of decreasing number of *ding* to the next-lower odd number as one descends the social ladder. This principle is clearly enunciated by He Xiu, and its existence during the Zhou period has been confirmed by archaeological finds reported since the early twentieth century.

#### The Archaeological Evidence

Guo Baojun 郭寶鈞 (1893–1971) seems to have been the first to notice archaeological evidence for odd-numbered sets of *ding* tripods at two Eastern Zhou period rulers' cemeteries in northern Henan, Luliige in Huixian 河南輝縣琉璃閣 and Shanbiaozhen in Jixian 河南汲縣山彪鎮, where he had conducted excavations during the 1930s.<sup>12</sup> For instance, Tomb no. 1 at Shanbiaozhen, thought to be the tomb of a member of the ruling family of the Warring States kingdom of Wei 魏, yielded a set of

<sup>5</sup> *Shisanjing zhushu*, 4.20, p. 2214.

<sup>6</sup> *Zhouli*, “Tianguan 天官: Shanfu 膳夫” (Sun Yirang 孫怡讓, ed., *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義, originally published 1908 (new edition Beijing: Zhonghua shujin, 1987), pp. 241–244.

<sup>7</sup> *Yili*, “Shi guanli,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 3.12, p. 956; “Shi sangli,” *Shisanjing zhushu*, 36.192–193, pp. 1136–1137; later in the same chapter, a set of three *ding* is mentioned (*Shisanjing zhushu*, 37.195, p. 1139).

<sup>8</sup> *Shisanjing zhushu*, 4.20, p. 2214.

<sup>9</sup> *Zuo zhuan*, Xuan 宣 3 (*Shisanjing zhushu*, 21.166, p. 1868).

<sup>10</sup> Duan Yucai 段玉裁, ed., *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, 7A.31a-b (new edition, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981, p. 319).

<sup>11</sup> Yu Weichao 俞偉超 and Gao Ming 高明, “Zhou dai yongding zhidu yanjiu” 周代用鼎制度研究, in Yu Weichao, *Xian Qin liang Han kaogu xue lunji* 先秦兩漢考古學論集 (Essays on Pre-Qin and Han Archaeology) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), pp. 62–114, base their reconstruction of Zhou sumptuary rules on He Xiu's system, while Li Xueqin (*Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*, K. C. Chang, trans., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 461–464) takes the *Zhouli* locus as his point of departure.

<sup>12</sup> Guo Baojun, *Shanbiaozhen yu Luliige* 山彪鎮與琉璃閣 (Shanbiaozhen and Luliige) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959).

ive *ding* of graduated sizes but identical in their shape and ornamentation.<sup>13</sup> At Luliige – the rulers' cemetery of Wey 衛 from the Middle Spring and Autumn to the Middle Warring States period – sets of nine, seven, and five *ding* were found in various tombs. At both sites, these graded odd-numbered sets were by no means the only *ding* buried in tombs; some of the tombs at Luliige, moreover, yielded several sets, the assemblage from Tomb no. 60, for example, comprising two sets of nine and one set of five, plus another set of miniature *ding* and a single very large *ding*. Which of these sets could be relied upon to define the tomb occupant's rank was not obvious. Guo noticed that in paired tombs of husbands and wives at Luliige (Tombs A and B from the Middle Spring and Autumn period and Tombs 60 and 55 from the Late Spring and Autumn period), the largest set of *ding* seen in the tomb of the wife each time numbered two items less than that of the husband. It was thus clear that, at least at the period represented by these tombs, the correlation of *ding* with ranks must have been more complex than what seemed to be implied by He Xiu's simple formula: aside from someone's rank in the aristocratic hierarchy, other ranking criteria, e.g. gender, clearly played a role as well. Guo also realized that sets of *ding* tripods were correlated with sets of bronze vessels of other types, notably *gui* 簋 tureens, *li* 鬲 tripods with pouch-shaped legs, *hu* 壺 water containers, and many others. In subsequent work, he continued to tabulate additional evidence as it became available, revealing considerable variation.<sup>14</sup>

Yu Weichao 俞偉超 (1933–2003) and Gao Ming 高明 (b. 1929)<sup>6</sup> comprehensively interpreted this evidence in their pathbreaking article on Zhou sumptuary rules, first published in 1978–79.<sup>15</sup> Based on a careful periodization of the material, they showed that *ding*-using practices evolved through time, becoming ever more complex as newly powerful social groups successively usurped the privileges formerly restricted to the highest echelons of the social order. This study stands as a very powerful example of how a historical narrative of ongoing shifts in the social order can be constructed from material evidence. Its interpretations have not, however, remained uncontested. Li Xuqing 李學勤 (b. 1929), for instance, explains the same body of data as a sequence of ephemeral elaborations

<sup>13</sup> Later research revealed that two additional *ding* from that set had been looted before excavation, and that it had been a seven-part set.

<sup>14</sup> Guo Baojun, *Shang Zhou qingongqian zonghe yanjiu* 商周青銅器群綜合研究 (Comprehensive Study of the Bronze Vessel Sets from the Shang and Zhou) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981).

<sup>15</sup> Yu and Gao, "Zhoudai yongding zhidu yanjiu."

within a sumptuary system that, once instituted in Late Western Zhou times (mid-ninth century B.C.), remained basically stable until the end of the Zhou dynasty.<sup>16</sup> Other scholars have questioned whether it is possible to infer the social order directly from *ding* sets buried in tombs, pointing out that these sets primarily reflected sacrificial practices and that changes in their grouping through time should consequently be viewed as the expression of religious developments.<sup>17</sup>

There is no need here to rehearse this debate in detail. Before briefly summarizing the information now available that is relevant to assessing the above-quoted He Xiu passage, let me summarize those points on which most scholars familiar with the evidence would now be prepared to agree. 1) Matching odd-numbered sets of *ding*, usually of graded sizes, were a reality throughout much of the Zhou period. 2) *Ding* constellations became more and more complex over time. Besides odd-numbered sets, additional *ding* often occur in a tomb; many tombs contain more than one odd-numbered set. 3) Sets of *ding* were an indispensable component of funerary assemblages in tombs of rulers of polities as well as other high-ranking individuals of both sexes; they were one among a multitude of material markers of social position in funerary contexts. Indirectly, at least, the rank indicated by the number of *ding* in a tomb reflects the buried individual's social persona while alive. 4) Different tombs at the same cemetery usually yield differently-numbered sets of *ding*, indicating significant social stratification within burying groups. 5) Although there is clearly some connection between the number of *ding* and a tomb occupant's social rank, the simple correlations offered by He Xiu do not do justice to the social diversity observable and may well be anachronistic. Or, perhaps, He Xiu refers to one specific stage in the development in *ding* usage over time – a relatively early stage, preceding the introduction of various complexities after the turn of the sixth century B.C.

In order to clarify what specific period might be reflected by the He Xiu passage, it is necessary briefly to trace the development of sets of *ding* through time. Even though the use of ritual vessels and especially

<sup>16</sup> Li, *Eastern Zhou*, pp. 461–464. See also similarly Li Ling, "On the Typology of Chu Bronzes" (Lothar von Falkenhausen, trans.), *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* 11 (1991): 57–113 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993).

<sup>17</sup> Lin Yun 林雲, "Zhoudai yongding zhidu shangqian" 周代用鼎制度商榷, *Shizue jikan* 3 (1990): 12–23. I am personally very sympathetic to this view in principle, but would nevertheless argue that the sacrificial practices are closely tied to social rank. For further analysis, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC)*, *The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006).

tripods as status symbols goes back to the origins of state-level civilization in China – perhaps even predating the origins of dynastic government – odd-numbered sets of *ding* of graduated sizes are a relatively late development. Yu and Gao's claim that such sets were in existence during Early Western Zhou times (ca. 1046–950 B.C.)<sup>18</sup> is questionable. The earliest clear instance known to-date is datable to the early part of Middle Western Zhou (late tenth century B.C.): a set of five unornamented *ding*, correlated with a set of four *gui* closely and no doubt deliberately resembling the *ding* in their overall shape, found among the funerary goods in the coffin of a sacrificed female buried with a ruler of the little-known polity of Yu 彀 in Tomb no. 1 at Ruijiazhuang, Baoji (Shaanxi) 陝西寶雞茹家莊.<sup>19</sup> The social significance and ritual usage of these vessels is still mysterious. Jessica Rawson has interpreted them as evidence of a “local, western practice” that came to be “more widely adopted in the Zhou metropolitan area” at a later stage.<sup>20</sup>

From ca. 850 B.C. onward, odd-numbered sets of *ding* tripods, together with even-numbered sets of *gui* treens, various other kinds of vessels grouped into sets, and chime-bells, became one of the hallmarks of a new system of defining the sumptuary privileges of different subgroups within the Zhou aristocracy. (Other hallmarks include the abandonment of certain old type vessels linked mostly to the consumption of alcohol, and the rise of new and simpler forms of ornamentation.) The institution of this new system forms part of what Jessica Rawson has identified as the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform – an attempt, apparently initiated by the royal Zhou government, to impose some stability in politically uncertain times.<sup>21</sup> The archaeologically observable changes in ritual-vessel assem-

blages are likely to have been only a small and perhaps marginal component of a comprehensive reorganization of the Zhou political apparatus. One important consequence seems to have been the redefinition of the ties between the royal house and the regional polities in outlying areas, some of which grew into increasingly important political players during the following centuries. From the late ninth century B.C. onward, signaling widespread adherence to the newly instituted code of political ritual, archaeological assemblages from all over the Zhou cultural sphere feature the standard sets of ritual bronzes defined by the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, including graded odd-numbered sets of *ding* tripods. Prominent instances preceding the middle of the seventh century B.C. come from the cemetery of the marquises of Jin 晉 at Beizhao, Quwo (Shanxi) 山西曲沃北趙,<sup>22</sup> where sets of five *ding* are normally seen in the tombs of the marquises, whereas their principal wives in the adjacent tombs were buried with three *ding*; and from the cemetery of the Guo 虢 lineage at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan) 河南三門峽上村嶺, where archaeologists have found sets of seven, five, three, two, and one *ding* in tombs of males and a similar tendency of burying females with sets of *ding* corresponding to the next-lower level in the hierarchical order.<sup>23</sup> Table 1 lists

the date, socio-political circumstances, and aesthetic aspirations of the reform; see Luo Tai 羅泰 (Lothar von Falkenhausen), “Yonguan Xi Zhou wanguo lizhi gongxi ji Zhunanghai qingongqi niandai de xin jianshu: cong shixi mingwen shuoguo” 有關西周晚期禮制改革暨莊白青銅器年代的新假說 – 從世係紋文說起, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue yu lishiye zhi zhenghe yanjiu* 中國考古學與歷史學之整合研究 (Chinese Archaeological and Historical Studies), ed. Tsang Cheng-hwa 臧振華 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 651–676; Falkenhausen, “Late Western Zhou Taste,” *Etudes chinoises* 18.1–2 (1999): 143–178; and Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*.

