

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON  
CHU CULTURE  
DURING THE EASTERN ZHOU PERIOD

東周楚文化討論會

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*Edited by Thomas Lawton*

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery  
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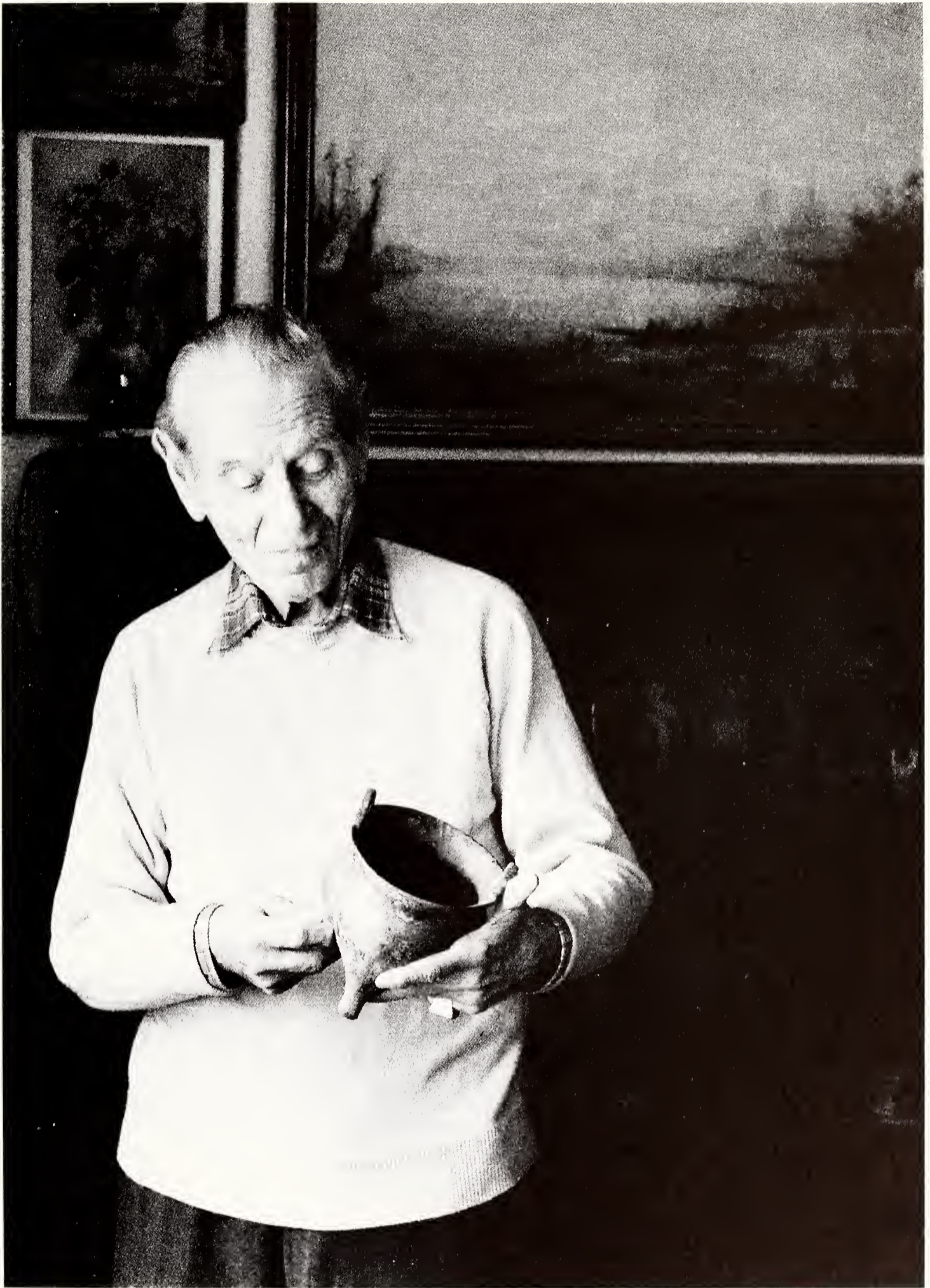
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The symposium on Chu culture was held in honor of Dr. Paul Singer on the occasion of his eighty-fifth birthday.



## FOREWORD

The four papers and discussion in this volume are based on the program of a symposium, *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period*, held at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery on April 27–28, 1990. The symposium was the third in an annual series of international meetings organized by the Gallery and made possible by the generosity of Mrs. Arthur M. Sackler.

The opening of the Sackler Gallery in 1987 was an historic moment in the Smithsonian Institution's increased awareness of Asia. Essential to our understanding of Asia, its history, its peoples, and its cultures, are international symposia of the type being held annually at the Sackler Gallery. It was especially appropriate that our symposium on Chu Culture should be held in honor of Dr. Paul Singer, an art collector whose personal interest in the art of Chu began more than forty years ago. It was appropriate, too, that a select number of objects from Dr. Singer's collection should be displayed in the Sackler Gallery during the Chu symposium.

Recent archaeological finds in the People's Republic of China have yielded astonishing numbers of objects dating from every period of China's long history. Those archaeologically attested objects have enabled scholars to reexamine traditional ideas by comparing ancient artifacts and inscriptions with related comments in early Chinese texts. It is no exaggeration to say that for scholars—in East and West—the past few decades have been particularly exciting. Moreover, there is every indication that archaeological finds in China will continue to enrich our awareness of Chinese history and culture indefinitely.

Perhaps no aspect of early Chinese history and culture has prompted more animated or controversial discussion than that associated with the ancient State of Chu. Beginning with a series of erratic and unscientific discoveries in Anhui province during the first decades of the twentieth century, the extraordinary richness of Chu artistic traditions attracted increasingly more attention. Then, following an initial focus on Chu sites in Hunan province in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s, Chinese archaeologists expanded their activities to include the provinces of Hubei and Henan. The sheer number of finds associated with Chu that have come to light during

subsequent decades has astonished everyone. One fifth-century B.C. site in particular—Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun—was a major point of discussion during the meeting at the Sackler Gallery.

It is indicative of the importance of the achievements of the State of Chu that Chu culture is one of the main themes at annual meetings of the Chinese Archaeological Society. In addition, monographs about virtually every possible aspect of Chu culture appear regularly in the People's Republic of China. As is so often the case, we in the West are following in the footsteps of our Chinese colleagues.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to Mrs. Arthur M. Sackler for her generous support of this publication.

*Milo C. Beach*

Director

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery of Art



## PREFACE

In describing the influence of Chu culture on the rest of China, Zhang Zhengming, a perceptive contemporary Chinese scholar, contrasts two of China's great rivers with the peoples whose lives were profoundly affected by these waterways. Both the Yellow and the Yangzi rivers flow thousands of miles to the sea, never meeting at any point throughout that long eastward journey. By contrast, Zhang goes on to say, the peoples and the cultures that grew up along the two rivers did meet, and in that vital interchange the Chu people and their vibrant culture exerted a lasting influence on the future course of Chinese civilization.

It is clear that we are at the beginning of what promises to be a long and exciting search for answers to questions about Chu culture. Each issue of *Wenwu*, *Kaogu*, *Kaogu xuebao*, *Jiangnan kaogu*—as well as all of the other Chinese-language journals—poses questions and advances theories that must be reexamined in light of new information furnished by archaeological excavations. Not the least of the problems is the fact that no undisturbed royal Chu tomb has yet come to light.

There is no doubt that we need more symposia and opportunities to discuss different aspects of Chu culture. In this direction our Chinese colleagues have led the way, most recently having convened an international meeting in Wuhan, Hubei, in November 1988. Specialists who attended that meeting were well aware of its importance. Equally great, I believe, is the need for exhibitions of newly excavated artifacts from the State of Chu, together with culturally related objects. Several exhibitions of this type are under consideration, and successful implementation of those efforts will benefit all of us.

When we at the Sackler Gallery made the decision to organize an international symposium on Chu culture, we were fully aware of the many problems attendant on such a project, particularly since research on Chu culture still was in the preliminary stages. Like everyone seriously interested in ancient China, we felt it would be worthwhile to have a group of scholars assemble at the Sackler Gallery and discuss some of the art historical questions relating to the State of Chu.

Under ideal circumstances the formal papers presented at the symposium should

have been of broad scope. Since we are an art museum and since time was limited, however, we chose to narrow our focus to the art historical aspects of Chu culture. We did so in the hope that during the general discussion participants in the symposium would feel free to raise questions about any aspect of ancient Chu history and culture. It was gratifying that we were able to invite such distinguished scholars to present papers, and equally outstanding scholars and specialists to participate in the discussions. One of the best ways to understand any historical or cultural problem is to examine it from different viewpoints and to listen to diverse opinions. Our major goal during the two-day meeting was to do just that. Response from the speakers and from other participants far exceeded our expectations. While we had initially intended to include only selected portions of the discussion in the published volume, the intensity and eloquence of the exchanges prompted us to transcribe the entire discussion session verbatim.

We are grateful to our many friends and colleagues who travelled to the Sackler Gallery to take part in the symposium. We owe a special debt of gratitude to those friends and colleagues from the People's Republic of China, who made the longest journey and whose expertise carried special weight.

We were delighted when Professor Li Xueqin agreed to be our keynote speaker. The active participation of such a distinguished scholar from China lent our deliberations a relevance that would not otherwise have been possible.

To Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen, whose Ph.D. dissertation on Chinese ritual music and subsequent publications display truly awesome erudition, I would like to express my thanks. While Dr. von Falkenhausen is prompt to mention that he was not trained as an art historian, his firm grasp of cultural data and sensitive stylistic analyses are the envy of art historians. Certainly his discussion of Chu ritual music opens the way for better understanding of a crucial aspect of ancient Chu culture in particular, and of ancient Chinese culture in general.

Dr. Alain Thote's Ph.D. dissertation on Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun also deserves the highest praise. I can only hope that it soon will be published in its entirety. Dr. Thote's paper is a persuasive guide in probing the significance of the imagery of the inner and outer sarcophagi of the Marquis of Yi.

Dr. Colin Mackenzie demonstrates how vital it is for us to relate every kind of artifact as we search for relationships between form, decoration, and function. That type of comprehensive analysis is especially significant when, as in the case of Chu, cultural interrelationships are a basic consideration. We in the West have not always pursued this avenue of investigation with appropriate zeal, and can all benefit from Dr. Mackenzie's direction.

We are grateful, too, to Professor Jao Tsung-i, of the Institute of Chinese Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, for having travelled so many miles to be with us. Professor Jao's epigraphical studies provide special insights into the interpretation of the intriguing inscriptions on the Chu Silk Manuscript.

Professor Li Ling of Beijing University, one of China's foremost scholars of Eastern Zhou and Han epigraphy, was a Luce Fellow at the University of Washington, Seattle, in 1990. Professor Li also has done extensive research on the Chu Silk Manuscript and we are grateful for his participation in our symposium.

In 1967 the Chu Silk Manuscript was a major topic during a symposium arranged by the Department of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University, in New York. That symposium was made possible by a grant from the Sackler Fund to Promote Asiatic Studies. Professor Jao Tsung-i took part in the 1967 symposium.

With special permission from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections, the Chu Silk Manuscript was displayed at the Sackler Gallery during the Chu symposium on April 27–28, 1990. We did not invite anyone to present a paper on the Chu Silk Manuscript, however, because it was clear that an entirely separate meeting would be necessary to do full justice to the importance of that ancient Chu document. During the course of the symposium Professor Jao Tsung-i and Professor Li Ling were generous in exchanging ideas about the significance of the enigmatic inscriptions and the illustrations on the Manuscript. It became apparent that we should take advantage of what was, after all, a unique opportunity. Consequently we asked Professors Jao and Li to prepare short analyses of their current ideas about that essential example of Chu culture and have included those analyses in an appropriate section of the Discussion.

Of Dr. Paul Singer, the distinguished art collector in whose honor the Chu symposium was held, I can say, without any fear of contradiction, that he is a man who has the courage of his convictions. Anyone who knows Paul Singer knows that nothing can divert him from his pursuit of artifacts or persuade him to change his opinions about them. I remember one occasion when I suggested to Paul that he modify—very slightly—one of his opinions. He responded, politely but firmly, “Tom, you are trying to turn me into a pussy cat.” Well, let me assure you, a pussy cat Paul Singer is not.

I have known Paul Singer as an art collector, as a colleague and as a friend. In each of those roles he is exacting. Paul expects a friend and a colleague to be unswervingly honest, to keep his word once it is given, and to be steadfast in the pursuit of knowledge. Taken in the abstract, these might not appear to be such unusual expectations; but when they have to be carried out faithfully, most of us falter. Paul Singer himself possesses these admirable qualities in full measure.

It is his fiercely independent views of art and culture that have enabled Paul Singer to assemble such an imposing collection of Chinese art. The international symposium at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, which focused on the art of the State of Chu, provided an ideal opportunity to honor Paul Singer. Decades before it was fashionable to do so, he was one of the first Westerners to appreciate the importance and the uniqueness of the art of Chu. In the face of considerable skepticism regarding provenance and authenticity, Paul quietly assembled large numbers of artifacts, some

of which were said to have been unearthed in southern China while others had no provenance at all.

During the last few decades, as archaeology has enriched our earlier understanding of Chu culture, providing dated monuments and key sites that clarify some aspects of the Chu people and their culture, the art of the State of Chu has emerged as one of the most exciting of all research topics. Simultaneously, Paul Singer's opinions—still razor sharp, with no trace of a “pussy cat” equivocation—assert new authority while his collection of Chu artifacts stands out as one of the finest in private hands.

It is always a pleasure to have one's convictions proven valid. But when those convictions are inextricably tied to artifacts of surpassing quality, the sheer joy of approval is heightened by the realization that one has played a key role in increasing international understanding of Chinese history and culture. As we honor Paul Singer for his connoisseurship, we must also congratulate him for continuing to believe in himself when so many people were uncertain of the course he pursued with such unerring confidence. We must thank him, too, for being an irreplaceable member of the small, select community of Chinese art collectors.

Finally I should like to thank those people whose support was crucial to the organization of the symposium. Jill Sackler was characteristically enthusiastic and supportive throughout the planning for the symposium. I hesitate to count the number of times I turned to her for counsel and for sympathy. Patricia Bragdon, Special Events Coordinator at the Sackler Gallery, managed to solve innumerable problems relating to travel, accommodation and catering with enviable equanimity. Jenny F. So, Curator of Ancient Chinese Art at the Sackler Gallery, participated in every aspect of the planning for the symposium. Without her painstaking concern for accuracy in translating the manuscripts submitted by Professors Jao Tsung-i and Li Ling, it would not have been possible to include their comments in this volume. She was also responsible for the selection of objects from the Singer collection and worked closely with John Zelenik, Head of Design and Production at the Sackler Gallery, and members of his staff to ensure that the installation of the Singer exhibition would reflect the quality of the objects. Kim Nielsen, Chief Photographer at the Sackler Gallery, and his staff remained admirably patient in spite of repeated requests for photographs to illustrate the book. Fu Shen, Curator of Chinese Art at the Sackler Gallery, wrote the Chinese characters for the title of the symposium and of this volume. His elegant calligraphy is another manifestation of that culture of which Chu culture was a part.

*Thomas Lawton*

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## CONTRIBUTORS

**Milo C. Beach** is director of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. His publications on the art of India include *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600–1660* (Williamstown, Mass., 1978), *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), and *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

**Lothar von Falkenhausen** is visiting assistant professor in the Department of Asian Languages, Stanford University. His Ph.D. dissertation, submitted in 1988 to the Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, is entitled “Ritual Music in Bronze Age China: An Archaeological Perspective.” His publications include “‘Shikin no onsei:’ Tō Shū jidai no shun, taku, dō, taku ni tsuite 「四金の音聲」: 東周時代の鐃、鐸、鏡、鐃について” (*SHK* 6 [1989], pp. 3–26), and “Niuzhong Chime-bells of Eastern Zhou China” (*ASA* 44 [1989], pp. 68–83). His book, *Suspended Music: The Chime-bells of the Chinese Bronze Age*, has been accepted for publication by the University of California Press.

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**Alain Thote** is chargé de recherche in the Oriental Language and Civilization Section of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. His doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Paris in 1985 is an anthropological and historical examination of Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun, Hubei. Among his publications are "Une tombe princière chinoise du Ve siècle avant notre ère" (*CRAIBL* avril–juin 1986), and "Une sculpture chinoise en bronze du Ve siècle avant notre ère: essai d'interprétation" (*ASA* 42 [1987], pp. 45–58).

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# THE ESSAYS







# CHU BRONZES AND CHU CULTURE

*Li Xueqin*

Today, as we have an opportunity to discuss Chu culture, we might begin by asking, "What is Chu culture?" There is no consensus among scholars, either in China or abroad. In 1980 the late Professor Xia Nai 夏鼐 examined the same question and his analysis warrants our attention. Noting that the term "Chu" had several different meanings, Professor Xia enumerated four definitions:

1. The name of a region, as in the "region of Chu." . . . Yet the geographical size and extent of the State of Chu differed during different historical periods. In antiquity Chu culture was not limited to present-day Hubei province, but also encompassed Hunan, Anhui and southern Henan.
2. The name of a state or of a regional kingdom, as in the "State of Chu" during the Zhou dynasty. Chinese texts record that the State of Chu, which appeared in the early years of the Western Zhou dynasty and was vanquished by the State of Qin in 223 B.C., existed for approximately 800 years. . . .
3. The name of a people or nationality, as in the "Chu people." Ancient Chu territory must have been inhabited by other minority peoples as well as Chu. . . .
4. The name of a culture, as in the cultural features manifested as a result of archaeological discoveries.<sup>1</sup>

What I would like to discuss here are problems relating to bronze vessels in Chu culture. When I say "Chu culture," I am using the term in a broad sense, similar to the first definition proposed by Professor Xia Nai, namely, the bronze culture within Chu territory. Focusing on research relating to bronze vessels, I shall discuss the rise and development of Chu culture, especially the relationship between Chu culture and the cultures of the Central Plain. I shall also discuss the effect of Chu culture on other cultures in southern China.

## Jing-Chu in the Shang Dynasty

Ancient Chinese texts refer to the areas characterized by Chu culture as Jing-Chu 荆楚. In the "Shang song 商頌" (Odes to Shang) section of the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Classic



Fig. 1. *Lei* from Panlongcheng, Huangpi Xian, Hubei. After Hubei Panlongcheng 1976, pl. 3:3.



Fig. 2. *Jia* from Panlongcheng, Huangpi Xian, Hubei. Height 30.1 cm. After Beijing 1976, no. 4.

of Poetry) is a poem entitled “Yin Wu 殷武” which describes the affairs of the Shang king Wuding 武丁. According to that account, Jing-Chu had acknowledged the sovereignty of and paid homage to Shang since the early years of the Shang dynasty, and its domain was included within the southern reaches of Shang territory. Later, when Shang strength declined, Jing-Chu rebelled. Only after King Wuding had embarked on a punitive expedition against them, penetrating deeply into difficult terrain and capturing many of their soldiers, did Jing-Chu again become a Shang vassal.

Some scholars believe that the poem “Yin Wu” was handed down from the Shang dynasty, while others believe it was composed in the succeeding Zhou dynasty. Regardless of when the poem was written, it was generally accepted by the Zhou dynasty that King Wuding had undertaken a southern punitive military expedition against Jing-Chu.

The people living in the ancient Jing-Chu region are referred to as Jing-Man 荆蠻 or Chu-Man 楚蠻 in ancient Chinese texts. According to the “Chu shijia 楚世家” section of the *Shi ji* 史記, Zhou Cheng Wang 周成王 bestowed a fief located in Chu-Man territory on Xiongyi 熊繹. That fiefdom is described as encompassing both banks of the Yangzi river.

It is clear from the entry in “Chu shijia” that place names such as Jing-Chu and Chu-Man existed prior to the time when Zhou Cheng Wang granted the territory to Xiongyi, and that a region of Jing-Chu, as well as tribes called Jing-Chu or Chu-Man,



Fig. 3. *Lei* from Baijiazhuang, Zhengzhou, Henan. Height 27.7 cm. After *Henan* 1981, no. 33.



Fig. 4. *Jia* from Baijiazhuang, Zhengzhou, Henan. Height 26 cm. After *Henan* 1981, no. 29.

were already known before the founding of the State of Chu. In addition, oracle bone inscriptions dating from the time of King Wuding include many references to his southern campaigns against Jing-Chu.<sup>2</sup> Archaeology, especially the results of research on bronze vessels, seems to corroborate the information in ancient Chinese texts.

In recent years bronzes dating from the Erligang 二里岡 period have been found at several sites on the Jiang-Han 江漢 Plain, located between the Han 漢 and Yangzi rivers in northern Hubei. Among those bronzes, the ones attracting most attention are clearly those found in 1974 at Panlongcheng 盤龍城, Huangpi Xian 黃陂縣, Hubei province.<sup>3</sup> The site is near the north bank of the Yangzi, but the technology and style of the bronzes are identical to those unearthed in the Central Plain. For example, the *lei* (fig. 1) and *jia* (fig. 2) from Panlongcheng are similar to those excavated at Zhengzhou 鄭州 in Henan province (figs. 3, 4).

Another archaeological site where Erligang period bronzes were unearthed is in Sui Xian 隨縣, northwest of Huangpi, a considerable distance from the Yangzi.<sup>4</sup> The bronzes found at Sui Xian are stylistically the same as those from Panlongcheng.

Erligang-period bronzes were also unearthed on the southern bank of the Yangzi. A *lei* excavated at Wangjiadu 王家渡, Yidu Xian 宜都縣, in 1978 is similar in shape to that from Panlongcheng.<sup>5</sup> The site where the *lei* was found is very near the Yangzi. Beyond this and further south, no early Shang bronzes have been found. It is clear, therefore, that while the Jing-Chu region was influenced by the bronze culture of the



Fig. 5. *Fang zun* from Huangcai, Ningxiang Xian, Hunan. Height 58.3 cm. After Beijing 1976, no. 17.



Fig. 6. *Jue* from Xiangxiang Xian, Hunan. Height 33 cm. After Tōkyō & Beijing 1983, no. 26.

Central Plain during the early Shang period, that influence did not penetrate far beyond the banks of the Yangzi; moreover, it was brought to the region by Shang immigrants from the north.

In the later years of the Shang dynasty, after Wuding's expedition against Jing-Chu, the situation was entirely different. Not only have bronzes dating from that period been repeatedly found in the Jiang-Han area of Hubei province, but even larger numbers have also been found in Hunan province still further south. Sites in Hunan—Shimen 石門, Huarong 華容, Yueyang 岳陽, Changsha 長沙, Ningxiang 寧鄉, Xiangxiang 湘鄉, Anhua 安化, Xiangtan 湘潭, Liling 醴陵, Hengyang 衡陽 and Shaoyang 邵陽, even as far south as Changning 常寧—have yielded important bronzes.<sup>6</sup> Geographically, this encompasses the area from Lake Dongting<sup>1</sup> 洞庭湖 to the Xiang river 湘江 region.<sup>7</sup> These bronzes are numerous and they reflect obvious Shang characteristics. With careful study, however, they display features that are different from bronzes made in the Central Plain.

The first difference between bronzes cast in the south and those from the Central Plain is their size. Most of the Shang bronzes unearthed in Hubei and Hunan are large and elegantly cast. A representative example is the four-ram *fang zun* unearthed at Yueshanpu 月山鋪, Ningxiang, in 1938 (fig. 5). Standing 58.3 cm. high, the *fang zun* is decorated with extremely fine designs. The three-dimensional casting of ram- and dragon-heads on the shoulders, with the rams' horns curving inward, present significant degrees of difficulty in casting. A *jue* unearthed at Xiangxiang, Hunan, is 33 cm.



Fig. 7. *Zun* from Huarong Xian, Hunan. Height 73.2 cm. After Li Xueqin 1985b, no. 108.

high (fig. 6), while a *zun* found at Huarong, in Hunan, is 73.2 cm. high (fig. 7). All these vessels are larger than those usually seen in the Central Plain.

The second significant difference between bronzes cast in southern China and those from the Central Plain lies in their decoration. Bronzes from Hubei and Hunan have many distinct features. For example, *taotie* masks on these bronzes have a rather broad crest which is linked with the nose, bird-shaped flanges appear on the sides of the vessels, and fish motifs occur on the feet. A bronze *you* unearthed in 1956 at Shimen, Hunan, measuring 47.5 cm. in height, exhibits all these features, and is very different from *you* vessels from the Central Plain (fig. 8).

Certain types of bronzes made in the south also stand out distinctly. For instance, the single large *nao* bell is not known in the Central Plain. Shang dynasty *nao*



Fig. 10. *Yue* (axe) collected in Hunan. Length 34.3 cm. After Li Xueqin 1985b, no. 119.

Fig. 8. *You* from Shimen, Hunan. Height 47.5 cm. After Li Xueqin 1985b, no. 107.

bells from the Central Plain were not only much smaller, but also occur in groups of three or five. By contrast, the largest *nao* from Hunan is an imposing 84 centimeters high and weighs 154 kilograms.<sup>8</sup>

Based on their characteristic features, the two Shang bronze drums—one excavated at Chongyang 崇陽, Hubei, in 1977 (fig. 9),<sup>9</sup> the other in the Sumitomo Collection, Japan—should also be products of the south. Animal-shaped bronze vessels are also found in considerable numbers in this area; they are often large and well cast. Many of the Shang period animal-shaped bronze vessels in various museum collections must have come from this region. In addition, bronze weapons made in the south also have distinct characteristics. A *yue* collected in Hunan in 1971 has a tiger on the upper end of the socket, and is entirely different from Shang dynasty weapons from the Central Plain (fig. 10).

Many scholars used to believe that the fine, elegant bronze vessels excavated in Jing-Chu had been imported from the Central Plain. Scientific analyses of the bronze alloy conducted in recent years have revealed that the proportions of tin and lead are much higher in Jing-Chu bronzes than in those unearthed in the Central Plain. There are usually traces of antimony as well, another element not found in bronzes from the Central Plain. It is clear that these bronzes were cast locally, and not imported from the Central Plain.<sup>10</sup>

As a result, Jing-Chu bronze artisans developed their own bronze tradition during the late Shang period under the strong influence of the Shang culture from the Central Plain. It is important to note that a significant portion of those Shang dynasty

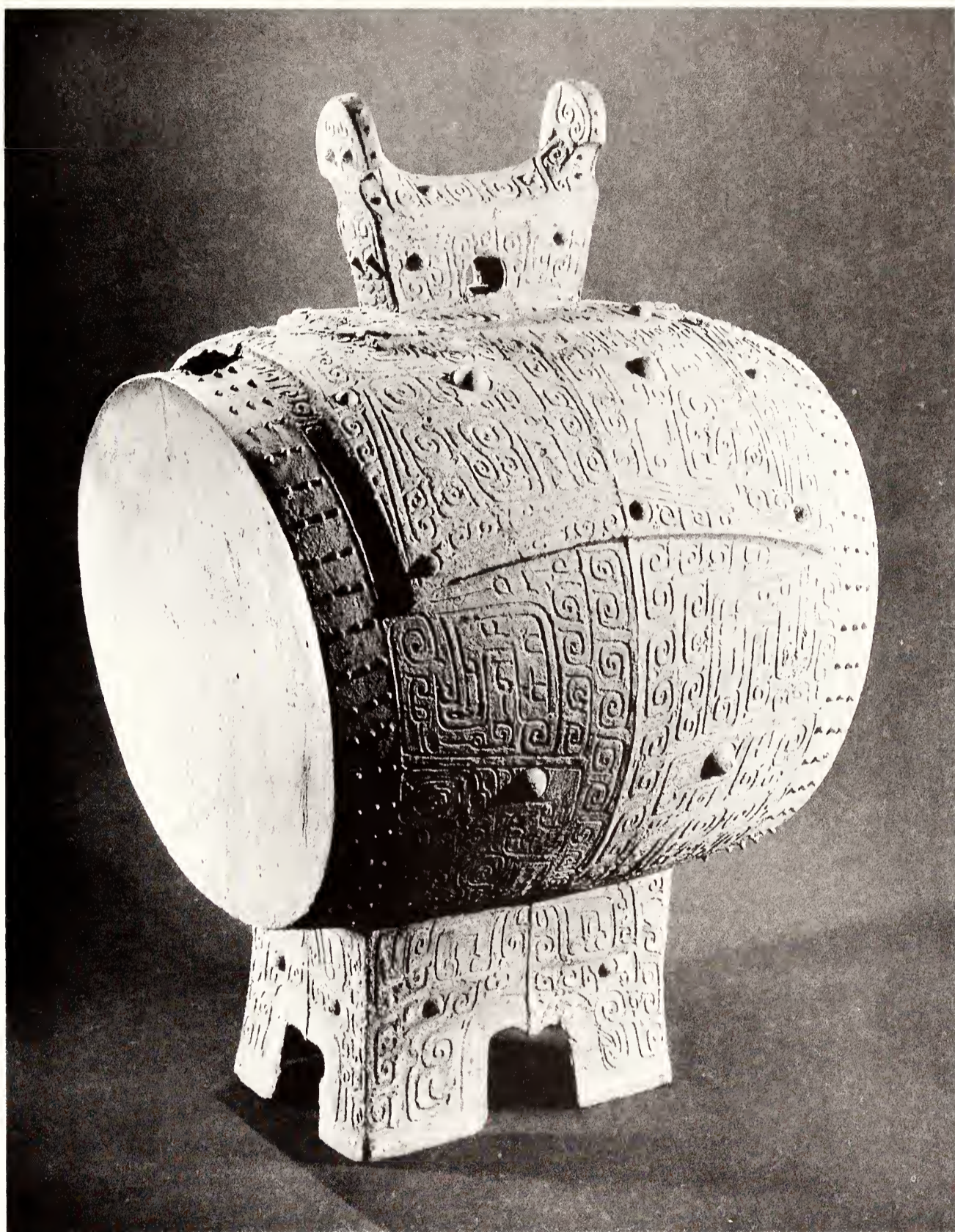


Fig. 9. Drum from Chongyang, Hubei. Height 75.5 cm. After Li Xueqin 1985b, no. 106.

bronze vessels that have survived to the present were made in Jing-Chu. It is also important, in studies of bronze vessels and their artistic development, that this distinction be made.

Jing-Chu bronze culture of the Shang period also had a great influence on other areas of south China. In 1986 two large sacrificial pits of the Shu 蜀 state were discovered at Sanxingdui 三星堆, Guanghan 廣漢, just north of Chengdu 成都, in Sichuan province. The pits, which yielded a large number of bronzes, are believed to be contemporary with the late Shang dynasty. News of the Guanghan find attracted the



Fig. 11. *Zun* from Sanxingdui, Guanghan Xian, Sichuan. Height 53 cm. After WW 1989.5, color pl. 2:2.



Fig. 12. *Lei* from Sanxingdui, Guanghan Xian, Sichuan. Height 34 cm. After WW 1989.5, pl. 4:2.

attention of academic circles in China and abroad. The Shu bronzes unearthed from the two sacrificial pits reflect the flavor of minority tribes in southwestern China, while a few of the ritual vessels display the style of the Shang bronze culture.

The two bronze *zun* from Pit No. 2 at Guanghan—with seated birds on the shoulders and a high swollen footring—are different from those of the Central Plain (fig. 11). They are comparable to vessels unearthed in 1966 at Huarong, Hunan, at Zaoyang 棗陽, Hubei, in 1987, and at Chenggu 城固, Shaanxi, in 1963. Three *lei* were recovered from Pit No. 2 at Guanghan. One of them is completely intact, showing a characteristically near-cylindrical shape and almost vertical walls for the body (fig. 12). It can be compared with *lei* vessels unearthed at Yueyang, Hunan, in 1982 and at Shashi 沙市, Hubei, in 1987.<sup>11</sup> It is clear that whether the bronzes were cast in Sichuan or not, they were influenced by the Jing-Chu culture.

Jing-Chu bronze culture also exerted influence on the southeastern provinces of China, including Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian, and the Guangxi Autonomous Region. The *nao* bells unearthed in the region stretching from Jiangsu to northern Fujian are similar in style to those found in Hunan.<sup>12</sup> On the basis of archaeological finds it seems that this kind of special musical instrument spread from Jing-Chu to southeastern China.

A bronze *you* of late Shang date unearthed at Wuming 武鳴, the Guangxi Autonomous Region, in 1974, is similar in shape to the example found at Ningxiang, Hunan (fig. 13). Located near the extreme southern border of China, Wuming is





Fig. 13. *You* from Wuming Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. Height 40 cm. After *Guangxi* 1978, no. 34.

almost too far south. As some scholars believe, the *you* was made farther north and subsequently taken to the south; however, it need not have come from the Central Plain, but could have been made in the Jing-Chu region.

From the preceding discussion it is apparent that after King Wuding's southern campaign the bronze culture in Jing-Chu reached a high level. It is in this way that Shang bronze culture from the Central Plain penetrated the south and subsequently proceeded to influence still other areas. Contemporary Chinese scholars in archaeology have begun to pay attention to this sequence of cultural influence, pointing out that the "Jing-Chu culture in Shang times had its own features . . . and the early Chu culture may have developed from a branch of the Jing-Chu people."<sup>13</sup> That is to say, the Shang period bronze culture that existed in the region occupied by present-day Hubei and portions of Hunan provided the basis upon which Chu culture in the narrower sense was to emerge during the Western Zhou period.

### The Formation of the Chu Bronze Tradition

We have already noted that a high level of bronze culture existed in the Jing-Chu region—present-day Hubei and Hunan—during the late Shang period. Remnants of

that culture consist of the incomparably exquisite bronzes that continue to appear in seemingly endless numbers. Those bronzes furnish the basis for comparative research on the culture, religion and myths of the peoples who inhabited the Jing-Chu region and those who resided in the Central Plain in antiquity. With the decline of the Shang dynasty, however, the Jing-Chu bronze culture declined dramatically. The change was an obvious and drastic one; no doubt it was the reflection of major changes in political and historical events at the time.

To date, the Western Zhou bronzes found in Hubei and Hunan are few in number. Especially noteworthy is the fact that hardly any important individual bronzes, or sets of bronzes, have been recovered from south of the Yangzi. Such a situation cannot be accidental. It indicates that after Zhou Wu Wang 周武王 overthrew the Shang dynasty and established the Zhou dynasty, the Jing-Chu culture entered a period of decline.

Among the Western Zhou bronzes found in the Jing-Chu region the most important examples fall into two groups, both of which were unearthed north of the Yangzi. The first group of bronzes was found in A.D. 1118, the first year of the Chonghe 重和 era of the Northern Song, in Xiaogan Xian 孝感縣, Hubei province. The cache consisted of three *fang ding*, one round *ding*, one *yan*, and one *zhi*. Many scholars have pointed out that the inscriptions on these bronzes record an attack by Zhao Wang 昭王 on Jing-Chu. The owner of the bronzes was one of Zhao Wang's ministers who evidently died and was buried there.<sup>14</sup>

The second group of Western Zhou bronzes found in the Jing-Chu region was unearthed in 1977–78 from Tomb No. 30 at Lutaishan 魯臺山, Huangpi, in Hubei province. Included among the fourteen bronzes from the find were *fang ding*, *ding*, *yan*, *gui*, *you*, *gu*, and *jue*.<sup>15</sup> Research has shown that these vessels were cast during the reign of Zhou Kang Wang 周康王, the father of Zhao Wang. Most of the bronzes formed the dowry given to the daughter of the Duke of Bi 畢公, a minister of the Zhou court.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, in 1962 a group of bronzes was recovered from a tomb in Wancheng 萬城, near Jiangling 江陵 in Hubei. Those bronzes date from the early years of the Western Zhou period. A clan sign that occurs in the inscriptions on several of the vessels belongs to the Shang rather than the Zhou people. That same clan sign appears in bronzes unearthed in the royal Shang Tomb HPK1550 at Anyang 安陽, Henan. The presence of a Shang clan sign on the bronzes unearthed in 1962 in Wancheng, Hubei, indicates that there were still some Shang people in Jiangling during the early years of Western Zhou.<sup>17</sup> It is likely that the remains of Shang forces in the Jiangling area prevented the influence of the Zhou dynasty from spreading southward. Ever since Zhao Wang's failure to overcome Jing-Chu, the peoples of this region continued to oppose the political and cultural influence of the Zhou. Cultural influence from Zhou thus entered southern China via the State of Wu in present-day Jiangsu, unlike Shang influence to the south, which entered through Jing-Chu.<sup>18</sup>

Xiongyi, the first ruler of the Chu state, was awarded a fiefdom during the reign of Zhou Cheng Wang. Inscriptions on oracle bones recently unearthed at sites in the Zhou homeland in Shaanxi provide new clues to the relationship between the Zhou court and Chu. Initially Chu was a small and weak political entity. During the more than 200 years of the Western Zhou, Chu became steadily stronger. The earliest Chu bronzes unearthed so far are few in number and date from the late years of Western Zhou. Our knowledge of Chu bronzes from Western Zhou to the early Spring and Autumn period is limited, just as archaeological finds relating to the Chu state from the same period are limited. While it still is not possible to describe in detail how Chu bronze culture developed, there is no question that by the mid-Spring and Autumn period Chu bronzes of high quality were being made in large numbers.

Representative of Chu bronzes dating from the mid-Spring and Autumn period are the vessels unearthed in 1978–79 from a group of Chu tombs at Xiasi 下寺, Xichuan Xian 淅川縣, in southern Henan.<sup>19</sup> Nine large tombs and sixteen smaller tombs have been excavated at Xiasi. These tombs may be divided into five groups, among which the third is most important. Within that third group Tomb No. 2 proved to be the main burial. To the south and north of Tomb No. 2 are the satellite tombs, Nos. 1, 3 and 4. To the west and north are located the tombs of people who were sacrificed for burial with the occupant of Tomb No. 2. There is a richly appointed chariot pit containing six chariots and nineteen horses west of Tomb No. 2.

According to published reports more than 5,000 objects, including bronzes, jades and cowrie shells, were unearthed from Tomb No. 2. Many bronzes and jades were also found in Tomb No. 1. From inscriptions in the bronzes it is clear that some of the bronzes from Tombs Nos. 1 and 2 belonged to Prince Wu (Wangzi Wu 王子午), while others belonged to a person named Peng 棚. Wangzi Wu is mentioned in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, where it is recorded that he died in 552 B.C. Many scholars believe that Peng should be identified as Wei Zipeng 蘧子馮. According to the *Zuo zhuan*, Wei Zipeng died in 548 B.C. Consequently the bronzes found in Tombs Nos. 1 and 2 at Xiasi should be dated to the mid-sixth century B.C.<sup>20</sup> But there are also scholars who believe the bronzes should be dated some thirty or forty years later,<sup>21</sup> in other words, to the late sixth century B.C., near the end of the Spring and Autumn period. No resolution appears to have been reached on this issue.

In June 1986 Christie's in New York included an important ancient Chinese bronze in their auction catalogue (fig. 14).<sup>22</sup> That bronze, which should be referred to as the *Chu Wang Yinshen zhan* 楚王禽審盞, has an overall height of 20 cm. and a diameter of 24 cm. Its openwork decoration consists of a dense arrangement of very fine coiled serpents. The *zhan* is very similar to that unearthed from Tomb No. 1 at Xiasi, Xichuan (fig. 15). King Yinshen, also known as Xiongshen, King Gong 熊審, 共王, died in 560 B.C. He was a contemporary of Wangzi Wu and Wei Zipeng. The evidence provided by the *zhan* of King Yinshen proves that the Xiasi bronzes could not date as late as from the last years of the Spring and Autumn period.



Fig. 14. *Chu Wang Yinshen zhan* and its inscription. Height 20 cm. Courtesy of Christie, Mason and Woods Ltd.



Fig. 15. *Zhan* from Xiasi, Xichuan Xian, Henan. Height 18 cm. After *KG* 1981.2, pl. 11:5.

Representative of the Xiasi bronzes are the *jin* (fig. 16) and the *Wangzi Wu ding* (fig. 17). They display two characteristic features of Chu bronzes of the mid-Spring and Autumn period: a new artistic style and a new bronze-casting technology.

I trust we all recall the many bronzes unearthed in 1923 from the large tomb at Xinzheng 新鄭, Henan. The Xinzheng bronzes, which date from the middle years of the Spring and Autumn period, are therefore close contemporaries of the

Xiasi bronzes.<sup>23</sup> Among the Xinzheng bronzes are two square *hu* with lotus and crane motifs, whose style differs from earlier vessels (fig. 18). At the time of the Xinzheng find, scholars believed that its distinctive bronze style was symbolic of a new artistic spirit. The Xiasi bronzes possess precisely the same new spirit. The specific characteristics of these bronzes are the three-dimensional animals, openwork ornaments, and fine, dense motifs. This style of bronze decoration is more developed at Xiasi than at Xinzheng. Apparently the new style was formed in the State of Chu and then spread northward into the nearby State of Zheng 鄭. Recognition of the origins

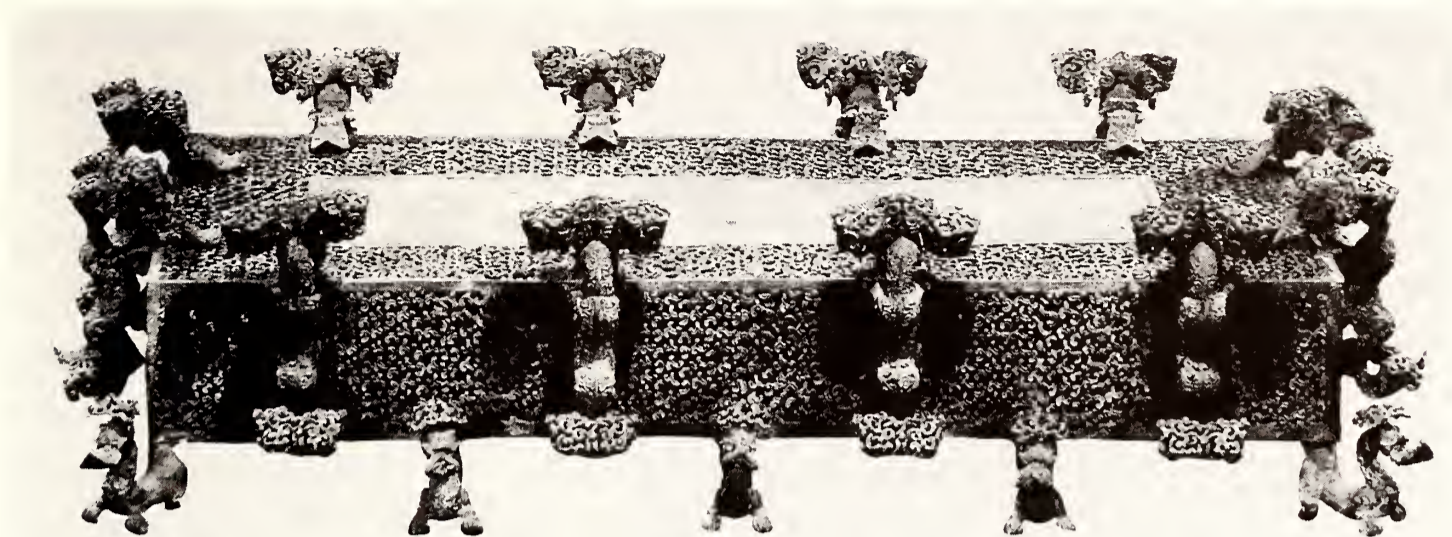


Fig. 16. *Jin* from Xiasi, Xichuan Xian, Henan. Length 107 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, no. 17.



Fig. 17. *Wangzi Wu ding* from Xiasi, Xichuan Xian, Henan. Height 67 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, no. 16.

and transmission of this bronze style is important to research on bronzes and the history of art.

The new bronze-casting technology was the lost-wax casting technique. The question of when a sophisticated method like lost-wax casting was first used in



Fig. 18. *Fang hu* from Xinzheng Xian, Henan. Height 118 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, no. 56.

China has been discussed by archaeologists for a long time. Recovery of the *pan* and *zun* in 1978 from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun 擂鼓墩, in Sui Xian, Hubei, marked a significant advance in determining the date of Chinese lost-wax casting, since experts have proven that the *pan* and *zun* were cast by that process. The date of Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun is ca. 433 B.C. According to recent research it is clear that quite a few of the bronzes from Xiasi, such as the *jin* and *zhan* previously mentioned, were also made by the lost-wax technique.

We have already discussed the *zhan* of King Gong of Chu and the *zhan* unearthed at Xiasi. The unusual characteristics of the modelling and the style of those two vessels are the same, hence it seems reasonable to propose that the *zhan* of King Gong was also made by the lost-wax process. We can determine, therefore, that at least as early as

560 B.C. the lost-wax casting technique was already highly developed in the State of Chu. It also appears, on the basis of current information, that lost-wax casting was not used in the Central Plain during the same period.

From this discussion we can say that a distinctive tradition in Chu bronzes had already been formed by the middle of the Spring and Autumn period, i.e. the sixth century B.C. By this time the Chu bronze culture had already rid itself of influences from the Central Plain and had begun to exert its own influence on peoples in its surrounding areas. From the late Spring and Autumn period to early Warring States period (the fifth century B.C.) Chu influence on surrounding states became extremely obvious. For example, the bronzes of the late Spring and Autumn period unearthed from the tomb of the Marquis of Cai 蔡侯 in Shou Xian 壽縣, Anhui, and the Zeng 曾 state bronzes dating from the early years of the Warring States period at Leigudun, Sui Xian, can generally be classified as part of Chu bronze culture, even though they

have some characteristics of their own. Influence of the State of Chu can also be seen in the bronze culture that arose in the States of Wu 吳 and Yue 越 in the late years of the Spring and Autumn period.

## Chu Bronzes and Other Cultures

During the years from the mid-Spring and Autumn period to the Warring States period, Chu bronze culture developed in its own style and formed a distinct tradition. As I said earlier, that bronze culture was originally under the strong influence of the Central Plain bronze culture. But by the Eastern Zhou period Chu bronze culture had become one of the most advanced cultural traditions, and in turn influenced the Central Plain, as well as other parts of China.

As the political power of Chu spread, its bronze culture exerted influence on more and more regions. During the early years of the Spring and Autumn period the State of Chu was still a weak principality. It initially occupied a large area of land in the middle reaches of the Yangzi. Gradually its territory expanded northwards and eastwards. In the two-and-a-half centuries of the Spring and Autumn period the State of Chu successfully absorbed more than forty smaller states. By the Warring States period Chu territory had expanded to the southeast and northeast, its borders stretching south to the sea and northeastward to the State of Lu 魯. As a result, the region of the distribution of Chu bronzes, and consequently its sphere of influence, during the Warring States period were much wider than that of other traditions.

As we have already noted, by the mid-Spring and Autumn period the influence of Chu bronze styles in northern China had reached the State of Zheng in northern Henan. In the years between the mid-Spring and Autumn and early Warring States periods, many states, such as Cai 蔡 and Sui 隨 (i.e. Zeng 曾), which belonged to the Ji 姬 clan, were absorbed into Chu bronze cultural traditions.<sup>24</sup>

Most important is the influence Chu bronze culture exerted upon Yue, in the southeast, and upon Ba-Shu 巴蜀, in the southwest. The Yue people were an important minority tribe in ancient southern China. The territory inhabited by the Yue was vast, mainly covering a large portion of present-day Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, and other provinces such as Fujian and Guangdong, and the Guangxi Autonomous Region, where they were called "Baiyue 百越" (Hundred Yue). After the mid-Warring States period those areas largely came under Chu control and Chu bronze culture penetrated swiftly. This influence from Chu remained strong during the late years of the Warring States period, even though Chu had become too weak to control and rule Guangdong and Guangxi.

In 1971 many late Spring and Autumn period bronzes were found at Yangjia 秧家, in Gongcheng Xian 恭城縣, located in northeast Guangxi near the border with Hunan. According to archaeological reports the bronzes were recovered from a tomb.<sup>25</sup> Among those bronzes, some displayed obvious Yue characteristics, such as the *ding* with three



Fig. 19. *Ding* from Gongcheng Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. Height 14.5 cm. After *Guangxi* 1978, no. 43.

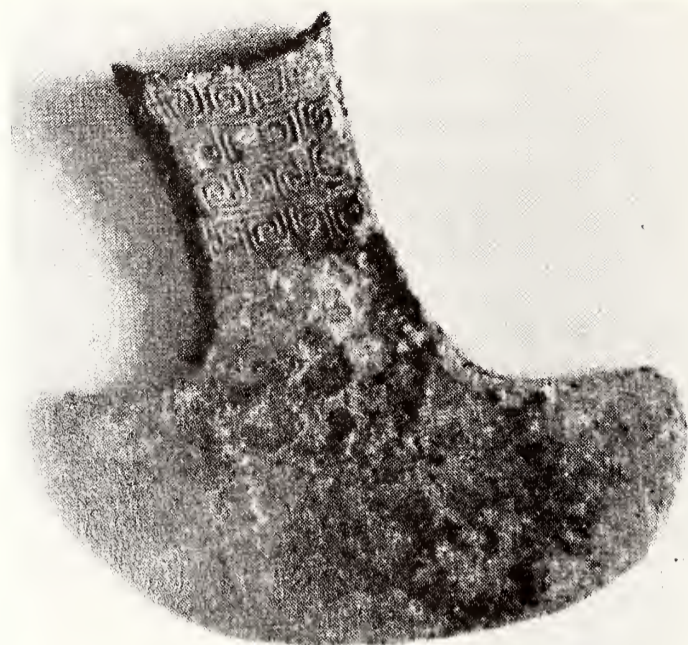


Fig. 20. Boot-shaped axe from Gongcheng Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. Height 9.8 cm. After *KG* 1973.1, pl. 12:2.



Fig. 21. *Ding* from Gongcheng Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. Height 55.5 cm. After *Guangxi* 1978, no. 42.



Fig. 22. *Lei* from Gongcheng Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. Height 39.5 cm. After *Guangxi* 1978, no. 41.

outward-curving feet (fig. 19) and boot-shaped axes (fig. 20). Others, however, were quite similar to Chu examples. One large *ding* measuring 55.5 cm. high, has a deep belly and side handles, and is decorated with fine coiled serpent motifs, features that are identical to Chu examples (fig. 21). This *ding* may have been imported from the State of Chu.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the tomb at Yangjia yielded a *lei* with a pair of animal-shaped handles (fig. 22). Although its decoration also included interlocking motifs,





Fig. 23. *Ding* from Xindu Xian, Sichuan. Height 26 cm. After Sichuan Sheng Bowuguan 1981, pl. 2:1.



Fig. 24. *Ding* from Sui Xian, Hubei. Height 40 cm. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, pl. 53:2.



Fig. 25. *Fou* from Xindu Xian, Sichuan. Height 28.3 cm. After Sichuan Sheng Bowuguan 1981, pl. 4:4.



Fig. 26. *Fou* from Sui Xian, Hubei. Height 35.9 cm. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, pl. 77:1.

the serpentine designs on the belly of the *lei* are seldom seen on Chu bronzes. I believe the *lei* was cast in a local rather than a Chu foundry. The bronzes from Yangjia indicate that the influence of Chu spread to Guangxi at quite an early date.

