

Forerunners of the Houma Bronze Styles: The Shangguo Sequence

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Abstract

Focusing on the finds from the important Springs and Autumns period Jin cemetery at Shangguo, Wenxi (Shanxi), this article traces the stylistic developments of bronzes from north-central China from the eighth through the sixth centuries BC. The evidence, though very incomplete, allows insights into the esthetic tendencies that eventually found their expression in the elaborate Late Springs and Autumns period style of the famous Houma foundry, as well as into the artistic milieu within which this development took place. At the same time, the degree of elaboration of bronze décor was significantly linked to the means and status of the bronze owners; in particular, a subcategory of especially ornate (though for the most part miniaturized) bronze vessels found at Shangguo date to the brief time when this site was the center of political power in the Jin polity.

Keywords: Chinese bronze styles, Springs and Autumns period, Shanxi province, Shangguo cemetery, Houma foundry, Jin polity

1. Background

1.1. The Cemetery at Shangguo-Qiujiashuang

In the “Chronicle of the Ruling House of Jin,” Sima Qian 司馬遷 records how in 679 BC, Cheng 稱 of Quwo 曲沃, the head of a junior branch of the Jin 晉 ruling lineage, overthrew Marquis Min of Jin 晉侯緡 (r. 706-679 BC) and established himself as ruler.¹ Cheng became posthumously known as Duke Wu 武公, and his descendants held the throne of Jin until 376 BC. The remains of the ancient city of Quwo, Duke Wu’s power base before his usurpation, have been located in Wenxi 聞喜 county, in the Sushui 涑水 river basin of southern Shanxi province.² The settlement has been little explored archaeologically, but a great deal more is known about its associated élite cemetery, which extends to the northeast of ancient Quwo over a 2.5-kilometer long stretch (the width is unreported) of the elevated loess plain between the modern villages of Shangguo 上郭 and Qiujiashuang 邱家莊. Many hundreds of tombs are laid out in orderly rows, the earlier ones closer and the later ones further away from the Quwo settlement, proceeding from the southwest (near Shangguo) to the northeast (near Qiujiashuang). The tombs date from the Late Western Zhou to the Middle Warring States period (from ca. 800 to ca. 350 BC), indicating that Quwo existed as a place of élite settlement for much longer than the period during which it is monitored by the *Shi ji* as a seat of political power. Indeed, it now appears that Quwo started to become prominent a half-century or so before Duke Wu’s grandfather Huan Shu 桓叔 (d. 731 BC), a younger brother of Marquis Zhao of Jin 晉昭侯 (r. 745-739 BC), was invested here in 745 BC; and it continued to be an important regional urban center of Jin long after Duke Wu’s usurpation in 679 BC.³

Unfortunately, since the 1980s, rampant looting of this important site has result-

¹ *Shi ji* 史記 “Jin shijia 晉世家” (ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959, p. 39: 1640); “Shi’er zhuhou nianbiao 十二諸侯年表” (*ibid.*, p. 14: 571-572).

² Short notice in Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, *Shanxi kaogu sishinian* 山西考古四十年 (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 168-69.

³ The Quwo in Wenxi county should not be confused with the Warring States period “Ancient city at Quwo” 曲沃故城 that straddles the border of present-day Houma City 侯馬市 and Quwo county 曲沃縣 (Shanxi) (see map in Chang Wenzhai 暢文齋, “Houma Dong Zhou xunren mu 侯馬東周殉人墓,” *Wenwu* 1960.8/9, p. 15, fig. 1).

ed in irremediable losses to science.⁴ Archaeological excavations have been conducted intermittently since the 1970s. We can piece together a preliminary impression of the scale and importance of the cemetery from four preliminary reports on separate clusters of tombs, covering a total of 72 tombs and two horse-and-chariot pits.⁵ The time range of the tombs so far published is discontinuous, and, being mostly of medium size, they are not representative for the cemetery's full social spectrum. But even this very incomplete evidence is sufficiently significant to warrant some detailed discussion.⁶

Archaeologically, the Shangguo--Qiujiashuang cemetery (hereafter "Shangguo") is important because its tombs are unusually lavish in their construction and furnishings. The largest tombs, Tombs no. 210 and 211, which date from the Early Springs and Autumns period, remain unpublished,⁷ but their size and luxu-

⁴ For instance, a double chime of twelve (originally sixteen) *yongzhong* 甬鐘 bells bearing an important Jin-related inscription now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (see Zhang Guangyuan 張光遠, "Gugong xincang Chunqiu Jin Wen Gong cheng ba 'Zi Fan hezhong' chushi 故宮新藏春秋晉文公稱霸 '子犯和鐘' 初釋," *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 145 [1995], pp. 4-31) is said to have come from Wenxi. Its impressive size indicates that it must have come from a very high-ranking tomb. Thanks to Mr. Zhang Guangyuan and Dr. Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹, I was fortunate to inspect the bells in March, 1995. I saw another bell from the same set in a Hong Kong antique store in September, 1994. Moreover, I recently had the opportunity to inspect an unusually shaped miniature vessel with attached figurines in a New York private collection, which the dealer through whom the vessel had been acquired assured me came from Shangguo (Gisele Croës, personal communication, 2005). See also n. 7, below.

⁵ For Shangguo, see Zhu Hua 朱華, "Wenxi Shangguocun gumuqun shijue 聞喜上郭村古墓群試掘," *San Jin kaogu* 1 (1994), pp. 95-122; Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, "1976 nian Wenxi Shangguocun Zhou dai muzang qinglijì 1976 年聞喜上郭村周代墓葬清理記," *San Jin kaogu* 1 (1994), pp. 123-138; and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, "Wenxi xian Shangguocun 1989 nian fajue jianbao 聞喜縣上郭村 1989 年發掘簡報," *San Jin kaogu* 1 (1994), pp. 139-153. For Qiujiashuang, see Yuncheng Xingshu Wenhua ju 運城行署文化局 and Yuncheng Diqu Bowuguan 運城地區博物館, "Shanxi Wenxi Qiujiashuang Zhanguo muzang fajue jianbao 山西聞喜邱家莊戰國墓葬發掘簡報," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1983.1, pp. 5-11. Additional Early Springs and Autumns period bronzes from Shangguo (some inscribed) are published in Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 山西省文物工作委員會, *Shanxi chutu wenwu* 山西出土文物 (Taiyuan: Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Gongzuo Weiyuanhui, 1980), pll. 64-69. For color photographs of some of the Shangguo bronzes, see Zhongguo Qingtongqi Quanji Bianjiweiyuanhui 中國青銅器全集編輯委員會, *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* 中國青銅器全集 vol. 8 (*Dong Zhou* 東周 vol. 2) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), *passim*. See also *Shanxi kaogu sishinian*, pp. 144-46. In order to distinguish the tombs in the three published reports on Shangguo (which do not follow one continuous numbering system), I have added the year of excavation before the originally reported tomb number, inserting an "M" (for *mu* 墓, "tomb") between the two numbers.

⁶ For previous short comments, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, "The Waning of the Bronze Age: Material Culture and Social Developments, 770-481 BC," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, Edward L. Shaughnessy and Michael Loewe, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 481-482.

⁷ This pair of tombs may have been those of Duke Wu's father or grandfather and his principal consort; paired husband-and-wife tombs are unusual at Zhou period cemeteries and normally reserved to lineage heads. Thanks to the kindness of Messrs. Tao Zhenggang 陶正剛 and Hou Yi 侯毅, I was allowed to inspect some of the bronzes

ry far exceed what may be observed in the ordinary elite lineage cemeteries of Jin, reminding instead of the Jin rulers' tombs that were excavated in 1992-94 and 2000-01 at Qucun, Quwo (Shanxi) 山西曲沃曲村.⁸ Even among the somewhat lower-ranking tombs at Shangguo that are already published, we find burial-pits lined with stone and charcoal in Tomb no. 74M55 and with layers of charcoal in Tombs no. 74M34, 74M49, and 74M375. Although these tombs had all been plundered empty before excavation, their approximate date can be inferred from their location in the Late Western Zhou--Early Springs and Autumns period section of the cemetery. Tradition regards stone- and charcoal-lined burial pits (*jishi jitan* 積石積炭⁹) as a criterion of distinction par excellence, and they appear to have been largely restricted to rulers of polities during the period in question.¹⁰ Other indicators of high status at

from these tombs at the Shanxi Institute of Archaeology in 1991. At the time, I did not see the two nine-part *niuzhong* 鈕鐘 bell-chimes from these tombs, the tone measurements of which are published in Wang Zichu 王子初, "Taiyuan Jinshengcun 251-hao Chunqiu damu chutu bianbo de yuexue yanjiu 太原金勝村251號春秋大墓出土編鐘的樂學研究," *Zhongguo Yinyuexue* 1991.1, pp. 18-20. During a visit to Hong Kong in 1994, I learned that these bells had been sold on the Hong Kong art market in the late 1980s. Their present whereabouts are unknown.

- ⁸ One particularly well-reported instance of an ordinary Jin elite cemetery is Shangma in Houma (Shanxi) 山西侯馬上馬, which will be frequently referred to hereafter. See Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Shangma mudi* 上馬墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994); Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Shangma. Demography and Social Differentiation in a Bronze Age Community in North China," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 3.3/4 (2001): 91-172. On the Jin rulers' cemetery, see nn. 10, 22, 30, 57 below.
- ⁹ The *locus classicus* for this expression is in *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, "Mengdongji 孟冬紀: Jiesang 節喪" (Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 [ed.], *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋 [Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1984] 10, p. 525). This is, incidentally, the source for the archaeological term *jibōkchong/tsumiishitsuka* 積石塚 for "stone-mounded tomb" in Korean and Japanese archaeology--arguably a misapplication of the *Lüshi chunqiu* concept, which does not refer to mounds, but to burial pits.
- ¹⁰ A stone-lined pit was found in only one of the nine Jin rulers' tombs at the Beizhao 北趙 cemetery in Qucun, Quwo (Shanxi) 山西曲沃曲村; this tomb, Tomb no. 93, seems to be the latest in the sequence and probably dates to the latter part of the Early Springs and Autumns period, not long prior to the usurpation of the Jin throne by Wu Gong of Quwo (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi 北京大學考古學系 and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, "Tianma --Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin Hou mudi diwuci fajue 天馬—曲村遺址北趙墓地第五次發掘," *Wenwu* 1995.7, pp. 4-39). The instances at Shangguo are the only other instances so far reported from the Jin area predating the break-up of the Jin polity in the fifth century BC. From that time onward, we commonly find stone- and charcoal-layered burial pits in major aristocratic tombs of the Jin successor states, the largest one being Tomb no. 251 at Jinshengcun, Taiyuan (Shanxi) 山西太原金勝村 (Tao Zhenggang, Hou Yi, and Qu Chuanfu 渠川福, *Taiyuan Jin guo Zhao qing mu* 太原晉國趙卿墓 [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996]). Other examples include Tomb no. 1 at Shanbiaozhen, Ji Xian (Henan) 河南汲縣山彪鎮 (Guo Baojun 郭寶鈞, *Shanbiaozhen yu Liulige* 山彪鎮與琉璃閣 [Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959]), tombs no. 2040 and 2075 at Houchuan, Sanmenxia (Henan) 河南三門峽後川 (Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, *Shaan Xian Dong Zhou Qin Han mu* 陝縣東周秦漢墓 [Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1994], p. 4), Tomb no. 7 at Luhe, Lucheng (Shanxi) 山西潞城潞河 (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Shanxi Sheng Jindongnan Diqu Wenhuaaju 山西省晉東南地區文化局, "Shanxi Sheng Lucheng xian Luhe Zhanguo mu" 山西省潞城縣潞河戰國墓, *Wenwu* 1986.6: 1-19), and the ten major Warring States period tombs at Fenshuiling, Changzhi (Shanxi) 山西長治分水

the Shangguo tombs include horse-pits,¹¹ as well as sets of ritual bronzes, differing in wealth and number according to the individual tomb occupants' ranks. The typological constellations of the bronzes from Shangguo are detailed in Tables 1-3.

The cemetery comprised the tombs of both the ranked-élite and the commoner components of what one may call the "Shangguo burying lineage."¹² Normally, the presence of a burial chamber (*guo* 槨) is regarded as the key marker of tombs belonging to members of the ranked élite, and ritual bronzes were ordinarily restricted to that segment of the population. But Shangguo is one of the few known Zhou period cemeteries at which ritual bronzes occur even in some tombs lacking a burial chamber--an indication, I believe, of the exceptionally high overall standing of the Shangguo burying lineage within the Jin lineage structure.¹³ Such an impression is confirmed also by the fact that several inscribed bronzes have been found here,¹⁴

嶺--nos. 126, 12+25, 14+26, 20+21, 53, and 35+36 (Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 山西省文物管理委員會, "Shanxi Changzhi shi Fenshuiling gu mu de qingli 山西長治市分水嶺古墓的清理," *Kaogu xuebao* 1957.1: 103-118; Bian Chengxiu 邊成修, "Shanxi Changzhi Fenshuiling 126 hao mu fajue jianbao 山西長治分水嶺126號墓發掘簡報", *Wenwu* 1972.4, pp. 38-46; Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, "Shanxi Changzhi Fenshuiling Zhanguo mu di'erci fajue 山西長治分水嶺戰國墓第二次發掘," *Kaogu* 1964.3, pp. 111-137).

- 11 Interestingly, at the Shangguo horse-pits, pairs of horses are placed back to back as if pulling a chariot (see "1976 nian Wenxi," p. 126, fig. 6); such horse-pits may be, in fact, reduced versions of horse-and-chariot pits, economizing on the burial of the chariots.
- 12 For more extensive discussion of the "burying lineages" at early Chinese cemeteries see Falkenhausen, "Shangma," see also Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius: The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, forthcoming), ch. 2. In the Shangguo instance, it is probable that several distinct branches of the Jin ruling house successively held this area. We do not know the situation before Huan Shu's investiture in 745 BC; after Wu Gong's usurpation of the throne of Jin, while his senior descendants resided at the Jin capital, some junior descendants presumably continued to reside at Quwo, which formed part of the core--both geographically and politically--of the Jin polity.
- 13 The only parallel to such a phenomenon in the Jin area has been found at the cemetery of the Jin ruling lineage at Qucun, where Tombs no. 6123, 6242, and 6243 all lack burial chambers yet contain bronze ritual vessels; and Tombs no. 6496 and 7165, likewise burial-chamber-less, contain tin *mingqi* imitations of bronze ritual vessels. The former three instances date to the Early Western Zhou period, the latter two cannot be securely dated (see Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi Shang Zhou Zu 北京大學考古學系商周組 and Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo [Zou Heng 鄒衡, ed.], *Tianma-Qucun 1980-1989* 天馬—曲村 1980-1989 [Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000], vol. 2, *passim*). At the much lower-ranking Shangma cemetery, by contrast, not only are bronzes restricted to tombs with burial chamber, but many tombs with burial chambers curiously lack funerary bronzes (see Falkenhausen, "Shangma.")
- 14 Inscribed vessels so far published include 1) the Xun Hou 邠侯-yi (fig. 8.1) from Tomb no. 74M55 (Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 101, 104, fig. 9.1, and 105, fig. 10.1-2; *Shanxi chutu wenwu*, no. 66; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986-1996] 16.10232); 2) the Zhu Zi Jifu 貯子己父-yi (fig. 8.3) from Tomb no. 74M51 (Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 101, 104, fig. 9.2, and 105, fig. 10.3-4; *Shanxi*

attesting that this lineage was tied into a complex network of inter-lineage relationships; the inscriptions mention leading members of other lineages both nearby and quite distant.¹⁵

1.2. The Shangguo Bronzes

Art-historically, Shangguo is important because the bronzes unearthed here document, for the first time in one place and at a comparatively high level of artistic achievement, the stylistic transitions from Late Western Zhou (850-771 BC) to Early Springs and Autumns (770-650 BC) and from Early to Middle Springs and Autumns (650-575 BC) (the absolute dates given here are very approximate).¹⁶ They can help us trace the genesis of the stylistic tendencies that found their full expression in the spectacular bronzes produced at the Houma 侯馬 foundry, a major bronze-manufacturing site that operated from the 580s or so to sometime around 400 BC at the Jin capital of Xintian 新田 (present-day Houma [Shanxi])--some 30 km to the north of

chutu wenwu, no. 67; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 16.10252); as well as, from as-yet unreported tombs excavated in 1978, 3) the Dong Wushi Sun Ju 董五氏孫矩-*fangyan* (fig. 6.6) (*Shanxi chutu wenwu*, no. 64; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 29; not in *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*) and 4) the Chen Gongsun Zangfu 陳公孫臧父-*bianhu* (fig. 6.4) (*Shanxi chutu wenwu*, no. 65; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 60 [*q.v.*, p. 15, for a legible rubbing of the inscription; not in *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*]); see also n. 4.

¹⁵ Politics to which contacts are documented in the vessels listed in the preceding footnote include Xun 邠 (on the north bank of the Fen 汾 river, less than 10 km west of Houma), Dong 董 (on the south bank of the Fen river, some 20 km due west of Wenxi), Zhu 貯 (location unclear), and far-flung Chen 陳 (in southeastern Henan) (see Tan Qixiang 譚其驤[ed.], *Zhongguo lishi dituji* 中國歷史地圖集, vol. 1 [Shanghai: Zhongguo Ditu Xueshe, 1975], *passim*). The individuals who commissioned the manufacture of these vessels are males from the respective polities' ruling lineages--the head of the lineage in the case of Xun, more junior-ranking members in the other three cases. In some instances, the presence of these vessels may attest to a marriage alliance, but none of them is explicitly marked as a bridal vessel by its inscription. In the case of Xun, intermarriage is in fact unlikely because its ruling family belonged to the same exogamous clan, Ji 姬, as the ruling house of Jin that ruled Quwo (*cf.* n. 56); though the rule of exogamy was sometimes breached in practice.

¹⁶ The division of the Springs and Autumns period into three subperiods follows Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫, *In Shū jidai seidōki no kenkyū* 殷周時代青銅器の研究 (2 vols., Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984) and *Shunji Sengoku jidai seidōki no kenkyū* 春秋戰國時代青銅器の研究 (*ibid.*, 1988). Hayashi further divides the second and third subperiods into two phases each; the first subperiod, in spite of its length, appeared to Hayashi too homogeneous to allow further subdivision, though the Shangguo data, as shown in the present article, show that some stylistic change did occur during that period. The absolute chronological parameters provided hinge on the date of the demise of the Guo polity in 655 BC; no bronzes of Middle Springs and Autumns style have been found at its vast cemetery at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan) (*Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo* 中國科學院考古研究所, *Shangcunling Guo guo mudi* 上村嶺虢國墓地 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959); Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所 and Sanmenxia Shi Wenwu Gongzuodui 三門峽市文物工作隊, *Sanmenxia Guo guo mudi, diyi juan* 三門峽虢國墓地、第一卷 (2 vols., Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999).

Shangguo.¹⁷ While the technological and artistic sophistication of the Houma bronzes has inspired considerable research,¹⁸ less attention has been paid to their forerunners in the same area. The present essay will describe and analyze these preceding local developments with specific focus on the Shangguo finds.

As evident from Tables 1-3, three kinds of bronze vessels were found at Shangguo:

- 1) Ordinary ritual vessels suitable for use in temple sacrifice;
- 2) High-quality bronzes, for the most part of miniature size, featuring especially ornate decoration that is sometimes whimsical in character; and
- 3) Low-quality, miniature imitations of such vessels made specifically for funerary use (*mingqi* 明器).

The chronological spread is different for each of the three categories, with bronze *mingqi* concentrated in the earliest phase of the cemetery, high-quality ornate bronzes peaking a little later, and the latest phases represented exclusively by fully usable bronzes. This situation does not necessarily reflect changing emphases in the production activities of local workshops, but is mainly the accidental result of unsystematic excavation. However, the ornate miniature bronzes of the second category are somewhat unusual and limited essentially to high-status contexts during the Late Western Zhou--Early Springs and Autumns transition. Their presence at Shangguo underscores the importance of this cemetery and the prominence of its occupants.

