

## The Tombs of Peng 棚 State and Related Questions

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有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎？(論語, 1.1.)

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The discovery of the Western Zhou period's Peng 棚 State in Heng 橫 River Valley in the south of Shanxi Province represents one of the most fascinating archaeological events of the last decade. Ruled by a lineage of Kui 隗 (Gui 鬼) surname, Peng, supposedly, was founded by descendants of a group that, to a certain degree, retained autonomy from the Huaxia cultural and political community, dominated by lineages of Zi 子, Ji 姬 and Jiang 姜 surnames. Considering Peng's location right to the south of one of the major Ji states, Jin 晉, and quite close to the eastern residence of Zhou kings, Chengzhou 成周, its case can be very instructive with regard to the construction of the geo-political and cultural space in Early China during the Western Zhou period. Although the publication of the full excavations' report may take years, some preliminary observations can be made already now based on simplified archaeological reports about the tombs of Peng ruler Cheng 棚伯禹 and his spouse née Ji of Bi 畢姬. In the present paper, I briefly introduce the tombs inventory and the inscriptions on the bronzes, and then proceed to discuss the following questions:

- How the tombs M1 and M2 at Hengbei can be dated?
- What does the equipment of the Hengbei tombs suggest about the cultural roots of Peng?
- What can be observed about Peng's relations to the Gui people 鬼方 and to other Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages?

### 1. General Information

The cemetery of Peng state has been discovered near Hengbei 橫北 village (Hengshui town, Jiang County, Shanxi 山西絳縣橫水鎮). The cemetery covers the area of ca. 35.000 m.<sup>2</sup> During the 2004-2005 excavation season, the Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province uncovered the area of 8500 m.<sup>2</sup> with 188 tombs and 21 horse-chariot pits.<sup>1</sup> According to the most recent information, 1.326 tombs have been excavated until 2008.<sup>2</sup> Most of them date to the Western Zhou period, whereas twenty seven tombs are of a later date. The excavation report has not yet been published. Two simplified reports on the excavations of two largest tombs published in 2006 allow for some preliminary observations.<sup>3</sup>

Tombs numbered M1 and M2 represent the main focus of the Hengbei cemetery. They represent vertical-pit tombs with singular entry ramps. Inscriptions on the vessels found in

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di" 山西絳縣橫水西周墓地, *Kaogu* 7 (2006), 16-21, esp. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. interview with Song Jianzhong 宋建忠, director of the Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province in Li Shanghong 李尚鴻, „Shanxi Jiang xian: Xi Zhou Peng guo guojun, furen mu chenshui 3000 nian“ 山西絳縣：西周棚國國君、夫人墓沉睡 3000 年, *San Jin dushi bao* 三晉都市報, 9.3.2009, quoted from *Shanxi Xinwen* 山西新聞, <http://www.sx.chinanews.com.cn/news/2009/0309/3110.html>, last visited on 14.10.2010.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao" 山西絳縣橫水西周墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 8 (2006): 4-18; "Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi".

these tombs identify their occupants as the First-born of Peng 棚伯 and née Ji of Bi 畢姬. The third large tomb with an entry ramp, M3, has been completely looted before the beginning of excavations, so that its occupant cannot be identified. Other tombs have been subdivided in four categories: large (4 x 5 m), medium large (3 x 4 m), medium (2 x 3 m), and small (1 x 2 m).<sup>4</sup> 97 of the 188 tombs (52 %) are small. The numbers of the tombs of other categories have not yet been reported.<sup>5</sup>

The tombs M1 and M2 are both oriented to the east and have the sloping entry ramps on their western side (26,65 and 22,3 m respectively). The bodies of the deceased were placed with the head directed to the west, i. e. heading the ramp. Both tombs are rectangular in cross-section and trapezoid in profile, so that the bottom is slightly larger than the mouth. The funerary furniture in each tomb includes the wooden chamber *guo* 椁 and two nested coffins *guan* 棺. The external *guan* in M1, occupied by née Ji of Bi, was covered with a shroud made of red silk and finely embroidered with large and small phoenix figures. Such shrouds, designated *huangwei* 荒帷, were mentioned in ritual handbooks *Li ji*, *Yi li* and *Zhou li*, but this is the first time as they have been witnessed archaeologically.<sup>6</sup> Each tomb contains disjointed pieces of one chariot.<sup>7</sup>

In the M1, skeletons of three co-buried humans wrapped in reed mats have been found. They were placed inside the burial chamber on the eastern side of the coffin. In the M2, skeletons of four co-buried persons were found inside the burial chamber. Two of them were wrapped in mats, possibly made of bamboo, and had a lot of chariot decorations near their feet. The third skeleton has already rotten and its rests are said to lay over some bronze objects – possibly, also details of a chariot. The excavators suppose that he might be a chariot's driver. The fourth skeleton belonged to a child.

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

In the M2, horse-and-chariot decorations, small and larger tinkling bells, axes and halberds, clothing decorations made of bronze, bone and wood, as well as jade pendants were placed along the northern outer side of the coffin. Ritual objects were positioned along the western

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di,” 18.

<sup>5</sup> On the aerial photograph of the cemetery, 9 other large tombs can be distinguished. One of them is constructed with an entry ramp (“Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di”, color plate 5:1).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di”: 20, color plate 6:2. Previously, reed mats covering the inner coffin have been discovered and identified as *huangwei* (e. g. in tomb M8 at the cemetery of Ying state at Pingdingshan, cf. “Henan Pingdingshan Ying guo mudi ba hao mu fajue jianbao” 河南平頂山應國墓地八號墓, 發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 7 (2007), 20-49.

<sup>7</sup> In M1 they are placed loosely on the second-level earthen platform of the burial pit, partly directly atop the wooden chamber *guo*. In M2, the case and the wheels are placed on the second-level platform, other parts were found inside already collapsed *guo* (cf. “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” 9, 11).

side between the outer coffin and the burial chamber in the following sequence from north to south: one pottery *li*-vessel, one bronze *pan*, two *ding*, one *he*, one shovel *chan* 鏟, one jade sceptre, one *gui*-tureen, one *jue* 爵-goblet, one *gu* 觚-goblet, one *zun*-jar with a bronze plate decoration put inside of it, one fresh-water mussel shell, one lacquer vessel, five bronze shank-bells, one carriage shaft, then again sixteen fresh-water mussels shells, and one *yan*-steamer with one *you* 酉-pitcher placed inside of the latter. Beside the single pottery *li*, all other vessels in this set are made of bronze and count fifteen altogether. One other bronze *ding* was found near the north-western corner of the coffin, and another bronze plate decoration was found in the south-western corner.

Although the identification of the sex of the deceased has not been carried out, judging upon the burial inventories of the both tombs, the excavators identify the occupant of M2 as a male, and the occupant of M1 as a female.

## 2. The identity of the tombs' occupants in the light of inscriptions

Several bronzes from the tomb M1 carry inscriptions:



**Image I. Objects from M1: *ding* M1:212, *gui* M1: 199, *gui* M1: 205.<sup>8</sup>**

### 1. 倬伯作畢姬寶旅鼎

The Elder of Peng made the treasured *ding* for travels for née Ji of Bi (*ding*-cauldron M1: 212 and four other *ding* in the set);

### 2. 倬伯作畢姬寶旅簋

The Elder of Peng made the treasured *gui* for travels for née Ji of Bi (*gui*-tureen M1: 199, reproduced on several other *gui*);

### 3. 唯廿又三年初吉戊戌・益公蔑倬伯禹歷・右告令金車旂・禹拜稽首對揚公休・用作朕考尊・禹其萬年永寶用享・

This was the twenty-third year, the first auspiciousness, day *wu-xu*. Duke Yi praised the merits of Cheng, the Elder of Peng, and announced the command with the metal chariot and the banner.<sup>9</sup> Cheng bowed his head to the ground extolling in response the beneficence of the Duke of Yi. [I, Cheng] use [this occasion] to make the

<sup>8</sup> Source: “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” 8, img. 11, 12; “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi,” 19, img. 1.

<sup>9</sup> In the simplified report, the character after *che* (“chariot”) is transcribed as *lū* (“travel”, “stay afar”). The character is badly written, but it is recognizable as *qi* (“banner”) – a power insignia often offered to military commanders in combination with a chariot (e. g. Mu *gui* 牧簋, *Jicheng* #4343; for the similar calligraphy cf. Huan *gui* 恒簋, *Jicheng* #4199-4200, Shaanxi Fufeng Qiangjia 強家, MWZ; Fan-sheng *gui* 番生簋 cover, *Jicheng* #4326, LWZ).

sacrificial vessel for my father. May I, Cheng eternally treasure and use it for offerings during ten thousand years! (*gui*-tureen M1: 205);



**Image II. Objects from M2:** *ding* M2: 57, *gui* M2: 62; *he* M2: 61.<sup>10</sup>

Tomb M2 has also yielded several inscribed bronzes:

𠄎伯作畢姬尊鼎 • 其萬年寶 •

The Elder of Peng made the reverent *ding* for née Ji of Bi. Shall it be treasured during ten thousand years! (*ding*-cauldron M2: 57);

𠄎伯肇作尊鼎 • 其萬年寶用享 •

The Elder of Peng Zhao made the reverent *ding*. Shall it be treasured and used for sacrifices during ten thousand years! (*ding*-cauldron, M2: 58)

唯五月初吉𠄎伯肇作寶鼎 • 其用享用考(孝)于朕文考 • 其萬年永用 •

In the fifth month, the first auspiciousness, The Elder of Peng Zhao made the treasured *ding*. Shall it be used for sacrifices and for displaying filial piety towards my cultivated deceased father! Shall it be eternally used during ten thousand years! (*ding*-cauldron, M2: 103).

𠄎作寶盤其萬年永用

XX made the treasured *pan*-basin. Shall it be eternally used during ten thousand years (*pan*-basin, M2: 65)

The First-born of Peng made a set of five *ding*-cauldrons and four *gui*-tureens for née Ji of Bi 畢姬. These objects were defined as *lǚ* 旅, i. e. objects “for travel.”<sup>11</sup> All of them were found in Tomb M1, occupied by a female. Accordingly, the occupant of M1 has been reasonably identified as Bi Ji. The First-born of Peng, who made several bronzes for Bi Ji, must be her husband. One inscription found in Bi Ji’s tomb identifies his name as Cheng 甬. During the Western Zhou period, rulers of states and their spouses were usually buried in tombs, arranged in pairs.<sup>12</sup> Hence, a male person buried by Bi Ji’s side in Tomb M2 must be Cheng. Tomb M2 has yielded one cauldron dedicated by the First-born of Peng to Bi Ji and designated as *zun*, “reverent.” Whereas objects “for travels” were made for living persons, “reverent” vessels were made for the deceased.<sup>13</sup> This makes clear that Cheng outlived his wife. Cheng’s personal name does not appear in inscriptions on bronzes found in M2. At the same time, M2 has yielded several bronzes commissioned by First-born Zhao 肇 of Peng. Zhao dedicated one “reverent” *ding* to his deceased father and made another “reverent” *ding*

<sup>10</sup> Source: “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” 16, img. 30, 31, 33.

<sup>11</sup> Some authors regard *lǚ* as a special type of sacrifice, or translate it as “grand.” However, the definition *lǚ* appears on relatively small vessels which could be easily taken along on travels. It could be substituted by other words with the same meaning (for examples cf. Khayutina, Maria, “Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity,” in *T’oung Pao* Vol. 96.1-3, 1-73, fn. 87).

<sup>12</sup> For this custom cf. Jay Xu, “The Cemetery of the Western Zhou Lords of Jin,” *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 56, No. 3/4 (1996), pp. 193-231, esp. 200; Falkenhausen, *The Chinese Society*, XXX.

<sup>13</sup> For examples cf. *Jicheng*, *passim*.

without a specific dedication. Plausibly, Zhao was Cheng's son and heir. This explains why Zhao's bronzes appear in Tomb M2.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. The date of the Peng tombs

Comparing the bronzes from Hengbei to the objects from the cemetery of Jin rulers, the excavators conclude that Peng tombs M1 and M2 date between the tombs M32-33 and M91-92 in the cemetery of Jin State at Tianma-Qucun.<sup>15</sup> Although these suggested comparisons date about mid-ninth century BC,<sup>16</sup> the excavators surprisingly conclude that Peng tombs date to the end of the reign of the fifth Western Zhou king, Mu 穆 (956 - 923 BC)<sup>17</sup> or slightly later. However, many factors indicate that Peng rulers' tombs do not date that early. Rather, they were closed after the reign of King Gong 恭 (922-900 BC),<sup>18</sup> i. e. during the first half of the ninth century BC.<sup>19</sup>

The excavators base themselves on the topology of Western Zhou bronzes proposed by Li Feng 李豐 in 1988.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, sets of bronzes in which vessels for liquors predominate, were current before the reign of King Gong. This shift of the focus from the liquor to the food vessels represents one of the manifestations of the so-called "ritual revolution" or "reform" dated by many scholars to the reign of King Gong or even later, towards 850 BC.<sup>21</sup> The tomb M2 includes *gu*-goblets and *jue*-beakers that normally do not appear in post-reform assemblages. Thus, from the perspective of the sumptuary rules guiding the composition of the Peng inventories, 850 BC is their *terminus ante quem*. At the same time, the excavators rightly point out that the set of *he*-kettle and *pan*-basin becomes current starting from King Mu's reign, thus supporting their argument that Peng tombs do not date earlier than that. This

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<sup>14</sup> For comparison, bronzes commissioned by father and son appear together in tombs of rulers of Jin State (cf. "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di san ci fajue" 天馬——曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第三次發掘, *Wenwu* 1995.7, 5-39).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. "Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di": 19.