In 1980 a large tomb of the Shu 蜀 state dating to the early years of the mid-Warring States period was unearthed at Xindu 新都, north of Chengdu, in Sichuan.<sup>27</sup> Among the many bronzes found at Xindu were some with inscriptions in Chinese characters, others had Ba-Shu inscriptions. In both vessel shape and decorative style, the ritual bronzes found at Xindu resemble vessels from the Chu bronze culture. For instance, a *ding* with thin legs (fig. 23) is identical to the *ding* unearthed from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun (fig. 24). The *fou* excavated at Xindu, with a chain linking the two handles (fig. 25), closely resembles the *fou* found at Leigudun (fig. 26). A general evaluation of the bronzes from the large tomb at Xindu would be that while the ritual vessels all show obvious Chu influence, the weapons display outstandingly nationalistic Shu characteristics.

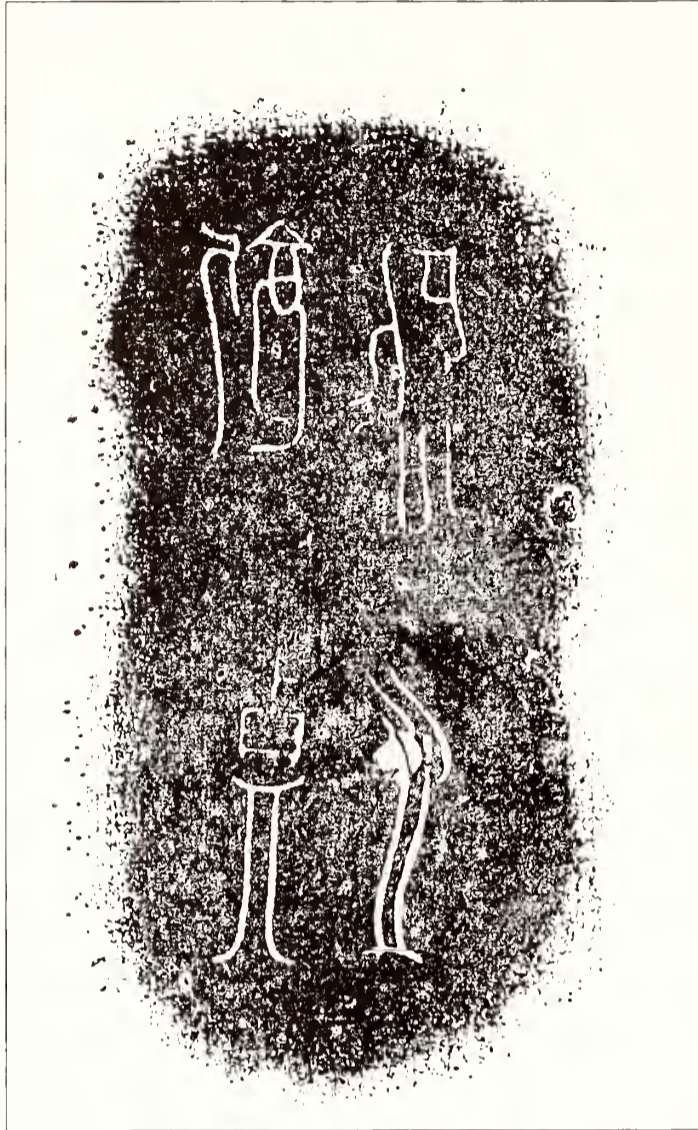


Fig. 27. Rubbing of inscription on *ding* from Xindu Xian, Sichuan. After Sichuan Sheng Bowuguan 1981, p. 7, fig. 14:2.

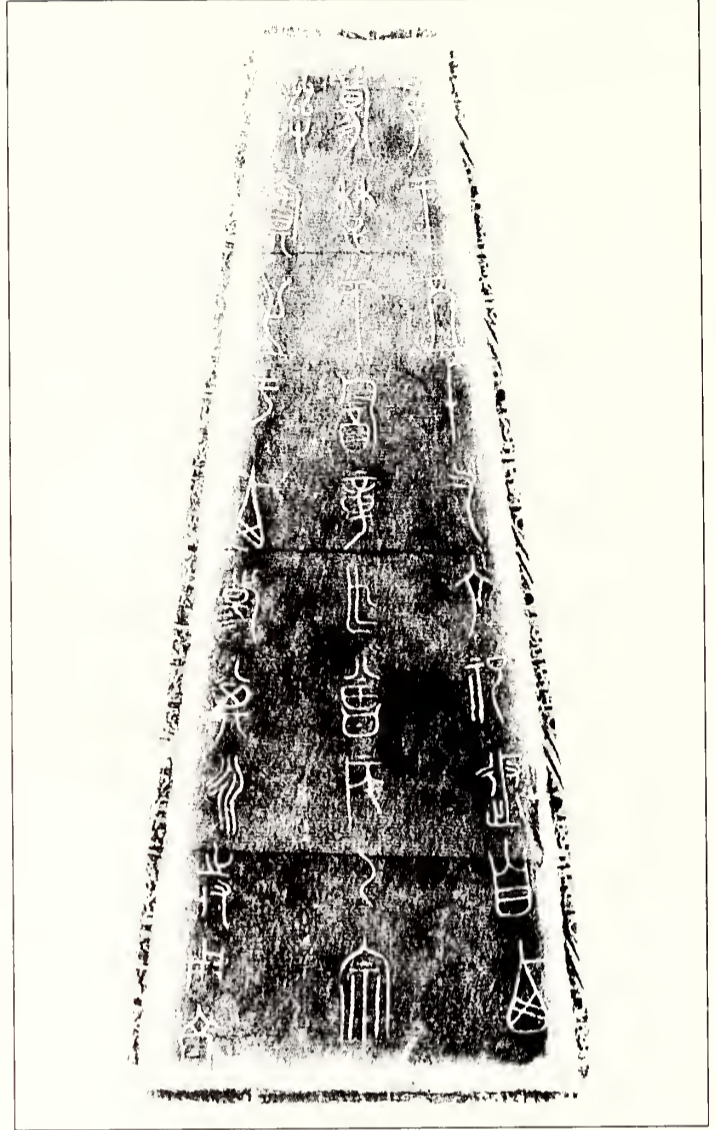


Fig. 28. Rubbing of inscription on bell from Sui Xian, Hubei. After Hong Kong 1984, p. 21, fig. 6.

I would like to emphasize that, both in script style and sentence formulation, the inscription on the bronze *ding* unearthed at Xindu (fig. 27) is identical to those found in inscriptions on bronzes from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun (fig. 28), as well as on other bronzes of the same period. Obviously Chu bronze culture had a strong influence on the Yue people and on the Ba-Shu tribes. In fact, some Yue and Ba-Shu people resided in the State of Chu, where they maintained their own cultural characteristics, as is indicated by bronzes found there. Yue bronzes have been found in many sites in present-day Hunan, covering the areas from Yueyang, north of Lake Dongting, to Changsha and Hengshan 衡山, in the centre of the province, and even extending to Dao Xian 道縣 in the south. Among those bronze finds the most representative pieces are boot-shaped axes, some of which are symmetrically shaped (fig. 29), while others are not (fig. 30).<sup>28</sup> Some boot-shaped axes have geometrical designs on their surfaces, and others bear human figural motifs. This kind of bronze weapon, which belonged solely to the Yue people, has been found in Zhejiang and Guangdong, and in the Guangxi Autonomous Region.

An example of this kind of boot-shaped axe was unearthed in 1976 at Shitushan



Fig. 29. Boot-shaped axe collected in Hunan. Height 11 cm. After WW 1980.12, pl. 6:2.

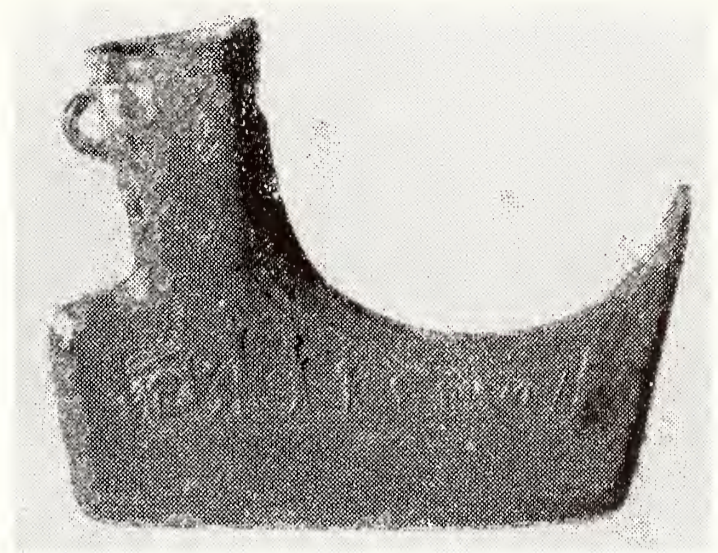


Fig. 30. Boot-shaped axe collected in Hunan. Height 9.5 cm. After WW 1980.12, pl. 6:6.



Fig. 31. Boot-shaped axe from Shitushan, Qin Xian, Zhejiang. Height 10.1 cm. After KG 1984.8, p. 762, fig. 1.

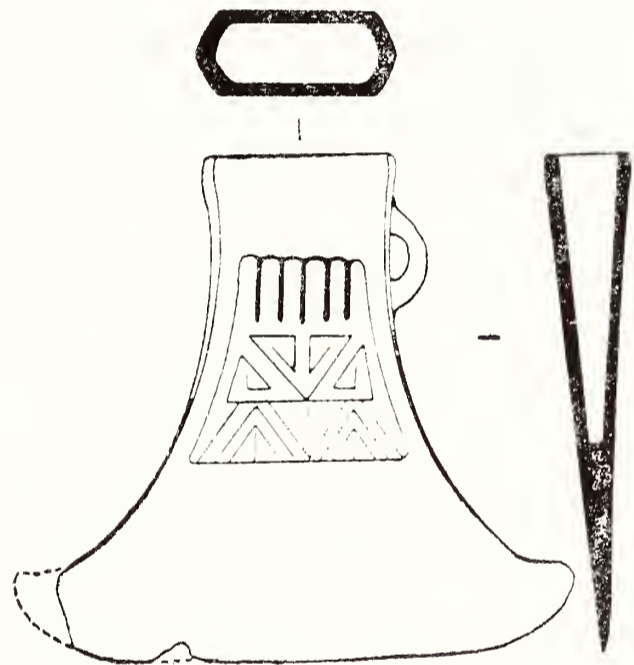


Fig. 32. Boot-shaped axe from Yinshanling, Pingle Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. After KGXB 1978.2, p. 239, fig. 33:13.

石秃山 in Qin Xian 鄞縣, Zhejiang.<sup>29</sup> Measuring 10.1 cm. high and 12 cm. wide, the axe has symmetrical corners (fig. 31). The design on the side of the axe depicts four figures wearing feathered headdresses rowing a boat, and a paired design composed of coiled serpents above. Scholars have pointed out that representations of boating also appear on bronze drums unearthed in southern China and in southeast Asia.

Representative of bronze axes found in the Guangxi Autonomous Region are those excavated in 1974 from a Warring States tomb at Yinshanling 銀山嶺, Pingle 平樂.<sup>30</sup> Some of the axes found at Yinshanling are symmetrical; they are also deco-



Fig. 33. *Zun* from Hengshan Xian, Hunan. Height 21 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, no. 44.



Fig. 34. *You* from Jinqicun, Xiangtan Xian, Hunan. Height 35.5 cm. After *HNKGJK* 4 (1987), pl. 1.

rated with geometric motifs (fig. 32). Noteworthy is the fact that bronzes cast by the Yue people living in Hunan retained traces of the influence of Central Plain bronze cultures of Shang and early Western Zhou. In 1963 a *zun* was unearthed at Xialiushi 霞流市, Hengshan Xian 衡山縣, Hunan (fig. 33).<sup>31</sup> The *zun*, which stands 21 cm. high, is decorated with small raised serpents. A geometric design appears on the neck of the vessel, while boot-shaped axes decorate the belly. In 1986 a bronze *you* measuring 35.5 cm. in height was found at Jinqicun 金棋村, Xiangtan Xian 湘潭縣, Hunan (fig. 34).<sup>32</sup> Designs based on geometric forms, clouds and boot-shaped axes, as well as serpents, frogs and lizards, embellish the surface of the *you*. Among the Yue bronzes unearthed in Gongcheng, the Guangxi Autonomous Region, already mentioned, were two *zun* decorated with serpents and frogs (figs. 35, 36). Bronze *zun* and *you* of similar shape cast in the Central Plain date no later than early Western Zhou. It seems that the Yue people who made these bronzes were influenced by the Central Plain culture at a very early stage, but then gradually came under the influence of Chu.

Ba-Shu ruins and bronzes have also been found within the State of Chu. For instance, Jiangling, located in present-day Hubei, was the capital of the Chu state for

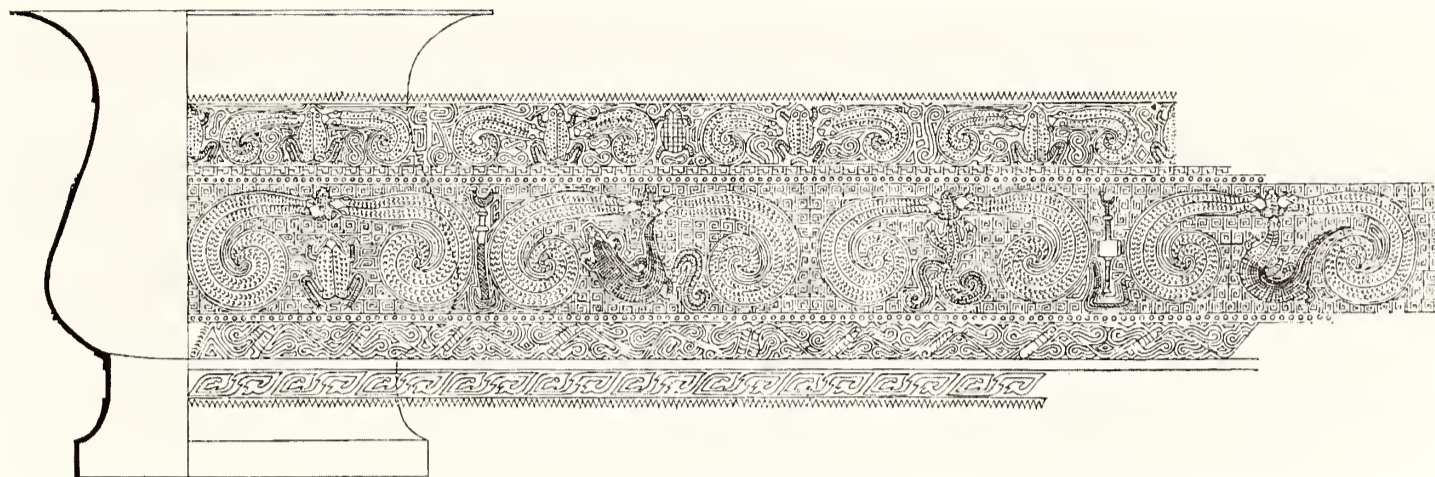


Fig. 36. Drawing of *zun*. From Gongcheng Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. After KG 1973.1, p. 32, fig. 5, top.



Fig. 35. *Zun* from Gongcheng Xian, Guangxi Autonomous Region. Height 16 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, no. 49.

a long time. North of Jiangling a Ba-Shu style bronze sword was unearthed in a Chu tomb in 1981. In 1984 a Warring States period Ba-Shu site was recovered at Tuojiangsi 陀江寺, also in Jiangling; its cultural characteristics are entirely different from those of the surrounding Chu sites.<sup>33</sup> The excavations at Tuojiangsi demonstrate that Ba-Shu tribes lived and intermingled with Chu people within Chu territory.

Most interesting of all, there are instances in which bronzes representative of three different cultures—Chu, Yue, and Ba-Shu—are found in the same tomb. In 1985 a Chu tomb was unearthed at

Sanyuan Village 三元村, Taoyuan Xian 桃源縣, west of Changsha. Most of the bronzes were typical of the Chu state. But the sword with a gold inlaid inscription obviously belonged to the Yue people, while there was a *ge* with Ba-Shu characters. Examples of this type of multi-cultural burial demonstrate that during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods the State of Chu consisted of a coalition of many different peoples. As a result, Chu bronze culture also reflects the influence of those different ethnic traditions.

The Chu bronze culture was initially based on a flourishing period in the Shang tradition, but had gradually developed its own particular aesthetic tradition by the middle of the Spring and Autumn period. At the same time, it incorporated the cultural elements of other tribes, while also exerting important influences on its neighboring states. The Chu bronze culture was therefore among the most advanced of the bronze cultures that flourished in the other states at the time. In fact, during

the Warring States period, the State of Chu had already united the southern half of China, laying the foundation for subsequent unification during the Qin 秦 and Han 漢 dynasties. The important tombs dating from the Qin and early Han dynasties recently investigated in Hubei—including the Qin tombs at Shuihudi 睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢, and the early Han tombs at Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 and Zhangjiashan 張家山 in Jiangling—as well as the Mawangdui 馬王堆 burial in Changsha, Hunan, all developed from Chu traditions. The important place occupied by Chu culture in ancient Chinese history is clearly demonstrated by these finds.

Notes

1. Xia Nai 1982, p. 1.
2. Li Xueqin 1976.
3. Hubei Panlongcheng 1976.
4. Suizhoushi Bowuguan 1981.
5. Yichang Diqu Bowuguan 1986.
6. Li Xueqin 1985b, p. 7.
7. An inscribed bronze *you* is said to have been found at Xing'an 興安, the Guangxi Autonomous Region, the source of the Xiang river. See Liang Jingjin 1978, p. 93, pl. 4:1 and fig. 6.
8. Gao Zhixi 1986b, p. 279.
9. Gao Zhixi 1981.
10. Gao Zhixi 1981.
11. Li Xueqin 1989b.
12. Gao Zhixi 1981.
13. Chen Xianyi 1980.
14. Tang Lan 1986, pp. 283–89; also see note 2.
15. Hubei Huangpi 1982.
16. Liu Qiyi 1984.
17. See note 2.
18. Li Xueqin 1988b.
19. Henan Danjiang 1980.
20. Li Ling 1981.
21. Zhang Yachu 1985.
22. Christie 1986, lot 54.
23. Li Xueqin 1985a, pp. 85–87.
24. Li Xueqin 1985a, pp. 175–82, 184–88.
25. Guangxi Zhuangzu 1973.
26. Jiang Tingyu 1980.
27. Sichuan Sheng Bowuguan 1981.
28. Gao Zhixi 1980.
29. Cao Jinyan & Zhou Shengwang 1984.
30. Guangxi Zhuangzu 1978.
31. Li Xueqin 1986, pl. 44.
32. Xiong Jianhua 1987.
33. Zhang Shisong 1985.

# THE DOUBLE COFFIN OF LEIGUDUN TOMB NO. 1: ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES AND RELATED PROBLEMS

*Alain Thote*

More than ten years after its excavation in 1978, the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙 at Leigudun 擂鼓墩, Suizhou 隨州, Hubei province, still remains the most important site of an Eastern Zhou dynasty tomb.<sup>1</sup> Of special significance to scholars is the fact that it is possible to date the tomb with reasonable precision to ca. 433 B.C. according to an inscription on a *bo* 鑄 bell which belongs to the tomb furniture.<sup>2</sup> The outer coffin (*wai guan* 外棺) and inner coffin (*nei guan* 內棺) of Zeng Hou Yi, which were found in the eastern chamber of the tomb, are in an excellent state of preservation (figs. 1, 2). No doubt the remarkable condition of those two coffins is partly the result of the lacquer applied to their wooden surfaces.<sup>3</sup>

An initial examination of the two coffins reveals that they differ in shape and in decoration. First of all, the outer coffin, with its huge dimensions and unique bronze frame (fig. 3), cannot be compared with any other known example. But, if we do not concern ourselves with the external painted decoration, the inner coffin (fig. 4A) appears rather similar to one of the main types of Chu 楚 coffin (fig. 4B), since it has a round shaped cover and rounded flanges. By contrast, the other main type of Chu coffin, which sometimes may be nested inside another slightly larger coffin of the same form, is characterized by a flat cover and flat flanges (fig. 4C). Both types of Chu coffin appear relatively early in Eastern Zhou; they were in use at least as early as the Spring and Autumn period or the beginning of the Warring States period.<sup>4</sup>

The ornamentation of the outer coffin from Tomb No. 1, which is organized in vertical and horizontal bands, frames a series of panels that are almost square (figs. 1, 5). The vertical and horizontal bands also delineate the massive construction in wood and in bronze underneath the painted lacquer decoration.

On the other hand, the decoration of the inner coffin is independent of the coffin's shape (fig. 2). The Chinese artist drew lines to define separate units within the overall composition; those units contain several different kinds of patterns. All of the designs on the exterior surface of the inner coffin seem to follow an iconographical program which consists of no less than twenty patterns, some of which, as of the present moment, remain totally without precedent.<sup>5</sup> Some of the patterns can easily



Fig. 1. Outer coffin of Zeng Hou Yi from Tomb No. 1, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Lacquer on wood and bronze. Height 219 cm., length 320 cm., width 210 cm. After *Sui Xian* 1980, pl. 3.

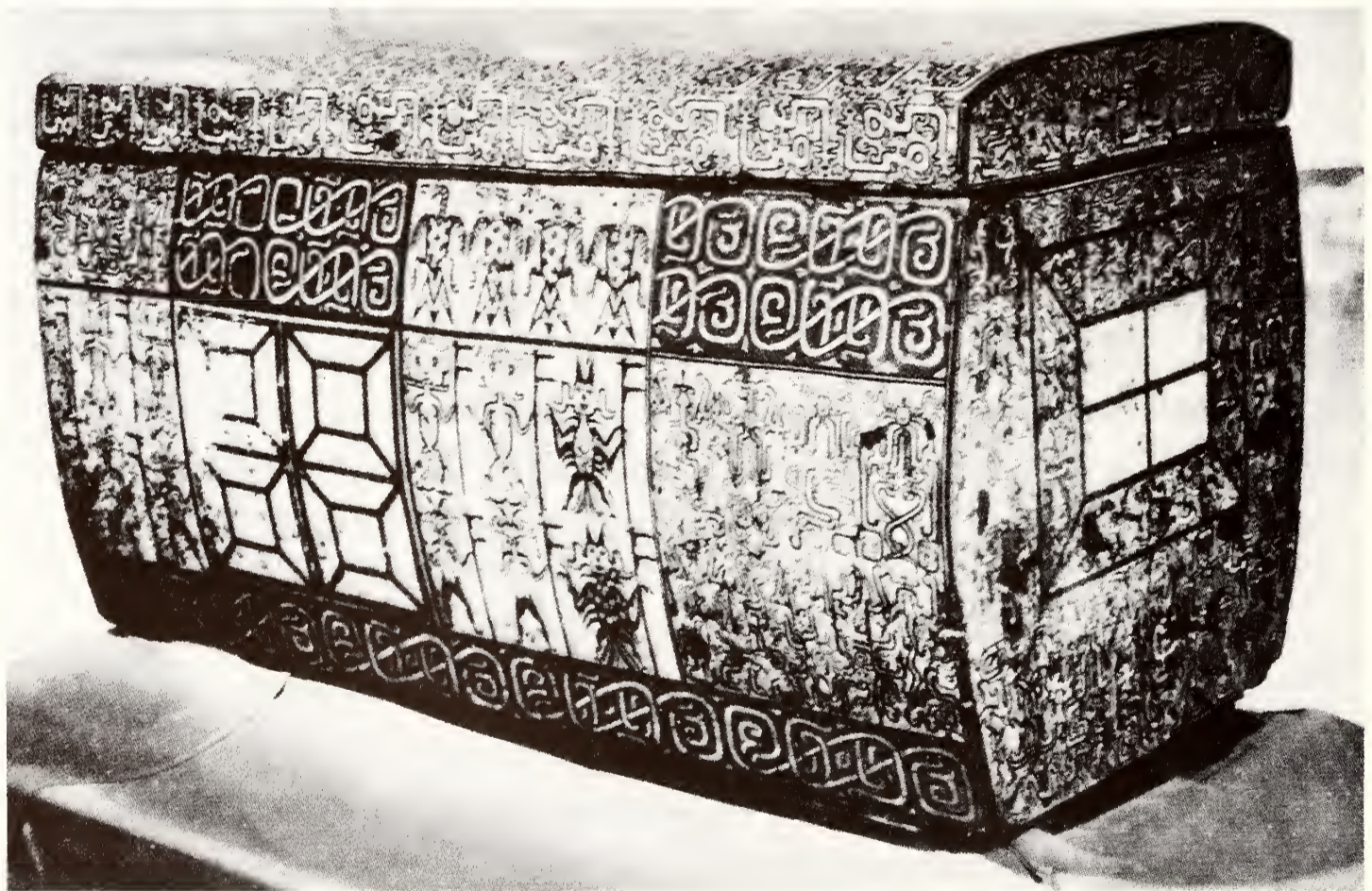
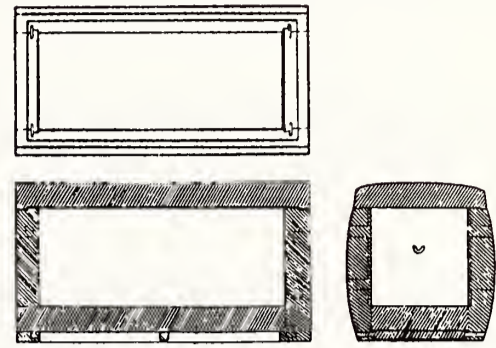
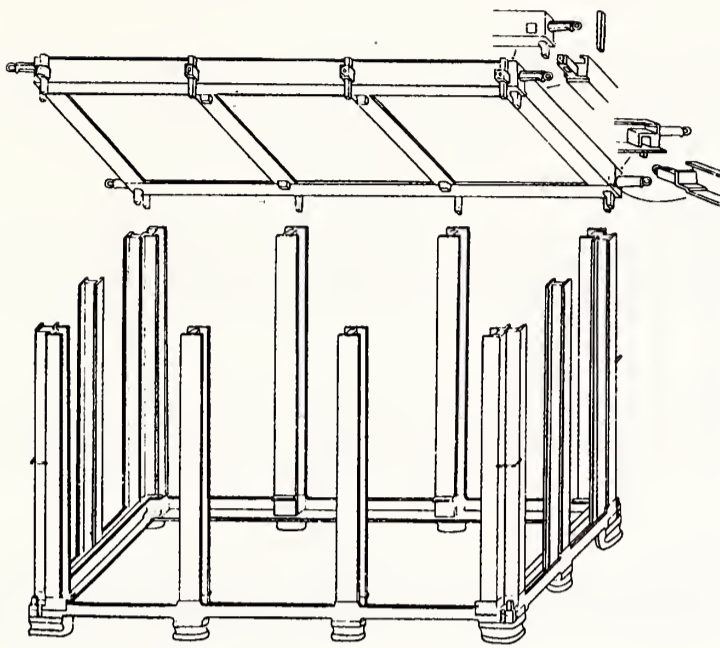
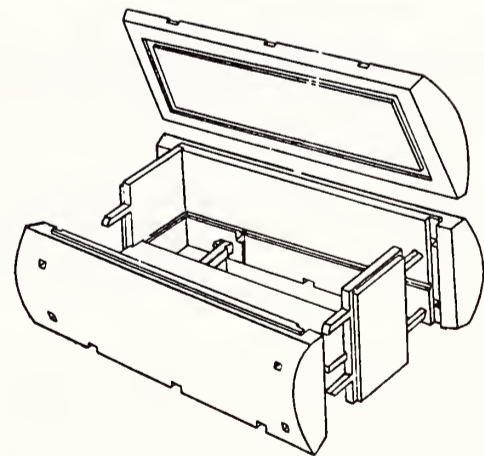
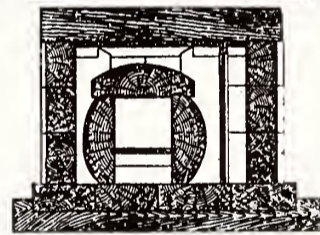
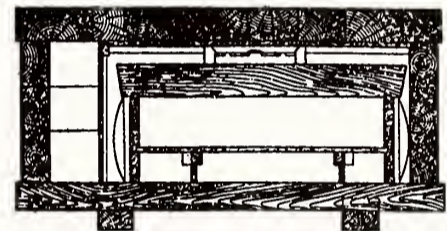
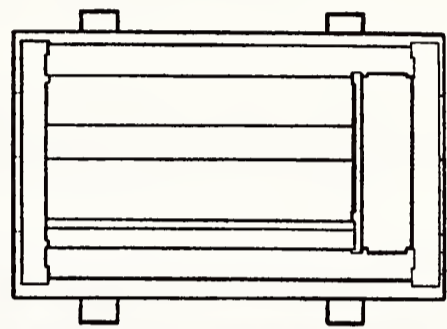


Fig. 2. Inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi from Tomb No. 1, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Lacquer on wood. Height 132 cm., length 250 cm., width 125 cm. After *Sui Xian* 1980, pl. 4.

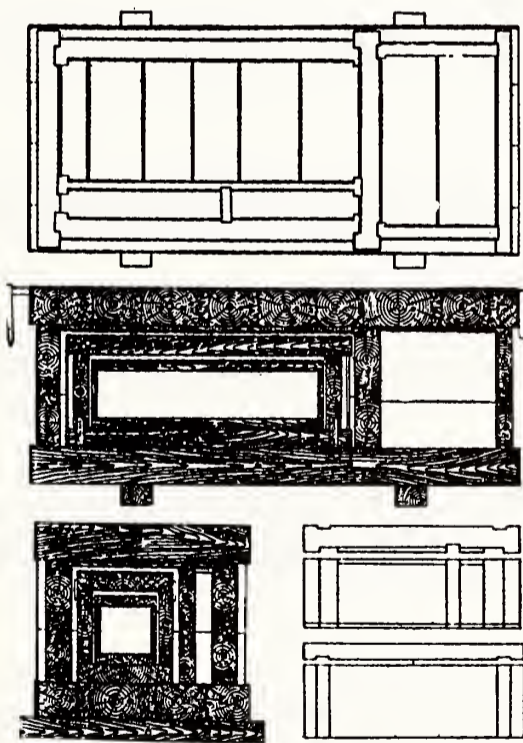




A



B



C

Fig. 3. Drawing of bronze frame of outer coffin of Zeng Hou Yi. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 20, fig. 12.

Fig. 4A. Inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 27, fig. 16.

Fig. 4B. Coffin from Tomb No. 554, Yutaishan, Jiangling, Hubei. After *Yutaishan* 1984, p. 7, fig. 4. and p. 26, fig. 15.

Fig. 4c. Coffin from Tomb No. 354, Yutaishan, Jiangling, Hubei. After *Yutaishan* 1984, p. 48, fig. 38.

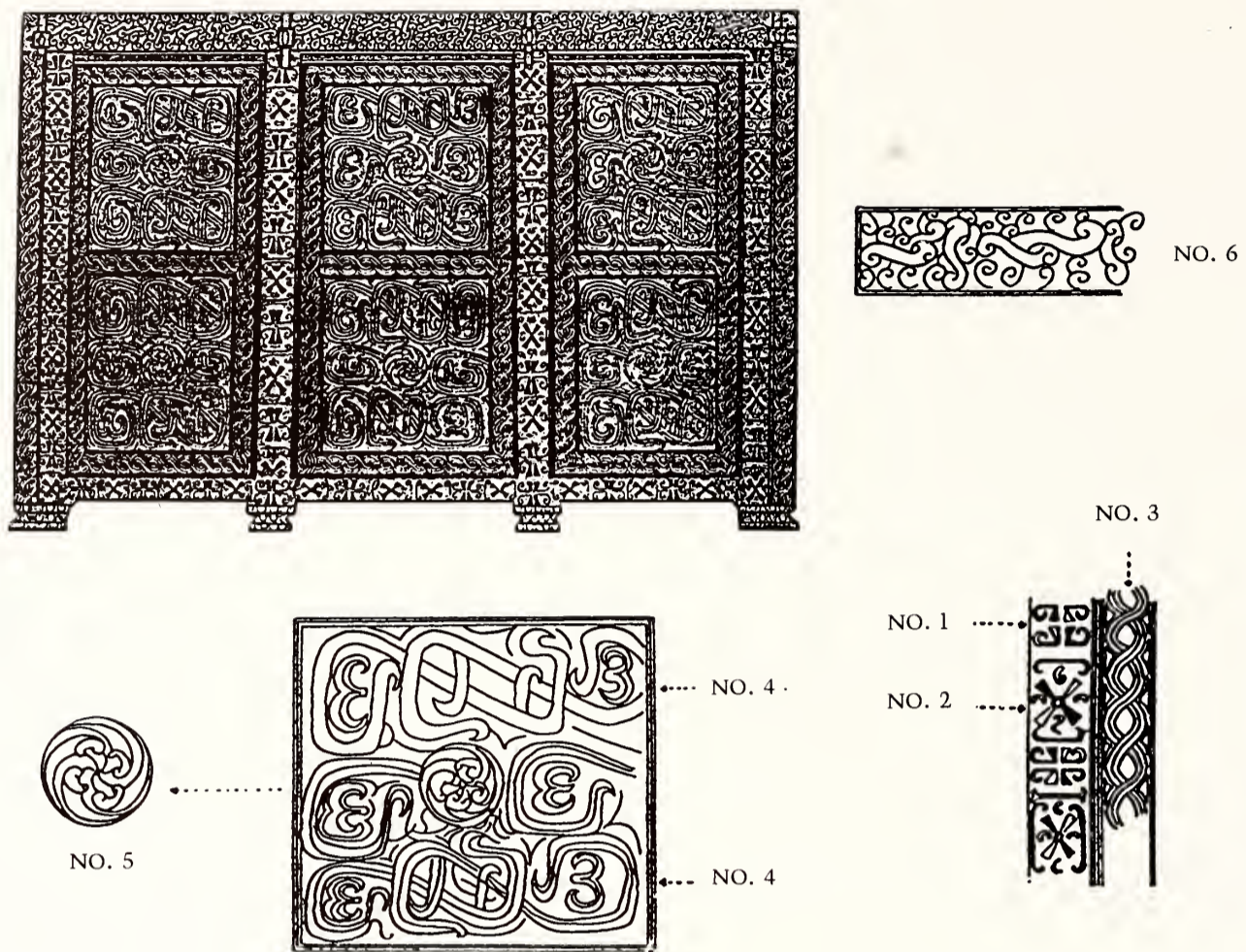


Fig. 5. Painted decoration on outer coffin. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 24, fig. 14. Drawings of patterns nos. 1–6 by the author.

be distinguished since they are isolated against a plain colored surface. Other patterns are organized so densely that they are often mixed or truncated. In order to define those particular patterns it is necessary to compare different versions of each one of them, since, at first glance, they appear to be quite similar. Most of the patterns depict hybrid creatures, half-human, half-beast, or are composed of snakes, birds, and dragons.

The painted decoration on the outer coffin, on the contrary, has a far simpler iconography that includes only six patterns of solely geometric images designated here as nos. 1 through 6 (fig. 5:1-6). Those images are regularly repeated on the sides and on the cover of the coffin, with slight variations resulting from their placement and the craftsmanship of the artist.

For example, in the two square panels located in the center of the long sides of the outer coffin, the complex interlace pattern is fully developed. But on the panels flanking those central units, the Chinese artist cut off a portion along the right edges because of inadequate space. The two loops which end the basic interlace motif contain a small S-shaped design, similar to the Greek letter epsilon. That small design is often truncated, sometimes it is presented upright and otherwise it is painted

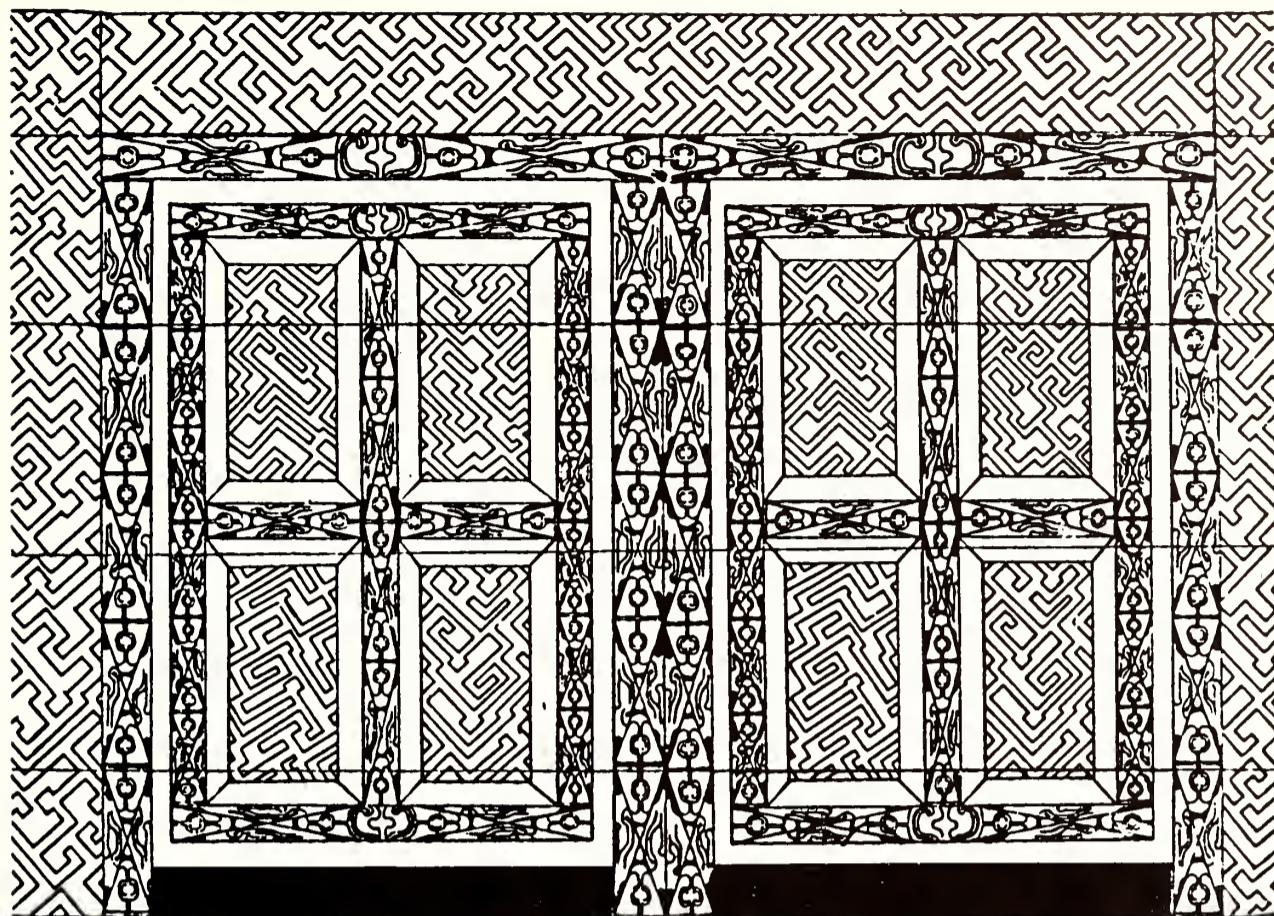


Fig. 6. Drawings of geometric motifs painted on wooden walls of funerary chamber of Tomb No. 1 at Tianxingguan, Jiangling, Hubei. After Tianxingguan 1982, p. 77, fig. 7.

horizontally. Compared with the brushwork of the decoration on the inner coffin, that on the outer coffin is not as carefully executed. Individual brushstrokes indicate some hesitation on the part of the artist, and identical patterns are not rendered with any marked degree of regularity.

While the two coffins differ from each other in general composition, iconography, and quality of the painting, they obviously are distinct from all other known Zhou dynasty lacquered wooden coffins that have been excavated up to the present.

Most of the known Zhou dynasty painted coffins are decorated with geometric motifs or with rather abstract zoomorphic designs. In the case of Tomb No. 1 at Tianxingguan 天星觀 at Jiangling 江陵, Hubei, the wooden walls of the funerary chamber are painted with geometric designs (fig. 6).<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, we cannot consider the motifs painted on the inner and outer coffins of Zeng Hou Yi to have been designed and executed *ex nihilo*, without any support from a strong tradition. Since limited comparative material is available for analysis of the Leigudun painted coffins, we must, of necessity, consider both the iconographical and stylistic aspects of those compositions, and then extend those comparisons to grave goods made of material other than lacquer. The purpose of this paper is not to recognize or to identify each of the patterns in the lacquer decoration on the two coffins, nor is it to formulate a comprehensive interpretation of the whole decorative program. Instead, it is intended to explore other images to which those painted motifs on the Leigudun coffins may be related and the traditions to which they may belong.

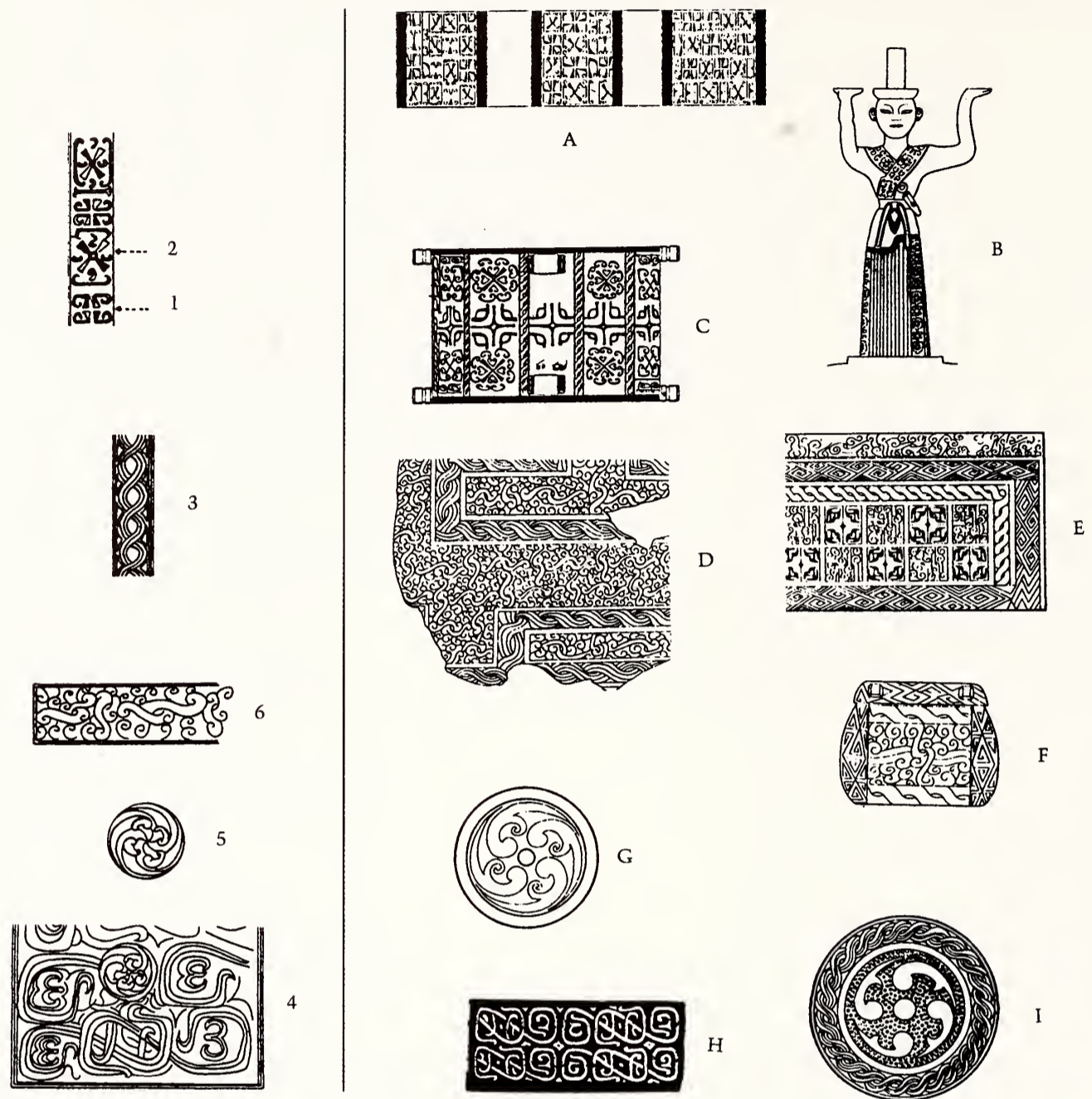


Fig. 7:1-6. Six patterns decorating the outer coffin of Zeng Hou Yi.  
 Fig. 7A-G,I. Motifs on various pieces excavated from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun.  
 After Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, pp. 14, 32, 8, 19, 24, 24, 87, 89.  
 Fig. 7H. Pattern on inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi.

### The Outer Coffin

Among the six patterns which ornament the outer coffin—all of which are geometric in nature—two are purely abstract (figs. 7:1,2), while three others are interlaced motifs (figs. 7:3,4,6). The one which marks the center of each square panel in the composition features a whorl (fig. 7:5). The interlaced motifs themselves are all of different kinds: simple ribbons twisted together (fig. 7:3), freely painted hooks against a surface covered by comma designs (fig. 7:6), and a much more complicated motif (fig. 7:4) which recalls intertwined dragons. Because of its unusual aspect, pattern no. 4 forms a strong contrast to the two others, which were very common during the fifth century B.C. For instance, one of the patterns (fig. 7:3) is frequently encountered



Fig. 8. Whorl motif (pattern no. 5) on bronze *guan fou* from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, pl. 77:1.

on Eastern Zhou bronzes, particularly on the so-called Liyu 李峪 bronzes.<sup>7</sup> All in all, comparison of the six painted lacquer patterns reveals that they are rather different from each other in spirit, an aspect of the decorative program that is consistent with contemporary late Eastern Zhou taste. That same aspect of the painted lacquer decoration might likewise indicate that each of the patterns has been borrowed from a different source.

In fact, as careful examination proves, the lacquer paintings on the outer coffin (figs. 7:1-6) testify to a close relationship with the decoration of various pieces excavated from the Zeng Hou Yi tomb (figs. 7A-G,I).

For example, the two patterns designated nos. 1 and 2 (figs. 7:1,2) which are unknown elsewhere, are painted on the lacquer beams (fig. 7A) and on the bronze warriors (fig. 7B) supporting the bell stand from the tomb. Executed in a slightly different manner, pattern no. 2 (fig. 7:2) occurs again on the cover of a lacquer chest from Leigudun (fig. 7C). Pattern no. 3 (fig. 7:3) appears not only on lacquers from Leigudun, such as the fragment of lacquer-coated leather armor (fig. 7D) and the wooden coffin of sacrificial victims (figs. 7E,F), but also on bronzes and gold ornaments from the same site, such as the gold appliqué from a horse fitting (fig. 7I). Many bronze fittings (fig. 7G) or bronze vessels (fig. 8) discovered at Leigudun are ornamented with the whorl motif, no. 5 (fig. 7:5). A typical lacquer design of the Warring States period,<sup>8</sup> pattern no. 6 (fig. 7:6), is represented either in very small scale, as on fragments of lacquer armor (fig. 7D), or in very large scale, as on the coffins of the women who were sacrificed and interred with Zeng Hou Yi (figs. 7E,F).

Pattern no. 4, which occurs on the outer coffin of Zeng Hou Yi (fig. 7:4) as well as his inner coffin (fig. 7H), confronts the researcher with a rather perplexing problem.



Fig. 9. Bronze *fang hu*. Height 74.9 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1987.2. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

This uncommon design appears on scattered bronzes dating from the late Western Zhou to the early Eastern Zhou period (figs. 9, 10C).<sup>9</sup> In that earlier phase, the design was zoomorphic in nature. Composed of two S-shaped intertwined dragons having a snake-like body, a profile head at each end of the body, and protruding comma-like tongues, the pattern disappears in the sixth century B.C., only to reappear a century or so later at Leigudun in an abstract rendering (figs. 10:1,2).

With the passage of time, the original zoological connotations of the design had vanished, but the composition, the movement and the overlapping mode of presentation still remained. The dragons' heads no longer exist, but the positions of the

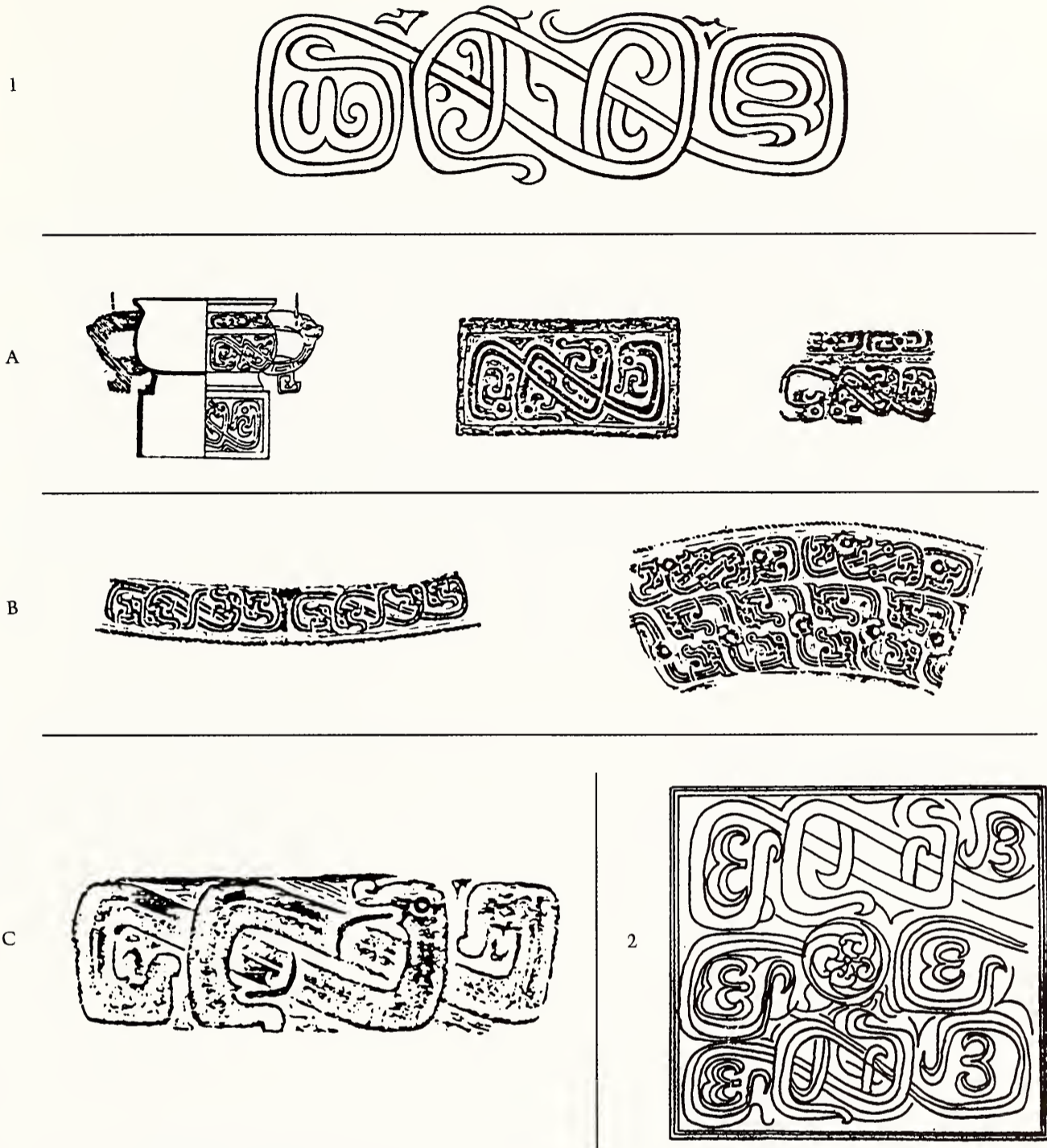


Fig. 10:1,2. Pattern no. 4 from outer coffin of Zeng Hou Yi. Drawings by the author.