The three categories of vessels are visually distinctive and should therefore be seriated separately. It so happens that, at Shangguo, the situation at the transition from Western Zhou to Early Springs and Autumns can be illustrated by *mingqi* (Section 2), stylistic developments over the course of Early Springs and Autumns by

¹⁷ Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Houma zhutong yizhi* 侯馬鑄銅遺址 (2 vols., Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe: 1993); Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province, *Art of the Houma Foundry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁸ Barbara Keyser, "Decor Replication in Two Late Chou Bronze Chien," *Ars Orientalis* 11 (1979), pp. 127-162; Robert W. Bagley, "Replication Techniques in Eastern Zhou Bronze Casting," in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (eds.) (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 231-41; *idem*, "What the Bronzes from Hunyuan Tell Us About the Foundry at Houma," *Orientalis* 26 (1995).1, pp. 46-54.

ornate bronzes (Section 3), and the stylistic transition to Middle Springs and Autumns by ordinary vessels (Sections 4 and 5). But as some tombs contain bronzes pertaining to several of these three categories, the three series intersect in a number of places. In my presentation, I will therefore discuss jointly, wherever feasible, all bronzes found in the same tomb context, no matter which of the three categories they fall under.

2. The Mingqi Vessels

The discussion of the *mingqi* vessels need not detain us for very long. Among the tombs so far published, three of the earliest predominantly contain such vessels (see Table 1, figs. 1, 2). Some of these are unornamented, on others the simple ornamentation recalls the standardized décor of Late Western Zhou bronzes. The possibility of a Late Western Zhou date is also suggested by the occurrence of a *pan* 盤-and-*he** 盃 set of water vessels in the *mingqi* assemblage from Tomb no. 75M1 (rather than a *pan*-and-*yi* 匜 set, as typical during the Springs and Autumns period). The ornamentation on the normal-size *ding* 鼎 (fig. 3.1) from the same tomb--a single band of abstract decor derived from claw-footed headless dragons (*qiequwen* 竊曲紋)--is seen in both Late Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns.¹⁹ On the other hand, the occurrence, in both of the major *mingqi*-yielding tombs, of *he*# 鉶 (commonly called *zhou* 舟) vessels (figs. 4.1, 4.2)²⁰--a vessel type that is not commonly seen until the seventh century BC--suggests that the actual date of interment

¹⁹ “1976 nian Wenxi,” p. 135, fig. 22.1, pl. 8.2; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 3.. This is not the only full-size vessel from the Late Western Zhou--Early Springs and Autumns transition found at Wenxi: a *fu* 簋 stand (a.k.a. *dou* 豆) with elaborate openwork stem collected in 1976 under circumstances now unknown is reported in “1976 nian Wenxi,” p. 126 fig. 5.2, pl. 8.4 (see also *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol 8, pl. 36). Hayashi (In Shû, vol. 2: 160-161, figs. 6-15) depicts a number of close comparanda dating from Late Western Zhou to Early Springs and Autumns, including one particularly similar piece from Tomb no. 1720 at Shangcunling (*Shangcunling Guo guo mudi*, 16, pl. 17.4).

²⁰ The excavators wrongly reported the one-handled specimen from Tomb no. 75M1 (“1976 nian Wenxi,” pp. 136, 135 fig. 22.5) as a *gui* 簋. A similar, unornamented one-handled vessel from Tomb no. 74M57 (fig. 4.3) is reported, correctly I believe, as a *he*# in the Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” pp. 107, 106 fig. 11.5. That report differentiates between *he*# and *zhou* by assigning single-handled vessels to the former and double-handled ones to the latter category. Li Ling (“On the Typology of Chu Bronzes,” *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* 11 (1991): 97) regards both as belonging to the same class of objects. In this article, I differentiate such oval *he*# vessels from the homonymous *he** spouted pitchers by adding a nonsense element. In order not to confuse the reader further, I eschew the term *he*+ 盃 that is commonly used to refer to the ornate boxes discussed further below.

may already fall within the Early Springs and Autumns period.²¹

The *mingqi* from Tomb no. 75M1 are all unornamented (fig. 1).²² Interestingly, they comprise an imitation *fangyi* 方彝 (unusable because it was cast in one piece, with the cover fused to the bottom-less vessel body)--a vessel type that had become obsolete with the abandonment of alcohol-consuming vessels from Zhou ritual-vessel assemblages around 850 BC. Such reminders of long-past ritual customs seem to indicate relatively high social status. They have also been found in some of the recently excavated tombs of the lineage heads of Guo 虢 at Shangcunling, Sanmenxia (Henan) 河南三門峽上村嶺,²³ and of the rulers of Jin at Qucun.²⁴ These parallels are datable to between 800 and 650 BC.

As to the *mingqi* from Tomb no. 74M373 (fig. 2),²⁵ the square *hu* 方壺 and square *yan* 方甗 are both unornamented, but the *ding*, *gui* 簋, *pan*, and *yi* all feature bands of relieved decoration: horizontal bands of scales (*chonghuanwen* 重環紋), in which large scales alternate with small ones. This rather conservative motif has mostly Late Western Zhou parallels, but its somewhat debased execution on the specimens from Tomb no. 74M373 may indicate a somewhat later date, if it is not due to the fact that the vessels in question are *mingqi*.

In general, the typology and ornamentation of the *mingqi* from Shangguo para-

²¹ For the two-handled *he* from Tomb no. 74M373, see Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” p. 107 fig. 12.2. In spite of their small size and lack of ornamentation, the *he* vessels from Tombs no. 75M1 and 74M373 may not be *mingqi*.

²² “1976 nian Wenxi,” p. 135, fig. 22; text on pp. 136-137. The tomb plan is given on p. 134, fig. 21. An unusual feature in Tomb no. 75M1 was presence of a waist-pit (*yaokeng* 腰坑) underneath the coffin of the deceased--a custom widely practiced during the Shang dynasty and still seen occasionally in Western and Eastern Zhou times (for discussion, see Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 4).

²³ *Sanmenxia Guo guo mudi, dijiuan*, vol. 2, pll. 19.4-6, 20.1-6 (from Tomb no. 2001); 97.1-6, 20.1-6, 21.1-2 (from Tomb no. 2012); 161.4-6 (assemblage confiscated from looters). *Mingqi fangyi* were found in each of these assemblages (pll. 19.4, 5, 97.1-4, 161.4).

²⁴ E.g. from Tomb no. 93; see “Tianma--Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin Hou mudi diwuci fajue,” p. 30, fig. 43.2-7; p. 31, figs. 44-47. The *mingqi fangyi* from this assemblage (figs. 43.7, 45) is decorated with fully sculptural animal-shaped appendages; at Shangguo, it may relate more closely to bronzes the second rather than of the third of the three basic categories of bronzes identified above. *Mingqi* of obsolete wine-drinking vessels were also found in Tomb no. 102 (reported *ibid.*, p. 35; no illustrations), Tomb no. 62 (Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi, “Tianma--Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin Hou mudi disici fajue 天馬一曲村遺址北趙墓地第四次發掘,” *Wenwu* 1994.8, p. 13, no illustrations), and Tomb no. 63 (*ibid.*, p. 15, *fangyi* depicted on p. 14 fig. 24.1).

²⁵ Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” p. 102, fig. 7.1 and pl. 3.4 (*ding*); p. 104, fig. 9.3 (*yi*); p. 106, fig. 11.2 (*hu*), 11.3 (*yan*); p. 107, fig. 12.1 (*gui*), 12.2 (*he*), 12.3 (*pan*).

like those from other Late Western Zhou to Early Springs and Autumns period tombs in the same general area, e.g. from Shangcunling and from Tomb no. 1 at the less well-known cemetery at Tandaocun, Ruicheng (Shanxi) 山西芮城壇道村.²⁶ Whatever their actual date, it is obvious that their point of reference is the highly standardized repertoire of Late Western Zhou bronzes.

3. Stylistic Developments During the Early Springs and Autumns Period

3.1. Preliminary Comparison

On non-*mingqi* bronzes, lingering Late Western Zhou décor elements changed in subtle and not-so-subtle ways during the first century or so of the Springs and Autumns period. A comparison of the two *pen* 盆 (alternatively designated as *yu* 盂 or *dian* 盥)²⁷ vessels found during the 1974 excavations at Shangguo encapsulates the difference between the more conservative, Late Western Zhou-derived tradition and the fairly well-developed Springs and Autumns style.

The *pen* from Tomb no. 74M59 (fig. 5.3) features bands of horizontal scales (derived from the surface pattern of a dragon or serpent) and dragon-body derived *qiequwen*.²⁸ The distribution of decor over the vessel surface is very similar to what one may observe in Late Western Zhou bronzes, but the *qiequwen* is abstracted, possibly indicating that the vessel actually dates to the beginning of the Early Springs

²⁶ Deng Linxiu 鄧林秀, "Shanxi Ruicheng Dong Zhou mu" 山西芮城東周墓, *Wenwu* 1987.12, pp. 38-41. Hou Yi and Tian Jianwen 田建文 (in *Shanxi kaogu sishinian*, p. 180) argue that this area belonged to the state of Guo 虢 during the Early Springs and Autumns period; but it seems also possible that it was associated with the state of Yu 虞, the capital of which is preserved near Zhangdian 張店 in the northern part of Pinglu 平陸 county (Tao Zhenggang, "Shanxi jingnei Dong Zhou guchengzhi diaocha" 山西境內東周古城址調查, in *Jin wenhua yanjiu zuotanhui jiyao* 晉文化研究坐談會集要, 32-36 [Houma: Shanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Houma Gongzuozhan, 1986]). Tao notes that the urban centers of Guo were located on the southern (Henan) side of the Yellow River.

²⁷ These were grain-offering vessels, replacing the *gui* vessels that had been common in Late Western Zhou and continue to be seen in some high-status contexts during Eastern Zhou times (see Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, chapter 8). The covered *pen* (a.k.a. *cheng* 盛) vessels seen in some of the later assemblages from Shangguo were reported as *gui*; but in spite of their functional resemblance, they should be classified as a separate vessel type given that they lack the diagnostic typological features of Zhou period *gui*, *sc.* a ring-foot and two radially attached handles.

²⁸ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," p. 106, fig. 11.4, pl. 4.2.

and Autumns period. Such a dating is corroborated by the style of the only other bronze vessel found in this tomb, a spouted tripod (*viding* 匱鼎) that will be discussed in subsection 3.2.1 (no. 7).

By contrast, the decoration on the *pen* from Tomb no. 74M57 (fig. 5.4) is far livelier, consisting of snakes that are intertwined at right angles.²⁹ Although there is some Late Western Zhou precedent for such interlacery, e.g. on the Song 頌-*fanghu* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei,³⁰ the dragon bodies are here miniaturized and de-individualized to a degree never seen in Late Western Zhou bronze art. This increasingly intricate ornament is, of course, ancestral to the interlaced-serpent (*panchi* 蟠螭) decor seen on many bronzes from Middle Springs and Autumns period onward (see below). The version manifested on the *pen* from Tomb no. 74M57 exemplifies the latest stage of Early Springs and Autumns period bronze decoration, and it dates no earlier than the first half of the seventh century BC.

The other vessels from Tomb no. 74M57 are executed in the same style, corroborating this dating. The interlaced-dragon ornament reappears in even more miniaturized form on the *viding* from this tomb (see subsection 3.2.1, no. 11). And on an

²⁹ Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” p. 107, fig. 12.5.

³⁰ As comprehensively discussed by Jessica Rawson (*Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991], pt. A, pp. 113-123). The Song-*hu* is depicted *ibid.*, pp. 114-115, fig. 161. Recently, several specimens of this type of *fanghu*, all dating to the early to middle eighth century BC, have been excavated: the pair of Shan Wufu 單五父-*fanghu* from Yangjiacun, Mei Xian (Shaanxi) 陝西眉縣楊家村 (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, Baoji Shi Kaogu Gongzuodui 寶雞市考古工作隊, Mei Xian Wenhua guan 眉縣文化館/ Yangjiacun Lianhe Kaogudui 楊家村聯合考古隊, “Shaanxi Mei Xian Yangjiacun Xi Zhou qingtongqi jiaocang fajue jianbao 陝西眉縣楊家村西周青銅器窖藏發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* 2003.6, pp. 22, 25, 23-28 figs. 28-33), and the pair of Jin Hou Yi 晉侯夷-*fanghu* from Tomb no. 8 at the Jin rulers’ cemetery at Qucun (Beijing Daxue Kaoguxue Xi and Shanxi Sheng Kaogusuo, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin Hou mudi di’erci fajue 天馬-曲村遺址北趙墓地第二次發掘,” *Wenwu* 1994.1, pp. 17-18, 20 fig. 26, color plate facing pl. 17). The Qucun specimens probably date no earlier than the middle of the eighth century BC; *hu* with an identical ornamentation scheme continued to be made for very high-ranking people throughout the Springs and Autumns period. Instances include a specimen from Tomb no. 3 at Songcun, Hu Xian (Shaanxi) (Shaanxi Sheng Wenguanhui Qin Mu Fajuezu 陝西省文管會秦墓發掘組, “Shaanxi Hu Xian Songcun Chunqiu mu fajue jianbao 陝西鄠縣宋村春秋墓發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* 1975.10, pp. 57, 63 fig. 17); a pair from Tomb B and a single specimen from Tomb A at Liulige, Hui Xian (Henan) 河南輝縣琉璃閣 (Henan Bowuyuan 河南博物院 and Taipei Guoli Lishi Bowuguan 臺北國立歷史博物館, *Hui Xian Liulige Jia Yi er mu* 輝縣琉璃閣甲乙二墓 [Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003], pp. 92, 94); a pair from Tomb no. 6 at Xianrentai, Changqing (Shandong) 山東長清仙人臺 (Shandong Daxue Kaogu Xi 山東大學考古系, “Shandong Changqing xian Xianrentai Zhou dai mudi 山東長清縣仙人臺周代墓地,” *Kaogu* 1998.9, pp. 787-788, pl. 4.2); a pair from ritual deposits at Xinzheng (Henan) 河南新鄭 (Henan Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo Xinzheng Gongzuozhan 新鄭工作站, “Xinzheng gucheng qingtong liyueqikeng yu xunmakeng de fajue 新故城青銅禮樂器坑與殉馬坑的發掘,” *Hua Xia kaogu* 1998.4, p. 16 fig. 15.4, 17 fig. 10), and others.

unusual miniature bronze cup (classified by the excavators as a *zhi* 卮; fig. 6.1),³¹ the placement of horizontal scales in the lower part of the ornamented zone would be unusual in Late Western Zhou. The interlaced abstracted motifs above them seem to take up on the Late Western Zhou “wave pattern” (*bolangwen* 波浪紋), or “mountain pattern” (*shanwen* 山紋--actually a reduction of the traditional *taotie* 饕餮 face motif), prefiguring the even further miniaturized interlaced up-and-down patterns seen on mid-sixth century BC products of the Houma style. A bulging cord-shaped band (*xianwen* 弦紋) accentuates the girth of the vessel.³²

In spite of the intricacy of the decoration, it seems unlikely--as far as one can see from the published illustrations--that vessels like those from Tomb no. 74M57 were produced by the labor-saving décor-replication techniques involving pattern blocks that are characteristic of the Houma foundry.

3.2. Detailed Sequence (With Special Focus on Ornate Miniature Bronzes)

3.2.1. *The yiding Vessels and Associated Bronzes*

Let us now trace the intermediary steps between the two stylistic extremes marked by the *pen* vessels from Tombs no. 74M59 and 74M57, and, in the process, determine more accurately the chronological distance between these two tombs. The Shangguo bronzes exhibit all sorts of nuances that allow piecing together a micro-sequence. In this discussion I shall take as my running thread the miniature spouted tripods (*yiding*, also called *dailiuding* 帶流鼎), specimens of a rare vessel type that --perhaps reflecting a strictly local preference--is seen with exceptional frequency at Shangguo, where it occurs in no fewer than eleven tombs (see Table 2, fig. 7). Each of these tombs contains a single specimen. When they are not the only bronze ves-

³¹ Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” p. 107, fig. 12.6, pl. 4.3. For Late Western Zhou forerunners and parallels, some with handles, see Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol.2, pp. 315-316; Hayashi points out their typological connection with ladles (*dou* 斗) and refers to larger pieces resembling the one from Tomb no. 74M57 at Shangguo as “round-drill shaped cups” 筲型杯. Known ornamented specimens from that period invariably have *shanwen* in lower portion. Hayashi also depicts (*Shunjiu Sengoku*, p. 149) a Warring States period specimen (which he calls “tubular-shaped cup” 筒型杯 [*ibid.*, p. 440] of similar shape from Changsha (Hunan) 湖南長沙, possibly indicating the later survival of this kind of vessel. Hayashi reserves the term *zhi* 卮 for the flat, oval-shaped drinking vessels Chinese archaeologists commonly refer to as *erbe* 耳杯.

³² On the *he* vessel from this tomb (fig. 4.3), see n. 23.

sels found in their respective tombs (4 cases), they are either buried together with one other ornate miniature bronzes (2 cases) or with one or two normal-size, usable bronzes (4 cases); in one tomb (no. 89M33) a miniature *yiding* occurs with both an ornate miniature and one usable bronze vessel. The position of such *yiding* within ritual-vessel assemblages at Shangguo is difficult to assess, especially in view of the looted state of many of the tombs in which they were found. We will return to this issue in subsection 3.2.2.

At first, in the following, the eleven miniature *yiding* from Shangguo will be placed in a stylistic series, coordinated with that of other bronzes found in the same tombs. In perusing it, we should realize that such a seriation is idealizing, and its implied notion of unilinear stylistic progress may be unduly teleological; the actual order of manufacture (and even more so the sequence of the tombs in which the objects discussed were deposited) may have been less straightforward. Nevertheless, the fact that analogous stylistic changes can be observed not only the *yiding*, but on all vessels excavated together with them, indicates that the quite distinctive-looking *yiding* found at Shangguo are not contemporaneous variants of the same vessel type, but--at least for the most part--instantiate successive stages in the overall stylistic developments of which we have identified the end points in subsection 3.1, above. We shall now see how these tendencies unfolded gradually over a time span of one century or so, from the early eighth to the mid-seventh centuries BC.

1) The coverless specimen from Tomb no. 74M46 (fig. 7.2) is, if not the earliest, certainly the simplest one in its ornamentation,³³ which consists merely of a single band of horizontal scales, all of the same size, underneath the rim. The legs are fairly squat, and their concave profile suggests a certain muscularity. Such a leg shape is typical for this kind of vessel and is also seen on all the other specimens discussed below. Another recurring feature are the laterally attached, upward-bent handles, which suggest the derivation of these *yiding* from a specific subtype of Western Zhou period spout-less *ding*.³⁴ On stylistic grounds, the specimen from Tomb no. 74M46--the only bronze object found in a looted tomb--may be dated to Late

³³ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," p. 101, pl. 3.2.

³⁴ Hayashi, *In Shû*, pp. 18 (nos. 198-199, late part of Early Western Zhou), 20 (nos. 220, 222-224, early part of

Western Zhou, or perhaps slightly later.

2) The *yiding* from Tomb no. 74M48 (fig. 7.3) displays a more complex ornamentation scheme, which is also followed by the majority of subsequent *yiding* from Shangguo.³⁵ It features a narrow ornament band around the rim, below which runs a single row of vertical scales. Such ornamentation, derived from Late Western Zhou *ding*, is also seen on spout-less tripods dating from the early part of the Early Springs and Autumns period.³⁶ On the present specimen, the horizontal ornament band around the rim consists of simple, abstract *qiequwen*. The vessel does not have a cover. It may be of terminal Western Zhou or very early Springs and Autumns period date.

3, 4, 5) The coverless specimens from Tombs no. 89M2 (fig. 7.4),³⁷ 89M9 (fig. 7.5),³⁸ and 89M27 (fig. 7.6)³⁹ look almost identical. Their body ornament features a band of horizontal scales, underneath which there are two rows of vertical scales, positioned (*versetzt*) in such a way that the ends of each scale coincide with the center-line of a scale in the row above or below it. Yet the *yiding* from Tomb no. 89M27 differs from the two others in two respects: the horizontal scales of the upper band are in two sizes, large alternating with small; and its handles are adorned with a similar scale motif, whereas the handles of the other two specimens merely feature double sunken lines.