<sup>22</sup> “1992 nian chun Tianma – Qucun yizhi muzang fajue baogao” 1992 年春季天馬 – 曲村遺址墓葬發掘報告, *WW* 3 (1993): 11–30; “Tianma – Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudu di'erci fajue” 天馬 – 曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第二次發掘, *WW* 1 (1994): 4–28; “Tianma – Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudu disanqi fajue” 天馬 – 曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第三次發掘, *WW* 8 (1994): 22–33, 68; “Tianma – Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudu disici fajue” 天馬 – 曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第四次發掘, *WW* 8 (1994): 4–21; “Tianma – Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudu diwuci fajue” 天馬 – 曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第五次發掘, *WW* 7 (1995): 4–39; and “Tianma – Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudu diluoci fajue” 天馬 – 曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第六次發掘, *WW* 8 (2001): 4–21, 55; see also Jay Xu, “The Cemetery of the Western Zhou Lords of Jin,” *Archives Asiae* 56.3/4 (1996): 193–231.

<sup>23</sup> See *Shangcunling Guo guo mudu (Huanghe shuiku kaogu baogao zhi san)* 上村嶺虢國墓地 (黃河水庫考古報告之三) (The Cemetery of the State of Guo at Shangcunling, Archaeological Reports from the Water Reservoir of the Huanghe, no. 3)

<sup>18</sup> Yu and Gao, “Zhou dai yongding zhidu yanjiu,” pp. 78–86.

<sup>19</sup> Lu Liancheng 盧連成 and Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, *Baoji Yu guo mudu 寶雞國墓地* (The Cemetery of the State of Yu at Baoji) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 279–281 and pls. 153–154. All nine items bear the single-character inscription 兒 (‘?), of so far enigmatic significance.

<sup>20</sup> Jessica Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections, Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), pt. 1, p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes*, pt. 1: 110 *et passim*. See also Rawson, “A Bronze-Casting Revolution in the Western Zhou and Its Impact on Provincial Industries,” in *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys*, ed. Robert Maddin (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 228–238. Even though the changes observable in bronzes at the transition from Middle to Late Western Zhou had previously been noted by Rong Geng 容庚, Guo Baojun, Bernhard Karlgren, Hayashi Minao 林巴奈夫, and other scholars, Rawson deserves credit for having been the first to examine them in a systematic and historically informed fashion. I have been seeking to clarify

the ritual-vessel assemblages from these two sites and other representative examples from this period.

Until the end of the seventh century, the standard ritual-vessel and chime-bell sets instituted around 850 B.C. remained astonishingly stable in assemblage, shape, and ornamentation. In Qin 秦 on the northwestern frontier of the Zhou culture sphere, they endured even longer, until the Early Warring States.<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere, things became considerably more complex from the sixth century onward, when throughout the Zhou culture sphere ritual practices were affected simultaneously by increasing regional differentiation and by more accentuated socio-economic differences. As a result of this Middle Spring and Autumn Ritual Restructuring (to use a somewhat clumsy term I have coined for this phenomenon), we may observe, in the archaeological record, the rise of two distinct types of ritual-vessel assemblages.<sup>25</sup> At the highest level of the social order, the former standard groupings of *ding*, *gui*, certain types of other vessels such as *li* and *hu*, and chime-bells continue to be seen; the former object shapes, as well, are still recognizable, though the décor became more elaborate following the introduction of new styles and techniques of ornamentation. Such sets continue to occur in high-élite contexts all over the Zhou culture sphere; the Chu 楚 tombs at Xiashi, Xichuan (Henan)<sup>26</sup> 河南浙川下寺 and the above-mentioned Wey tombs at Luilige may be mentioned as examples, and there are many others (see Table 2). Ordinary aristocrats, by contrast, were buried with smaller numbers of less lavishly ornate vessels and in different, simplified typological constellations that differ from region to region and include an increasing proportion of vessels that are not derived from the “classical” ritual-vessel types of Shang and Western Zhou. Such “ordinary assemblages” are also seen in the ex-

ceptional high-élite tombs that contain the more traditional “special assemblages.” The differentiation of the two kinds of assemblages not only bespeaks the ever-widening gulf between the ruling lineages of Eastern Zhou politics and the rest of the élite, but also probably indicates the existence of two different kinds of rituals – new, somewhat simplified rites that were regionally distinctive and that were performed by all élite members regardless of whether they were members of ruling families or ordinary aristocrats, and the more traditional rituals that had been practiced since the time of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform,<sup>27</sup> and which remained fairly uniform throughout the Zhou culture sphere, but were now restricted to the very highest echelons.

As far as *ding* are concerned, they figured in both “special” and “ordinary assemblages,” accounting in part for the presence of multiple sets of *ding* in high-élite tombs after the middle of the Spring and Autumn period. But while *ding* of the “special assemblage” still formed odd-numbered graded sets as of old, the number of *ding* in “ordinary assemblages” throughout the Zhou cultural sphere fluctuated greatly; neither were they now necessarily odd-numbered, nor were their numerical constellations regular enough to allow distilling a rank order. Additional confusion is caused by the fact that many vessels found in Warring States period tombs – whether of the “special” or of the “ordinary assemblage” – were not meant to be actually used, but are replicas (*mingqi* 明器) made of inferior materials and/or at miniature scale, having thus been reduced to objects without great economic value, it is likely that their social meaning also became, to say the least, attenuated. As the traditional Zhou lineage system with its aristocratic hierarchy collapsed in the course of the Warring States period, the traditional vessel sets of Late Western Zhou derivation became obsolete. Ritual-vessel combinations in Qin and Western Han tombs are based on “ordinary assemblage” precedent; it should be emphasized that they do not reflect the Western Zhou standard sets in any way.

Another issue in need of brief discussion in connection with the He Xiu passage is the correlation of standard sets of *ding* with specific social ranks. It has been variously pointed out that the fivefold rank order of “Son of Heaven – Territorial Rulers – Ministers – Magistrates – Gentlemen” here alluded to does not reflect the historical reality during the Western Zhou dynasty when the odd-numbered sets of *ding* were first instituted.<sup>27</sup> This scheme is commonly encountered in Warring States period writings

<sup>24</sup> (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959); *Sannementia Guo guo mu* 三門峽魏國墓 (The Tombs of the State of Guo at Sannementia) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999); Li Feng 李峰, “Guo guo mudi tongqiyun de fengqi ji qi xiangguan wenti” 虢國墓地銅器群的分期及其相關問題, *KG* 11 (1988): 1035-1043.

<sup>25</sup> See Falkenhausen, “Mortuary Behavior in Pre-Imperial Qin: A Religious Interpretation,” in *Chinese Religion and Society*, ed. John Lagerwey, vol. 1, pp. 109-172 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> This is described in Falkenhausen, “The Bronzes from Xiashi and Their Owners,” *Kaogu xue yanjiu* 5 (2003), pt. 2: 755-786; “Social Ranking in Chu Tombs: The Mortuary Background of the Warring States Manuscript Finds,” *MS* 51 (2003): 439-526; and, most comprehensively, in *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*.

<sup>27</sup> *Xichuan Xiashi Chuanguo Chu mu* 浙川下寺春秋楚墓 (Chu Tombs from the Chuanguo Period at Xiashi, Xichuan) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991); Falkenhausen, “The Bronzes from Xiashi.”

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, Li Feng, “Feudalism’ and Western Zhou China: A Criticism,” *HJAS* 63.1 (2003): 115-144, particularly pp. 133-135. Li further refers to Gao Moruo 郭沫若, *Jinwen congkao* 金文叢考 (Studies in Bronze Inscriptions) (second edition, Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1952), pp. 50-53.

in ritual, and since these writings laid the basis for the discourse in which He Xiu's scholarship was lodged, it is quite natural for He Xiu to assume unquestioningly the normative validity of this fivefold rank order. In fact, however, the social situation was far more complex even during the period when the fivefold scheme is first textually encountered; it is perhaps best, at the present stage of research, to regard it as an abstraction imposed by intellectuals onto a society structured, first and foremost, by the principles of segmentary lineage organization, and in which an individual's social rank derived from his or her seniority in genealogical terms. As it evolved through time, such a system would have allowed almost infinitely minute shades of hierarchical differentiation that would have been very difficult to accommodate under He Xiu's five rough rubrics. The archaeological record in all its messiness seems to attest to a far greater degree of fineness.

At Beizhao, for instance, the marquises of Jin — known through their inscriptions to have occupied this rank — were normally buried with sets of five *ding*. Does this mean that a five-part set was the normal sumptuary privilege of a marquis during that time? But of the tombs that are likely to post-date the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, one (Tomb no. 91) features seven *ding*; is this an *ad personam* augmentation in rank, does it reflect a change in the position of marquises in general, or was it due to other reasons now unknowable? Does the fact that the heads of the Guo lineage buried at Shangcunling (whose rank is not made explicit in the inscriptions from that site) in several cases possessed sets of seven *ding* indicate that the Guo lineage as a whole outranked the Jin ruling house? Or did every lineage follow its own slightly different principles in composing the funerary assemblages for its deceased leaders? The latter possibility is suggested by the occurrence of seven-part sets of *ding* even at cemeteries of much less prominent (and undoubtedly lower-ranking) lineages such as the one that had its cemetery at Shangma, Houma (Shanxi) 山西候馬上馬.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps, the rank order given by He Xiu was meant to apply specifically to the Zhou royal house, and other lineages had their own analogous “family rules.” Currently, the evidence is not sufficient to resolve such issues with certainty.