<sup>16</sup> The excavators of the Jin cemetery date M32-33 to the later part of the Middle Western Zhou period and M91-92 to the earlier part of the Late Western Zhou period. They suggest that the occupants of M33 (Jin-hou Boma 晉侯燹馬) and of M 91 (Jin-hou Xi-fu 晉侯喜父) were related as father and son (cf. "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di san ci fajue," 37-38). Furthermore, they identify Xi-fu with Jing-hou 靖 who, according to Sima Qian, ruled from 858 until 840 BC, i. e. during the time of King Li 厲 of Zhou (857-842 BC) (cf. Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 14.512 ("Shi er zhuhou nianbiao" 十二諸侯年表)).

<sup>17</sup> I agree that, as Edward Shaughnessy suggests, King Mu's reign did not last 55 years (cf. Shaughnessy, XXX). As of today, it is clear that King Mu reigned at least 34 years. 956 BC, regarded by Nivison and Shaughnessy as the initial year of King Mu, seems acceptable in light of currently available sources (cf. Shaughnessy, XXX). However, I am persuaded that the end date of King Mu's reign has to be adjusted to 923 BC (cf. Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Lun Xi Zhou zhong qi zhi wan qi chu jinwen de zuhe" 論西周中期至晚期初金文的組合, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 2000.4, 262-7).

<sup>18</sup> I accept King Gong's dates suggested by Li Xueqin (cf. fn. 17)

<sup>19</sup> Another argument brought up by the excavators in favour of King Mu's date concerns the phoenix images embroidered on the *huangwei*-shroud. They argue that similar phoenix shapes were current during the reign of King Mu. This is only partly correct. First, phoenix motives in decorations of bronzes were current also during the reign of King Gong and, in fact, they did not disappear completely even later (cf. Chen Gongruan, Zhang Changshou, "Yin Zhou qingtong rongqi shang niaowen de duandai yanjiu," *Kaogu xuebao* 1984.3, 265-286). However, it is more important that the composition of the phoenix bodies on the *huangwei* does not find direct parallels in bird reliefs on the Western Zhou bronzes (cf. "Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di," 20). Possibly, their iconography bases on some earlier, Shang prototypes modified by artisans not fully complying with the Shang-Zhou artistic standards.

<sup>20</sup> Li Feng 李豐, "Huanghe liuyu Xi Zhou muzang chutu qingtong liqi de fenqi yu niandai" 黃河流域西周墓葬出土青銅禮器的分期與年代, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 4 (1988): 383-418.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Rawson, 1998, XXX; Falkenhausen, *The Chinese Society*, pp. 56-64.



is, however, obvious also from the shapes and decorations of individual bronzes in Peng's assemblages.

Although *he*-kettles similar to these found in Peng tombs appear already during King Mu's reign, their shape remains the same also during King Gong's reign.<sup>22</sup> Elongated *hu*-vases with vertical lugs through which a cord might have been threaded, were typical for the middle Western Zhou period.<sup>23</sup> The *ding*-cauldrons in both M1 and M2 have relatively shallow bellies with flat bottom and thin cabriole legs. They have no other decorations but one or two high-relief ribbons below the rim (cf. Images I and II). This shape in combination with minimalist decorations is manifested in a number of vessels dated to the reign of King Gong.<sup>24</sup> The shapes and decorations of the *gui*-tureens suggest King Gong's or later date of Peng tombs the most strongly.



**Image III. Tureens from Peng tombs and their parallels:**

A1: Hengbei M1: 199; A2: *Qiu Wei gui* 裘衛簋; B1: Hengbei M2 : 62; B2: *Xun gui* 荀簋; C1: Hengbei M1: 212; C2: *Chu gui* 楚簋.

The *gui*-tureens with a square base, commissioned by Peng-*bo* for Bi Ji look the most archaic of all vessels in the tombs' assemblages due to its square base (M1:199, Image III.A1). Tureens with square base were current during the early and middle Western Zhou periods and were cast later only occasionally, as a reminiscence of an ancient tradition.<sup>25</sup> The square-

<sup>22</sup> He M2: 61 is almost identical with *Qiu Wei he* 裘衛盃, *Jicheng* #9456, Shaanxi Qishan Dongjiacun 岐山縣董家村, 3<sup>d</sup> year of King Gong. For images of vessels included in the *Jicheng* cf. *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliao ku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫, <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Rawson, Vol. IIA, 74-5, Fig. 95.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Que Cao ding, Fifth year's *Wei ding* 衛鼎 (*Jicheng* #2831-2, Shaanxi Qishan Dongjiacun, 5th year of King Gong), and others (for description and images cf. Rawson, Vol. IIB, 281-3.) Undecorated *ding* appear also earlier. However, earlier pieces usually have slender legs only slightly narrowing towards the bottom, whereas cabriole legs in combination with flat-bottomed body represent a relatively late feature.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Rawson, Vol. IIA, 104-6.

footed *gui* are usually very massive and their surfaces of completely filled with zoomorphic and geometric patterns.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, M1:199 manifests the same minimalism in decoration as the *ding*-cauldrons found in the both tombs at Hengbei. Such handles, attached to the body vertically and decorated with relief animal heads on the shoulders and having small pendants below become widespread from the beginning of King Gong's reign and are typical for tureens cast during the ninth century BC (Image III.A2).<sup>27</sup>

The tureens M1: 212 commissioned by Peng-bo Cheng, as well as M2: 62 (not inscribed), have a ring foot supported by three small zoomorphic legs. Their bodies and covers are decorated with relief ribbons (*wawen* 瓦文 ornament), widespread starting from the middle Western Zhou period.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, M1: 212 has ornamental ribbons in the upper register of the body and on the periphery of the cover. Instead of handles, these tureens have small zoomorphic lugs pierced with rings. M2: 62 finds parallels in a number of standard vessels of King Gong's reign (cf. Image III.B.2).<sup>29</sup> The cover of M1: 212 has an elevated base (Image III.C1). Covers with elevated base occasionally appear on tureens cast during the first half of the ninth century BC (Image III.C2).<sup>30</sup> Evidently, late art-historical features predominate in Peng tombs' assemblages. Therefore, judging upon the art-historical criteria, they should not be dated previous to King Gong's reign.

The inscription on the tureen M1:212 dates the grant of a chariot by Duke Yi 益公 to Peng-bo Cheng to the twenty-third year. As usually, it does not specify the year-count of which Western Zhou king does it use.<sup>31</sup> Instead of being simply helpful for the dating of Peng's tombs according to the chronology of the Western Zhou accepted by most western sinologists, this inscriptions calls for a revision of this convention.

<sup>26</sup> E. g. *Wei gui* 裴簋, *Jicheng* # 4209, Shaanxi Qishan Dongjiacun, King Mu's or King Gong's reign (the inscription does not indicate the year's date, but other Qiu Wei's inscriptions are standard for the reigns of these both kings).

<sup>27</sup> The body M:199 is shaped in the same way as *Qiu Wei gui* 裴衛簋, *Jicheng* #4256, Shaanxi Qishan Dongjiacun, 27<sup>th</sup> year of King Mu. Although the event referred to in the inscription on the latter is dated to the end of King Mu's reign, it is plausible that the vessel was cast already during the reign of King Gong, when the new, plain decorative style, became widespread. *Qiu Wei gui* stands in sharp contrast to *Wei gui* 裴簋, *Jicheng* # 4209, commissioned by the same person. The latter represents a typical vessel of King Mu's reign, whereas *Qiu Wei gui* matches in style Qiu Wei's bronzes made at the beginning of King Gong's reign (e. g. *Qiu Wei he* 裴衛盃, *Jicheng* #9456 and *Wei ding* 衛鼎, *Jicheng* #2831-2).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Rawson, XXX.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Guai-bo gui* 乖伯簋 (*Jicheng* #4331, 9<sup>th</sup> year of King Gong); *Xun gui* 鬲簋 (*Jicheng* #4321, Shaanxi Lantian Ancunxiang Sipocun 陝西省藍田縣安村鄉寺坡村, 17<sup>th</sup> year of King Gong). The *Sui gui* 逯簋 (*Jicheng* #4207, Shaanxi, place unknown, MWZ) has also a similar body. Its inscription reports about the reception of the commissioner by King Mu. Usually, kings were not referred by name during their lifetime, thus, the vessel could be cast already during King Gong's reign.

<sup>30</sup> E. g. *Shi Shi gui* 師簋 (*Jicheng* #4216, Shaanxi Xi'an Chang'anqu, Mawangzhen Zhangjiapocun 陝西省西安市長安區馬王鎮張家坡村, MWZ (5<sup>th</sup> year of King Yi 夷 (865-858 BC), 861 BC, cf. Shaughnessy, *Sources*, 283); *Chu gui* 楚簋, *Jicheng* #4246, Shaanxi Wugong Sufangxiang Renbeicun 陝西省武功縣蘇坊鄉任北村, LWZ.

<sup>31</sup> Some non-Zhou polities used their own calendars and, possibly, their rulers established their own year-counts (I discussed this in "The Western Zhou Notion of Time: Authority versus Autonomy," paper read at the 11th International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia, 15-20 August 2005, Munich, and „Autonomie, Prestige und Kalender: Die Bronzeinschriften der frühchinesischen Fürstentümer Deng und Ru aus IX-VI Jh. v.u.Z.,“ talk in the graduate school "Forms of Prestige in Cultures of Antiquity" at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University of Munich, December 6, 2007). However, Duke Yi, who granted the chariot to Peng-bo, was a high royal official, it is unlikely that this event was not dated according to the royal calendar.

Duke Yi appears in bronze inscriptions dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>, the 12<sup>th</sup>, the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> years of King Gong and in one inscription dated to the second year of King Yih 懿 (899/97-873).<sup>32</sup> Yi 益, literally “Advantageous,” was not a name of a lineage, but was applied to individuals in two ways.<sup>33</sup> First, *Yi* was used as a posthumous temple name for ancestors of lineages from the Western Zhou metropolitan area, e. g. Tong 同 or Shan 單.<sup>34</sup> S 惡, similarly to epithets *Mu* 穆 (“Reverent”) or *Wu* 武 (“Martial”), *Yi* could be used as an honorific byname of some distinguished persons during their lifetime.<sup>35</sup> Persons with such bynames appear in bronze inscriptions very seldom. This makes likely that inscriptions mentioning Duke Yi as a living person and not as an ancestor refer to the same man. Dates indicated in many of these inscriptions demonstrate that Duke Yi was active from the beginning of King Gong’s reign until the first years of King Yih’s reign. The stylistic similarity of the vessels with inscriptions mentioning Duke Yi but having no dates with other vessels of the same categories dating to King Gong’s reign unequivocally suggests that all of them date to the same time (cf. Image IV; for the dates of standard vessels of King Gong’s reign cf. Table I in Appendix).

### King Gong’s reign

*Guai-bo gui* (*Jicheng* #4331)  
𠄎白簋, 9th year



*Yong yu* (*Jicheng* #10322)  
永盂, 12th year<sup>36</sup>



陝西省藍田縣湖濱鎮

*Xun gui* (*Jicheng* #4321)  
旬簋, 17th year



陝西省藍田縣寺坡村

<sup>32</sup> On Yi-gong’s roles cf. Shaughnessy, Edward L., “Newest Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels, 2000-2010,” distributed for this conference, fn. 38. For the reigns after King Gong, I accept the chronology suggested by Nivison and Shaughnessy.

<sup>33</sup> Pre-Qin received texts never mention Yi lineage. Geographical descriptions from the Han period or later also do not render a place-name Yi, from which, theoretically, this lineage could derive its name.

<sup>34</sup> An inscription commissioned by Captain Xun 師旬 was dedicated to 烈且乙伯同益姬 (*Shi Xun gui* 師旬簋, *Jicheng* #4342, MWZ). Yi-bo 乙伯 represents a posthumous designation of the male “illustrious ancestor,” mixing up the Shang- and Zhou-style denominations of ancestors: according to the heavenly stems of the calendar and according to the birth sequence in a family. The other dedicatee referred by the surname Ji was a female. Tong appears as a name of a lineage and as a place-name in a number of inscriptions from central Shaanxi and the Zhou Plain area (cf. *San-shi pan* 散氏盤, *Jicheng* #10176, Shaanxi Fengyu 鳳翔; *Ji-fu hu* 幾父壺, *Jicheng* #9721, LWZ, Shaanxi Fufeng Qijiacun 齊家村). The *Xun gui*, commissioned by Captain Xun at a later date, calls the same ancestors 乙伯同姬 (*Xun gui*, *Jicheng* 4323, Shaanxi Lantian Sipo 寺坡, MWZ). This makes evident that Tong was the name of the lineage of the Ji-surnamed woman, whereas Yi was her posthumous title.