Tomb no. 89M27 also yielded a richly ornamented miniature *ying* 罍 vessel (fig. 6.2):⁴⁰ a globular-bottomed, broken-profile vessel with a constricted spout, a wide,

Middle Western Zhou), 25 (no. 268, late part of Middle Western Zhou), 27 (nos. 292-295, early part of Late Western Zhou), 31-33 (nos. 334, 351-358, 362-363, Early Springs and Autumns).

³⁵ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," p. 101, pl. 3.3.

³⁶ The earliest instance of such an ornamentation scheme, with two rows of scales, is on the Wu Hui 無彘 *ding*, dated by Hayashi (*In Shû*, p. 24, no. 260) to the late part of Middle Western Zhou; for later parallels, see Hayashi, *In Shû*, pp. 30 (nos. 318, 321) and 32 (nos. 345, 351). Three *ding* with single rows of vertical scales similar to the specimen here discussed were found in Tomb no. 4078 at Shangma, which is reliably dated to the early part of Early Springs and Autumns (Shangma mudi, pp. 29, 30 fig. 17.1, 2, 31 fig. 18.1, pl. 4.1-2).

³⁷ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 142-143, 144 fig. 6.3.

³⁸ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143, 144 fig. 6.8, pl. 6.6.

³⁹ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143, 144 fig. 6.5.

⁴⁰ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143, 145 fig. 7.6, pl. 6.4. The report incorrectly identifies the vessel as a *ling* 罍, but it is correctly labeled *ying* in *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pls. 127-128. The term *ying* is attested, e.g., in the inscription of a similarly shaped vessel, the Yu Bo 漁伯-*ying*, excavated from the Middle Western

flaring rim, and a cover, standing on three pouch-shaped feet; its handles, attached to the shoulder of the vessel body, are ornamented with broad-eared (or -horned) animal faces of a type that is seen commonly on Springs and Autumns period bronzes. The ornament on the shoulder of this vessel consists of uninterrupted dragon-bands defined by several parallel contour lines, on the lower portion of the vessel, between every two legs, are three pairs of facing dragons with bodies merging into a V-shape. The cover ornament is of S-shape with a central eye and commas running into opposite directions, resembling a bent swastika with unequal sides.

While the two *yiding* from Tombs no. 89M2 and 89M9 might conceivably still date to Late Western Zhou, the one from Tomb no. 89M27, as well as the other vessels found in that tomb, almost certainly fall within the Early Springs and Autumns period.

6) The ornamentation of the *yiding* found in Tomb no. 89M13 (fig. 7.7) is identical to that of the preceding specimens.⁴¹ But instead of horizontal scales, it features a *qiequwen* dragon ornament reduced to hooked lines. A miniature *yiding* of basically the same form and decor, but with the *qiequwen* further fleshed out, has been found in Tomb no. 1704 at Shangcunling (fig. 7.8).⁴² Here the *qiequwen* dragons are transformed into S-shaped configurations derived from the “central-eye motif” we have seen on the cover of the *ying* from Tomb no. 89M27 (*cf.* fig. 6.2). Hayashi Minao has dated this object to the first phase of the Springs and Autumns period;⁴³ a historical *terminus post quem* is the destruction of the Guo polity by Jin in 655 BC. The stylistic similarity of this vessel to those from Shangguo suggests that they are all products of the same workshop.

Zhou period Tomb no. 1B at Rujiashuang, Baoji (Shaanxi) 陝西寶雞茹家莊 (Lu Liancheng 盧連成 and Hu Zhisheng 胡智生, *Baoji Yu guo mudi* 寶雞強國墓地 [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988], vol. 1, pp. 303-307, figs. 213-214; vol. 2, color pl. 20, pl. 161.1); for further discussion, see Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes*, pt. B, pp. 684-690.

⁴¹ “Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989,” pp. 143, 144 fig. 6.4.

⁴² *Shangcunling Guo guo mudi*, pp. 16, 17 fig. 10.8, pl. 42.2.

⁴³ Hayashi, *In Shû*, v.2, p. 33, fig. 361. Unfortunately, Tomb no. 1704 is not incorporated in Li Feng’s 李豐 chronology of the Shangcunling cemetery (“Guo guo mudi tongqiquan de fenqi ji qi xiangguan wenti 虢國墓地銅器群的分期及其相關問題”, *Kaogu* 1988.11, pp. 1035-1043); the bronzes would seem to fall somewhere in between Li Feng’s second and third phase, thus probably in the second half of the eighth century.

A full-sized (non-miniature) and, according to Hayashi, contemporaneous *yiding* with basically the same decor is the Shi Bo Qi 郕伯祁-*yiding* in the Palace Museum, Beijing (fig. 7.9), which features an inscription associating it with a lineage known to have resided in present-day northwestern Shandong.⁴⁴ To accommodate the inscription, the rim of this vessel is somewhat broader than that of the miniature specimens from Shangcunling and Shangguo.

7) The *yiding* from Tomb no. 74M59 (fig. 7.10) is the first one in this series to feature a cover.⁴⁵ Its upper ornament band consists of horizontal scales, below which run two tiers of vertical scales. The execution, in simple sunken lines, is less fine than on the preceding pieces, where the degree of relief is markedly higher. The flat cover, extending over part of the spout but not covering it entirely, has a cord-shaped loop-handle and is ornamented with “phoenix design” according to the description given in the report (not clearly visible on published illustrations); the “phoenix” units are apparently not interlaced. Like the *pen* from the same tomb, discussed above, this vessel is stylistically situated at the interstice of Western Zhou and Springs and Autumns, or perhaps just slightly later.

8) The body ornaments of the covered *yiding* from Tomb no. 89M33 (fig. 7.11) are similar to those on the previous specimen;⁴⁶ its spout, however, is covered by an animal-mask with protruding ears. The vessel’s cover, moreover, lacks a handle. Its ornament consists of two identical serpents with elegantly shaped, pointed bodies. Their heads are positioned opposite each other; behind each head, the body bends towards the rim, runs along the rim for exactly half the circumference, and then once again bends inward to interlace with the body of the other dragon. The two dragons cover the available surface almost entirely; what little space is left in between is filled with cross-hatching. Uniquely among the *yiding* from Shangguo, this vessel has a tiny handle on the rear of the vessel body, opposite the spout. The ornamentation style is miles away from that of Late Western Zhou bronzes; the Early Springs

⁴⁴ Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol.2, p. 33, fig. 359 (from Zou An 鄒安, *Yishu leizheng* 藝術類徵 [1916] 6.2); *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 5, p. 2602.

⁴⁵ Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” p. 101, pl. 3.1.

⁴⁶ “Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989,” pp. 143, 144 fig. 6.1.

and Autumns style has come fully into its own.⁴⁷

Besides this *yiding*, another small but ornate vessel was excavated from Tomb no. 89M33, an *yi* (fig. 8.2).⁴⁸ As on the *yiding*, the spout is fully enclosed and fashioned as the head of an animal, most probably a feline. Unusually, in addition, the entire body of the vessel is ornamented with tiger stripes, and the four feet of the vessel likewise are decorated as body parts of tigers. The only part of the vessel not incorporated into this tiger rendition is the handle, which, as common in Late Western Zhou to Early Springs and Autumns period *yi* vessels, is in the shape of a serpent biting the vessel's rim. In spite of its small dimensions--it is only 14.5 cm long and 6 cm high--this *yi* stands as one of the most charming bronzes from the entire Zhou period. Its playfulness associates it with the ornated boxes discussed in subsection 3.3. It must date well within the Springs and Autumns period.⁴⁹

Contrasting with these two ornate miniature vessels, a full-size *pen* vessel from the same tomb seems more conservative in its shape and décor (fig. 5.5).⁵⁰ But as it merely features a single band of horizontal scales on its shoulder, it cannot be dated very precisely.

9) The *yiding* from Tomb no. 89M7 (fig. 7.12),⁵¹ with virtually identical body ornament, resembles the preceding specimen in having a spout covered by an animal face. The relieved ornament of the cover consists of two interlaced dragons in virtually the same constellation as on no. 8. Two small fully sculptural seated monkeys are placed near the cover's edge, possibly intended as lifting devices in the absence of a

⁴⁷ A similar ornate *yiding*, possibly looted from Shangguo, is in the Hongxi Museum, Taipei, where I saw it on display in 1995. Another specimen is in the Poly (Baoli) Museum, Beijing (He Ping 賀平 *et al.*, *Baoli cangjin, xu* 保利藏金·續 (Guangzhou: Lingnan Meishu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 165-169 (q.v. for excellent illustrations). This vessel features a tiger-head shaped spout; a rear handle decorated with a rabbit-like animal head; body ornament consisting of a band of slanted scrolls (derived from *qiequwen*) and two rows of vertical scales; a flat cover decorated with two interlaced tigers (?) exactly like that of no. 8; and a cover handle in the shape of a winged dog standing at attention with its tail curled upward.

⁴⁸ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143, 144 fig. 6.6, pl. 6.5.

⁴⁹ The closest approximately contemporaneous instance of such animal realism applied to vessel form is a fish-shaped vessel from an Early Springs and Autumns period hoard at Rujiazhuang, Baoji (Shaanxi) (Gao Ciruo 高次若 and Liu Mingke 劉明科, "Baoji Rujiazhuang xin faxian tongqi jiaocang 寶雞茹家莊新發現銅器窖藏," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1990.4, pp. 11-16, inside front cover no. 1).

⁵⁰ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143, 145 fig. 7.5.

⁵¹ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143, 144 fig. 6.2, pl. 6.2.

handle in the center of the cover.

The elaborate wheeled bronze box from the same tomb, which features similar fully sculptural appendages, will be discussed in subsection 3.3. For both items, an Early Springs and Autumns period date is likely.

10) The *yiding* from Tomb no. 74M51 (fig. 7.13) has an unornamented body.⁵² Different from the preceding specimens, the cover of this vessel snugly encloses the spout. It has a simple loop-shaped handle. The cover ornament consists of two animals of unequal size and shape. The horns and legs of one of them expand over almost five-sixths of the cover's surface; the small-eyed face of the other is placed behind the loop. It is possible that the two faces are intended as a unified composition consisting of an animal (or demon) and a human face, a design that may be traced back to the faces on Neolithic jades of the Liangzhu 良渚 culture.⁵³ (Later on, in the same area, a similar double-face motif occurs on the handles of the Late Springs and Autumns period *jian* 鑑 vessels from Shanbiaozhen, Ji Xian [Henan] 河南汲縣山彪鎮, now kept at the Academia Sinica, Taipei.⁵⁴)

Tomb no. 74M51, which was unlooted, also yielded a set of washing vessels: a *pan* (fig. 9.1) and an *yi* (fig. 8.3). The latter is inscribed. To determine the chronological position of the *yiding* just discussed, that *yi*--the Zhu Zi Jifu 貯子己父-*yi*--may be juxtaposed with the Xun Hou 郇侯-*yi* from Tomb no. 74M55 (fig. 8.1), the only other inscribed vessel published in the three preliminary reports on Shangguo.⁵⁵ Both vessels feature one band of ornamentation near the rim, horizontal parallel grooves (*wawen* 瓦紋) on most of the vessel body, four clawed feet, and a ring-biting animal with curled horns--an ornamentation scheme that goes back to the Late

⁵² Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 101, 102 fig. 7.3, pl. 3.6; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 5.

⁵³ For an analysis of this double-face motif, see Li Xueqin, "Liangzhu Culture and the Shang Dynasty *taotie* Motif," in *The Problem of Meaning in Early Chinese Ritual Bronzes*, Roderick Whitfield (ed.) (Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia, No. 15, London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1993), pp. 56-66. In spite of the chronological gap of more than 1200 years, it is not implausible that this design should be reflected in Eastern Zhou art. For a compelling argument using even later evidence from the southeast coast of China, see Alain Thote, "Note sur la postérité du masque de Liangzhu à l'époque des Zhou orientaux," *Arts asiatiques* 51 (1996), pp. 60-72.

⁵⁴ Guo Baojun, *Shanbiaozhen yu Liulige*, pll. 9-10.

⁵⁵ For detailed references to both *yi* (and other inscribed bronzes from Shangguo from as-yet unpublished tombs), see n. 14.

Western Zhou period. But there are also differences. The Xun Hou-*yi* is the only bronze vessel left in a looted tomb that must have been of considerable status (chime-stones and bell-suspension hooks testify that it even contained musical instruments); its *terminus ante quem* is the conquest of Xun by Jin in 703 BC, and it may date back to Late Western Zhou.⁵⁶ Its main ornamentation band along the rim shows horizontal scales in two sizes, which are replicated on body of the rim-biting animal. By contrast, on the Zhu Zi Jifu-*yi* from Tomb no. 74M51, the main decoration band contains *qiequwen* of somewhat flamboyant shape, consisting of vaguely cross-shaped abstracted dragon-shapes (every second one marked with a central eye) intruding on one another. The points where two dragon units meet are enhanced by a subtle, flap-like rise in the relief. Such details of execution unmistakably mark this *yi* as stylistically later than the Xun Hou-*yi*; it certainly dates no earlier than Early Springs and Autumns, and it may well be fairly late within that subperiod.⁵⁷ The *yiding* from the same tomb may be dated accordingly.

The uninscribed *pan* accompanying the Zhu Zi Jifu-*yi* (fig. 9.1) is more conventional in its ornamentation scheme.⁵⁸ It has a ring-foot, as typical for vessels of this type through the Middle Springs and Autumns period, but without the three feet sometimes encountered on the ring-feet of Late Western Zhou period specimens. Inside the ring-foot, somewhat off-center, a small bell is suspended, a very unusual feature on a *pan* vessel.⁵⁹ The ornamentation comprises a coiled dragon in the center of the bowl, its body covered with paired scales--a design of very long standing on

⁵⁶ On the Xun polity, see Chen Pan 陳槃, *Chunqiu Dashibiao lieguo juexing ji cunmiebiao zhucany* 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表誤異 (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo, 1969), pp. 227B-228B. For approximate parallels to this vessel, see Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol. 2: 377-379, nos. 51 (late part of Late Western Zhou), 68, 70 (Early Springs and Autumns).

⁵⁷ None of the Late Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns period *yi* vessels in Hayashi, *Yin Shû*, feature relieved decor executed in this manner. The Zhu Zi Jifu-*yi* is closer in its decor (though not in its proportions) to specimens from the early part of Middle Springs and Autumns depicted in Hayashi, *Shunji Sengoku*, p. 265, nos. 2, 6, 8.

⁵⁸ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 104, 106 fig. 11.1, pl. 4.2.

⁵⁹ Such bells are otherwise known only on some so-called *gui* of Early Western Zhou date (Rawson, *Western Zhou Bronzes*, pt. A, p. 33), and on a unique Shang period bronze altar from Hua'erlou, Yi Xian (Liaoning) 遼寧義縣花兒樓 (*Quanguo chutu wenwu zhenpinxuan* 全國出土文物珍品選 [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987], figs. 170-171). They were presumably intended to emit an acoustic signal whenever the vessel was moved during a ceremony.

vessels of this type that has Neolithic forerunners⁶⁰ --surrounded by single band of thirteen fish. A band of horizontal scales, all of equal size, encircles the ring-foot; each scale has the shape of a curled-in horizontal C, alternatingly opened upward and downward. All this is fairly generic, but one might point to the somewhat nonchalant execution of the fish, and to the doubling of the scales on the body of the coiled dragon (awkwardly crowded in a comma-shaped area near the head) as instances of Early Springs and Autumns period playfulness.

11) Returning to our discussion of *yiding*, we may now turn to the specimen from Tomb no. 74M57 (fig. 7.14),⁶¹ notable for having yielded the ornate *pan* discussed in subsection 3.1. Here the decoration band below the rim, composed of interlaced *qiequwen* dragon motifs, has become extremely intricate. The band of vertical scales below is doubled, as in nos. 3, 4, and 5. The cover is of circular shape and does not encompass the spout. It is covered with a composition of intricately interlaced dragons, which are different from those on the vessel body in that the animal heads are recognizable and that their interlacing bodies are enhanced by differential patterning, making them easier to distinguish as one traces each of them across the surface. This manner of representation prefigures the stylistic devices used at the Houma foundry. Furthermore, the cover has a sculptural handle in the form of a standing animal (a dog or leopard?) with large, pointed ears and upward-coiled tail, its head turned sideways and gazing at the onlooker. Identical sideways-turned animal appliqués occur on a number of ornate vessels of comparable style; we may see them, for instance, on the handles of the Lu Situ Zhong Qi 魯司徒仲齊-*pan* excavated from Tomb no. 48 at Wangfutai, Qufu (Shandong) 山東曲阜望父臺.⁶²

⁶⁰ For Shang through Eastern Zhou instances of aquatic animals depicted on the bottom of *pan* vessels, see Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol. 2, pp. 357-369 and *Shunji Sengoku*, pp. 158-160, *passim*. A Neolithic prototype of the coiled-dragon design was found on a painted-pottery basin from the important Longshan 龍山 culture site of Taosi, Xiangfen (Shanxi) 山西襄汾陶寺 (Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Shanxi Gongzuodui 山西工作隊 and Linfen Diqu Wenhujia 臨汾地區文化局, "1978-1980 nian Shanxi Xiangfen Taosi mudi fajue jianbao 1978-1980年山西襄汾陶寺墓地發掘簡報," *Kaogu* 1983.1, p. 37, pl. 4.1).

⁶¹ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 101, 102 fig. 7.4, pl. 3.5.

⁶² Shandong Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山東省文物考古研究所, Shandong Sheng Bowuguan 山東省博物館, Jining Diqu Wenwuzu 濟寧地區文物組, and Qufu Xian Wenguanhui 曲阜縣管會, *Qufu Lu guo gucheng* 曲阜魯國故城 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1983), p. 150, pl. 76; Lu Changling 呂常凌 [ed.], *Shandong wenwu jingcui* 山東文物精華 (Jinan: Shandong Meishu chubanshe, 1996), no. 111; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 16.10116. An extremely similar *pan* is in the Minneapolis Museum of Art (ex Pillsbury Collection). Hayashi (*In Shû*, vol. 2,

As seen above, the other two bronze vessels from Tomb no. 74M57 (a *pen* and a bronze cup), as well, represent a fairly mature Springs and Autumns style.

The *yiding* from Tomb no. 74M57 invites comparison with the miniature *yiding* from Tomb no. 61M14 at the well-reported cemetery of Shangma, Houma (Shanxi) 山西侯馬上馬 (fig. 7.15).⁶³ That specimen--the only *yiding* found at Shangma--likewise features an enclosed spout, fashioned as if it were the head of an animal with heart-shaped ears (spouts of this shape are seen at times on Springs and Autumns period *yi*). The ornament band below the rim consists of highly elaborate S-shaped dragons with central "eyes," but here each S-shaped unit has a full dragon head at one end, with a protruding tooth overlapping with the body; the opposite end of the S, by contrast, is a mere abstract scroll. Two rows of vertical scales, positioned as in nos. 3-5 and 11, follow underneath, and horizontal scales run along the outside of the handles. The cover features a sculptural handle similar to that of no. 11, in the shape of a dog with its head turned sideways. The relieved ornament of the cover consists of two symmetrically counterpoised animals; their two legs are spread out behind their tiger-like heads, and their legless hind portions are slung around each other in an arrangement resembling that seen on the covers of nos. 9-11.

All in all, the *yiding* from Shangma is very similar to the later specimens from Shangguo, particularly to no. 11; it was undoubtedly made at the same workshop, perhaps just slightly later than no. 11. Hayashi dates it to the early part of Middle Springs and Autumns,⁶⁴ but this may be slightly on the late side.

p. 366, no 73) dates this vessel to the late part of Late Western Zhou, which is almost certainly too early. Both vessels stand on tiny human figures resembling those of the ornate boxes from Shangguo to be discussed below. An *yiding* extremely similar to the one from Tomb no. 74M57 was sold in New York in 1990 (see J. J. Lally & Co., *Arts of Ancient China*, Spring 1990, no. 1). The sculptural animal on the cover is a monkey with one foreleg awkwardly outstretched sideways. This specimen may conceivably have been looted from Shangguo.