But while there is undoubtedly a great deal of idiosyncrasy to the assemblages at every cemetery, it is also clear that the ritualists in charge were all following a set of basic principles by which hierarchical differ-

tiations could be materially expressed. Structurally, albeit not in its details of correlation, this system is strikingly analogous to that described by He Xiu, and I would contend that this cannot be an accident, even though He, living in the second century A.D., could not possibly have observed the Zhou sumptuary system in action. It is especially interesting that He Xiu's basis of reference is the sumptuary system promulgated by the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, which had been so considerably changed in the Middle Spring and Autumn Ritual Restructuring and had been completely abandoned by the late third century B.C. How could He have retained a perception of antiquity in tune with so much earlier realities? Before I offer my very tentative explanation, I would like to discuss another, similar case involving one of He Xiu's contemporaries and another scholar who lived a century later.

### Case II: A Commentary Passage Concerning the Xiaoxu in the *Zhouli*

#### The Textual Locus

My second example is a commentary passage attached to the section of the *Zhouli* concerning the Xiaoxu 小胥 officials in the Ministry of Rites of the idealized Zhou government described in that text. The Xiaoxu were allegedly in charge of arranging the “suspended musical instruments” (*yuexuan* 樂縣): tuned sets of bells (carillons) and chimestones (lithophones).<sup>29</sup> Following the general description of their duties, the *Zhouli* text explains the sumptuary system concerning the placement of assemblages — the Son of Heaven had them on all four sides of his temple courtyard, territorial rulers on three sides, *et cetera* — and then it concludes by defining the terms used to refer to full sets and half sets of these instruments. It is on this last point that I wish to dwell here. The *Zhouli* states: “Whenever one suspends bells or chimestones, half [a set] constitutes a *du* 堵, and a whole [set] constitutes a *si* 肆.”<sup>30</sup> The classic does not mention numbers of bells per set. This information is, however, provided in the Eastern Han period commentary by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (A.D. 127–200), who writes:

<sup>29</sup> For a preliminary treatment of what follows, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 202–205; I take the opportunity to correct some mistakes and revise the point of view proposed there in accordance with more recent archaeological discoveries.

<sup>30</sup> *Zhouli zhengyi*, p. 1827.

<sup>28</sup> *Shangma mudi* 上馬墓地 (The Cemetery at Shangma) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994); for an extensive analysis see Falkenhausen, “Shangma, Demography and Social Differentiation in a Bronze Age Community in North China,” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 3.3/4 (2001): 91–172.



As to bells and chimestones, one suspends them in order as two groups of eight, totalling sixteen specimens, yet on a single rack; they are called a *du*. One *du* of bells [combined with] one *du* of chimestones is called a *si*. If one divides this in half, this is considered [the sumptuary privilege of] Ministers, Magnates, and Gentlemen. Ministers and Magnates attached to territorial rulers divide in half [the sets of suspended musical instruments of] Ministers and Magnates of the Son of Heaven; they suspend bells on the west and chimestones on the east side [of their temple courtyard]. Their Gentlemen as well divide in half [the sets of] Gentlemen of the Son of Heaven; they suspend only chimestones.<sup>31</sup>

The interpretation of this passage has aroused considerable controversy. Taken literally, it seems to indicate that a *du* amounts to sixteen and a *si* to thirty-two specimens. But Du Yu 杜預 (A.D. 222–284), in commenting on a passage in *Zuozhuan* in which a meritorious general is awarded two *si* of bells, apparently bases himself on Zheng Xuan in stating: “*Si* 肆 means ‘arrange.’ Sixteen suspended bells constitute one *si*; two *si* comprise thirty-six specimens.”<sup>32</sup> If a *du* is half a *si*, as stipulated by the *Zhouli* text, it would follow that the number of bells in a *du* in Du Yu’s system is eight, half of what the literal reading of the Zheng commentary would suggest. This has been followed by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (A.D. 574–648) and other commentators on the above-cited *Zhouli* passage all the way through Jiang Yong 江永 (1681–1762) and Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908).<sup>33</sup> It seems relevant to notice that Zheng refers to both bells and lithophones suspended in conjunction (though he indicates actual numbers for sets of bells only), whereas Du is concerned exclusively with bells.

Based on epigraphic evidence, some nineteenth and twentieth-century antiquarians disagreed entirely with Zheng Xuan’s line of reasoning in interpreting the *Zhouli* passage in question. The inscription on the Lü 呂-*yongzhong* 甬鐘 chime,<sup>34</sup> a set of bells from the Jin polity dating to ca. 500 B.C. and excavated at Houtuci, Wanrong (Shanxi) 山西萬榮后土祠 in the early 1860s, mentions that “The great bells [amount to] eight *si*, with four *du* to match them” (*dazhong ba si, qi zao si du* 大鐘八肆，其造四堵). Finding it implausible that anyone during that period could possi-

bly have cast an assemblage of 160 bells (as according to Du Yu’s understanding of the term *si*, and assuming that a *du* was indeed half a *si*), Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835–1902) proposed that *si* and *du* were counters for individual bells,<sup>35</sup> perhaps distinguishing bells of different tonal range or musical function. A total of “eight *si* bells and four *du* bells” seemed to correspond to the twelve specimens of Lü-*yongzhong* known to Wu. It is now clear, however, that the chime comprised at least thirteen bells.<sup>36</sup> Casting further doubt on Wu’s theory, a set of bells with an inscription referring to an astoundingly large number of bells has recently been excavated from tomb no. 64 at Beizhao: the Chu gong Ni 楚公逆-*yongzhong*; the text mentions that their donor used 90,000 *jin* 均 of copper to make for himself *one hundred* units (the illegible character that follows “one hundred” probably was some kind of counter for chimes, such as *si* or *du*) of “harmonizing, compliance-inducing, beautiful bells.”<sup>37</sup> If the excavated eight-part Chu gong Ni-*yongzhong* chime constituted one of these one hundred units, and all the others equally comprised eight pieces, the total number of bells cast *at this one occasion* would amount to an incredible eight hundred! No bell assemblage of even remotely comparable extent has been excavated until now. Yet the 65 bells excavated in 1978 from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng 曾侯乙 (fl. 433 B.C.) at Leigudun, Suizhou (Hubei) 湖北隨州擂鼓墩,<sup>38</sup> which had been selected for interment from a

<sup>31</sup> *Zhouli zhengyi*, p. 1827.

<sup>32</sup> Du Yu *apud* Zuozhuan, Xiang 襄 11 (*Shisicajing zhushu* 31.249, p. 1951).

<sup>33</sup> The detailed views of these commentators are carefully discussed by Sun Yirang in *Zhouli zhengyi*, pp. 1827–1831.

<sup>34</sup> *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (Comprehensive Collection of the Shang and Zhou Bronze Inscriptions) (Beijing: Zhonghua shujū, 1984–1994), vol. 1, nos. 225–237 (q. v. for further references).

<sup>35</sup> Wu Dacheng, *Kezhai jigulu* 筌齋集古錄 (Catalogue of Antiques in the Ke Studio) (privately published, 1896; new edition Shanghai: Hantentou, 1930), 1.7–11. This opinion is duly considered by Sun Yirang.

<sup>36</sup> Ten bells of the chime are now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum, see *Shanghai Bowuguan cang Shang Zhou qingtongqi* 上海博物館藏商周青銅器 (Collection of Shang and Zhou Bronzes of the Shanghai Museum) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1964), no. 80; one is in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (*Gaogong tongqi tulu* 故宮銅器圖錄 [Catalogue of the Bronzes of the Palace Museum] [Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 1958], v. 2: 463), one in the British Museum (Perceval Yetts, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection, Catalogue of the Chinese and Korean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jade, Jewelry, and Miscellaneous Objects* [London: Benn, 1929], v. 1: 29 and 2: 43–49), and one, formerly in the collection of Liu Tizhi 劉體智 (ex Fei 費 collection, Wujin [Jiangsu] 江蘇吳進) is now unaccounted for. For a discussion of these bells and their inscription, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Ritual Music in Bronze Age China: An Archaeological Perspective” (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1988), pp. 1148–1155.

<sup>37</sup> Excavation reported in *NYW* 8 (1994): 5–10. The excavation context is visible in p. 5, fig. 2; the bells are depicted in p. 7, fig. 8.3, and color plate 2, and p. 6, fig. 7, provides a close-up of the inscription.

<sup>38</sup> *Zeng hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓 (The Tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989).

considerably larger assemblage of bells,<sup>39</sup> testify to the existence, at least by Early Warring States times, of bell chimes larger than anything Wu Jacheng ever imagined.

Still writing about the *Li-yongzhong* chime, Guo Moruo (1892-1978) refrained from assigning specific numbers to either *si* or *du*, but proposed that *si* referred to bells and *du* to lithophones. This interpretation seems possible in the case of the *Li-yongzhong* inscription, which indeed mentions "great jade chimestones" and alligator-skin drums alongside with bells,<sup>40</sup> but other inscriptions on bronzes datable from the Late Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period use either of the two terms in reference to bells.<sup>41</sup> There is, in conclusion, no good reason to question the traditional understanding that both terms could refer to both bells and chimestones, and that they referred to sets – *si* referring to a full set and *du* to a half-set. Very recent archaeological finds suggest, in fact, that Du Yu's understanding of Zheng Xuan's commentary on the *Zhouli* is correct, and that a full set of bells originally amounted to sixteen specimens, with a standard half-set amounting to eight; one must caution, however, that these numbers apply only to bell chimes and not to lithophones.

#### The Archaeological Evidence

Well over a hundred chimed sets of bells, many still playable, have been excavated in China during the past half-century. They testify, above all, to considerable change over time in the numbers of bells per chime. As in the case of *ding*, the assemblages became both richer and more complicated over the course of the Zhou period. In another significant parallel to the *ding* sets discussed above, the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, around 850 B.C., was crucial in setting the standards that were followed throughout the Zhou culture sphere for the following two and a half centuries; and even though considerable changes occurred thereafter, the standards established in the time of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform still underlie the practices during the two centuries or so following the Middle

Spring and Autumn Ritual Restructuring, down to the time of Marquis Yi of Zeng, whose bells and chimestones represent, as far as we know so far, the pinnacle in the manufacture of sophisticated, tuned musical chimes in ancient China.