Fig. 10A. Similar motifs from bronze *gui* discovered at Lintong 臨潼, Shaanxi. After WW 1977.8, p. 3, fig. 4:1, and p. 6, figs. 17 and 16.

Fig. 10B. Motifs on bronze *pen* from Xinyang Shi, Henan. After WW 1981.1, p. 12, fig. 10, and p. 13, fig. 17.

Fig. 10c. Motif on a *hu* of unknown provenance. After Rong Geng 1941. vol. 1, p. 138.

tongues are indicated by commas. Initially the design occupied a panel on a bronze surface, as on a *gui* discovered at Lintong 臨潼, Shaanxi (fig. 10A), or was repeated on a horizontal band, as on a *pen* excavated at Pingqiao 平橋, Xinyang Shi 新陽市, Henan (fig. 10B). On the outer coffin from Leigudun, on the other hand, this design is repeated in three registers, the middle one being interrupted by a round whorl (fig. 5). As already noted in regard to the five other patterns, this design is represented once more in Leigudun, on the inner coffin (fig. 7H). When compared with the rendering on



Fig. 11. Coffin of consort of a prince of Huang. Lacquer on wood. Height 108 cm., length 235 cm., width 100 cm. 8th–7th century B.C. Excavated at Baoxiangsi, Guangshan Xian, Henan. After *KG* 1984.4, color pl. 1:1.

the outer coffin (fig. 7:4), however, it is clear that the design painted on the inner coffin is done much more skillfully. Reproduced in equally broad bands, that version of the pattern maintains a regular shape. All of these points suggest that the lacquer pattern on the outer coffin apparently was based on the version painted on the inner coffin. It is unlikely that the inner coffin design might have been borrowed from the outer coffin. If my interpretation is correct, it appears that the outer coffin should have been painted after the inner coffin.

The six patterns on the outer coffin are not only dissimilar but all of them, even the rare or unusual ones, are also conspicuous for having been used on various lacquers or bronzes from the same site. If we also consider the fact that the outer coffin, with its heavy bronze frame—a structure that is estimated to exceed 3,200 kilos—could not have been moved from a great distance, it becomes plausible that the lacquer decoration might have been executed by local craftsmen, inspired by close models. The quality of the lacquer painting on the outer coffin, which has none of the refinement of the other lacquers from Leigudun, would also be in accord with this suggestion, that local craftsmen were responsible for the execution.

It is most remarkable that the lacquer designs painted on the outer coffin are, with the exception of pattern no. 6, identical or stylistically similar to ornaments found on ancient or contemporary bronzes. Such a phenomenon is, however, not isolated and can be traced back at least to the early Zhou period.<sup>10</sup> The designs on a lacquered coffin, excavated from the double tomb of a prince of the State of Huang 黃 and his consort (figs. 11, 12A–D), show an even closer relationship with contemporary bronze patterns (figs. 12E–G).<sup>11</sup>





Fig. 12A-D. Motifs on coffin from Baoxiangsi, Guangshan Xian, Henan. After *KG* 1984.4, pp. 306, 307.

Fig. 12E-G. Motifs on bronzes excavated from same site. After *KG* 1984.4, p. 321.

Fig. 12H. Motif on bronze from site near Suizhou, Hubei. After *KG* 1984.6, p. 511.

Taking into account that the sites from which these coffins come—located respectively in Guangshan and Suizhou districts—are not very far from each other, and that at an earlier period the States of Huang and Zeng had close ties,<sup>12</sup> it is indeed possible that the two coffins might be in a line of common tradition.

## The Inner Coffin

As already noted, the inner coffin from Leigudun, when compared generally to the outer coffin, has a distinctive character: not only is it different in shape, construction techniques and quality of the lacquer paintings, but it also has a number of remarkable decorative motifs.

At first glance these motifs, arranged in patchwork fashion, appear to have a great deal of variety (figs. 13, 17). In fact, they can be grouped into four distinct types:

(1) geometric and zoomorphic interlaces (figs. 13:7-10);

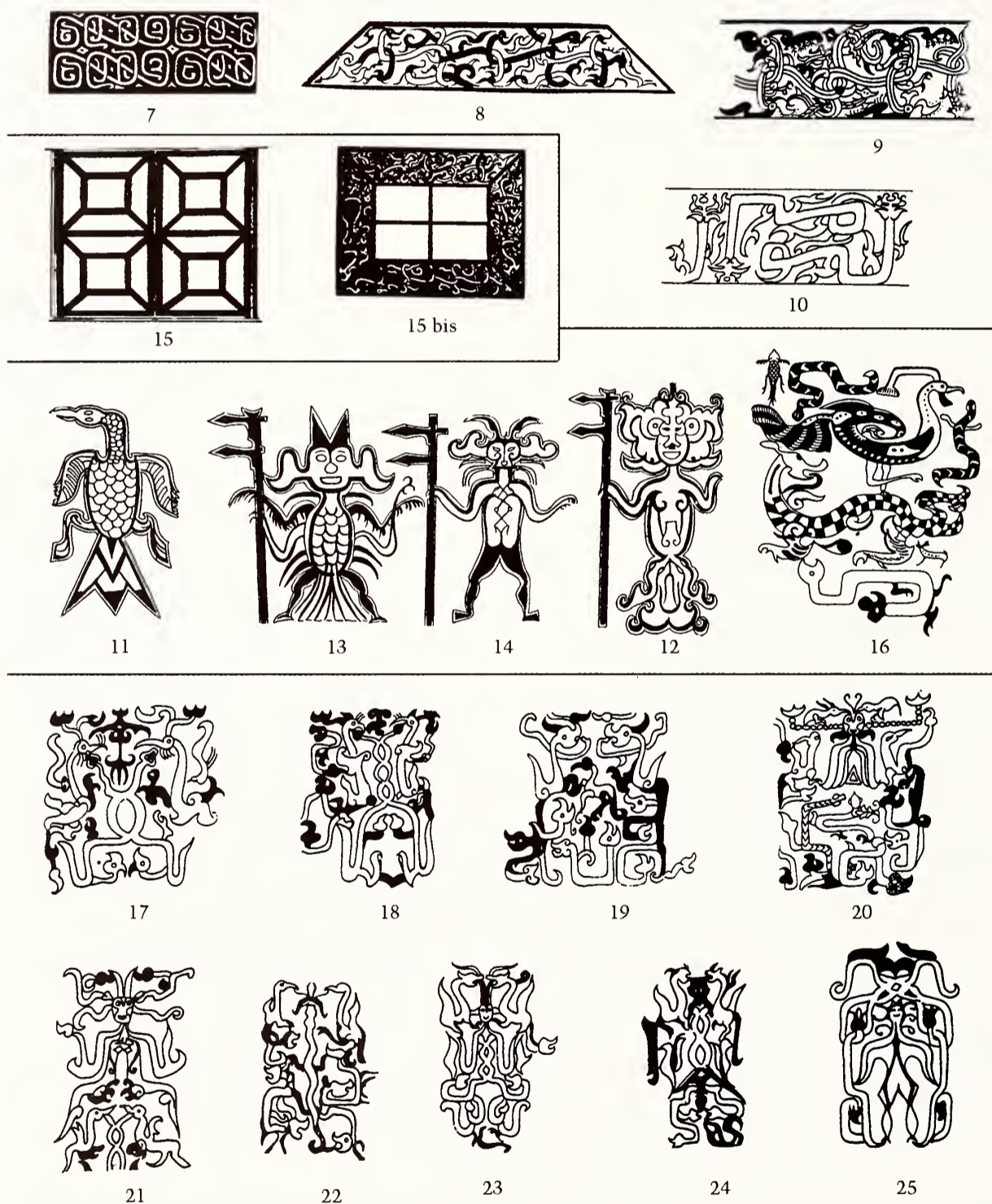


Fig. 13. Main motifs on inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi. Nos. 11-14 and 15 bis after Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, pp. 22, 23; other drawings by the author.

- (2) two-leaf doors (one of these units appears on each of the long sides of the inner coffin) and a single casement window (figs. 13:15,15 bis);
- (3) hybrid creatures and birds, all large and all standing out distinctly from the background (figs. 13:11–14,16);
- (4) nine patterns densely covering large areas of the surface (figs. 13:17–25).

The main subjects of the lacquer paintings seem to be the openings—whether doors or windows—and the hybrid creatures which stand beside the openings, in an apparently protective position.

As for the identification of motifs nos. 15 and 15 bis as openings, a few indications are provided by several early square bronze vessels (fig. 14B).<sup>13</sup> The bases of those bronzes are shaped like a room and are fitted with doors and windows. Similarly, a pavilion painted on a fifth-century B.C. lacquer plate unearthed in Langjiazhuang 郎家庄, Linzi 臨淄, Shandong (fig. 14C), provides an example of a door quite similar to the openings painted on the long panels of the Leigudun coffin.<sup>14</sup>

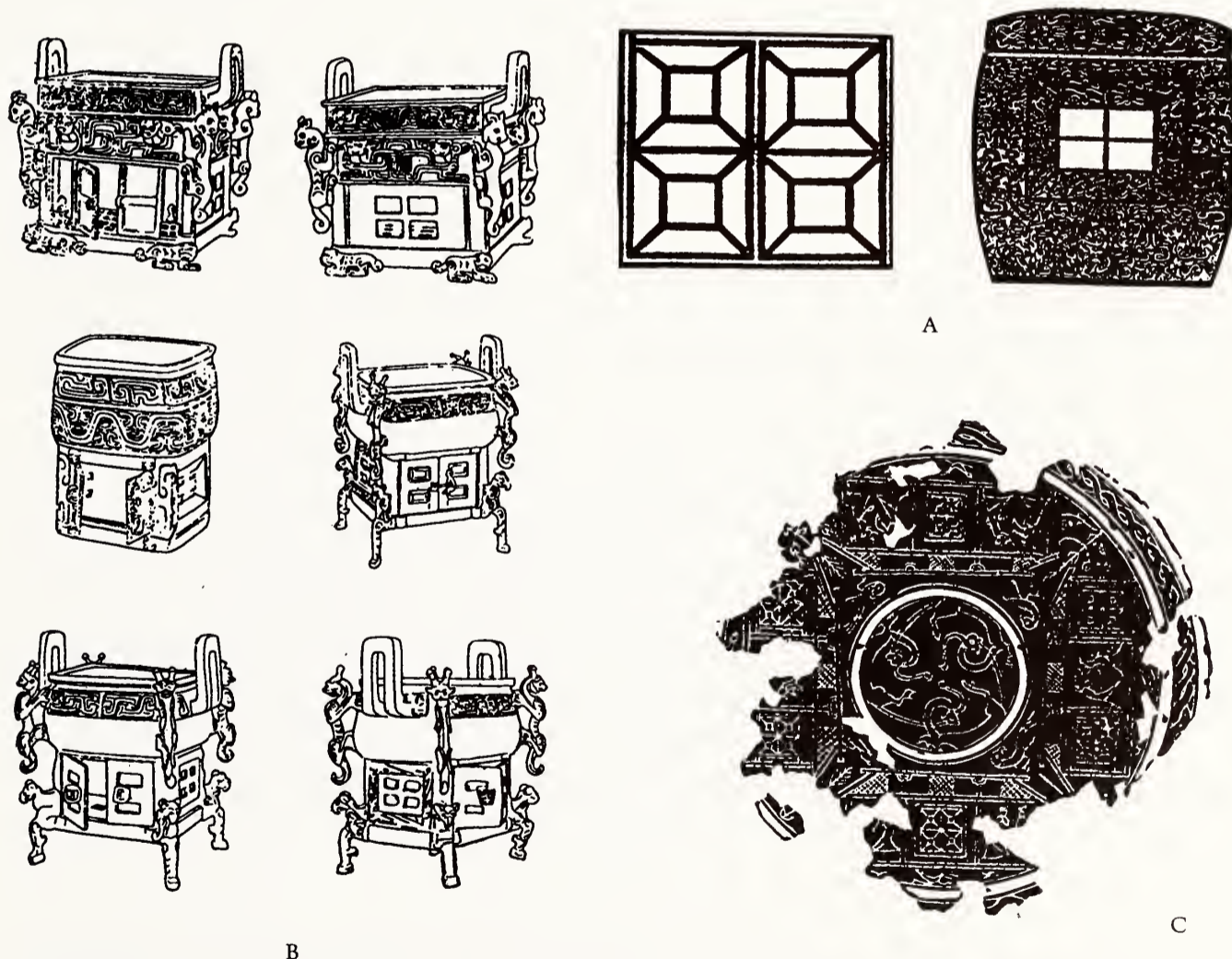


Fig. 14A. Openings painted on three sides of inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi.

Fig. 14B. Doors and windows identified on Western Zhou square bronze vessels of various origins. After KGYWW 1981.4, p. 31.

Fig. 14C. Painted lacquer plate of the fifth century B.C. excavated at Langjiazhuang, Linzi, Shandong. After KGXB 1977.1, p. 82.

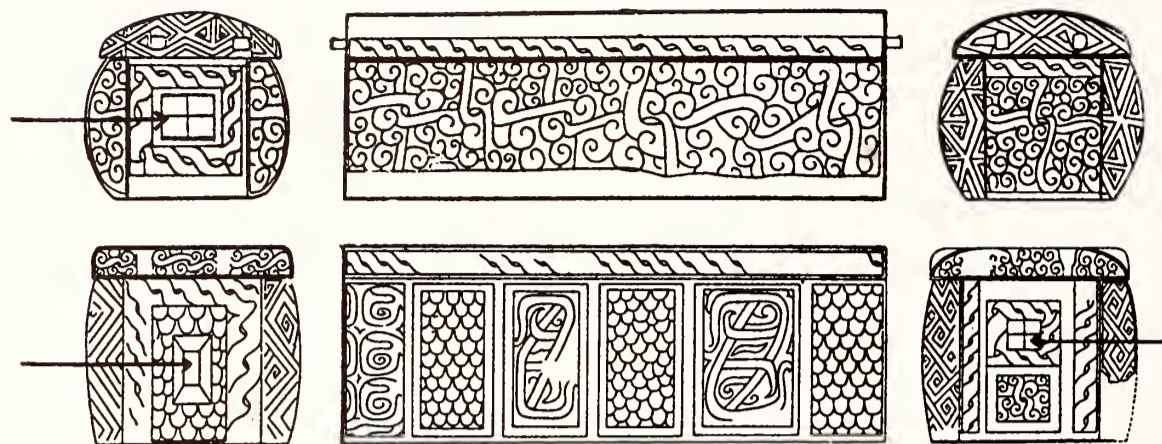


Fig. 15. Painted decoration on two coffins of human sacrificial victims at Leigudun. Window designs are indicated by arrows. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 52, fig. 28.

With the exception of these openings, no other architectural detail is noted in the shape and decoration of the inner coffin.<sup>15</sup> But the window and two doors certainly play a prominent role among the various painted motifs of the iconographic program. In fact, twelve out of the twenty-one coffins of sacrificial victims excavated from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun have a window as the only identifiable motif among very crude geometric decoration (fig. 15).<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, it is appropriate to consider that the small opening that penetrates one side of the outer coffin and those openings between the four chambers of the Leigudun tomb itself (fig. 16) were meant for communication, even if that communication would have been more symbolic than real.

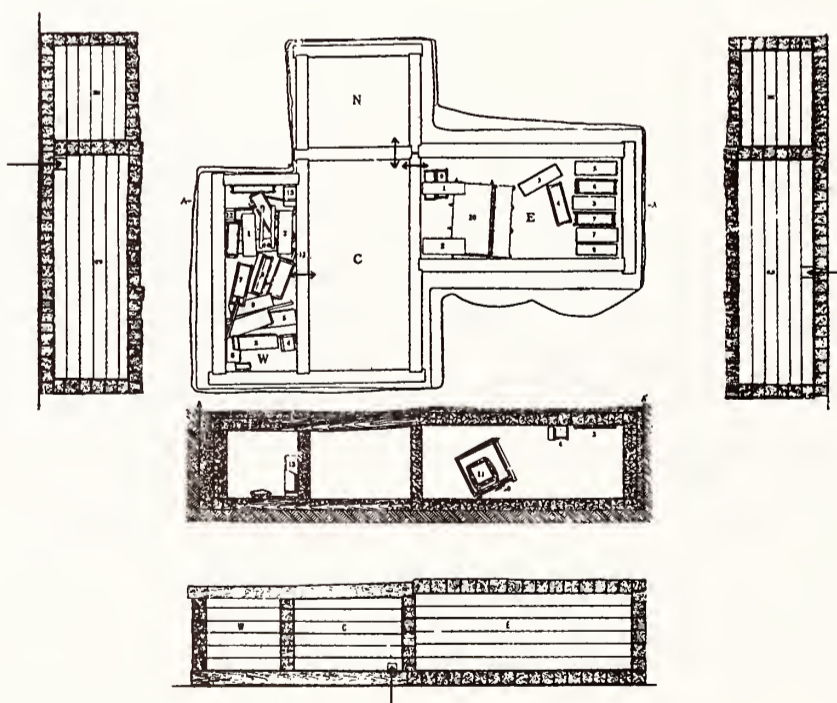


Fig. 16. Plan of Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei province. Openings through walls separating the central chamber from the northern, eastern and western chambers of the tomb are indicated by arrows. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 9, fig. 5; p. 15, fig. 8.

In those areas of China controlled or influenced by the State of Chu, we currently know of only a dozen compartmentalized tombs which provide similar examples of doors or windows, some of which are genuine while others are painted. Those few compartmentalized tombs are dated from the fourth to the second centuries B.C.<sup>17</sup>

At Leigudun, the importance of the geometric openings painted on the long sides of the inner coffin is emphasized by the creatures arranged in two horizontal registers beside them (fig. 17). The arrangement of those creatures is quite symmetrical with regard to the center of the openings. As each of the painted creatures holds in its claws a double-ge 戈 halberd with the points of the ge directed away from the openings, they obviously are intended to be in charge of the doors and should be seen as

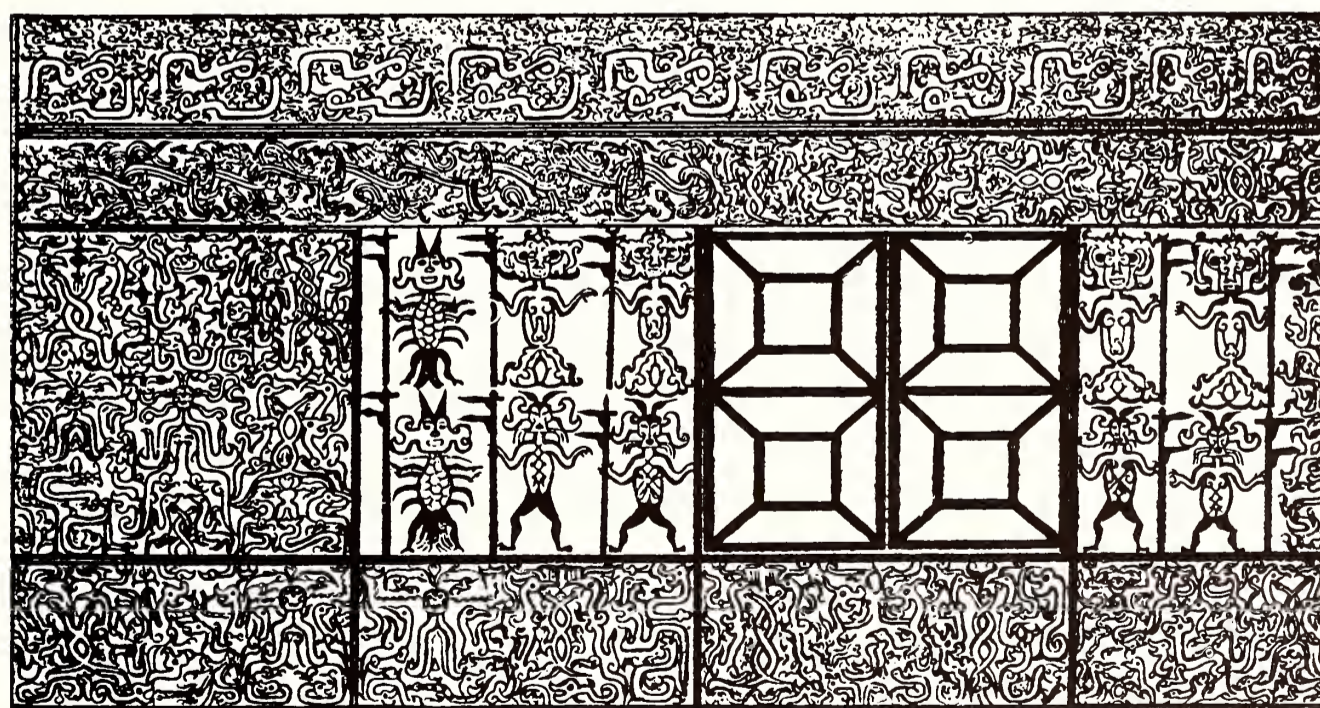
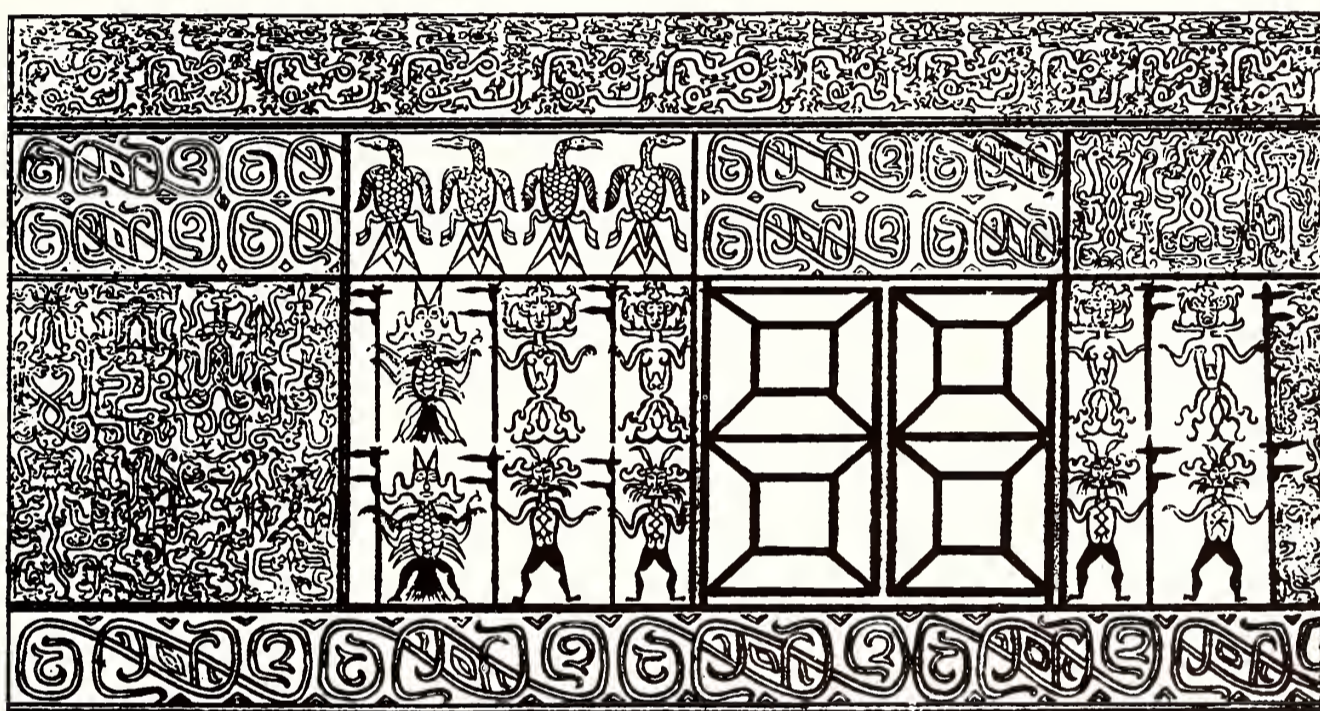


Fig. 17. Decoration on two long sides of inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 36, fig. 21; p. 39, fig. 22.

guardians. If we look more carefully at the shape and attributes of the painted creatures, it is apparent that they form three different types.

Four creatures have human faces with pointed horns and long sinuous ears (fig. 13:13). Their bodies are shaped like those of a bird, but they have human arms and legs. Eight other creatures have bodies of human proportions ornamented with a kind of tattoo (fig. 13:14). Their heads, very emaciated and without noses, are surmounted by horns and they have curved ears and long whiskers on either side. It is more difficult to give a precise description of the last eight creatures (fig. 13:12). Except for the central portions of their faces, which have human features, they have nothing at all in common with real beings: their legs are not clearly shaped, their very large faces seem to have four eyes, and the tops of their heads are surmounted by a kind of double antenna.

The comparative material which could help us to identify these beings is, for the present, very limited. Like many deities of the twelve months on the Sackler Chu Silk Manuscript,<sup>18</sup> the creatures painted on the inner coffin from Leigudun possess in common three distinct characteristics. They are shown frontally in a posture which could be described as heraldic; they are hybrid in nature; and they have horns or antennae at the tops of their heads. Considering that these characters are distinct from each other, but joined together in a single composition, it seems reasonable to suggest that the hybrid creatures on the inner coffin must have specific attributes, even if they all are in charge of guarding the doors.

The four birds arranged horizontally above some of the hybrid creatures also have a heraldic posture, which is very unusual for birds during the Zhou dynasty. If we take into account the shape and characteristics of the four birds, an identification with natural birds should be ruled out. For these reasons, the four birds cannot be considered as purely ornamental designs. Similarly the two symmetrical motifs that appear next to the window painted on one end of the coffin must have had special significance. They feature a bird settled on a feline dragon, surrounded by snakes or reptiles (fig. 18). This is the only lively motif among all of those we have so far considered. The style of the design can only be described as nervous; the composition itself suggests various kinds of movement through undulating lines. Fortunately, in discussing these two symmetrical motifs, we have at our disposal much more comparative material.

In Chu, for example, birds are often found in combination with snakes or dragons, either devouring or grasping them with their claws or being attacked by them.<sup>19</sup> Birds are also associated with felines, notably on drum stands.<sup>20</sup> But seldom are birds combined with felines or dragons *and* serpents. Only a few examples of this last grouping can be supplied. One of those examples is documented by a lacquer fragment excavated at Changsha 長沙 which is now in the Musée Guimet.<sup>21</sup> Another similar example is from outside the Chu sphere of influence, namely from Liulige 琉璃閣 in Henan (fig. 19).<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 18. Pattern no. 16 on inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi. Drawn from replica of coffin exhibited in Hubei Provincial Museum.

Fig. 19. Rubbing of bronze *hu* excavated at Liulige, Henan. Height 40.4 cm. After Weber 1968, fig. 44d.



The significance of all these motifs which combine birds and dragons or birds and serpents still remains hypothetical. Nevertheless, they clearly show two antagonistic forces combined together in a combat or after combat. In my view, these images could suggest the movement of life in alternating phases.

Though tempting, it is dangerous to offer further interpretations, however tentatively, of these hybrid creatures which reveal such a lively religious context in the light of the few books inherited from the Eastern Zhou period. In fact, on the basis of the limited number of artifacts and texts presently available to us, we cannot be certain that the concepts described in early Chinese texts can be neatly linked to images such as those painted on the inner coffin from Leigudun.<sup>23</sup>

To return to our consideration of the decoration of the inner coffin as a whole, we should note that, with the exception of an interlaced motif which appears on the outer coffin and has already been analyzed, none of the other patterns can be found on that coffin. Moreover, only one motif on the inner coffin (fig. 13:21) appears again with similar properties on another piece excavated at Leigudun. It is represented on a *qin* 琴 zither with much greater delicacy.<sup>24</sup> But even the most decorative character

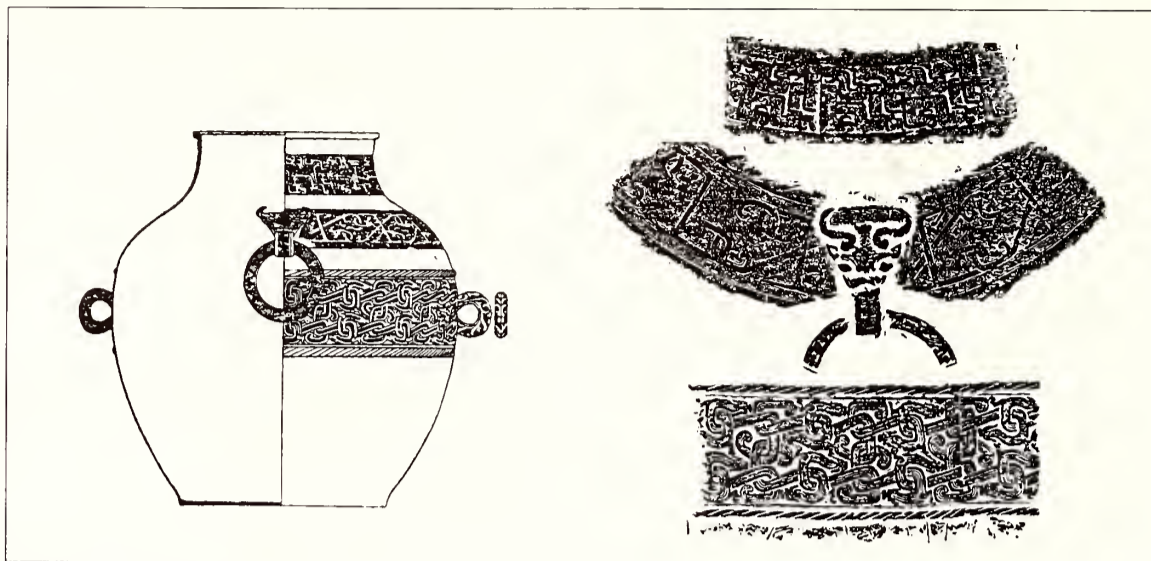


Fig. 20. Drawing and rubbing of bronze *lei* from Sanji, Pingshan Xian, Hebei. Height 29.7 cm. After *KGXJK* 5 (1987), pp. 178–79.

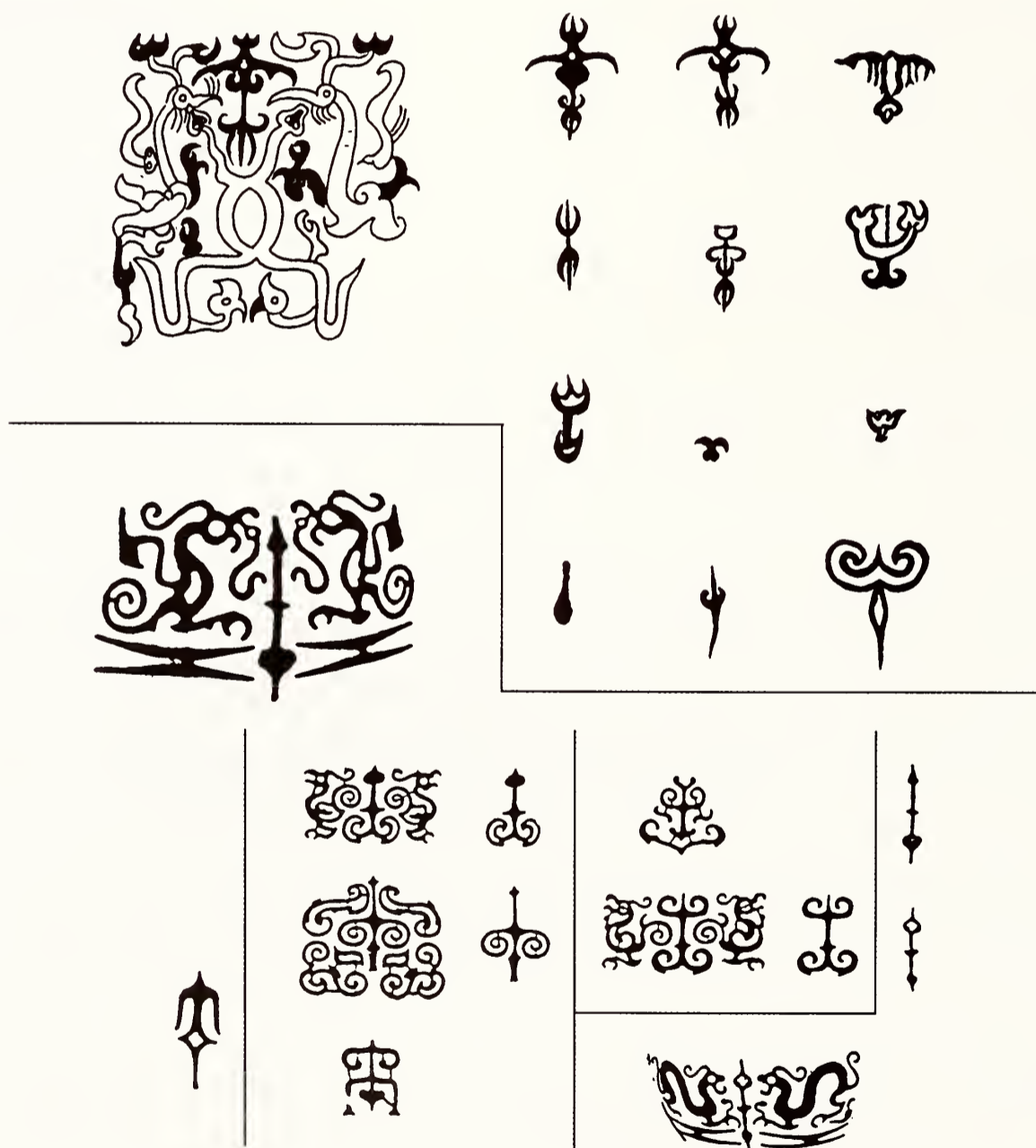


Fig. 21. Motif no. 17 on inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi and comparison of the vertical divider in its upper portion with copper inlaid motifs on bronze vessels. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 30, fig. 18; p. 34, fig. 20; p. 36, fig. 21; p. 39, fig. 22; Weber 1968, figs. 48e, 36a, 37a, 37b.





Fig. 22. One of pair of bronze *fang hu* from Xinzheng, Henan. Height 118 cm. After Guan Boyi 1929, vol.1, pl. 39.

painted lacquer patterns has been influenced by inlaid decoration. In the case of that motif (fig 13:17) a double-bodied dragon with two snake-like heads seems to be biting two birds presented *en face* (fig. 21). Whether or not we assume that this is a direct adoption of a rather common inlaid design on bronzes dating from the fifth to fourth centuries B.C., the vertical divider separating the two birds—each of which is engaged in fighting with a snake—is worth considering.<sup>26</sup> A careful examination of the approximately twelve occurrences of the pattern painted on the inner coffin reveals some modifications from one representation to another. But all of these representations prove to be very close to copper motifs inlaid on bronze vessels.

Other links can also be observed between the areas of the Leigudun inner coffin which are densely covered by motifs nos. 17–25 (figs. 13:17–25) and the decoration that appears on a pair of bronze *fang hu* unearthed in 1923 at Xinzheng 新鄭, Henan (fig. 22).<sup>27</sup> First of all, the very intricate composition of those areas of the painted

of all these lacquer patterns cannot be compared with motifs on the lacquers or bronzes from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun. In this respect, the decoration of the inner coffin differs considerably from the outer coffin.

Common to both coffins from Leigudun is the fact that some patterns on the inner coffin are close to contemporary or earlier bronze motifs. Such similarities can be seen in their iconography, in their internal arrangements, and in their styles.

The zoomorphic interlace surrounding the window motif painted on one small side of the inner coffin is very similar to many cast designs on bronzes attributed to the fifth century B.C.; for example, the interlaced dragons on the belly of a bronze *hu* discovered in Pingshan 平山 district, Hebei (fig. 20).<sup>25</sup>

It is obvious that the treatment of at least one of the



Fig. 23. Similarities between patterns nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20 on the inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi and some motifs (rubbings, designated A) ornamenting bronze *fang hu* from Xinzheng, Henan.

lacquer decoration may be compared to the endless movement of the various creatures which animate the surface of the *fang hu*.

Although the different motifs on the coffin are distinct from each other, instead of being connected together as they mainly are on the *fang hu*, they produce a similar textural effect, since there are no breaks between the individual units of the decora-

tion. Furthermore, the bronze *fang hu* are enlivened by dragons whose bodies divide into two parts, by birds or dragons seen in profile, and by snakes.

All of these creatures are equally the main components of the patterns nos. 17–25 (figs. 13:17–25).<sup>28</sup> Some of these designs also are more or less identical (fig. 23). This fact can be noted again in some combinations of bird and dragon where the neck of the bird surmounts the muzzle or the head of the dragon (fig. 13:18).<sup>29</sup> The birds, which have long crests, face each other, while the dragons look forward. Similarities in the bronze *fang hu* decoration are also to be found in patterns (fig. 13:19) where snakes, on whose bodies birds are superimposed, approach the beaks of the latter. The different snake-like dragons and bird-like creatures of the *fang hu* vessels are connected together with right angles. This type of representation appears in many lacquer patterns painted on the inner coffin, especially pattern nos. 17 and 19. Symmetry is likewise observed on each side of the bronze *fang hu* and with both patterns. But instead of the crawling bronze dragon split into two distinct bodies and features above the hybrid bird-dragon creatures, two entwined snakes stand in the middle of the painted images (figs. 13:17–18). As a result of this comparison of objects separated by more than a century, it might be possible to suggest that what once was an array of various elements on the sixth-century B.C. *fang hu* gave birth to independent and well-defined images painted side by side on the fifth-century lacquered coffin.

A stylistic or iconographic analysis of all the other patterns painted on the inner coffin from Leigudun would provide many interesting results.<sup>30</sup> Yet the comparison of those patterns to the pair of bronze *fang hu* from Xinzheng is much more valuable because, as it has been remarked earlier, the *fang hu* possess features in common with some of the Zeng Hou Yi bronzes.<sup>31</sup> In addition, it should also be said that the decoration on those two bronzes should not be considered as purely ornamental. Like the patterns painted on the inner coffin from Leigudun, those cast bronze designs may have followed an iconographic program that played a magic or religious role.

## Notes

1. See Sui Xian Leigudun 1979, pp. 1–24. The full excavation report has been published in 1989 (see Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989). A few short presentations of the site are available in western languages: Thorp 1981; Thote 1982; Hong Kong 1984; Thote 1986.
2. This inscription states that the bell was given to Zeng Hou Yi in the 56th year of the reign of a Chu king who has been identified as King Hui of Chu 楚惠王 (reigned 488–432 B.C.). See Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, pp. 87, 461–64.
3. It is still difficult to determine the exact causes for this remarkable condition. Lacquer itself is an excellent preservative. But to be preserved with its core, it requires several environmental conditions in regard to the temperature, humidity, and soil conditions. Guo Dewei, the editor of the excavation report of Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun, notes several interesting facts on the subject (Guo Dewei 1988, p. 74).

4. At Yutaishan 雨臺山, Jiangling, Hubei, more than 550 tombs dating from the Eastern Zhou period have been excavated. Both types of Chu coffins are well represented in this group (see *Yutaishan* 1984). The earliest examples were found in Tomb No. 1 at Liuchengqiao 瀏城橋, Changsha 長沙, in Hunan (*KGXB* 1972.1, p. 59, fig. 1) and in Tombs Nos. 2 and 3 at Zhaojiapang 趙家塋, Dangyang 當陽, Hubei (*JHKG* 1982.1, pp. 12–13, figs. 3–4). The rather advanced techniques of joinery used for such coffins are illustrated by a coffin excavated in 1984 from a Chu tomb at Caojiagang 曹家崗, Dangyang, Hubei, of the late Spring and Autumn period (*KGXB* 1988.4, p. 459, fig. 4).
5. The excavation report gives a precise description of the patterns of the inner coffin by their location (Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, pp. 28–41). A total of 895 animals, more or less imaginary, and various creatures are painted on the surfaces of the inner coffin. My calculation, less important in number, takes into account that these animals and creatures are often grouped together in a single motif and that such a motif is often duplicated or replicated several times with only slight variations.
6. Tianxingguan 1982, 1982.1, p. 77, fig. 7. The best examples are illustrated by the double burial of Huang Jun Meng 黃君孟 and his consort, at Guangshan 光山, Henan (*KG* 1984.4, pp. 306–07, figs. 5–6, pl. 1:1) of the Spring and Autumn period; and by the following Chu tombs: Nos. 1 and 2 at Changtaiguan 長臺關, Xinyang 信陽, Henan (*Xinyang* 1986, color pls. I, VII and VIII), of the second half of the fourth century B.C.; No. 2 at Baoshan 包山, Jiangling, Hubei (*WW* 1988.5, pl. 1:1), also of the second half of the fourth century B.C.; Nos. 1 and 2 at Niuxingshan 牛形山, Xiangxiang 湘鄉, Hunan (*WWZLCK* 3 [1980], p. 108, figs. 16–19).
7. On this type of “highly abstract interlaced meander bands,” see Lawton 1982, no. 36. See also Delbanco 1983, nos. 57–58; Hayashi 1989, pp. 421–22.
8. See *Shou Xian* 1956, p. 16, fig. 6; *WW* 1973.9, pp. 7–17, pl. 4:4. This design is also to be seen on other materials than lacquer ware, as on the bit of a horse bridle from the tomb of the Marquis of Cai at Shou Xian 壽縣, Anhui (*Shou Xian* 1956, p. 16, fig. 5).
9. For example, the pattern is represented on the lid and on the base of a pair of *fang hu* of the late Western Zhou or early Eastern Zhou dynasty (8th century B.C.). One is in the collection of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (Delbanco 1983, pp. 122–23, no. 49), and the other, unpublished, is in the collection of the Musée Guimet. For the sources of interlaced motifs, see Rawson 1987c. For a rubbing of the motif see Rong Geng 1941, vol. 1, p. 138.
10. See Rawson 1980, pp. 153, 159.
11. *KG* 1984.4, p. 307, fig. 6, and p. 321, figs. 22:1–2.
12. Li Xueqin 1985a, p. 182.
13. *KGYYW* 1981.4, pp. 28–33.
14. *KGXB* 1977.1, pp. 73–104.
15. By contrast, some coffins of the Sui and Tang periods are obviously made to resemble architectural structures. An example is the sarcophagus from the tomb of Li Jingxun 李靜訓 in the western suburb of Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi, dated A.D. 608 (*KG* 1959.9, pp. 471–72; Bruxelles 1982, p. 188, fig. 147).
16. Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, pp. 51–55, figs. 28:2–3, 29:3; vol. 2, pls. 12:1–3, 12:5, 13:4–5, 14:4, 17:2, 17:4, 18:4–5. As no systematic description of the decoration of those coffins is provided individually in the full excavation report, my account of the twelve coffins out of a total of twenty-one is deduced from the photographs or drawings supplied. These twelve coffins are the following: nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8 of the eastern chamber, and nos. 1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13 of the western chamber.

17. See Tomb Nos. 554, 169, 321, 406, 166 at Yutaishan, Jiangling (*Yutaishan* 1984, pp. 16–18, 27–28, 34–35); Tomb No. 4 at Lijiatai 李家臺, Jiangling (*JHKG* 1985.3, p. 24, fig. 7); Tomb No. 50 at Taihuiguan 太暉觀, Jiangling (*KG* 1977.1, p. 58, fig. 2); Tomb No. 2 at Xi'eshan 溪峨山, Jiangling (*KG* 1984.6, p. 516, fig. 3); Tombs Nos. 167, 168 at Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山, Jiangling (*WW* 1976.10, pp. 31–37, and 50; *WW* 1975.9, pp. 1–8); Tomb No. 7 at Shuihudi 睡虎地, Yunmeng 雲夢 (*WW* 1976.9, p. 52, fig. 3).
18. Those creatures of the Sackler Chu Silk Manuscript are numbered 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11 in figs. 4B and 4C in Barnard 1972, pp. 94–97.
19. Among numerous examples, the wooden lacquer screen of Tomb No. 1 at Wangshan 望山, Jiangling, in Hubei province, shows birds devouring and grasping snakes with their claws while being attacked by other snakes (*WW* 1966.5, pls. 2–3).
20. Thote 1987, pp. 51–53.
21. This unpublished piece depicts two birds face to face swallowing serpents grasped in their claws. The two dragons, which are placed head to tail with the birds, have their mouths opened to catch them.
22. Weber 1968, fig. 44d.
23. Some authors have attempted interpretations of the motifs ornamenting the inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi, with the help of texts most, if not all, of which are later than the fifth century B.C. In many cases these texts are so imprecise that it is necessary to use their commentaries written centuries later (some as late as the Qing dynasty). The texts cited do not fit exactly with the paintings and the descriptions they provide are terse and ambiguous. Consequently, the quotations are not always given in full and the authors neglect to consider the particular nature, whether religious, literary or anecdotal, of the texts to which they belong. See Tang Chi & Zhu Jianhua 1980; Guo Dewei 1989; Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, pp. 42–45.
24. Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 165, fig. 77; this is our motif no. 21.
25. This *hu* vessel was discovered at Sanji 三汲, Pingshan, in Hebei province (See *KGXJK* 5 [1987], pp. 157–93; 178–79, figs. 28 and 30). The decoration on this *hu* is interesting because of the many different styles of its decoration. On the inner coffin from Leigudun, the interlace dragon is represented in different ways. One of these, which I designate as no. 10, is rather abstract and geometric with many right angles. Another, no. 9, is very lively and detailed, while still another, no. 8, stands between the two. Other bronze vessels almost identical and with similar designs belong to the Avery Brundage Collection in San Francisco and the Shanghai Museum. See Lefebvre d'Argencé 1977, pp. 116–17, and Hong Kong 1983, pp. 126–27.
26. Examples of the same motif as no. 17 are numerous. Some of them appear in Weber 1968, figs. 36a, 37a–b, 48e.
27. See Sun Haibo 1937, vol. 2, pp. 100–08; Tan Danjiong 1977, pls. 24–25; Fong 1980, chapter 7 and entry no. 67; So 1983.
28. In regard to the Xinzheng *fang hu*, Colin Mackenzie has noted the association of the bird on top of the vessel and the feline forming the feet of the vessel, an association which is interpreted as a “borrowing from an already established tradition of southern wood sculpture.” See Mackenzie 1986, pp. 91–92.
29. The combination of bird and dragon (or serpent) can be seen in bronze decoration as early as the late Shang period (dragon grasping a figure of a bird). See Rawson 1987a, pp. 30–31. It is a common theme on many jades and bronzes of the Zhou period, represented in a great number of different shapes. But in the case of the *fang hu* decoration and the paintings on the Leigudun coffin, we note in particular several

striking similarities in the shape of the combination.

30. For example, the snake–bird association or the head of a hybrid creature surmounted by two symmetrical animals or dragons (pattern nos. 17, 20, 23).
31. So 1983, pp. 67–69.

# CHU RITUAL MUSIC

*Lothar von Falkenhausen*

## Introduction

Before delving into the intricacies of Chu music through archaeology, I had better acquit myself of some sinological preliminaries.

## Southern Musics

### *Nan*

In ancient Chinese texts, references to “southern” musics are fairly numerous, though their exact significance is difficult to determine. To begin with, the word *nan* 南 (south) is itself a musical term. It occurs, for instance, in a stanza of the poem “Gu zhong 鼓鐘” in the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Classic of Poetry, ca. tenth to sixth centuries B.C.):

They strike the bells solemnly,  
They play their *se* 瑟 and *qin* 琴 zithers,  
The reed-organs and the musical stones blend their sounds;  
With them they perform the *ya* 雅 and the *nan*,  
They wield their flutes without error.<sup>1</sup>

*Nan* is here juxtaposed with *ya* (elegantiae), a genre of dances with musical accompaniment that was cultivated at the royal Zhou court in north China. *Ya* is virtually synonymous with “court music.” The texts of some of the hymns associated with the *ya* of the Zhou dynasty are preserved in the “Xiaoya 小雅” (Lesser elegantiae) and “Daya 大雅” (Greater elegantiae) sections of the *Shi jing*; “Guzhong” itself is one of the “Xiaoya.” Given that the poem describes a musical performance at the royal court (probably in the Western Zhou), it seems likely that *nan* also was a musical genre of some sort, though it is not certain why the term is synonymous with “south.” We should consider two principal alternative explanations.

In the first explanation, *nan* possibly refers jointly to the “Zhounan 周南” and “Shaonan 召南,” two among the fifteen different kinds of “Guofeng 國風” (Airs of

the States) that comprise roughly half of the *Shi jing* text. Traditionally, these two terms have been understood as referring to the new, “southern” locations of two ancient territories, Zhou and Shao. In legendary times, both had been moved into the Plain of Zhou 周原 (in present-day central Shaanxi) from further north.<sup>2</sup> Regardless of whether or not that southward move is truly the origin of the element *nan* in “Zhounan” and “Shaonan,”<sup>3</sup> the term *nan* does seem to have been used to refer to those two kinds of regional musics as a separate musical genre, possibly akin in meaning to *feng* 風 (airs),<sup>4</sup> and the *nan* in “Gu zhong” has been interpreted in that sense.<sup>5</sup> If the *ya* and *nan* in that poem were thus two kinds of musical pieces of the Zhou repertoire, there would be no reason to stipulate a geographical connection between the *nan* music and southern areas such as the territory of Chu.

On the other hand, the Western Han period Mao commentary 毛傳 on the poem “Gu zhong” does just that: it claims a southern origin for the *nan* mentioned in that poem, stating that “the songs of the Southern Barbarians [*Nan Yi* 南夷] are called *nan*,”<sup>6</sup> and this brings us to the second explanation. Underlying this interpretation is the assumption that, even early on, the Zhou royal court employed teams of musicians from various regions to perform their distinctive regional musics. Such a practice is well documented in later Chinese history. The idea that the term *nan* refers to the music of southern populations has been echoed in much of the classical literature.<sup>7</sup> Cosmological considerations required that the *nan* be correlated with all four cardinal directions, and various Han texts list the musics of the “Four Barbarians 四夷之樂.”<sup>8</sup> The reason why the southern music is singled out in the poem “Gu zhong” of the *Shi jing* is explained by one Mr. Xue 薛君 in a commentary note to the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, as follows:

The music of the Southern Barbarians is called *nan*. Among the musics of the Four Barbarians, only the *nan* can harmonize with the *ya*, because it is neither excessive nor deficient in its employ of the human voice and of the wind instruments.<sup>9</sup>

Even though this is probably pure confabulation (postdating the poem “Gu zhong” by perhaps as much as a millennium), the notion of an especially close relationship between southern regional musics and the *ya* of the royal Zhou court may hint at some historical reality. We shall see that, even if the *nan* are “southern” musical forms, it is perhaps no accident that the *Shi jing* mentions them in one breath with the northern *ya* court music.

Recently, the inscription on the newly-discovered Shenliu[?] 濊郟 bells (second half of sixth century B.C.) has further encouraged those who prefer to interpret the musical term *nan* in terms of geography and ethnicity. Here we find the following text:

. . . I, Shenliu[?], . . . selected my auspicious metals to make and cast these harmonizing bells. With them I present sacrifices to my former ancestors. . . . With them I perform the *xia* and the *nan*. . . .<sup>10</sup>



The last four-character phrase quoted is identical to the second-last line in “Gu zhong,” except that the character *ya* (elegantiae) has been replaced by *xia*. Xia, the name of the earliest royal dynasty in north China, was the most commonly used ethnonym for the north Chinese subjects of the Zhou kings during Eastern Zhou times. The bell inscription thus seems to juxtapose the music of those Xia peoples and that of the southern (*nan*) lands. This is regarded as especially significant because the donor Shenliu[?] was an individual from the southern state of Xu 徐.