Vessels commissioned by Jin 釐 and discovered in 1955 (cf. *Jicheng* #6013, Shaanxi Mei Lijiacun 鄜縣李家村, MWZ) were dedicated to the ancestor Yi-gong 益公. As the inscription on the *Qiu pan* 求盤 from the hoard at Lijiacun discovered in 2003 make clear, Jin belonged to the Ji-surnamed Shan 單 lineage residing in this place. He was active during the reigns of Kings Mu and Gong. The ancestor referred to in his inscriptions as Yi-gong should have been active during the reign of King Cheng. In the *Qiu pan* inscription his temple name has been changed to Gong-shu 公叔, “Duke’s Third-born”. Possibly, this change of the posthumous name is related to the fact that during the reigns of Mu and Gong, another person became famous under the byname Duke Yi.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Yang Yachang 楊亞長, “Jinwen suo jian zhi Yi-gong, Mu-gong yu Wu-gong kao” 金文所見之益公、穆公與武公考, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 6 (2004): 71-75.



Zouma Xiu pan (*Jicheng*  
#10170)  
走馬休盤, 20th year



Peng-bo Cheng gui  
棚伯禹盤, 23rd year

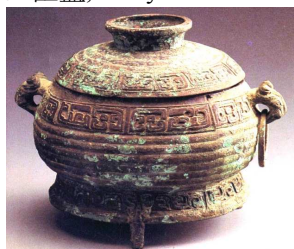


山西絳縣橫水

Shen gui gai (*Jicheng*  
4267)  
申簋蓋, no year date



King Yih's reign  
*Wang Chen gui* (*Jicheng* 4268)  
王臣簋, 2nd year



陝西省澄城縣南串業村

#### Image IV. Vessels with inscriptions mentioning Duke Yi.

According to the chronology of Western Zhou reigns suggested by David Nivison and Edward Shaughnessy, King Gong's reign lasted from 917 to 900 BC. The controversial project of the periodization of the Three Dynasties has arrived at 922-900 BC dates for King Gong.<sup>37</sup> In his paper submitted to the present conference, Professor Shaughnessy notes that *Peng-bo gui* added troubles to the study of the Western Zhou chronology. He considers again the possibility that *Zouma Xiu pan* dated to the 20<sup>th</sup> year and regarded as a standard vessel of King Gong's reign by the "Periodization of the Three Dynasties Project," dates to King Xuan's reign, whereas Duke Yi, mentioned in the latter inscription, was a different person.<sup>38</sup> However, the art-historical features of Xiu's vessels support their attribution to middle Western Zhou period, whereas its date fits the reconstructed calendar of King Gong starting with 922 BC.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> This *yu* is fully covered with zoomorphic decorations in a way typical for King Mu's period. Nevertheless, its inscription not only contains a date compatible with King Gong's calendar, but also mentions several persons active during King Gong's reign. Therefore, there is no doubt about its date.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjia zu 夏商周断代工程专家组, *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng 1996-2000 nian jieduan chengguo baogao* 夏商周断代工程 1996—2000 年阶段成果报告 (Beijing: Shijie tushu, 2001), 36.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Shaughnessy, "Newest sources," fn. 38

<sup>39</sup> In particular, it has thin handles, round in cross-section, characteristic for earlier basins (e. g. 季作寶盤, *Jicheng* #10048, 陝西省寶雞市竹園溝, MWZ, or *Mian pan* 免盤, *Jicheng* #10161, MWZ), whereas the handles of later *pan* are rectangular in cross-section. More important, Xiu commissioned a second vessel, *Xiu gui* 休簋 (*Jicheng* #3609, MWZ). Both *pan* and *gui* are dedicated to Xiu's father *Fu Ding* 父丁 / *wen kao ri Ding* 文考日丁, which makes evident that they were commissioned by the same person. This is a classic mid-Western Zhou tureen, most similar to the *Qiu Wei gui* (cf. Image III.A2).

The project's results have already been criticized from various perspectives, and, for a number of reigns, they certainly need to be adjusted. However, its dates for King Gong appear plausible, since they can be verified by comparing inscriptions mentioning several individuals active at the court of King Gong. In some cases, these persons were active already at the end of the reign of King Mu, or at the beginning of the reign of King Yih. 900 BC as the last year of King Gong is verified by the inscriptions on the Shi Hu gui 師虎簋 and Hu gui 召簋 dated to the first year of King Yih.<sup>40</sup> The latest inscription mentioning Duke Yi, the *Wang chen gui*, dates from the “second year, third month, first auspiciousness, day *geng-yin*” that can be located as the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the third month of 898 BC.<sup>41</sup> It is true that dates recorded in the dating formulas of the most fully dated inscriptions from King Gong's reign are compatible with the royal calendar starting either from 917 or 922 BC.<sup>42</sup> However, as suggested by the inscription on the *Zouma Xiu pan* dated to the 20<sup>th</sup> year, King Gong's reign lasted longer than eighteen years.<sup>43</sup> The newly discovered *Peng-bo Cheng gui* reveals that King Gong's reign included the 23<sup>rd</sup> year.<sup>44</sup> This was the last year of King Gong's reign that begun in 922 BC.<sup>45</sup>

Given that Peng-bo Cheng received a war chariot from Duke Yi during the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of King Gong, i. e. 900 BC, the Peng tombs roughly date from the first third of the ninth century BC.

<sup>40</sup> They both date from the “initial year, sixth month, after the full moon” and two subsequent days: *jia-xu* (11) and *yi-hai* (12). They can be located as 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> days of the 6<sup>th</sup> month of 899 BC, beginning with day *bing-chen* (53).

<sup>41</sup> Basically, I believe that the four parts of the month referred to in the Zhou bronze inscriptions, *chu ji*, *ji sheng po*, *ji wang* and *ji si po* do not represent month's quarters. Rather, I hold that the designation *chu ji*, “the first auspiciousness” referred to lucky days, normally within the first decade, whereas the term *ji sheng po*, “after the brightness was born” referred to the first half of the month before the full moon. The term *ji wang*, “after the full moon” referred to the first part of the second half of the month, whereas *ji si po*, “after the dying brightness”, referred to the end of the month (for this interpretation cf. Huang Shengzhang, XXX; this is also accepted by the “Project of the Periodization of the Tree Dynasties; cf. XXX). At the same time, it is true that days identified as *chu ji* are often found in the first week of the month. Thus, the “four-quarter theory” advanced by Wang Guowei and maintained by many contemporary scholars, has also its reasons (for details cf. Nivison, Shaughnessy). Nevertheless, even if *chu ji* normally referred to the first quarter, such “strong lucky days” like *geng-yin* or *ding-hai* would be defined in the same way even if they were located after the 7<sup>th</sup> of the month. Thus, *Zouma Xiu pan*'s date including the *geng-yin* day is unproblematic even if seen from the “four quarters” perspective.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Zhang Peiyu 張培瑜, *Zhong guo xian Qin shi li biao* 中國現秦史歷表 (Jinan: Jinan jilu, 1987), p. 52.

<sup>43</sup> The date of *Zouma Xiu*'s audience, “the twentieth year, first month, after full moon, day *jia-xu* (11) can be located in the first month of 903 BC as the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the month.

<sup>44</sup> It omits the month number and provides only the designation of the month's part “the first auspiciousness” and the day *ding-you* (34). Such day can be located in the second, the fourth, the sixth and the eighth months of 900 BC.

<sup>45</sup> Wang Zhangkui has recently proposed an alternative date – 927 BC, and, at the same time, suggested that the reign lasted only until 903 BC. I compared these alternative periodisations of the bronze inscriptions and found out that Li Xueqin's reconstruction fits better the reconstruction of the pre-Qin calendar proposed by Zhang Peiyu. In contrast, Wang Zhangkui's dates can be located in Zhang Peiyu's calendar only by shifting several intercalatory months. On one hand, I can admit that during the Western Zhou times intercalatory months could be inserted deliberately and not according to the rules current during the Han dynasty and used by Zhang Peiyu as the basis for reconstruction. On the other hand, given that Li Xueqin's date allows for locating inscriptions in the reconstructed calendar without any manipulation, I am inclined to give preference to his hypothesis.

922 BC as the date of the beginning of King Gong's reign conforms the reconstructed calendar of King Mu beginning with 956 BC as suggested by Shaughnessy. In his recent paper, he locates several newly discovered inscriptions dated to 24<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> years of King Mu in 933, 930 and 927 BC respectively (cf. Xia Hanyi 夏含夷, 从作册吴盂再看周穆王在位年數及年代問題). Other inscriptions dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> years can also be easily located in the same calendar (XXX, *Geng-yin ding*). *Xian zun*, dated to the “34<sup>th</sup> year, 5<sup>th</sup> month, after the full moon, day *wu-xu* (55)” and very plausibly originating from King Mu's reign, can be located as the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month of 928 BC. This appears slightly problematic, since it is assumed that the designation *ji wang* normally applied to the days after the 15<sup>th</sup> of the month. Nevertheless, if the commissioner of the vessel based on observation of the sky and not on the calculated calendar, his mistake is explainable. As far as inscriptions with the year number higher than 34 are unknown, it can be accepted that King Mu reigned from 956 until 928 BC.

#### 4. Cultural roots of the Peng lineage

The inventory of the tombs of Peng-bo and Bi Ji includes all typical objects used by Zhou aristocracy in rituals of ancestral worship throughout the Zhou cultural sphere. These include vessels for cooking and serving meat and grain, for serving and drinking wine,<sup>46</sup> and for performing the hand-washing ritual. Besides, tomb M1, occupied by a female, contains thirteen pottery urns *san zu weng* 三足瓮 with squeezed globular bodies and three bulbous legs, narrowing towards the tips, as well as three pottery vases *da kou zun* 大口尊 with trumpet-like necks (cf. Image V). These vessels represent the most conspicuous objects in the burial inventory of Peng tombs and are therefore worthy of a close consideration.



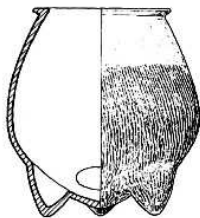
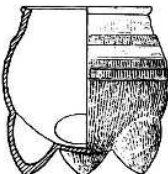
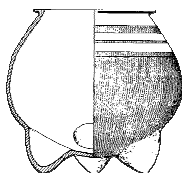
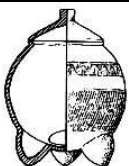
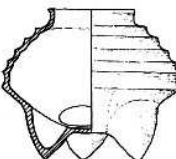

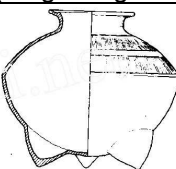

**Image V. Pottery vessels from Hengbei M1:** a) *da kou zun*; b) *san zu weng*; c) *li* with notched ribs; d) *dou*-like *gui* on a high foot.<sup>47</sup>

*San zu weng*-urns have been found in a small number of tombs of the Jin aristocracy at the Tianma-Qucun cemetery, normally one piece in a tomb. The occupants of these tombs were

<sup>46</sup> Note that the liquor usually defined as “wine” in the sinological literature in fact was a kind of beer (cf. Höllmann, XXX).

<sup>47</sup> Source: “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” 11, img. 15-18.

all female.<sup>48</sup> These vessels display a development from earlier, nearly egg-shaped, to later, horizontally-squeezed specimens (Table II).

Tianma-Qucun	Hengbei	Zhouyuan
<div></div> <div>1st stage (M6136), EWZ</div>		
<div></div> <div>2nd stage (M6049) E-MWZ</div> <div></div> <div>M113</div>		
<div></div> <div>3rd stage (M7093), MWZ</div>		
<div></div> <div>4th stage (M7113), MWZ (King Gong's reign)</div>	<div></div> <div>M1</div>	
<div></div> <div>M92, LWZ (mid-ninth c. BC)</div>		<div></div> <div>Qijiacun M16, LWZ<sup>49</sup></div>

**Table II. Three-legged *weng* in tombs of Western Zhou period**

This typology provides an additional support for the early ninth century date of the tomb M1 at Hengbei. Beside Tianma-Qucun and Hengbei, squeezed *san zu weng* have been found recently in a tomb at Lijiacun, Fufeng, Shaanxi. Obviously, this vessel type was not typical for the Zhou metropolitan area and, quite certainly, was associated with a migrant, possibly, also a female. In absence of other direct parallels of the Western Zhou period, the source of the squeezed *san zu weng* in the tombs of Jin and Peng states cannot be revealed directly.

<sup>48</sup> The correlation between the occurrence of the *san zu weng* and the sex of tombs' occupants has been already noticed (cf. Falkenhausen, *The Chinese Society*, p. 212, with reference to Chen Fangmei 2002).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Zhouyuan kaogu dui, "2002 nian Zhouyuan yizhi (Qijiacun) fajue jianbao" 2002 年周原遗址(齐家村)发掘简报. *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2003.4, 3-9. The early late Western Zhou date has been suggested upon the analysis of pottery *li* and *dou* vessels.

Nevertheless, admitting that the development from the earlier towards the later form of the *san zu weng* took place within one culture, it is reasonable to retrace the origin of the egg-shaped three-legged urns.