As is now well known, some Chinese bells since sometime before the tenth century B.C. had been deliberately designed with the purpose of producing two distinct notes: one – the A-tone – by striking in the center near the rim, and the other – the B-tone – by striking it halfway between the center and the lateral edge. The interval between the two notes was practically always either a minor third or a major third, and bell-casters apparently determined what the interval would be before casting. As a result, a well-designed chime of bells could theoretically emit twice as many notes as it comprised bells. For reasons unknown, this "two-tone phenomenon" was abandoned sometime during the Warring States period, to be rediscovered very recently thanks to the fact that on Marquis Yi's bells, the names of both notes are inscribed at their respective striking points. Although bell-chimes continued to play a role in the ritual music performed at imperial courts throughout Chinese history, chimes manufactured after the middle of the Warring States period no longer embody the tremendous technical accomplishments evident in bells from the ninth through the late fifth century B.C.<sup>42</sup>

Under the impression of the finds from Marquis Yi's tomb, tone-measurement studies were undertaken on a sizable corpus of excavated bell-chimes in the late 1970s and 1980s. It became clear that during the Late Western Zhou and Early Spring and Autumn period (from the mid-ninth through the late seventh centuries B.C.) a standard set of *yongzhong* – the predominant kind of tuned bells in Bronze Age musical assemblages – comprised eight bells.<sup>43</sup> Invariably, only the six smaller bells in such

<sup>39</sup> See Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, pp. 244-255.

<sup>40</sup> It should be noted that no chimestones made of jade have been found archaeologically to-date. The word *yu* 玉 "jade" here either means "jade-like," or implies a looser definition of "jade" than would be acceptable to mineralogists today.

<sup>41</sup> Compare the inscriptions on the Late Western Zhou Duoyou 多友-*ding* (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*, vol. 5, no. 2835), the Middle Spring and Autumn period Zhu gong 柁公-*yongzhong* (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*, vol. 1, nos. 149-153), and the Late Spring and Autumn period Huan zi Meng Jiang 桓子孟姜-*du* (*Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*, vol. 15, no. 9720).

<sup>42</sup> See Lothar von Falkenhausen and Thomas D. Rossing, "East Asian Bells After the Bronze Age: Comparisons and Reflections," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium "Chinese Archaeology Enters the Twenty-First Century"* (1993) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 407-434.

<sup>43</sup> Huang Xiangpeng 黃翔鵬, "Xinshiqi he qingdongshidai de yizhi-yinxiang-zhiliao-yu woguo yinle fazhanshi wenti" 新石器 and 青銅器時代的已知音樂資料與我國音樂發展史問題, *Yinyue lincong* n. s. 1 (1978): 184-206, 3 (1980): 127-161; Jiang Dingsui 蔣定穗, "Shilun Shaanxi chutu de Xi Zhou zhong" 試論陝西出土的西周鐘, *KGYW* 5 (1984): 86-100; Li Chunyi 李純一, "Guanyu Shaanxi diqu de yinyue kaogu" 關於陝西地區的音樂考古, *Zhongguo yinyuexue* 1986.2: 46-54; Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, "Shang Zhou qingdong shuangyinzhong" 商周青銅雙音鐘, *KGYB* 1 (1981): 131-146; Asahara Tatsuro 淺原達郎, "San Shin jidai no shōritsu to san-punson eki-hō" 先秦時代の磬律と三分損益法, *Tōhō gaduhō* 59 (1987): 63-123.

eight-part chimes feature markers on one side near the rim indicating the striking point of the B-tone; the two largest bells in such a set were apparently not intended to be used as two-tone bells. Only the A-tones of these two bells, usually *la* and *do* in the reconstructible note-distribution pattern, seem to have been played during performances;<sup>44</sup> complementing them, the six smaller bells in each set emitted the four-note pattern of *mi-sol-la-do* repeated over three octaves (*mi* corresponding to the A-tone of the third, fifth, and seventh bell in a chime; *sol* to the B-tone of these three bells; *la* to the A-tone and *do* to the B-tone, respectively, of the fourth, sixth, and eighth bells) (fig. 1). The prevalence of this note-distribution pattern has been consistently confirmed by subsequent discoveries and studies.<sup>45</sup> About twenty such chimes are now known, including some instances of incomplete chimes that for some reason had been broken up before burial.<sup>46</sup> By the early nineties, therefore, it seemed reasonable to say – at variance with any previous understanding of Zheng Xuan’s commentary on the *Zhouli* – that a full set, a *si*, of Late Western Zhou *yongzhong* comprised eight bells. As I wrote at the time, “Sets of sixteen or thirty-two musical bells of any kind have not been seen so far.”<sup>44,47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The B-tones of these bells have also been measured, but were found either to coincide with tones also playable on other bells, or to be tones that were not harmonically related to any of the other tones in the chime.

<sup>45</sup> Li Chunyi, “Zhongyuan diqu Xi Zhou bianzhong de zuhe” 中原地區西周編鐘的組合, *Wenwu* 1990(5) (1990): 22-25; Li Chunyi, *Zhongguo shanggu chutu yueqi zonglin* 中國上古出土樂器綜論 (Musical Instruments from Early Antiquity Unearthed in China) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 177-245; Ma Chengyuan, “Jin hou su bianzhong” 晉侯蘇編鐘, *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 7 (1996): 1-17; Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Klangvorraat für die Nachwelt: Neun chinesische Bronzegeklöckel der Sammlung Peter und Irene Ludwig* (Heidelberg: Kerner, 2000); Wang Zichu 王子初, “Jin hou su zhong de yinyue xue yanjiu” 晉侯蘇鐘的音樂學研究, *WY* 5 (1998): 23-30; Wang Shimin 王世民, “Jin hou mudi bianzhong de zaitan” 晉侯墓地編鐘的再探討, in *Jin hou mudi chutu qinglongqi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 晉侯墓地出土青銅器國際學術研討會論文集 (Proceedings of the International Scholary Conference on the Bronzes Excavated from the Cemetery of the Rulers of Jin) (Shanghai: Shanghai bowuguan, 2002), pp. 303-313.

<sup>46</sup> Listed in Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 357-360 (q.v. for further references); for more recent finds, see Falkenhausen, *Klangvorraat*, p. 76, table 3.

<sup>47</sup> Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, p. 205.

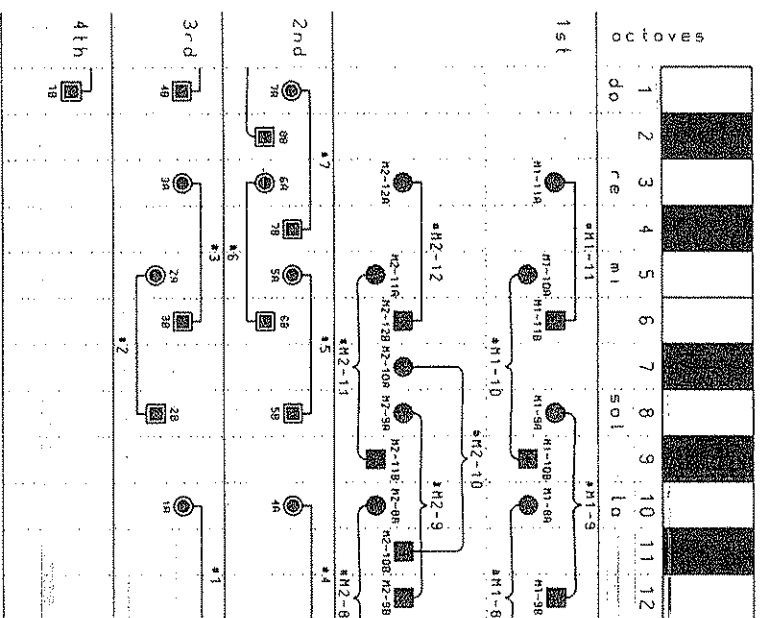


Fig. 1: Note Distribution in Late Western Zhou Eight-Part Sets of *yongzhong* Bells. From Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, p. 235, fig. 115.

Today, thanks to important new discoveries, this is no longer true. In addition to an ever-increasing number of sets of eight *yongzhong*, three sets of sixteen are now known from the two and a half centuries predating the Middle Spring and Autumn Ritual Restructuring. Two of these come from the Beizhao cemetery: the Jin hou su 晉侯蘇-*yongzhong* chime from Tomb no. 8,<sup>48</sup> which was assembled in the early eighth century from sev-

<sup>48</sup> Only two of the sixteen bells were excavated *in situ*, the others having been looted before excavations and purchased by the Shanghai Museum on the Hong Kong antiq-

eral older sets of bells, some if not all of them dating back to Middle Western Zhou times (ca. 950–850 B.C.),<sup>49</sup> and had a long inscription posteriorly engraved on them;<sup>50</sup> and an unscripted set from tomb No. 93, dating to the Early Spring and Autumn period.<sup>51</sup> In addition, there is the Zi Fan 子范 *-yongzhong* chime,<sup>52</sup> of unknown provenience but possibly from the important and hideously looted cemetery at Shangguo in Wenxi county (Shanxi) 山西聞喜上郭.<sup>53</sup> Twelve of the Zi Fan bells are now in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, but the chime originally must have comprised four additional bells, two of which are known through publications.<sup>54</sup> This chime can be dated on the basis of its inscription to the 630s B.C.

unites market. Excavation reported in *WY* 1 (1994), especially pp. 18-20 and p. 22, figs. 29 and 30; the fourteen looted specimens are published and discussed in Ma Chengyuan, “Jin hou Su bianzhong.”

<sup>49</sup> Four of the larger bells (Nos. 1, 2, 9, and 10) feature geometric decoration executed in faint raised lines, whereas the remaining twelve bells, including the two excavated *in situ*, have sunken-line decoration.

<sup>50</sup> This is exceedingly unusual; almost all genuine inscriptions on Western Zhou bronzes are cast at the time of manufacture. Carved inscriptions are usually an indicator of forgery, but in the present instance, the bells' well-attested archaeological provenience vouches for the authenticity of the inscribed text.

<sup>51</sup> Excavation reported in *WY* 7 (1995): 4-39; for drawings of one large and one small specimen, see p. 28, fig. 37.4 and 7; the context of excavation is visible in color plate 1.1.

<sup>52</sup> Zhang Guangyuan 張光遠, “Gugong xincang Chunqiu Jin Wen cheng ba ‘Zi Fan hezhong’ chushi” 故宮新藏春秋晉文成霸‘子範鍾’初釋, *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 145 (1995): 4-31.