⁶³ *Shangma mudi*, 490-491, 503 fig. 14.6, 7, 508 fig. 18.3 (originally published in *Kaogu* 1963.5, pp. 230, 241 fig. 14.6, 7, pl. 1.3); *Shanxi chutu wenwu*, no. 73; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 13. This tomb is not included in the master chronology of the Shangma report. The *yiding* is the only bronze found in its tomb (which was unlooted); it is also the only *yiding* found at the entire Shangma cemetery. Since Shangma belonged to a lineage that was considerably less high-ranking than the Shangguo burying lineage, the contrast between the relative ubiquity (in spite of rampant looting!) of *yiding* at Shangguo and their scarcity at Shangma may illustrate the difference in overall rank and wealth among these two lineages (see also Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, ch. 3).

⁶⁴ Hayashi, *Shunja Sengoku*, p. 3, no. 31.

3.2.2. Typological discussion

In order to position this series of unusual miniature bronzes more fully within the history of Chinese bronzes, some further discussion is warranted. The earliest spouted tripods date back to the Late Shang dynasty.⁶⁵ After an apparent hiatus during Early and Middle Western Zhou, the manufacture of spouted variants of standard vessel types (now not only of *ding*, but also, e.g., of *pan*) seems to have resumed during Late Western Zhou.⁶⁶ The earliest *yiding* from that phase is the Rong Yousi Cheng 榮有司冉-*yiding*, an inscribed, full-size (non-miniature) specimen excavated in 1973 from Tomb no. 3 at Hejiacun, Qishan (Shaanxi) 陝西岐山賀家村 (fig. 7.1).⁶⁷ It basically resembles specimen no. 1 from Shangguo in lacking a cover and featuring a single ornamentation band of horizontal scales (small alternating with large). The only difference that indicates an earlier date of manufacture is that the U-shaped handles sit vertically on the rim, rather than being laterally attached as on all Shangguo specimens.

The latest true *yiding* on record is an undecorated miniature specimen excavated from Tomb no. 5 at the cemetery of the Shi 郛 lineage at Xianrentai, Changqing (Shandong) 山東長清仙人臺 (fig. 7.18).⁶⁸ It has laterally attached U-shaped handles, like those from Shangguo, Shangcunling, and Shangma. The cover extends to the upper edge of the spout, but does not enclose it as in the case of no. 10 at Shangguo. In the spout, a movable tongue is suspended that keeps the vessel sealed normally, but moves out of the way when it is tilted to pour out liquid. As the tomb

⁶⁵ Rawson, *Western Zhou Bronzes*, pt. B, pp. 713-714.

⁶⁶ Hayashi (*In Shû*, vol. 2: 370, nos. 1-3) illustrates three spouted *pan* (*yipan* 匱盤). A much later *yipan* from a Southeastern context, probably constituting a local survival in a time when this vessel type had already become extinct in its area of origin, is depicted in Hayashi, *Shunji Sengoku*, p. 164, no. 1 (Late Springs and Autumns period).

⁶⁷ Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan 陝西省博物館 and Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui 陝西省文物管理委員會, "Shaanxi Qishan Hejiacun Xi Zhou muzang" 陝西岐山賀家村西周墓葬, *Kaogu* 1976.1, pp. 32-33, 34 fig. 5.2, pl. 2.1. Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanliweiyuanhui, and Shaanxi Sheng Bowuguan, *Shaanxi chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi* 陝西出土商周青銅器, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1979), no. 164; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 4.2470. Hayashi (*In Shû*, vol. 2, p. 29, no. 315) dates this vessel to the late part of Late Western Zhou.

⁶⁸ Shandong Daxue Lishi Wenhua Xueyuan Kaogu Xi 山東大學歷史文化學院考古系, "Changqing Xianrentai wuhao mu fajue jianbao 長清仙人臺五號墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu* 1998.9, pp. 21, 22 fig. 4.7, 24 fig. 7. The authors of the report very sensibly class this vessel under "miscellaneous vessels" (*zaqi* 雜器), rather than under "ritual vessels."

is datable to the late seventh century BC,⁶⁹ this *yiding* is slightly later than all the Shangguo specimens.⁷⁰

Yiding were crossbreeds of *ding* meat-offering tripods and *yi* water-pouring vessels. The above-discussed specimens from Shangguo, and the comparison pieces from Hejiacun, Shangcunling, Shangma, and Xianrentai, are close in shape to *ding* and may be considered as variants or even equivalents thereof. This is confirmed by the fact that, on the two known inscribed specimens--the Rong Yousi Cheng-*yiding* from Hejiacun and the unprovenanced Si Bo Qi-*yiding*--the vessel name is given as *ding*.⁷¹ Yet unlike ordinary *ding* tripods during this period, *yiding* never seem to have been made as graded sets. There must have been some functional distinction vis-a-vis ordinary *ding*, now impossible to determine.

Contrasting with the *ding*-like *yiding* discussed so far, other known *yiding* have stronger typological links to *yi* water-pouring vessels. The best instance of this variant is a full-sized (non-miniature) *yiding* excavated at Lijiazhuang, Yishui (Shandong) 山東沂水李家莊 and dated by Hayashi to Early Springs and Autumns (fig. 7.16).⁷² Unlike any of the Shangguo specimens, it is coverless and yet features an enclosed spout in the shape of an animal head (by contrast, *ding*-like *yiding* such

⁶⁹ This accords with the opinion of the excavators (*ibid.*, p. 26); Ren Xianghong 任相宏 (“Shandong Changqing xian Xianrentai Zhou dai mudi ji xiangguan wenti chutan” 山東長清仙人臺周代墓地及相官問題初探 *Kaogu* 1998.9: 795) dates Tomb no. 5 to the Late Springs and Autumns period, which is stylistically impossible.

⁷⁰ In his comments on the *yiding* in the Poly Museum, Du Naisong 杜迺松 (*Baoli cangjin*, xu, p. 165) adduces two Late Warring States period instances of spouted *ding* that may signalize a much later revival of this vessel type: one from the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan 中山王譽 (r. ca. 327-313 BC) at Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei) 河北平山三汲 (Hebei Sheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所, *Cuo mu: Zhanguo Zhongshan guo guowang zhi mu* 譽墓：戰國中山國國王之墓 [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995], vol. 1: 114, 115 fig. 37.2, vol. 2, pl. 73.6), and one from the tomb of King You of Chu 楚幽王 (r. 237-228 BC) at Zhujiayi, Shou Xian (Anhui) 安徽壽縣朱家集 (Rong Geng 容庚 and Zhang Weichi 張維持, *Yin Zhou qingtongqi tonglun* 殷周青銅器通論 [Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958], pl. 10, fig. 18).

⁷¹ See nn. 66 and 44. In each case, “*ding*” is prefixed by an attribute: 齋 (read by the excavators--perhaps problematically--as *ziding* 齋鼎 “grain-presenting *ding*”) in the former, *shanding* 膳鼎 “viand-presenting *ding*” in the latter. The notion that *yiding* at Shangguo stood for *ding* appears plausible in light of comparison to Shangma, where a number of tombs yielded single *ding*, to which the *yiding* in Tomb 61M14 seems to have been an equivalent. That they were probably not a stand-in for *yi* vessels seems likely from the fact that Tomb no. 74M51 at Shangguo yielded an *yi*+*pan* set in conjunction with an *yiding*.

⁷² Shandong Sheng Bowuguan 山東省博物館 *et al.*, *Shandong wenwu xuanji (pucha bufen)* 山東文物選集 (普查部分) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1959), p. 45, fig. 101. Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol. 2, p. 33, no. 360. An unprovenanced vessel with similar features (fig. 7.17) is in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Guoli Gugong Zhongyang Bowuguan Lianhe Guanlichu 國立故宮中央博物館聯合管理處, *Gugong tongqi tulu* 故宮銅器

as those from Shangguo seem to have acquired covers before their spouts assumed animal-like characteristics). Moreover, the Lijiazhuang *yiding* differs typologically from the Shangguo specimens in that its handles are not U-shaped and laterally attached, but ring-shaped and sitting directly on the rim; in addition, there is a rear handle ending in a rim-biting animal head, exactly like those seen on contemporaneous *yi* vessels (of the *yiding* from Shangguo, only the one from Tomb no. 89M33 [no. 8 above] has a rear handle). The vessel's thin legs underscore this affinity, as does the fact that it was found paired with a *pan* basin.

The closest thing to a covered version of the type of *yiding* exemplified by the specimen from Lijiazhuang is an unusual vessel, called an *yi* in its own inscription, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 7.19). It resembles *yi* vessels in having four feet and a rear handle, but its globular body shape is closer to that of *ding*, and its vaulted cover is without parallel on vessels of either class. The vessel's enclosed spout features an animal face with two curled horns;⁷³ and its forelegs, very unusually, are bent as if walking. The rear handle, unlike the rim-biting serpents seen on most contemporaneous *yi*, resembles that of a *gui*, with an animal face adorning its upper part. Both the vaulted cover and the body of this vessel are covered with large, exuberant S-shaped dragons, their regardant necks interlaced. Hayashi places this *yi* in the Early Springs and Autumns period.⁷⁴

As the closest Middle Springs and Autumns period parallel to the *yiding* from Tomb 61M14 at Shangma, Hayashi adduces an unusual animal-headed *ding* from Fenghuangzui, Shucheng (Anhui) 安徽舒城鳳凰嘴 (fig. 7.20).⁷⁵ Its ornamentation style shows strong regional Southeast Chinese characteristics. It sports tail flanges and a fully sculptural, vaguely sheep-like animal head with elaborate horns and ears.

圖錄[Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1959], vol. 2, no. B-91).

⁷³ An exact parallel may be seen on a contemporaneous *yi* in the Musée Guimet, Paris (Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol.2: 377 no. 52).

⁷⁴ *Gugong tongqi tulu*, vol. 2, no. B-430; *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 16.10181; Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol.2, p. 378, no. 60.

⁷⁵ Anhui Sheng Wenhua ju Wenwu Gongzuodui 安徽省文化局文物工作隊, "Anhui Shucheng chutu de tongqi 安徽舒城出土的銅器," *Kaogu* 1964.10: 498, 499 fig. 2, pl. 1.1; Hayashi, *Shunjû Sengoku*, p. 3, no. 32. Several vessels of similar shape have been excavated in China's southeastern region, including both bronze and glazed-stoneware specimens, the latter datable well into the Warring States period (for an example, see Gugong Bowuyuan Lidai Yishuguan 故宮博物院歷代藝術館, *Gugong Bowuyuan Lidai Yishuguan chenliepin tumu* 故宮博物院歷代藝術館陳列品圖目 [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991], p. 59, fig. 311).

If there is any typological relationship to Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns period *yiding* from northern China, it must be quite indirect. Given the archaic character of Southeast Chinese bronze vessel assemblages contemporary with the Springs and Autumns period,⁷⁶ a derivation from even earlier (Shang and Early Western Zhou period) *gong* vessels--which are in turn the typological ancestors of *yi*--should be considered. In particular, the animal head of the vessel under consideration has fairly close parallels on some Western Zhou *gong* 觥.⁷⁷ But whereas on a *gong*, such an animal-head is part of the cover and fits over the vessel's spout, the *ding* from Fenghuangzui has the animal head attached to the vessel body rather than to the cover; and as the animal head is solid, it cannot be used as a spout. Hence the vessel could not have been functionally equivalent to *gong*, *yi*, or *yiding*.

What the difference between the typological filiations of *ding*-like and *yi*-like *yiding* signifies in terms of vessel function is now impossible to tell. That *yiding* were intended--perhaps by way of an economy measure--to combine the functions of *ding* meat-offering vessels and *yi* water-pouring vessels can probably be excluded, considering that actual *yi* vessels were found in association with *yiding* in two of the tombs at Shangguo. Such a combination of functions would also have presented practical problems during the rituals. Conceivably, the differences between the *ding*-like and *yi*-like variants stem from different decisions taken by artisans at different workshops when ordered to manufacture vessels combining the attributes of *ding* and *yi*. But why would anyone have told the artisans to produce such hybrid vessels? We do not know.

⁷⁶ See Falkenhausen, "The Waning of the Bronze Age," 532-533; concerning the notion that spouted vessel types may have remained in use in the southeastern part of China longer than they did in the central portion of the Zhou culture sphere, see above, n. 66.

⁷⁷ This was recognized by the excavators as well ("Anhui Shucheng," p. 498). Splendid *gong* vessels from the Western Zhou core area include the Zhe 折-*gong* from Hoard no. 1 at Zhuangbai, Fufeng (Shaanxi) 陝西扶風莊白 (Shaanxi Sheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al., *Shaanxi chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi*, vol.2 [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980], no. 14), and the Wenkao Ri Ji 文考日己-*gong* from Hoard no. 1 at Qijiacun 齊家村, also in Fufeng (*ibid.*, no. 122). The closest comparandum, both geographical and stylistic, to the animal head on the *ding* from Fenghuangzui is on the *gong* from Tomb no. 1 at Yandunshan, Dantu (Jiangsu) 江蘇丹徒煙墩山 (Jiangsu Sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 江蘇省文物管理委員會, "Jiangsu Dantu Yandunshan chutu de gudai qingtongqi 江蘇丹徒煙墩山出土的古代青銅器," *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 1955.5, 60 fig. 4), which Hayashi (*In Shû*, vol. 2: 376, no. 47) dates to Middle Western Zhou, but which may well be a much later regional adaptation. The flat horns on the Fenghuangzui *ding* are undoubtedly reduced versions combining the ears and the mushroom-shaped horns (or "bottle horns") seen on the *gong* from Qijiacun and Yandunshan. Hayashi (*In Shû*, vol. 2, pp. 371-379, q.v. for many other instances of *gong*) does not differentiate *gong* as a class of vessels separate from *yi*.

3.2.3. *Interpretation*

Artisan-patron relationships may be a key factor accounting for the art-historical developments observed in the Shangguo bronzes. The ever-increasing intricacy of décor observable as one proceeds through the sequence of *yiding* seemingly reflects an evolving conjuncture of growing technical and artistic confidence on the part of the craftsmen and taste preferences on the part of their patrons. The observable stylistic continuity and the fact that all eleven vessels were excavated at the same site allow us to assume at least a certain measure of continuity in both manufacture and patronage. One may imagine, in other words, that successive generations of members of a lineage commissioned their vessels from the same continuously operating workshop. The excavated bronzes may be read as the outcome of the ongoing interaction of the two parties. And in this case, it may not be overly bold to speculate that the dynamics fueling the manufacture of increasingly elaborate and luxurious objects were put in motion by the manufacturers, with the patrons taking a reactive rôle. The following scenario comes to mind.

At the outset, the artisans at the workshop that produced the Shangguo bronzes were bound to the strictly limited repertoire of simplified decoration patterns that had become the standard all over the Zhou culture sphere after the incisive “Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform” in the mid-ninth century.⁷⁸ Although the deliberate simplicity and austerity of the new style had had, when first adopted, its own not inconsiderable appeal,⁷⁹ at length the artisans may have come to resent its repetitiveness as confining. Perhaps, in addition, the memory of the high technical achievements of their Late Shang and Early Western Zhou predecessors aroused new professional aspirations. Around the middle of the eighth century BC, therefore, the artisans, having exhausted the creative possibilities of the standard Late Western Zhou motifs, began to explore ways of making them more interesting. They did so by twisting and turning these motifs, introducing subtle variations, and combining them in ever more complex and intricate ways. Interlaced animal bodies, seen but rarely

⁷⁸ On the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform, see Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes*, pt. A, pp. 93-110; Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, ch. 1 *et passim*.

⁷⁹ Cf. Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Late Western Zhou Taste,” *Études chinoises* 18.1/2 (1999), pp. 143-178.

in Late Western Zhou, became *de rigueur* in vessel ornamentation. Sculptural appendages, which had never been completely absent even in the heyday of the austere Late Western Zhou style, were further emphasized, and one has a sense that their narrative potential was beginning to be exploited, conveying a playful and at times whimsical note to the resulting objects. This is obvious on the *yi* from Tomb no. 89M33 (fig. 8.3), *yiding* nos. 9-11, and especially in the ornate bronze boxes discussed in subsection 3.3.

It is difficult to imagine that this new mode of bronze ornamentation arose in response to an explicit demand from the patrons for a more complex style. More probably, the artisans came up with their stylistic innovations in the course of independent experimentation; these would naturally have caught the patrons' fancy, impelling further and ever bolder creativity on the part of the artisans. As the new designs became fashionable, they replaced the simpler, older styles, at least in the area supplied by the workshop patronized by the Shangguo burying lineage. Similar processes occurred throughout the Zhou culture sphere. Interregional variation was limited at first, as the strongly uniform Late Western Zhou canon of motifs still continued to condition the appearance of the new decoration patterns.

For this art-historically productive feedback loop between artisans and patrons to have come into existence, one must posit that the artisans worked under conditions of relative creative freedom, at least inasmuch as the detailed execution of objects was concerned. This should not be confused with the notion that they enjoyed any particular degree of personal freedom in a legal sense; whether they did or not is currently unknown. Even though little is known about the social standing of artisans in early China,⁸⁰ it is generally believed that bronze manufacturers over the course of the Eastern Zhou period evolved from "attached specialists" producing exclusively for the needs of a ruler's court,⁸¹ into more independent, commercial agents supplying an expanding and increasingly free market, reaching out to larger

⁸⁰ For useful considerations on this topic, see Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming).

⁸¹ This currently influential term was coined by Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and Timothy K. Earle in the introduction of their edited volume, *Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1-7.

segments of the population than before.⁸² Perhaps, the stylistic development of the bronzes from Shangguo indirectly reflects the initial steps of such a process as it unfolded at one specific workshop. The location of that workshop has yet to be determined. Very possibly it was located somewhere in metal-rich southern Shanxi; and it seems likely that it was a forerunner, if not indeed *the* forerunner, of the Houma foundry.

3.3. The Ornate Bronze Boxes

Another important ingredient in this development was the creation, very probably for the first time in the Zhou culture sphere, of new kinds of vessels that were not intended for use during sacrificial ceremonies, but as playthings (*nongqi* 弄器) for a sophisticated élite.⁸³ It is on such objects that we see the clearest manifestations, during Early Springs and Autumns, of decorative whimsy and unbridled artisanal creativity. At Shangguo, this new category of bronzes is instantiated by three ornate rectangular bronze boxes (fig. 10) with hinged openings and appliqué sculptural fittings. Two of them have wheels and have therefore been referred to as “bronze chariots,” but that designation is misleading because their shape does not otherwise resemble that of chariots. The third, which stands on four feet in the shape of human figures, was reported as a *ding* (i.e. presumably a *fangding*), but it bears no resemblance to other vessels of that type. The decoration and in particular the appliqué sculptures are very similar to those seen on some of the *yiding* discussed before (especially nos. 9 and 11), suggesting that they date to the Early Springs and Autumns period. I suspect that they are quite close to one another in date; my following description does not imply a sequence.

The three boxes are of miniature size, in spite of their elaborate decoration. One was the only bronze object in its tomb (*cf.* Table 2), the two others each were associated with one additional bronze vessel (an *yiding* and a *gui*), but in each case, the tomb had been robbed before excavation. Nothing is known, therefore, about the

⁸² See, e.g., Bagley, “Replication Techniques,” and “What the Bronzes.”

⁸³ Huang Mingchong (Hwang Ming-chong) 黃銘崇 has pertinently traced the development of this category of objects through inscriptions (“Yin dai yu Dong Zhou zhi ‘nongqi’ ji qi yiyi 殷代與東周之‘弄器’及其意義,” *Gu jin lunheng* 6 [2001], pp. 66-88).

position of these curious objects in bronze-vessel assemblages, or about their function.