One pottery and one bronze *san zu weng* have been discovered also in the Tomb M113 at Qucun, supposedly occupied by the spouse of the ruler of Jin buried in the adjacent tomb M114, together with a bronze double-handed jar *shuang er guan* 雙耳罐. These tombs represent the earliest burials of Jin rulers discovered so far. The excavators date them to the edge of the Early and Middle Western Zhou periods, i. e. to the first half or the middle of the tenth century BC.<sup>50</sup> As Lothar von Falkenhausen comments, both *san zu weng* and *shuang er guan*

“were established among the farmers and pastoralists, both sedentary, who flourished in the transitional zone between the agricultural core of China and the Central Eurasian steppes (Shaanxi, Southern Inner Mongolia, and northern Shaanxi). The archaeological cultures associated with these populations go back to the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age – many centuries before any part of this area came under the control of polities governed by lineages of the Ji clan, and before any indications of urban civilization, an aristocratic rank order, or ancestral ritual ever became locally manifest.”<sup>51</sup>

Von Falkenhausen further suggests that,

“since bronze specimens of these vessel types have never been found in the cultures where their ceramic prototypes originated, the two specimens from Tomb 113 were made at Jin foundries in imitation of ceramics the tomb occupant brought from her home. <...> Neither *san zu weng* nor *shuang er guan* fulfilled a function that could not have been easily accomplished by established vessel types of the Zhou ceramic repertoire. This suggests that their significance in Zhou contexts was symbolic rather than utilitarian and increases the likelihood that they served to signify their possessors’ ethnic origin.”<sup>52</sup>

Comparing the idiosyncratic pottery from the Hengbei and Tianma-Qucun cemeteries, it can be suggested that the *da kou zun*, possibly, also fulfilled this symbolic function. In the tomb Tianma-Qucun M92, occupied by a female, identified by excavators as the spouse of Jin-hou Xi-fu, buried in the adjacent tomb M91, a *san zu weng* has been found in combination with a *da kou zun*.<sup>53</sup> These both vessels were prominently placed separately outside of the inner coffin on the eastern, left-hand side of the deceased, whereas all other ritual vessels were placed in front of the foot side of the coffin. These tombs have been dated to mid-ninth c. BC, i. e. only slightly later than the tombs of Peng rulers. In the tomb Tianma-Qucun M2, occupied by the spouse of the next ruler of Jin, a *da kou zun* occupies a similarly prominent place.<sup>54</sup> Looking back at pre-Zhou periods, it can be noticed that both *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* (together or without *shuang er guan*) belong to pottery repertoires of several cultures of

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di liu ci fajue” 天馬——曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第六次發掘, *Wenwu* 8 (2001): 4-21, 55. For the date of the tombs defined as “late to middle” cf. 21, for the image cf. 19. Lothar von Falkenhausen dates the tomb to the mid-tenth century BC (cf. Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, p. 211).

<sup>51</sup> Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, p. 212.

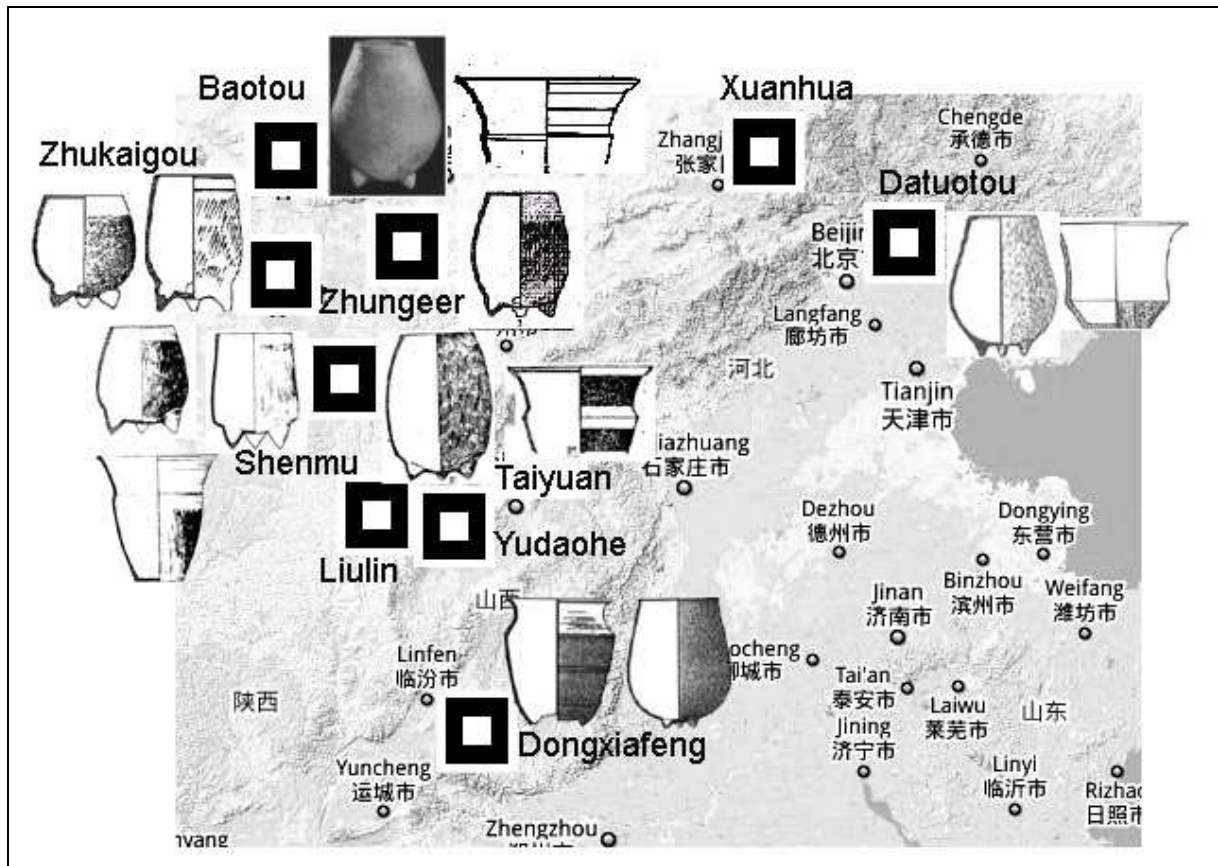
<sup>52</sup> Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, p. 212.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Beijing daxue kaogu xi, Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di wu ci fajue,” *Wenwu* 1995.7, 4-39.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di wu ci fajue,” 13, img. 14. Tombs M1 and M2, occupied by a Jin ruler and his spouse, date immediately after the tombs M91 and M92, i. e. to the beginning of the second half of the ninth-century BC. Tomb M2 has been looted almost empty, and, besides the *da kou zun*, it has yielded only one bronze cauldron and one pottery *li*-tripod. There were certainly other bronzes, and, possibly, also other pottery vessels. Therefore, this may be just a chance that the *da kou zun* was not accompanied by a *san zu weng*, similarly as in the tomb M92. In any case, similarly to M92, in the M2, the *da kou zun* was placed outside of the inner coffin in the north-eastern part of the burial chamber *guo*.



the northern zone, some of which continued to exist during the Western Zhou period (cf. Map I).



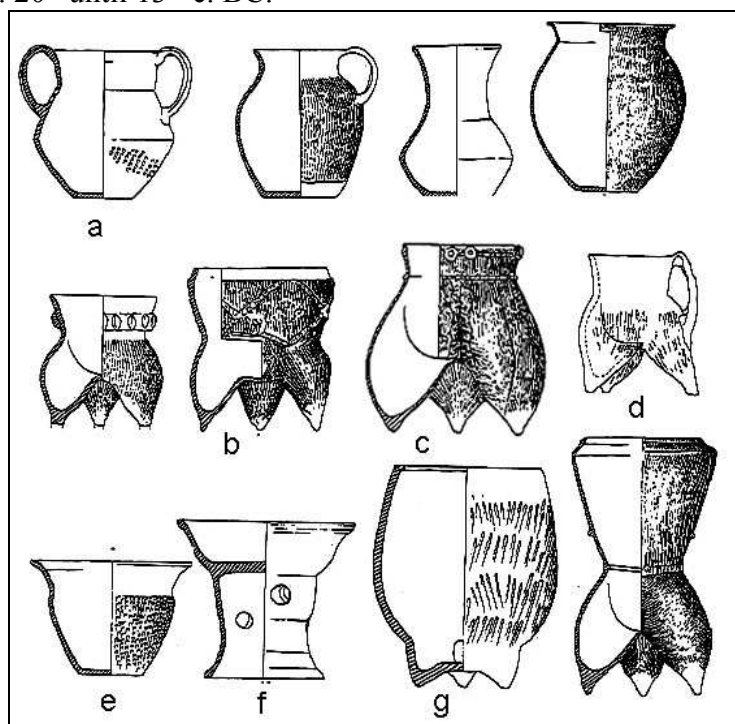
Map I. *San zu weng* and *da kou zun* in Zhukaigou and related cultures<sup>55</sup>

It is recognized by many scholars that the *san zu weng* originated and represented one of the most distinctive vessel types of the Zhukaigou 朱開溝 culture.<sup>56</sup> This culture, named after

<sup>55</sup> Sources: Zhang Deguang 長德光, "Chagou taoli yu Yudaohu sanzhuweng de shidai wenti" 岔溝陶器與峪道河三足瓮的時代問題, *Wenwu jikan* 1994.1, 48-52; Hai Lin 海林, Dong Yongjun 董永軍, "Baotou shi chu tu Xia dai sanzhuweng" 包頭市出土夏代三足瓮, *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu*, 2000.1, 201-2; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shaanxi Shenmu Xinhua yizhi 1999 nian fajue jianbao" 陝西神木新華遺址 1999 年發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2002.1, 3-12; Ji Faxi 吉發習, Ma Huiqi 馬輝圻, "Nei Menggu Zhungeer qi Dakou yizhi de diaocha yu shijue" 內蒙古準格爾旗大口遺址的調查與試掘, *Kaogu* 1979.4, 308-19; Wang Kelin 王克林, Hai Jindong 海金東, "Shanxi Fenyang xian Yudaohu yizhi diaocha" 山西汾陽縣峪道河遺址調查, *Kaogu* 1983.11, 961-72; Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan kaogu xue wenhua yanjiu*, 51.

<sup>56</sup> For the identification of the pocket-legged *san zu weng* as a standard Zhukaigou type cf. Su Bingqi 蘇秉琦, *Zhongguo wenming qiyuan xintan* 中國文明起源新談 (Xianggang: Shangwu, 1997), 49-52. Su suggests that pocket-legged pottery *li* tripod of the Central Plain emerged as a mixture of the Yangshao pointed-bottomed *ping* 瓶-bottle and the *san zu weng* from Ordos, thus being a product of cultural exchange between the emerging Chinese and the northern steppe cultures (ibid, 50). Yang Zemeng suggests that *san zu weng* was developed in Zhukaigou on the base of *weng* from Hushan 虎山 culture in Haidai 岱海 region of Inner Mongolia, as well as pointed-bottomed *ping* and round-bottomed *jia* vessels from the local Labakou 喇叭口 culture, contemporary to late Yangshao culture (cf. Yang Zemeng 楊澤蒙, "Zhukaigou wenhua yinsu fenxi ji yu zhoulun diqu kaoguxue wenhua de guanxi" 朱開溝文化因素分析及與周鄰地區考古學文化關係, *Haidai kaogu* (2) – *Zhong Ri Daihai diqu kaocha yanjiu baogao ji* 岱海考古(二): 中日岱海地區考察研究報告集, ed. by Tian Guangjin 田廣金 et al, (Beijing: Kexue, 2001), 411-453, esp. 423).

Zhukaigou site in Yijinhuoluo 伊金霍洛 banner, Yikezhao 伊克昭 County of Inner Mongolia, occupied since ca. 20<sup>st</sup> until 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC.



**Image VI. Zhukaigou pottery:** a) *shuang er guan*; b) *jia* with hollow legs; c) *li* with snake design; d) *li*; e) *da kou zun*; f) high-footed *dou*; g) *san zu weng*.<sup>57</sup>

The origin of the Zhukaigou culture is debatable, but, it is plausible that it developed on a local Ordos base under the strong influence of migrants from Gansu and Qinghai who brought along their native Qijia 齊家 (22-18 cc. BC) culture, characterized, in particular, by one-, two-, and three-handled *guan* jars and pocket-legged *li*, *jia*, and *he* vessels.<sup>58</sup> The Zhukaigou influence has been traced in the south and south-east in northern parts of Shaanxi and in Luliang Mountains 呂梁山 reaching Jinzhong 晉中 in Shanxi. Its traces have been found until

<sup>57</sup> Source: Yang Zemeng, “Zhukaigou wenhua,” 414-5, img. 1, 2 (rearranged by the author of the present paper).

<sup>58</sup> For a short introduction to the Zhukaigou culture cf. Linduff, Kathryn M., Bunker, Emma C., and Wu En, “An Archaeological overview,” *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York Arthur M. Sackler Foundation 1997), 21-22; for a detailed analysis cf. Wu En Yuesitu 烏恩岳斯圖, *Beifang caoyuan kaogu xue wenhua yanjiu* 北方草原考古學文化研究 (Beijing: Kexue, 2007), 61-93; Yang Zemeng, “Zhukaigou wenhua,” 411-453. Zhukaigou pottery includes some specimens common with the Kexingzhuang 克省莊 culture distributed along Wei River in central Shaanxi, including the *jia* with three pocket-like hollow legs spaced apart from each other (cf. Fitzgerald-Huber, Louisa G., “Qijia and Erlitou: The Question of Contacts with Distant Cultures,” *Early China* 20 (1995): 17-67, 31; for a *jia* of this type and a *li* of Kexingzhuang type cf. Image VI c and d). However, it is unlikely that Zhukaigou was founded by migrants from Wei river area (Fitzgerald-Huber, *ibid*, 33), whereas the direct influence from Gansu and Qinghai is undeniable (Linduff et al, *ibid*, 21, Wu En, *ibid*, 86). For the most detailed analysis of Qijia factors in the Zhukaigou culture and criticism of the Keshengzhuang origin theory cf. Ma Mingzhi 馬明志, “Hetao diqu Qijia wenhua yicun de jieding ji qi yiyi – jian lun xibu wenhua dong jin yu beifang biandi wenhua de juhe licheng” 河套地區齊家文化遺存的界定及其意義——兼論西部文化東進與北方邊地文化的聚合歷程, *Wenbo* 2009.5, 16-24. Ma argues that 1-4 periods of the Zhukaigou cemetery yield exclusively Qijia materials, e. g. the site of Zhukaigou was founded by the western migrants. The specific “Zhukaigou culture” manifests itself only starting from the 5th period. Ma suggests that the local roots of this new culture are represented by Dakou 大口 culture (regarded by others as part of the Zhukaigou culture), characterized, in particular, by the egg-shaped *san zu weng*. For the purpose of the present study it suffices to make sure that the *san zu weng* emerged in Ordos and were not brought from regions further apart.