<sup>53</sup> Shangguo was in all likelihood the burial place of the Jin ruling house after the succession shifted to the junior line of Quwo in 678 B.C. For preliminary reports, see Zhu Hua 朱華, “Wenxi Shangguocun gunmuqun shijie” 聞喜上郭村古墓群試掘, *San Jin kaogu* 1 (1994): 95-122; “1976 nian Wenxi Shangguocun Zhou dai muzang qinglijì” 1976年聞喜上郭村周代墓葬清理記, *San Jin kaogu* 1 (1994): 123-138; “Wenxi xian Shangguocun 1989 nian fajue jianbao” 聞喜縣上郭村1989年發掘簡報, *San Jin kaogu* 1 (1994): 139-153; “Shanxi Wenxi Qiujiashuhang Zhangguo muzang fajue jianbao” 山西聞喜邱家莊戰國秦葬發掘簡報, *KGYWY* 1 (1983): 5-11.

<sup>54</sup> One is in a private collection in Taipei (Zhang Guangyuan, “Gugong xincang,” pp. 24-25); its inscription doubles that of the largest bell in the National Palace Museum. The other was at one time in the T. T. Tsui Museum of Art, Hong Kong; it was resold at auction on September 18, 1997 (Christie's New York, *The Jinguantang Collection Part III* [New York: Christie's, 1997], No. 119); its inscription corresponds to that of the second largest bell in the National Palace Museum. (My sincere thanks to Dr. Thomas Lawton for directing my attention to this important piece of evidence.) Between these two and four others in the National Palace Museum, there is a gap of two

I was allowed to inspect and strike the Zi Fan-*yongzhong* in the National Palace Museum in 1995.<sup>55</sup> It was immediately apparent that the eight smallest bells form four pairs of bells that are entirely identical in size, inscription, and pitch. This suggests that the full sixteen-part set of *yongzhong* was conceived as a doubled eight-part chime, or a combination of two parallel chimes, each of which produces an identical tetratonic note distribution. The inscription text repeats in each of the two constituent sets of eight, continuing from one bell to the next; this indicates that each of the two chimes was separately suspended, possibly on two tiers of the same rack.

A similar situation is observable in the Jin hou Su-*yongzhong*, whose constituent bells – though, as mentioned, of heterogeneous origins – were likewise assembled in such a way as to yield two parallel chimes of eight. Again, the two chimes must have been suspended separately but near each other. The scratched-on inscription, unlike that of the Zi Fan-*yongzhong*, proceeds first through the eight bells of one group of eight and then continues to the next group; it is thus obvious which of the two sets was intended to be the first and which was the second. The tone measurements, as well, corroborate that the intention of those who brought the sixteen bells together was to create two parallel chimes of at least approximately identical tone distribution.<sup>56</sup>

The sixteen-part set from tomb No. 93 at Beizhao is said similarly to consist of two parallel chimes of eight, but the details are as yet unclear due to incomplete publication.<sup>57</sup>

The new realization that chimes of sixteen bells – in fact, doubled eight-part chimes – existed during Late Western Zhou times leads one to reconsider some previously-known materials. For instance, the two eight-part chimes from the hoard at Qijiacun, Fufeng (Shanxi) 陝西扶風齊家

bells that correspond to the third and fourth largest bell in the National Palace Museum set, and which may well be extant, though unpublished.

<sup>55</sup> Many thanks to Dr. Chen Fang-mei 陳芳妹 and Curator Chang Kuang-yuan 張光遠 for allowing me access to these priceless objects and permitting me to conduct aural testing.

<sup>56</sup> Wang Zichu, “Jin hou Su yongzhong.”

<sup>57</sup> The preliminary report in *WY* 7 (1995): 4-39, esp. pp. 26-27 claims that one of these two chimes consists of large bells and the other of small bells. Since the ornamentation on all bells seems to be identical, I wonder whether the report's division might be a misunderstanding of the tendency, common to all Late Western Zhou eight-part *yongzhong* chimes, to consist of four larger and four considerably smaller bells. Future research should examine whether this chime, as well, consists of two parallel sets of eight.

村, the Zuo 柞-*yongzhong* and the Zhongyi 中義-*yongzhong*; may also have been used as a doubled chime.<sup>58</sup> Their inscriptions show that they were originally separate, made by different donors (or possibly by the same donor using different names<sup>59</sup>). The ornaments on the bells of both chimes are virtually identical, but the size range differs slightly; and even though the note distribution pattern is identical, corresponding notes in the two chimes are about one semitone apart. Similarly, the two principal inscribed Late Western Zhou sets of *yongzhong* from the hoard at Zhuanghai, Fufeng (Shaanxi) 陝西扶風莊白, which now comprise seven and six pieces, respectively,<sup>60</sup> may also once have been jointly constituted into a double chime of sixteen. They were inscribed by the same donor, but with two quite different texts, indicating different times of manufacture. Here, too, the note distributions are identical in pattern, but corresponding notes are approximately one semitone apart from one another.

It has been speculated that this one-semitone divergence was deliberate and constitutes an early manifestation of *yin-yang* 陰陽 concepts;<sup>61</sup> more probably, however, it is due to technical limitations in manufacturing tuned sets of bells, and it suggests that in both cases, the two chimes were made on separate occasions. Western Zhou listeners must have been quite tolerant to out-of-tune bells – far more so, at any rate, than later listeners<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Originally reported in *Fufeng Qijiacun qinglongqin* 扶風齊家村青銅器群 (Sets of Bronzes from Qijiacun, Fufeng) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1963), pls. 24-39; see also *Shanxi chutu Shang Zhou qinglongqi* 陝西出土商周青銅器 (Shang and Zhou Bronzes Unearthed in Shanxi), vol. 2 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), pls. 142-149 and 156-163.

<sup>59</sup> This has been suggested by Wang Shimin, “Jin hou mudi bianzhong.”

<sup>60</sup> Originally reported in “Shaanxi Fufeng Zhuanghai yinhuo Xi Zhou qinglongqi jiaocang fajue jianbao” 陝西扶風莊白—號西周青銅器窖藏發掘簡報, *WW* 3 (1978): 1-18; for comprehensive illustrations, see *Shaanxi chutu Shang Zhou qinglongqi*, vol. 2, pls. 54-74. One of these chimes was originally reported as two separate chimes (sets II and IV), because the three smaller bells carry an abbreviated version of the long inscription appearing on the four larger ones. The six-part chime is the one originally labeled as set III. In my *Suspended Music*, these are designated as the Second and Third Xing 夔-*yongzhong* chime, respectively. The ornamentation of the bells in these two chimes differs in two respects: 1) in the Second Xing-*yongzhong*, the horizontal framed fields intervening between the rows of bosses are filled with abstract hooks, whereas they feature zoomorphic decoration in the Third Xing-*yongzhong*; 2) the B-tone markers are bird-shaped in the former, dragon-shaped in the latter.

<sup>61</sup> See Huang Xiangpeng, “Xinshiqi he qinglongshidai.”

<sup>62</sup> On this point, see Asahara, “Sen Shin jidai no shōritsu.” Lothar von Falkenhausen and Thomas D. Rossing, “Acoustical and Musical Studies on the Sackler Bells,” in Jenny F. So, ed., *Eastern Zhou Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, Ritual

— and probably were more interested in the metallic timbre than in the exact pitch of their bells. Conceivably, the occurrence of paired eight-part chimes at Qijiacun and Zhuanghai documents a stage of development preceding the time when such doubled chimes were (sometimes) manufactured all at once as full sets of sixteen. If so, the Zi Fan-*yongzhong*, which date to a relatively late point in this stage of chime-bell manufacture in ancient China, would come close to realizing the tonal ideal that was being aimed for.

By simply doubling up the tone distribution in standard sets of eight, the sixteen-part chimes did not provide greater musical richness. However, they considerably enhanced the loudness of the “metal timbre,” and, perhaps most importantly, they contributed to the dazzling display of their owners’ wealth and power. Their presence in some exceptionally privileged contexts during the two and a half centuries after the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, contrasting with that of half-sets of eight in other, still very prominent contexts, accords with Zheng Xuan’s remarks on the sumptuary rules concerning bells as clarified by Du Yu.

Yet, as in our first case study, one must note that these numerical constellations were no longer at all prevalent during these commentators’ own lifetimes. From the sixth century onward, bell chimes underwent significant change as a consequence of technological progress, as well as, no doubt, due to new requirements introduced by the Middle Spring and Autumn Ritual Restructuring. Not only did their ornamentation become more elaborate, but the accuracy of tuning increased as well. Due to the insertion of additional bells, it now became possible to play the pentatonic melodies of musical pieces in their entirety; from instruments delivering percussive accompaniment, bell chimes developed into fully melodic instruments, requiring, as a consequence, much greater virtuosity on the part of their performers. Tone-measurement studies have shown, however, that the *mi-sol la-do* note-distribution pattern first seen in Late Western Zhou eight-part chimes continued to be basic to the much more complex note-distribution patterns now observable;<sup>63</sup> this tetratonic pattern is present even in the main note distribution in Marquis Yi’s chimes, which provide a continuous dodecatonic gamut of notes over more than two octaves (fig. 2).<sup>64</sup> In tombs from the mid-sixth century through the end of the Warring

Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections, vol. 3 (New York: Abrams, 1995), pp. 431-484.

<sup>63</sup> The only known exception to this are the broken-up chimes now placed in the uppermost tier of the bell-track in Marquis Yi’s tomb.

<sup>64</sup> Wang Xiang 王湘, “Zeng hou Yi bianzhong yinlü de tantao” 曾侯乙編鐘音律的探討, *Yinyue yanjiu* 1 (1981): 68-78; “Zeng hou Yi bianzhong yinlü shice” 曾侯乙編鐘

States, the number of bells per chime is highly variable, no longer amounting to eight or its multiples.<sup>65</sup> Always a high-status item, “suspended musical instruments” are now restricted to tombs containing “special assemblage” bronze vessels; they became ever rarer as the rituals of the old aristocracy lost their social significance in the course of the Warring States period.