However, there is some room for doubt. First of all, *xia* (\*ɣǎg) and *ya* (\*ngǎg) are phonetically cognate and in all probability interchangeable; the phrase in the Shenliu[?] bell inscription may be nothing more than a slightly garbled quotation from the *Shi jing*, with *xia* intended to be equivalent to *ya*. But more importantly, *xia* may not here have the meaning of an ethnonym. In the classical texts, after all, *xia* is well documented as the name of a musical genre sometimes alleged to go back to the time of the great Yu of Xia 夏禹. This music is known variously as *xiayue* 夏箛 (winds of Xia),<sup>11</sup> or *daxia* 大夏 (great Xia).<sup>12</sup> Though its relationship to the *ya* remains to be clarified, there is little inherent reason to interpret the *xia* music in ethnic terms. Hence, the phrase in the Shenliu[?] bell inscription may be virtually synonymous to that in the poem “Gu zhong.”

Thus we can still not be sure as to the exact significance of *nan* music, except that it was probably a genre of court music. The Shenliu[?] bell inscriptions apprise us that the *nan* was known not only at the royal Zhou court, but in the southern state of Xu as well. However, it would be imprudent to assume that Xu was its place of origin. The linguistic similarity of these inscriptions to the *Shi jing* and to other products of the Zhou ritual language suggests a knowledge, in the southerly area where the Shenliu[?] bells were made, of Zhou poetics and, very likely, its concomitant musical conventions. It cannot be ruled out that the *nan*—whatever it was—had actually been introduced into Xu from north China.

### ***Nanyin and Chusheng***

The earliest instance in the literature that makes explicit a connection between “southern” musics and the state of Chu occurs in a passage in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (compiled around the middle of the fourth century B.C.) referring to an event in 582 B.C. The text recounts how Zhong Zi Qi 鐘子期, a Chu music-master imprisoned in Jin 晉, performed the *nanyin* 南音 (southern tones) in the presence of the ruler of Jin.<sup>13</sup> The commentator Du Yu 杜預 (A.D. 222–84) claims that this type of music was the same as the *chusheng* 楚聲 (sounds of Chu) mentioned in Han dynasty sources. The *chusheng* were the favorite music of the first Han emperor Gaozu 漢高祖, and for this reason had been elevated to the position of imperial *fangzhong yue* 房中樂 (bedchamber music) at the beginning of the dynasty.<sup>14</sup> Traditionally, the *chusheng* are taken to have comprised various forms of musics of local southern origin that

were cultivated at the Han court, notably portions of the *Chu ci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu) composed from the late Warring States to Han, and of the “Dafeng ge 大風歌” (Song of Great Wind) composed by Gaozu himself. It is obvious from this that Du Yu’s linking of the *nanyin* in the *Zuo zhuan* to the Han dynasty *chusheng* is almost certainly an anachronism. While Zhong Zi Qi in 582 B.C. undoubtedly played the tunes of his native land, it remains uncertain what these tunes were, and how they differed, for example, from those indigenous to the Jin area.<sup>15</sup>

### The *Chu ci*

Most textually-based characterizations of Chu music are in large measure based on the *Chu ci*.<sup>16</sup> These poems differ in many respects from those of the *Shi jing*, most prominently in their meter. Indeed, the nervous, pulsating rhythm of the *Chu ci*, created by the uneven length of the lines, with two half-lines typically linked by the “breathing particle” *xi* 兮, could hardly be more different from the march-like four-beat meter characteristic of most *Shi jing* poetry. As it is well known that both kinds of poems were sung to music, one might look here for indications of musical differences as well, but caution is in order, for poetic meter cannot, as a matter of principle, be equated with musical meter.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps it is more fruitful to stress features shared in common. In their subject matter and (apart from a small number of lexical items traditionally labelled as Chu dialect words) in their vocabulary, the *Chu ci* poems rather resemble the *Shi jing* poems, and they stand in the same poetic tradition.<sup>18</sup> What differences that exist between the two may be due not to geographical factors, but mainly to the time gap separating them. Unfortunately we cannot control the time variable when comparing the two poetic styles, as we possess neither early Zhou poems from the south nor later pre-Han poems from the north.

In any case, the occasional glimpses of musical performances described in *Chu ci* poetry make us feel that there was a special excitement to Chu music. A Chu dance, the “*Ji Chu* 激楚” (Whirling Chu), for example, appears as the climax of a performance program of various regional musical forms in the poem “*Zhao hun* 招魂” (Summoning the Soul):

Before the dainties have left the tables  
     girl musicians take up their places.  
 They set up the bells and fasten the drums  
     and sing the latest songs:  
 “Crossing the River”, “Gathering Caltrops”  
     and “Sunny Bank”. . .  
 Two rows of eight, in perfect time,  
     perform a dance of Zheng 鄭 . . . ;  
 Pipes and zithers rise in wild harmonies  
     the sounding drums thunderously roll;

And the courts of the palace quake and tremble  
 as they throw themselves into the Whirling Chu.  
 Then they sing songs of Wu 吳 and ballads of Cai 蔡  
 and play the Dalü 大呂 music . . .  
 The singing girls of Zheng and Wei 衛  
 come to take their places among the guests;  
 But the dancers of the Whirling Chu  
 find favour over all the others.<sup>19</sup>

The widespread idea that Chu music was “shamanistic” rests, for the most part, on impressions gained through reading the *Chu ci*, especially the famous descriptions of shamanistic experiences in the “Jiu ge 九歌” (Nine Songs).<sup>20</sup> A connection between Chu music and “shamanism” also turns up in other texts, however; the *Lüshi Chunqiu* (compiled around 245 B.C.), for example, goes so far as to state that “Chu’s decline was due to its making shamanistic music [*wuyin* 巫音].”<sup>21</sup> Yet again, we cannot be too sure about the specific nature of the “shamanistic” content of Chu music. Certainly it was not the presence of “shamanism” itself that distinguished Chu; for ecstatic techniques that would fall under that rubric were practiced all over China throughout the Bronze Age,<sup>22</sup> even though north Chinese poetic testimony comparable to that of the *Chu ci* is so far lacking.

## Objectives and Methods

When it comes to the so-called “southern music” (or “musics”) of Chu, then, the texts confront us with the widespread prejudice that it was highly distinctive and much more exciting than the music of the northern states of the Zhou cultural sphere; yet we cannot pinpoint what exactly the differences were. In this essay, I shall attempt to assess the issue from an archaeological perspective. The wider context of this argument, of course, concerns the very nature and originality of the so-called “Chu culture” of the Eastern Zhou period. To begin with my conclusion: I am skeptical, so far, that there is much substance to the claim to uniqueness of Chu music. Although I can treat here only a limited aspect of Chu material, my conclusion may have some impact on how we should view Chu and its civilization as a whole.

In addressing the subject of music in ancient China from an archaeological perspective, we are constrained by the available evidence to emphasize the extra-musical ramifications of music.<sup>23</sup> An appreciable number of musical instruments has been excavated from ancient tombs. Such finds, while allowing inferences on the role of music in sumptuary display and conspicuous consumption, tell us little about how exactly these instruments were used in rituals and musical entertainment. On the positive side, some of the well-preserved sets of chime-bells from the Chinese Bronze Age can still be played today; other types of musical instruments are now

well known enough for exact replicas to be made, which are likewise playable. We can therefore recreate the timbre of an ancient ritual orchestra. Moreover, the inscriptions on the bells and chimestones from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng 曾侯乙 (died ca. 433 B.C.), which were excavated in 1978 at Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei, contain invaluable information on the musical theory current at the beginning of the Warring States period. But musical scores from antiquity, though they may have existed, have not yet been found. The ancient music itself thus remains subject to imaginative reconstruction. The dazzling pageant presented by the Hubei Provincial Song and Dance Troupe on its 1989 tour of the United States is one (albeit not yet entirely convincing) attempt in this direction.

Admittedly, given the limitations of its material remains, the extent to which Chu music differed from that of other Zhou states is difficult to assess archaeologically. Virtually all archaeological remnants of Chu music pertain to the sphere of ritual music; folk music and other forms of musical entertainment must remain outside the scope of this paper. Even so, I shall argue below that, at least so far, relevant distinctions are not in evidence. I shall begin by examining the most durable component of Chu music: the already mentioned sets of chime-bells, which, incidentally, were also by far the most technologically sophisticated and precious musical instruments available in ancient China. Through several centuries of development during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, Chu bronze-casters became expert at manufacturing such bells; but, while distinctive in their ornamentation, Chu chime-bells remained typologically and musically dependent on north Chinese prototypes. After briefly discussing other types of musical instruments, I shall go on to treat the musical theory of Chu as documented in the Zeng inscriptions. Here, too, Chu idiosyncracies, though interesting, pale in comparison to the pervasive structural homology with the musical systems of other states of the Zhou cultural sphere. Both instrument typology and musical theory suggest that Chu ritual music of the Eastern Zhou period was derived from Zhou court music of late Western Zhou and that it continued to be compatible with other regionally distinctive forms of ritual music within the Zhou cultural sphere.

## Archaeological Evidence

I take the term "Chu" rather loosely to denote a vast area in southern China centered upon the middle reaches of the Yangzi river traditionally regarded to have been the Chu sphere of influence. In political terms, this area encompasses both Chu proper and a large number of neighboring states which, from the seventh century B.C. onward, gradually came under Chu hegemony or suzerainty.<sup>24</sup> In this essay I have included for consideration provenanced archaeological finds from this wider ambit of Chu, as well as some unprovenanced items linked by inscription to Chu or its vassal states.

## Early Bells

### The *Chu Gong Jia[?]* *yongzhong*

The three *Chu Gong Jia[?]* *yongzhong* 楚公豪甬鐘, extant since the eighteenth century and now in the Sen'oku Hakkokan (Sumitomo Collection), Kyōto, are the earliest specimens on which a Chu connection is indicated epigraphically.<sup>25</sup> Bells No. 1 (fig. 1) and No. 3 form parts of the same set. With their raised ridges (*zhuān* 篆) separating the symmetrical rows of bosses (*mei* 枚) and their ubiquitous abstract scroll motifs,<sup>26</sup> they are stylistically datable to around the first half of the ninth century B.C. Bell No. 2 (fig. 2), however, strikingly diverges in its decoration; it appears to be slightly later.<sup>27</sup> Yet its proportions are identical to those of the two others, and it is exactly intermediate between them in size; it may have been made at a posterior date to fit the set.<sup>28</sup>

These are typical Western Zhou bells of the *yongzhong* type, designed to emit two tones: one (the A-tone) obtained by striking the bell in the center, the other (the B-tone) by striking it on the side. The interval between the two tones is usually either a major or a minor third.<sup>29</sup> On the three *Chu Gong Jia[?]* *yongzhong*, bird-markers



Fig. 2. *Chu Gong Jia yongzhong* No. 2. Height 44.1 cm. Sen'oku Hakkokan (Sumitomo Collection). Courtesy of the Sen'oku Hakkokan, Kyōto.



Fig. 1. *Chu Gong Jia yongzhong* No. 1. Height 53.2 cm. Sen'oku Hakkokan (Sumitomo Collection). Courtesy of the Sen'oku Hakkokan, Kyōto.

(or, in bell No. 2, a small elephant) on the lower right of the bell-face indicate the striking-point of the B-tone. Tone measurement data are available,<sup>30</sup> but when compared to other data obtained from contemporary bells, they do not seem to yield a musically meaningful pattern. A possible reason is that the bells may have undergone repair.<sup>31</sup>

The identity of the donor of these three bells is disputed. Some authorities have suggested that he was one of the early rulers of Chu documented in Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (ca. 145–86 B.C.) *Shi ji* 史記,<sup>32</sup> and have for this reason posited a southern connection. But while we know nothing about where the *Chu Gong Jia[?]* *yongzhong* were originally discovered, all provenanced inscribed Western Zhou bells known, as well as all sets of chime-bells dating to that period (inscribed and uninscribed), have been excavated in the Zhou metropolitan area of Shaanxi. They were most probably made there, perhaps in a royal workshop. Moreover, whether the polity of Chu that is mentioned in Western Zhou inscriptions was at all related to the later Chu state in Hubei is unclear;<sup>33</sup> and even if it were, it would seem quite possible that Chu was at that time located in the vicinity of the Zhou capital. The high quality of the *Chu Gong Jia[?]* *yongzhong* confirms the notion that they are of Zhou metropolitan manufacture. This is also suggested by the fact that they were part of a chime; contemporary *yongzhong* of southern provenance almost invariably occur as single pieces.

### Early Bells from South China

In spite of the uncertainties surrounding the geographical origin of the earliest inscribed Chu bells, it is certain that bells of the *yongzhong* type were known during Western Zhou times in the Chu core area of south-central Hubei and northern Hunan. Along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangzi, beyond the direct political reach of the Shang and Western Zhou dynasties, vigorous local bronze industries flourished throughout much of the second and first millennia B.C., producing bronzes stylistically and typologically distinct from those made at the metropolitan centers in north China.<sup>34</sup> In particular, the south was important in the early history of Chinese musical bells. It was here, at a time contemporary to early Western Zhou, that the *yongzhong* were invented. The typological ancestors of the *yongzhong* are the *nao* 饒, which were mounted with their mouths facing upwards (fig. 3). Small *nao*, first manufactured at the Shang capitals in north China, were probably diffused to south China during the Anyang period (ca. 1300–1050 B.C.). Southern casters enlarged those northern *nao*, changed their mode of hanging, and proceeded to refine their acoustic properties (fig. 4).<sup>35</sup> In the process, the “standard” bell decoration scheme with its triple symmetrical rows of bosses came into being, and the “two-tone phenomenon” was discovered.

Some *yongzhong* that may be contemporary with Western Zhou have been found



Fig. 3. *Nao* from Nihequ, Lujiang, Anhui. Height 49.5 cm. After *Anhui* 1987, no. 10.

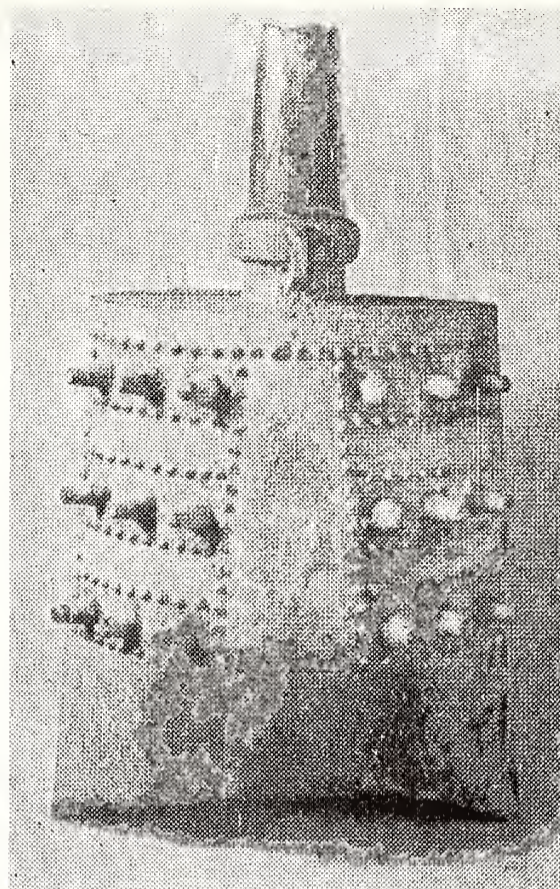


Fig. 4. *Yongzhong* from Malong, Xiangxiang, Hunan. Height 46.3 cm. After Gao Zhixi 1984a, pl. 7.4.

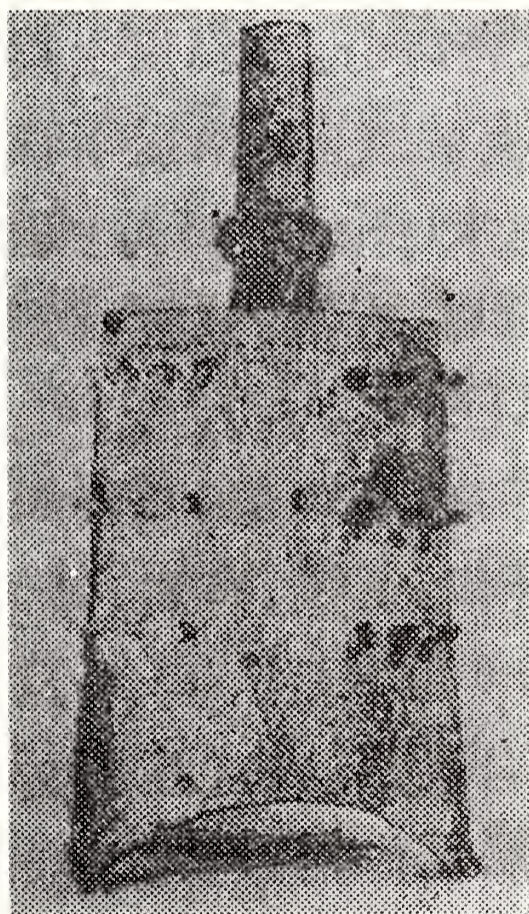
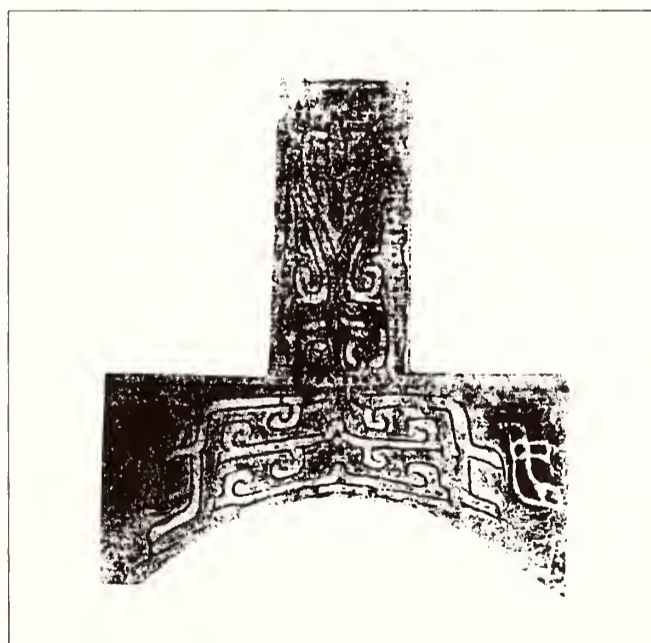


Fig. 5. One of seven *yongzhong* from Leijiashan, Dawu, Hubei. Heights 38–25 cm. After *KG* 1988.4, p. 306, fig. 8; rubbing after *JHKG* 1980.2, p. 96, fig. 2.



in the area of the later Chu state north of the Yangzi: the seven pieces from Leijiashan 雷家山, Dawu 大悟, northeastern Hubei (fig. 5),<sup>36</sup> and the five pieces from Huashan 花山, Zhongxiang 鍾祥, central Hubei,<sup>37</sup> both these finds, however, are inadequately

published, and we know too little about their stylistic and acoustic attributes to place them with any certainty. The Leijiashan pieces, at least, are clearly not of metropolitan Zhou manufacture. On these bells the *zhuan* are demarcated by miniature studs (a characteristic of some of the earliest *yongzhong*), and the decoration is executed in bands defined by raised lines. The ornament extends into the central *zheng* 鉦 panel—generally a provincial feature in early *yongzhong*. The *gu* ornament consists of three groups of spirals, different from the more usual two symmetrically-aligned groups of spirals. The report dates the Leijiashan bells to the turn of the Spring and Autumn period. Other items from the same context seem to be of earlier date, however. Given their primitive features, the bells may well date to a time contemporary with Western Zhou. Highly abstracted bird-shaped B-tone markers indicate that they are two-tone bells. Whether the report is right in claiming that five of these bells belonged to a chimed set seems quite doubtful; if this were true, the Leijiashan *yongzhong* would be the only early set of two-tone bells of southern provincial manufacture.

The overwhelming majority of southern *nao* and early *yongzhong* have been excavated south of the Yangzi in the Xiang 湘 river valley of Hunan and further downstream, in Jiangxi, Anhui, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian provinces.<sup>38</sup> Whether the people who made these bells were in any way ancestral to the Chu of Eastern Zhou cannot at present be averred; I would be very skeptical about taking such bell types as indicators of a hypothetical “proto-Chu culture,” not to mention as evidence for early forms of “Chu” music.

### Metropolitan Zhou Innovations

In north China, particularly in the metropolitan area of Western Zhou, small *nao* of the type used at Anyang continued to be used during the early part of the period.<sup>39</sup> Here *yongzhong* suddenly show up in the archaeological record around the middle of Western Zhou, apparently part and parcel of a thoroughgoing restructuring of the entire Zhou ritual-political complex.<sup>40</sup> These bells had undoubtedly been diffused from the south. Almost as soon as they had become known in Shaanxi, *yongzhong* were manufactured locally. In a sharp break with the usages of southern casters, the metropolitan Zhou bronzesmiths made chimed sets of such bells (fig. 6), doubtless in analogy with the previously existing sets of *nao*. By the end of Western Zhou, such sets, which were restricted to high-ranking notables in the entourage of the Zhou kings, usually seem to have comprised eight pieces. They were commonly ornamented with dragon motifs reflecting the iconography commonly seen on contemporary metropolitan bronzes (fig. 7).

In late Western Zhou, sets of *yongzhong* began to be used in conjunction with other types of chime-bells, one of which was, like the *yongzhong*, of southern origin: the *bo* 鑄 (fig. 8).<sup>41</sup> *Niuzhong* 鈕鐘 (fig. 9) came into being at the very end of Western



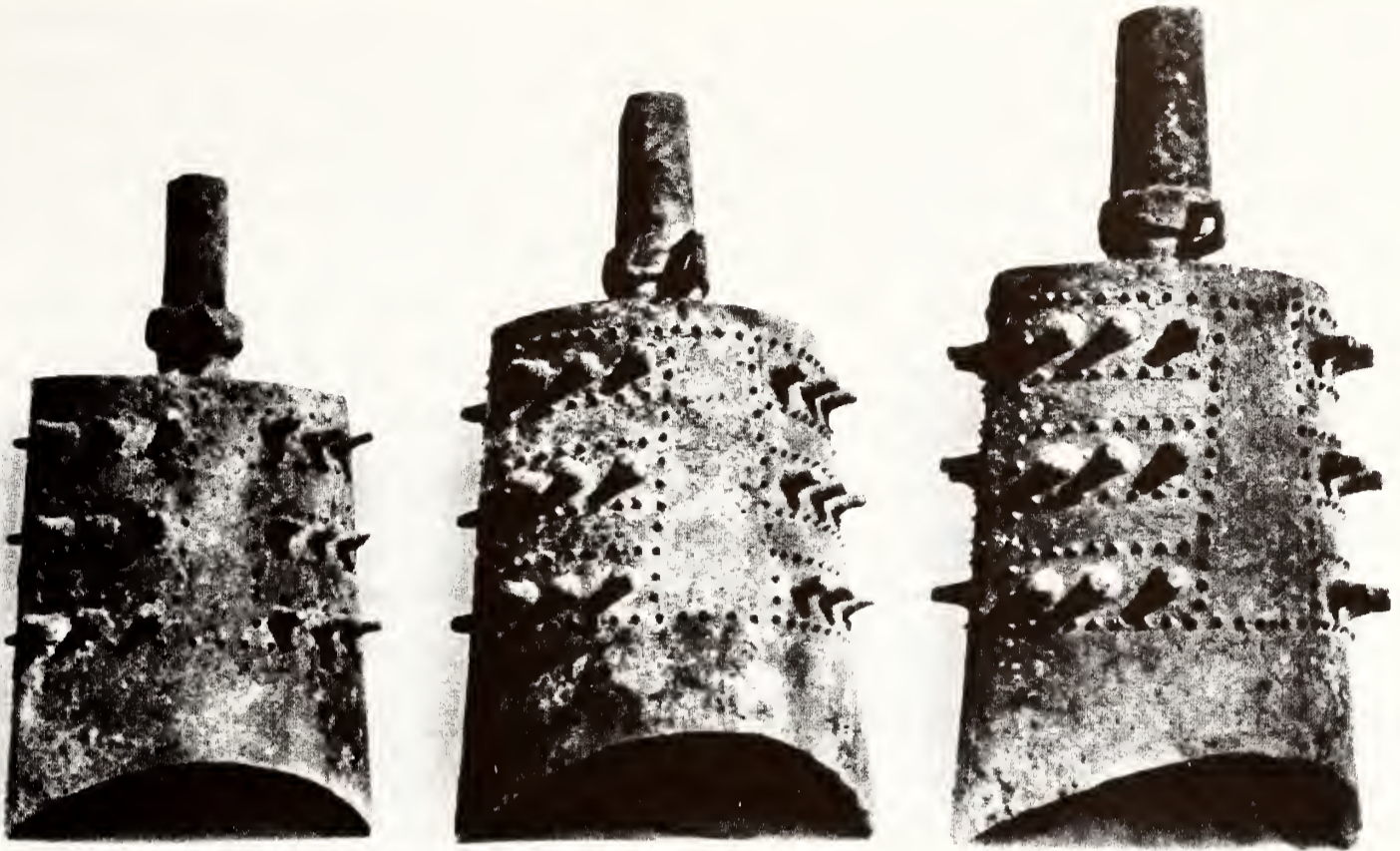


Fig. 6. Set of three *yongzhong* from Puducun, Chang'an, Shaanxi. Heights 38 cm, 44 cm, and 48.5 cm. After Beijing 1962, pl. 38:2.



Fig. 7. One of the *Guo Shu Lü yongzhong*, now in the Shanghai Museum. After Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, fig. 947.



Fig. 8. *Bo*. Height 41.9 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1987.36. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.



Zhou, apparently in north China.<sup>42</sup> All three kinds of bells were manufactured as chimed sets by the end of Western Zhou; they are ancestral to the chime-bell types current in Eastern Zhou times, when it became usual to assemble chimes of bells of different types into veritable choirs of bells.<sup>4</sup>

Fig. 9. *Niuzhong*. Height 21.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Taipei 1958, vol. 2 *xia*, p. 431, pl. 479.

## Spring and Autumn Period Bells

### The Earliest Chime-bells in Chu

It is only in the mid- to late Spring and Autumn period that we find, for the first time, chime-bells unquestionably pertaining to the state of Chu that is known from the historical records. Most presently known Chu chime-bells date to the sixth to fifth centuries B.C., a time when bronze manufacture greatly flourished throughout the Zhou cultural sphere. Probably the earliest specimen known so far is the *Chu Wang Gan niuzhong* 楚王頌鈕鐘, now in a Japanese private collection (fig. 10).<sup>44</sup> Its decoration may be termed conservative for preserving the motif of two addorsed dragons seen in the *gu* portions of many late Western Zhou *yongzhong* (fig. 7); but the execution of that motif, as well as the paired triangular dragon configurations in the *zhuanjian* registers, speak for a date in the mid-Spring and Autumn period. Specifically southern stylistic attributes cannot, however, be discerned. The donor mentioned in the bell's inscription is a king of Chu of somewhat uncertain identity; in view of the stylistic attributes, Gong Wang 共王 (reigned 590–560 B.C.) appears the most likely candidate.<sup>45</sup>

One of the most important Chu-related finds from the mid-sixth century excavated to date are those from the cemetery of a local aristocratic lineage at Xiasi 下寺, Xichuan 淅川, Henan. Stylistically, the nine *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 (fig. 11) are the earliest among several sets of bells found at that site. As the name of their donor has been deliberately effaced from the inscription, it may be concluded that these bells were acquired as war booty; the text of the inscription makes it



Fig. 10. *Chu Wang Gan niuzhong*. Height 17.2 cm. Private collection, Japan. After Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, p. 964.

appear likely that the original donor was a faithful subject of the Zhou king.<sup>46</sup> Tone measurements have been reported.<sup>47</sup> Although those data are only approximate, they show that the distribution of tones in this chime is essentially similar to, though somewhat more elaborate than, that of Western Zhou *yongzhong* chimes. Even more interestingly, this tone distribution pattern corresponds to that on a roughly contemporary set of *niuzhong* excavated close to the capital of the important northern state of Jin.<sup>48</sup> This interesting homology may point to northern influences on bell music, and, perhaps, on bell manufacture in mid-sixth century Chu.

The decorative style of the nine *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Xiasi resembles that of the *Chu Gong Gan niuzhong*, especially in the upper portion of the bell-face. The addorsed dragons in the *gu* portion have multiplied: there are now four dragons facing each other in two tiers. This motif persists in the *gu* portions of all later Chu bells, though the manner in

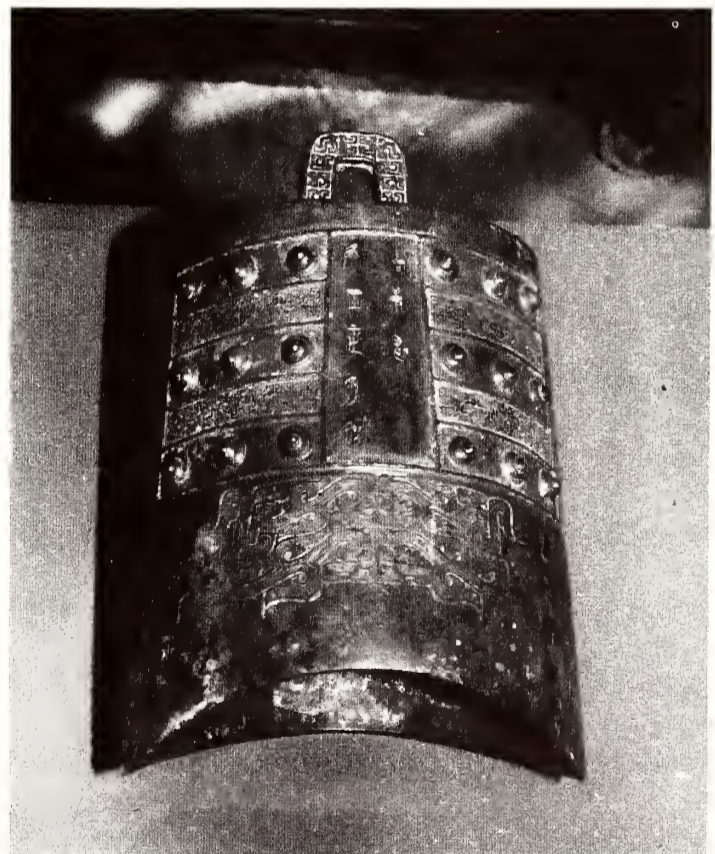
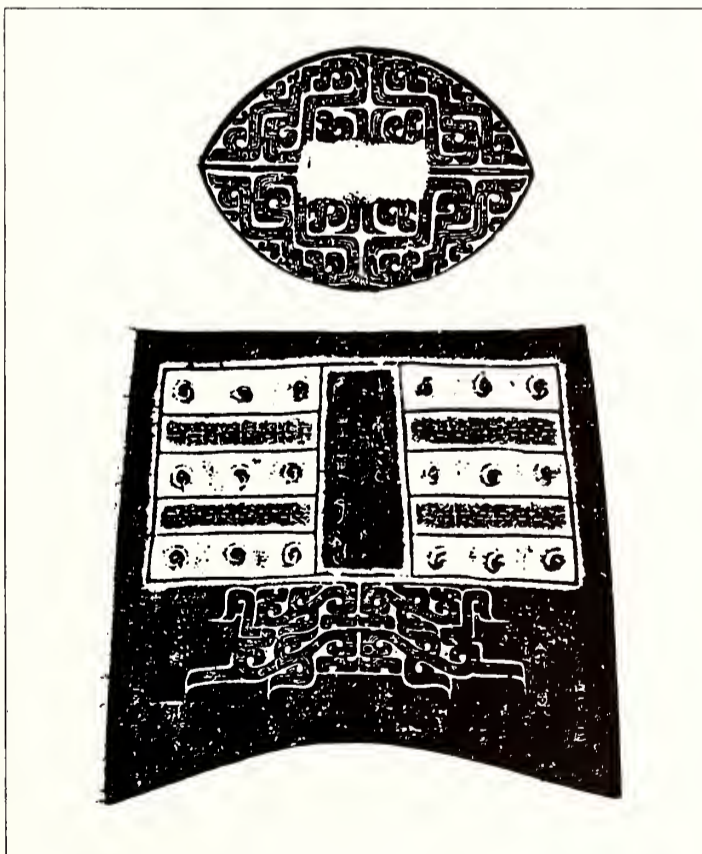


Fig. 11. One of a set of nine *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Heights 21.1–11.5 cm. After *KG* 1981.2, pl. 6.2; rubbing: p. 123, fig. 5.

which it is executed varies. With the dragon bodies marked by sunken contour lines and surrounded by the undecorated bell surface, the decoration on the *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Xiasi represents what I call the “flat variant” of the bronze ornamentation style of their time.<sup>49</sup> Again, the dragon motif on these bells is not yet distinctly Chu in style, and the bells are perhaps not of Chu manufacture. Nevertheless, this set of *niuzhong* is significant in its Chu-related context as an indicator of possible northern connections near the beginnings of Chu’s own tradition of bell manufacture.<sup>50</sup>

**The Wangsun Gao yongzhong and the Wangsun Yizhe yongzhong**

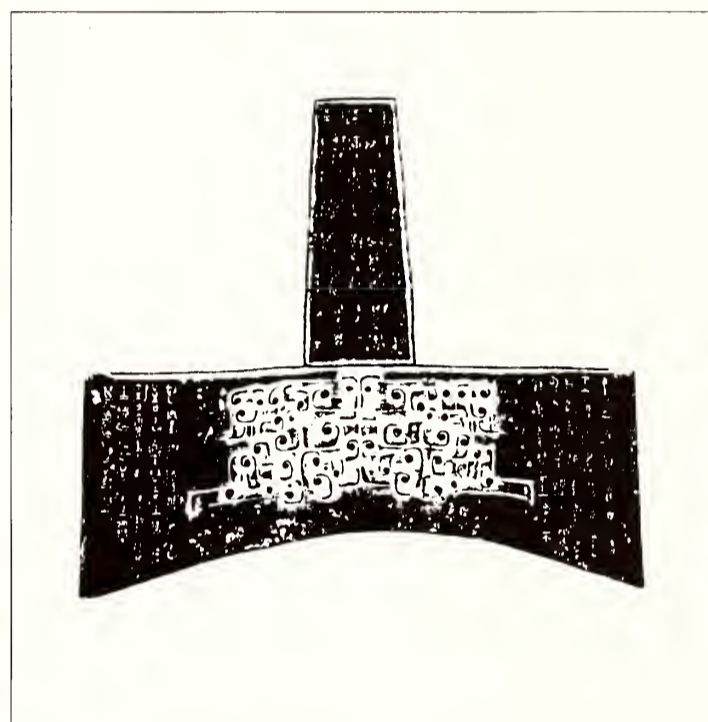
The twenty-six *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* 王孫嘉(= 誥)甬鐘 from Tomb No. 2 at Xiasi (fig. 12) constitute the largest single chime of bells in the Chinese archaeological



Fig. 12. Set of twenty-six *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* from Tomb No. 2 at Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Heights 122–24.9 cm. After Thorp 1988, p. 62, cat. no. 9.



Fig. 12A. One of the set of twenty-six *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* from Tomb No. 2 at Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. After Thorp 1988, p. 61, cat. no. 9; rubbing of inscription after Thorp 1988, p. 60, fig 7.



record, and they are undoubtedly the most splendid Chu bell-chime preserved to-day.<sup>51</sup> They were made for a member of the Chu royal lineage, and should date to the third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>52</sup> Eight bells were suspended from the lower tier, eighteen from the upper tier of a bell-rack, as reconstructed from their positions *in situ*. The bells display an excellent quality of workmanship and are, for the most part, preserved in near-mint condition (fig. 12A). Tone measurements have shown, however, that their acoustic quality is by no means on the same level as their visual appearance: the tones on the eight bells on the lower tier do not seem to be tuned to the same pitch as those on the upper tier, and within both groups, there is no apparent pattern of tone distribution repeating through several octaves.<sup>53</sup> This is quite unlike what may be observed on Western Zhou *yongzhong* chimes, or on the *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Xiasi. One is tempted to conclude that, while by the mid-sixth century Chu bell-casters were adept at casting bronze vessels and bells that looked just like those of their northern neighbors, they had not yet completely figured out how to master the acoustics of graduated chimes of bells. Perhaps, at the time, visual appearance was regarded as more important than accuracy in tuning.



Fig. 13. *Wangsun Yizhe yongzhong*. Height 57.2 cm. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection, 60 S552. Courtesy of Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

The Asian Art Museum in San Francisco possesses a single unprovenanced *yongzhong* that is closely related to the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong*: the *Wangsun Yizhe yongzhong* 王孫遺者甬鐘 (fig. 13). This is almost certainly also a Chu bell, its donor being a member of Chu royal line similar in status to the donor of the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong*.<sup>55</sup> The inscribed texts on the two chimes coincide to over 65 percent; they are written in exactly the same style. Moreover, the ornamentation of the bells is identical; it is characterized by a pattern of relief hooks, formerly known in the West as “Huai 淮 style.” Such relief hooks were employed to accentuate the joints and the extreme points of the bodies of animal motifs, mostly of dragons. They enhance



Fig. 14. *Ling bo*. Height 67 cm. Museum of Chinese History, Beijing (on loan from the Shanghai Museum). After Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 85.

these time-honored decoration patterns three-dimensionally without actually depicting animals in molded relief.

This type of ornamentation is by no means unique to bronze-casting technology; nor had it been invented in Chu. Relief hooks are also seen on sixth-century bronzes from elsewhere in China, e.g. from present-day Shandong (fig. 14).<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the specific manner in which relief hooks of different sizes are deployed on the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* and *Wangsun Yizhe yongzhong* remained unmistakably characteristic of Chu bronze bells of the Spring and Autumn period. This Chu style strongly contrasts with that of the sixth- and fifth-century Jin bronze workshops near Houma



Fig. 15. *Bo*. Height 41.8 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1987.287. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

侯馬, Shanxi, with their more varied patterns and their banded dragon decoration that sometimes appears to be more “realistic” than the decoration of southern bronzes from the same period (fig. 15). On the other hand, the technique used for casting bells in both Jin and Chu workshops was virtually the same. In both, the use of relief stamps led towards mass-production of bronzes with identical designs. For instance, repeated impressions obtained from the same pattern-block could be fitted into the molds of several bells in one chime, even though the bell bodies were of different sizes.<sup>57</sup>

All over the Zhou cultural sphere, through the end of the Spring and Autumn period, relief ornamentation coexisted with flat renderings of the same motifs, as observed, for example, in the bells from Tomb No. 1 at Xiasi (see fig. 11). Sometimes



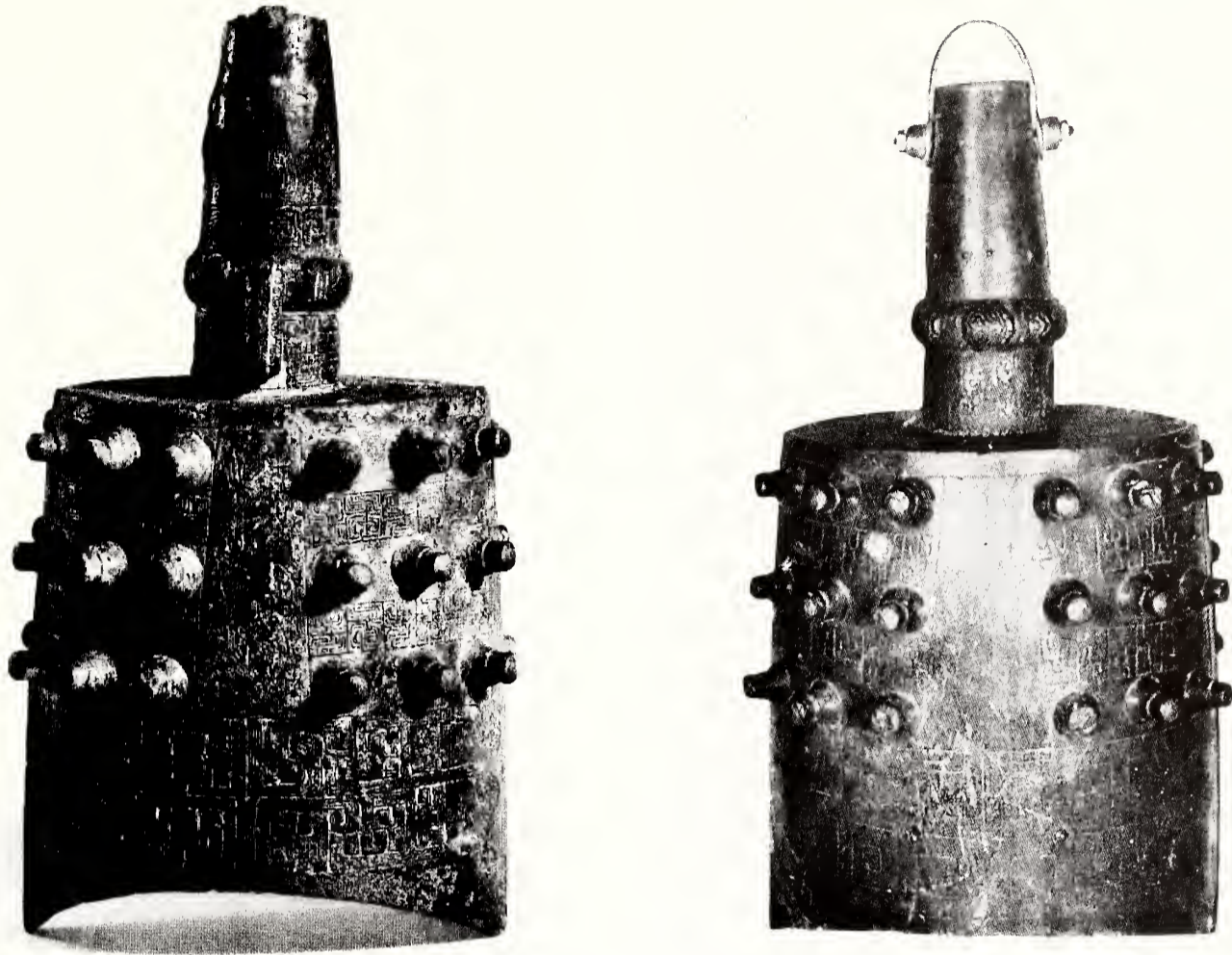


Fig. 16. Two of the *Zhejian yongzhong*, an unprovenanced chime, now dispersed. Left: recto side of a bell with relief decoration. Height 28.8 cm. Shanghai Museum. After Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 77. Right: verso side of a bell with flat decoration. National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Taipei 1958, vol. 2 *shang*, p. 240.

both the flat and the relief variants occur within the same set of bells, for example, in the now-dispersed *Zhejian yongzhong* 者減甬鐘 from the southeastern coastal state of Wu (fig. 16).<sup>58</sup>

### Other Spring and Autumn Period Chu Bells

A number of extant Spring and Autumn period bells from sites located in states neighboring Chu, or linked by inscription with the rulers of such states, are stylistically extremely similar to the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* and *Wangsun Yizhe yongzhong*. Moreover, the inscriptions on these bells—even on bells belonging to individuals from different states—exhibit astonishing similarities, sometimes apparently being variations on the same model text.<sup>59</sup> Items related to the state of Xu, Chu's northeastern neighbor in the Huai valley, are especially numerous. Specimens include:

- (1) the *Zi Zhang niuzhong* 子璋鈕鐘 from Xu (*terminus ante quem* 512 B.C.) (fig. 17), with decoration executed in the “flat variant;”<sup>60</sup>



Fig. 17. One of the set of *Zi Zhang niuzhong*. Height 21.3 cm. After Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 84.



Fig. 18. One of the chime of *Chou[?]/er niuzhong*. Height 22.5 cm. Shanghai Museum. After Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 79.

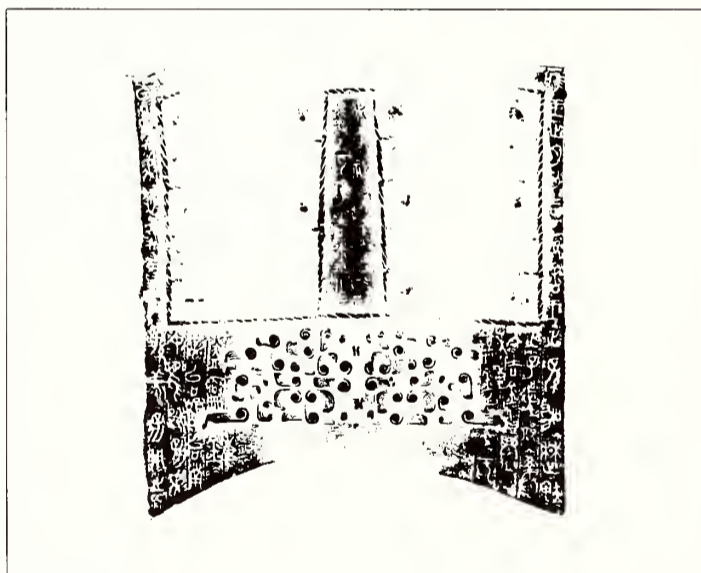


Fig. 19. Rubbing of one of the *Shenliu[?]* *niuzhong* from Beishanding, Dantu, Jiangsu. After WW 1989.4, p. 52, fig. 1.

- (2) the *Xu Wangzi Zhan[?]* *niuzhong* 郟王子旃鈕鐘 in the Palace Museum, Beijing, from Xu, likewise with decoration of the "flat variant;"<sup>61</sup>
- (3) the *Chou[?]/er niuzhong* 徹兒鈕鐘, from Xu, with decoration executed in relief hooks and featuring an unusually elaborate suspension device (fig. 18);<sup>62</sup>
- (4) the already mentioned *Shenliu[?]* bells, from Xu, recently excavated at Beishanding 背山頂, Dantu 丹徒, Jiangsu: five *bo* and seven *niuzhong* with matching relief decoration (fig. 19);<sup>63</sup>



Fig. 20. One of the set of four *yongzhong* from Jiulidun, Shucheng, Anhui.  
Greatest height of set 100 cm. After *Anhui* 1987, no. 55.

- (5) the *Yun'er bo* 沈兒罇, from Xu, apparently no longer extant, with decoration in the "relief variant;"<sup>64</sup>
- (6) four uninscribed *yongzhong* with decoration of relief hooks from Tomb No. 1 at Jiulidun 九里墩, Shucheng 舒城, Anhui (fig. 20);<sup>65</sup>



Fig. 22. One of the eight *Cai Hou Shen bo* from Ximennei, Shou Xian, Anhui. Heights 40.5–28.5 cm. After *Anhui* 1987, no. 78.



Fig. 21. One of the twelve *Cai Hou Shen yongzhong* from Ximennei, Shou Xian, Anhui. Heights 79–48 cm. After *Tokyo* 1973, cat. no. 4.



Fig. 23. One of the nine *Cai Hou Shen niuzhong* from Ximennei, Shou Xian, Anhui. Heights 28–16.5 cm. After *Anhui* 1987, no. 77.



Fig. 24. *Yongzhong*. Height 54.7 cm. Shanghai Museum. After Hong Kong 1983, no. 47.

- (7) the bells of Marquis Shen 蔡侯申 of Cai (died 491 B.C.) from his tomb at Ximennei 西門內, Shou Xian 壽縣, Anhui (figs. 21–23);<sup>66</sup>
- (8) an unprovenanced *yongzhong* in the Shanghai Museum (fig. 24), which is unusual in that both the outside and the inside are decorated.<sup>67</sup>

Over time, the dragon ornaments gradually became unrecognizable under the vibrant patterns of relief hooks characteristic of the southern bronze manufacturing traditions. In the various *yongzhong* just enumerated (figs. 20, 21, 24), we can observe a gradual lengthening of the shank (*yong*), whose cross-section changes from round to octagonal. On the whole, however, specifically Chu features are few in number. Spring and Autumn period bells from the area of Chu remained conservative in both form and iconography.

## Warring States Period Bells

### Bells from the Zeng Tombs at Leigudun

The bells from the two tombs of rulers of Zeng at Leigudun embody the culmination of the typological developments just traced. The tomb of Marquis Yi (died ca. 433 B.C.) yielded sixty-five bells (fig. 25): forty-five *yongzhong*, nineteen *niuzhong*, and one *bo*, arranged on a three-tiered rack.<sup>68</sup> This is the largest assemblage of bells so far found anywhere in China, and it includes the largest known bells of the Chinese Bronze Age. Their unprecedented music-related inscriptions have opened up a new perspective on the history of ancient Chinese music; as we shall see, they also throw significant light on Chu musical theory.<sup>69</sup> In fact, the single *bo* on the lower tier was donated to Marquis Yi by King Hui of Chu 楚惠王 (reigned 488–432 B.C.). It is undoubtedly a Chu product;<sup>70</sup> that may also be true of other components of the assemblage.

One must realize that Marquis Yi's bells do not constitute a single chime, but a composite assemblage in which parts of several heterogeneous chimes, probably made at different times, are jumbled together in an apparently haphazard, yet purposeful, way. The inscriptions on the first and third chimes of *yongzhong* on the middle tier document two different and complementary modes of conceptualizing tones (referred to below as "System A" and "System B"); each of these two chimes appears originally to have been part of a much more extensive chime-bell assemblage. The lower-tier chime comprises bells from both these assemblages, and, in addition, King Hui's single *bo*, remnant of yet another assemblage of bells.<sup>71</sup> As to the second *yongzhong* set on the middle tier, which differs from the other two in its decoration, it can be shown that it was posteriorly manufactured so as to mediate between the two principal *yongzhong* chimes now suspended from the Zeng rack, and to complement the tone distribution in the assemblage as a whole.