Yinshan 陰山 Mountain Range in Inner Mongolia and even in the southern Baikal region in the north, until Helan 賀蘭 Mountains near Yinchuan 銀川 (Gansu) in the west, and until Zhangjiakou 張家口 area in northern Hebei in the east. The Zhukaigou society was sedentary and practiced agriculture and stock raising. It learned bronze-casting technology in ca. 18<sup>th</sup> c. BC, possibly, from the Qijia and Siba 四坝 (20-16 cc. BC) cultures of Gansu and Qinghai.<sup>59</sup> Since ca. 14<sup>th</sup> c. BC, it established close relationships with the Shang culture.<sup>60</sup> The most typical forms of the Zhukaigou pottery include large *li* with snake design and the *san zu weng*. *Da kou zun* with relatively high, trumpet-like neck also belongs to its inventory (cf. Image VI c, e, g).

Earlier Zhukaigou *san zu weng* found in Inner Mongolia, northern Shaanxi, Shanxi and in Hebei, are large, egg-shaped and have relatively small legs. They were often used as containers for infant burials. Later Zhukaigou specimens have shallower and wider, nearly globular bodies (Image VII). Similar nearly globular *san zu weng* were found on the Xinhua 新華 site in Shenmu 神木 in the north of Shaanxi.<sup>61</sup>

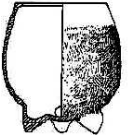


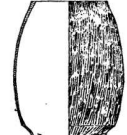
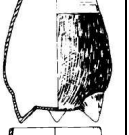
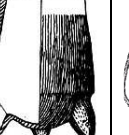


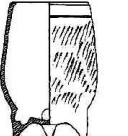

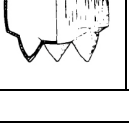
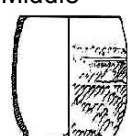
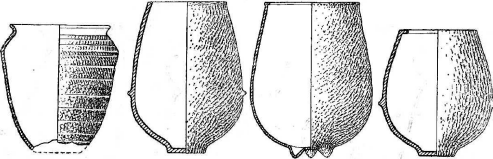
Zhukaigou	Xiguaqu	Dakou	Yudaohe	Shenmu	Lijaya	Youyao	Baiyan
 Late							
 Middle							
 Early		<b>Dongxiafeng types</b> 					

Table III. Northern *san zu weng* and their Dongxiafeng counterparts<sup>62</sup>

The earliest find of the *san zu weng* to the east from the Great Bend of the Yellow River was made in Yudao 峪道 River Valley, Fenyang 汾陽 County, Shanxi, on the south-eastern foot of Lüliang 呂梁 Mountains.<sup>63</sup> They are almost identical to these found in Shimao 石峁,

<sup>59</sup> From Siba culture, bronze knives and dagger-axes, as well as rings and earrings had been borrowed. Zhukaigou contacts to Qijia culture manifest themselves in the adoption of two-handled drinking vessels *shuang er guan*. (cf. Wu En, 82-3).

<sup>60</sup> Linduff et al, "An Archaeological overview," 21. Shang bronze dagger-axes, *ding*-cauldrons, *gui* on a ring foot and pottery *dou* on a high, thick foot (possibly, a prototype of the Zhukaigou *dou* on Image VI f) have been found in tombs (cf. Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, 81-2).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shaanxi Shenmu Xinhua yizhi," 7.

<sup>62</sup> Images and periodization of Zhukaigou *san zu weng* is according to Wu En Yuesitu 烏恩岳斯圖, *Beifang caoyuan kaogu xue wenhua yanjiu* (Beijing: Kexue, 2007), 74, img. 33. Other sources: Zhang Yangwen 張映文, Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, "Shaanxi Qingjian xian Lijiaya gucheng yizhi fajue jianbao" 陝西清澗縣李家崖古城遺址發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1988.1, 47-56, esp. 51, img. 7; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Xia xian Dongxiafeng* 夏縣東下馮 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1988), 140, img. 31; [FURTHER REFERENCES FOLLOW]

<sup>63</sup> Wang Kelin and Hai Jindong, "Shanxi Fenyang xian Yudaohe yizhi," 965.

Shenmu 神木, Shaanxi, and on the Dakou 大口 site in Inner Mongolia.<sup>64</sup> The same can be said about the *da kou zun* found in Yudaohu and these found in Dakou and on the Xinhua site in Shenmu.<sup>65</sup> Similarly as in Zhukaigou sites, *san zu weng* were used in Yudaohu for burials of infants. The site has been dated contemporary to Erlitou 二里头 culture, or to the “Xia dynasty.”<sup>66</sup>

Further to the south, egg-shaped *san zu weng* have been found on settlements of the Dongxiafeng 東下馮 culture in south-western Shanxi.<sup>67</sup> This is particularly noteworthy, since its eponym site Dongxiafeng is located in Xia 夏 County on the Yuncheng 運城 Plain only forty kilometers to the south-west from Hengbei. More than thirty other sites spread over Yuncheng Plain and in the south of Fen River Plain have been identified as Dongxiafeng settlements.<sup>68</sup> The excavators attempted a suggestion that Dongxiafeng represented the ruins of the capital of the Xia Dynasty (*Xia xu* 夏墟).<sup>69</sup> Dongxiafeng culture emerged on a local substrate under the strong influence of the Henan Erlitou culture, but also incorporating some elements of cultures distributed farther north. The *san zu weng*, having no local antecedents, are reasonably recognized as Zhukaigou elements.<sup>70</sup> Some scholars have argued that, despite their northern origin, these vessels became well established in the Dongxiafeng culture and, therefore, that spouses of Jin rulers at Tianma-Qucun who had such objects in their tombs were “princesses of the Xia people.”<sup>71</sup> At the same time, jars categorized as *da kou zun* have been often found on Dongxiafeng sites. Leaving aside the question about the historicity of the Xia dynasty, it is reasonable to consider whether the *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* appearing in Tianma-Qucun and Hengbei could not be rooted in the area of Yuncheng during the Western Zhou period.

However, although the *san zu weng* are frequent in Erlitou phases of Dongxiafeng, their never appear on Erlitou sites more to the south. Therefore, they did not become incorporated in the “Xia” culture. Moreover, they disappeared from Dongxiafeng as soon as Henan Erligang culture spread over south-western Shanxi.<sup>72</sup> Besides, only egg-shaped, but no nearly globular *san zu weng* have been found in this area during pre-Shang and Shang periods (cf. Table

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<sup>64</sup> For this argument cf. Yang Zemeng, “Zhukaigou wenhua,” 423. The simplified report on the excavations in Shimao is not available to me.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shaanxi Shenmu Xinhua yizhi,” 7; Ji Faxi and Ma Huiqi, “Nei Menggu Zhungeer qi Dakou yizhi,” 308-19.

<sup>66</sup> Wang Keli and Hai Jindong, “Shanxi Fenyang xian Yudaohu yizhi,” 965.

<sup>67</sup> *Xia xian Dongxiafeng*, 140-141.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Thorp, Robert L., “Erlitou and the Search for the Xia,” *Early China* 16 (1991), 1-38, esp. 7; Li Weiming 李維明, “Zai lun Dongxiafeng leixing” 再議東下馮類型, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1997.2, 23-31. Although Erlitou features are manifested in the Dongxiafeng the most strongly, it also displays influences from Taosi 陶寺 and Kexingzhuang cultures, as well as from the early Shang culture.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *Xia xian Dongxiafeng*, 249.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Li Weiming, “Zai lun Dongxiafeng leixing,” 27.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Hou Yi 侯毅, “Cong Jin-hou mu tongqi kan Jin wenhua de xingcheng yu fazhan” 從晉侯墓銅器看晉文化的形成與發展, *Jin hou mu di chu tu qing tong qi guo ji xue shu tao lun hui lun wen ji* 晉侯墓地出土青銅器國際學術討論會論文集, ed. by Shanghai bowuguan (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua, 2002), 114-131, esp. 119; Lin Tianren 林天人, *Xian Qin San Jin quyu kaogu yanjiu* 先秦三晉區域文化研究 (Taipei: Taiwan guji, 2003), 163.

<sup>72</sup> In the remains of the Erlitou-II and Erlitou-III phases at Dongxiafeng, egg-shaped *weng* (which not necessary were all *san zu weng*, but, possibly, also included species without legs) make 4 and 8,4 % of all pottery vessels. In the Erligang-I phase, their number decreases only slightly (4,9 %), but in the Erligang-II phase, they appear only seldom (1,8 %) (for numbers and a detailed analysis cf. Qin Xiaoli, “Jin xian diqu Erlitou wenhua dao Erligang wenhua de taoqi yanbian yanjiu” 晉西南地區二里头文化到二里岡文化的陶器演變研究, *Kaogu* 2006.2, 56-72, esp. 63, table III).

III).<sup>73</sup> Therefore, the continuity between Dongxiafeng *san zu weng* and those from Tianma-Qucun or from Hengbei cannot be confirmed.

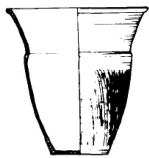
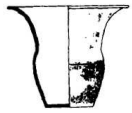
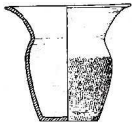
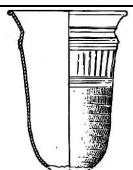
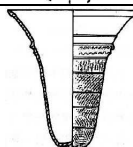
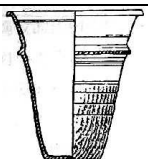
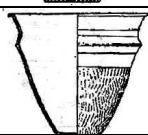
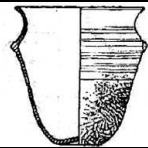

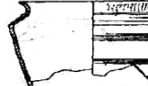
Shenmu		Dongxiafeng	Zhengzhou Shangcheng	Tianma-Qucun	
					M2 (MWZ)
					M 7008 (E-MWZ)
				2.2.	
				2.1.	
			VI.		
			V.		
			IV.		
			III.		
			II.		

Table III. *Da kou zun* shapes<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> The Dongxiafeng *san zu weng* differ from their northern prototypes by legs grouped very close to each other. This, certainly, reflected on the stability of the vessel. Hence, egg-shaped *weng* with flat bottom have been developed in this culture. Some of them are nearly globular. Their profile is comparable with that of the late Zhukaigou *san zu weng*, but the legs are missing. Besides, forms of egg-shaped *weng* developed in Dongxiafeng display small knobs on the opposite sides of their waist, which never appear in northern specimens. These features are also absent in *san zu weng* found in Tianma-Qucun and in Hengbei.

<sup>74</sup> Sources: Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shaanxi Shenmu Xinhua yizhi," 7; *Xia xian Dongxiafeng*, 212, img. 179 (B); Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Zhengzhou Shang cheng* 鄭州商城 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2001), 145, img. 87; Zou Heng 鄒衡 et al, Tianma-Qucun 1980-1989 天馬—曲村 1980-1989 (Beijing: Kexue, 2000), Vol. 2, 331, img. 495; Beijing daxue kaogu xi, Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "1992 nian chun Tianma-Qucun yizhi muzang fajue baogao" 1992 年春天馬——曲村遺址墓葬發掘報告, 1993.3, 11-30, esp. 26, img. 40.



Large jars categorized as *da kou zun* are typical for both Dongxiafeng and Henan Erlitou, and, moreover, for the early Shang Erligang culture.<sup>75</sup> However, their shapes differ from both the northern *da kou zun* from Dakou, Shenmu and Yudaohe, and from later vessels from Tianma-Qucun and Hengbei (cf. Table III). Although they, possibly, experienced some influence from Zhukaigou forms at the same time as the *san zu weng* appeared at Dongxiafeng, it was not significant.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, it cannot be demonstrated that the *da kou zun* appearing at Tianma-Qucun and in Hengbei had roots in the Yuncheng area.