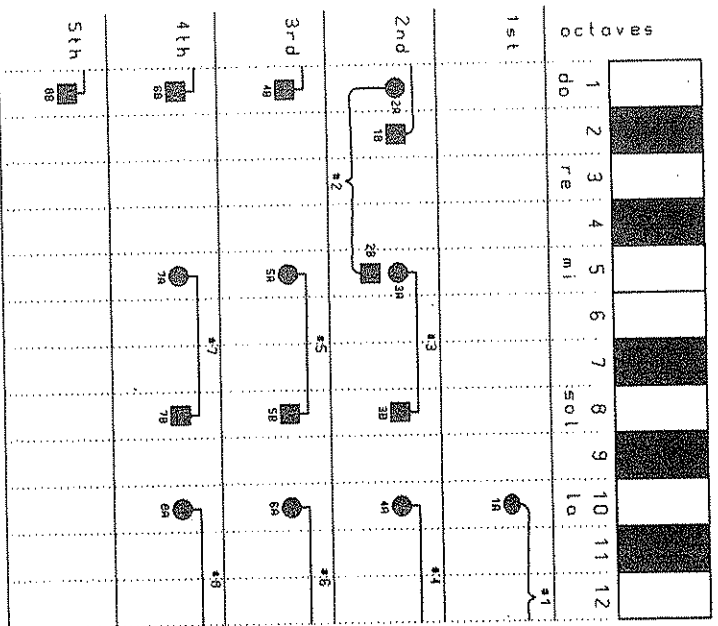


Fig. 2: Note Distribution in the First and Second Middle-Tier Chimes from the Tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng. From Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, p. 246, fig. 119.

此器之編鐘研究, 頁 153.

音律實測, *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 2 (1982): 89-92; Tan Weisi 譚維四 and Feng Guangsheng 馮光生, “Zeng hou Yi bianzhong de faxian yu yanjiu” 曾侯乙編鐘的發現與研究, in *Zeng hou Yi bianzhong yanjiu* 曾侯乙編鐘研究 (The Chimes of Marquis Yi of Zeng) (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 20-69.

As far as we can tell from presently available evidence, the centrality of the number eight (and its double, sixteen) never extended to lithophones. As musical instruments in ritual contexts, lithophones go back to even earlier times than bells, having been in use since at least Late Neolithic times. In the Shang and Zhou periods, they regularly co-occur with bells; in particular, tuned sets of chimestones often accompany bell-chimes in archaeological contexts postdating the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform.<sup>66</sup> From Warring States period depictions we know that they were on occasion mounted on the same rack together with bells.<sup>67</sup> But their numbers per set are not constant, usually ranging between ten and fifteen; the forty-two part continuous chromatic set from Marquis Yi’s tomb is so far unique. Since a chimestone could only emit one tone (as opposed to a bell’s two tones), the number of different tones playable in a lithophone was thus always considerably smaller than that of a bell-chime. Due to their fragility, chimestones that can still be subjected to tone measurement are much rarer than playable bells. Hence at present we cannot be certain how the two kinds of “suspended musical instruments” were combined in practice.

As far as Zheng Xuan’s commentary on *Zhouli*: “Chunguan: Xiaoxu” is concerned, it seems that the “two groups of eight” mentioned applied specifically to bells, and specifically to standard sets of *yongzhong* from the period between the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform until the end of the seventh century. Moreover, Du Yu is very probably correct in understanding Zheng in the sense that these “two groups of eight” together constitute one *si*, one group, by implication, being a *du*. Neither Zheng Xuan in the Eastern Han period, nor indeed the Warring States period compilers of the *Zhouli* on which he was commenting, are at all likely to have had an opportunity of observing actual chimes of this kind in performance, but evidently they possessed some knowledge of them — knowledge of standards that continued to be acknowledged even after actual practices had changed. The archaeological data further seem to corroborate the *Zhouli*’s dichotomy of half-sets vs. whole sets (or simple sets vs. double sets). The exact significance of this dichotomy still awaits interpretation. While the available evidence is not yet sufficient to allow determining exactly how the presence of whole sets or half-sets (or indeed of any bells at all) spe-

<sup>65</sup> Wang Shimin, “Chunqiu Zhangguo zangzhizhong yueqi he liqi de zuhe zhuangkuang” 春秋戰國葬制中樂器和禮器的組合狀況, in *Zeng hou Yi bianzhong yanjiu*, pp. 92-108.

<sup>66</sup> See the listing in Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, Appendix I. For a discussion of their pitch measurements and note distributions, see *Suspended Music*, pp. 267-275.

<sup>67</sup> See, e.g., Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, p. 212, fig. 109.

critically correlated with the sumptuary rank of individuals, it does seem likely, as in the case of *ding*, that there was some connection, of which Zheng Xuan's commentary seems to preserve a basically correct, albeit perhaps somewhat overly systematized, memory.

### Conclusions

At the end of this analysis, we stand alerted to the fundamental epistemological differences involved in dealing with textual and archaeological data. The former are much more prone to be systematizing and normative (although one must have a good grasp of the specific contexts during which they were taken down in order to make full sense of them); whilst the latter always represent individual cases that may constitute applications of general rules, but in the last analysis are always irreducibly determined by the imponderabilities of concrete circumstance. The preceding analysis shows that the extent to which archaeological data can prove or disprove the accuracy of texts is necessarily limited. But what is particularly important in these two cases is that the new archaeological data very effectively link the textual loci to far more specific time brackets than anyone could ever have known before their discovery. Like their Eastern Han predecessors, classical and antiquarian scholars in Late Imperial China tended to regard Zhou ritual as a much more monolithic system than it was, and they looked up to Zhougong 周公 of the Early Western Zhou as the creator of the Zhou sumptuary system. By contrast, the archaeological data show – as exemplified by the above two case studies – that the sumptuary rules were systematized only in the time of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, about two centuries after Zhougong's alleged lifetime.

Even in the present, archaeologists in China show no qualms whatsoever about using the Eastern Han commentaries on the classics in contextualizing and interpreting archaeological finds from the Zhou and even earlier dynasties. In principle, such a practice is inadmissible; any historian at all concerned with the niceties of *Quellenkritik* should decry it and dismiss the results. Yet the preceding two case studies have demonstrated that second- and third-century A.D. authors did possess some concrete knowledge of ritual rules that had been abandoned many centuries before their own lifetimes. The archaeological evidence shows that both the sumptuary rules governing the use of *ding* tripods and the standard numbers of *yongzhong* in chimed sets specified in the Eastern Han writings had likely been promulgated around 850 B.C., had governed ritual practice until around 600, and had formed the foundation for changed ritual

rules during another three and a half centuries or so thereafter, probably until the end of the Zhou dynasty.

One must caution that the cases here chosen for analysis may be exceptional because they relate to material culture, and specifically to ritual paraphernalia that are well documented archaeologically. To what extent they are representative for the kind of knowledge scholars like He Xiu, Zheng Xuan, and Du Yu could possess is impossible to assess, and it would be foolish to conclude from our findings that everything written by these authors on the details of Zhou ritual is reliable. Even in these two cases it is obvious that the Eastern Han commentators' statements match observable early reality only in part, showing that their Late Western Zhou-derived information had become integrated in a very different system of knowledge.

Our findings, therefore, emphatically do not vindicate the non-rigorous mixing of sources of vastly different character and date that modern scholars so often indulge in. One's appropriate reaction should be, instead, profound astonishment. How could it possibly be that Eastern Han and later scholars still conserved the memory – imperfect, yet palpable – of ritual practices that had come to an end centuries before their own time? How was such information handed down from the time of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform to the early centuries A.D.? Let us consider several alternative possibilities.

a) First, one must consider the possibility that the correspondences noted are pure chance. After all, the numbers involved – especially in the case of *ding* gradations – are simple and easily could have been made up. In the case of the bells, one is tempted to link the number eight in bell-sets to Warring States period musical theory correlated with the cosmological ideas of that time. As a case in point, Sun Yirang's commentary links the groups of eight bells mentioned by Zheng Xuan to the theory of the Eight Sonorous Substances (*ba yin* 八音) mentioned in the *Zhouli*,<sup>68</sup> and mentions various attempts by musical-instrument makers in later imperial time to reconcile sets of eight or sixteen bells with the system of Twelve Pitch-Standards (*shi'er lu* 十二律).<sup>69</sup> But the correspondence of the figures in

<sup>68</sup> *Zhouli*, “Chunguan 夬官: Dashi 大師” (*Zhouli zhengyi*, p. 1832).

<sup>69</sup> Archaeological finds show that all these attempts are misguided, at least inasmuch as they aim to reconstruct early practice: Zhou period bell chimes are usable only in one or at most two or three keys (the Zeng bells being the only possible exception), and it is clear that the number of bells in a chime had no connection whatsoever with the system of standard pitches (on the latter see Lothar von Falkenhausen, “On the Early Development of Chinese Musical Theory: The Rise of Pitch Standards,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112.3 [1992]: 433–439).

the Eastern Han commentaries, not with isolated discoveries, but with a sizable and reasonably coherent body of evidence, as well as the coincidence that both cases discussed above seem to refer to the ritual standards of the same time period, would seem to militate against the idea that these correspondences are merely accidental.

b) Another possibility is that the second and third century A.D. commentators had access to archaeological evidence and somehow reconstructed the earlier ritual standards from them. Han period texts do indeed attest to a highly developed preoccupation with antiquities, and discoveries of precious bronzes, regarded as auspicious omens, are noted with some regularity in the dynastic histories.<sup>76</sup> If therefore seems quite possible that Eastern Han scholars might have seen original Zhou period bronzes on occasion. But there is no evidence that classical scholars at the time had a habit of investigating the sites of discovery of ancient objects; and the idea that they might have done so with a view of reconstructing Zhou period ritual assemblages would presuppose the existence, in that early period, of an archaeological way of reasoning. I find this extremely unlikely. Even the “evidential scholars” of the Qing period (1644–1911) had little if any appreciation of field data and archaeological contexts. There is, to my knowledge, no textual mention of a numbered set of *ding* from specific archaeological contexts in the entire vast corpus of pre-twentieth century classical scholarship. For bells, one notes, in addition, that the descriptions given of them in the “Kaogongji” 考工記 section of the *Zhouli* are quite incomplete and misleading,<sup>77</sup> as no doubt they would not be if the authors and/or the commentators had had access to genuine specimens or bothered to analyze available specimens with an archaeologist’s sensibility. (The fact that any awareness of the “two-tone phenomenon” was lost for over two millennia, until it was found documented by inscriptions, speaks volumes for the lack of a willingness among traditional classical scholars to build arguments on non-textual evidence.)