1) The wheeled box from Tomb no. 74M374 (fig. 10.1) has four eight-spoked wheels attached to transverse axles.⁸⁴ Sculptural ascending dragons--with backward-bent heads, comma-shaped ears, and rolled-up tails--are attached to the four corners of the object. The cover resembles a two-pane hinged door; one of the two panes can be lifted by means of a knob in the shape of a seated monkey, which is remarkably similar to the two on the *yiding* from 89M7 (no. 9 above). On the vessel body, the ornamentation of the wide sides features a wave-like up-and-down ornament (*shanwen*) at the center, from which emerge, at both sides, large birds, facing each other, with coiled bodies ending in dragon-heads. On the narrow sides, there is space only for two dragons, their lower bodies merged, with a sprout-shaped flourish between their two heads. The relieved décor of the two-pane cover consists of two rows of birds, placed feet-to-feet with their beaks pointing away from each other.

A *gui* tureen was found in the same tomb (fig. 5.2).⁸⁵ Ornamented with horizontal grooves (*wawen*) on the belly and a single band of up-and-down curls linked by small ridges, it represents the most common type of *gui* during Late Western Zhou and Early Springs and Autumns times. The generic quality of the decoration does nothing to further narrow the likely dating range of the tomb.

2) The bronze box found in Tomb no. 74M49 (fig. 10.2) has a ring-foot underneath which are four feet in the shape of standing human figures.⁸⁶ Ascending animals with backward-turned heads are attached at the four corners and in the centers of each façade. Those on the broad sides feature ornate ears (perhaps they represent dragons), while those on the narrow side lack such ears (perhaps they are meant to be tigers). As in the previous specimen, there is a two-pane hinged cover; its two handles are in the shape of dogs that are about to attack each other.

The relieved ornamentation of the four façades is arranged on two tiers: a lower,

⁸⁴ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 109, 110 fig. 15, pl. 4.5.

⁸⁵ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 105, 106 fig. 11.6.

⁸⁶ Zhu Hua, "Wenxi Shangguocun," pp. 101, 103 fig. 8, pl. 4.4; *Shanxi chutu wenwu*, no. 68.

slightly concave tier (corresponding to the upper part of the ring-foot) features a band of horizontal scales; the larger upper tier is filled with a dragon décor, consisting of two symmetrically arranged dragons on each façade. On the broad sides, these dragons have one principal inward-coiled head and an outward-coiled body with an eye in the center that perhaps indicates a second dragon head; the dragons adorning the narrower sides are of simpler, inward-coiled shape. On the two panes of the cover, flanking the sculptural handles, we find relieved décor of S-shaped two-headed dragons. The fluid, slightly dissolved quality of execution is characteristic of the evolved Early Springs and Autumns style.

A closely similar (and presumably contemporaneous) miniature bronze box, standing on four human figurines that are represented kneeling rather than standing, was reported from Tomb no. 63 at the Jin rulers' necropolis at Qucun.⁸⁷

3) The wheeled box from Tomb no. 89M7 (fig. 10.3) is the most complex of the three.⁸⁸ The back part has two eight-spoked wheels affixed directly to the vessel body without any axle. The front part stands on two tigers that roll on disk-shaped wheels inserted between each pair of legs. Similar to the previous two specimens, ascendant, backward-turning sculptural dragons are attached to all four corners as well as to the centers of the long façades. In the center of the rear façade is a handle resembling that of a *gui*, with a loose ring in it. A hinged door, resembling that of an actual building, is on the front façade. It has as its handle a human guardian figure with its left foot amputated, holding an oversized latch ornamented with an animal mask.⁸⁹ The cover once again consists of two hinged panes that may be opened. It has a single handle in the shape of a monkey; moreover, four sculptural birds sit on the cover, a pair on each pane, facing away from the center.

⁸⁷ "Tianma--Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi disici fajue," pp. 17, 13 fig. 23, 14 fig. 24.2. Another very similar specimen is in a Japanese private collection (Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol. 2: 396, fig. 20, from Umehara Sueji 梅原末治, *Nihon shûcho kodô seika* 日本蒐儲古銅精華 [Kyôto, 1959-1962], vol. 4: 344).

⁸⁸ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 145-147, 146 fig. 8, pl. 7; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pls. 121-122.

⁸⁹ Such doors with amputated doormen are first seen on bronze vessels in the Late Western Zhou period; the earliest provenienced example is on the fire compartment of a bronze stove from Hoard no. 1 at Zhuangbai (*Shaanxi chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi* vol. 2: 77). An Early Springs and Autumns period specimen of the same type was found at Rujiazhuang (Gao and Liu, "Baoji Rujiazhuang xin faxian tongqi jiaocang," pp. 11-12, inside front cover no. 2).

The surface ornamentation consists, in the two broader façades, of two symmetrical panels with exuberant birds, surrounded by flamboyant scrolls; on the front façade, of some abstract scrolls next to the “door” and four animal-masks hiding its hinges; and on the rear façade, an abstract configuration of scrolls surrounding the handle.

Ornate bronzes of comparable shape and date have also been excavated elsewhere in North China, their geographical spread ranging from Shaanxi in the west to Shandong in the east.⁹⁰ Their occurrence at the time of the Late Western Zhou--Springs and Autumns period transition marks a special moment in the history of Chinese bronze art. I will address their derivation, possible function, and significance in a separate article.⁹¹ Such objects are generally associated with individuals of high rank; at Shangguo, their occurrence--and that of ornate miniature bronzes in general--can probably be placed more or less within the time period, between 745 and 679 BC, when this place was the main center of power in the Jin polity.

4. The Stylistic Transition From Early to Middle Springs and Autumns

4.1. Sequence of Assemblages

The 1976 and 1989 excavations at Shangguo yielded eleven tombs containing fully functional ritual vessels (Table 3) through which we can trace quite minutely the stylistic developments from Early to Middle Springs and Autumns, down to a time just preceding the onset of bronze production at the Houma foundry. In the following, I shall arrange them in an approximate sequence. Unlike the tombs with ornate miniature bronzes discussed above, there is no one ubiquitous vessel type

⁹⁰ For instances from Shaanxi, see n. 89; from Shanxi, see n. 87; and from Shandong, see n. 68. A slightly later (late 7th century BC) miniature four-wheeled box was excavated from Tomb no. 1 at Yuandingshan, Li Xian (Gansu) 甘肅禮縣圓頂山 (Gansu Sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 and Li Xian Bowuguan 禮縣博物館, “Li Xian Yuandingshan Chunqiu Qin mu” 禮縣圓頂山春秋秦墓, *Wenwu* 2002.2, pp. 13, 16 fig. 18, 19 fig. 23). Moreover, from Shandong, there is a bronze box with cover-handles in the shape of a pair of naked humans, excavated at Ju Xian 莒縣 (Lü, *Shandong wenwu jingcui*, no. 115). A virtually identical specimen is in the Fujii Yûrinkan 藤井有鄰館, Kyôto (Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol. 2, p. 396, no. 19).

⁹¹ Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Some Zhou Period Bronzes with Whimsical Décor,” in *Dragon of Light: Chinese Bronzes from the Léon D. Black Collection*, Wu Hung (ed.) (New York: The Asia Society, forthcoming 2007).

such as the *yiding* to which one could hitch the narrative. Under each tomb, therefore, we will consider all the vessels that have been found in it. Starting in Early Springs and Autumns, the sequence partly overlaps with that of the *yiding*-yielding tombs; and one must keep in mind all vessels found in one tomb need not necessarily have been made at the same time.

The vessel constellations, inasmuch as they can be reconstructed, are exactly comparable to those at the Shangma cemetery: in the Early Springs and Autumns period, *ding* meat-offering tripods are predominantly combined with *pan*+*yi* sets of water vessels; later on, they are augmented by covered *pen* (a.k.a. *cheng* 盛 or *dui* 敦) grain-offering vessels (the local substitutes for *gui*, which had become largely obsolete by this time), and sometimes other vessels such as *he*# (a.k.a. *zhou*).

The following enumeration omits Tomb no. 76M55, which yielded only the Xun Hou-*yi*, already discussed in section 3.2.1 (under no. 10), above.

1) Tomb no. 89M12 yielded a globular-bottomed *ding* with laterally attached handles and decorated with a band of *qiequwen* scrolls (fig. 3.2);⁹² a *pan* ornamented with a single band of horizontal scales on the outside (fig. 9.2);⁹³ and a four-footed *yi* (fig. 8.4) that features the usual horizontal grooves (*wawen*) underneath a band of simple sunken-line scrolls imitating *qiequwen* dragons that are executed in a negligent and irregular way.⁹⁴ Even though the ornaments adhere to the Late Western Zhou canon of conventions, the date of this last-mentioned object probably post-dates the end of Western Zhou. An exact counterpart was found in Tomb no. 1706 at Shangcunling.⁹⁵

2) Of the two *ding* from Tomb no. 74M58, only one has been illustrated (fig. 3.3);⁹⁶ it has vertical handles attached to the rim, a globular bottom, and an ornamentation scheme consisting of a band of horizontal scales (*chonghuanwen*) with a band

⁹² “Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989,” pp. 143, 144 fig. 6.7, pl. 6.1.

⁹³ “Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989,” pp. 143, 144 fig. 10.6.

⁹⁴ “Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989,” pp. 143, 145 fig. 7.4, pl. 6.3.

⁹⁵ *Shangcunling Guo guo mudi*, p. 18, pl. 51.1; Hayashi (*In Shū*, v.2: 379, no. 69), dates this vessel to Early Springs and Autumns. Li Feng (“Guo guo mudi tongqiquan”) does not explicitly date this tomb.

⁹⁶ Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” 101, 102 fig. 7.1. For parallels from Shangma see n. 36 above.

of vertical scales underneath, similar to what is seen on the *yiding* from 89M2, 89M 9, and 89M 27 (nos. 3, 4, and 5 above). There are direct parallels to this type of *ding* from Tomb no. 4078 at Shangma, dated to the early part of Early Springs and Autumns.

3) Tomb no. 76M4 yielded a globular-bodied *ding* (fig. 3.4), unornamented and coverless.⁹⁷ Its handles are smaller than those of the *ding* vessels discussed so far, and they are not bent outward; instead, they are fashioned in the shape of a piece of twirled rope, with flat protrusion at the top. Perhaps significantly, they resemble the handles of nomadic *fu* 鍍 cauldrons such as the one seen in Tomb no. 76M1 (see fig. 6.3).

The grain-offering vessel from this tomb consists of a covered *pen* (fig. 5.6).⁹⁸ The vessel is unornamented. When compared to equivalent vessels found at Shangma (in Tomb no. 1010, dated to the early part of Middle Springs and Autumns; Tombs no. 61M5 and 1013, both from the late part of Middle Springs and Autumns; and Tomb no. 1006 from the early part of Late Springs and Autumns),⁹⁹ the shape seems slightly on the archaic side.

The tomb's *he* vessel (fig. 4.4) has a single band of densely patterned décor, the details of which are impossible to make out in the published illustration.¹⁰⁰ The ring-shaped handles are unadorned. Hayashi assigns similarly shaped specimens (one of which was excavated from Tomb no. 2415 at Zhongzhoulu, Luoyang [Henan]) to the early part of Middle Springs and Autumns.¹⁰¹

Tomb no. 76M4 also contained a *pan* (fig. 9.3) that stands on three feet attached to its ring-foot.¹⁰² Its ornament consists of interlaced up-and-down pattern (*bolang-*

⁹⁷ "1976 nian Wenxi," p. 128 fig. 10.1; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, no. 1.

⁹⁸ "1976 nian Wenxi," p. 128, fig. 10.3. This vessel is reported as a *gui*, and it is likely to have fulfilled a function identical to that of a *gui*.

⁹⁹ *Shangma mudi*, pp. 49-50, 55 fig. 42, pl. 12.3-5.

¹⁰⁰ "1976 nian Wenxi," p. 128, fig. 10.2.

¹⁰¹ Hayashi, *Shunji Sengoku*, p. 80; *Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Luoyang Zhongzhoulu (Xi gongduan) 洛陽中州路【西工段】* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959), p. 95, pl. 45.5. This tomb represents the earliest stage of the Zhongzhoulu sequence. The absolute datings proposed in the *Zhongzhoulu* report are no longer accepted (cf. Falkenhausen, "The Waning of the Bronze Age," p. 471, *q.v.* for further references).

¹⁰² "1976 nian Wenxi," pp. 128-129, 128 fig. 10.5; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 89.

wen/shanwen) similar to that seen on the bronze cup from Tomb no. 74M57, discussed above. The most unusual feature of this vessel are its two handles, which are shaped like the rear-handles of *yi*-vessels with their rim-biting animal faces.¹⁰³ The *yi* that comes with this *pan* (fig. 8.5) has the same kind of handle.¹⁰⁴ It stands on four feet and has a single ornament band (without any *wawen* pattern underneath) consisting of hooked S-shapes that are no doubt abstracted or reduced version of *qiequwen* dragons. The allusion to Late Western Zhou standard décor is unmistakable. Nevertheless, this assemblage as a whole probably dates to the transition from Early to Middle Springs and Autumns.

4) The only vessel found in Tomb no. 76M1 is a mounted cauldron (*fu* 鍚),¹⁰⁵ a meat-boiling vessel widely used by the nomadic populations on the northern steppes (fig. 6.3).¹⁰⁶ It is thought that some vessels of this type were produced for the foreign market by foundries within the Zhou culture sphere. This specimen is unornamented. The excavators assert that in this tomb, the *fu* cauldron stands in for a *ding*. Functionally, indeed, the two kinds of vessels are largely equivalent.

Miniature *fu* cauldrons dating to Middle and Late Springs and Autumns have been excavated from Tombs no. 61M13 and 2008 at Shangma, Tomb no. 1072 at Chengcun, Linyi (Shanxi) 山西臨猗程村, and Tomb no. 251 at Jinshengcun, Taiyuan (Shanxi) 山西太原金勝村,¹⁰⁷ but this full-size one from Shangguo seems to date somewhat earlier.

¹⁰³ For parallels (one in The Art Institute, Chicago, the other in a Japanese private collection), see Hayashi, *In Shû*, vol. 2: 365, nos. 66, 67. Hayashi dates both to the early part of Late Western Zhou, which (especially in the case of the Chicago specimen) seems too early.

¹⁰⁴ “1976 nian Wenxi,” p. 128 fig. 10.4.

¹⁰⁵ “1976 nian Wenxi,” pp. 130, 129 fig. 13.1; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 32.

¹⁰⁶ See Liu Li 劉莉, “Tongfu kao” 銅鍚考, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1987.3, pp. 60-65, and Li Chaoyuan 李朝遠, “Xinjian Qin shi qingtong fu yanjiu 新見秦式青銅鍚研究,” *Wenwu* 2004.1, pp. 83-92; on pan-Asiatic connections, see Miklos Erdy, “Hun and Xiongnu Type Cauldron Finds Throughout Eurasia,” *Eurasian Studies Yearbook* 67 (1995): 5-94; further discussion in Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, ch. 5.

¹⁰⁷ For the Shangma instances, see *Shangma mudì*, pp. 504, 501 fig. 13.5, 503 fig. 14.17 (originally published in *Kaogu* 1963.5: 242, 240 fig. 13.5, 241 fig. 14.17) and pp. 70-71; Tian Jianwen, “Houma Shangma mudì M13, M2008 chutu de Beifang qingtongqi 侯馬上馬墓地 M13、M2008 出土的北方青銅器,” *Kaogu* 1993.2, pp. 167-168. For Chengcun, see *Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo et al., Linyi Chengcun mudì 臨猗程村墓地* (Beijing: Zhongguo Dabaikequanshu chubanshe, 2003) pp. 109, 101 fig. 90.9, pl. 58.6. For Jinshengcun, see *Taiyuan Jin guo Zhao qing mu*, 129, 130 fig. 68.3-5, pl. 88.3-5.

5) The globular-bottomed *ding* from Tomb no. 76M6 (fig. 3.5) is ornamented with a band of horizontal scales (large scales alternating with small);¹⁰⁸ the ornamentation looks conservative, but the vessel's shallowness and its narrowly spaced muscular legs suggest a relatively late date. A well-dated approximate parallel is a *ding* excavated from Tomb no. 1287 at Shangma, which belongs to the late phase of Early Springs and Autumns.¹⁰⁹ If this is also the date of the *ding* from Tomb no. 76M6, that vessel would seem to be earlier than some of the others found in the same tomb.

The *pan* from this tomb (fig. 9.4) features six simply outlined fish concentrically placed on the inside;¹¹⁰ aside from these, it is unornamented. This vessel probably is a reduced variant of--and thus perhaps later in date than--the *pan* type represented by the Early Springs and Autumns period specimen from Tomb no. 74M51, discussed above. The matching *yi* pouring-vessel (fig. 8.6) is likewise reduced vis-à-vis its counterpart in Tomb no. 74M51, lacking *wawen* pattern on its body and featuring merely a band of counterpoised spirals.¹¹¹ The legs are unornamented, and the rear handle, in the shape of a rim-biting animal, is smaller and bent at a different angle from what is usually seen on contemporaneous *yi* vessels.

More chronologically specific is this tomb's *he* vessel (fig. 4.5).¹¹² Significantly, it was placed not with the sacrificial vessels, but with the weapons and horse-and-chariot objects (such a deposition pattern may also be seen in the seventh-century BC Tombs no. 1 and 2 at Xuecheng, Tengzhou [Shandong] 山東滕州薛城).¹¹³ The ornamentation style of this vessel is typical for the Middle Springs and Autumns period. It consists of a thin band filled with counterpoised sunken-line curls, paralleled by a row of downward-pointed triangles that are likewise filled with

¹⁰⁸ "1976 nian Wenxi," pp. 125-126, 127 fig. 8.1.

¹⁰⁹ *Shangma mudi*, pp. 29, 31 fig. 18.3, pl. 5.2.

¹¹⁰ "1976 nian Wenxi," pp. 126, 127 fig. 8.4, pl. 8.5; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pll. 87-88.

¹¹¹ "1976 nian Wenxi," pp. 126, 127 fig. 8.2.

¹¹² "1976 nian Wenxi," pp. 126, 127 fig. 8.3; the photograph in pl. 8.1 shows that the drawing's rendering of the handles is inexact: they are not circular, as shown on the drawing, but have a short protrusion on the lower side.

¹¹³ Shandong Sheng Jining Shi Wenwu Guanliju 山東省濟寧市文物管理局, "Xue guo gucheng kancha he muzang fajue baogao 薛國故城勘查和墓葬發掘簡報," *Kaogu xuebao* 1991.4, pp. 455-476.

similar curls (one curl intruding into the triangle from each of the three sides). Such line-and-curl patterns, frequently seen in Middle Springs and Autumns period bronze décor, constitute a simplified rendering of the animal-shaped patterns seen in the higher-quality products of the period.¹¹⁴ On this *he*#, recognizable zoomorphic décor is seen only on the vessel's ring-shaped handles, each of which is adorned with a tiny animal face. Hayashi assigns similarly ornamented specimens to the late part of Middle Springs and Autumns.¹¹⁵

6) Tomb no. 89M3 yielded a *he*# of identical shape and handles, with slightly more ample ornamentation (fig. 4.6).¹¹⁶ To wit, a band of rhombic shapes filled with curls is here inserted between a band of lines with counterpoised curls and a row of curl-filled triangles. No illustration has been published of the *pen* found in the same tomb, but the report describes its décor as consisting of densely interlaced serpents (*panchi*).¹¹⁷ The excavators date this tomb to the Middle Springs and Autumns period,¹¹⁸ which seems correct.