In contrast, *san zu weng* were still present and further developed in many cultures identified in northern Shaanxi and Shanxi and dated to the Shang period. First of all, they remained among their standard pottery types in the late Zhukaigou culture, which moved to Yan'an area in Shaanxi.<sup>77</sup> This vessel type was also adopted in the Lijiaya 李家崖 culture, manifesting itself along the north-eastern part of the Great bend of the Yellow River, i. e. in northern Shaanxi and northern Shanxi during ca. 13-10 cc. BC.<sup>78</sup> *San zu weng* were also among the typical objects of the Youyao 游邀 and Baiyan 白燕 cultures in the upper flow of Fen River in Shanxi.<sup>79</sup> All latter cultures developed under Zhukaigou influence. On the other hand, they maintained closer relationships with the Shang.<sup>80</sup> Especially in elite tombs of Lijiaya culture, such Shang ritual bronze vessels as *ding*, *gui*, *yan*, *jia*, *gu*, *you*, *jue*, *hu*, *he*, *pan* and *bu* 甗 were regularly found.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, Lijiaya people retained its own cultural identity, which manifests not only in pottery, but also in bronze daggers, knives, axes and other objects that are usually found in the same burials.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Erlitou-II and Erlitou-III phases at Dongxiafeng, *da kou zun* make 5,9 and 12,1%, in Erligang I and II – 11,4 and 11,1 % respectively (cf. . Qin Xiaoli, “Jin xinan diqu Erlitou wenhua dao Erligang wenhua, 63, Table III).

<sup>76</sup> In the *da kou zun* from Shenmu, the relationship between the neck and the body is almost 1:2, whereas in Erlitou counterparts it is only 1:5-1:7. The rim of the *zun* from Shenmu, Yudaohe and Dakou is wider as shoulders. The Dongxiafeng develop a relatively high open neck only during V-VI periods. At the same time, the egg-shaped *san zu weng* are witnessed in Dongxiafeng only starting from the IV period. It is therefore possible that the later change of the Dongxiafeng *da kou zun* was influenced by the encounter with the Zhukaigou culture. Similar shape appears in the second part of the lower Erligang period in the ruins of the Shang city in Zhengzhou, Henan. During the consequent, early upper Erligang period, *da kou zun* with remarkably slim body and trumpet-like neck has been witnessed several times on the latter site. However, the later development of the Erligang *da kou zun* demonstrates that this shape was not firmly established in the Shang repertoire.

<sup>77</sup> The site of Zhukaigou was abandoned in 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Earlier, it has been suggested that the Zhukaigou people moved from Ordos either to the north, or to the south, where they founded Lijiaya culture. In 2002, typical Zhukaigou pottery has including *san zu weng* has been found in Xiguaqacun 西峽渠村, Ansai County, Shaanxi, seventy km to the north from Yan'an (cf. Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Shaanxi Ansai xian Xiguaqacun yizhi shijue jianbao” 陝西安塞縣西峽渠村遺址試掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 2007.2, 10-17). This find indicates that during the Shang period, the Zhukaigou culture coexisted with younger cultures Lijiaya and Xicha 西岔.


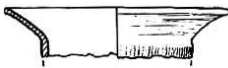
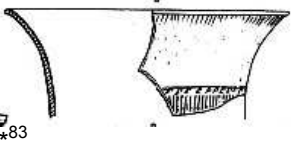

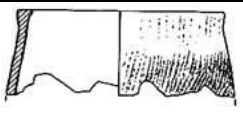
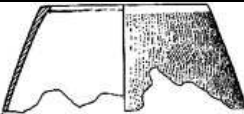
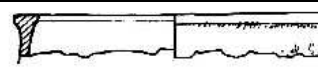



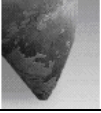
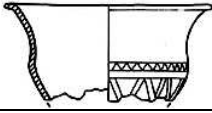
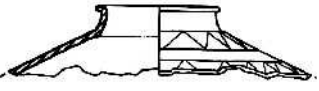
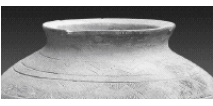
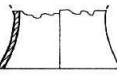
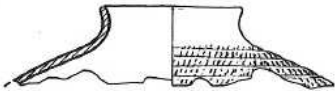
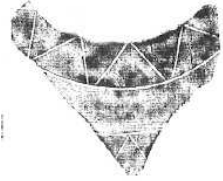

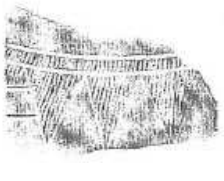

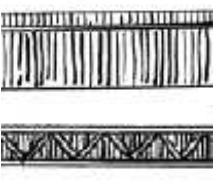
<sup>78</sup> Many Lijiaya object types, including *li*, *ping*, *gui* and, particularly, *san zu weng* were based on Zhukaigou prototypes. Moreover, both Zhukaigou and Lijiaya people employed the same construction methods. Therefore, some scholars believe that Lijiaya was founded by Zhukaigou people who moved south in 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC (for references cf. Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, 158). This is, however, not evident, especially because it has been established now that the Zhukaigou culture did not cease to exist with the abandonment of the Zhukaigou site. At the same time, doubts have been raised whether the latter site is suitable as the typesite of this culture..

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Jinzhong kaogudui, “山西太原白燕遺址第一地點發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 1989.3, 1-21, esp. 17-20.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, Chapter 6, “Lijiaya wenhua” 李家崖文化, 142-173; Jiang Gang 蔣剛, “Lun Baiyan wenhua yu xiangguan wenti” 論白燕文化及其相關問題, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2009.5, 27-37; Yang Jianhua 楊建華, Zhao Jumei 趙菊梅, “Jinzhong diqu yu Jin Shaan Gaoyuan ji Zhongyuan wenhua de guanxi” 晉中地區與晉陝高原及中原文化的關係, *Gongyuan qian er qian ji de Jin Shaan Gaoyuan yu Yanshan nan bei* 公元前 2 千紀的晉陝高原與燕山南北, ed by Yang Jianhua and Jiang Gang (Beijing: Kexue, 2008), 44-55.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, “Lijiaya wenhua,” 142-4.

<sup>82</sup> For details about Lijiaya bronzes cf. Linduff et al, “An Archaeological overview,” 22-25.

Forms	Gaohong				
<i>Da kou zun</i>					
<i>Weng</i>					
					
<i>Gui</i>		Guan with narrow rim and wide shoulders			
					
Ornam ents					

**Table IV. Gaohong pottery in comparison to Hengbei vessels.<sup>84</sup>**

In 2004, a survey of the Gaohong 高紅 site of the Lijiaya culture revealed many stumped-earth foundations of buildings, indicating that it was an important settlement and, possibly, a political center. The foundations were constructed during the middle Shang period, but the site, possibly, lasted until the middle Western Zhou period.<sup>85</sup> This site, located deep in Lüliang Mountains in Liulin 柳林 County, Shanxi, lays atop a steep hill surrounded from three sides by a bend of Sanchuan 三川 (Qinglong 青龍) River.<sup>86</sup> Similarly to the Lijiaya eponym site, it represented a natural fortress. The Yellow River can be reached by Sanchuan Valley in about 25 km to the west, or by a mountain road in only five km to the north. Objects discovered in Gaohong display many similarities not only in shapes, but also in ornaments

<sup>83</sup> This *zun* was collected in Hejiashuang, Loufan County, Shanxi. This site, located to the east from Taiyuan, is earlier than Gaohong.

<sup>84</sup> Sources: Shanxi kaogu yanjiusuo, “2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi shijue jianbao” 2004 柳林高紅商代夯土基址試掘健報, *San jin kaogu* (3) 三晉考古 (3), ed. by Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin, 2006), 116-127, img. 3-7, 9-10; Jinzhong kaoguduim “Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha” 山西婁煩, 離石, 柳林三縣考古調查, *Wenwu* 1989.4, 32-39, 78, img. 12, 5.

<sup>85</sup> Tian Jianwen 田建文 makes this observation based on images of *li* vessels, occasionally published in newspapers where the nomination of the Gaohong site for “ten greatest archaeological discoveries of 2006” has been announced (cf. Tian Jianwen, “Lingshi Jijie Shang mu yu Shanxi Shang dai wan qi kaoguxue wenhua” 灵石旌介商墓与山西商代晚期考古学文化, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2009.1, 39-61, esp. 42).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. “2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi.” Some authors suggest it as a typesite of the Gaohong culture, which, in their opinion, displays stronger connections to the northern steppe cultures than Lijiaya (cf. Gao Jiping 高繼平, Wang Liangyan 王京燕, Sun Weihua 孙衛華, “Shiqude huihuang – 2006 nian quan guo shi da kaogu faxian zhi yi Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi faxian he fajue 逝去的輝煌——2006年全國十大考古發現之一高紅商代夯土基址發現和發掘, *Lüliang gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 吕梁高等專科學校學報 26.1 (March 2010), 70-72).

with the objects from the tomb M1 at Hengbei (cf. Table IV). Therefore, it is plausible that the pottery from M1 had its prototypes in the Lijiaya culture.<sup>87</sup>

In sum, this survey demonstrates that, although inhabitants of the south-western Shanxi, where Peng state was located during mid-Western Zhou period, maintained contacts with cultures of the north during pre-Shang and Shang periods, they did not firmly incorporate the *san zu weng* in their own repertoire of pottery. Also the northern variant of the *da kou zun* was not adopted in the south. By the end of the Shang period, the area of Yuncheng was integrated in the Shang sphere culturally and, most likely, politically. Therefore, Peng was not an old local lineage cherishing his own cultural tradition since pre-Shang times. More plausibly, it migrated from Lüliang Mountains to the south during the Western Zhou period prior to King Gong's reign.<sup>88</sup> This supports that in tombs of ruling lineages of Jin and Peng states, these objects fulfilled symbolic functions.

At the same time, these functions were different in Jin and Peng. In Jin, exotic objects clearly emphasized the cultural roots of their owners, women from neighbouring polities.<sup>89</sup> Although at Hengbei, the *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* have been also found in a tomb of a female, she was not a migrant from the north. As the bronze inscription from the both M1 and M2 suggest, the woman buried there was née Ji of Bi, the spouse of Peng-bo Cheng (M1: 199, 212; M2: 57). Bi was a Ji-surnamed lineage descending from Bi-gong Gao 畢公高 and closely related to the Zhou royal house.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the *san zu weng*, numbered thirteen, and the *da kou zun*, numbered three, are intentionally emphasized in the set of her funerary equipment. Although no definitive explanation to this phenomenon can be suggested until the report on the excavations of other elite tombs at the Hengbei cemetery of is published, it can be tentatively supposed that in this context, objects of the non-Zhou ritual repertory were used to symbolize not just the identity of their owner, but the cultural roots of Peng state.

This hypothesis faces apparently contradicting evidence: the lack of these types of vessels in the Tomb M2, supposedly occupied by Peng-bo Cheng. It would be logical to expect that the tomb of the ruler of Peng state would yield even more idiosyncratic objects than the tomb of his spouse. This was evidently not the case. However, this is not the single irregularity that

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<sup>87</sup> In particular, the Hengbei *san zu weng* seem to derive from Gaohong *guan* jars with narrow rim and wide shoulders, to which pocket-like legs of the type also witnessed in Gaohong were attached. Moreover, both Hengbei *san zu weng* and Gaohong *guan* are decorated with two registers of ribbons filled with comb-patterned triangles. Similar pattern is also seen on a Gaohong *dou*-like *gui* on a high foot. Its shape is very similar to the *gui* from Hengbei M1. *Dou*-like *gui* were widely distributed in northern cultures of Shanxi. They also appear occasionally in Shang tombs. However, comparable standard Shang *gui* have much shorter and wider feet. The high-footed *dou*-like *gui* of the north were, possibly, related to high-footed *dou* of Qijia culture (cf. Image VI.f), incorporated in the Zhukaigou repertoire and adopted later in cultures influenced by the latter.

<sup>88</sup> Until the cemetery of Hengbei is published, the date of its migration cannot be revealed.

<sup>89</sup> It is noteworthy that on the cemetery of the Jin elites at Tianma-Qucun, *da kou zun* sometimes occur without *san zu weng* in tombs, occupied by males. Hence, it is not unlikely that the *san zu weng*, as storage vessels, were associated primarily with females, whereas the *da kou zun*, as vessels for beverages, could be used by persons of both sexes.

<sup>90</sup> Bi was listed as one of the sixteen states defined as “King Wen’s *zhao* 昭 generation” in the *Zuo zhuan* (cf. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Xinhua shudian, 1981), 421 (Xi: 24)). Some commentators assume that the founder of Bi was King Wen’s son, but this cannot be verified. Sima Qian stated that Bi-gong Gao had the same surname as the Zhou (畢公高與周同姓) (cf. Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Zhonghua shuju, 1959, rpt. 1973), “Wei shijia” (44), p. 1835). Theoretically, the Bi branch could split from the Ji clan at an earlier date. In any case, Bi lineage was closely related to the Zhou royal house. In particular, the Duke of Bi, possibly, the son of Bi-gong Gao, was a confidant of King Cheng and King Kang (cf. *Shang shu*: “Gu ming”, “Kang-wang zhi gao”, “Bi ming”).

Peng-bo Cheng's tomb displays. The tomb M1 is slightly smaller and contains less ritual objects than M2. Most noteworthy, M1 included five bronze *ding* and five bronze *gui*, whereas M2 included only three bronze *ding* and one bronze *gui*. As the excavators note, it is unusual that a tomb of a wife is furnished more richly than that of her husband. Although, considering the specific cultural situation of the Peng-Bi marital alliance, such speculation comes to mind rapidly, I do not believe that Bi Ji had higher ritual status than Peng-bo. It is more fruitful to look for the reasons of the puzzling ritual degradation of Peng-bo in the political dynamic of 10-9 cc. BC.<sup>91</sup>

## 5. Peng state and the Kui/Gui clan

The lineage name Peng in bronze inscriptions was written in two ways: with the determinative “hand” and with the determinative “roof.”