c) One should also, thirdly, consider the possibility of some direct continuity of ritual practice. To be sure, both *ding* and bells were still part of the material repertoire of Eastern Han, and some of the principles of their ritual and musical usage, respectively, is likely to have been in continuity with earlier ages in spite of comprehensive changes in shape, ornamenta-

tion, and manufacturing technique. But the constellations of such objects – the aspect focused on in the two text passages under discussion – were completely different from Zhou times. The latest period in which archaeological finds have substantiated *ding*-set combinations and bell-chime assemblages that even very remotely resemble those described by He Xiu, Zheng Xuan, and Du Yu is the Warring States period. In Qin, such practices underwent a radical break at the time of Shang Yang’s 商鞅 reforms in the mid-fourth century B.C.;<sup>78</sup> and the Qin conquests of the late third century extinguished any traditional practices that still continued in other areas. Even before their time, practices evincing some continuity with the ritual rules of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform had become restricted to the very highest levels of the aristocracy, making it appear unlikely that any but a very select group of ritualists could have been exposed to them in practice even during Late Spring and Autumn and Warring States times. Provocative though it may sound, I would be inclined to believe that the vast majority of pre-Qin thinkers who theorized about ritual had never actually experienced for themselves the splendid performances involving “special assemblage” ritual vessels and complex chimes of suspended musical instruments that were still going on, albeit rarely, in their own time. Even greater skepticism as to the possibility of such experience is warranted with Eastern Han specialists.

d) It seems incontrovertible, thus, that the Late Western Zhou-derived ritual knowledge reflected in the Eastern Han commentaries here discussed was transmitted – perhaps as a completely self-contained body of knowledge – separately from any knowledge of ongoing ritual practices. Indeed, for He Xiu, Zheng Xuan, and Du Yu, the ritual rules instituted by the Late Western Zhou were probably less a blueprint of action than an intellectual paradigm and a source of ethical values. I would be inclined to argue that they were already considered as such even in the time when the Three Ritual Classics (*San li* 三禮) were committed to writing in the late pre-Qin period. The archaeological data suggest that this transformation of ritual expertise into philosophical doctrine probably began at the time of the Middle Spring and Autumn Ritual Restructuring, which perhaps not accidentally was initiated during the decades preceding the birth of Confucius and continued during the great thinker’s lifetime.<sup>79</sup> Throughout the

76

On this point see Rong Geng 容庚, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* 商周彝器通考 (Comprehensive Study of Ritual Vessels of the Shang and Zhou) (Beijing: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1941), vol. 1, p. 6.

77 See Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, pp. 72–80 *passim*.

78

As observed by Okamura Hidenori 岡村秀典, “Shin bunka no hennen” 秦文化の編年, *Koshi shingū* 2 (1985): 53–74; see also Falkenhausen, “Mortuary Behavior.”

79

Details will be explained in Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*; for already-published case studies, see Falkenhausen, “The Bronzes from Xiasi” and “Social Ranking in Chu Tombs.”



subsequent two and a half centuries, the rituals of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform not only survived as exclusive practices of the highest elite, but one also sees, during Late Spring and Autumn times and perhaps later, piecemeal indications of an interest in their trappings on the part of much more low-ranking individuals. At the vast cemeteries surrounding the Chu capital near Jiangling 江陵 (Hubei), for instance, some tomb occupants who, to judge by the size and wealth of their tomb, ranked at the borderline between the ranked aristocracy and the commoner stratum of society, were buried with look-alikes of the time-honored ritual vessels of Late Western Zhou derivations – objects that were clearly not intended for ritual use but for display, perhaps indicating their owners' knowledge of, and intellectual or emotional attachment to, the ancient, now largely obsolete practices.<sup>74</sup> There are also, in some contexts, signs of a decoupling of ritual expense from the expression of ritual rank, which possibly indicates a shift from an emphasis on orthopraxy to the idea, expressed in the Confucian *Analects*,<sup>75</sup> that the practice of virtue and the proper emotions matter more than ritual paraphernalia.<sup>76</sup> Having presented this evidence in other articles, I shall not now expound on it further. I am also unprepared to pronounce myself on whether the mode of transmission of such ritual knowledge was mainly oral or by means of written texts, now no longer extant.<sup>77</sup> All I wish to stress is that the philosophicized ritual ideals of Late Western Zhou derivation were no longer being reflected in general ritual

<sup>74</sup> See Falkenhausen, "Social Ranking in Chu Tombs," 464-465, 480-481 *et passim*.

<sup>75</sup> See, e.g., *Lunyu* 論語, "Bayi" 八佾, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 3.10, p. 2466.

<sup>76</sup> See Falkenhausen, "Shangma."

<sup>77</sup> This issue has lately been discussed with some urgency by Western scholars, especially in connection with the analysis of the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the States); see David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), and Yuri Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Historiography* (University of Hawaii Press, 2002). The two books develop contrary views that are both worth taking into account. For important treatments of the transmission of ideas in Warring States period intellectual lineages, see also Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (Study of China's Mantic Arts) (revised edition, Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2000 [originally published 1993] and *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (Continuation of the Study of China's Mantia Arts) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2000); Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1990); and Mark E. Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1999). I have addressed the issue of orality in the context of ritual communication in "The Oral Subtexts of the Zhou Bronze Inscriptions" (Paper for presentation at the conference on "Religion, Poetry, and Memory in Ancient and Early Medieval China," Princeton, May 20-22, 1994).

practice during the second half of Eastern Zhou, and even less so under the Qin and Han régimes; to what extent they are accurately reflected in the Three Ritual Classics remains a matter for sustained further study.

How the perception of the ritual past was transmitted and, no doubt, further developed within Han scholarly lineages is a matter that other scholars are better equipped than I to address. The intention of the present paper has been mainly to highlight two cases – and there may well be many more – where archaeological materials, interpreted judiciously, may clarify the derivation of information now known only from relatively late sources and thereby put us, today, in a position to assess the reliability of the latter's perception of the past. Both cases highlight the importance of the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform as a fountainhead of core ideas that were eventually transformed into cornerstones of classical Confucian philosophy. Here the archaeological finds encourage a reevaluation of a period poorly documented in the textual records hitherto available and thus virtually expunged from traditional perceptions of antiquity. They arguably necessitate a rethinking of the transmitted lore concerning Zhougong as an institutional reformer in the Early Western Zhou period, revealing that this role-model of later Confucians was in all probability a legendary construct of later date. Moreover, by providing important information about ritual developments around the time of Confucius, these data suggest a new evaluation of that seminal thinker's own intellectual contribution.

## Tables

Table 1 Selected Late Western Zhou to Middle Spring and Autumn Period Ritual-Vessel Assemblages

Site	Beizhao	Beizhao	Beizhao	Beizhao	Beizhao	Beizhao
Tomb no.	91	92	64	62	63	93
# <i>guo/guan</i>	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2
Occupant's sex	M	F	M	F	F	M
Polity	Jin	Jin	Jin	Jin	Jin	Jin
Date	LWZ	LWZ	WZ/CQ	WZ/CQ	WZ/CQ	ECCQ
<b>Sacrificial Vessel Assemblage</b>						
<i>ding</i>	7	2	5	3	3	5+1m
<i>li</i>	2		present			
<i>yan</i>	1		1	4		1
<i>gui</i>	5			4	2	6+1m
<i>yu</i>	1					
<i>xu</i>		2				
<i>hu</i> 鬲			1			
<i>cheng</i> 罍						
<i>fu</i>	3					
rectangular <i>hu</i> 壺	2		2			2
round <i>hu</i> 壺	1	2		1	2	
<i>bianhu</i>						
<i>lei</i>						
<i>pan</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1+1m
<i>he</i> 盃		1			1	
<i>yi</i>	1		1	1		1
<i>ying</i> 甞						
<i>he</i> 餗 (zhou)						
<b>Archaic Vestiges</b>						
<i>nie</i>	2		1	1m	1m	1m
<i>gu</i>						
<i>zhi</i>					1m	1m
<i>you</i>	1			1m	1m	1m
<i>zun</i>	1			1m	1m	1m
<i>fangyi</i>					1m	1m
<b>Other Bronzes</b>						
animal-shaped v.			4	1M	3M	
boxes						
<i>xiaoguan</i>						
unidentifiable	3					
<b>Musical Instruments</b>						
<i>yongzhong</i>	1/7		1/8			1/16
<i>nizhong</i>						
<i>bo</i>			1			
<i>zheng</i>			pr			
chimestones	{1/-20}					

continued

Site	Beizhao	SCL	SCL	SCL	SCL	SCL
Tomb no.	102	2001	2012	2011	1052	2010
# <i>guo/guan</i>	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2	1+2
Occupant's sex	F	M	F(?)	M	M	M(?)
Polity	Jin	Guo	Guo	Guo	Guo	Guo
Date	ECCQ	WZ/CQ	WZ/CQ	WZ/CQ	ECCQ	WZ/CQ
<b>Sacrificial Vessel Assemblage</b>						
<i>ding</i>	3+1m	7+3m	5+6m	7+2	7	5
<i>li</i>		8	8	8	6	
<i>yan</i>		1	1	1	1	1
<i>gui</i>	4+1m	6+3m	4+6m	8	6	4
<i>yu</i>						
<i>xu</i>		4				
<i>hu</i> 鬲		2	2			
<i>cheng</i> 罍				1		
<i>fu</i>		2	2	1	1	
rectangular <i>hu</i> 壺	1	2	2	2	2	2
round <i>hu</i> 壺	2		2	2	2	
<i>bianhu</i>						
<i>lei</i>						
<i>pan</i>	1	1+3m	1+6m	1	1	1
<i>he</i> 盃	1m	1+2m	1+5m		1	
<i>yi</i>	1		1m	1		1
<i>ying</i> 甞						
<i>he</i> 餗 (zhou)						
<b>Archaic Vestiges</b>						
<i>nie</i>	1m	3m	4m			
<i>gu</i>			1m			
<i>zhi</i>	1m	2m	6m			
<i>you</i>						
<i>zun</i>		3m				
<i>fangyi</i>	1m	2m	5m			
<b>Other Bronzes</b>						
animal-shaped v.	1					
boxes						
<i>xiaoguan</i>	1				1	
unidentifiable						
<b>Musical Instruments</b>						
<i>yongzhong</i>	1/8					1/9
<i>nizhong</i>						
<i>bo</i>						
<i>zheng</i>	1		1	1		
chimestones	1/10		1/18			