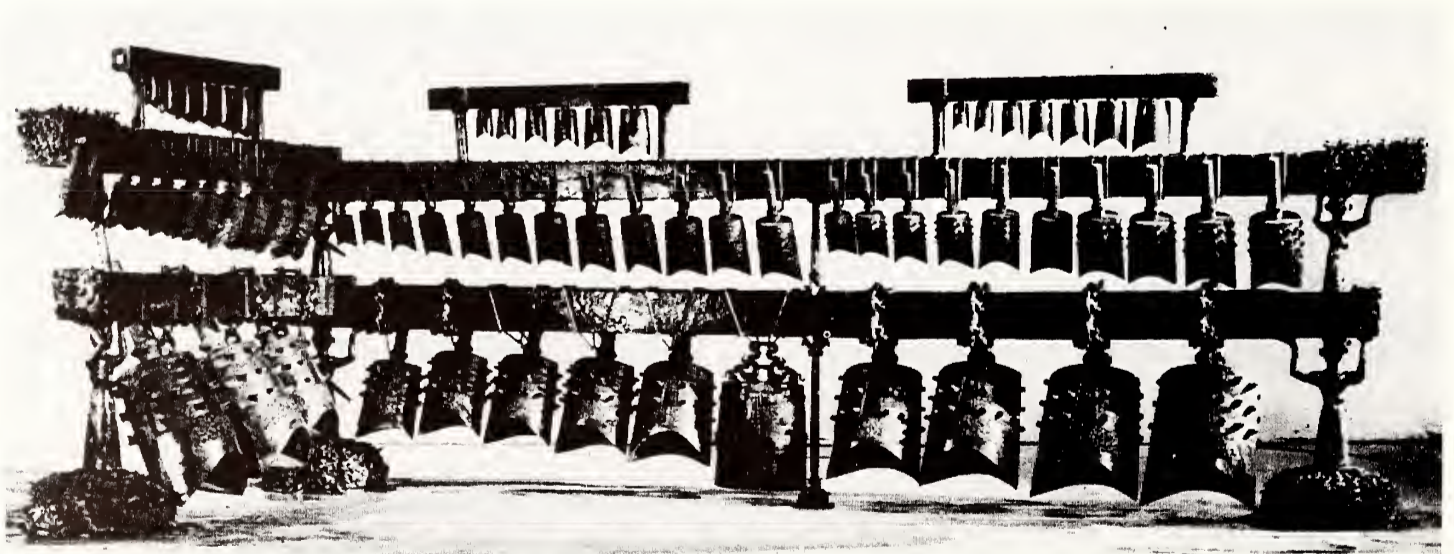


Fig. 25. The Zeng Hou Yi bells from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei: forty-five *yongzhong*, heights 146.9–37.2 cm.; nineteen *niuzhong*, heights 39.9–20.2 cm.; one *bo*, height 92.5 cm. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, pl. 27.

Juxtaposing the tone names in the inscriptions with the tone measurements, it becomes evident that the forty-five *yongzhong* were tuned with admirable accuracy.<sup>72</sup> This is all the more astonishing when we realize that the bell pitches must have been calculated prior to casting, because the inscriptions were cast at the same time as the bells. While visually the Zeng bells present no significant advance over the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* dating to one century earlier, the difference in acoustical quality is striking. The tone ranges of the various constituent chimes overlap considerably; even so, an impressive variety of tones can be played on the Zeng bell assemblage as a whole. On the *yongzhong* chimes of the lower and middle tiers, one can produce a continuous chromatic scale over more than two octaves. The regular tone distribution pattern in these chimes repeats through several octaves. Despite its sophistication and richness, this pattern turns out to be, under closer scrutiny, an amplified version of the traditional type of tone distribution first observed in eight-part sets of *yongzhong* of late Western Zhou.

An innovative approach to tone distribution in chimes is seen in the *niuzhong* on the upper tier of Marquis Yi's bell rack, which are separate in origin from the *yongzhong* and tuned to a different pitch standard. Though now rearranged in three groups, they originally belonged to two kinds of bell-chimes, each designed in such a way that the full range of twelve tones could be accommodated according to a mathematically regular pattern. The larger of the two chimes (groups Nos. 2 and 3) comprises only bells in which the interval between the A- and B-tone is a minor third (thirteen of the original fourteen bells are preserved), whereas in all six bells of the other chime (group No. 1), the respective interval is a major third. Perhaps because designing bell-chimes according to such a mathematical principle was a new idea at that time, the inaccuracy in tuning—the deviations of the measured tones from those to be expected according to the inscriptions—is somewhat more pronounced than in Marquis Yi's *yongzhong*.

Tomb No. 2 at Leigudun, which is a generation or so later in date than Marquis Yi's tomb, yielded an assemblage of thirty-six *yongzhong* (fig. 26).<sup>73</sup> They constitute two chimes, which may have

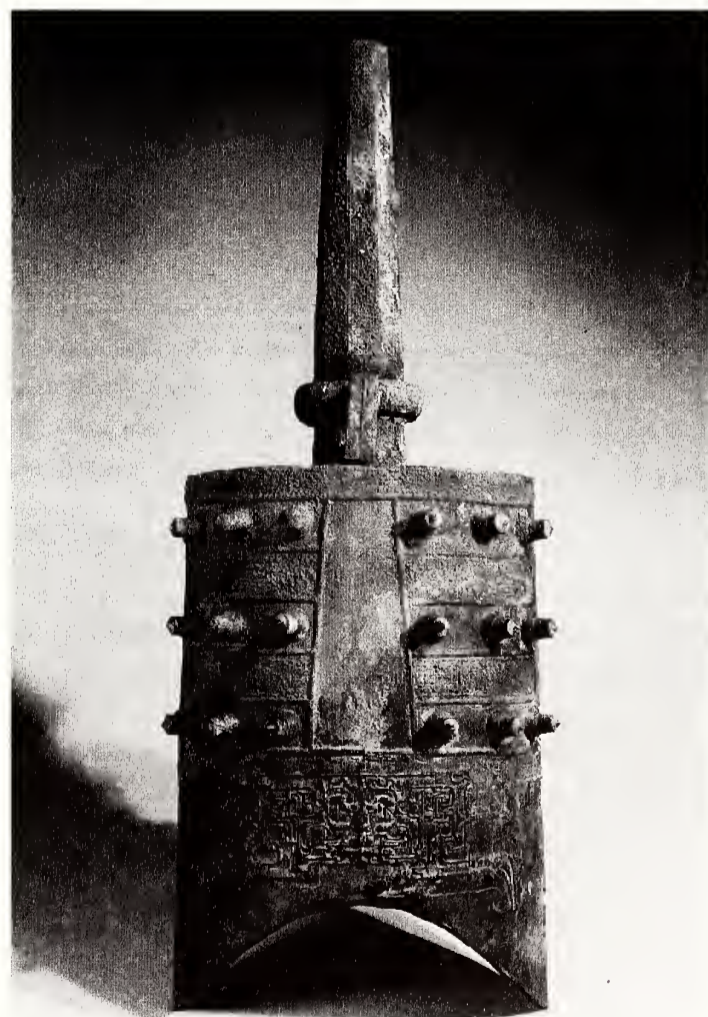


Fig. 26. One of the eight lower-tier *yongzhong* from Tomb No. 2 at Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 67.

been suspended from a single two-tier track originally. As in the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong*, there were eight larger bells on the lower tier; the twenty-eight smaller bells on the upper tier in turn may fall into two or more subgroups. Tone-naming inscriptions are lacking. Tone measurements show that this large assemblage of bells was much less expertly designed than the chimes found in Marquis Yi's tomb, no regular pattern being perceptible either among the lower- or among the upper-tier chimes.<sup>74</sup> It has even been conjectured that the bells from Tomb No. 2 may have been made as funerary items (*mingqi* 明器). On the other hand, their ornamentation is quite spectacular, especially the *yongzhong* on the lower tier, which on the *gu* portion feature a fierce, demon-like monster (fig. 27).<sup>75</sup> Like the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong*, the *yongzhong* from Tomb No. 2 at Leigudun were certainly more than adequate for display purposes.

The shanks of the *yongzhong* from both tombs at Leigudun are about as long as the bell-bodies (fig. 28), with the effect that, when a bell is suspended, it tilts forward further than earlier *yongzhong*. This facilitates playing. The ornamentation of these bells points into new directions, which stand out especially clearly when one compares them with the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* (fig. 12). First, in contrast to the presence of fairly extensive unornamented surfaces on the latter, the entire bell surfaces, except for the portions featuring inscribed text, are now covered with relief



Fig. 27. Detail of one of the eight lower-tier *yongzhong* from Tomb No. 2 at Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 67a.



Fig. 28. One of the ten *yongzhong* of the third set on the second tier of the Zeng Hou Yi bell assemblage. After Sui Xian 1980, fig. 14.



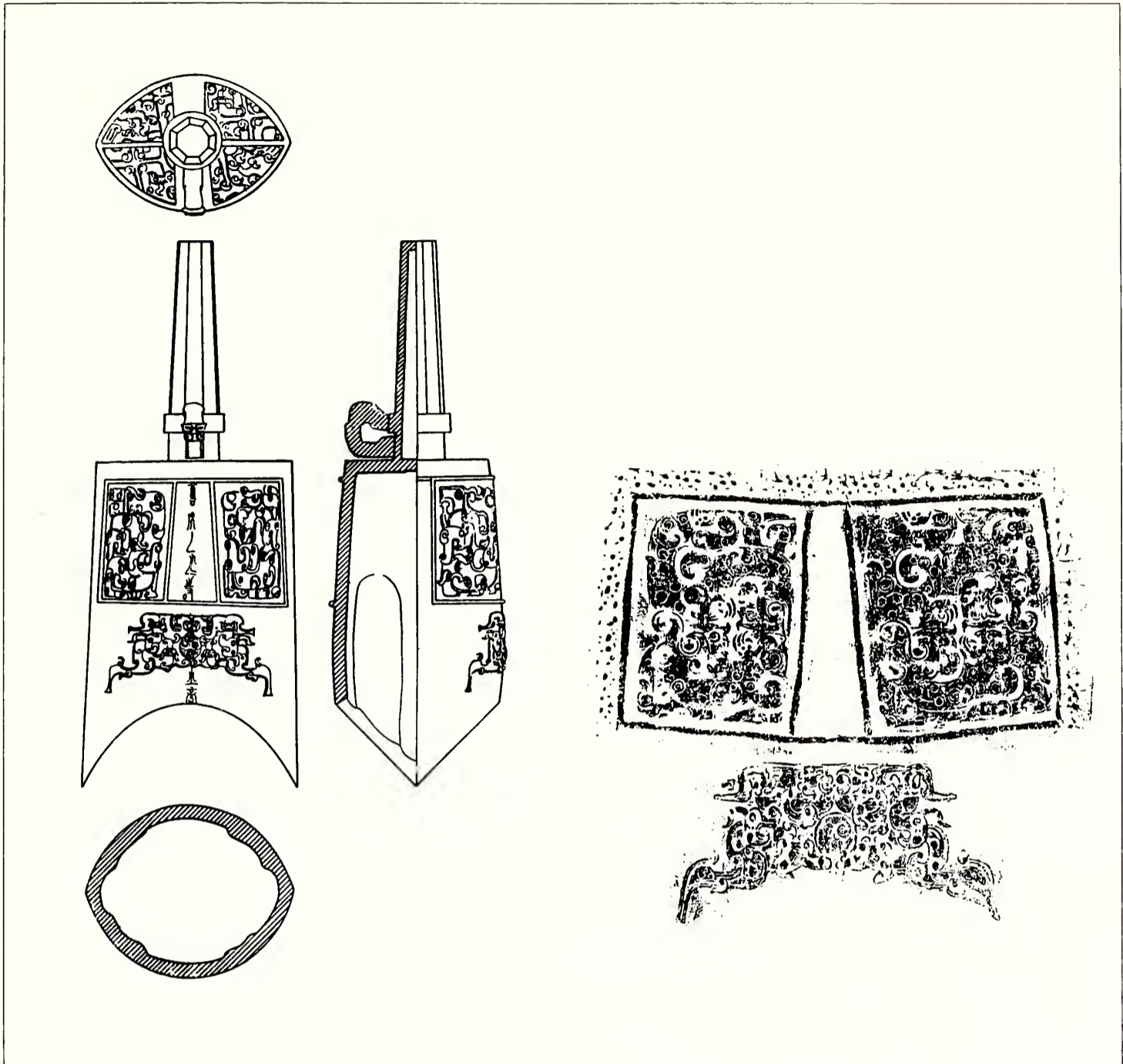


Fig. 29. One of the twelve *yongzhong* from the second set on the middle tier of the Zeng Hou Yi bell assemblage. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 98, fig. 49; rubbing: p. 100, fig. 50.

hooks and curls.<sup>76</sup> And while on the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* the dragon motifs in the center of the lower portion of the bell (*gu*) are still fairly clearly recognizable as such, this is no longer the case on the Zeng bells. Here it is only the contours of the trapezoidal ornamented portion that still hark back to those of the “L-shaped dragon”<sup>77</sup> seen in the same place on Western Zhou bells (fig. 7): the downward-bent lower edges have their origins in its “tails,” and laterally protruding portions close to the upper edges correspond to its “trunks.” However, the dragon’s body parts can no longer be distinguished inside the ornamented area, which has become a configuration of two symmetrically arranged winding units covered with amorphous decor. In the *yongzhong* of the second group on the middle tier of Marquis Yi’s bell-rack (which, it may be recalled, postdates the other *yongzhong* of that assemblage), the striking-point of the A-tone is marked in the center by a relief whorl (fig. 29). And in



Fig. 30. *Chu Wang Xiong Zhang bo* on the lower tier of the Zeng Hou Yi bell assemblage. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 1.



Fig. 32. One of the *niuzhong* on the upper tier of the Marquis Yi bell assemblage. After Sui Xian 1980, pl. 12.

Fig. 31. One of the twenty-eight upper-tier *yongzhong* from Tomb No. 2 at Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After WW 1985.1, pl. 3.1.

the larger bells from Tomb No. 2, the dragons have metamorphosed into volutes surrounding the central demon figure already noted.

We may also note, in various places on the Zeng bells, a tendency to turn away from the time-honored standard bell decoration scheme transmitted from Western Zhou times. On Marquis Yi's *bo* (fig. 30) and on the upper-tier *yongzhong* from Tomb No. 2 (fig. 31), the two symmetrically arranged triple rows of three elongated bosses have been replaced by two symmetrical fields of five flat bosses on an uninterrupted surface covered with a uniform pattern of relief hooks. On the bells of Marquis Yi's second middle-tier chime, no bosses whatsoever appear (fig. 29), though there are still two enclosed surfaces covered with relief hooks. And finally, Marquis Yi's *niuzhong* (fig. 32) are notable for a complete absence of decor.

### The *Jingli niuzhong* and Other Warring States Period Chu Bells

If the Zeng bells represent the culmination of the southern bell-making tradition of Eastern Zhou times and embody great progress, especially in the acoustic realm, the abandonment of traditional ornamentation patterns may adumbrate an incipient decline. Bells from the Chu area dating from mid- to late Warring States bear out such a notion. They are virtually restricted to the comparatively tiny *niuzhong*, while *yongzhong* and *bo* seem to have gone out of use.<sup>78</sup> It is true that the numbers of *niuzhong* per set increased somewhat; yet the mid- to late Warring States *niuzhong* chimes can in no sense measure up to the much more elaborate assemblages of earlier times. As in the mid- to late Spring and Autumn period, Warring States bells from Chu and adjacent regions constitute a stylistically and typologically cohesive group. The thirteen *Jingli niuzhong* 型蒿 [=荆曆] 鈕鐘 from Tomb No. 1 at Changtaiguan, Xinyang, Henan (fig. 33), dated to the mid-fourth century B.C., are the best known.<sup>79</sup> Their decoration still follows the standard bell decoration scheme that goes back to the Western Zhou *yongzhong*. The ornament in the *gu* portion, however, has become even more abstracted than in the Zeng bells. Any intimations of bodies are gone. Instead, unarticulated sundry pieces of animals densely cover the decorated surface in an agitated, jagged pattern.

Only the first of the *Jingli niuzhong* contains an inscription, which is not a complete text and probably continued on other bells of a chime, now lost. Tone measure-

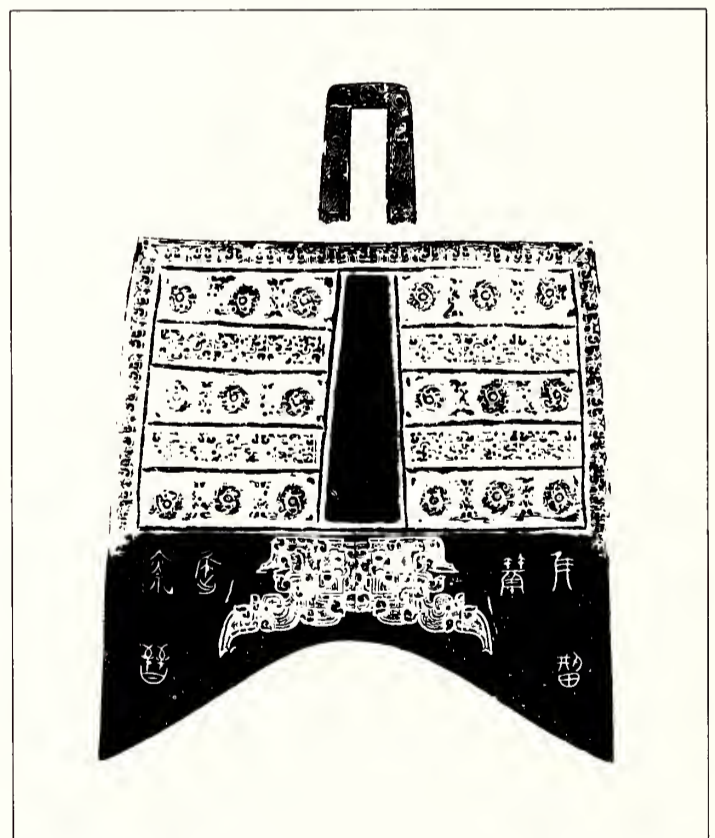


Fig. 33. The first of the thirteen *Jingli niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Changtaiguan, Xinyang, Henan. Heights 30.2–12.9 cm. After Beijing 1986, pl. 8.1; rubbing: p. 26, fig. 18.

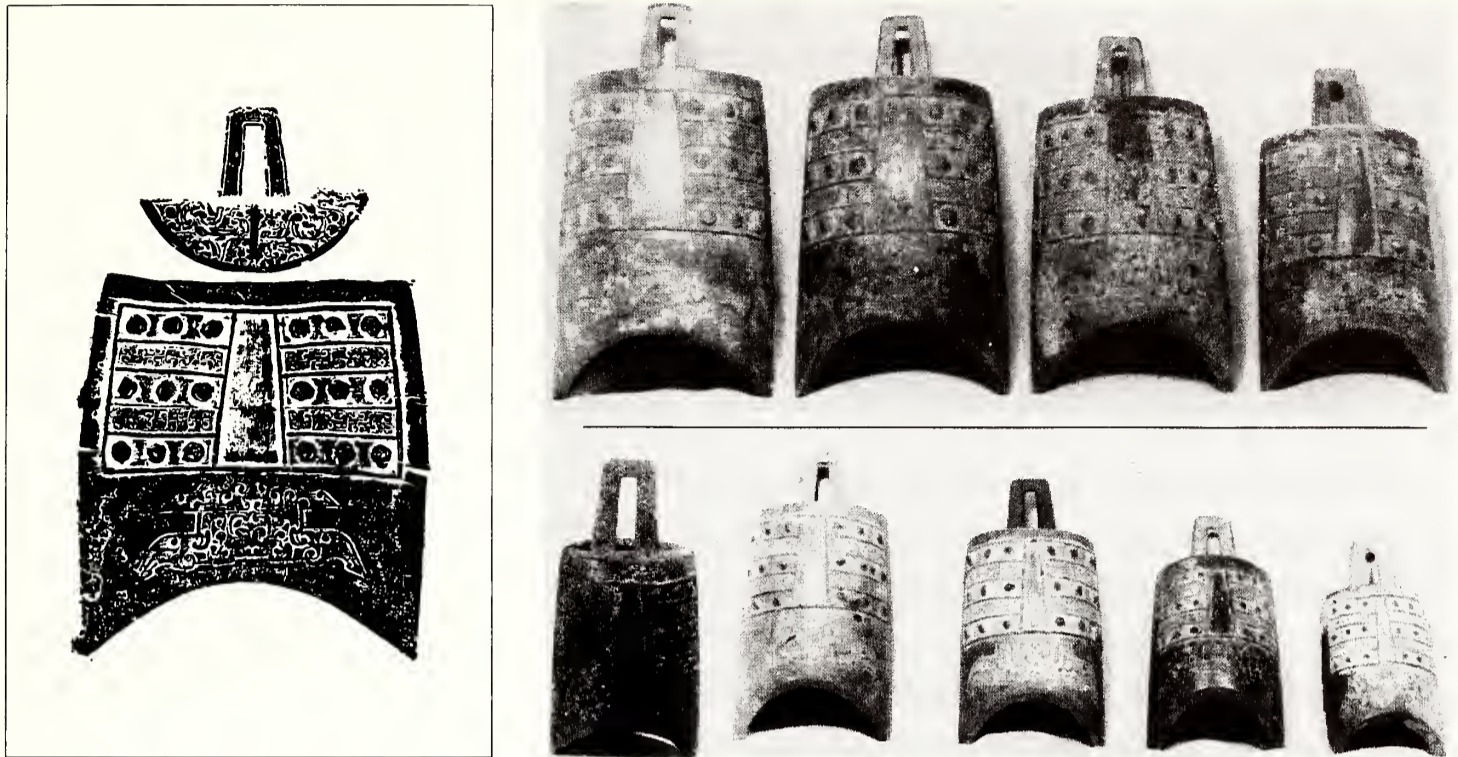


Fig. 34. Set of nine *niuzhong* from Yangmei, Liuyang, Hunan. Heights 22.8–14.8 cm. After WWZLCK 5 (1981), pl. 8.4; rubbing: p. 104, fig. 3.

ments confirm that bell No. 1 does not fit in very well with the others from the same tomb, suggesting that it was probably added to an originally separate set of *niuzhong*, which in turn appears to be incomplete as presently preserved.<sup>80</sup> The tone measurements also show that, while the A-tones yield a regular pattern repeated throughout two octaves, the B-tones make no sense at all. One is led to conclude that in this time, the Chu bell-casters had abandoned the practice of designing chimes of two-tone bells.

Other bells to be mentioned here include:

- (1) the set of nine *niuzhong* from Yangmei 楊眉, Liuyang 瀏陽, Hunan (fig. 34),<sup>81</sup> which are similar in most respects to the *Jingli niuzhong*;
- (2) the *Jing zhong* 競鐘 found at Xinhua 新華, Zhijiang 枝江, Hubei, a single, typologically abnormal bell (fig. 35) similar in both decoration and inscription to the *Jingli niuzhong*;<sup>82</sup>

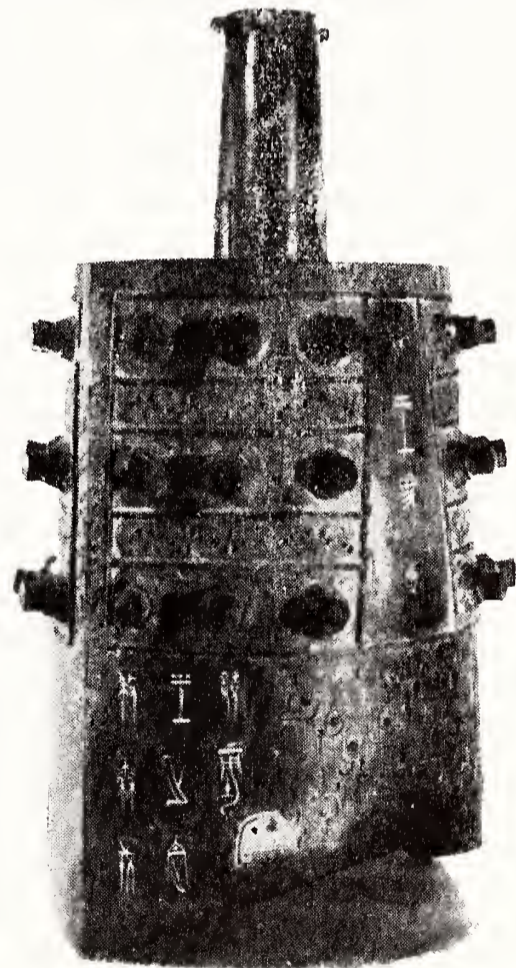


Fig. 35. *Jing zhong* (morphologically abnormal bell) from Xinhua, Zhijiang, Hubei. Height 38 cm. After WW 1980.10, pl.3:4.



Fig. 37. Bell-rack with four *niuzhong* excavated at Tianxingguan, Jiangling, Hubei. After KGXB 1982.1, pl. 20.1.

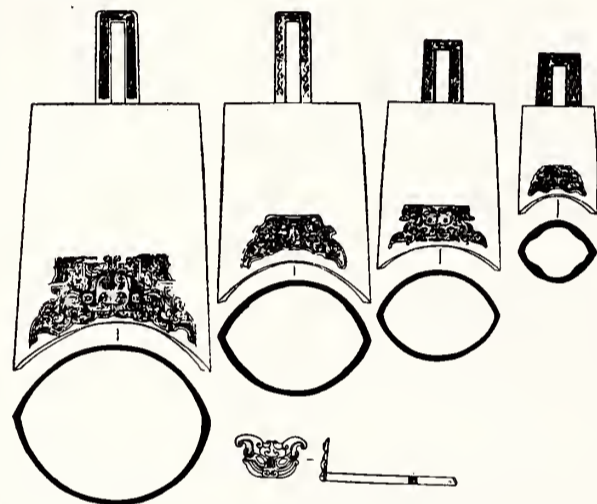


Fig. 36. The four *niuzhong* from Tianxingguan, Jiangling, Hubei. Heights 20.3–9.3 cm. After KGXB 1982.1, p. 96, fig. 19.

Fig. 38. One of the set of fourteen *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Xiaotianxi, Fuling, Sichuan. Heights 27.5–14.6 cm. After Beijing 1976, pl. 78.

(3) the four *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Tianxingguan 天星觀, Jiangling, Hubei, (dated to ca. 340 B.C.) (fig. 36),<sup>83</sup> which have ornamentation only in the lower part of their bell-faces, while the upper part of the bell-faces is blank. These bells differ from one another in virtually all details of their decoration, suggesting that they are not from one set; the oddity of their decoration as well as the way in which they are suspended from much too large a rack (fig. 37) pose a number of presently unsolvable enigmas.

- (4) The fourteen inlaid *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Xiaotianxi 小田溪, Fuling 涪陵, Sichuan (fig. 38), the tomb of a ruler of a non-Zhou polity in Ba territory.<sup>84</sup> Dating to a time shortly before the conquest of the area by Qin in 316 B.C., these are the most ornate chime-bells so far known. Undoubtedly they were made at one of the Chu workshops, for the layout of the bell-faces and the *gu* ornament is virtually identical to that of the *Jingli niuzhong*. An asymmetrically stamped pattern in fine relief adorns the entire upper portion of the bell-face. The rest of the bell is wholly covered with an elegant inlaid gold pattern of lines and scrolls, replicating elements of the relief design on a two-dimensional plane. The pleasant aesthetic effect of these bells is the result of the opposition of areas of agitated relief decor, now covered with green patina but originally dark and shiny, and flat areas inlaid with golden lines standing out from the dark red polished bronze surface. Inlaid Chu bronzes were welcome import items in the areas further to the south and southwest, which were inhabited by unacculturated non-Zhou populations.

In summary, while considerable care was still being expended on the outside of musical bells in late Eastern Zhou Chu, the tone measurement data from the *Jingli niuzhong* suggest that their acoustic sophistication declined. Similar tendencies seem to have prevailed in the north also: here, too, *niuzhong* were virtually the only kind of chime-bells still made, and even though tone measurements are not available, the rounded profile of late Warring States period specimens made it impossible to exploit the "two-tone phenomenon."<sup>85</sup> Throughout the Zhou cultural sphere, bell-chimes were, by mid-Warring States times, technologically well past their prime.

## Musical Ensembles

So much for the stylistic and typological range of Chu chime-bells. Before proceeding



Fig. 39. Zither (*se*) from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 71.

to draw some conclusions, I shall now briefly digress on other types of musical instruments from southern archaeological contexts, for chime-bells were, of course, only one component of entire ritual orchestras.

Our best evidence for the composition of such orchestras in late Zhou times is the two assemblages of musical instruments from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng.<sup>86</sup> By far the largest number of instruments were found in the central chamber of the tomb. Here, besides the chime-bell assemblage already described, archaeologists found seven large zithers (*se* 瑟) (fig. 39), three mouth organs (*sheng* 笙) (fig. 40), two sets of panpipes (*paixiao* 排箫) (fig. 41), two transverse flutes (*di* 笛 or *chi* 箎) (fig. 42), three drums of different types (figs. 43, 44), and a lithophone of thirty-two chimestones (*qing* 磬) (fig. 45). These instruments seem to constitute a fairly orthodox Zhou-style ritual orchestra: they encompass the full range of idiophonic, chordophonic, and aërophonic instruments occurring in pre-Qin texts. In particular, we see in Marquis Yi's tomb almost all the musical instruments mentioned in the *Shi jing*, probably our most authentic and complete textual source on music in the first two-thirds of the



Fig. 40. Mouth organ (*sheng*) from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 75.



Fig. 42. Transverse flute from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 73.

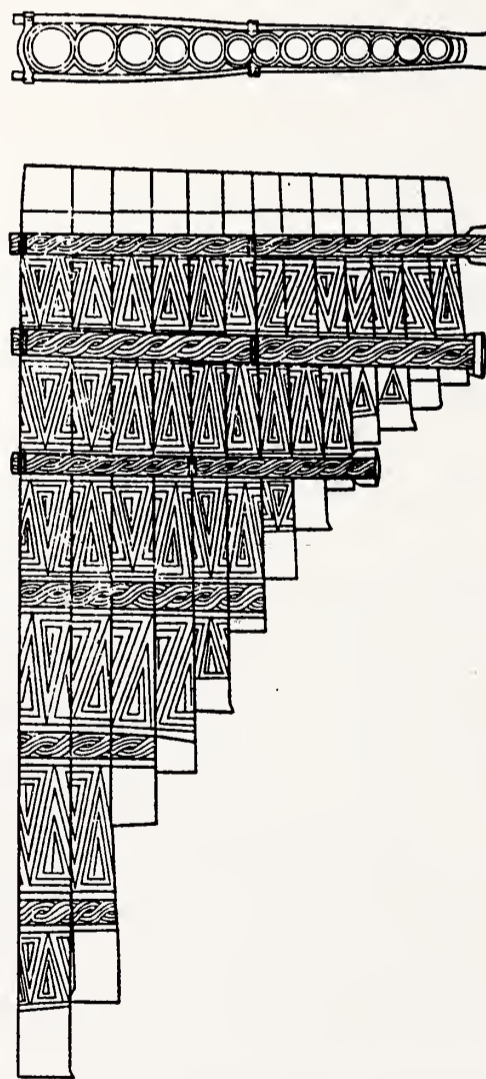


Fig. 41. Panpipe from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After Sui Xian 1980, fig. 34.





Fig. 44. Hand drum from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After *Sui Xian* 1980, fig. 27.

Fig. 43. Drum stand (drum reconstructed) from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After *Sui Xian* 1980, fig. 28.

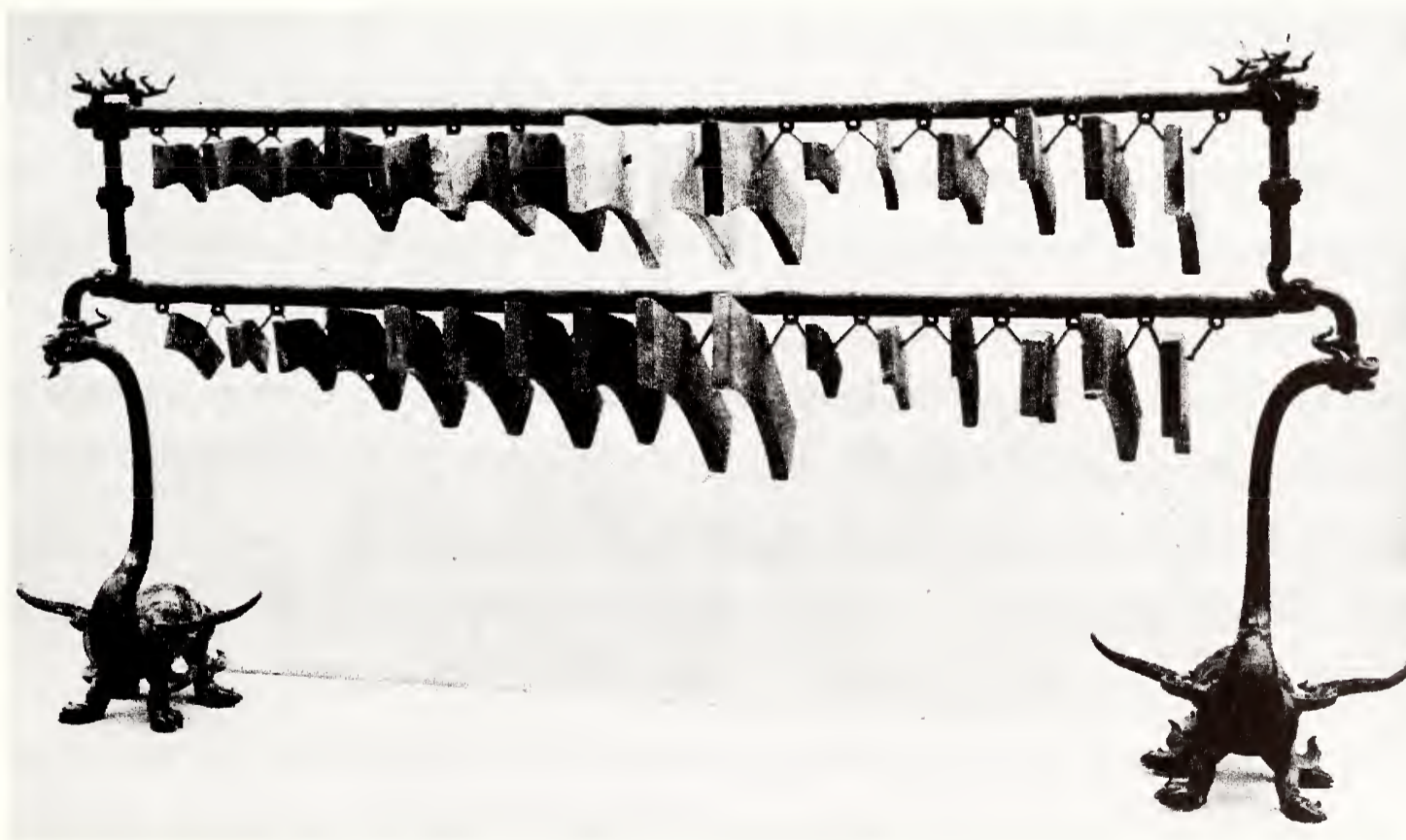


Fig. 45. Lithophone of thirty-two chimestones from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After *Sui Xian* 1980, fig. 23.



Fig. 46. Zither (*qin*) from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 74.



Fig. 47. Hanging-drum from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After Hong Kong 1984, pl. 70.



Fig. 48. One of twenty-five chimestones excavated at Ji'nancheng, Jiangling, Hubei. After Beijing 1972, p. 74.

Zhou dynasty; the only omissions are clay flutes (*xun* 埙 or 埴), tiger rasps (*yu* 圉 or 斨), and wooden striking boxes (*zhu* 祝).<sup>87</sup>

Besides the ritual orchestra in the central chamber (which was a subterranean equivalent of the central temple compound of his palace), the coffin chamber of Marquis Yi's tomb also yielded a smaller and quite different assemblage of musical instruments. Here archaeologists found five large zithers, two small zithers (*qin* 琴) (fig. 46), two mouth organs, and one small, tambourine-like drum (fig. 47). As their location within the tomb corresponds to the ruler's private chambers, these instruments, unlike those in the central chamber, may have been made for musical entertainment in a more informal setting. In that connection the heavy, prestigious sets of bronze bells and chimestones do not seem to have played a role; instead, we find melodic instruments of lesser noise-intensity, which may very likely have accompanied human singing.

Most instruments found in other archaeological contexts may be interpreted as remains of musical ensembles of one of the two kinds found in Marquis Yi's tomb.

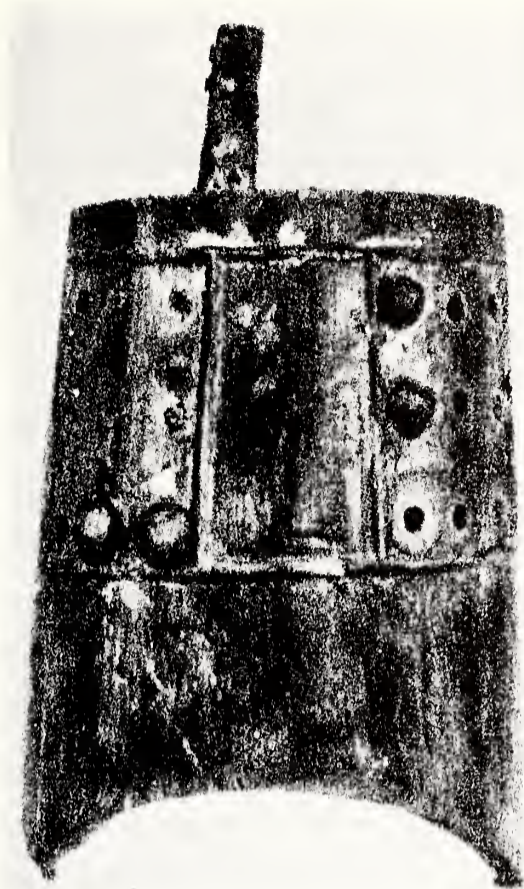


Fig. 49. One of thirteen wooden bells from Tomb No. 2 at Changtaiguan, Xinyang, Henan. Heights 23–11 cm. After *Xinyang* 1986, pl. 80:3.

When they occur in association with chime-bells and lithophones, the chances are that they were probably part of a ritual orchestra; virtually all constellations of this type predate the mid-Warring States period. One such example is the large zithers from the fifth-century B.C. tomb of the ruler of a Chu vassal statelet at Hougudui 侯古堆, Gushi 固始, Henan, which seem to be the earliest specimens so far found anywhere in China.<sup>88</sup> The earlier Chu Tomb No. 2 at Xiasi is also said to have yielded indirect evidence for the presence of zithers, which had probably existed in China for a long time previously.<sup>89</sup> Another wonder of Chu musical archaeology is the set of twenty-five beautifully painted chimestones from Ji'nancheng 紀南城, Jiangling 江陵, Hubei (fig. 48);<sup>90</sup> they probably date to the early to mid-Warring States period and may have been used in ritual performances at the Chu court.

Most assemblages of musical instruments from the fourth century and later, on the other hand, resemble the one from Marquis Yi's coffin chamber. Chime-bells are but infrequently encountered in the hundreds of Chu aristocratic tombs from the Warring States period that have recently been excavated in the vicinity of Jiangling.<sup>91</sup> This does not mean, however, that members of the Chu elite at the time had become indifferent to music. Thanks to the waterlogged soil of central Hubei, zithers, drums, and occasional wind instruments are frequently preserved in these tombs.<sup>92</sup> How typical such finds are for Chu in particular cannot, however, be determined as comparable archaeological evidence is completely lacking in the north, due to different underground preservation conditions. Instrument assemblages similar to those found in Chu aristocratic tombs also prevail in Han dynasty tombs and pictorial records.

Whether or not it was exclusively (or mainly) a Chu phenomenon, the apparent Warring States period shift in the musical instrument repertory embodies the adoption, by the elites of the time, of a different kind of music: one that emphasized the entertaining rather than the ritual aspect. All over the Zhou cultural sphere, the traditional Zhou ritual-ceremonial complex was increasingly relegated to the realm of pro-forma representation. In the process, bells and chimestones, as well as ritual vessels, were often replaced by non-functional replicas (*mingqi*) of reduced size and/or inferior materials (fig. 49). These developments mark a major break in Chinese musical history.

## Some Comparisons and Conclusions

In attempting a preliminary assessment of the material remains of Chu music, we must now again turn to bells. Except for some items adduced for purposes of comparison, the Eastern Zhou bells from Chu and neighboring states presented above form a fairly unified group, both stylistically and typologically; moreover, they feature inscriptions closely related in structure and content and written in a uniform style. I should be inclined to take them all to have been products of the same workshop tradition, quite possibly even of a single workshop located at the Chu capital of Ying 郢 (Ji'nancheng), in present-day Jiangling, Hubei. That a bronze workshop really existed at that location is strongly indicated by the excavation, at Ji'nancheng, of some bronze architectural fittings for wooden palace structures, which are ornamented with relief hooks executed in the style characteristic of many Chu bronzes (fig. 50);<sup>93</sup> it stands to reason that such objects, which were bulky and used in large numbers, would not likely have been imported from far away. The Chu bronze foundry sites remain to be located. One may speculate that the demise of these workshops in the Warring States period was connected to the hasty removal of the Chu capital after the conquest of central Hubei by Qin in 278 B.C.

I hesitate to extend my hypothesis of a uniform metropolitan workshop tradition to the entirety of Eastern Zhou period southern bronzes; but with respect to bells it seems to have some plausibility, especially when one considers that designing and casting harmonically-tuned chimes of them required highly specialized skills over and beyond the mastery of ordinary foundry techniques.<sup>94</sup> A centralized bell-manufacturing industry may have resulted in some form of quality control. Technological improvement occurred, especially in the acoustic realm. This is particularly evident when comparing the mid-sixth century *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* (which is undoubtedly of Chu manufacture) with the mid-fifth century bells from Marquis Yi's tomb. Indeed, Marquis Yi's bells, unrivalled in their splendor, seem to represent the best the Chu bell manufacturers could do.<sup>95</sup>

Archaeological finds and inscriptions document a fairly wide geographical distribution of these Chu bells, both in the late Spring and Autumn and in the Warring States periods. Beyond the area of Chu itself, its chime-bells are also encountered in connection with allied or subject states of Chu all over southern China. Although one might speculate on possible commercial implications of such a distribution (especially in the later part of the Eastern Zhou period), it seems more likely that in most cases bells were gifts bestowed by Chu rulers on neighboring potentates. In some cases, as in that of Cai 蔡, the political context is fairly well known from the historical records.<sup>96</sup> One implication of my hypothesis of a unitary bell-manufacturing tradition is that the pervasive textual as well as calligraphic similarities among inscriptions on Eastern Zhou bells from different southern states can be explained as resulting from the use of model texts generated at the Chu capital.<sup>97</sup>

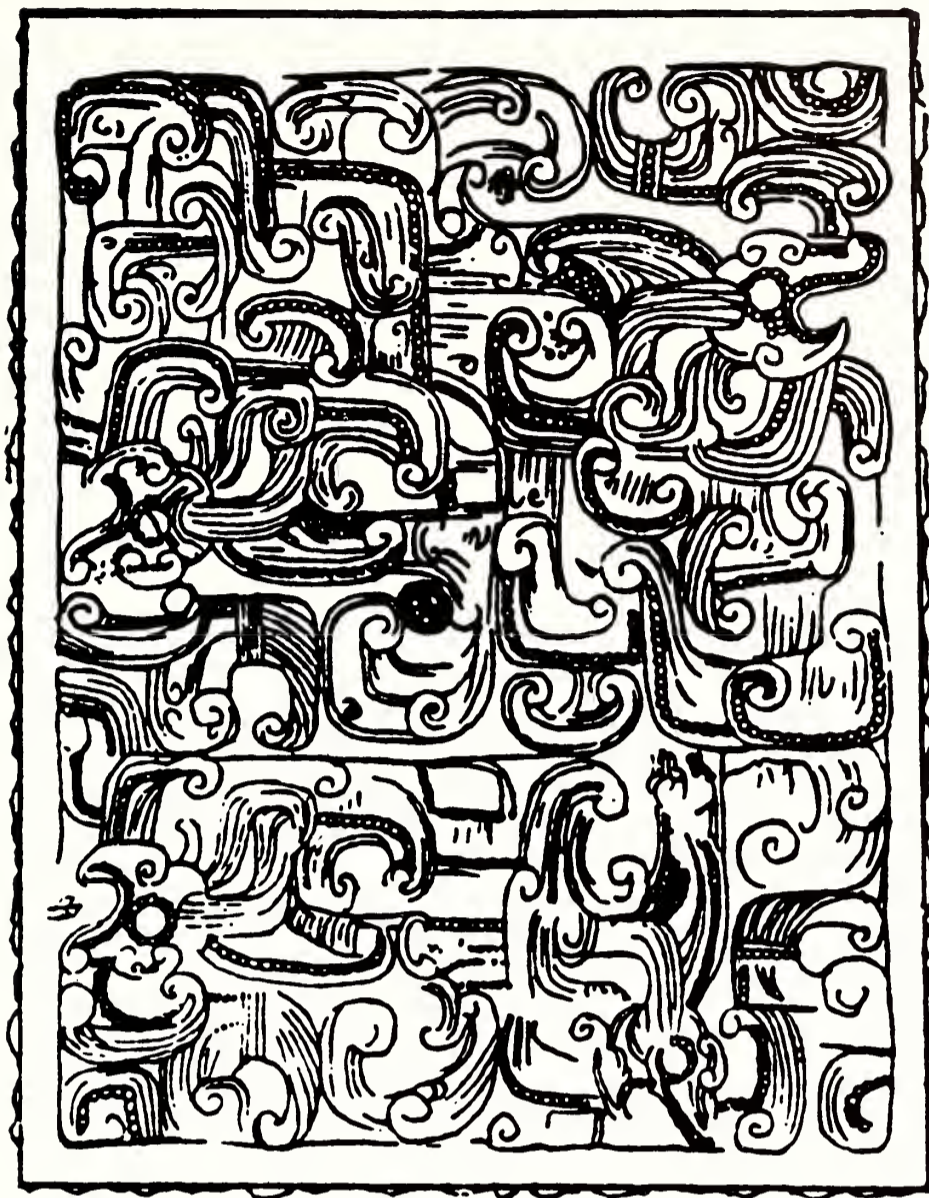


Fig. 50. Rubbing of bronze architectural fitting from the south-eastern section of Ji'nancheng, Jiangling, Hubei. Height 10.5 cm. After *Ji'nancheng* 1980, p. 123, pl. 15.4.

The Chu monopoly on these ritual items was part and parcel of Chu political dominance over the south. In presenting ritual paraphernalia to subordinate rulers, the Chu kings may have consciously imitated models of political interaction first established by the Zhou kings during the Western Zhou. The accounts of Chu history in *Zuo zhuan* and *Guo yu* 國語 suggest that the Chu kings were intent on setting up their own federation of states conceived as, in many ways, analogous to the Zhou *tianxia* 天下 (All under Heaven) in the north. By way of presents of bells from the Chu workshops, subordinate rulers were invested as vassals (*zhuhou* 諸侯) under Chu suzerainty. Other kinds of ritual musical instruments, their players, and indeed the entire system of ritual music, including musical theory, may all have been manipulated as well in the course of these politically-charged exchanges.

On the other hand, we must not lose sight of the fact that the musical apparatus thus diffused from Chu was essentially Zhou in nature. The virtual identity of ritual orchestras in both areas has already been pointed out. Again, bell typology provides a particularly useful perspective in assessing how close Chu ritual music is to that of

the northern states. It turns out that the typological features of southern bells dating to Eastern Zhou times, as well as the iconography of their decoration (which consists almost exclusively of dragon motifs), are virtually contiguous with late Western Zhou metropolitan models from north China; these are also ancestral to Eastern Zhou bells manufactured in the northern states of the Zhou cultural sphere. Differences are essentially on the order of decoration style. Tone measurements on southern bells tend to confirm the impression of overall adherence to a northern, royal Zhou model. It is true that available tone measurement data on Eastern Zhou bell-chimes from outside the Chu sphere are hardly sufficient at present to allow sustained comparison or generalization,<sup>98</sup> yet the tone distributions in the most excellent southern chimes—the *yongzhong* from Marquis Yi's tomb—clearly reflect the enduring tradition of models established in late Western Zhou bell-manufacture in Shaanxi. New departures, as perceptible on the *niuzhong* from the same tomb, may not be specifically Chu; perhaps they should be seen, rather, in the context of intellectual developments spanning the entire Zhou cultural sphere.

Chu's use of Zhou ritual music was part of its desire to be on the same footing as the Zhou royal house. By and large, the adaptation of Zhou musical blueprints in Chu and areas under its influence seems to have been fairly thorough, and we may reasonably hypothesize that, at least by the mid-fifth century, the audible results clearly approximated "mainstream" Zhou ritual music. The apparent decline of Chu bell manufacture after mid-Warring States times probably reflects the diminishing relevance of the royal Zhou model, resulting in a thorough reorientation of music and ritual. However, there are indications to the effect that Zhou musical patterns may not have been consistently pursued even in earlier times. The bells from Tomb No. 2 at Leigudun provide a sobering example of bells of much less excellent musical quality existing simultaneously with those from Marquis Yi's tomb; they are stylistically similar enough to have been made at the same workshop as Marquis Yi's bells, but evidently with different objectives in mind. If there is some cultural significance to their divergence from established models, it would seem to point to a preponderance of the display aspect of bells over the musical one. In other words, sometimes the prime objective of Chu potentates and their vassals may have been to possess the visual trappings of Zhou court ritual music, while acoustical or more narrowly musical considerations may have been secondary.