The first form appears in earlier, the second – in later inscriptions. In both cases the lineage name Peng appears together with the surname Gui. Possibly, the Peng lineage modified the written form of its name at some point. At the same time, it is also possible that it split in branches, and the new branch became a slightly different designation.<sup>92</sup>

The surname of Peng lineage appears, as usual, only in designations of its female members. Written as 媿, consisting of the phonetic *gui* and the “woman” determinative, it is usually transcribed as “Kui.” In surnames, “woman” determinative emphasized that the referred person was a woman, but otherwise, the same surname could be written with a different determinative, or without a determinative.<sup>93</sup> Wang Guowei suggested that the surname Kui/Gui 媿/隗 derived from the name of Gui 鬼 people, and that Hui/Kui/Tui 嬭/隗 were variants of the same surname.<sup>94</sup>

Gui people 鬼方, residing in the north, was often mentioned in Shang oracle bone inscriptions as important rivals of the Shang.<sup>95</sup> According to delivered sources, Shang King Wu-ding 武丁 led a war against the Gui and was able to bring them to obedience after three years.<sup>96</sup> Later on, Zhou leader Ji Li 季歷 (the father of the future King Wen) fought Gui-Rong peoples of the Western Luo 西落鬼戎 on the orders of Shang King Wu Yi 武乙 and captured “twelve kings of the Di” 二十翟王.<sup>97</sup> During the reign of King Kang, Zhou warlord Yu 孟 attacked the Gui

<sup>91</sup> This discussion goes beyond the scope of this conference paper.

<sup>92</sup> It is noteworthy that earlier inscriptions were commissioned in connection to marriages between Peng women and men from Shaanxi, whereas latter ones were related to marriages concluded in Shandong. This may signify a political re-orientation of the Peng lineage, or the foundation of a new branch lineage in the east, or even the relocation of the whole lineage to the east.

<sup>93</sup> In particular, the character 妃 in a woman's name should be read not *fei* (“concubine”), but Ji 己 (cf. *Wang li* 王鬲, *Jicheng* #645, LWZ, dedicated by the king to Fan Ji 番妃; other inscriptions confirm that 妃(己) was the surname of Fan and several other lineages). Similarly, in the name of Second-born née Zi of Kai 楷中好(子), the character 好 should be read as Zi 子 (cf. *Hai gui* 害簋 in Liu Yu 劉雨, Yan Zhibin 嚴志斌 (eds.), *Jin chu Yin Zhou jinwen jilu er bian* 近出殷周金文集錄二編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010, hereafter *Jinchu-2*), Nr. 425).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Wang Guowei 王國維, “Guifang Xianyun kao” 鬼方獫狁考, *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林, XXXX

<sup>95</sup> XXXX

<sup>96</sup> Cf. *Zhu shu ji nian*, Wu Ding: 32-34, XXXX; *Hou Han shu*, 87.2870 (“Xi Qiang zhuan” 西羌傳).

<sup>97</sup> *Zhu shu ji nian*, Wu Yi: 35, XXXX; *Hou Han shu*, 87.2871.

again and brought back a rich booty: several thousands prisoners, more than one hundred war chariots, several hundred oxen, dozens of sheep and many horses.<sup>98</sup> There is no later references to the Gui people, which, possibly means that after Yu's campaign, it ceased to exist as an entity and split in smaller groups.

Supposedly, "Red Di" 赤狄/翟 peoples of the Spring and Autumn period descended from the Gui people.<sup>99</sup> The "Zheng yu" 鄭語 chapter of the *Guo yu* 國語 mentions "Di of the Kui surname" 隗翟 among "western states" in one group together with Yu 虞, Guo 虢, Jin 晉, Rui 芮 and Wei 魏.<sup>100</sup> All of them were located in southern Shanxi or in adjacent areas of Henan. The same passage lists also "northern states" including Lu 潞, Luo 洛, Quan 泉, Xu 徐, and Pu 蒲.<sup>101</sup> According to the commentary of Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273), they also belonged to "Red Di" group and shared Kui surname 赤狄隗姓.<sup>101</sup> During this time, they inhabited Taihang Mountains separating Shanxi from Hebei. Many scholars believe that Kui/Gui-surnamed Peng represented another group of Red Di and a descendant of the Gui people.<sup>102</sup>

At the same time, many authors suspect Lijiaya to be the culture of the Gui or Gong peoples mentioned in Shang oracle bones.<sup>103</sup> In absence of written evidence, this guess could not yet be verified. The connection between Lijiaya and Gui-surnamed Peng lineage provides a hold for the hypothesis about the relationship between the Lijiaya culture and the Gui people. Nevertheless, there are still many missing links between Guifang, Lijiaya and Peng.

Most Lijiaya settlements have been dated to the Shang period. Although some scholars suggest that these settlements, e. g. Gaohong, were occupied also during the Western Zhou period, this should be confirmed more definitively. From the inscription on the *Yu ding* 盂鼎, it can be seen that Guifang practiced cattle breeding, especially oxen and sheep. They were definitively not nomads, since oxen are not suitable for mobile pastoralism. Thus, they possibly resided on in valleys of rivers or in foothills of mountains, and did not move around except for leading their sheep to summer pastures. Hence, the Guifang way of life basically corresponded to that of Lijiaya people, who resided in settlements in foothills of mountains, breed horses, sheep, oxen and pigs. The Gui possessed a developed technology permitting to equip their troops with such number of chariots. Parts of horse-and-chariot complex, possibly, imported from the Shang, have been found only in one tomb of Lijiaya culture in Linshuyu 林庶峪, Baode 保德 County in the north of Shanxi province.<sup>104</sup> It is not clear whether this people developed chariotry and constructed roads permitting transportation along swampy river valleys during the Western Zhou period.

Admitting that lineages of Kui/Gui surname, including Peng, descended from Gui people, it is reasonable to look whether they maintained contacts to each other during the Western Zhou period. The evidence of such contacts may support the hypothesis about their common origin;

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<sup>98</sup> Cf. *Xiao Yu ding* 小孟鼎, *Jichen* #2839, Licun 禮村, Mei 鄆 County, Shaanxi, EWZ.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Wang Guowei, "Guifang Xianyun kao"; Chen Pan 陳槃, *Chunqiu dashibiao lieguo juexing ji cunmiebiao yhuanyi* 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表譌異 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1969), 6.554b-6a, "Chi di" 赤狄.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Wei Zhao 韋昭, comm., *Guo yu* (Beijing: Shangwu, 1935), 16.183 ("Zheng yu")

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Wei Zhao 韋昭, comm., *Guo yu*, 16.183; Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dashibiao*, 6.555b.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. e. g. interview with Song Jianzhong in Li Shanghong 李尚鴻, „Shanxi Jiang xian: Xi Zhou Peng guo."

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Zhang Yangwen 張映文, Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, "Shaanxi Qingjian xian Lijiaya gucheng yizhi fajue jianbao," 56; Lü Zhirong, "Shaanxi Qingjian xian Lijiaya guchengzhi taowen kaoshi" 陝西清澗縣李家崖古城址陶文考釋, XXXX, 85-6; Shaanxi kaogu yanjiusuo Shang Zhou kaogu yanjiubu, "Shaanxi Xia Shang Zhou kaogu faxian yu yanjiu" 陝西夏商周考古發現與研究, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2008.6, 65-95, esp. 76.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, 143.



although, considering that the availability of epigraphic and archaeological materials represents a matter of luck, their absence will not necessary prove the contrary.

Other lineages of Kui/Gui surname appearing in bronze inscriptions include Hu 𩇛 and Fu 復:



The location of Fu is not clear. One late Western Zhou inscription informs that it intermarried with Man 曼曼-surnamed Deng 鄧 state located in Han 漢 River valley near Xiangfan 襄樊 city in Hubei. There is no witnesses about contacts between Fu and Peng.

Many scholars localize Hu in Huai 淮 River Valley, in Fuyang 阜陽 County in eastern Anhui.<sup>105</sup> Later transmitted texts mention Hu states of Ji 姬 and Gui 歸 surnames.<sup>106</sup> Gui, plausibly, was another form of the Kui/Gui surname. According to a Western Zhou inscription, Hu led a war against the Zhou during the reign of King Mu 穆 (956-918).<sup>107</sup> In this text, Hu was referred to as Rong 戎. Hence, it was distinguished from the main population of the Huai River area, usually referred to as Yi 夷.<sup>108</sup> This may be related to the fact that the Hu migrated to this area from the north.

A recently discovered inscription indicates that another Hu state could be located on the Central Plain:

王作榮仲宮。在十月又二月生霸吉庚寅。子賀榮仲 ...璋一牲大牢。己巳、榮仲速芮伯𩇛 侯子。子賜白金錡。用作父丁鼎彝。史

The king made a palace for the Second-born of Rong. In the tenth month and second month, after the brightness was born, on auspicious *geng-yin*, [I, the] Son, congratulated the Second-born of Rong with one jade tablet and one Great *lao* of sacrificial animals. Second-born of Rong hosted the First-born of Rui and the son of Hu-*hou*. [I, the] Son, was granted [one] *lue* of white metal. [I] used it for making this large sacrificial cauldron for Father Ding. Secretary.<sup>109</sup>

According to this inscription, rulers of Hu and Rui traveled together. This would be understandable if they resided not far from each other. Rui was a Ji-surnamed state located in Ruicheng County in the south-west of Shanxi, i. e. close to Peng. It is worthy to consider

<sup>105</sup> Cf. e. g. Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dashibiao*, “Hu,” 5.456b-59b, esp. 459a; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 96.

According to the *Zuo zhuan*, it was conquered by King Ling of Chu 楚靈王, whose main target was Cai 蔡 (cf. *Zuo zhuan*, XXX). This supports the localization of Hu in Anhui.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dashibiao*, 5.457a-b. Chen Pan points out that sources disagree, whether the Hu were “brothers” or “affinal relatives” of the Ji 姬. He admits that there were two Hu states with different surnames, and that the surname of Hu in Fuyang was Ji. On the other hand, it is possible that during the Spring and Autumn period, Gui-surnamed Hu took on Ji surname, thus turning into “step brothers” of the major Zhou clan.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *Dong gui 戎 簋* (*Jicheng* #4322, MWZ, Zhuangbaicun 莊白村, Fufeng, Shaanxi). For translation and analysis cf. Shaughnessy, Edward L., *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1991), 177-181.

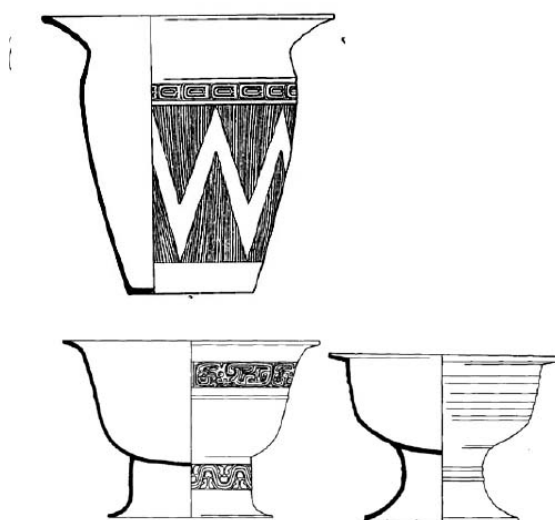
<sup>108</sup> Shaughnessy calls Hu “a member of the Huay Yi confederation” and translates *rong* 戎 in Hu’s designation, not as an ethnonym, but in the sense of “belligerent.” However, although the definition “Rong” was more often applied to northern and western peoples, there was also a distinction between Yi, Rong and Man peoples residing in Huai River area (for further arguments cf. Khayutina, Maria, “Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (*sheng* 甥 and *hungou* 婚購) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions,” forthcoming in *Early China*).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *Zi fang ding*, in *Jinchu*-2, 318. One exemplar of this inscription is on a vessel acquired by the Baoli Museum in Beijing. Another vessel with an identical inscription is said to be found in *Shandong* and is kept in a private collection. The inscription is very irregular. The vessel is dated roughly to the early Western Zhou period, but it can also date later.

whether this Hu, which could also sound Fu, did not correspond to Pu referred to in the *Guo yu*. Considering its location, it is likely that this Hu was closely related to Peng.

In 1978, a hoard of bronzes made during the later part of the middle Western Zhou period has been discovered in Wugong County of Shaanxi. It contained six tureens commissioned by Third-born of Hu 𪚩 叔 and his spouse née Ji of Hu 𪚩 姬 for their daughter the First-born née Kui/Gui 伯媿,<sup>110</sup> as well as four tureens commissioned by Chu 楚.<sup>111</sup> The latter was, most likely, the husband of the Kui/Gui-surnamed woman. His inscription informs about a reception offered to him by the Zhou king. It is noteworthy that the person who accompanied Chu to the royal palace, was Second-born Peng-fu 仲伋父, a member of Peng lineage.<sup>112</sup> If, similarly to Ji-surnamed lineages, Kui/Gui-surnamed Peng and Hu maintained regular contacts, it is not unlikely that Second-born of Peng, rotating around the Zhou king, acted as a match-maker for his distant relatives and neighbours and arranged marital alliances in the Zhou metropolitan area.