7) Tomb no. 76M7 contained a single coverless *ding* (fig. 3.6) with an intricate band of intertwined snakes framed by raised lines, which seems to prefigure Houma-style bronze decoration.¹¹⁹ The covered *pen* from this tomb, with two ring-shaped lateral handles (fig. 5.7),¹²⁰ resembles the one from Tomb no. 1013 at Shangma, dated to the late part of Middle Springs and Autumns. The vessel body is unornamented, but its ornate cover is filled with a multi-tiered design that (proceeding from the perimeter to the center) consists of a thin band subdivided into curl-filled triangles; a thin empty band; two bands filled with counterpoised sunken-line curls; and a row of relatively large inward-pointed triangles filled with curls. Similar decoration is also seen inside the crown-shaped cover handle, and in the center of the cover

¹¹⁴ Bronzes on which this pattern occurs are too numerous to list. For example, it is salient on the *niuzhong* bells from Tomb no. 5 at Xianrentai ("Changqing Xianrentai wuhao mu," pp. 21, 25 figs. 8-10, color plate 1.3). Interestingly, it seems to be absent from the Houma foundry.

¹¹⁵ Hayashi, *Shunji Sengoku*, p. 81.

¹¹⁶ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143-144, 145 fig. 7.2.

¹¹⁷ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," pp. 143, 151-152.

¹¹⁸ "Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989," p. 152.

¹¹⁹ "1976 nian Wenxi," p. 131 fig. 16.1.

¹²⁰ "1976 nian Wenxi," p. 131-132, 131 fig. 16.5, pl. 8.6; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pll. 44-45.

there is a configuration of four intertwined snakes executed in high relief in a style that begins to resemble that of the Houma foundry.

There is also a *bianhu* 扁壺 (or, according to Hayashi, *pi* 鉞, also written 鐸; fig. 6.5)¹²¹ Both *pen* and *bianhu* are remarkable for combining full and abbreviated modes of ornamentation on the same vessel. with three ring-shaped handles and, on the neck, a narrow band of interlaced animal bodies executed in a similar proto-Houma style, framed at the top by a row of upward-pointed triangles filled with curls.¹²² Both *pen* and *bianhu* are remarkable for combining full and abbreviated modes of ornamentation on the same vessel.

Finally, this tomb yielded a *pan+yi*-set.¹²³ Both lack surface ornament, and their proportions are squatter than in their counterparts from other tombs at Shangguo. The *pan* (fig. 9.5) stands on three legs and lacks a ring-foot; the *yi* (fig. 8.7) likewise has three legs rather than four (as seen on the earlier specimens), and its rear handle with a rim-biting monster is somewhat reduced in relative size. The excavators date this tomb to the early part of Middle Springs and Autumns, which may be slightly on the early side.

8), 9), 10) Tomb no. 76M17 yielded the earliest instance at Shangguo of a covered *ding* (fig. 3.7).¹²⁴ The bottom of the vessel-bottom is flat. The cover, likewise flat, has three stepped protrusions placed concentrically and a vertical ring-handle at the center. The handles are laterally attached. The body décor is similar in structure to that of later, Houma-style *ding*, featuring two ornamented areas separated by a raised line in the shape of a twirled cord. Each area is covered with an intricate

¹²¹ This is a rare vessel type; the presence of three handles--two on the shoulders and one, attached in a perpendicular axis, lower down on the rear side, may indicate affinities to *lei* 罍 rather than *hu* vessels. The Chen Gongsun Zangfu-*bianhu* from Shangguo, mentioned in n. 14 (fig. 6.4) is a relatively early specimen, stylistically datable to the Early Springs and Autumns period. For other specimens from this period--some rectangular, some rounded--see Hayashi, *In Shū*, vol. 2, p. 315, figs. 1-3. An additional specimen of the rounded variant was found in Tomb no. 6 at Xianrentai ("Shandong Changqing xian Xianrentai Zhou dai mudi," 770, fig. 12 upper right); it is unornamented and probably dates to the early to middle seventh century BC. For parallels dating from the early part of Middle Springs and Autumns onward, see Hayashi, *Shunju Sengoku*, p. 145; to these one should add a Late Springs and Autumns period specimen from Tomb no. 251 at Jinshengcun (*Taiyuan Jin guo Zhao qing mu*, 51, 52 fig. 24, pl. 38; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pl. 80).

¹²² "1976 nian Wenxi," p. 132, 131 fig. 16.4, pl. 8.3.

¹²³ "1976 nian Wenxi," pp. 132, p. 131 fig. 16.2, 3.

¹²⁴ "1976 nian Wenxi," pp. 133, fig. 19.1. *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, no. 9.

maze of interlaced dragons (*panchi*). Flat-covered *ding* of similar shape have been excavated at several locations, notably in Shandong;¹²⁵ they are datable to around 600 BC.

The unornamented covered *pen* from this tomb (fig. 5.8) is even more similar than the one from Tomb no. 76M7 to the specimen from Tomb no. 1013 at Shangma (late part of Middle Springs and Autumns); and the unornamented *he*# (fig. 4.7) has its counterpart in the one from Tomb no. 1010 at Shangma, dated to the early part of Middle Springs and Autumns.¹²⁶ Similar unornamented *he*# vessels were also found in Tombs no. 89M4 (fig. 4.8) and 89M5 (fig. 4.9).¹²⁷

The excavators date Tomb no. 76M17 to the late part of Middle Springs and Autumns, which is correct. They give the absolute date as the “first half of the seventh century,” but this is almost certainly half a century or so too early.¹²⁸ In any case, the style of the bronzes from this tomb is just anterior to that encountered in the bronzes from Tomb no. 61M13 at Shangma, which show even closer premonitions of Houma-foundry esthetics; but in both cases, these forward-pointing stylistic features are still combined with lingering allusions to Late Western Zhou motifs.

4.2. Discussion

All in all, the Shangguo bronzes reflect rather subtle and gradual changes in ornamentation and style over the course of the seventh century BC. The Middle Springs and Autumns period patterns are no longer as closely affiliated as their Early Springs and Autumns period predecessors with the standard ornaments imposed in the Late Western Zhou Ritual Reform. Units of ornamentation became more minute and more repetitive. It is unclear whether the pattern-block method that enabled

¹²⁵ To wit, from Tomb no. 5 at Xianrentai (“Changqing Xianrentai wuhao mu,” pp. 19-20, fig. 2.1-2; and at Yangshan, Linqi 臨朐楊善 (Qi Wentao 齊文濤 [i.e. Wang Entian 王恩田], “Gaishu jinnianlai Shandong chutu de Shang Zhou qingtongqi 概述近年來山東出土的商周青銅器,” *Wenwu* 1972.5:13, fig. 25). Hayashi (*Shunjū Sengoku*, p. 10, no. 84) dates the latter specimen to the early part of Late Springs and Autumns. For Middle Springs and Autumns period *comparanda*, see *ibid.*, p. 3, nos. 15-18 (early phase) and p. 9, nos. 77-78 (late phase, represented by two regional-style specimens from the above-mentioned tomb at Fenghuangzui [see n. 75]).

¹²⁶ *Shangma mudu* pp. 61 fig. 47.2, pl. 21.1.

¹²⁷ “Wenxi Xian Shangguocun 1989,” pp. 144-145, 145 fig. 7.1, 3.

¹²⁸ I suspect that this too-early absolute dating reflects the lingering influence of the now-discredited chronology of the *Zhongzhoulu* report (see n. 101).

great economies in production at the Houma had been introduced by then (only very careful inspection of the originals could demonstrate this), but the ornaments on the Middle Springs and Autumns period bronzes from Shangguo certainly would have lent themselves to such execution. And even though the finds from the portion of the Houma foundry so far excavated are not easily amenable to a stratigraphic analysis, it is remarkable that the stylistically earliest among them (fig. 11) render intertwined-dragon ornaments resembling in both structure and style those seen on the Middle Springs and Autumns period bronzes from Shangguo.¹²⁹ Future research might explore the possibility that some of the latter had in fact been produced at Houma during that foundry's earliest phase.

The ornaments on these bronzes also appear somewhat less uniform stylistically than those from the Early Springs and Autumns period. This might conceivably lead one to question whether they still were all obtained from the same workshop, as seemed likely during that earlier period. But actually, the impression of heterogeneity is due mostly to the fact that a number of vessels are ornamented a reduced version of the ordinary animal-derived motifs, in which the horizontal bands and triangles that are normally filled with animal-derived décor are filled instead with comma-shaped sunken-line curls (see figs. 4.4, 4.5, 6.4). This mode of decoration, while attractive for its simplicity, was probably conceived as an inferior (and cheaper) alternative to the full, high-relief versions of the animal-derived ornamentation. Although it had no impact on the usability of the vessels themselves, it may have marked them as secondary in prestige. That the implied boundaries were somewhat fluid is indicated by the fact that on two of the vessels from Tomb no. 76M7, a *pen* (fig. 5.7) and a *bianhu* (fig. 6.5), both the full and the simplified mode of ornamentation occur in conjunction. This is also indicative of the considerable stylistic versatility of artisans working at what (in the case of each of these two vessels, at least) must have been one and the same workshop. The pattern blocks and mold fragments from the Houma foundry, as well, are remarkable for their wide stylistic range. That

¹²⁹ *Art of the Houma Foundry*, pp. 211-221 (especially figs. 318, 319, 320, 322, 328, 344-348, 352-357, 359), 268-269 (figs. 513, 517-520), 306-310 (figs. 627-652), 376 (fig. 873), 448-450 (figs. 1144-1150). It is of course possible that these archaic ornaments at Taosi represent later efforts at conscious archaism, or were made in connection with repair works on older objects.

large workshop produced both high-end and low-end versions of the same object types, distinguished chiefly by the degree of relief in their decoration. These no doubt were intended for clients of vastly different rank and wealth.¹³⁰ Similar tendencies can also be observed on Eastern Zhou bronzes from other parts of China.¹³¹

An even lower level of prestige is connoted by the complete lack of any ornamentation. Significantly, unornamented vessels are quite numerous among the Middle Springs and Autumns period bronzes from Shangguo. One difference vis-à-vis the preceding period lies in the fact that Early Springs and Autumns period unornamented bronzes found at this cemetery tend to be *mingqi*, while those from the Middle Springs and Autumns tombs are full-size and usable in ritual. If this impression is representative, it might indicate a rise, at least at the élite level, in the general level of material consumption. But we must also note that *mingqi* as such by no means disappeared from the material repertory; to the contrary, pottery imitations of ritual bronzes are ubiquitous in Late Springs and Autumns to Warring States period tombs, e.g. at Qiujiazhuang (see section 5).

All in all, the somewhat reduced level of technical brilliance in the Middle Springs and Autumns period bronzes from Shangguo probably reflects in some way the loss of political centrality of ancient Quwo after 679 BC, when the senior segment of the resident lineage relocated to the Jin capital. The co-occurrence, in the Middle Springs and Autumns tombs at Shangguo, of fully ornate vessels, vessels with reduced ornamentation, and altogether unornamented vessels, may indicate further social divisions among those who stayed behind; though the fact that vessels of these different categories are often seen in the same tombs hints at complications that may make it difficult to pin down these divisions. One should, moreover, caution that the data presently available very probably do not comprise the full spectrum

¹³⁰ The most spectacular assemblage of high-end Houma bronzes so far found is from Tomb no. 251 at Jinshengcun (*Taiyuan Jin guo Zhao qing mu, passim*); the bronzes excavated from the later tombs at Shangma (*Shangma mudì, passim*) and those from Chengcun (*Linyi Chengcun mudì*) may be considered representative for lower-end products from the same workshop.

¹³¹ I noted this early on in bells from the southern regions of China; see Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Niuzhong Chime-Bells of Eastern Zhou China," *Arts Asiatiques* 44 (1989), p. 74 et *passim*, and *idem*, "Chu Ritual Music," in *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period*, Thomas Lawton (ed.) (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 58-65. See also Falkenhausen, "The Bronzes from Xiasi and their Owners," *Kaoguxue yanjiu* 5 (2003), vol. 2, pp. 755-786.

of social ranks originally represented at the cemetery.

5. Later Developments and Final Reflections

5.1. The Bronzes from Qiujiashuang

Following the tombs discussed above, there is a gap of more than a century in the data reported from the Shangguo cemetery; this is likely to be the result of incomplete investigation, rather than an actual hiatus in occupation. The tombs at Qiujiashuang, further to the northeast, seem to represent the tail end of the cemetery's burial sequence. Of the five tombs to have been excavated in this section of the cemetery, only Tomb no. 13 yielded an assemblage of bronze vessels. It comprises two *ding* (fig. 3.8) and two covered *dou* (grain-offering vessels, substituting for the erstwhile *pen*; fig. 5.9), all uniformly covered all over with small rectangular units of interlaced dragon bodies.¹³² Close parallels can be seen at Shangma in Tombs no. 1004, 1011, and 4006, dated to the late part of Late Springs and Autumns, and no. 61M15, 1004, and 1002, dated to the transition from Springs and Autumns to Warring States.¹³³ The decoration on these vessels was without question produced by the pattern-block technique; they are almost certainly products of the Houma foundry, even though they are very far from representing its highest level of perfection.

Tomb no. 13 also yielded a *pan+yi* set; both vessels are thin-walled and almost unornamented.¹³⁴ The *pan* (fig. 9.6) stands on three thin legs and has horizontally outward-bent handles decorated with Houma-style mask decoration. The *yi* (fig. 8.8) completely lacks ornamentation; it has no feet, and its rear handle is reduced to a simple ring. Here, too, the above-listed tombs at Shangma furnish approximate parallels.¹³⁵ This tomb probably dates to the middle of the fifth century BC. Its two nested burial chambers (*guo*) would seem to indicate that the occupant enjoyed a re-

¹³² "Shanxi Wenxi Qiujiashuang," pp. 6 fig. 3, 7 fig. 4.

¹³³ *Shangma mudi*, pp. 35 fig. 22, 37 fig. 23, 39 fig. 25, 43-46 figs. 30-32, 33, 57 fig. 44; pll. 8.3-4, 9.1, 10.1-3, 14.1-3. A slightly earlier specimen, from Tomb no. 61M5 (originally reported in *Kaogu* 1963.5: 490, pl. 1.4) is depicted in *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* vol. 8, pll. 11-12.

¹³⁴ "Shanxi Wenxi Qiujiashuang," pp. 6, 7 fig. 5.1, 2. No illustration has been published of the *he* found in this tomb.

¹³⁵ *Shangma mudi*, pp. 65, 66 fig. 53.1 (*pan*), 68, 79 fig. 57.3, 5 (*yi*); pll. 18.2, 4, 19.1 (*pan*), 21.7-8 (*yi*).

latively high status, in spite of the rather low quality of the bronzes. The contrast between them and, for instance, the approximately contemporaneous bronzes from Tomb no. 251 at Jinshengcun, which comprise some of the greatest masterpieces made at Houma, conceivably reflects the political situation at this time: Jinshengcun was in all likelihood the cemetery of the Zhao lineage, which by then had assumed the government over one-third of the former Jin state and in due time usurped the royal title. The ancient domain of Quwo, by contrast, had always been part of the political core of the ancient Jin state, and it seems likely that it was still occupied, in the late fifth century BC, by a branch lineage of the by then moribund Jin ruling house. If so, the relative poverty of the tomb furnishings at Tomb no. 13 might reflect the loss of power of the dynasty Wu Gong had established on the throne of Jin in 679.

The other four tombs at Qiujiashuang all yielded sets of ceramic *mingqi* imitations of the traditional ritual-vessel types (fig. 12).¹³⁶ The shapes are typical for the former Jin area in general,¹³⁷ and they document the continued use of the cemetery through at least the middle of the Warring States period, by which time this part of the former Jin state had become part of the new kingdom of Wei 魏. The replacement, in tombs of all but the very highest social ranks, of bronze-vessel assemblages by such *mingqi* assemblages reflects a profound religious change that occurred all over the Zhou realm during this period.¹³⁸ In the case of Shangguo, it may also, conceivably, indicate the further reduction in the social standing of the local lineage.

5.2. Coda

Aside from the intrinsic interest of the stylistic developments traced, the preceding analysis has brought out their social subtext. The heterogeneity of the stylistic trajectories for each of the three basic categories of vessels identified in section

¹³⁶ “Shanxi Wenxi Qiujiashuang,” pp. 8-10, pll. 1-2. The tabulation of finds (*ibid.*, p. 11) mentions a pair of “bronze *lu*” in Tomb no. 10, but these are neither mentioned in the text nor depicted. I suspect “bronze” may be a misprint for “pottery”. Warring States-type ritual pottery was also found during the 1974 excavations in the Shangguo sector of the cemetery; see Zhu Hua, “Wenxi Shangguocun,” pp. 99-101, 100 fig. 6.1, 5-7.

¹³⁷ Cf. Zhang Xin 張辛, *Zhongyuan diqu Dong Zhou taoqi muzang yanjiu* 中原地區東周陶器墓葬研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002).

¹³⁸ Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, ch. 7.

1.2 is obvious: the ornamentation of *mingqi* vessels, regardless of their actual date, seems to have been arrested at the Late Western Zhou stylistic level; ornate miniature bronzes are not only more luxurious, but also considerably--during the Early Springs and Autumns period--more stylistically advanced than many of the full-size vessels found alongside them (this is particularly obvious when comparing the ornate box with the *gui* vessel found in Tomb no. 74M49; *yiding* no. 8 and the tiger-shaped *yi* with the *pen* from Tomb no. 89M33; and *yiding* no. 10 and the Zhu Zi Jifu-*yi* with the *pan* from Tomb no. 74M51); it is probably no accident that the occurrence of these ornate miniature bronzes coincided with the period during which Quwo is known to have been the major power center of the Jin polity.

Naturally, one wonders why the Middle Springs and Autumns period tombs at the Shangguo cemetery contain no bronzes comparable in their luxurious elaboration and sophisticated whimsy to those seen during the Early Springs and Autumns period. The reason may well be incomplete recovery of archaeological data; or it may be that a change in the role and significance of bronzes occurred--for highly elaborate bronzes are rare in Middle Springs and Autumns period contexts anywhere in North China. Yet in the present case, a social explanation, based on our knowledge of the site's history, seems most likely: the possession of ornate miniature bronzes alongside ordinary, full-size bronzes was very possibly associated with lineage segments that ranked higher than those whose members possessed only the latter. The *yiding*-yielding tombs discussed in section 3.2, in other words, may represent the lower echelons of a social register that in its entirety outranked the social group associated with the tombs with regular assemblages of bronzes discussed in section 4. This leading segment of the lineage--the principal patrons of the workshop that produced the Shangguo bronzes--had moved away in 679 BC, and their successors possessed neither the power nor the means to commission bronzes of similar elaboration. Nevertheless, they very likely continued to procure their ritual bronzes at the same continuously operating foundry. Some of these vessels are now before us, and through them one can trace the stylistic developments that link the Early Springs and Autumns period creative florescence to the technological and artistic innovations of the Houma foundry.