Even so, one will appreciate the similarity between Chu and the north when contrasting Chu musical bells to contemporary specimens from the southeastern and far southern areas of the Zhou cultural sphere, which, throughout most of the dynasty, remained but incompletely affected by Zhou political and cultural hegemony.<sup>99</sup> The indigenous non-Zhou populations had, as mentioned, developed a highly distinctive bronze manufacturing industry over many centuries. In the time contemporary to the Spring and Autumn period, we find, in the lower Yangzi region and further south, a peculiar type of *yongzhong* (fig. 51) which differs in the following

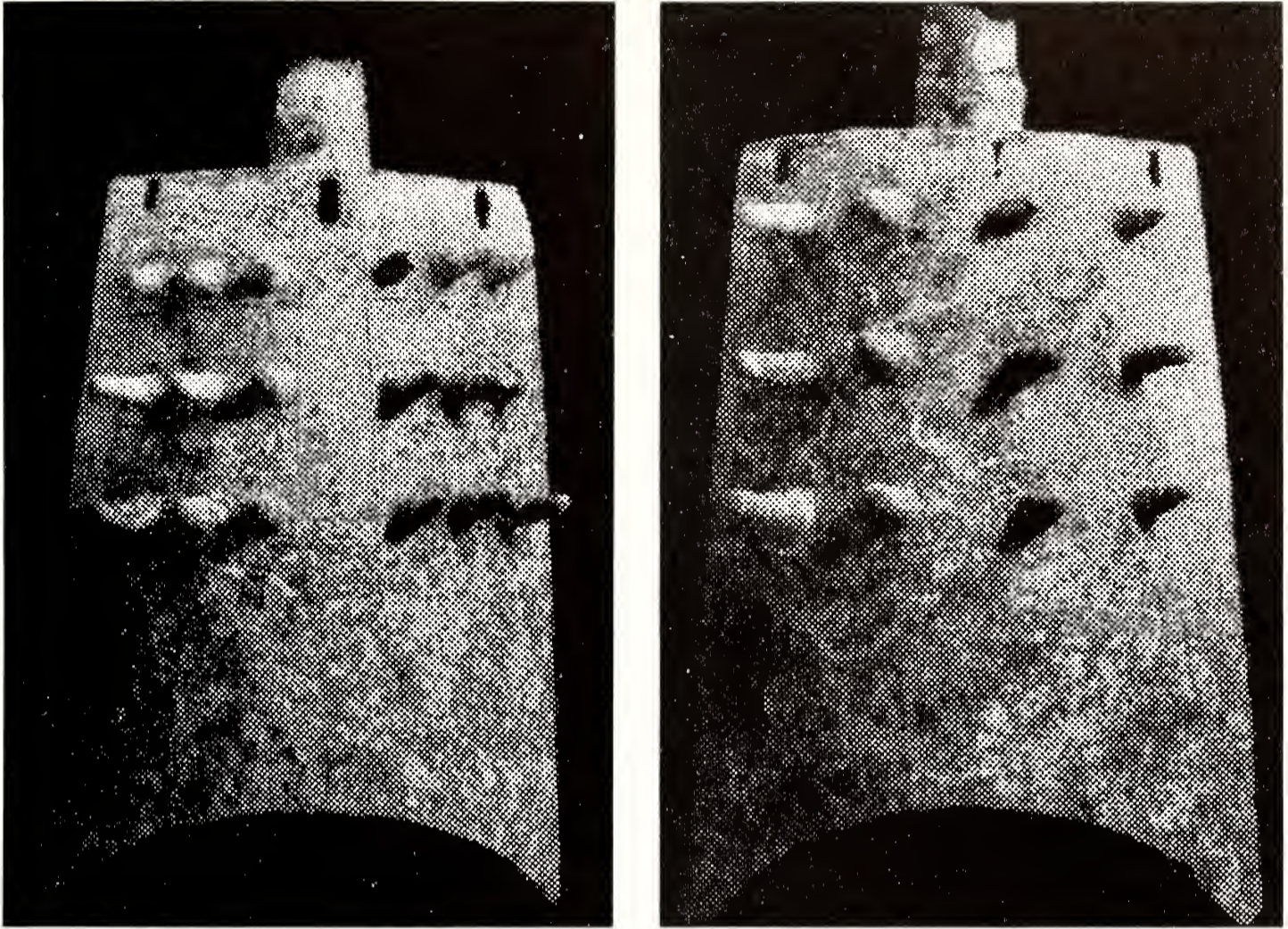


Fig. 51. Recto and verso faces of one of a set of five *yongzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Matougang, Qingyuan, Guangdong. Heights 38.5, 28.8 (fragment), 33.6, 29.1, 26.3 (fragment) cm. After KG 1963.2, pl. 1:4, 7.

ways from contemporary chime-bells from both north Chinese states and Chu:

- (1) their decoration usually covers only the recto face;
- (2) they are never inscribed;
- (3) while they sometimes feature dragon decoration, it most frequently consists of geometric scroll ornament, similar to that of much earlier types of bells from the south;
- (4) the decoration on members of what seem to be graduated sets of such bells is frequently not entirely uniform;
- (5) some specimens have thick flanges running on their shoulders;
- (6) these bells are usually less well made than comparable specimens from further to the north or up the Yangzi.<sup>100</sup>

Even though no actual tone measurements on bells of this type are available at present, it is fairly safe to assume that they were acoustically vastly inferior to Zhou and Chu pieces from further north. The objective in making them could have been nothing but display. Such local-style *yongzhong* are not, incidentally, the only type of apparently deviant chime-bells manufactured in the southeastern area. There were also *goudiao* 鈎鐃 and chimed *chunyu* 錡于, both of which had grown out of

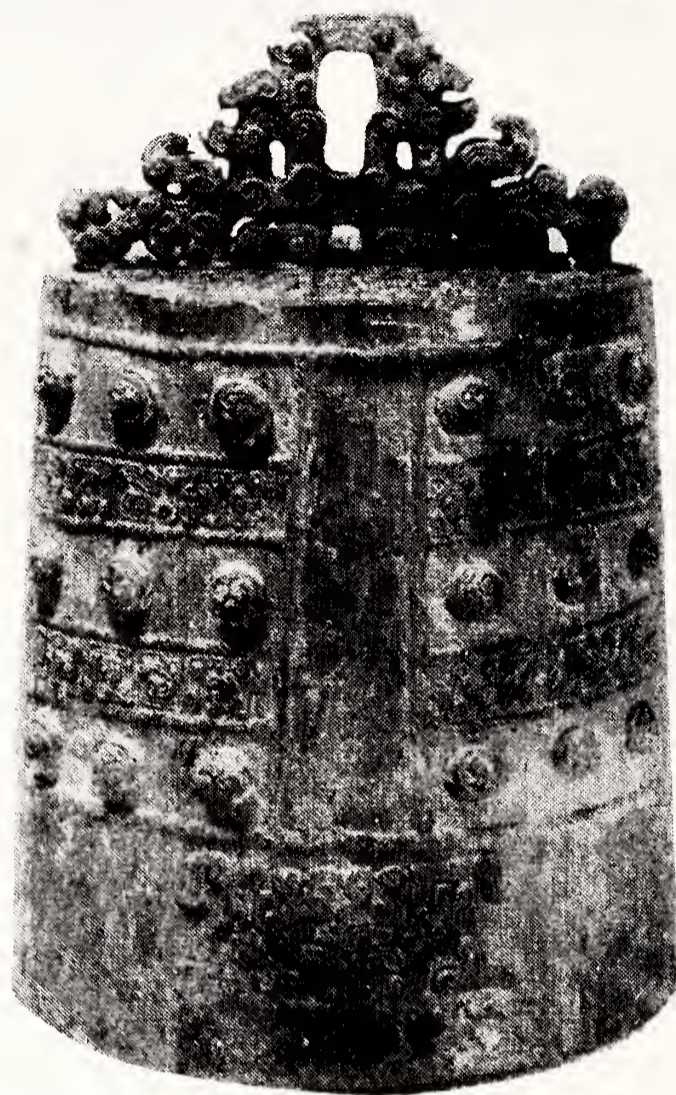


Fig. 52. One of the set of five *bo* excavated from Tomb No. 2 at Chengqiao, Liuhe, Jiangsu. Heights 21.5–19 cm. After *KG* 1974.2, pl. 4:3.

signal-giving bells used in warfare, which were locally transformed into Zhou-style chimes.<sup>101</sup>

We need not now decide whether to interpret these bells as primarily indicating distinct local forms of music or as constituting yet another attempt, less successful than that of the Chu bell-casters, at imitating merely the visual trappings of Zhou ritual music. Undeniably, much of what we see in the lower Yangzi and further south arose as a creative response to Zhou stimuli from the north. Nevertheless, the local bell types do represent a fairly idiosyncratic non-Zhou bell-manufacturing tradition that can be archaeologically defined. Chu of the Eastern Zhou period does not, by contrast, seem to have possessed a similarly distinctive tradition; its bell-casters hardly deviated from the Zhou mainstream.



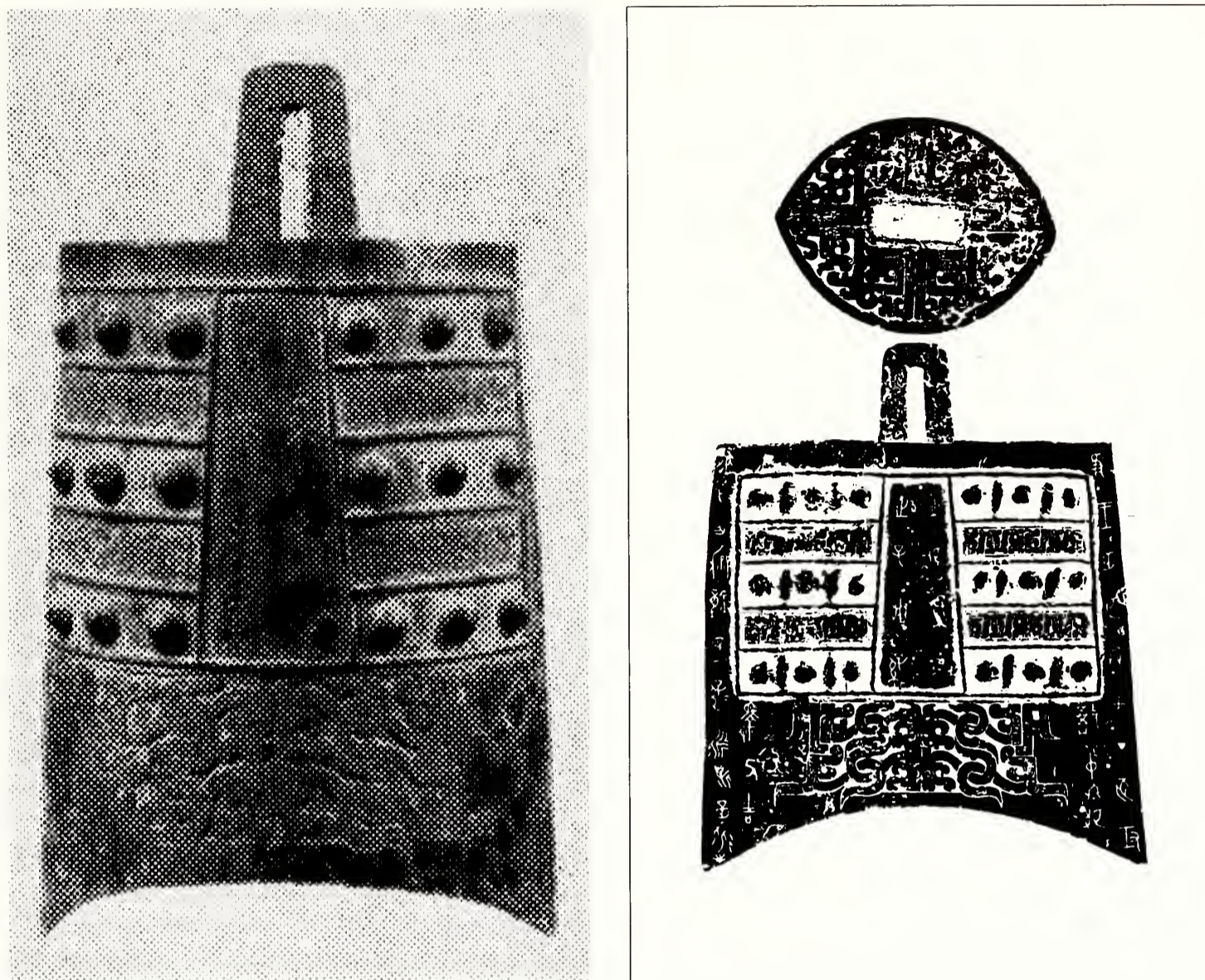


Fig. 53. One of the set of nine *Gongsun Zang niuzhong* from Tomb No. 1 at Chengqiao, Liuhe, Jiangsu. Heights 22.5–14.5 cm. After *KG* 1965.3, pl.1.11; rubbing: p. 109, fig. 8.

Indeed, from about the beginning of the fifth century onward, Chu seems to have acted as a conduit for “orthodox” Zhou musical instrument types into the southeastern area. Chu-style bells came to replace the local bell types in the lower Yangzi area. In the fifth-century tombs at Chengqiao 程橋, Liuhe 六合, Jiangsu, for instance, we see inscribed bells very much resembling those from the tomb of the Marquis of Cai (fig. 52),<sup>102</sup> and others representing the “flat variant” of Chu-style bell ornamentation (fig. 53).<sup>103</sup> Specimens of the aforementioned southeastern *yongzhong* type as well as chimed sets of *goudiao* did, however, continue to be made in areas further south until the Han dynasty.<sup>104</sup>

## Chu Musical Theory in the Zeng Inscriptions

Recent discoveries of epigraphic materials have for the first time provided insight into the theoretical conceptions underlying music in China before it became suffused with correlative cosmology in the fourth and third centuries B.C. The



Fig. 54. Inscriptions on one of the ten *yongzhong* of the third set from the second tier of the Zeng Hou Yi bell assemblage. After Sui Xian 1980, figs. 15 (A-tone) and 17 (B-tone).

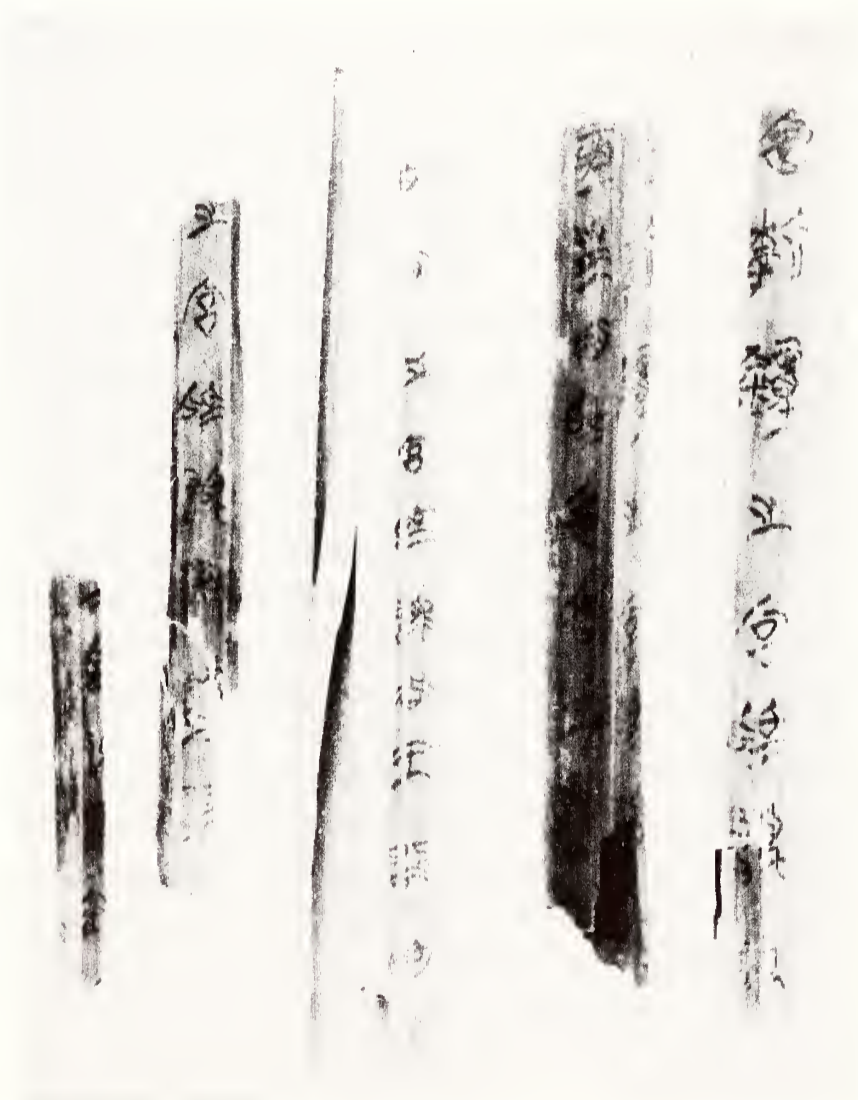


Fig. 55. Inscribed bamboo tubes (fragmentary) from Tomb No. 21 at Yutaishan, Jiangling, Hubei. After WW 1988.5, pl. 5:2.

inscriptions on the bells and chimestones from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (fig. 54) systematically record the names of the tones emitted by these instruments.<sup>105</sup> Inscriptions recording a similar tone nomenclature have since been found on a partial set of very fragmentary bamboo tubes in Tomb No. 21 at Yutaishan, Jiangling, Hubei (fig. 55).<sup>106</sup> Unfortunately, it can no longer be established whether these are pitch-pipes (as claimed in the original report) or the components of a panpipe or mouth-organ—a potentially important distinction.<sup>107</sup>

In a not at all self-evident parallel to Western music, ancient Chinese music distinguishes twelve tones per octave. Music theoreticians of the mid-fifth century were aware of the musical potential of the twelve-tone gamut, and they designed the Zeng idiophonic assemblages with the intention of actualizing some of that potential. The tone nomenclature in the inscriptions allows us to reconstruct a musical system in which tones are defined as movable notes (*yin* 音) with respect to fixed pitch standards (*lü* 律); an approximate Western analogue is that of *do* on A, which is equal to *re* on G, *mi* on F, and so on, where *do*, *re*, *mi*, etc. more or less correspond to the *yin*, and A, G, F, etc. to the *lü*. In this way, each tone can be theoretically expressed as twelve different notes, namely in terms of twelve different pitch standards.

In the two principal *yongzhong* chimes of the Zeng assemblage, the relationships between standard pitches and notes are conceptualized according to two slightly divergent systems too complicated to explain here.<sup>108</sup> We should notice, however, that one of the two systems (System A, documented in the inscriptions on all the *yongzhong* of the first set and on most of those of the second set on the middle tier, on some of the lower-tier *yongzhong*, as well as the inscriptions on the Zeng chimestones) exclusively utilizes the Chu pitch standard nomenclature shortly to be discussed below; and that it is that system again that seems to be expressed, with minor changes, in the inscriptions on the bamboo tube fragments from Yutaishan.

While the names of the notes seem to have been the same everywhere, those of the pitch standards varied from one Eastern Zhou state to the next. A small number from among the Zeng inscriptions (System B, found only on *yongzhong* of the third middle-tier set, on a single member of the second middle-tier set, and on the majority of the lower-tier *yongzhong*) correlate and reconcile these different systems of standard pitch nomenclature that were current in mid-Eastern Zhou China. The standard of reference is the tone nomenclature of an unnamed country, presumably Zeng. Most names of pitch standards in this so-called Zeng pitch standard nomenclature are identical to pitch standard names known from such late pre-imperial texts as *Guo yu*, *Zhou li* and *Lüshi Chunqiu*. Very probably, these “transmitted” pitch standards have some connection with the musical tradition of the Zhou court; the occurrence of a similar nomenclature in Zeng may be a reflection of the fact that the marquises of Zeng were members of a minor lineage of the Zhou royal house.

The *lü* names of Chu, on the other hand, consistently differ from those of Zeng, with one possible exception. From the System B inscriptions, we may hope to glean

Position of <i>do</i> in the octave	The six <i>lü</i>	The six "muddy" <i>lü</i>
12~B		<i>zhuo-GUXIAN</i> 濁姑洗
11~A#	<i>MUZHONG</i> 穆鐘	
10~A		<i>zhuo-MUZHONG</i> 濁穆鐘
9~G#	<i>SHOUZHONG</i> 獸鐘	
8~G		<i>zhuo-SHOUZHONG</i> 濁獸鐘
7~F#	<i>XINZHONG</i> 新鐘	
6~F		<i>zhuo-XINZHONG</i> 濁新鐘
5~E	<i>WENWANG</i> 文王	
4~D#		<i>zhuo-WENWANG</i> 濁文王
3~D	<i>PINGHUANG</i> 坪皇	
2~G#		<i>zhuo-PINGHUANG</i> 濁坪皇
1~C	<i>GUXIAN</i> 姑洗 <i>LÜZHONG</i> 呂鐘	

Fig. 56. The pitch standards of Chu.

some insight into the specifics of the musical theory of Chu. The inscription on *yongzhong* No. 2 in the third set on the middle tier of the Zeng bell assemblage reads, for example:

A-tone: *gong* 宮 [= *do*] on *YINGZI* 贏孛, which is called *XINZHONG* 新鐘 in Chu, *LÜYIN* 呂音 in Qi.

B-tone: *gong* on *MUYIN* 穆音, which is called *MUZHONG* 穆鐘 in Chu.<sup>109</sup>

*YINGZI* and *MUYIN* are standard pitches of the Zeng system, which are correlated with those of Chu and, in the case of *YINGZI*, of Qi. Collating the information from all inscriptions, we find that Chu musicians distinguished six principal pitch standards, which, when arranged according to the pitch of their respective *do*, form a whole-tone set within one octave (fig. 56). The names of all six are documented in the inscriptions, a fact that probably reflects the importance of Chu musical theory in Zeng; for otherwise the inscriptions indicate the names of only one or two pitch standards per state. The only exception is the presumed Zeng nomenclature, which

is used as the basis of reference in the System B inscriptions, and for which, likewise, six positions per octave are documented. Basic sets of six pitch standards appear to have existed as well in those other states mentioned in the Zeng inscriptions.

As long as we consider only the System B inscriptions, the Chu set of six pitch standards seems to differ mainly in name from those of Zeng and the other states of the Zhou cultural sphere. However, when we look at the *yongzhong* inscriptions of the aforementioned System A, we find one feature that, in the Zeng inscriptions, is limited to the system of standard pitches that we know from the System B inscriptions to have been those of Chu. The System B inscriptions indicate, for each of the Chu pitch standards, a “muddy” alternate whose *do* was positioned a semitone below the pitch standard proper; for instance, those of *XINZHONG* and *MUZHONG*, the two Chu pitch standards mentioned in the above example, are called *zhuo-XINZHONG* and *zhuo-MUZHONG* respectively (*zhuo* meaning “muddy,” or, in a musical sense, “flat”). These “muddy” pitch standards intervene between the six principal pitch standards, expanding the whole-tone gamut into a fully chromatic one. This sort of system appears to have been a novelty at the time of the Zeng bells, and it is possible that it was first devised in Chu. With its twelve rather than six pitch standards, the Chu tone definition system may have been somewhat more advanced than those used in the other countries documented. But this is not certain, for “muddy” pitch standards occur only in System A inscriptions, which to begin with make no reference to the nomenclatures of other states besides Chu. We cannot exclude the possibility that the concept of “muddy” pitch standards was also known in the north.

Moreover, even if Chu pitch standards were really more sophisticated than those of the other states, this may not have had much impact on the musical complexity of the pieces performed. Melodies were primarily conceived in terms of notes; and a twelve-part gamut of notes was apparently available to all the various systems of tone nomenclature documented in the Zeng inscriptions, being in no way restricted to Chu. With twelve notes (*yin*), twelve-tone music could have been played with only six pitch standards available (in fact, one pitch standard would, theoretically, suffice); the presence of twelve pitch standards merely extended the scope of possible combinations. The importance of the expanded Chu set of pitch standards would have been mainly theoretical and conceptual in nature.

The development from six-part to twelve-part sets of pitch standards, finally, was not restricted to Chu. Not too long after the casting of the Zeng bells, the set of six pitch standards per octave that is used as the basis of reference in the System B inscriptions was transformed into a twelve-part set, which does not use the prefix *zhuo*, but instead features separated binomial names for all twelve positions. This is the twelve-part set of pitch standards documented in the late pre-imperial texts.

All things considered, then, the difference between the Chu system of musical nomenclature and the others documented in the Zeng inscriptions was not all that

great. They each used the same gamut of notes; the general conception of tones was identical throughout, as was the overall musical system. However diverse the tone-naming vocabulary, the various Eastern Zhou musical systems appear to have been eminently compatible with one another; converting musical data from one system to another appears to have been a simple matter. Indeed, the sundry locally-used tone nomenclatures were probably mere variations on one single system, which may have been historically ancestral to them all.

One is tempted to argue that regionally different systems in Eastern Zhou, including that of Chu, may have been devised to highlight the political differences between the states of the Zhou cultural sphere. It is telling in this connection that musical melodies were probably quite unaffected by the imposition of such systems; differences were, instead, restricted to pitch standards, which were conceived as measuring devices for acoustical phenomena. Sets of pitch standards were similar to length, weight, and volumetric measurements, or to calendrical systems, which are also known, for similar reasons, to have differed from state to state. In all those cases one may perceive an underlying ritual unity going back to common historical roots. This is particularly true in the case of the pitch standards documented in the Zeng inscriptions; there are reasons to believe that a uniform musical theory constituting the basis for their later diversity had first developed at the royal Zhou court during the mid-Western Zhou period.<sup>110</sup>

We have already noticed that, although Zeng may have possessed its own Zhou-derived musical system, it is the Chu standard pitch nomenclature that appears with by far the greatest frequency in the inscriptions. As the basis of reference in tuning the Zeng bell assemblage, moreover, Zeng had adopted the Chu principal pitch standard: *GUXIAN* (also known in Chu as *LÜZHONG*, which probably means “principal pitch standard”) (*do* = C), a third above *HUANGZHONG* 黃鐘 (*do* = G#), usually considered to have been the principal Zhou pitch standard. Thus even the *yongzhong* chimes on whose inscriptions Zeng’s own Zhou-derived pitch standard nomenclature was used, are keyed to that of Chu, once again manifesting the subservience of Zeng under the Chu hegemony. This bespeaks the deliberate, contrived nature of the differences between regional musical systems, which were skillfully manipulated for political purposes. The Chu system was set up to be equivalent to that of the Zhou in all respects, but to depart from it in certain telling points. It was imposed on Chu client states in the course of their investiture with Chu’s Zhou-derived ritual and musical apparatus.

## Conclusion

We have reached no final verdict on the originality of Chu culture *per se*, but it seems clear that some of the parameters that might be adduced to test it fail to prove it. The ritual court orchestras used in states under Chu suzerainty were essentially the same

as those of the north Chinese states. Chu types of chime-bells, though recognizable as such by virtue of certain local stylistic features, closely adhered to northern prototypes; and the Chu musical system was a variant of that of the Zhou, from which it differed mainly in some externals of nomenclature. From this we must conclude that the ritual music performed at the Chu court throughout most of the Eastern Zhou period had little local flavor; it probably remained very much in the Zhou mold.

We observe the rise late in Warring States times of a new type of music which is characterized archaeologically by smaller assemblages of musical instruments and the absence of expensive chime-bells. This development is to be seen in conjunction with the thorough transformation of society during those turbulent centuries. There are textual indications that at that time, the ritual music of the old aristocracy became replaced by popular forms of musical entertainment. It is possible that these "new" forms of music, which endured into the Han dynasty, may have emerged from pre-existing local folk musical styles. But there is no archaeological material to document such a derivation. Moreover, it is known from textual records that teams of performers were exchanged between rulers of states; this makes it impossible to determine to what extent, for instance, archaeological evidence for the "bedchamber music" at the court of Zeng embodied indigenous Zeng musical traditions. From the *Chu ci*, it seems likely that members of the elite enjoyed performance programs comprising a variety of musical styles of different local origins, much as we may hear Bach's *Italian Concerto* performed in the same recital as polonaises and mazurkas by Chopin.

In conclusion, the distinctiveness of Chu music remains elusive, if not illusory. The court culture and ritual music of Chu appear to be essentially Zhou-derived. Perhaps an investigation of the lower social ranks would tell us an entirely different story; but none of the evidence so far available pertains in any sense to Chu folk customs. As long as archaeological work in China continues to concentrate exclusively on the remains of the elite, we shall know little about whatever it is that was special about Chu. If we are to learn more, research orientations will have to change.

#### Notes

1. *Shi jing*, p. 50, Ode 208, stanza 4. Translation after Karlgren 1950, pp. 159–61.
2. See the "Daxu 大序" (Great Preface) to "Guan ju 關雎," Ode 1 of *Shi jing* (*Shisan jing*, vol. 2, p. 273.)
3. Hawkes, for instance, believes on the basis of some geographical names in these poems that the "Zhounan" and "Shaonan" odes were from areas "south of Zhou" and "south of Shao," respectively; in his words, "they evidently emanate from an area that was subsequently part of the Southern kingdom of Chu" (Hawkes 1985, p. 24). I have not seen this explanation of Zhounan and Shaonan in any of the traditional sources.

4. Arguing from this phonetic evidence, Professor William G. Boltz suggests the possibility of an etymological connection between *nan* (\*nâm), which may have had a labial initial (\*bnâm), and *feng* (\*p̥jwâm) (personal communication 1990). Phonetic reconstructions after Keiya 1978.
5. Namely by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) in his *Shi jizhuan* 詩集傳.
6. *Shisan jing*, vol. 1, p. 467.
7. E.g. in the commentary to *Li ji* 禮記, “Wen Wang Shizi 文王世子” (*Shisan jing*, vol. 2, p. 1405). Identically in *Hou Han Shu* (see note 8). In the “Liyue 禮樂” section of *Bai hu tong* 白虎通 (*juan* 2, p. 9b), on the other hand, the name of the music of the southern “barbarians” is specified as *dou* 兜.
8. In *Hou Han shu* (p. 1685), the poem “Gu zhong” is quoted with a variant last line (perhaps from the Qi 齊 or Lu 魯 text of the *Shi*), in which “They wield their flutes without error” is replaced with an enumeration of the other three “Barbarian” musics besides *nan*. This is probably posterior in date to the extant Mao 毛 text of the poem, quoted above. The earliest reference to the “Four Barbarian Musics” occurs in *Zhou li* 周禮: “Chunguan 春官: Diloushi 鞀鞀氏”, (*Zhou li zhengyi*, *juan* 47, p. 1a); see also “Meishi 鞀氏”, (ibid. 14b–15a); full enumerations, however, are given only in the commentaries appended to that locus, as well as those quoted in the previous note.
9. *Hou Han shu*, “Li Chen Pang Chen Qiao liezhuan 李陳龐陳喬列傳,” p. 1686.
10. WW 1989.4, pp. 51–56; Cao Jinyan 1989; see below, fig. 19. The inscription is translated in full in note 63.
11. See *Lüshi Chunqiu*, “Zhongxiaji 仲夏紀,” *juan* 11, p. 7a; *Li ji*, “Zhong Ni Yanju 仲尼燕居” (*Shisan jing*, vol. 2, p. 1614); *Huainan Zi*, “Qisuxun 齊俗訓,” *juan* 5, p. 10a.
12. *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 29 (p. 327); *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 Zhao 25 (p. 416); *Zhou li*, “Chun-guan: Dasiyue” (*Zhou li zhengyi*, *juan* 42, p. 8a); *Li ji*, “Mingtangwei 明堂位” (*Shisan jing* vol. 2, p. 1489); *Bai hu tong*, “Liyue,” *juan* 2, p. 8a.
13. *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 9, pp. 228–29.
14. *Han Shu*, “Liyuezhi 禮樂志,” p. 1043. To my knowledge, the term *chu sheng* does not appear in the pre-Qin or Western Han literature at all.
15. I suspect that *nanyin* is actually the name of a pitch standard, possibly indicating that Zhong Zi Qi played music tuned to the principal pitch standard (LÜZHONG 呂鐘) of Chu (see below). But this is mere speculation. Incidentally, one of the transmitted twelve pitch standards (*shi'erylü* 十二律) is called NANLÜ 南呂 (“southern principal standard”); whether it bears any relation to “southern” musics remains unexplored.
16. E.g. Yang Yinliu 1980, vol. 1, pp. 52–74; Wu Zhao & Liu Dongsheng 1983, pp. 18–21.
17. *Pace Picken* 1977.
18. Cf. Hawkes 1985, pp. 25–26.
19. *Chu ci*, “Zhao hun” (*juan* 9, pp. 10b–12a); translation: Hawkes 1985, pp. 228–29.
20. See Hawkes 1985, pp. 42–51.
21. *Lüshi Chunqiu*, “Chiyue,” *juan* 5, pp. 5a–6b. Gao You's 高誘 commentary has it (ibid.) that *wu* (shaman) stands for “women,” the implication being that Chu music—and thus, Chu politics—had suffered the proverbially perilous influence of women. Again, I would venture to speculate that *wuyin* may possibly have been the designation of a Chu pitch standard.
22. Cf. Chang 1983. For a textual reference to lewd “Shamanic airs” (*wufeng* 巫風) in a text of north Chinese provenance, see *Mo Zi* 墨子, “Feiyue 非樂,” p. 56. Another reference of somewhat doubtful authenticity occurs in the Old Text “Yichuan 伊川” chapter of *Shang shu* 尚書 (p. 6).



23. Much of the material treated in this essay has been discussed at some length in my dissertation (Falkenhausen 1988). The core arguments of that work have since been restated in a more concise form (Falkenhausen forthcoming). This essay takes up part of the evidence again under another angle, focusing on regional developments in Chu. An effort has been made to keep up with new finds, to update bibliographical references, and to provide translations of inscriptions for which renderings are not so far available. These translations are given without further commentary; the philological underpinnings are, however, provided in Falkenhausen 1988 (chapter 3 with its attached tables, and the section on the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* in chapter 5).
24. For a concise description of these events that takes into account archaeological materials, see Li Xueqin 1985a, pp. 170–88.
25. Umehara 1971, vol. 1, pp. 109–10, photo of No. 3 in vol. 2, pl. 67; Sen'oku Hakkokan 1982, cat. nos. 10–12 (photos of all three pieces); cf. also Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, pls. 945–46. Further photos in Mase 1986, p. 88. The short inscription reads, on bells Nos. 1 and 3: “I, Jia[?], the ruler of Chu, on my own behalf made these precious great harmonically-tuned bells; may grandsons and sons forever treasure them,” and on bell No. 2: “I, Jia[?], the ruler on my own behalf cast these harmonically-tuned bells; may grandsons and sons forever treasure them.” The genuineness of these bells or their inscriptions has been variously called into question, but Mase’s (1986) careful analysis of the ornamentation leaves little doubt that the objects are genuine (they are accepted as such by Hayashi 1984, vol. 2, p. 384, *sho* 44, 45). Kane’s impression of “alarming crudeness” and “ineptness” of the calligraphy strikes one as highly subjective (Kane 1974, pp. 99–100); the anomalies she points to do not seem to be very pronounced, especially when considering that early bell inscriptions in general, possibly for as yet ill-understood technical reasons, tend to be somewhat gauche.
26. These scrolls adorn (1) the *zhuanjian* 篆間 registers between the rows of bosses, (2) the flat tops (*wu* 舞), and (3) the central part of the lower portion of the bell-face (*gu* 鼓). While the presence of scrolls usually bespeaks an early date, the fact that here the ridges (*zhuan*) surrounding the rows of bosses and the inscribed central panel are raised above the bell surface indicates a somewhat advanced stage of typological development. On the other hand, these *yongzhong* seem stylistically more primitive than most late Western Zhou metropolitan specimens, which typically feature zoomorphic ornament in the *gu* and *zhuanjian* portions (cf. fig. 7).
27. On bell No. 2, the scrolls decorating the *gu* resemble those on the two others, but they are flanked by two flaring lines adorned with hooks and spirals. The *zhuanjian* are divided diagonally and the two triangular fields filled with triangular dragon-like zoomorphs, executed in bulging raised lines. Although such motifs may be found on metropolitan ritual vessels of the late Western Zhou period, the only other time they occur executed in this manner on a bell is on the *Qin Gong yongzhong* 秦公甬鐘 of the early seventh century B.C. (WW 1978.11, pp. 1–5).
28. Mase 1986.
29. The physical aspects of the “two-tone phenomenon” and the technical problems involved in manufacturing chimes of two-tone bells are addressed in Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapters 2 and 3.
30. Takahashi & Ueda 1986, p. 61; earlier measurements taken by Tanabe Hisao in the 1920s (Hamada 1924) only included the A-tones.
31. On the tone distributions in Western Zhou bell-chimes see Huang Xiangpeng 1978–80, pt. 2; Jiang Dingsui 1984; Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 7.

32. Guo Moruo, following Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, identifies the donor of these bells with Xiong Yi 熊儀, a.k.a. Ruo'ao 若敖, ruler of Chu from 790 to 764 B.C. (Guo Moruo 1958a, pt. III, pp. 164b–165a). Li Ling settles on Xiong Xuan 熊暉 (reigned 757–741) (Li Ling 1986, pp. 356–59). Such datings would put the bells a century or more later than the date that seems warranted on the basis of their stylistic features. It must be admitted that certain textual features of the inscription might also conceivably be taken as an indicator of an Eastern Zhou date: the formulation *zizuo* 自作 (made on his own behalf,) the use of the very character *zhu* 鑄 (to cast) in the inscription of bell No. 2, and the curious inversion of the usual *zi sun* 子孫 (sons and grandsons). But this is quite uncertain. If the *Chu Gong Jia*[?] *yongzhong* do date to the eighth century, they would almost have to be interpreted as deliberate copies of much earlier pieces. Although I find this hard to believe, it is not entirely unthinkable; the already mentioned *Qin Gong yongzhong* (see note 27 above), representing a classical Western Zhou bell-type even though clearly of early seventh-century B.C. date, constitute one possible parallel for such an archaism. In such a case it would be all the more remarkable that the early Spring and Autumn period Chu rulers chose to imitate the style of royal Zhou bells, rather than that of the local *yongzhong* types that for a long time had been manufactured in Chu territory.
33. In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, Chu sometimes seems to be a personal name (as on the *Chu gui* 楚盞 inscription, Shaanxi 1980–84, vol. 4, pp. 120–23), other times a place name (Creel 1970, pp. 233–36). Chu also appears in the Zhouyuan oracle bones (see Li Xueqin's paper in this volume). The material still awaits sorting out. In my view, the mere occurrence of the word "Chu" may not be enough to point to a geographical connection with the south. It is conceivable that in Western Zhou, the rulers of Chu may have resided in the vicinity of the Zhou court.
34. Kane 1974; Hayashi 1980; Bagley 1987, p. 32–36; Wu Hung forthcoming.
35. This process is described in Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 4.
36. *JHKG* 1980.2, pp. 95–96 and 90; rubbing: fig. 2. *KG* 1988.4, pp. 300–06 and 313, blurred photo: p. 306, fig. 8.
37. *WWCKZL* 1958.6, p. 76 (extremely blurred photo). As I was able to determine by personal examination in 1990, there are different ornaments on each specimen. Hayashi takes these as bells of northern manufacture, imported into central Hubei in late Western Zhou (Hayashi 1981, p. 29).
38. See Gao Zhixi 1984a, 1984b and 1986b, and 1984c.
39. This was formerly only assumed (e.g. by Hayashi 1984, vol. 2, p. 391, *sho* 21–28), but has recently been confirmed by the publication of Tomb No. 13 at Zhuyuangou 竹園溝, Baoji 寶雞, Shaanxi (Lu Liancheng & Hu Zhisheng 1988, vol. 1, p. 49).
40. See Rawson 1988.
41. Gao Zhixi 1986a; Bagley 1987, pp. 537–51.
42. Falkenhausen 1989.
43. This is Asahara Tatsurō's metaphor (unpublished handout, 1984).
44. Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, p. 964. An alternative modern pronunciation of the donor's personal name is "Jian;" I have previously (e.g. in Falkenhausen 1989, note 22) misromanized it as "Jin."
45. The inscription runs as follows:  
 Given on day *dinghai* in the first quarter according to the royal calendar. I, Gan, king of Chu, on my own behalf made these ringing bells, may they be deployed [as a set], may they be made to speak. . . . (Shirakawa

1962–84, vol. 40, pp. 532–34).

The text probably continued on another bell of the same chime; Shirakawa accepts the date proposed by Zhou Fagao 1951, pp. 113–18.

46. *KG* 1981.2, pp. 119–27, photo: pl. 6.1, rubbing: p. 123, fig. 5. The inscription is translated and discussed in Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1098–100.
47. *KG* 1981.2, p. 125. Rather than indicating the actual frequencies measured, the report provides those of the nearest tone on the modern equal-tempered scale.
48. These are the nine *niuzhong* from Tomb No. 13 at Shangmacun 上馬村, Houma 侯馬, Shanxi, reported in *KG* 1963.5, pp. 229–45, photo: pl. 3.8, partial rubbing: p. 238, fig. 11.7; tone measurements in Huang Xiangpeng 1978–80, part 2, p. 142. The correspondence of the tone distribution patterns (in spite of the fact that the chimes are tuned to different pitches) was first observed by Asahara 1987. For more discussion, see Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 7.
49. Cf. Falkenhausen 1989.
50. Two similar sets of bells (*bo* and *niuzhong*) with decoration according to the “flat variant” have been unearthed from the tomb of the Lord of Fan 鄆, a Chu vassal, at Hougudui 侯古堆, Gushi 固姑, Henan (*WW* 1981.1, pp. 1–8, photos: pl. 3:2, 4:2,3; color photo of *bo* in Beijing 1987, cat. nos. 197–204; line drawing of *niuzhong*: *ZYWW* 1984.1, p. 76 fig. 3). The tomb probably dates to the first half of the fifth century. The inscription runs, as transcribed in the report:

Given on the day *dinghai* in the first quarter of the first month. I, □□, selected my auspicious metals and made on my own behalf these harmonizing bells. [They sound] □□ *cangcang*. They are good when performing obeisance to the [four] directions; [with them] my sons will make their fathers and elder brothers rejoice. Ten thousand years without limit, may □□ enjoy threefold long life, forever striking them [sc. these bells], □ good fortune [?] of a hundred years.

As on the bells from Tomb No. 1 at Xiasi, the original donor’s name has been deliberately effaced and, in some specimens at least, replaced with the name of the Lord of Fan. Another stylistically similar chime of seven *niuzhong*, with an inscription partly erased and now for the most part illegible, was excavated at Jiuxian 舊縣, Ye Xian 葉縣, Henan, also within the Chu area of influence (*HXKG* 1988.3, pp. 1–18, photo: p. 6, fig. 8.7, drawings: p. 9, fig. 10.1,2, rubbings: p. 9, fig. 10.3 and p. 10, fig. 11).

51. *WW* 1980.10, pp. 13–20; Zhao Shigang 1986, photos: p. 48, fig. 3, pls. 3.1–3,5, drawing: p. 49, fig. 4, rubbings: p. 47, fig. 1, and p. 48, fig. 2; Thorp 1988, cat. no. 9 (color photos). The transcription is translated in Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1044–47. Another translation is in Mattos forthcoming.
52. For a preliminary discussion of the historical geography of Xiasi and the possible relationships between the various individuals mentioned in different inscriptions from that site, see Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1076–116. Li Ling has since alerted me to the situation’s considerably greater complexity than I could envisage on the basis of the scanty published information (personal communication 1989). For the time being, I continue to believe it likely that Wangsun Gao, the donor of the twenty-six *yongzhong*, was the son of Wangzi Wu, donor of a set of large *ding* found in Tomb No. 1. A royal prince, Wangzi Wu 王子午 (a.k.a. Zi Geng 子庚) served as chief minister of Chu from 558 to 552 B.C. The individuals buried at Xiasi, however, may not be close relatives of Wangzi Wu or Wangsun Gao. Their identity remains a mystery, and I have no idea how they could have possibly obtained bronzes of a Chu royal lineage.

53. Zhao Shigang 1986; for further discussion see Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 8.
54. Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, p. 502. This bell was allegedly found in Hubei province. The inscription is translated in Mattos forthcoming.
55. The previously proposed ascription of the *Wangsun Yizhe yongzhong* to the State of Xu is probably wrong; cf. Mattos forthcoming.
56. The object depicted here is the unprovenanced *Ling bo* 鈴鐸, a famous Qi bell on display at the Museum for Chinese History in Beijing (on permanent loan from the Shanghai Museum). Rong Geng 1941, vol. 1, p. 509, photo: vol. 2, p. 969; color photos in Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 85 and vol. 2, pp. 88–89, and in Li Xueqin 1986, p. 22. The inscription is translated in Doty 1982, pp. 160–90. The set of six *yongzhong* in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. (see cover), though somewhat later in date, may be a product of the same workshop tradition.
57. Weber 1973; and personal communication from Robert W. Bagley, 1989.
58. Two pieces are now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Taipei 1958, vol. 2 *shang*, p. 240, and vol. 2 *xia*, p. 464; the latter piece also in Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, pl. 957). As only the recto face is depicted of the one, and only the verso of the other piece, it is not clear whether decoration according to the “flat” variant is to be found on the verso of all bells of the set, or whether it is limited to certain members of the set. Other specimens are in the Shanghai Museum (Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 77 and vol. 2, p. 74) and in the Palace Museum, Beijing (no illustration published). The inscription is translated and discussed in Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1066–75.
59. One such case is discussed in Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1083–86. Besides several bells discussed here, it also includes the *Xu Zi zhong* 鄆子鐘, a bell from the State of Xu 許, whose inscription closely resembles those on other southern bells. The *Xu Zi zhong* is documented only in Song catalogues (see Guo Moruo 1958, pt. I, p. 246; pt. II, p. 193; pt. III, p. 178).
60. Rong Geng 1941 vol. 2, p. 963. Seven members of the chime are known through rubbings. Three of the seven are now in the Shanghai Museum; one is published in Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 84, vol. 2, p. 86f. The inscription runs as follows:  
 Given on day *dinghai* in the first quarter of the seventh month of the orthodox calendar. I, Zhang, the grandson of Qun 羣 and son of Jiang[?] 斤, selected my auspicious metals and made on my own behalf these harmonizing bells. May they be used in feasting so as to rejoice, may they be used to make happy my fathers and elder brothers and the various gentlemen. May I enjoy long life without limit, may sons and grandsons forever preserve and strike them [sc. the bells]. (Shirakawa 1962–84, vol. 40, pp. 576–78).  
 Shirakawa has suggested that the donor might be identified as Zi Zhangyu 子章禹, the last ruler of the State of Xu who fled to Chu after the extinction of Xu by Wu 吳 in 512 B.C. (cf. *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao 30, p. 431).
61. Photo in Yang Yinliu 1980, vol. 1, pl. 21; rubbing in Zhao Shigang 1987. Because of the bell’s small size, the design is slightly simplified by comparison to the *Zi Zhang niuzhong*, which it otherwise closely resembles. The inscription is very similar to those of the *Wangsun Gao yongzhong* and other fifth-century southern bells (see Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1083–86 and Table 37, where the donor’s name is romanized as “Jiong[?];” the present romanization follows a suggestion from Professor Li Xueqin). The text runs as follows:  
 Given on the first day in the first quarter of the first month. I, Zhan[?], son of the king of Xu, selected my auspicious metal and [made on my own behalf]

these harmonizing bells. With them I reverently attend to my bright sacrifices. With them I make happy the fine guests, as well as my august ancestors. With them I make my fathers, my elder brothers, and the various gentlemen rejoice. With them I feast so as to rejoice. When I strike them, they emit a long, drawn-out tone that makes one feel elated; their excellent sound is very grand. Their sound lasts long and may be heard in the four quarters. How blissful and brightly joyous! May I enjoy long life without limit, may sons and grandsons for ten thousand generations strike them. (Yu Xingwu 1957, p. 4; Zhao Shigang 1987).

The donor, evidently the son of a king of Xu, is otherwise unknown.

62. Only one of the four known pieces is properly published (Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 79, vol. 2, p. 78f.). The inscription runs as follows:

Given on the day *dinghai* in the first quarter of the ninth month according to the orthodox calendar. I, the remote descendant Chou[?]-er, grandson of Fusiyou 达斯于 of Xu and eldest son of Zilu 兹路 of Xu, proclaim: 'Oh! How reverent! I am a good subject of Yichu 义楚 of Xu 余 [= 徐], I am the kind father of Cheng 乘. So as to regale[?] my son Cheng, I select[?] auspicious metals, *bo* 搏 and *lü* 铝 [alloys], so as to cast these harmonizing bells. With them I strive to perform filial piety to my former ancestors, to make happy my fathers and elder brothers when offering them drink, food, song, and dance. May my grandsons use them. Tell this to the people of later times.' (Shirakawa 1962-84, vol. 40, pp. 582-84).

Yichu 义楚, the second-last ruler of Xu, ascended the throne sometime before 536 B.C. (See *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao 6, p. 362).

63. WW 1989.4, pp. 51-56, photos of *bo*: pl. 3 and p. 54, fig. 3, rubbings of *niuzhong*: p. 52, fig. 1 and p. 53, fig. 2. The inscription reads:

Given on day *dinghai* in the first quarter of the first month according to the royal calendar. I, Shenliu[?], grandson of the king of Xu, son of Xunchuhu 寻楚猷, selected my auspicious metals to make and cast these harmonizing bells. With them I present sacrifices to my former ancestors. As to metals, it is *fu* 镛 and *liu* 铎 [alloys] that I select; these indeed are auspicious metals to make and cast harmonizing bells. With them I perform the Xia and Nan. Their sound when they are struck, this is what I love. How blissful and brightly joyous! May sons and grandsons forever preserve and use them. (Cao Jinyan 1989).

Again the donor was evidently a junior descendant in the royal lineage of Xu, and the bells must predate 512 B.C. In the original report it is suggested that they may have found their way into the Lower Yangzi basin as war booty.

64. Guo Moruo 1958, pt. I, p. 239, pt. II, pp. 165-67, pt. III, p. 160; Shirakawa 1962-84, vol. 40, pp. 570-73. The appearance of the original object is only known through a distorted early twentieth-century line drawing, reproduced by both Guo and Shirakawa. The inscription is closely related to those of the other Chu and Xu inscriptions already mentioned; a translation appears in Mattos forthcoming. The donor of this bell was a younger son of the early sixth-century king Geng 徐王庚 (cf. Zhang Han & Zhang Wanzhong 1963).

65. KGXB 1982.2, pp. 229-42, photos: pls. 17:2, 19:2; *Anhui* 1987, no. 55. The inscription on a drum-stand found in the same tomb associates these finds with the little-known state (or tribal federation) of Shu 舒, which may actually be identified as Xu 徐 (Chen

- Bingxin 1984).
66. *Shou Xian* 1956, p. 10, photos: pls. 18–21, rubbings: pls. 22–23, 52–59; Tōkyō 1973, cat. nos. 1–4 (*yongzhong*). *Anhui* 1987 no. 77 (*bo*) and no. 78 (*niuzhong*); Hannover 1988, cat. no. 8 (*niuzhong*). Tone measurements of the *niuzhong* and some of the *bo* (A-tones only) have been published in Li Chunyi 1973, p. 16. The inscriptions are translated and discussed in Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1124–47. These bells were excavated together with two signal-giving bells for use in warfare: one *chunyu* 鎗于 and one *zheng* 鉦 (cf. Falkenhausen 1989a).
  67. Hong Kong 1983, cat. no. 47. Several Spring and Autumn period bell-chimes from the lower Yangzi basin that show similarities with the items enumerated above are discussed below.
  68. Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, drawings and rubbings: vol. 1, pp. 77–134; photos: vol. 2, color pls. 3–4; pls. 27–28 (assemblage), pls. 33–38 (individual bells), pls. 232–81 (inscriptions), pls. 294–98 (holographic interferograms). Previously reported in *WW* 1979.7, pp. 1–24; *Sui Xian* 1980; Hong Kong 1984; Li Xueqin 1986, p. 69.
  69. The Zeng bells are described and discussed here only insofar as they throw light on Chu music; for more information and extensive bibliography, see Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 7.
  70. The *bo* inscription is translated by Thorp 1981, p. 68; another translation appears in Mattos forthcoming. The tone-naming inscriptions on the other bells are virtually untranslatable. Their vocabulary is extensively analyzed in Falkenhausen 1988 chapter 4, and in a more summary fashion in Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 8.
  71. Two bells of that last assemblage, which was presented to Marquis Yi by King Hui of Chu in the second-last year of his reign, were discovered at Anlu 安陸, Hubei, in the twelfth century A.D. From this one may see that large assemblages of bells were not necessarily kept together, but could be interred at vastly different locations. Unlike the *bo* from Leigudun, the two bells from Anlu (whose typological affiliation remains uncertain) seem to have hosted tone-naming inscriptions, which for centuries, until the discovery of Marquis Yi's tomb, had mystified all exegetes. The text of the inscription is recorded in Xue Shangong 1935, *juan* 6, p. 53a–b. A rubbing of uncertain origin is reproduced in Wu Zhao 1980.
  72. Three sets of measurements are tabulated in Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, pp. 110–15.
  73. *WW* 1985.1, pp. 16–36, photos: pls. 2.1, 3; drawing: pl. 29, figs. 34, 35; Hong Kong 1984, photo: pls. 66–67a.
  74. Xu Dinghui *et al.* 1988.
  75. The demon is represented with his legs astride, perhaps sitting on the back of an animal whose face may be seen underneath him. In his hands, he holds two winding snakes, their heads facing towards the center. Similar figures holding two snakes are represented on various Warring States period objects of south Chinese provenance, e.g., on the *Da Wu ge* 大武戈, a Warring States period ceremonial weapon of Ba 巴 style excavated at Zhanghecheqiao 漳河車橋, Jingmen 荊門, Hubei (*WW* 1963.1, pp. 64–65), on a *duo* 鐸 of alleged Jincun provenance, now in the Tōkyō National Museum (Rong Geng 1941, vol. 1, p. 489, vol. 2, p. 930), on the lacquered *se* from Tomb No. 1 at Changtaiguan 長臺關, Xinyang 信陽, Henan (*Xinyang* 1986, color pl. 2:3), dating to the first half of the fourth century (Li Xueqin 1985b, p. 161), on the lacquered decoration of Marquis Yi's inner coffin from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun (Hong Kong 1984, pl. 39a,d; and Alain Thote's paper in this volume), and on the Warring States period

Chu Silk Manuscript from Changsha (Hayashi 1972, p. 148). They have been tentatively linked to creatures mentioned in *Shan hai jing* 山海經 (Ma Chengyuan 1963, Yu Weichao 1964). Figures of this kind have been associated with the spirit cults and shamanistic practices of ancient Chu (cf. Chang 1983, pp. 65–68). At present, however, we cannot identify specific deities or be concrete about their religious significance.