Although there was a Kui-surnamed Hu in southern Shanxi, it is still possible that Hu residing in Anhui represented a branch of the former lineage that belonged to the network of Kui-surnamed groups. The evidence to this point is very subtle and puzzling. Recently, a bell commissioned by Second-born Yan of Hu 𪚩 仲衍<sup>113</sup> has been discovered in Wujun 五郡, Fufeng, Shaanxi. The Wujun hoard counts twenty seven bronze objects, including bells, ritual vessels and ladles, weapons, and decorations for horses and chariots. Unlike most hoards, discovered on the Zhou plain, it does not represent storage of ritual equipment of a temple. Rather, these objects were put together in order to be used as funeral equipment, or were once removed from a tomb and provisionally buried for their safety.



<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Hu-shu Hu Ji gui* 𪚩 叔 姬簋 (*Jicheng* #4066, Renbeicun 任北村, Wugong 武功, Shaanxi).

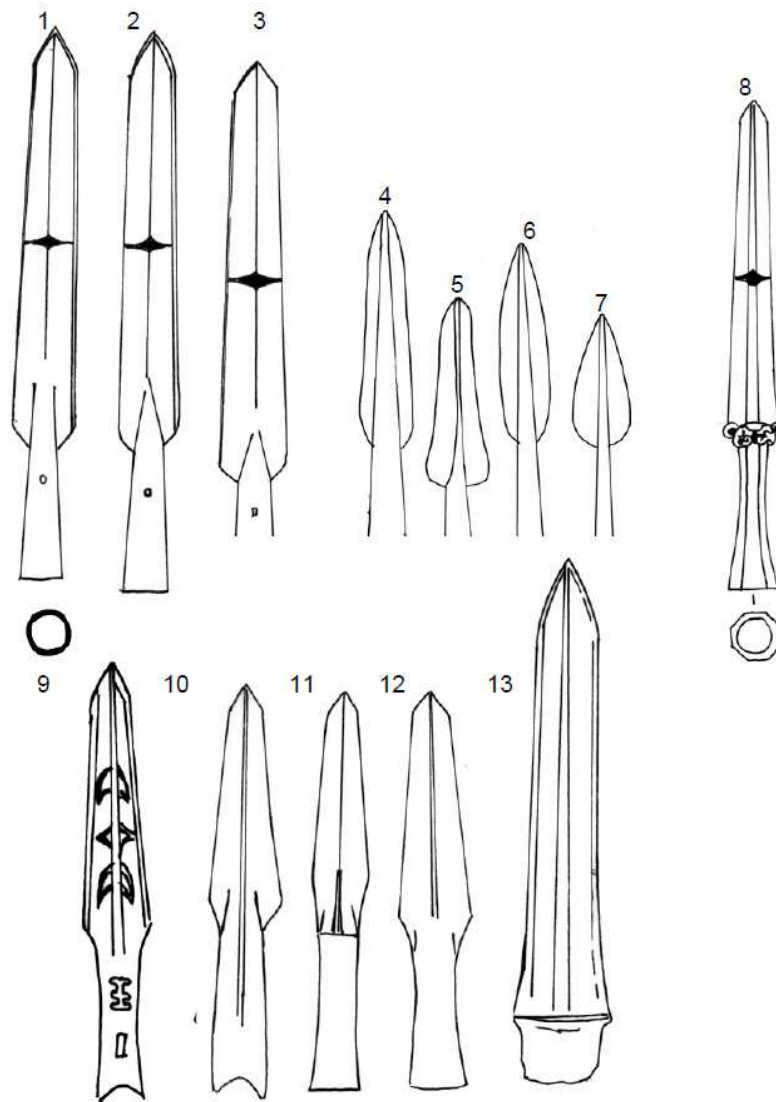
<sup>111</sup> Cf. *Chu gui* 楚簋 (*Jicheng* #4246, Renbeicun 任北村, Wugong 武功, Shaanxi).

<sup>112</sup> This was the same person as Master of Ceremonies Peng-fu 幸伋父, mentioned in the inscription on the Wang gui 望簋 (cf. *Jicheng* #4272).

<sup>113</sup> The bells have some differences in shapes and decorations. The set can be subdivided into two groups of two and three pieces respectively. They could have been commissioned at different times by different persons and put together in a set of five in accordance with their owner's status. In the three-piece part, only one bell had a cast inscription. It was slightly smaller than two other bells of the same size (49 cm vs. 49.7 cm), and had thicker walls, but its decorations were made more finely in comparison to the other two. Its inscription was placed not on the most visible front panel or on the striking panel, but on the side of its shank, as if its commissioner did not dare to display his contribution more openly. Earlier, the lid of a tureen commissioned by the same person was found (*Hu Yan gui* 𪚩 衍簋, *Jicheng* #3804, LWZ, Fufeng, Shaanxi)..

**Image VII. *Da kou zun* and *gu* on a high foot from Wujun**

The person whose identity they had to display, most plausibly belonged to a branch of Ji-surnamed Shao 召 lineage descending from Diao-sheng 瑯甥. It is noteworthy, that this hoard includes two large bronze *da kou zun*-jars with trumpet-like necks and ribbons of comb-patterned triangles around their bellies. This is the first time than bronze *da kou zun* of this type have been found (Image VII). It has been suggested above that the *da kou zun* played a symbolic role in the tombs of Peng and Jin states. Considering their uniqueness, it is likely that in Wujun, their function was similar. Besides, the hoard includes two *dou*-like tureens on high foot. With such features, the objects from Wujun stay in sharp contrast to the mainstream bronze craftsmanship of the Zhou plain, but, at the same time, display many parallels to the objects from Hengbei. Nevertheless, if the whole set of Wujun objects had something to do with the identity of a certain person, the latter was not a man from Shanxi or further north. The hoard includes twelve elongated sword-like *mao* 矛-spearheads (Image VIII).



**Image VIII. Spearheads:** 1-3. Wujun hoard; 4. Feijia 費家, Qishan, Shaanxi; 5. Huayuan 花園, Chang'an, Shaanxi; 6-7. Shangcunling, Sanmenxia, Henan; 8. Linzi 臨淄, Shandong; 9-10. Jiangling 江陵, Hubei; 11. Tongling 銅陵, Anhui; 12. Qingyang 青陽, Anhui; 13. Guichi 貴池, Chizhou 池州, Anhui.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Sources: 1-3 redrawn from "Shaanxi Fufeng Wujun," 25, img. 43; 4-8 from Li Jianmin 黎建民, "Xi Zhou shiqi de qingtong mao" 西周時期的青銅矛, *Kaogu* 1997.3, 70-79, esp. 71-72; 9-10 from Jianling chutu Dong

Their shape is untypical for central Zhou states. With the length varying between 36,3 and 34,7 cm, they are more than ten cm longer than standard spearheads of this period.<sup>115</sup> A comparable spearhead was found once in a Western Zhou tomb at Linzi in Shandong where the capital of Qi state was located. More spearheads sharing features with weapons from Wujun can be found among Spring and Autumn period's finds from Anhui and Hubei. Thus, on one hand, the objects from Wujun display a connection to the Kui/Gui-surnamed Peng, and, on the other hand, to Kui/Gui-surnamed Hu and Anhui. The coincidence of these factors can be explained, if the owner of the Wujun bronzes was related to Hu through his mother or wife, whereas Hu and Peng shared the same culture and displayed their identity using the *da kou zun* wine jars.

## Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have focused on only three of many questions raised by the discovery of Peng tombs. At least one of them, concerning the date of Peng tombs, could be resolved with great confidence. The comparison with other mid-Western Zhou bronzes, especially related to the person of Duke Wu, reveals that the King Mu reign's date suggested by excavators is too early. Peng-bo Chen's tureen dates to the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of King Gong, which, in its turn, verifies that King Gong reigned twenty three years from 922 to 900 BC.

Regarding the cultural roots of Peng, it could be demonstrated that Peng unlikely grew on a local substrate in south-eastern Shaanxi. It was not a descendant of the political and cultural entity occupying the Plain of Yuncheng during pre-Shang and Shang periods. Rather, it had genetic connections to non-Zhou peoples residing further to the north. Of many northern cultures, in which *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* vessels were current, Peng's relations to the gaohong variant of the Lijiaya culture seem to be quite strong. However, until the publication of both Hengbei cemetery and Gaohong city, this observation cannot be verified.

The last question about the relationships between Peng, Guifang, and other Kui/Gui surnamed lineages cannot be answered with any certainty in absence of a really "hard evidence." Nevertheless, the subtle indications revealed by now call for further investigations in this direction.

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Zhou tong mao 江陵出土東周銅矛, *Jiangnan Kaogu* 1985.4, 51; Guan Danping 管丹平 and Zhu Huadong 朱華東, "Wannan chutu qingtong mao yanjiu" 皖南出土青銅矛研究, *Dongfang bowu* 2009.2, 23-29.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Gao Xisheng 高西省, "Jianlun Fufeng Wujun Xi Zhou yaocang chutude qingtongqi" 簡論扶風五郡西周窖藏出土的青銅器, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu*, 2008.6, 4-13.

Months	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
King Gong (922-900 BC)														
1	922	10	40	9 Xun gui 師匱: 1/2/3/27 ( 21th; <sup>i</sup> ) Dou Bi gui 豆閉簋 (?): ?/2/2/15(7th)	39	8	37	7	36	5	35	4	34	4
2	921	34	4	33	3	32	1	31	60	29	59 Jue Cao ding 曹鼎: 7/10/2/?	28	58	
3	920	28	58	27 Wei he 衛盃: 3/3/2/39(13 <sup>th</sup> )	57	27	56	25	55	24	53	23	52	
4	919	22	52	21	51	21	50	20	49	19	48	17	47	16
5	918	46 Wei ding 衛鼎: 5/1/1/47 (2nd)	16	55	15	55	14	44	13	43	12	42	11	
6	917	40	10	39	9	38	8	38	7	37	7	36	6	
7	916	36	6	35	5	34	3	33	2	32	1 Jue Cao ding 7/10/2/?	31	1	30
8	915	60	30	59	29	58	27	57	26	56	25	55	24 Qi- sheng Lu yi 齊生魯 彝 8/12/1/24 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	
9	914	54 Wei ding: 9/1/4/17, the 27th	24	54 Ji gui 卣簋 ?/3/1/57(4th)	23	53	22	51	21	50 Guai-bo gui: 9/9/?/51 (2nd)	19	49	18	48



Months		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
10	913	18	48	17	47	16	46	15	45	14	43	13	42	
11	912	12	41	11	41	10	39	9	38	7	37	6	36	
12	911	6	35	5 Zou gui 走簋 12/3/3/27 (23rd)	35	4	34	3 Yong yu 永盂 12/?/1/4, (2nd <sup>II</sup> )	33	2	31	1	30	60
13	910	30	60	29	59	28	58	27	57	26	55	25	54	
14	909	24	53	23	53	22	52	22	51	21	50	19	49	
15	908	18	48	17	47	16 Jue Cao ding: 15/5/2/19, (4 <sup>th</sup> )	46	16	45	15	44	14	44	
16	907	13 <sup>III</sup>	42	12	41	11	40	10	39	9 Shi Shan pan: 16/9/2/21 , (13 <sup>th</sup> )	39	8	38	8
17	906	37	7	36	5	35	4	33	3	33	2	32	2	
18	905	31	1	31	60	29	59	28	57	27	56	26	56	26
19	904	55	25	55	24	53	23	52	21	51	20	50	20	
20	903	49 Zouma Xiu pan 走馬休盤 20/1/3/11 (22th)	19	49	19	48	17	47	16	45	15	44	14	43
21	902	13	43	13	42	12	41	11	40	9	39	8	38	
22	901	7	37	7	36	6	36	5	35	4	33	3	32	
23	900	2 Shen gui 申簋 ?/1/1/4 (3rd <sup>IV</sup> )	31 Peng-bo Cheng gui 棚伯甬簋 23y/?/1/34, (4 <sup>th</sup> )	1	30 Hu gui 盱簋 ?/4/2/34 (5th <sup>V</sup> )	60	30	59	29	58	28	57	27	56

Months		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
King Yi (989 - ?)														
1	899	26	55	25	54	24	53 Shi Hu gui 師虎簋 1/6/3/11, (21th) Hu gui 召簋: 1/6/3/12, (22th)	23	53	22	52	21	51	
2	898	20	50	19 王臣簋: 2/3/1/27(9 <sup>th</sup> )	49	18	48	17	57	16	56	16	45	
3	897	15	45	14	43	13	42	11	41	10	40	10	40	9
4	896	39	9 Shi Yun gui 4283 (?) ?/2/1/15, (7 <sup>th</sup> )	38	7	37	6	35	5	34	4	34	3	
5	895	33	3	33	2	31	1	30	59	29	58	28	57	27
6	894	57	27	56	26	55	24	54	23	53	22	52	21	
7	893	51	21	50	20	50	19	49	18	47	17	46	16	
8	892	45 Mu gui 牧簋 7/13/2/51, (7 <sup>th</sup> )	15	44	14	44	13	43	13	42	11	41	10	40

<sup>i</sup> This inscription fits if there were two first months.

<sup>ii</sup> Can also be 9<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, or 13<sup>th</sup> month.

<sup>iii</sup> If, as suggested, *Shi Shan pan* is a Gong-wang period's vessel, this should be the first month of the 16th year.

<sup>iv</sup> Day *ding-mao* at the beginning of the first month of the year can be found in Gong-wang's calendar only once during the 23<sup>rd</sup> year.

<sup>v</sup> This date appears in the inscription dated to 1st year of [King Yi] while referring to previous events.