Table 1Tombs With Sets of Bronze *mingqi*

TOMB No.	74M373	75M1	89M28
CONDITION	intact	damaged	
SIZE	11.02	17.91	2.26
GUO/GUAN NO.	1/1	1/1	0/1
<i>ding</i>			
coverless	1[m]	2[1m]	1[m]
covered			
<i>yiding</i>			
<i>li</i>	?		(1)
<i>yan</i>	1[m]		
orn. box			
<i>gui</i>	1[m]		
<i>pen/yu</i>			
covered <i>pen</i>			
covered <i>dou</i>			
<i>bianhu</i> +			
<i>ling</i>			
<i>he#zhou</i>	1[m]	1[m?]	
<i>hu</i> +	1[m]		
<i>zhi</i>			
<i>fangyi</i>		1[m]	
<i>fu</i> +			
<i>pan</i>	1[m]	1[m]	
<i>yi</i>	1[m]		
<i>he</i> +		1[m]	
bells			
chimestones			
TOTALS	7	6	1

Table 2

Tombs With Miniature and/or Ornate Bronzes

TOMB No.	74M46	74M48	89M2	89M9	89M27	89M13	74M59	89M33	89M7	74M51	74M57	74M49	74M374
CONDITION	looted	intact		looted			looted			intact	looted	looted	looted
SIZE	14.4	10.5	7.92	5.04	9.02	11.48	16.34	13.8	9.96	9.58	14.4	15.96	18.00
GUO/GUAN NO.	1/1	1/1	1/1	0/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1
<i>ding</i>													
coverless													
covered													
<i>yiding</i>	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]	1[M]		
<i>li</i>	?	?	(1)	(1)	(1)		?	(1)	(1)	(1)	?	?	?
<i>yan</i>													
orn. box									1			1[M]	1[M]
<i>gui</i>													1
<i>pen/yu</i>							1	1			1		
covered <i>pen</i>													
covered <i>dou</i>													
<i>bianhu+</i>													
<i>ling</i>					1[M]								
<i>he#zhou</i>		1[M]											
<i>hu+</i>													
<i>zhi</i>											1		
<i>fangyi</i>													
<i>fu+</i>													
<i>pan</i>										1			
<i>yi</i>								1[M]		1			
<i>he+</i>													
bells													
chimestones													
TOTALS	1	2	1(1)	1(1)	2(1)	1	2	3(1)	2(1)	3(1)	3	1	2

Table 3

Spirings and Autumns Period Tombs With Sets of Full-Size Bronze Vessels

TOMB No.	74M55	74M58	89M12	76M6	89M3	76M4	76M1	76M7	76M17	89M4	89M5	Qiu 13
CONDITION	looted	looted										intact
SIZE	31.2	14.72	12.18	6.46	5.37	6.93	7.81	7.84	5.91	4.47	5.34	8.63
GUAN/GUO NO.	1/1	0/1	1/1	0/1	1/1	1/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	1/1	1/1	2/1
<i>ding</i>												
coverless		2	1	1		1		1				
covered									1			2
<i>yiding</i>												
<i>li</i>	?	?	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	
<i>yan</i>												
orn. box												
<i>gui</i>												
<i>pen/yu</i>					1							
covered <i>pen</i>						1		1	1			
covered <i>dou</i>												2
<i>bianhu+</i>								1				
<i>ling</i>												
<i>he#zhou</i>				1	1	1			1	1	1	1
<i>hu+</i>												(3)
<i>zhi</i>												
<i>fangyi</i>												
<i>fu+</i>							1					
<i>pan</i>			1	1		1		1				1
<i>yi</i>		1	1	1		1		1				1
<i>he+</i>												
bells												
chimestones	present											
	1/9											
TOTALS	3+	2+	3(1)	4(1)	2(1)	5(1)	1(1)	5(1)	3(1)	1(1)	1(1)	7(3)

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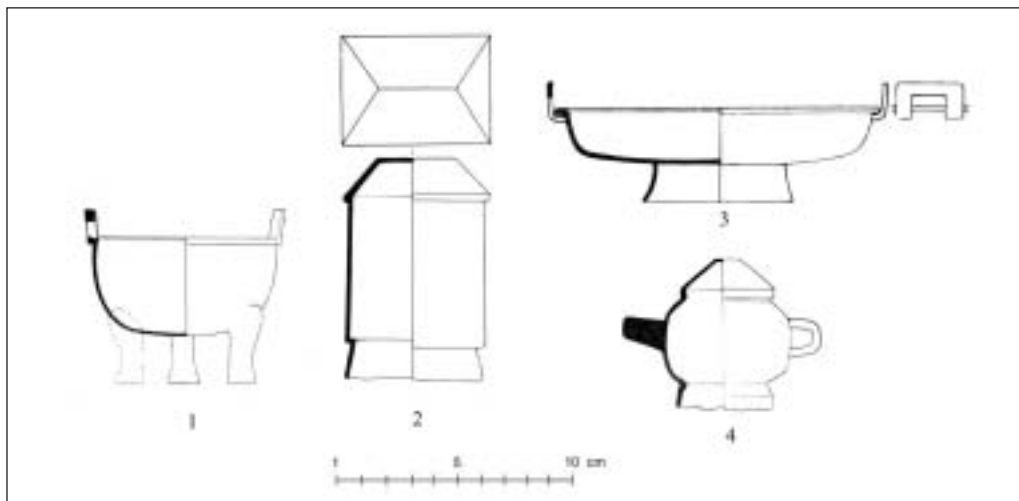


Fig. 1: *Mingqi* vessel assemblage from Tomb no. 75M1 at Shangguo.

1.1: *ding*, H. 7.6; 1.2: *fangyi*, H. 9.3; 1.3: *pan*, H. 5.5; 1.4: *he**, H. 6.7. (For *he#* see fig. 4.1.)

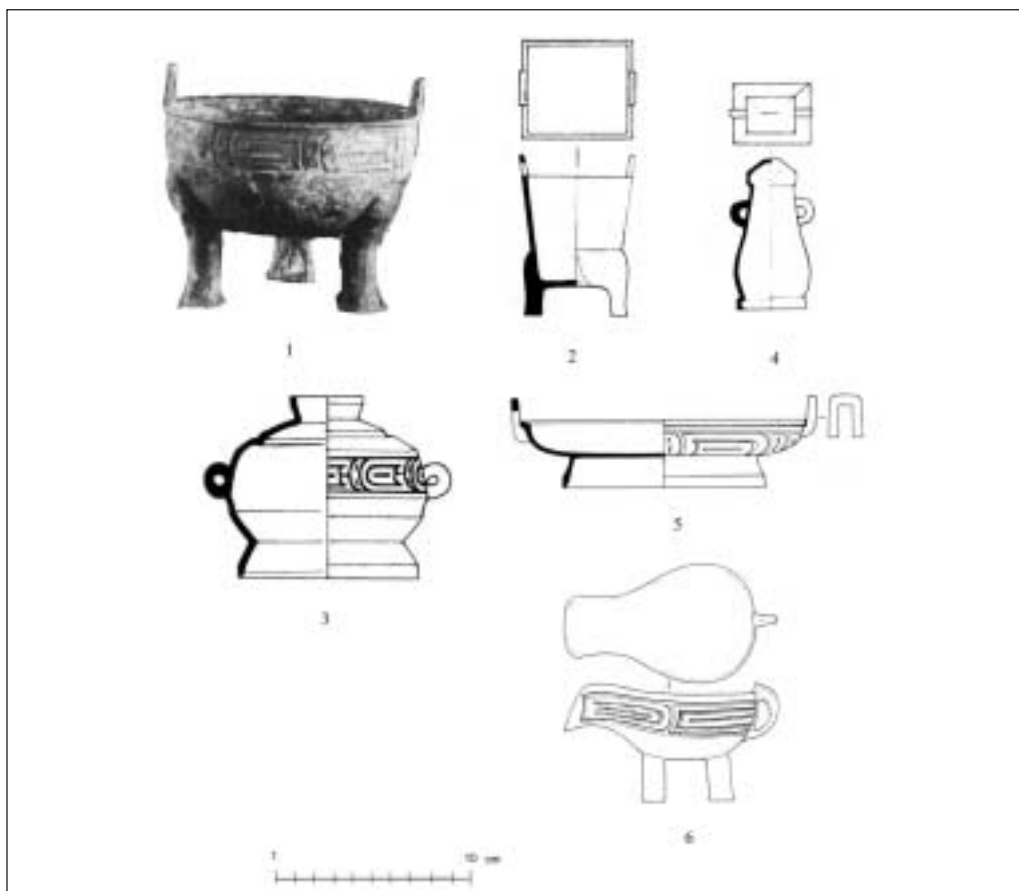


Fig. 2: *Mingqi* vessel assemblage from Tomb no. 74M373 at Shangguo.

2.1: *ding*, H. 13.6; 2.2: *yan*, H. 8.3; 2.3: *gui*, H. 9.3; 2.4: *hu*, H. 7.8; 2.5: *pan*, H. 4.5; 2.6: *yi*, L. 11.
(For *he#* see fig. 4.2.)



Fig. 3: *Ding* tripods from Shangguo.

3.1: 75M1, H. 26.2; 3.2: 89M12, H. 21.1; 3.3: 74M58.23, H. 16.5; 3.4: 76M4, H. 22.8; 3.5: 76M6, H. 25; 3.6: 76M7, H. 29.2; 3.7: 76M17, H. 18.4; 3.8: Qiujiashuang M13, H. 24.3.

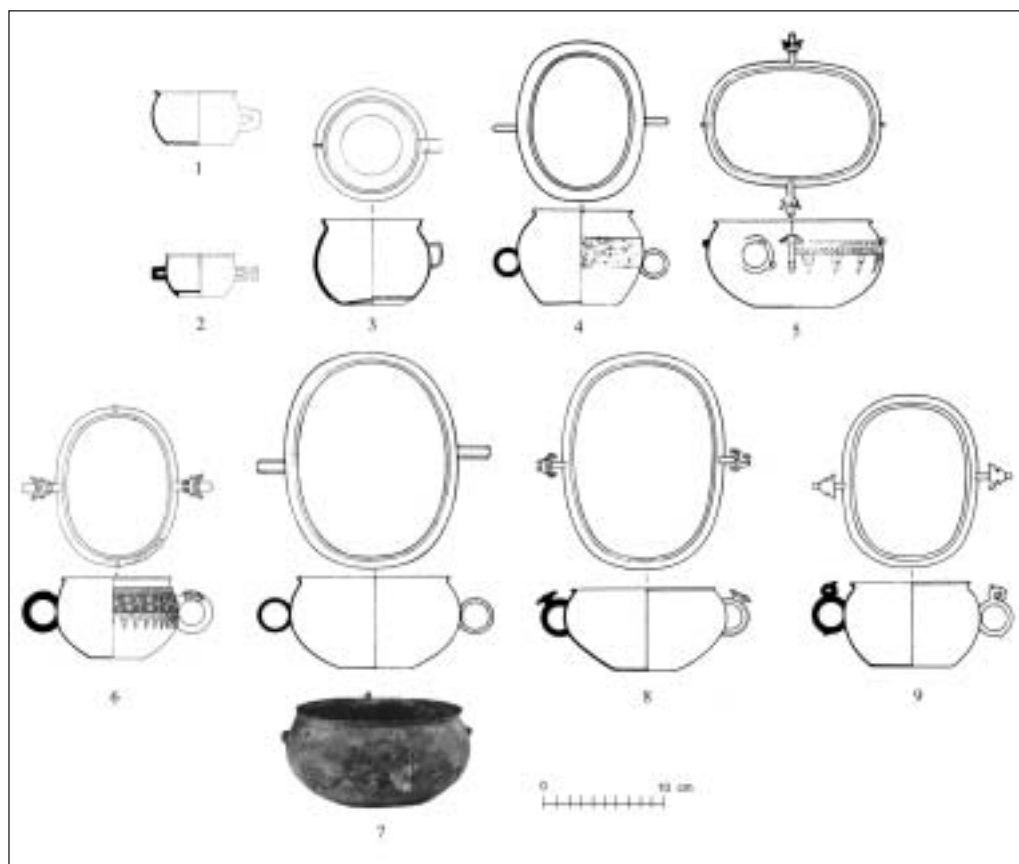


Fig. 4: *He#* vessels from Shangguo.

4.1: 75M1, H. 4.1; 4.2: 74M373, H. 3.2; 4.3: 74M57, H. 7.1; 4.4: 76M4, H. 8.1; 4.5: 76M6, H. 7.2;
4.6: 89M3, H. 6.7; 4.7: 76M17, H. 7.3; 4.8: 89M5, H. 7; 4.9: 89M4, H. 7.1.

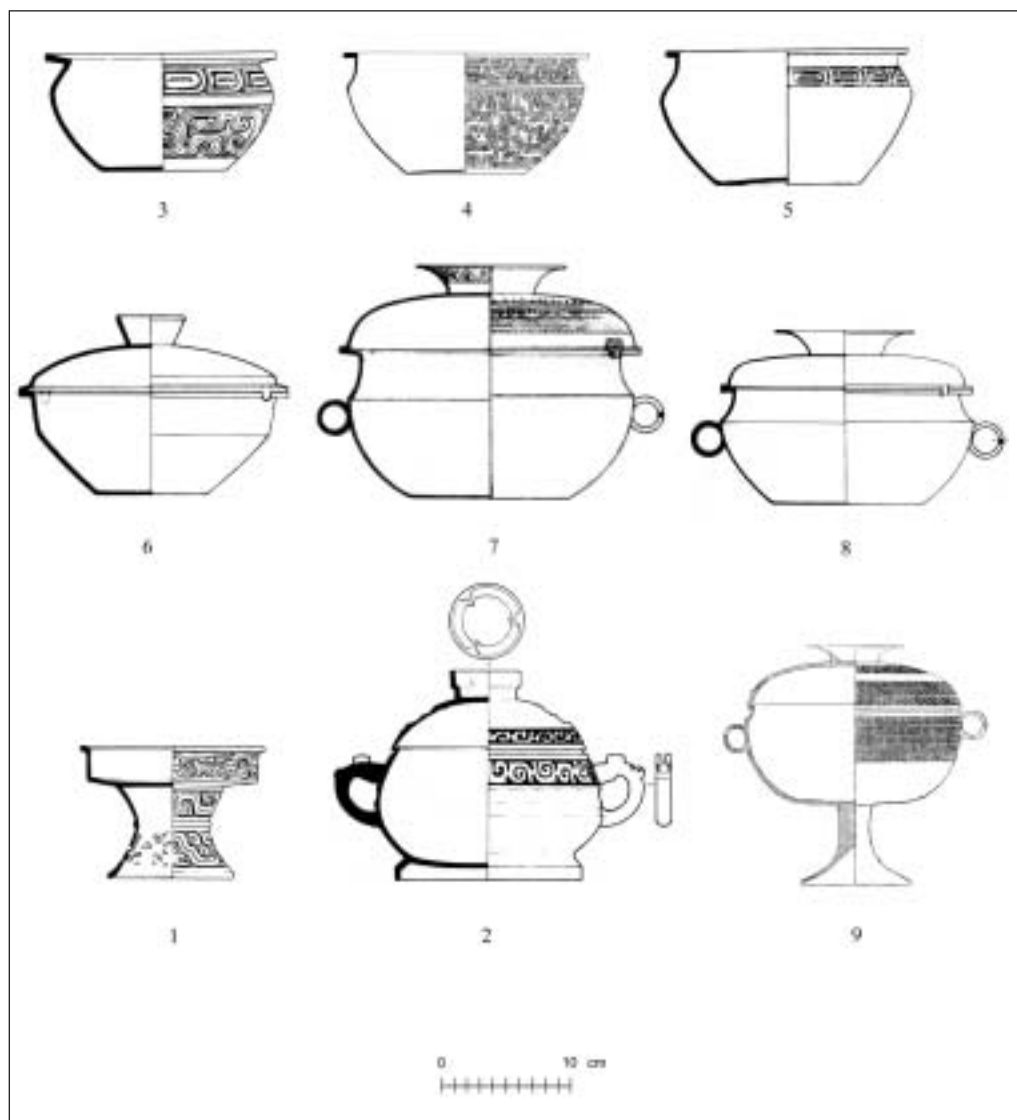


Fig. 5: *Gui* vessels and their functional equivalents from Shangguo.

5.1: Collected in 1975, H. 10.4 (*fu* stand). 5.2: 74M374, H. 16.5 (*gui*); 5.3: 74M59, H. 9.7 (*pen*); 5.4: 74M57, H. 9.2 (*pen*); 5.5: 89M33, H. 9.2 (*pen*); 5.6: 76M4, H. 14 (covered *pen*); 5.7: 76M7, H. 18.5 (covered *pen*); 5.8: 76M17, H. 13.5 (covered *pen*); 5.9: Qiujiazhuang M13, H. 18.5 (covered *dou*).

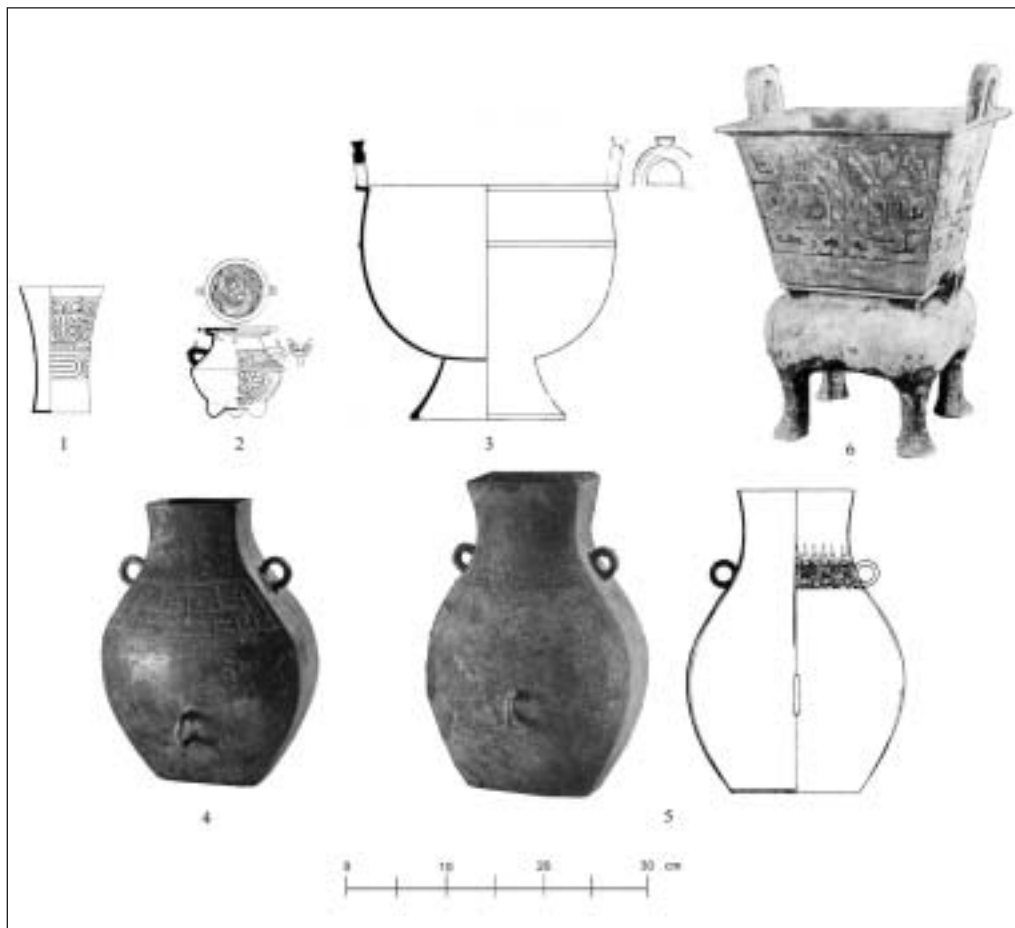


Fig. 6: Rare vessels at Shangguo.

6.1: 74M57, H. 12.7 (*zhi*); 6.2: 89M27, H. 9.1 (*ying*); 6.3: 76M1, H. 29.2 (*fu* cauldron); 6.4: 78M?, H. 28.5 (Chen Gongsun Zangfu-*bianhu*); 6.5: 76M7, H. 30.5 (*bianhu*, or *pi*); 6.6: 78M?, H. 37.5 (Dong Wushi Sun Ju-*fangyan*).



Fig. 7: *Yiding* vessels from Shangguo, with comparison pieces.

7.1: Hejiacun M3 (Rong Yousi Cheng-*yiding*), H. 17; 7.2: 74M46, H. 6.7; 7.3: 74M48, H. 7.8; 7.4: 89M2, H. 8.2; 7.5: 89M9, H. 6.7; 7.6: 89M25, H. 8; 7.7: 89M13, H. 7.7; 7.8: Shangcunling M 1704, H. 8.4; 7.9: Palace Museum, Beijing (Shi Bo Qi-*yiding*), H. ca. 22; 7.10: 74M59, H. 6.4; 7.11: 89M33, H. 8.1; 7.12: 89M7, H. 9.5; 7.13: 74M51, H. 6.4; 7.14: 74M57, H. 6.3; 7.15: Shangma 61M14, H. 6.5; 7.16: Lijiazhuang, H. 20; 7.17: National Palace Museum, Taipei, H. 22.4; 7.18: Xianrentai M5, H. 7.4; 7.19: National Palace Museum, Taipei, H. 19.2 (covered *yi*); 7.20: Fenghuangzui, H. 27.7 (animal-headed *ding*).