76. These decor elements are executed in three degrees of density: the smallest ones may be seen in the *zhuanjian*; medium-sized ones adorn the flat top, the shank, and the outer margins of the *zheng*; and the most widely spaced and most skillfully molded decorative elements adorn the central *gu* decoration motif. These large relief elements in turn are covered with fine striated and granulated patterns; similarly fine ornaments also adorn the three-dimensionally protruding *zhuan* ridges, which are ordinarily left unornamented on Zhou *yongzhong*.
77. So called by Hayashi 1986.
78. Falkenhausen 1989.
79. *WWCKZL* 1957.9, pp. 21–22; *WWCKZL* 1958.1 pp. 15–23, photos: pp. 4, 12, 13. *Xinyang* 1986, drawings and rubbings: pp. 21–29, photos (poor quality): pls. 6–12. Better photos of bell No. 1 are in Tokyo 1976, cat. nos. 28–40; color photos in Li Xueqin 1986, p. 69. The inscription seems to say: “In the *quluan* 屈樂 month of the Chu calendar, men from Jin rescued the Rong 戎 barbarians within Chu territory...” The identification of *quluan* as the name of a month in the Chu calendar (Jingli, alternatively read as Gengli or Gengxi) follows that of Zhu Dexi 1979. The historical event referred to remains uncertain; those proposed by Guo Moruo (1958b) and Zhao Shigang (1983) are both too early to fit the bell’s style.
80. Yang Yinliu 1959 (A-tones only); Chen Tong and Zheng Darui 1980, 1985; Ma Chengyuan 1981, p. 140 (A- and B-tones).
81. *WWZLCK* 5(1981), pp. 103–05, photo: pl. 8.4, rubbing: p. 104, fig. 3.
82. *WW* 1974.6, p. 86, photo: p. 86; *JHKG* 1980.2, pp. 55–59, rubbing: p. 55, fig. 1; *WW* 1980.10, pp. 31–41, photo: pl. 3.4. The mode of mounting as well as the musical function of this bell remain unclear. As the inscription does not constitute a complete text, the bell was probably part of a set, other members of which contained the rest of the document (Yu Weichao 1980, p. 27). A translation of the inscription is impossible at present; in an interesting parallel to the *Jingli niuzhong* inscription, the subject matter seems to be the rescuing of certain “Rong barbarians of Qin 秦戎.” As a “king of Qin 秦王” is mentioned twice, this bell certainly postdates the year 325 B.C. when the ruler of Qin first assumed the title of king. This dovetails with the bell’s stylistic features. Li Jin’s (1980) dating to the aftermath of the war between Chu and Qin in 580 B.C. must therefore be rejected; Rao Zongyi (1981, p. 75) more plausibly suggests a connection with the Chu campaign of Zhao Xiang Wang 昭襄王 of Qin in 278 B.C.
83. *KGXB* 1982.1, pp. 71–116; photos: pls. 19.9 and 20.1; drawing: p. 96, fig. 19.
84. *WW* 1974.5, pp. 61–80, pls. 1, 2.4; Fong 1980, pp. 287–89, 315; Hiroshima 1985, pp. 28–29, cat. no. 40; color photo in Li Xueqin 1986, p. 141.
85. Falkenhausen 1989.
86. Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, pp. 75–175.
87. None of these seems very crucial to the timbre of the ensemble as a whole. Whereas archaeological remains of clay flutes are abundant, especially in neolithic and early Bronze Age contexts (Zhuang Benli 1972; Lü Ji 1978, Pan Jianming 1980), tiger rasps and wooden striking boxes are so far undocumented archaeologically.

88. WW 1981.1, pp. 1–8. See also note 50 above.
89. WW 1980.10, pp. 13–20.
90. KG 1972.3, pp. 41–48, tone measurements (useless because most specimens have been either broken or chipped) on p. 44. Also reported in WW 1972.1, p. 75; color photo in Beijing 1972a, pl. 74.
91. The only Warring States period specimens found in the area so far are the chime-bells from Tianxingguan (see note 83 above), and an empty bell-rack at Jiuli 九澧, Linli 臨澧, Hunan, the bells of which had presumably been looted (*Chu wenhua* 1984, p. 124). Those bells that do turn up archaeologically tend to be signalling bells, probably for use in warfare-related contexts (Falkenhausen 1989).
92. Finds reported through 1987 include: one drum with drumstick from Tomb No. 34 at Gebeisi 葛陂寺, Jiangling (WW 1964.9, pp. 27–30); one *se* and one drum from Tomb No. I-4 at Paimashan 拍馬山, Jiangling, Hubei (WW 1964.9, pp. 30–32); *se* and/or drums in various combinations from Tombs Nos. M2, 11, 16, and 21 at Paimashan (KG 1973.3, pp. 151–61); one *se* and two drums with drumsticks from Tomb No. 1 at Tengdian 藤店, Jiangling, Hubei (KGXB 1982.1, pp. 71–116); *se* and drum stands from Tombs Nos. 1 and 2 at Wangshan 望山, Jiangling, Hubei (WW 1966.5, pp. 33–55); single drums from sixteen tombs, single *se* from four tombs, combinations of *se* and drum from two tombs, a combination of drum and *sheng* from one tomb, No. 140, a combination of *se* and a warfare-related signalling bell from one tomb, No. 556, and a combination of *se*, drum, and *sheng* from one tomb, No. 394, at Yutaishan 雨臺山, Jiangling, Hubei (*Yutaishan* 1984, p. 105). The Tianxingguan assemblage is exceptional for comprising, besides the four *niuzhong* already mentioned, six *sheng*, four *se*, two drums of different sizes, and remnants of a sizeable lithophone.
93. *Ji'nancheng* 1984, p. 97, fig. 7:5 and p. 123, pl. 15:4. Similar architectural fittings dating to the latter part of the Spring and Autumn period have also been excavated in some number at Fengxiang 鳳翔, Shaanxi, the former Qin capital of Yong 雍 (KG 1976.2, pp. 121–28, Yang Hongxun 1976; Li Xueqin 1986, color photos: pp. 18–19); here, too, the style is identical to that of Qin regional ritual bronze vessels.
94. Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapters 2 and 3.
95. Even though only the single *bo* from Marquis Yi's tomb furnishes a direct epigraphic proof of its Chu origin, it seems more than likely that the entire bell assemblage was manufactured in Chu. Not only does it appear improbable from common sense that Zeng, a small state completely dominated by Chu, could have commanded the material and human resources to make bell-chimes of such quality and number, but the predominance of Chu-type tone nomenclature in their inscriptions (see below) also strongly bespeaks a Chu origin. It is impossible to estimate at present how many similar sets might have existed in the fifth century B.C.
96. See Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 1135–47.
97. See the inscriptions translated in notes 60–63, as well as the references to translations published elsewhere in notes 51–66.
98. The only useful data are those from the Spring and Autumn period *niuzhong* from Shangmacun, Houma, Shanxi (see note 48), and from the late fifth-century *Biao niuzhong* 廡鈕鐘 from Jincun 金村, Luoyang, Henan (Takahashi 1984 and 1986).
99. Li Xueqin (in this volume) follows contemporary Chinese convention in naming these populations as Baiyue 百越 or “Hundred Yue-Tribes,” but some caution is in order when applying ethnonyms from mostly later texts to archaeologically-known populations.



100. Finds from the lower Yangzi basin include: (1) two examples from Zoumashan 走馬山, Daye 大冶, Hubei (*WWZLCK* 5 [1981], pp. 203–05); (2) two examples from Qingshan 青山, Gaochun 高淳, Jiangsu (*WWZLCK* 5 [1981], pp. 108–09); (3) one example from Tangjiashan 湯家山, Fanchang 繁昌, Anhui (*WW* 1982.12, pp. 47–49); (4) twenty-three examples (five sets) from Ya'erzhou 鴨兒洲, Guangji 廣濟, Hubei (*JHKG* 1984.4, pp. 38–47); (5) one example from Yangcun 楊村, Huangshan 黃山, Anhui (*KG* 1988.5, p. 465). Finds from the far southern region include: (6) one example from Luyu 蘆圩, Binyang 賓陽, Guangxi (*WW* 1978.10, pp. 93–96); (7) six examples (two sets) from Tomb No. 1 at Matougang 馬頭崗, Qingyuan 清遠, Guangdong (*KG* 1963.2, pp. 57–61); (8) seven examples from Tomb No. 2 at Matougang (*KG* 1964.4, pp. 138–42); (9) seven examples from Meicun 梅村, Boluo 博羅, Guangdong (mentioned in Guangdong Provincial Museum 1984, p. 69 and *KGXB* 1984.4, pp. 413–14); (10) six examples from Nanmendong 南門洞, Luoding 羅定, Guangdong (*KG* 1983.1, pp. 43–48, 29); (11) one example from Nanxiang 南鄉, Heng Xian 橫縣, Guangxi (*KG* 1984.9, pp. 798–806); (12) six examples from Songshan 松山, Zhaoqing 肇慶, Guangdong (*WW* 1974.11, pp. 69–79; Guangdong Provincial Museum 1984, cat. no. 83, pp. 113, 266–67); (13) one fragmented specimen from Supan 蘇盤, Nanning 南寧, Guangxi (*WW* 1978.10, pp. 93–96); (14) one example from Yangjia 秧家, Gongcheng 恭城, Guangxi (*KG* 1973.1, pp. 30–34, 41; *Guangxi* 1978, pl. 40).
101. Falkenhausen 1989.
102. These are the seven *Zheshang niuzhong* from Tomb No. 2 at Chengqiao (*KG* 1974.2, pp. 116–20; photos: pl. 4; rubbing: p. 117, fig. 3). Their inscription is largely illegible, apparently due to corrosion.
103. The nine *Gongsun Zang niuzhong* and a set of five *bo* were unearthed from Tomb No. 1 at Chengqiao (*KG* 1965.3, pp. 105–15; photos: pls. 1:3,6,11; rubbings: pp. 109–11, figs. 8–10). Their donor was a member of a minor branch of the ruling house of Wu and their *terminus ante quem* must be the annihilation of Wu by Yue in 473 B.C. The *gu* decoration on these pieces is unusual for its intersecting dragon bands. Related examples are: (1) the eleven *niuzhong* from Baizhadi 白闌地, Chao Xian 巢縣, Anhui (*WWCKZL* 1956.8, p. 73); (2) the nine *niuzhong* from the necropolis of the statelet of Teng 滕 at Zhuanglixicun 庄里西村, Teng Xian 滕縣, Shandong (*Zhongguo Kaoguxue Hui* 1984, p. 121; no illustrations published, but I saw one specimen at the Teng Xian Museum in August, 1986, thanks to the kindness of the director Wan Shuying); (3) the unprovenanced *Zhediao niuzhong* 者刃鈕鐘 may also belong to this group. Their number is somewhat uncertain: eight examples in the Tōhata Collection, Hyōgo (Asahara 1988a); two in the Sen'oku Hakkokan (Sen'oku Hakkokan 1982, cat. nos. 14–15); one in the Shanghai Museum (Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, p. 963; Shanghai 1964, vol. 1, p. 78, vol. 2, p. 76f); one in the Palace Museum, Beijing (unpublished); and one (?) in the Shandong Provincial Museum (mentioned in *WWCKZL* 1951.8, pp. 105–06). Their decoration most closely resembles that on the recently excavated *niuzhong* from Jiuxian, Ye Xian, Henan (see note 50). As the inscription gives a date in the Yue calendar, and the name of their donor, *Zhediao*, is typical of the southeastern area (Asahara 1988), it appears these bells were made for an aristocrat from the State of Yue. A proposed dating to the reign of King Goujian (reigned 490–469 B.C.) has been tentatively accepted by Shirakawa (1962–84, vol. 40, pp. 604–09).
104. See Falkenhausen forthcoming, appendix IV.
105. These inscriptions are authoritatively transcribed and commented on by Qiu Xigui

and Li Jiahao in Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, pp. 532–82; and further discussion on pp. 121–31; photos of the bell inscriptions: vol. 2: pls. 232–81. Previous transcriptions published in *YYYJ* 1981.1, pp. 3–16, and by Jao Tsung-i & Zeng Xiantong 1985a, pp. 129–48, must now be regarded as superseded. In this essay, the inscriptions are discussed only inasmuch as they bear on Chu music; for further explanations and references to additional literature, see my discussion of the Zeng inscriptions in Falkenhausen 1988, chapter 4, and in Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 8.

106. *WW* 1988.5, pp. 35–38 and Tan Weisi 1988.
107. Cf. Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 9.
108. See Falkenhausen 1988, pp. 829–41.
109. Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, p. 545; *YYYJ* 1981.1, pp. 10–11.
110. See Falkenhausen forthcoming, chapter 9.

# CHU BRONZE WORK: A UNILINEAR TRADITION, OR A SYNTHESIS OF DIVERSE SOURCES?

*Colin Mackenzie*

By the Han period the ruling house of Chu had been credited with a lineage of no lesser antiquity than that of the three earliest recorded dynasties, the Xia, the Shang and the Zhou.<sup>1</sup> Like their genealogies, that of Chu fades imperceptibly from history into mythology. Records of campaigns directed against Chu in bronze inscriptions of the reigns of the Zhou kings, Zhao 昭, Mu 穆 and Gong 共, were for long the earliest contemporary evidence for its existence.<sup>2</sup> The discovery in the Zhouyuan 周原 of oracle bone inscriptions from the early reigns of the Western Zhou mentioning a Chu embassy apparently headed by the Chu ruler himself pushes the historical existence of Chu back even further.<sup>3</sup> It is now no longer plausible to dismiss out of hand the claim recorded in the *Shi ji* 史記 that Yu Xiong 鬻熊, the first of the Chu rulers to be named according to the formula Xiong X, served Wen Wang 文王 of Zhou.<sup>4</sup>

The chronological span of Chu history is matched by its geographical scope and the richness of its culture, both artifactual and literary. At the period of its greatest extent, Chu territory stretched from the exit of the Yangzi gorges in the west to the east coast, and from central-southern Henan to the Nanling 南嶺 range in the south.<sup>5</sup> Even if Chu's control of all the regions nominally subject may have been in some cases tenuous, it still represents an empire which stands comparison with the territory of the Shang or Zhou dynasties at their height. Its tremendous material wealth can be gauged by the huge number of tombs found within greater Chu territory, easily exceeding in quantity those which can be attributed to any other state of the Eastern Zhou period. Add to this the inspired visions of the *Chu ci* 楚辭, and the burgeoning interest among Chinese archaeologists and Western sinologists in Chu needs no further justification.

The problem which confronts any scholar investigating the history of Chu culture is that virtually all our evidence, both archaeological and literary, comes from the latter half of Chu's existence. Notwithstanding this dearth of early material, there has been a tendency among Chinese archaeologists and, to a lesser extent, among Western sinologists to treat Chu culture as a monolithic unity, or at least to try and find a perpetual central strand or core running through the whole of Chu's

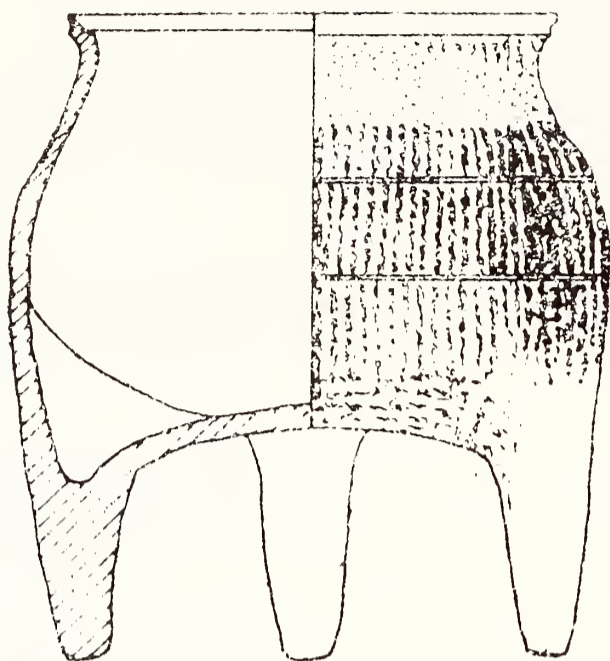


Fig. 1. Ceramic *li* from Yangmugang, Dangyang, Hubei. Height 18 cm. After *JHKG* 1983.1, p. 48, fig. 3:1.

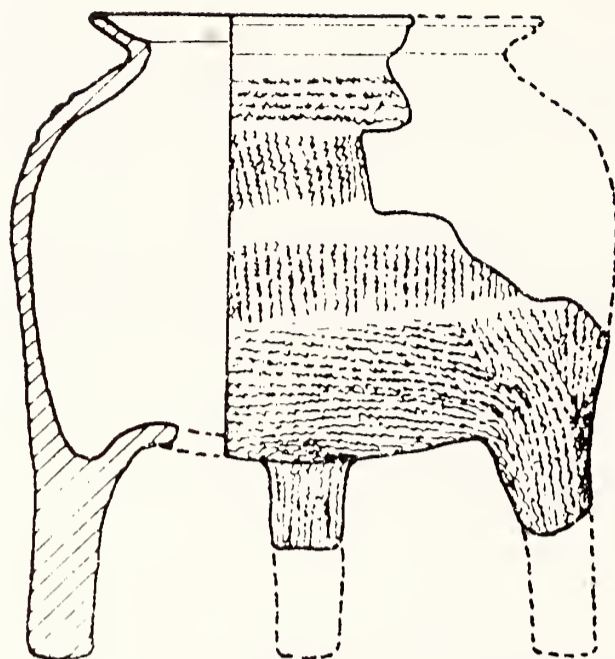


Fig. 2. Ceramic *li* from Ji'nancheng, Jiangling, Hubei. After *JHKG* 1982.1, p. 34, fig. 1:3.

cultural history, to which the peripheral elements gravitate. Underlying such notions is the assumption that political and cultural spheres must coincide—that the political power and military might of a state must have their reflection in cultural influence. It is thus taken as axiomatic that Chu was not only the political leader in the south, but also the cultural one for most of its existence.<sup>6</sup> In this paper, a different view is presented—namely that Chu material culture, particularly Chu bronze work, was an evolving phenomenon passing through a number of phases, during each of which different traditions and sources were influential.

No discussion of Chu bronze work can ignore the question of the location of the nascent state of Chu. Of the various locations which have been proposed for the site of Danyang 丹陽, Chu's first capital, Xichuan 淅川 in southwestern Henan has recently been gaining favor with archaeologists since the discovery of Chu tombs at Xiasi 下寺, Xichuan, while another study argues that Danyang was originally located further up the Dan river (Danjiang 丹江) at present-day Shang Xian 商縣 in southeastern Shaanxi<sup>7</sup>. The problem with both these theories is that the records of King Zhao's campaigns against Chu preserved in *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (the Bamboo Annals) refer to a crossing of the Han river (Hanshui 漢水).<sup>8</sup> Since one of the inscriptions which mention campaigns against Chu-Jing 楚荊 may indicate that the expedition started out from Chengzhou 成周, located near Luoyang, the passage in *Zhushu jinian* would seem to imply that Chu-Jing was already located south and to the west of the Han river.<sup>9</sup> The adversaries who defeated the Western Zhou army may, of course, not have been limited to the nascent state of Chu. As late as the middle of the eighth



Fig. 3. Rubbing of decoration on the *Chu Gong Jia zhong*. After Hamada 1924, p. 20, no. 6, fig. 10.

century B.C., Chu territory is said to have measured less than a hundred *li* 里 square.<sup>10</sup> For the purpose of this paper, a relatively northern location for Danyang (although not necessarily as far north as Xichuan) is provisionally accepted as a working hypothesis. Chu's later capital, Ying 郢, established in the early seventh century, is generally identified with the site of Ji'nancheng 紀南城 north of Jiangling 江陵.<sup>11</sup>

A distinction between the ceramic assemblages either side of the Han river emerges around the beginning of Western Zhou. By the middle Western Zhou, assemblages on the Ju 沮 and Zhang 漳 rivers in E'xi 鄂西 (the region of Hubei to the west of the Han) are distinguished by the gradual evolution of a tall pottery *li* form, possessing a smooth crotch and rather narrow mouth (fig. 1).<sup>12</sup> The

evolution of this form can be traced through to Eastern Zhou period burials near Dangyang 當陽 and Ji'nancheng which indisputably belong to Chu (fig. 2). There is, of course, no evidence for linking the earlier versions of this *li* with the Chu ruling house. The Chu *li* could be, as has been argued by some scholars, products of the indigenous population of E'xi, who did not fall under the sway of Chu until the first half of Eastern Zhou.<sup>13</sup> But even if the early versions of the *li* were not produced under the rule of the Chu state, they are still relevant to a discussion of Chu culture during Eastern Zhou, since they are an indication that the region to the west of the Han river, which came to form the Chu heartlands, was from early times culturally distinct from the east of the province. And we shall see that this type of *li* makes an ephemeral appearance in the Chu bronze repertory.

If Chu was situated just south of the middle reaches of the Han river, this would help to explain the paradoxical combination of features of the earliest bronzes which can be attributed to Chu foundries, the *Chu Gong Jia zhong* 楚公象鐘 (fig. 3). As Kane has observed, the quality of casting of these bells and their proportions closely match those of metropolitan Western Zhou products.<sup>14</sup> There are certain features, however, which are anomalous in the context of Western Zhou production: the scrolls on the illustrated bell are much more elaborate than those normally encountered on Zhou



Fig. 4. *Fang yi* from Xiongjialaowan, Sui Xian, Hubei. Height 32 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, pl. 7.

products, and the elephant motif on the *gu* 鼓 of this bell is unusual on metropolitan bronzes. Moreover, as Kane observed, the irregular forms and the erratic spacing of the characters in the inscription are also unorthodox. For Kane, who believed that Chu originated in Hunan, there was no solution to this conundrum. If, however, we accept that Chu was situated in southern Henan, or in the E'xi region of Hubei, the combination of the orthodox forms of the bells and their anomalous features can be explained. Chu foundries could have been basing their forms on Zhou prototypes, but decorating them with motifs which were familiar to them either from their own territory or from further south. Jessica Rawson's observation that the import of bells into Zhou territory may

have been via the Han river may, in this context, be taken to imply that Chu could have been involved in this traffic, and could thus have been open to influences from both the north and the south.<sup>15</sup>

The designs on the *gu* of the *Chu Gong Jia zhong* correspond to a stage of development which took place in the metropolitan region at the transition from middle to late Western Zhou. In late Western Zhou the scrolls on the *gu* were replaced by addorsed coiled dragons. Assuming that the evolution of bronze decoration in Chu proceeded at the same pace, the bells are likely to have been cast well before the reigns of even the earliest Chu rulers to which they have been variously attributed.<sup>16</sup>

The bells stand at present as isolated products of a hypothetical early Chu bronze industry. An eccentric early Eastern Zhou vessel from Xiongjialaowan 熊家老灣, Junchuan 均川, Sui Xian 隨縣 (fig. 4), probably a hybrid descendant of much earlier *fang yi* 方彝 and *fang you* 方缶, is representative of a group which has sometimes been attributed to Chu,<sup>17</sup> but since their distribution is confined to the east of the Han river, there is no reason to associate them with that state. When bronze vessels begin to appear in quantity in the south at the end of Western Zhou, it is to the east of the Han river in Hubei and in southeastern Henan that they are mainly concentrated.

The sudden rise of bronze casting in Hubei at the end of Western Zhou may have been precipitated by the troubles attending the later years of the dynasty, as feudal lords and their casters migrated from Shaanxi into Henan and Hubei.<sup>18</sup> At any rate, the most important state to appear in the region, Zeng 曾 (recorded in the *Zuo zhuan*

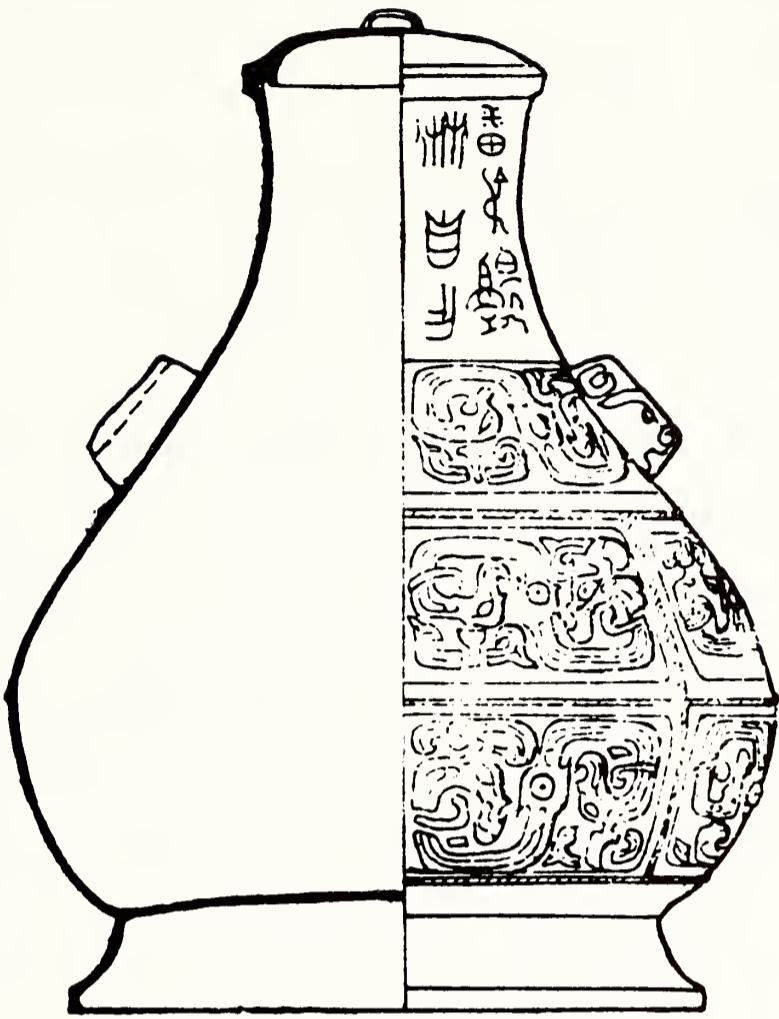


Fig. 5. *Hu* from Tomb No. 5, Pingxi, Xinyang, Henan. Height 25 cm. After *KG* 1989.1, p. 22, fig. 4:4.

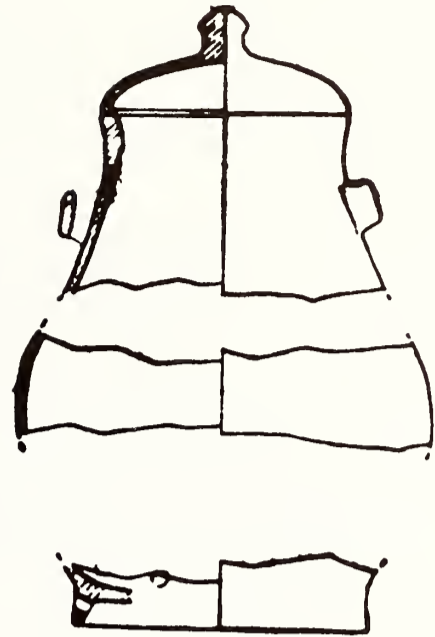


Fig. 6. Ceramic *hu* from Tianhu, Mangzhangxiang, Luoshan, Henan. After *KGXB* 1986.2, p. 177, fig. 24:26.



Fig. 7. *He* from Tomb No. G2, Baoxiangsi, Guangshan, Henan. Height 18.2 cm. After *KG* 1984.4, pl. 4:1.

左傳 under its alternative name, Sui 隨), was of Zhou descent.<sup>19</sup> Its foundries seem to have been most prolific, a fact which must be connected with its relative proximity to the vast copper mine at Tonglüshan 銅綠山 downstream on the Yangzi.<sup>20</sup> The repertory of forms encountered in Zeng finds corresponds closely to that of late Western Zhou metropolitan casting. It was this legacy of Western Zhou vessels which formed the point of departure for the changes that were to come.

If it was Zhou-related states such as Zeng which stimulated the expansion of bronze casting in the south during early Eastern Zhou, states unrelated to Zhou rapidly acquired the techniques of bronze casting and the fashion for ritual vessels. Most important among these were Huang 黃, Jiang 江, Xi 息, Pan 番, and Fan 樊, all situated along the upper reaches of the Huai river (Huaishui 淮水) in southeastern



Fig. 8. *Huang Zhu Di li* from Sujialong, Jingshan, Hubei. Height 20.5 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, pl. 8.



Fig. 9. *Li* from Zhongqiagou, Linyi, Shandong. Height 15.4 cm. After KG 1987.8, pl. 7:3.

Henan.<sup>21</sup> Although in decoration the bronzes associated with these states do not depart markedly from the styles current elsewhere in China during the eighth century B.C., from the beginning of the seventh century new vessel types begin to infiltrate the inherited repertory. Since the bronzes of these states are sometimes adduced as representative of early Eastern Zhou Chu bronze work, it is important to emphasize that the majority of the new types do not occur in assemblages from E'xi. Instead, they appear to have been based on ceramic forms, either local in inspiration or with geographic distributions stretching east into Anhui, Jiangsu and Shandong.

The local version of the *hu* 壺, known from Tomb No. 5 at Pingxi 平西, Xinyang 信陽 (fig. 5), and from sites at Baoxiangsi 寶相寺, Guangshan 光山 and Luoshan 羅山 may have been copying a local pottery vessel known from a Shang period site at Tianhu 天湖, Mangzhangxiang 蟒張鄉, Luoshan (fig. 6). The *he* 盃 with spout and handle aligned at right angles (fig. 7) occurs from Xinyang eastward as far as Shaoxing 紹興 in northern Zhejiang, with only the occasional example found in eastern Hubei.<sup>22</sup> The eastern connections of the local *li*, such as the *Huang Zhu Di li* 黃朱柢鬲 (fig. 8), defined by its split crotch and bag legs with small, sometimes pointed, feet, are no less striking: the western limit of its production is marked by Sui Xian and Hanchuan 漢川 in Hubei, while to the east it is common in ceramic and bronze through Anhui as far as Zhongqiagou 中洽溝, Linyi 臨沂, in southern Shandong (fig. 9).<sup>23</sup>

Although the states of southeastern Henan were under threat from Chu as early as the beginning of the seventh century, there is no evidence that their bronze work was influenced by that of their powerful neighbor. No doubt, as they lost their independence to Chu, the bronzes of these states would have fallen into Chu hands and their casters set to work in Chu foundries, but even then it is difficult to detect any influence on subsequent Chu bronze work.<sup>24</sup>





Fig. 10. *Hu* from Chuhuangcheng, Yicheng, Hubei. Height 53 cm. After KG 1980.2, pl. 3:2.

The few unprovenanced late eighth- and seventh-century bronzes which bear Chu inscriptions, a *pan* and an *yi* in the British Museum and the *Chu Wang Gan zhong* 楚王領鐘 (fig. 68), are relatively conventional descendants of late Western Zhou metropolitan types.<sup>25</sup> On this evidence Chu bronze work in the first century and a half of Eastern Zhou cannot have diverged markedly from mainstream traditions. Of the uninscribed bronzes excavated from the Chu heartlands, a monumental *hu* of late Western Zhou form from a walled site known as Chuhuangcheng 楚皇城 at Yicheng 宜城 (fig. 10) has plausibly been attributed to Chu foundries. Much further south, a group of relatively conventional late eighth-century bronzes inscribed with the name Sai Gong 塞公 from a tomb at Bailizhou 百里洲, Zhijiang 枝江, are with less justification viewed as Chu products.<sup>26</sup>

By the end of the seventh century far-reaching changes had begun to overtake bronze work in southern Henan and Hubei, affecting both the range of bronze forms cast and the decoration applied to them. Many, indeed most, of these changes must have eventually been felt in Chu foundries. Since, however, the majority of the most important tombs which have yielded bronzes do not belong to Chu proper, but to the states on its periphery, it is preferable at this stage to couch the discussion not in terms of Chu, but in the wider terms of southern or Hubei bronze work.

Once the various strands in the development have been identified and the sources of the new styles recognized, we can then return to consider the extent to which the bronzes from the sites can be taken to represent Chu bronze work, and to reach some conclusions concerning its development during the sixth and fifth centuries.

The most important sites relevant to this discussion are:

- (1) The tomb of a Zheng 鄭 ruler at Lijialou 李家樓, Xinzheng 新鄭—first quarter of the sixth century B.C.
- (2) Chu Tombs Nos. 1–3 at Xiasi, Xichuan—middle of the sixth century B.C.
- (3) The tomb of Cai Zhao Hou 蔡昭侯 at Ximen 西門, Shou Xian 壽縣—before 491 B.C.
- (4) The tomb of Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙 at Leigudun 擂鼓墩, Suizhou 隨州—433 B.C. or shortly after.

- (5) Tomb No. 2 at Leigudun, Suizhou—first quarter of the fourth century B.C.  
 (6) Chu Tomb No. 1 at Tianxingguan 天星觀, Jiangling—middle of the fourth century B.C.  
 (7) Chu Tombs Nos. 1 and 2 at Wangshan 望山, Jiangling—second half of the fourth century B.C.  
 (8) Chu Tomb No. 1 at Tengdian 藤店, Jiangling—second half of the fourth century B.C.<sup>27</sup>

By the time of the Jiangling tombs, bronzes were increasingly being replaced by pottery surrogates. In view of the lack of a major fifth-century Chu tomb, the ceramic surrogates can be used with due caution to fill out our conjectures on the range and style of fifth-century Chu bronze work. The repertory of bronze forms will be treated first, followed by decoration.

## The Expansion of the Repertory of Bronze Forms I: Introduction of New Vessel Types

The vessels at Xiasi and subsequent sites fall into four distinct categories: those descended from the late Western Zhou metropolitan tradition; copies of local ceramic types; new vessels introduced from the Zhongyuan (Central Plains) and further north; and vessels adopted *in toto* from the east and southeast, or influenced by versions current there.

The derivation of many of the Xiasi vessels from late Western Zhou metropolitan tradition is clear. A pair of large *hu* (fig. 11), although considerably modified, are in their basic form descendants of the type which had become popular in late Western Zhou and which continued to be cast into early Eastern Zhou; the *guan fou* 盥缶 (fig. 12), although much more frequent in Hubei than in the Zhongyuan, was a



Fig. 12. *Guan fou* from Tomb No. 1, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 38.5 cm. After KG 1981.2, pl. 7:2.



Fig. 13. *Gui* from Tomb No. 1, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 27 cm. After Tōkyō & Beijing 1983, no. 33.



Fig. 11. *Hu* from Tomb No. 1, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 79 cm.  
After Tōkyō & Beijing 1983, no. 35.

development of early Eastern Zhou *lei* common both to north and south. The *gui* (fig. 13) survives in a single debased example descended from typical late Western Zhou types. Its survival is of significance, since to the east of the Han river and in the Zhongyuan this type of *gui* had disappeared almost a century earlier.<sup>28</sup> The survival of the *gui* is an example of the conservatism in southern bronze casting which we shall consider briefly at a later stage.



Fig. 15. *Dian fou* from Tomb No. 1, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 38 cm. After *KG* 1981.2, pl. 7:1.



Fig. 14. *Li* from Tomb No. 1, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 27.8 cm. After *KG* 1981.2, pl. 7:3.

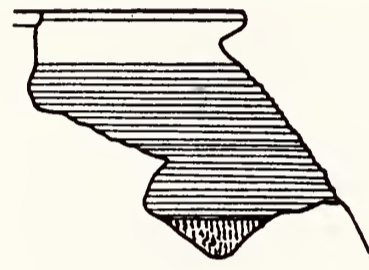


Fig. 16. Sherd of ceramic jar from Ji'nancheng, Jiangling, Hubei. After *JHKG* 1982.1, p. 36, fig. 3.



Fig. 17. *He* from Tomb No. 2, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 12.4 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, pl. 19.



Fig. 18. *He* from Tomb No. 2415, Zhongzhoulu, Luoyang, Henan. Height 7.3 cm. After *Luoyang* 1959, pl. 45:5.

Two vessel forms which are not directly anticipated in the metropolitan repertory are new types of *li* and *fou*. In the *li* we have the single indisputable western Hubei contribution to the vessel repertory. Although superficially similar to the late Western Zhou *li*, one of the *li* from Xiasi (fig. 14) is in fact a reproduction of the tall-legged pottery type characteristic of the E'xi region. The origin of the other form,

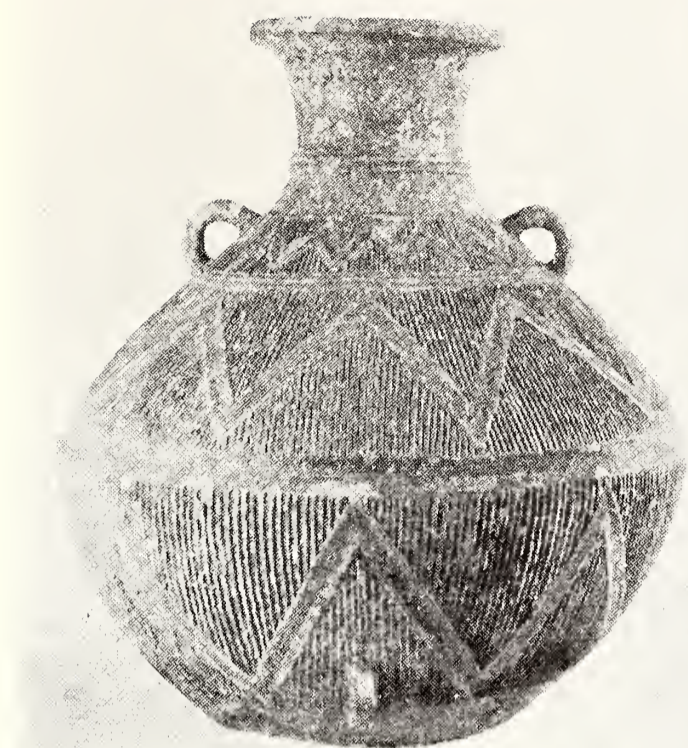


Fig. 19. *Hu* from Xiongjialaowan, Junchuan, Sui Xian, Hubei. Height 35 cm. After WW 1973.5, pl. 4:4.



Fig. 20. Trumpet-mouthed *hu* from Shangkuangcun, Yantai, Shandong. Height 43.5 cm. After KG 1983.4, pl. 1:6.

a wine vessel self-named a *dian fou* 奠缶 or *zun fou* 醴缶 (fig. 15), is more puzzling. No totally convincing ceramic prototypes occur in the Chu heartlands, although a fragment of a large jar from Ji'nancheng (fig. 16) is suggestive. Whereas the local *li* made only a brief appearance in bronze, the *dian fou* became an indispensable component of the vessel repertory until the end of the period.

The elliptical *he* 铍 or *zhou* 舟 (fig. 17) probably represents a rare sixth-century borrowing from the north. There, it had appeared as early as the first half of the seventh century in Tomb 2415 at Zhongzhoulu 中州路, Luoyang (fig. 18), and survives well into the fifth, and even the fourth century.<sup>29</sup> In the south its appearance was delayed until the beginning of the sixth century. Briefly, it seems to have become popular there, but by the end of the century it had virtually disappeared.<sup>30</sup>

Much more important during the seventh and sixth centuries than the north as a source of vessel forms were the southeast and east. Communication between Hubei and the east coast was facilitated not only by the Yangzi, but also by the Huai river. An early example of contact between Hubei and the east occurs in a trumpet-mouthed vessel found with eighth-century Zeng bronzes at Xiongjialaowan, Junchuan, Sui Xian (fig. 19). This type is unparalleled in Hubei, but is matched by a vessel from Shangkuangcun 上乔村, Yantai 烟台, in Shandong (fig. 20), where its zigzag decoration is not uncommon on bronze vessels.<sup>31</sup> This particular type was not transmitted to Chu territory—indeed the Sui Xian vessel may be an import, not a local copy—but it does at least demonstrate that communication between Hubei and the east existed

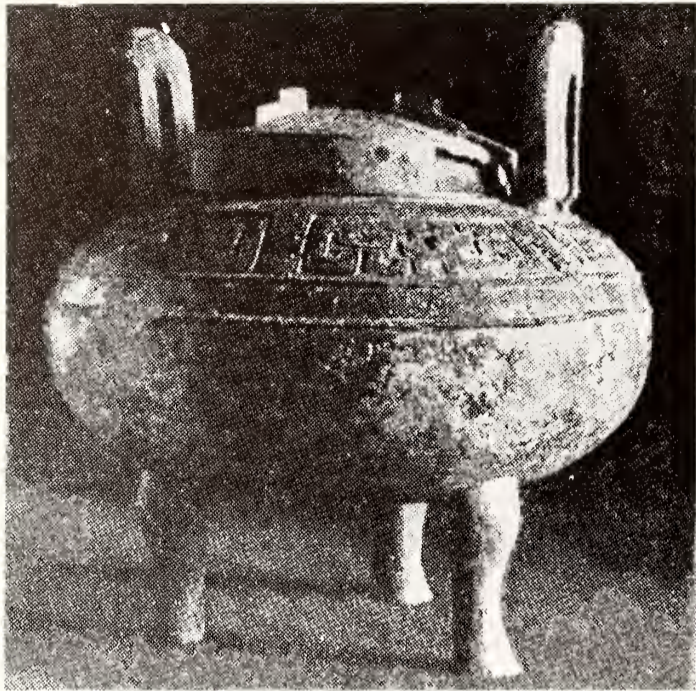


Fig. 21. *Ding* from Tangjiashan, Huancheng, Fanchang, Anhui. Height 36.4 cm. After WW 1982.12, pl. 5:1.



Fig. 22. *Ding* from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Height 39.5 cm. After Sui Xian 1980, pl. 43.

at an early stage. By the time of the Xiasi tombs, the vessel types which attest to knowledge of the southeast are the narrow-mouthed *ding*, the *he* with arched handle and, possibly, the flat-based *sheng ding* 升鼎.

The narrow-mouthed *ding* (figs. 21, 22) was probably a development of the lower half of *ding*-based *yan* steamers. A pottery antecedent has been found in the neolithic strata at Maqiao 馬橋, Shanghai,<sup>32</sup> but it is in Anhui rather than in Jiangsu that the narrow-mouthed *ding* first appears in bronze. A vessel from a late eighth-century or early seventh-century tomb at Tangjiashan 湯家山, Huancheng 環城, Fanchang 繁昌, in southern Anhui (fig. 21) precedes by at least a century the earliest examples from the Chu sphere, three vessels from Xiasi, Xichuan.<sup>33</sup> Thenceforth the vessel becomes a regular component of assemblages in Hubei, both in Zeng (fig. 22) and to the west of the Han river in the Chu heartlands.

More problematic is the new form of the *he*. This differs both from earlier local versions of the upper Huai and from the orthodox late Western Zhou type in its possession of a globular belly, arched handle and short tripod legs. Its earliest appearance in mature form is the example from Xiasi, Xichuan (fig. 23), while another from Fenshuiling 分水嶺, Changzhi 長治, in Shanxi, is not much later.<sup>34</sup> An eighth-century vessel from Sujialong 蘇家壠, Jingshan 京山, possesses the new proportions of body, but still retains the traditional arrangement of handle. A seventh century version from Mopanshan 磨盤山, Shangyougang 上油崗, Huangchuan 潢川 in southeastern Henan (fig. 24), looks forward to the new type in possessing shorter legs and spout.

It might be argued that once the proportions of the body were altered, the handle at the rear became so inconvenient that a centrally-positioned arched one was the



Fig. 23. *He* from Tomb No. 1, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 26 cm. After *KG* 1981.2, pl. 7:4.



Fig. 26. Ceramic *he* from Tomb No. 1, Yiqi, Tunxi, Anhui. After *KGXB* 1959.4, pl. XVII:1.



Fig. 24. *He* from Mopanshan, Shangyougang, Huangchuan, Henan. Height 16.5 cm. After *WW* 1980.1, p. 50, fig. 13.



Fig. 25. Ceramic *he* from Caoxieshan, Wu Xian, Jiangsu. After *WWZLCK* 3 (1980), pl. 1:2.

logical replacement. On this reasoning there would be no need to seek a pre-existing prototype in order to explain the appearance of the new form of handle. Nevertheless, ceramic prototypes with arched handles fashioned from cord did already exist in the southeast, where they can be traced back to neolithic times. The earliest example known to the author is one from the neolithic site of Caoxieshan 草鞋山, Wu Xian 吴县 (fig. 25), and it must have been from such vessels that the two examples from the eighth-century tombs at Yiqi 奕棋, Tunxi 屯溪, were descended (fig. 26). Although no early bronze versions of the Tunxi piece have been so far discovered in the southeast, there is good reason to believe that they existed, for the flange that replaced the original loop handle at the rear of the new bronze *he* is already present on the Tunxi ceramic versions. Once adopted, the new form of *he* became a regular component of



Fig. 27. *Wangzi Wu ding* from Tomb No. 2, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Height 61.5 cm. After Beijing 1987, no. 194.



Fig. 29. *Ding* from Tomb No. 1753, Shangcunling, Sanmenxia, Henan. After *Shangcunling* 1959, pl. LXIV:2.



Fig. 28. *Xiao Ke ding*. Height 56.5 cm. After Hong Kong 1983, no. 30.



Fig. 30. *Ding* from Zhoujiagang, Wandian, Sui Xian, Hubei. Height 25.5 cm. After *KG* 1984.6, pl. 4:2.

the Chu bronze repertory; it does not, however, seem to have become popular in Zeng, being absent both from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi and Leigudun Tomb No. 2. It was in the southeast, however, that the *he* enjoyed the greatest prestige, since the ornament applied to excavated examples often marks them out as the most important vessels in tomb assemblages.<sup>35</sup>

The third Xiasi vessel which seems to have been influenced by the forms of southeastern vessels is the flat-based *sheng ding*. Often regarded as one of the classic Chu vessels, this type was in continuous production in bronze and later in pottery surrogates, down to the end of Chu's existence. Its first appearance in Chu is at Xiasi,





Fig. 31. *Ding* from Liu'an, Anhui. Height 27 cm. After *Anhui* 1987, no. 17.

Fig. 32. *Ding* from Liujiadianzi, Yishui, Shandong. Height 48 cm. After *WW* 1984.9, pl. 1:1.

where it occurs in a set of seven vessels whose importance is attested not only by their great size, but also by their long inscription praising the achievements of their commissioner, Wangzi Wu 王子午 (Prince Wu) (fig. 27). While it is possible that earlier Chu examples will come to light, at present it is only possible to trace early stages in the type's evolution to the east of the Han river.

The ultimate origin of this type lies in an early Western Zhou variety of *ding* characterized by a slightly swelling belly, a frieze of decoration punctuated by six low flanges at the neck, and legs with masked knees. During late Western Zhou the type is represented by such well-known examples as the *Xiao Ke ding* 小克鼎 (fig. 28). Examples from Tomb No. 1753 in the cemetery of the state of Guo 虢 at Shangcunling 上村嶺, Sanmenxia 三門峽 (fig. 29), and from Taipuxiang 太僕鄉, Jia Xian 郟縣,<sup>36</sup> show that it survived into Eastern Zhou, and it was from such antecedents that the *Wangzi Wu ding* are ultimately descended.

A crucial link in the evolution is provided by a *ding* from Zhoujiagang 周家崗, Wandian 萬店, Sui Xian (fig. 30); this retains the narrow frieze punctuated by six low vertical flanges and the apron of scales over the belly which had appeared on the Shangcunling *ding*. These two features were to be preserved, albeit in modified form, on the *Wangzi Wu ding*: the low ridges of the earlier *ding* are now transformed into elaborate decorative flourishes, while the flattened band of scales is squeezed between the more interesting relief decoration. The dramatic angularization of the profile, however, is not foreshadowed in the earlier *ding* and must represent the Hubei bronze caster's own contribution. The substitution of L-shaped handles for the rim-mounted versions that had been orthodox on this type of *ding* seems to have been a short-lived experiment, since they were not adopted on classic versions of the type.<sup>37</sup>



Fig. 35. *Zun* from Yancheng, Wujin, Jiangsu. Height 24.1 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, pl. 40.



Fig. 33. *Zun-pan* from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Height of *zun* 33.1 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, pl. 76.

Not all the features of the *Wangzi Wu ding*, however, can be explained by the sequence outlined above. The wide-bellied type of *ding* represented by the *Xiao Ke ding* and Shangcunling examples was becoming extremely rare in late Western Zhou and by early Eastern Zhou had been virtually completely replaced by *ding* with hemispherical bowls. Moreover, the wide splay of the handles and the flat lid of the *Wangzi Wu ding* are unprecedented on late Western Zhou metropolitan examples. It seems likely that these two features were borrowed from *ding* types current further east which may also have been a factor in the survival of the wide-bellied profile of the *ding* itself. A *ding* from Liu'an 六安 typifies the *ding* with wide belly, splayed handles and flat lids which occur frequently in Anhui from early Eastern Zhou onwards (fig. 31).<sup>38</sup> It is possible that the type was a survival of versions introduced directly into Anhui at the beginning of middle Western Zhou. Another possibility is that the type was influenced by *ding* current even further east in Shandong, where wide-bellied *ding* with flat lids and rim-mounted handles were also common during the eighth and seventh centuries (fig. 32).<sup>39</sup> In Hubei and southern Henan, by contrast, lids are extremely rare on any kind of *ding*, and when they do begin to appear, seem to be imitating types further east. It seems likely, therefore, that the casters of the *Wangzi Wu ding*, although primarily following models inherited from late Western Zhou tradition, also availed themselves of features of *ding* from Anhui and Shandong.

The adoption of vessels from the southeast and east continued into the fifth century. A comparison of the Xiasi and Zeng Hou Yi assemblages reveals a number of important additions in the latter—the *zun-pan*, the *gui* on a square pedestal, and



Fig. 34. *Zun* and *pan* from tomb of Cai Zhao Hou, Shou Xian, Anhui. Height of *zun* 29.7 cm, diameter of *pan* 49.2 cm. After Shou Xian 1956, pl. 13.

the square *jian*. The *zun-pan* (fig. 33) represents the most incontrovertible instance of a southeastern borrowing by the Hubei bronze casters. As a number of authorities have demonstrated, whereas in the metropolitan region the *zun* disappeared by the middle Western Zhou period, in the southeast it not only survived in a number of different versions down to the fifth century, but was clearly an important, if not indeed the central, vessel of the repertory.<sup>40</sup> Occasionally it was provided with massive handles, and was frequently finely decorated.<sup>41</sup> Despite their possession of somewhat slimmer proportions than those typical of Eastern Zhou *zun* found in Jiangsu, the three examples from the tomb of Cai Zhao Hou (fig. 34) are likely to have been inspired by southeastern versions (fig. 35), since there exists no other plausible source for them.