continued

Site	Tomb no.	SCL	SCL	SCL	BZC	BZC	BZC	TPX
		1810	1706	2006	1	95	47	1
# guo/guan		1+2	1+2	1+1	1+1	1+1	?	?
Occupant's sex		M(?)	M(?)	F	?	?	?	Zheng?
Polity		Guo	Guo	Guo	Ying	Ying	Ying	ECQ
Date		WZ/CQ	ECQ	WZ/CQ	LWZ	LWZ	ECQ	ECQ
<b>Sacrificial Vessel Assemblage</b>								
ding		5	5	3	5	5+?	5	5
ji		4	4	4	4	4		
yan		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
gui		4	4	1	6	6+		4
pu								
xu				2		3		4
hu 鬲					1		1	[4]
cheng/pen								
fu		1	1					2
rectangular hu 壺		2	2	2	1	1	2	2
round hu 壺								
bianhu							4	1
lei								2
pan		1	1	1	1	2	1	1
he 盃		1m		1m	1	1	1	1
yi			1			2		
piding								
he 鈃 (zhou)								
<b>Archaic Vestiges</b>								
hu				1m				
gu				1m				
zhi				1m				
you								
zun				1m		1m		
fangyi				1m				
<b>Other Bronzes</b>								
animal-shaped v.								
boxes								
xiaoguan								
unidentifiable								
<b>Musical Instruments</b>								
pongzhong						1/7		
niuzhong						1/9(?)	1/9	
bo							1/13	
zheng								{1/4}
chimestones								{1/13}

continued

Site	Tomb no.	XRT	XC	XC	XC	XC	XLW	SIL
		6	1	2	4	2		
# guo/guan		2+2	2+2	1+3	?	?	?	?
Occupant's sex		?	M(?)	M(?)	M(?)	?	?	?
Polity		Shi	Xue	Xue	Xue	Xue	Zeng	Zeng
Date		MCO	MCO	MCO	MCO	ECQ	ECQ	ECQ
<b>Sacrificial Vessel Assemblage</b>								
ding		5+5+5	7	7+1	7+3	3	9	9
ji			6	6	6	1	9	9
yan		4+4+[4]	6	6	6	2	7	7
gui		1						
pu								
xu								
hu 鬲		4	2	2	2		2	2
cheng/pen								
fu		2						2
rectangular hu 壺		2	2	2	2			2
round hu 壺		2	1	1	1			
bianhu		1	6	1	1			
lei		1	1	1	1			
pan		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
he 盃		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
yi								
piding								
he 鈃 (zhou)				1				
<b>Archaic Vestiges</b>								
hu					3			
gu								
zhi								
you								
zun								
fangyi								
<b>Other Bronzes</b>								
animal-shaped v.								
boxes								
xiaoguan		1+1m	1					
unidentifiable								
<b>Musical Instruments</b>								
pongzhong		1/11	1/11					
niuzhong		1/9	1/9					
bo								
zheng								
chimestones		{1/10}	{1/10}					

Legend:

Site names: Beizhao = Quecun Locust Hill, Quwo (Shanxi); SCL = Shangcunling, Sammenxia (Henan); BZC = Beizhucun, Pingdingshan (Henan); TPX = Taipuxiang, Jixian (Henan);

XRT = Xianrentai, Changqing (Shandong); XC = Xuecheng, Tengzhou (Shandong);

XJLW = Xiongjialaowan, Suizhou (Hubei); SJL = Sujialong, Jingshan (Hubei)

Period names: WZ = Western Zhou, CQ = Spring and Autumn, E = Early, M = Middle, L

= Late.

Unbracketed numbers refer to bronzes, numbers in square brackets to ceramics, and numbers in pointed brackets to stone objects.

**Table 2** Selected Ritual-Vessel Assemblages from the Late Spring and Autumn to Warring States Periods

Site	Xiasi	Xiasi	Xiasi	Xiasi	Xiasi	Xiasi	Xiasi
Tomb no.	8	7	36	1	2	3	
Condition	looted	intact	intact	intact	looted	intact	
Sex	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Polity	Chu	Chu	Chu	Chu	Chu	Chu	
Date	2 <sup>nd</sup> q 6	2 <sup>nd</sup> q 6	2 <sup>nd</sup> q 6	3 <sup>rd</sup> q 6	3 <sup>rd</sup> q 6	3 <sup>rd</sup> q 6	
<b>Special Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>							
sheng				2	7		
ji				2	2		
gui				1	2		
rectangular hu				2			
<b>Ordinary Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>							
other ding	1	2	2	10	11	5	
pan		4					
hu		2	2	2	1	4	
zhan		1		1	1	1	
dai							
zhou					1		
fu					1		
round hu, 盃				1	1		
other hu, 盃							
high-stem hu, 盃							
zun/fou/lei				2	2	2	
payou	1	2	2	2	2	2	
yuding		1	1	1	1	1	
pan	1	1	1	1	1	1	
he, 盃	1	1	1	1	1	1	
yi	1	1	1	1	1	1	
shuiyu/guan				1			
fan					1		
bowl					1		
pyiding							
dingxingqi							
<b>Other Bronzes</b>							
bird-shaped v.							2
altar tables							
brazier				2			
coal shovel							
incense burner		1		6		3	
ladles/spoons							14
box							1
volumetric measure				1			
zhemushou sockets							
<b>Musical Instruments</b>							
yongzhong				1/9		1/26	
niuzhong							
bo							
chimestones				{1/13}		{1/13}	

continued

Site	Tomb no.	Xiasi 4	Xiasi 10	Xiasi 11	HSL 1	HSL 2	TXG 2
Condition		intact	intact	intact	looted	intact	looted
Sex		F	M	M	M(?)	F(?)	F
Polity		Chu	Chu	Chu	Chu	Chu	Chu
Date		3 <sup>rd</sup> q 5	ca. 500	ca. 500	early 5	early 5	mid-4
<b>Special Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>							
sheng					2		5
li					?		5
gui					?		5
rectangular hu 壺					?	2	
<b>Ordinary Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>							
other ding		1	4	2	4+?	7	9
yan							
hu 匜		1	2	2	frag.	2	5
zhan							
dai			1	1		1	2
dou							
fu							
he 鉶							
round hu 壺				frag.			
other hu 壺							
high-stem hu 壺							
zunfou/lei		1	2	2		1	1
yu/fou			2	2			1
yu/ding			1	1			1
pan		1	1	1			2
he 盞							1
yi		1	1	1		1	2
shuiyu/guan							
tian							
bowl							
ying							
dingxingqi							
panzun sets							
<b>Other Bronzes</b>							
bird-shaped v.							
altar tables							
brazier			1				2
coal shovel							2
incense burner							11
ladles/spoons			3	2		2	
box							
volumetric measure			(1)	(1)		1	
zhenmushou sockets							
<b>Musical Instruments</b>							
yongzhong					?		2/22
nuzhong			1/9			1/9	1/10
bo			1/8			1/8	
shimestones			{1/13}		{1/9}	{1/12}	

continued

Site	Tomb no.	Changsha XMN 89	LGD 1	LGD 2	LLG A
Condition		intact	intact	looted	intact
Sex		?	M	M	?
Polity		Chu	Cai	Zeng	Zeng
Date		mid-4	491 BC	<433 BC	EZG
<b>Special Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>					
sheng			7	9	7?
li			8	10	10
guisocket dou			8	8	4
rectangular hu 壺			2	2	14
<b>Ordinary Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>					
other ding		4[5]	11	11	6?
yan					
hu 匜		[1]	1	1	1
zhan		[3]	4	4	4
dai		[2]	2		
dou		[2]	2	3	8
fu					
he 鉶					
round hu 壺					
other hu 壺					
high-stem hu 壺					
zunfou/lei		[2]	4	8	2
yu/fou			2	6	
yu/ding		[2]	1	1	1
pan		[2]	1	1	1
he 盞		[2]	1	2	1
yi		[2]	1	1	1
shuiyu/guan					
tian					
bowl		[2]	3		3
ying					
dingxingqi					
panzun sets		3		11	
<b>Other Bronzes</b>					
bird-shaped v.					
altar tables					
brazier				2	1
coal shovel				2	1
incense burner				2	4
stove					
ladles/spoons			1[7]	21	20
box				1	2
volumetric measure					
zhenmushou sockets					
<b>Musical Instruments</b>					
yongzhong			1/12	5/45	1/9
nuzhong			1/9+frag.	2/19	1/9
bo			1/8	1	1/9
shimestones			?	1/42	

continued

Site	LLG	LLG	LLG	LLG	JSC	HC
Tomb no.	B	60	55	80	251	2040
Condition	?	intact	intact	intact	intact	intact
Sex	F	M	F	?	M	M
Polity	Wey	Wey	Wey	Wey	Jin/Zhao	Jin/Han
Date	MCO	LCQ	LCQ	LCQ	EZG	EZG
<b>Special Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>						
sheng	5	9	7	7	5	5
li	4	6	6	6	6	3
gan/socketed dou	4	6	45	4	2	4
rectangular hu 盃	1	3	2		4	2
<b>Ordinary Sacrificial-Vessel Assemblage</b>						
other ding	5	20	7	6	20	12
pan	1	1	1	1	2	1
hu 盃	4	4	4	4	4	2
zhan				2	8	4
dou	1	1	2		2	2
fu				1	4	2
round hu 盃	2	1	1		2	2
other hu 盃					2	1
high-stem hu 盃					2	
zuyou/lei		2		2	2	
pu/gou						
yu/ding						
pan	1	2	1	1	2	2
he 盃		1		1	present	
yi	1		1	1	2	2
shunyu/guan						
jian	2	3	2		6	4
bowl						
yu/ding						
dingxingqi						
pan/zun sets						
<b>Other Bronzes</b>						
bird-shaped v.					1	
altar tables						
brrazier						1
coal shovel					present	1
incense burner					1	
stove					present	8
ladles/spoons		1			3	
box						
volumetric measure						
zhemushou sockets						
<b>Musical Instruments</b>						
yongzhong	1/8					2/20
kuazhong	1/9				2/19	1/9
bo	2/12					
chuyuzi						
chinesestones	{1/11}				{1/13}	{1/10}

## Legend:

Site names: Xiasi = Xiasi, Xichuan (Henan); HSL = Heshangling; Xichuan (Henan); TXG: Tianxingguan, Jiangling (Hubei); Changsha Tomb no. 89 = Lushengqiao Tomb no. 1 (Hunan); XMN = Ximennei, Shouxian (Anhui); LGD = Leitadun, Suzhou (Hubei); LLG = Luilige, Huixian (Henan); JSC = Jinshegou, Taiyuan (Shanxi). Unbracketed numbers refer to bronzes, numbers in square brackets to ceramics, numbers in round brackets to wooden objects, and numbers in pointed brackets to stone objects.