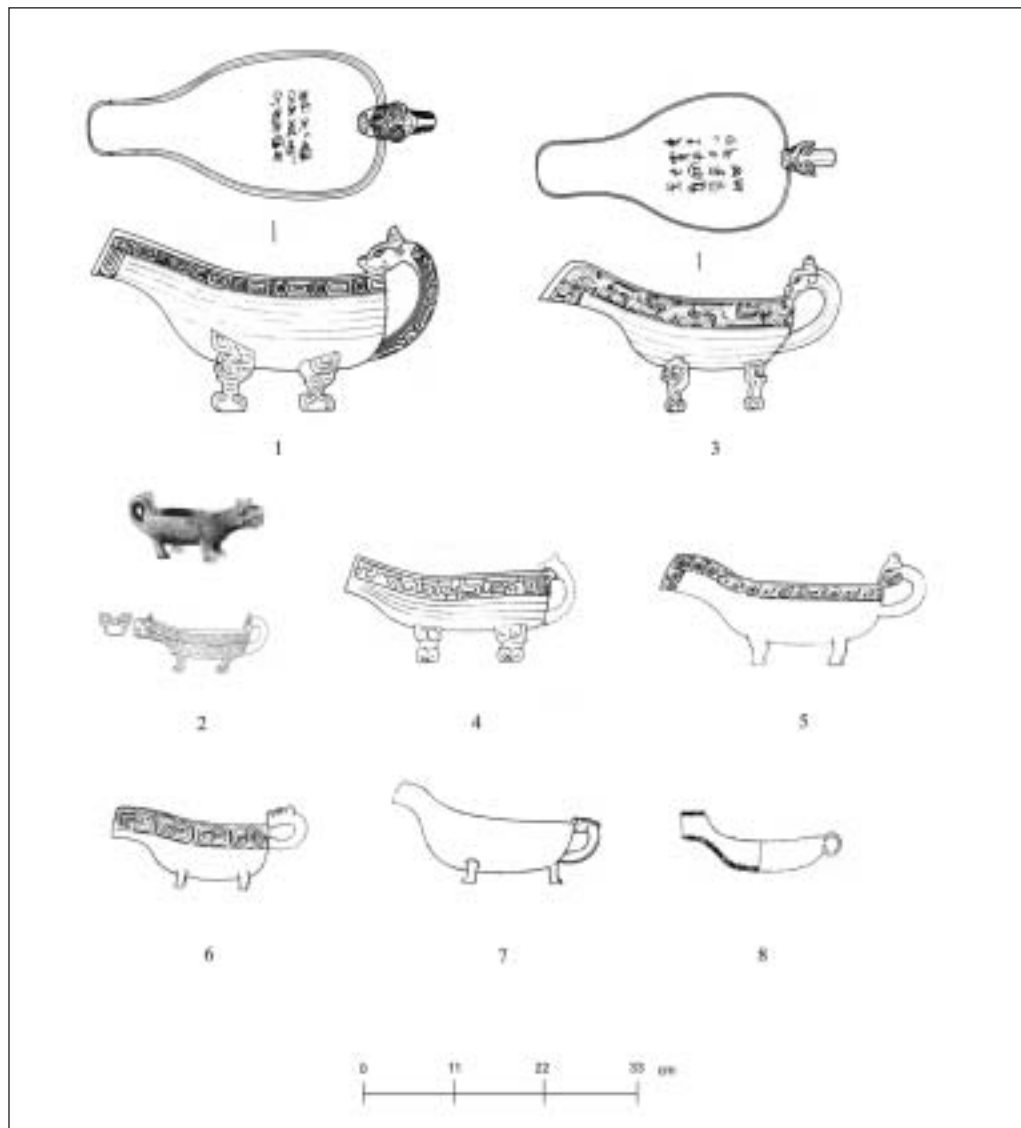


Fig. 8: *Yi* vessels from Shangguo. 8.1: 74M55 (Xun Hou-*yi*), L. 42; 8.2: 89M33, L. 14.4; 8.3: 74M51 (Zhu Zi Jifu-*yi*), L. 36; 8.4: 89M12, L. 25; 8.5: 76M4, L. 33; 8.6: 76M6, L. 23.3; 8.7: 76M7, L. 24.5; 8.8: Qiujiashuang M13, L. 19.

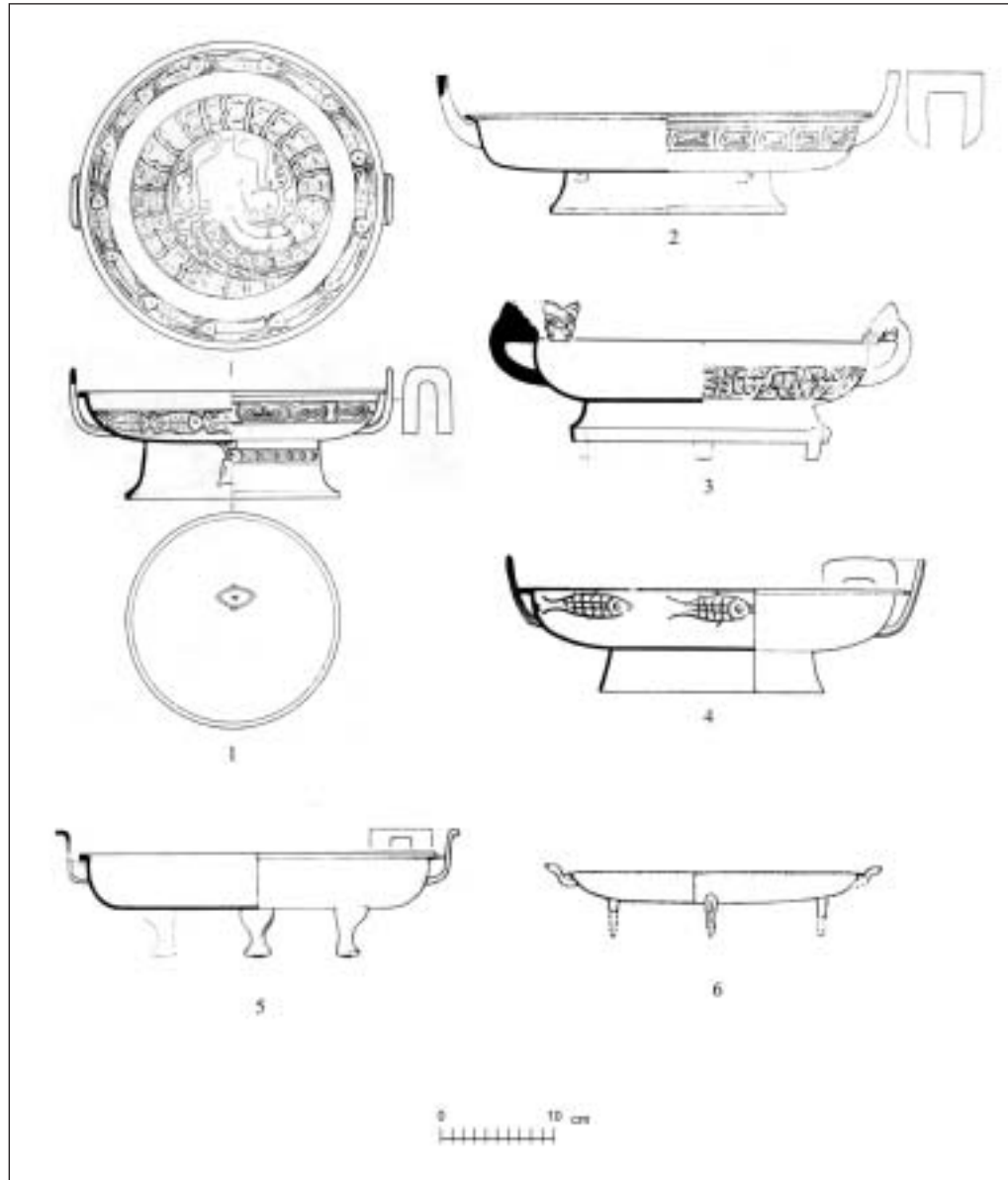


Fig. 9: *Pan* vessels from Shangguo. 9.1: 74M51, H. 11; 9.2: 89M12, H. 13.2; 9.3: 76M4, H. 14.6; 9.4: 76M6, H. 13; 9.5: 76M7, H. 11.4; 9.6: Qiujiazhuang M13, H. 7.5.

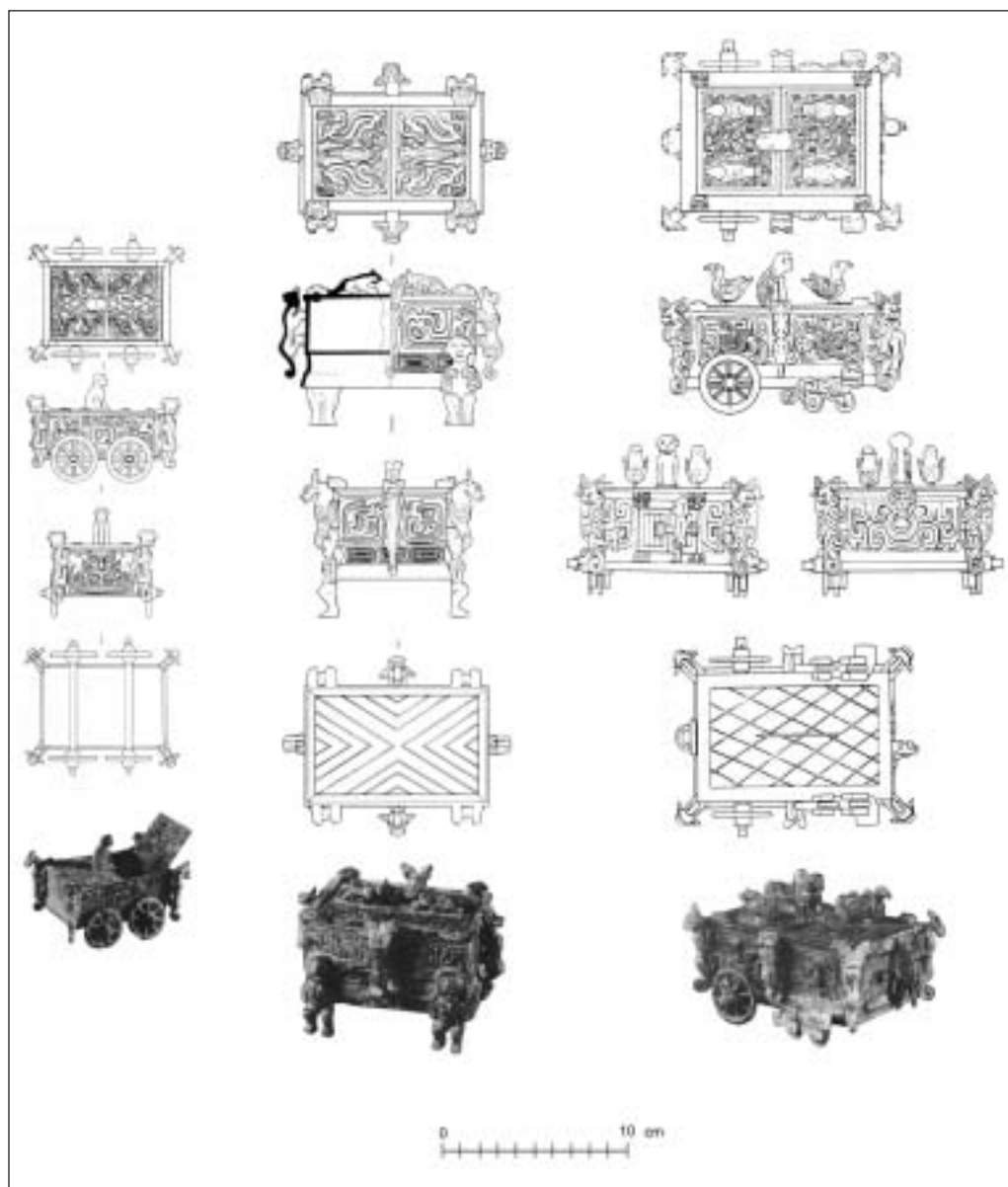


Fig. 10: Ornate bronze boxes from Shangguo.

10.1: 74M374, H. 6; 10.2: 74M49, H. 8.7. 10.3: 89M7, H. 9.

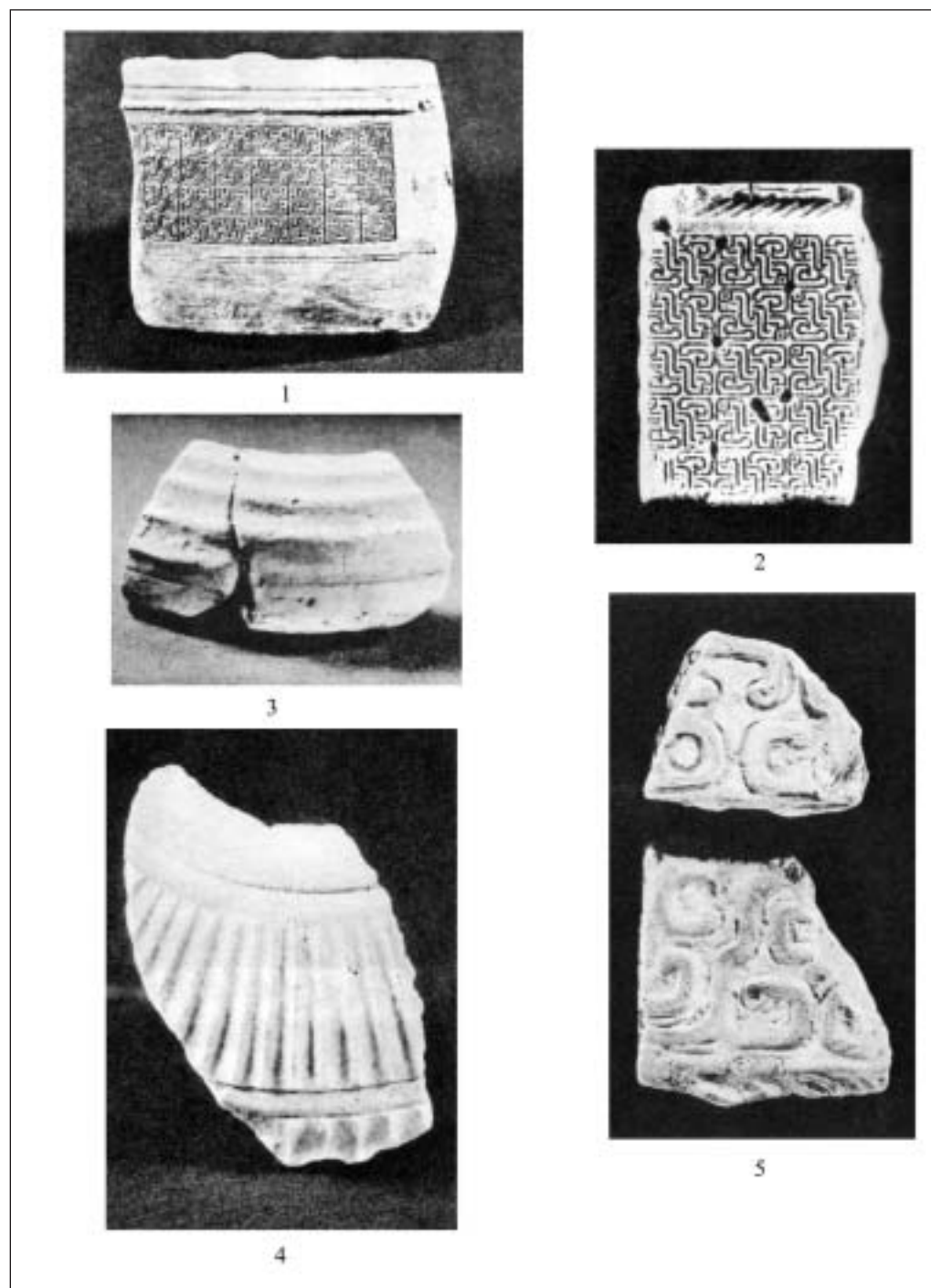


Fig. 11: Selected mold fragments from the Shangguo foundry sites.

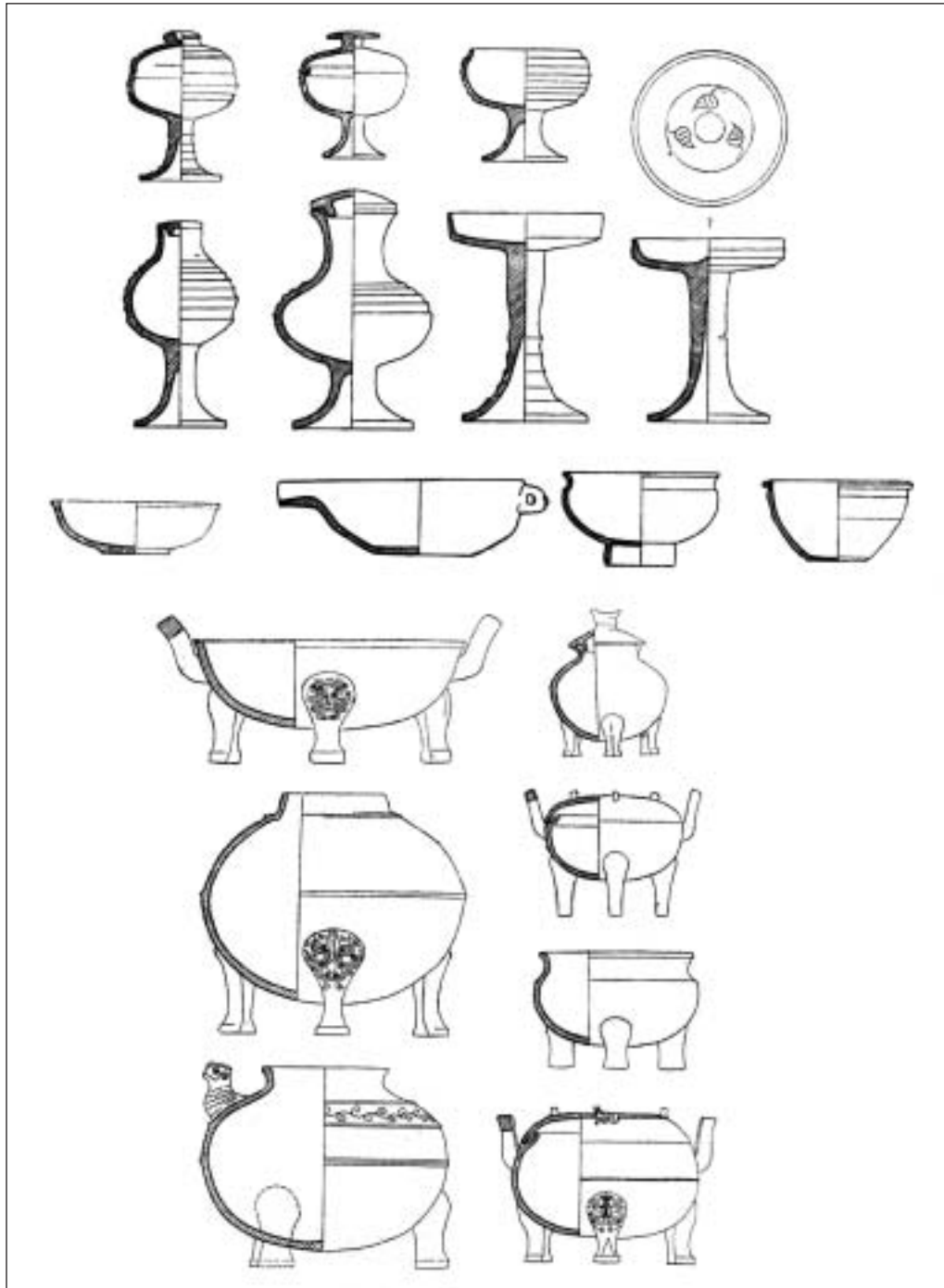


Fig. 12: Ceramic *mingqi* from Qiujiashuang.