Of the three Cai *zun*, the inscription on one is virtually identical with that occurring on the *pan* in which it was found (fig. 34). *Pan* were in metropolitan tradition exclusively ablutionary vessels and were frequently used together with *yi*. Although the character which names that Cai basin has not yet been deciphered with certainty, it clearly includes the *you* 酉 graph used to denote pickled foods or alcoholic beverages.<sup>42</sup> It is therefore virtually certain that the basin was a wine, rather than an ablutionary, vessel. Although there is no concrete evidence to prove that the Cai practice of casting *zun* and *pan* as complementary vessels was borrowed from further southeast, this is by no means unlikely; not only was the *zun* itself derived from there, but the Cai *zun-pan* set was cast as part of a Cai princess's dowry on her marriage to a Wu monarch.<sup>43</sup> The choice of a *zun-pan* set may therefore have imitated Wu practice as a deliberate compliment to the Wu monarch. If the *zun-pan* combination did originate in the southeast, this fact could help explain the survival of the ring foot on the Cai basin at least half a century after it had been replaced by three separate short legs both in the north and in Hubei. In the southeast, *pan* with straight, often rather



Fig. 36. *Gui* on square pedestal from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Height 31 cm. After *Sui Xian* 1980 no. 41.



Fig. 37. *Gui* on square pedestal from tomb of Cai Zhao Hou, Shou Xian, Anhui. Height 36 cm. After *Shou Xian* 1956, pl. 5:2.



Fig. 38. *Gui* on square pedestal. Height 19.9 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Anonymous Gift. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

tall feet were cast well into Eastern Zhou and may have been a factor in the conservative form of the Cai version.<sup>44</sup> From Cai the *zun-pan* set was transmitted in modified form to Zeng (fig. 33). Unlike the small-mouthed *ding* and the *he*, it does not seem to have become popular in Chu. The *zun* is indeed unknown in bronze from any Chu burials, while its only occurrence in ceramic is an undistinguished vessel from Tomb No. 2 at Changtaiguan 長臺關, Xinyang 信陽.<sup>45</sup>

The *gui* on a square pedestal (fig. 36), on the other hand, became a regular feature of Chu assemblages. Although the pedestalled *gui* survived into late Western Zhou in the metropolitan region, by early Eastern Zhou it had become exceedingly rare in Henan, where it seems to have been confined to the eastern half of the province; in Hubei it does not appear to have been cast at all.<sup>46</sup> In Shandong and the southeast, however, the pedestalled *gui* survived. Examples associated with the state of Qi possess a single-bar handle, distinct from the more conventional type which reappears in the tomb of Cai Zhao Hou in a set of seven (fig. 37).<sup>47</sup> While it is not possible to exclude totally the possibility that these *gui* were influenced by the rare early Eastern



Fig. 39. *Jian* from tomb of Cai Zhao Hou, Shou Xian, Anhui. Height 28.3 cm. After *Shou Xian* 1956, pl. 14:3.



Fig. 40. *Jian* from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Height 61.2 cm. After Hong Kong 1984, p. 36, top.

Zhou Henan examples, the handles of the Cai versions hark back to early Western Zhou types. In particular, the C-horns embellishing the masks seem to be flattened versions of the vertically projecting horns on the handles of early Western Zhou *gui*. A link between the Western Zhou and the Cai *gui* is provided by a seventh-century pedestalled *gui* of southeastern manufacture in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum at Harvard (fig. 38) which preserves on its sides the debased remnants of an early Western Zhou *taotie*. It may have been from such southeastern survivals that the Cai casters readopted the form of the *gui*.

The Harvard *gui* can, however, hardly have inspired the casting of the Cai *gui* in a set of seven, since sets of matching vessels were never cast in the southeast. If the Harvard *gui* was the inspiration for the form of the Cai *gui*, the notion of a set was derived from elsewhere, perhaps from Shandong. From Cai, the pedestalled *gui* was adopted by Zeng and eventually by Chu. Absent from Xiasi, where instead a conservative form of the late Western Zhou *gui* with small feet survived, it appears in the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi (fig. 36) and in Leigudun Tomb No. 2. At Jiangling it is represented only by pottery surrogates, but Chu bronze versions include a set from the late royal Chu tomb at Lisangudui 李三孤堆, Zhujiaji 朱家集, Shou Xian, and the fourth-century *Zhao Wang gui* 召王簋.<sup>48</sup>

The origin of the square *jian* (figs. 39, 40) is the least clear of any of the vessels so far considered. Round *jian* were an enlargement of earlier lidded basins which probably performed a number of functions.<sup>49</sup> They seem to have been particularly important in Zheng and Jin 晉, where massive examples were cast, and it was probably from the latter that Wu adopted the form in deliberate emulation of its northern neighbors.<sup>50</sup> Upstream, round *jian* seem to have been initially less prominent; at Xiasi they are represented only by two basins of modest size. Instead, square versions

appeared. The earliest extant examples are those from the tomb of Marquis Zhao of Cai (fig. 39), although it is unclear whether the type was in origin a Cai invention.<sup>51</sup> It was probably from Cai that the type was adopted by Zeng (fig. 40), and, if the pottery versions from Changtaiguan, Xinyang, represent copies of current bronze *jian*, it may eventually have arrived in Chu. It seems likely that the fourth-century examples of the square *jian* discovered in the north also represent borrowings from the south, since they are also equipped with internal containers which typically accompany southern *jian* in both their square and round versions.<sup>52</sup>

## The Expansion of the Repertory of Bronze Forms II: Adaptation of Non-vessel Forms from Wood Carving

Wood carving provided southern bronze casters with a source of forms no less important than the southeast. Unlike the forms drawn from the southeast, however, those drawn from wood carving were not vessels, but mainly stands and sculptures. Some of these objects would in their original medium have been larger than the average size of vessels. The appearance in bronze of objects normally fashioned of wood thus presupposes abundant supplies of the constituent metals, for which the Tonglūshan mine must have been an important source.

Of the new bronze forms based on wooden articles, many were not exclusively southern in origin. Since early Western Zhou, ensembles of percussion instruments—bells and lithophones—had begun to rival vessels as components of the ritual paraphernalia. The great bell chimes of Chu, Zeng and Cai represent a continuation and expansion of this tradition, rather than a distinctly southern contribution to Hubei bronze casting.<sup>53</sup> The late Western Zhou chimes of bells must have been hung on

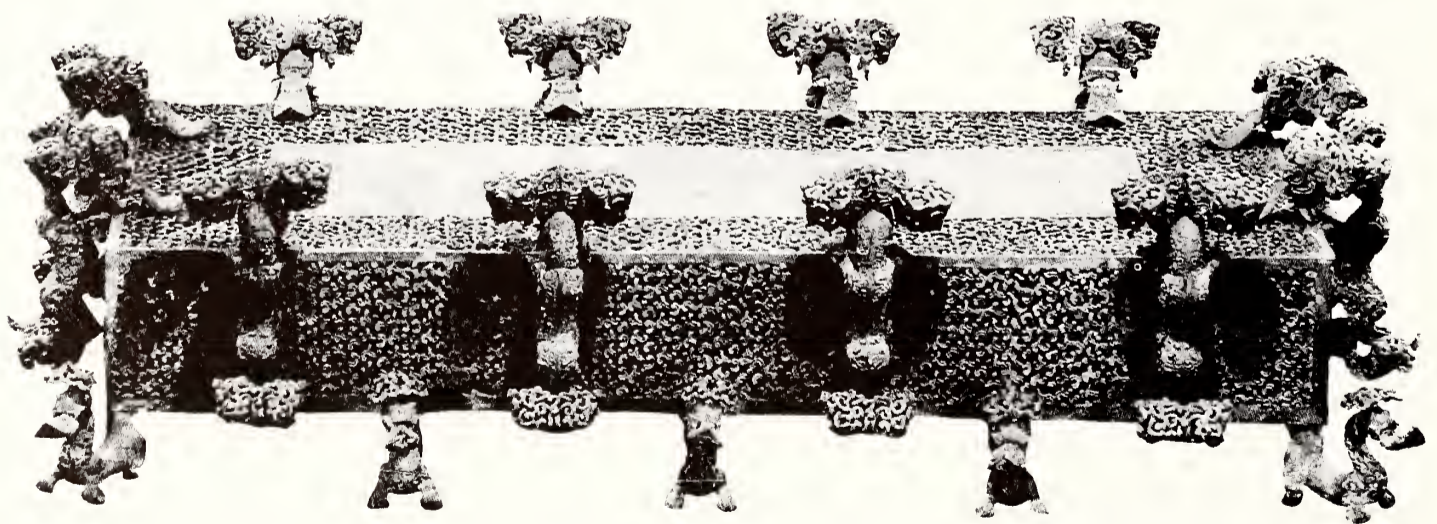


Fig. 41. *Jian* from Tomb No. 2, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Length 107 cm. After Li Xueqin 1986, pl. 17.

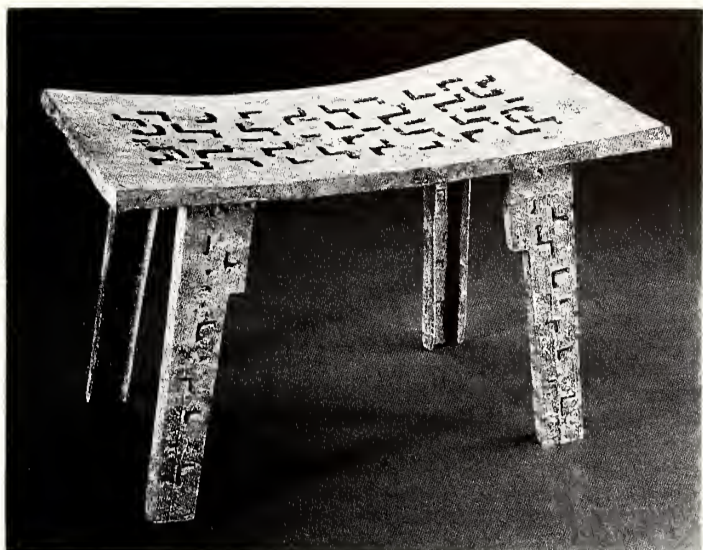


Fig. 42. *Zu* from Tomb No. 2, Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Length 39.8 cm. After Tōkyō & Beijing 1983, no. 39.



Fig. 43. Wooden *zu* from Tomb No. 9, Jinjiashan, Dangyang, Hubei. Length 47.5 cm. After WW 1982.4, p. 45, fig. 12.

wooden racks in a manner similar to their southern descendants. Likewise, rectangular podia such as *jin* 禁 (fig. 41), used to lend the ritual vessels greater height, cannot have been less common in the metropolitan regions than in the south.<sup>54</sup> The reproduction of these objects in bronze is an expression of an extravagant, even ostentatious use of bronze that says more about the abundance of ore supplies than local wood-carving traditions. The *zu* 俎 (fig. 42) chopping board may also have been an indispensable adjunct of the rituals in Zhou tradition, but its frequent occurrence in wooden versions in even small Chu tombs of the sixth to the fourth centuries does hint at a particularly important role in the south (fig. 43).<sup>55</sup>

Three bronze forms which imitate wooden articles with distinct southern pedigrees, on the other hand, are the stands for antlers, crane-like birds, and drums. All three show a much wider distribution than the limits of early Chu territory and cannot have been in origin exclusive to Chu; unlike the vessel forms absorbed into the Hubei repertory from downstream, however, they may have been part of a heritage common to both eastern and western Hubei.

Although the earliest examples of these articles occur in bronze, the far greater number of slightly later wooden versions implies that it was in this medium that they originated. It was only from the time when advances in tomb construction enabled wooden objects to survive that they begin to appear in the archaeological record.<sup>56</sup> In the comparisons drawn here between bronze and wood objects, a degree of licence in comparing objects differing in date by a century or more is therefore entirely justifiable.

The distribution of bronze antler stands stretches from Zigui 秭歸 in the west to Shaoxing in northern Zhejiang, and from Guangshan in the north to Tunxi in the south.<sup>57</sup> The truncated pyramid with sharply faceted sides which forms the base of the example from Baoxiangsi, Guangshan (fig. 44) is typical of the numerous wooden versions which have survived from Chu tombs of the late sixth to fourth centuries in

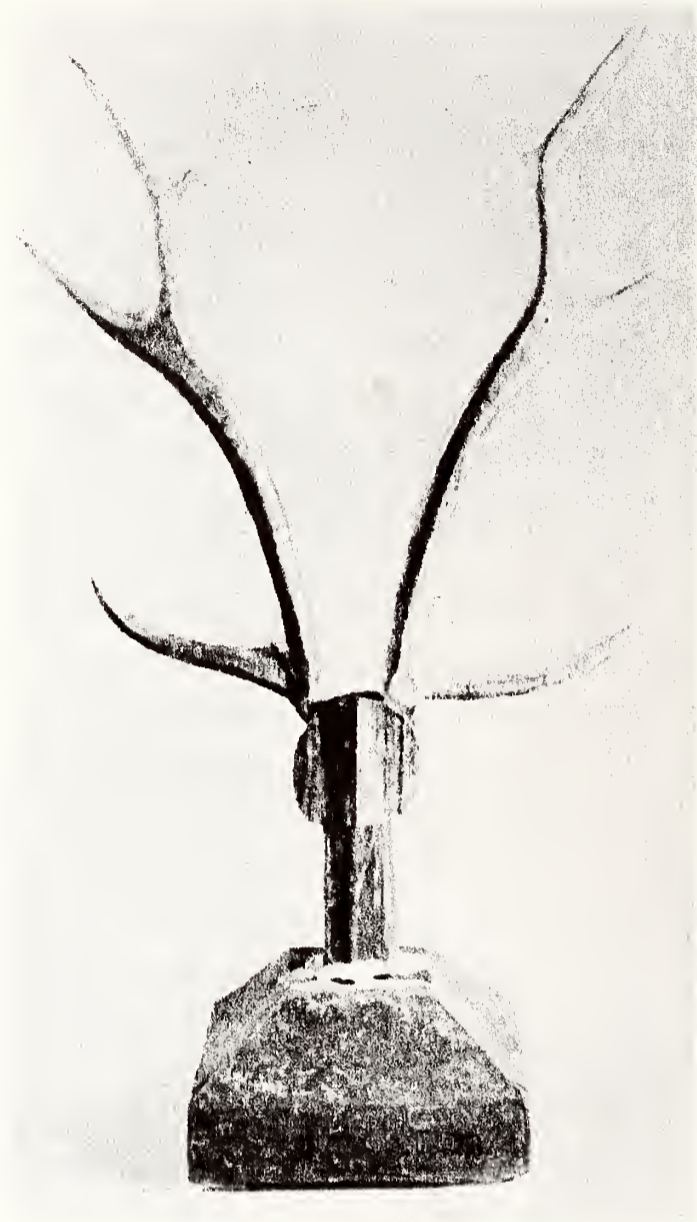


Fig. 45. Wooden antler stand from Tomb No. 142, Yutaishan, Jiangling, Hubei. Overall height including antlers 56.6 cm. After *Yutaishan* 1984, pl. LXVII:1.



Fig. 44. Antler stand from Tomb No. G2, Baoxiangsi, Guangshan, Henan. Height 13.6 cm. After *KG* 1984.4, pl. 3:3.



Fig. 46. Antler stand from Tomb No. 3, Yiqi, Tunxi, Anhui. Height 17 cm. After *Anhui* 1987, no. 43.

Hubei and Hunan (fig. 45). Two similar forms, differing in possessing slightly taller proportions and bowed profiles, from Yiqi, Tunxi (fig. 46) should probably also be identified as antler stands, but whether these and the Shaoxing example imply a much wider adherence to the cult than is indicated by surviving wooden versions is unclear.<sup>58</sup>

Whereas the existence of the Guangshan stand suggests that an antler cult may have flourished from early times at least as far north as southern Henan, both the crane and the drum may have been originally more important further south. The figure of an antlered crane from the Zeng Hou Yi tomb (fig. 47) is matched by innumerable wooden versions standing on tiger-like creatures, some acting as drum



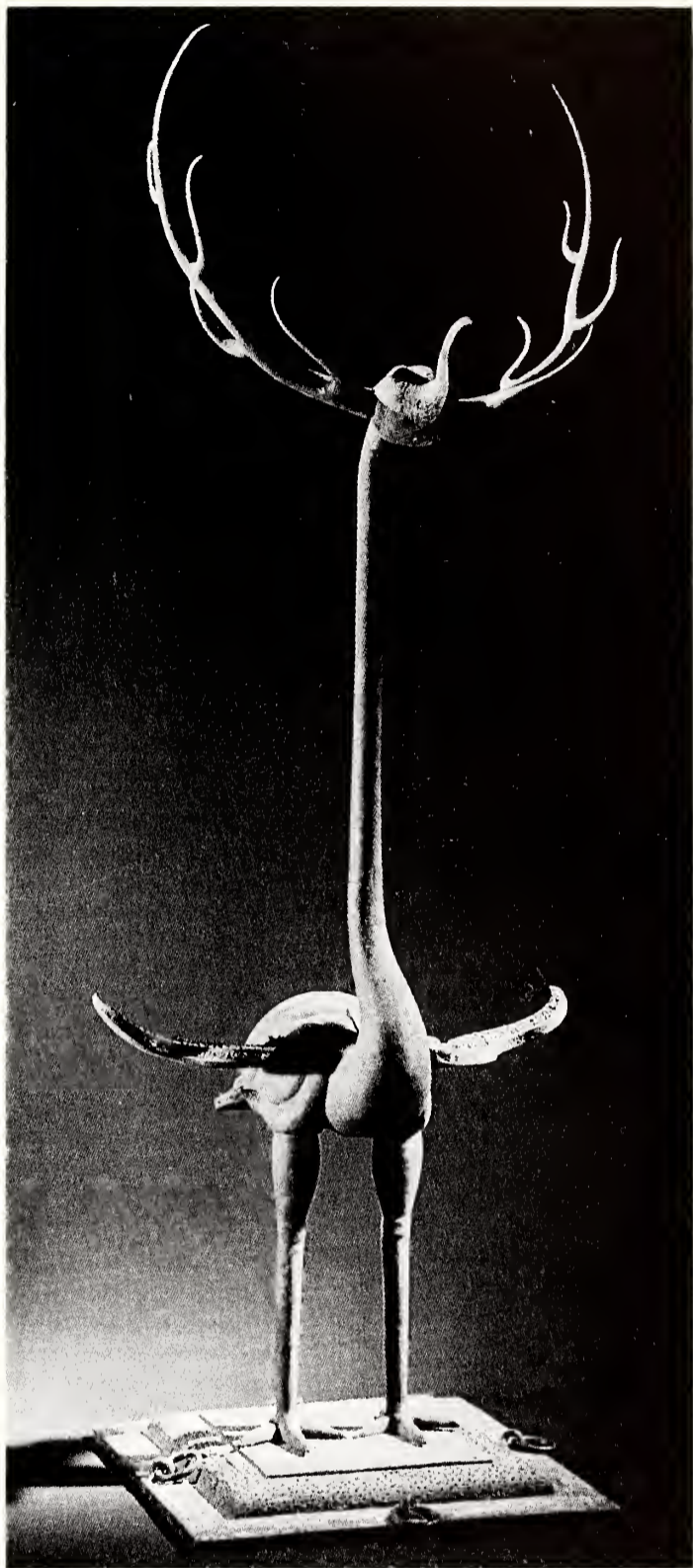


Fig. 48. Carved wood bird and tiger sculpture from Tomb No. 166, Yutaishan, Jiangling, Hubei. Height 86.4 cm. After *Yutaishan* 1984, pl. LXVI.

Fig. 47. Antlered bird from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Height 143.5 cm. After Hong Kong 1984, p. 24.

stands, but others apparently lacking any practical use (fig. 48). The function of these latter can only have been of a symbolic nature. The resemblance of some of these birds, such as the famous group in the Cleveland Museum of Art, to cranes is unmistakable, but others are clearly deliberately mythologized. Possibly the earliest depiction in bronze of a crane-like bird occurs on the sides of the four-ram *zun* from Ningxiang 寧鄉 (fig. 49), in which the characteristic long neck is unambiguously represented. The contrast with the squat birds orthodox on metropolitan Shang bronzes is striking. Large birds continued to be important motifs on Hunan bronzes into the beginning of Western Zhou, when they inspired a similar fashion in metropolitan bronzes.<sup>59</sup> A bronze figure of a bird from Daotangwancun 倒塘灣村,



Fig. 49. Detail of long-necked bird decoration on four-ram *zun* from Ningxiang, Hunan. After Fong 1980, p. 146, detail of no. 20.



Fig. 51. Carved wood bird and tiger drum stand from Tomb M1, Changtaiguan, Xinyang, Henan. Height 162 cm. After *Xinyang* 1986, pl. XC:1.



Fig. 50. Figure of bird from Daotangwancun, Yanqiaoxiang, Zhijiang, Hunan. Height 35 cm. After *HNKGJK* 4 (1987), pl. 2:1.

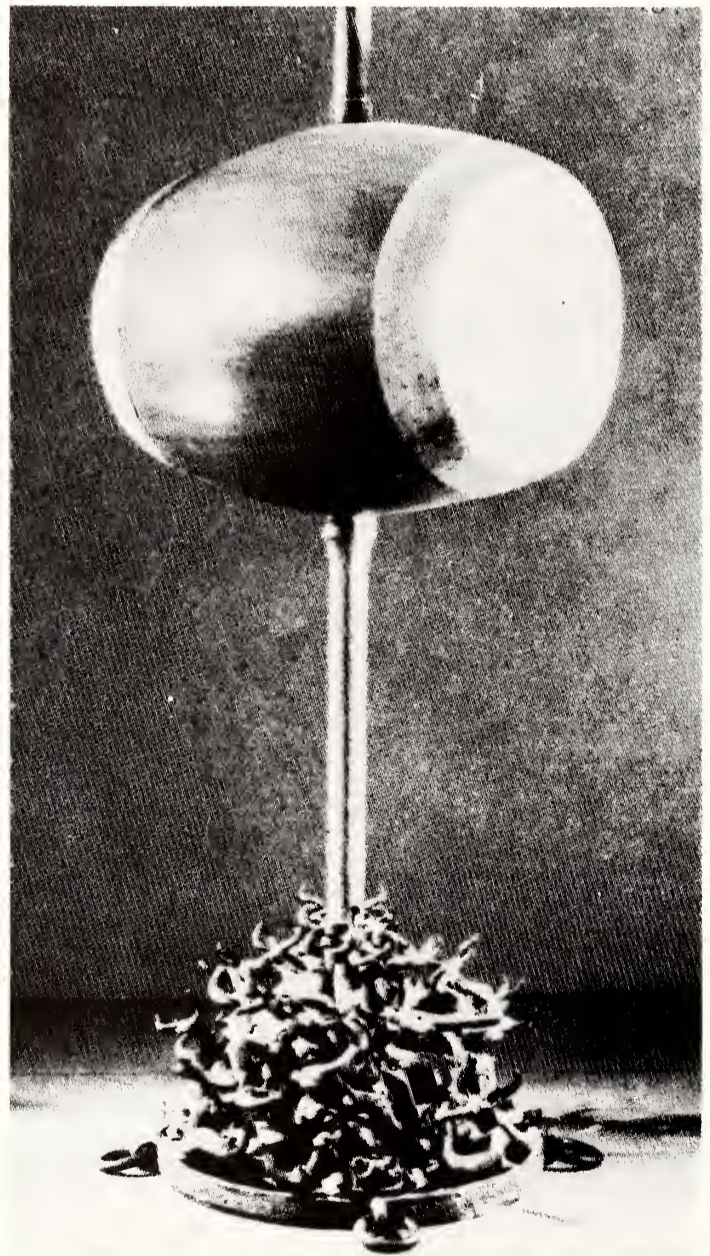


Fig. 52. Shafted drum (reconstruction) and stand from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After *Sui Xian* 1980, no. 28.

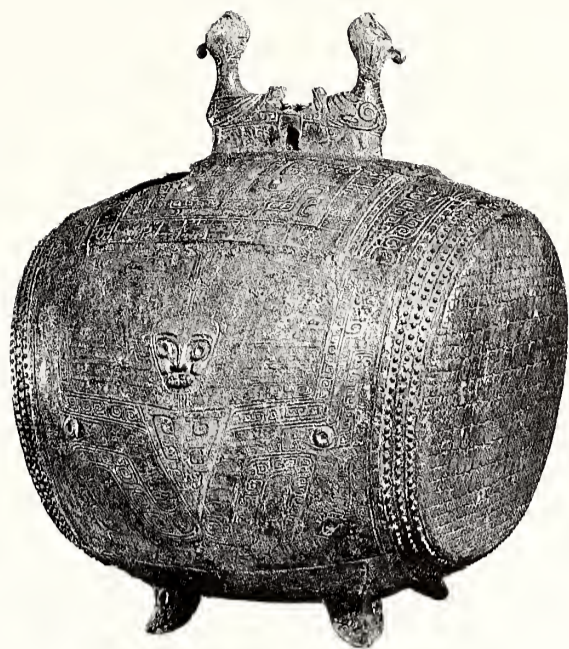


Fig. 53. Bronze drum in Sen'oku Hakkokan (Sumitomo Collection). Height 79.4 cm. Courtesy of the Sen'oku Hakkokan, Kyōto.



Fig. 54. Drum stand from tomb at Jiulidun, Shucheng, Anhui. Diameter 80 cm. After *KGXB* 1982.2, pl. 19:3.

Yanqiaoxiang 巖橋鄉, Zhijiang 芷江 (fig. 50), is perhaps not so unambiguously crane-like, but the similarity of its long curved beak and crest to much later wooden versions such as the pair from Tomb No. 2 at Changtaiguan, Xinyang (fig. 51), leaves little doubt that a generic link existed between the two.

The southern affiliations of the shafted drum (fig. 52) are no less tantalizing than those of the bird. Depictions of the shafted drum on Eastern Zhou pictorial vessels and its frequent mention in the *Yili* imply that it eventually became an integral part of court orchestras even in the north.<sup>60</sup> In the north, however, we lack any concrete evidence that the drum was ever considered an object of status in the way that vessels and bells were. In the south, by contrast, its importance is revealed as early as Shang by the casting of barrel drums in bronze (fig. 53).<sup>61</sup> It is doubtful whether the acoustic properties of these bronze versions were comparable with those of their wood and alligator-skin models, the former quite probably being cult objects carried in processions. Until recently, similar wooden drums of monumental size were still played by the Miao 苗 tribes of Hunan.<sup>62</sup>

The shafted drum from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi (fig. 52) may have been a development of these barrel drums, reduced in size and furnished with shaft and stand, the better to be integrated into the court orchestra. Like the preceding articles, examples of the stand for the shafted drum are not confined to Chu; an impressive example from Jiulidun 九里墩, Shucheng 舒城, bears an inscription which possibly names one of the minor states of Anhui (fig. 54).<sup>63</sup>

### Sources of Decoration

The most salient characteristics of the southern decorative style, as manifested in the bronzes of the four main sixth- and fifth-century sites enumerated above, is an

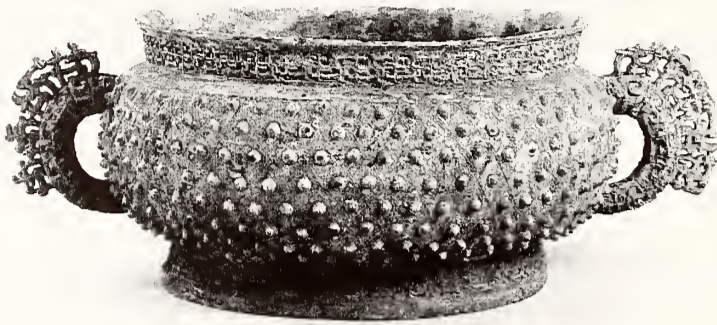


Fig. 55. *Gui* from Yiqi, Tunxi, Anhui. Height 16.5 cm. After *Anhui* 1987, no. 32.

were catholic in their use of resources. From the southeast came the fashion for flanges, while from wood carving a whole variety of other appendages were grafted on to the vessels. The south and west may also have made important contributions to the techniques and vocabulary of ornament.

The southeastern source of the sixth-century fashion for flanges has been lucidly demonstrated by Rawson.<sup>64</sup> It seems to have been in southern Anhui that openwork flanges were initially most highly developed. At Tunxi, particularly on bronzes from Tomb No. 3, Yiqi, openwork is common, usually confined to flanges (fig. 55) but sometimes forming whole vessels. The casting of whole vessels in openwork must have been directly inspired by basketry, which would have also reinforced the fashion for openwork flanges.<sup>65</sup> The original source of openwork flanges, however, may lie within bronze work from further south. A *you* from Jinqicun 金棋村, Jingzhouxiang 荊州鄉, Xiangtan 湘潭, central Hunan (fig. 56), is clearly based on an early Western Zhou model probably by way of southeastern intermediaries;<sup>66</sup> its openwork flanges, however, are less developed than those on vessels from Tunxi, and seem to be stylized descendants of the bird flanges which decorate a Shang period *you* from Shimen 石門 in Hunan (fig. 57). Although a considerable chronological lacuna separates the Shimen *you* from the Xiangtan vessel, the survival of the fashion for flanges south of the Yangzi during Western Zhou is documented by the existence of a number of *bo* bells of southern manufacture on which openwork flanges occur.<sup>67</sup>

When flanges were adopted by Hubei bronze casters, they were redesigned to conform to the prevailing taste. The abstract openwork meshes of the southeast were often replaced by solid slabs, or if openwork was retained, as on the corner flanges of the *hu* from Lijialou, Xinzheng, it was cast in zoomorphic form (fig. 58). Notwithstanding their transformation, the fashion for flanges proved transient. After their heyday in the sixth century, they were gradually replaced in popularity by elements borrowed from wood carving.<sup>68</sup>

When features were borrowed from wood carving, they often had to be drastically reduced in scale so as to be accommodated on bronze vessels. Conversely, appendages could now dominate vessels to a greater degree than had previously been

emphasis on heavy decorative appendages, and surface decoration consisting of homogenous fields of curls. This style contrasts with that in vogue further north, where decorative appendages tended to be more restrained and surface decoration conceived in more linear terms.

In ornament no less than in forms, the Hubei bronze casters



Fig. 56. *You* from Jinqicun, Jingzhouxiang, Xiangtan, Hunan. Height 35.5 cm. After *HNKGJK* 4 (1987), pl. 1.



Fig. 57. *You* from Shimen, Hunan. Height 47.5 cm. After Li Xueqin 1985b, pl. 107.

possible. One of the earliest instances of this reproduction of wood carving themes in bronze occurs on the celebrated pair of *hu* from Xinzheng. *Hu* had been considered suitable vehicles for animal sculpture already in Western Zhou, when there is no suggestion of a source in wood carving. The combination of crane and antlered monster on the Xinzheng *hu* (fig. 58), however, so clearly echoes the carved wood bird-tiger sculptures that there can be little doubt that their inspiration lay in wood carving. Once this connection is recognized, it is then possible to explain also the massive size of the zoomorphic handles on the *hu* as a free reference to carved wood sculptures.

Themes and motifs reproduced in bronze could result in surprising transfigurations. The naturalistic anatomy and sense of frozen movement so vividly captured in the bird on the Xinzheng *hu* far surpass the efforts of its most realistic wooden cousins. The monster supports, on the other hand, retain little vestige of the feline character that is still present even in the most stylized wooden versions. Antlers, which on the sculptures were usually applied to the bird, are executed as flat planes affixed to the monster supports.

It was not only free-standing sculptures which provided a source of themes for the bronze casters. Furniture, as Rawson has observed, was also an important re-



Fig. 58. *Hu* from Lijialou, Xinzheng, Henan. Height 118 cm.  
After Beijing 1976, no. 56.

source.<sup>69</sup> At least two distinct and contrasting styles were current in wood carving—an angular one fostered by joinery, and a more curvilinear one which echoes the undulating rhythms of lacquer painting.

These two styles were often combined in the same piece. A lacquered wood *jin* from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi (fig. 59) consists of sinuous zoomorphs supporting a tray embellished with massive cuboid outcrops. The zoomorphs, in essence three-dimensional versions of the kind of motifs painted on a clothes chest from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi (fig. 60), provided the models for the bowed handle forms common on the Zeng Hou Yi bronzes (fig. 61). The outcrops echo the forms of the tenon component of joinery, as if the wood carvers were deliberately displaying their mastery of what would otherwise have been an art hidden from view. The caster's debt to wood

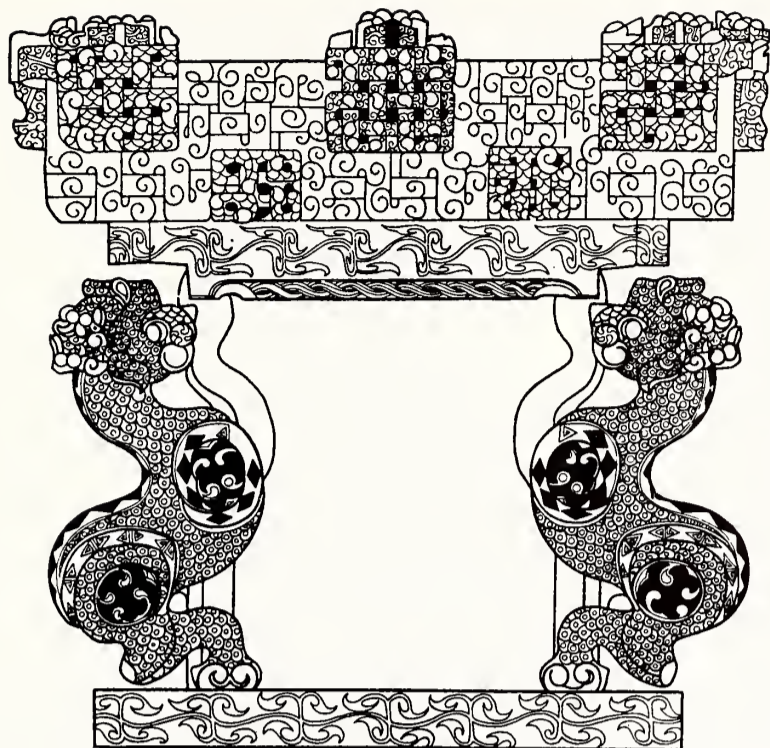


Fig. 60. Drawing of design on end section of clothes chest from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, p. 8, middle.

Fig. 59. Drawing of lacquered wooden *jin* from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, p. 4.

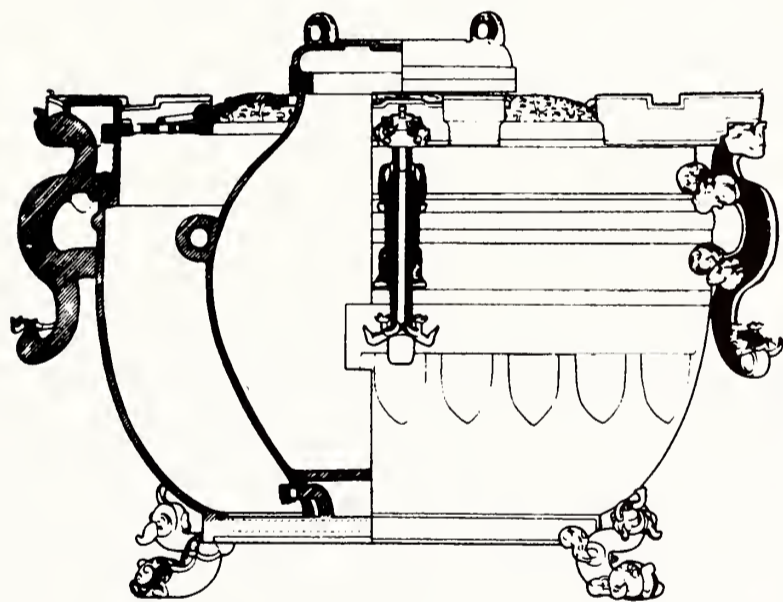


Fig. 62. Drawing of square *jin* from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. Height 61.2 cm. After Hong Kong 1984, p. 35, no. 9, fig. 7.

Fig. 61. Detail of handle on square *jin* in fig. 62. After Hong Kong 1984, p. 36, no. 9b.

carving was not limited purely to the form of these blocks. On the Zeng Hou Yi *jin* the blocks are fitted on to the rim with a purely mechanical interlock, devoid of any cast, welded, or even soldered joint.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the internal container of the *jin* is locked in place with a swivelling tenon that slots into a rectangular mortise (fig. 62).

Although flanges themselves gradually fell from favor, their openwork was further developed in other ways. The filigree meshes that form the torsos of the



Fig. 63. *Chu Wang Yinshen zhan* sold at Christie's, New York, on June 5, 1986, lot 54. Courtesy of Christie, Manson and Woods Ltd.

zoomorphic handles on the Xinzheng *hu*, although visually arresting, were in fact easily produced by the section-mold technique. It was only when openwork was conceived not as a two-dimensional mesh, but as a three-dimensional structure, that the limits of the section-mold casting were reached. Possibly one of the earliest examples of the new form occurs on a vessel inscribed "Chu Wang Yinshen 楚王畚審" (fig. 63), posthumously known as Gong Wang 共王 (reigned 590–560 B.C.).<sup>71</sup> The handle on the lid of this is cast in the form of a ring of tightly interlaced strands. Interlaced thongs or plaited cords had been imitated in openwork earlier in the northwest, but this new interest in the south does not seem to represent a mere spin-off from northern fashions.<sup>72</sup> Possibly, it represents, like the sinuous appendages, a reflection of tendencies in lacquer painting. Whereas in the surface decoration of bronzes, interlacery had by the sixth century become so compressed that it had totally lost any three-dimensional quality, in lacquer painting interest in representing the intertwining of the different strands was, in some styles at least, still preserved (fig. 64, inner panel).

Even if interlaced schemes of lacquer painting inspired the new openwork style, they could certainly not have provided the technical means necessary to realize it. The use of a fusible model, probably executed in wax, essential to produce such intricate structures may already have been used for other forms of supra-surface ornament. The helical horns of the zoomorphic flanges on the Xinzheng *hu* are suggestive, as are vermicular creatures which embellish the handle of a seventh-century *yi* of probably southern provenance in the Palace Museum, Beijing (fig. 65).



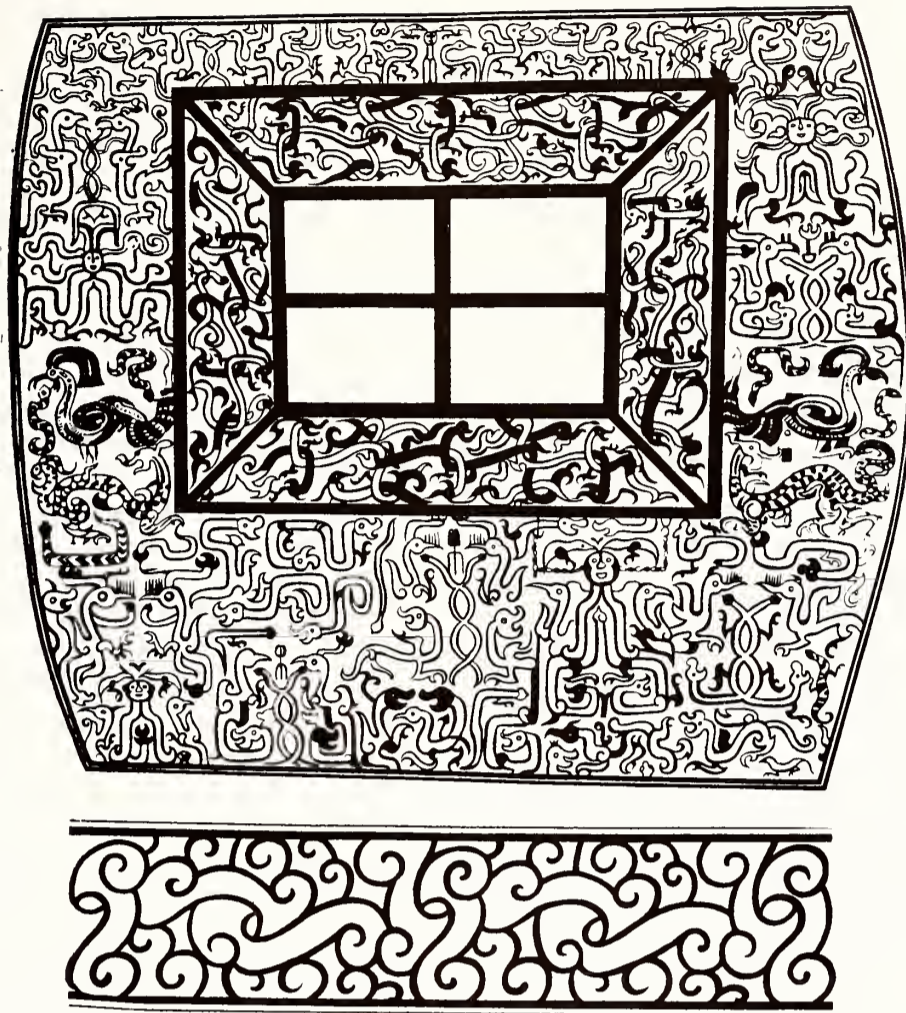


Fig. 64. Drawing of decoration on lacquered wood coffin from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, p. 23.



Fig. 65. Yi in Palace Museum, Beijing. Length 43 cm. After Beijing 1976, no. 55.



Fig. 67. Jade *bi* from Tomb No. G1, Baoxiangsi, Guangshan, Henan. Diameter 11.7 cm. After Beijing 1987, no. 122.

Fig. 66. Pole ferrule with finial in the form of mythical creature from sacrificial Pit No. 1, Sanxingdui, Guanghan, Sichuan. Height 40.5 cm. After WW 1987.10, color pl. 2:1.

Although it is not possible to be categorical that the figures on the *yi* were cast using a fusible model, this method certainly would have overcome the difficulty of removing the miniature mold sections without damage.

Attempts at the identification of earlier products of the fusible model technique become even more hazardous. There are, nevertheless, two reasons for seeking a source for the technique upstream in Sichuan. First, Sichuan lay on the corridor linking the southwest of China with the steppes, both regions in which lost-wax casting flourished during the later bronze age. Second, the bronze statuary recently revealed at Sanxingdui 三星堆, Guanghan 廣漢, has so fundamentally altered our perception of the scope of Chinese bronze casting that it would come as no great surprise to find different casting techniques in use.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately for this argument, the large-scale statuary at Sanxingdui was clearly cast using conventional section molds. The horned creature which surmounts a pole top (fig. 66), on the other hand, would certainly have presented the section-mold caster with formidable difficulties if—and this must be the crux—the horns were cast integrally with the rest.<sup>74</sup> This theory of a Sichuan source for the use of a fusible model in southern casting remains highly tentative, and would be undermined if the adduced piece proves to have been conventionally cast. If, however, the lost-wax technique was indeed current in Sichuan, it could easily have been transmitted downstream with the Sichuan weapons occasionally found in sixth-century Chu tombs in Hubei and southern Henan.<sup>75</sup>

The interlaced openwork meshes of the early sixth-century styles were soon

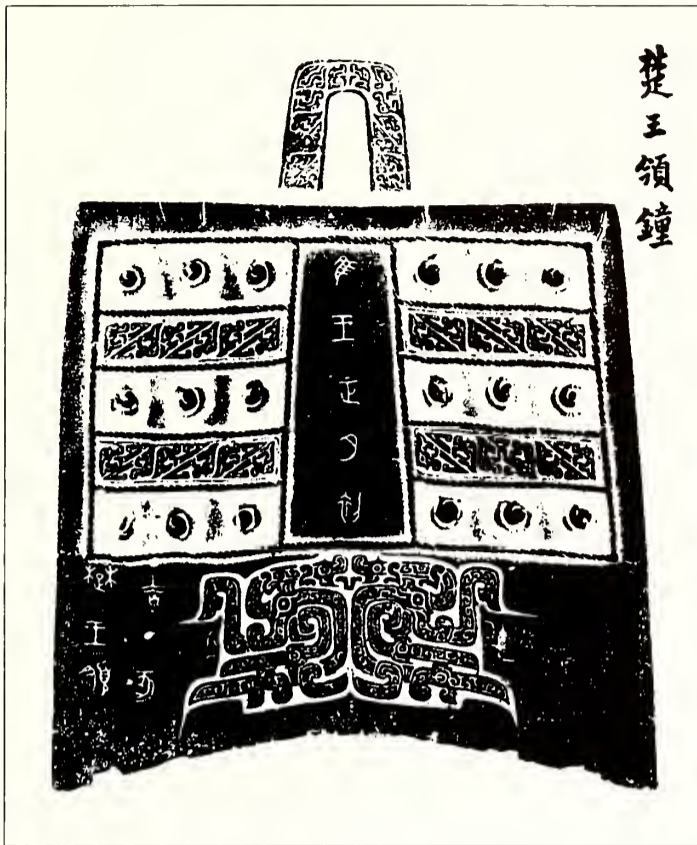


Fig. 68. *Chu Wang Gan zhong*. After Guo Moruo 1958a, vol. 4, p. 182b.

overtaken in popularity by deeper, honeycomb-like structures exhibiting discontinuous surfaces formed of discrete curls (figs. 33, 41). The replacement of interlacency by massed curls parallels the process taking place in surface decoration, and represents, no doubt, a deliberate policy of stylistic coordination. The origin of the relief curl style remains elusive. Previous writers, followed by this author, have suggested that the influence of new jade-carving styles may have been an important factor in the rise of curls in bronze.<sup>76</sup> Jades from the seventh-century tombs at Baoxiangsi, Guangshan, have confirmed that traditional dragon heads were already dissolving into discrete curls (fig. 67) at the time when in bronze decoration they still survived as coherent

heads. But if the germ of the stylistic development that followed in bronze does lie in jade carving, then we must accept that in the north, where the style was hardly less developed in jade, it was for a century or more resisted by the bronze casters. There, the trend was towards a more linear style, perhaps promoted by a greater interest in motif *per se*. It was only towards the end of the fifth century, long after the style had become dominant on southern bronzes, that interlacency on northern bronzes was finally submerged by curls.<sup>77</sup>

The submersion of motifs by curls in Chu ornament during the sixth century is well illustrated by a comparison of two Chu bells, the *Chu Wang Gan zhong* (fig. 68) on the one hand, and on the other the *Wangsun Yizhe zhong* 王孫遺者鐘 in the Avery Brundage Collection, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (fig. 69), and a set of very similar examples from Xiasi Tomb No. 2. On the *Wangsun Yizhe zhong* and the Xiasi set, what at first sight appears to be no more than a pattern of curls and relief elements proves on closer inspection to harbor an underlying scheme of two addorsed dragons essentially similar to that on the *Chu Wang Jin zhong*. If, as is provisionally accepted here, the Xiasi bells should be attributed to the middle of the sixth century, they precede the emergence of the style downstream in Wu territory.<sup>78</sup> But perhaps more important than assigning chronological priority to Chu or Wu is to recognize the different emphasis placed upon aspects of the style in each region. A comparison of the *Wangsun Yizhe zhong* with the *Wu Wang Guang jian* 吳王光鑑 (fig. 70) reveals important points of contrast: a much bolder and crisper execution of relief on the former; on the latter, less emphasis on the curl or comma, and the absence of any



Fig. 69. *Wangsun Yizhe zhong*. Height 57.2 cm. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection, 60 S552. Courtesy of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

elements even vaguely suggestive of zoomorphs. This distinction remains valid for many southeastern bronzes into the fifth century.<sup>79</sup>

The account offered above has shown that Chu bronze work during the first half of Eastern Zhou was never a monolithic unity, and that it drew on a wide variety of sources. Moreover, the Cai and Zeng repertoires of vessel forms were not identical



Fig. 70. *Wu Wang Guang jian*. Height 35 cm. After *Shou Xian* 1956, pl. 15:1.

with that of Chu. Far from being artistic vassals of Chu, the States of Cai and Zeng were in some respects in advance of it. In decoration, however, while Cai stands apart—there is little evidence that the elaborate blocks of interlacery or heavy appendages derived from wood carving were as highly developed there—we may allow a closer degree of correspondence between Chu and Zeng. In the following discussion, the Zeng Hou Yi assemblage is taken, with the provisos outlined above, as representative of Chu bronze work.<sup>80</sup>

### Function and Meaning in Chu Bronze Work— a Conflation of Zhou Ritual Tradition and Southern Shamanistic Imagery

However much the search for origins is satisfying to the art historian, it is highly likely that the late fifth-century Chu bronze caster would have felt it totally irrelevant to his concerns, even if he accepted the validity of the evolutionary strands identified above. Save for very new additions to his repertory, he would have been disinclined to regard his range of forms and his vocabulary of motifs as drawn from anything but his own well of resources. It is possible that he would have been much more sympathetic to questions concerning the ritual function and religious significance of his creations. It seems worthwhile therefore to consider briefly the literary evidence relating both to Chu attitudes to bronzes and to Chu religious beliefs.

The range and size of the vessels in the Xiasi and Zeng Hou Yi assemblages are proof, if we ever doubted it, of Chu's interest in the physical paraphernalia of the rituals of Zhou tradition. The ordered sets of vessels in the Zeng Hou Yi tomb

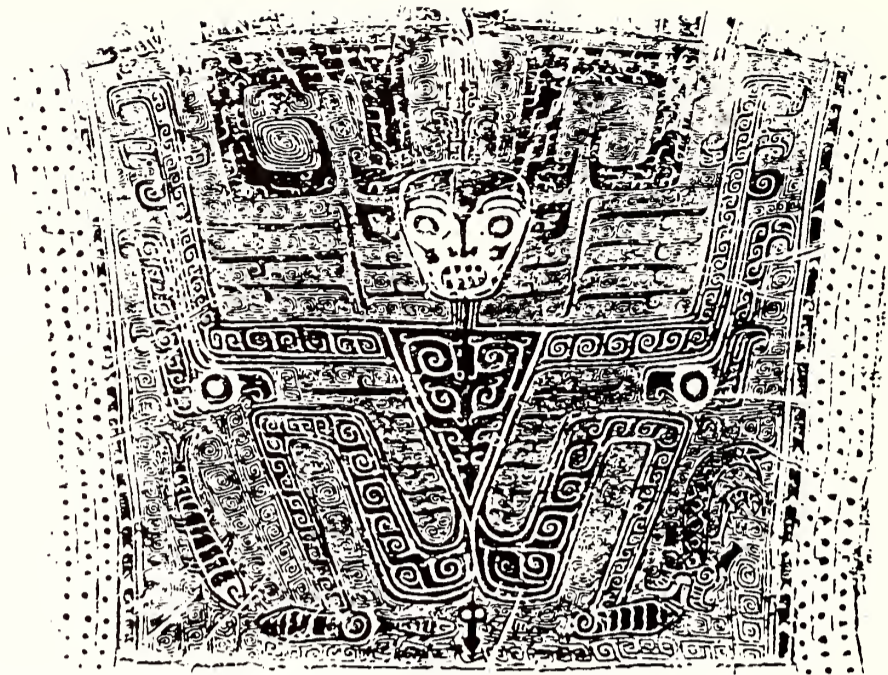


Fig. 71. Rubbing of decoration on drum in Sen'oku Hakkokan (Sumitomo Collection). Courtesy of the Sen'oku Hakkokan, Kyōto.

broadly agree with the vessel prescriptions of the ritual texts such as the *Yili*.<sup>81</sup> Whether or not the enquiry made on behalf of the Chu king as to the weight of the dynastic nine *ding* of Zhou and recorded with shocked indignation in the *Zuo zhuan* is apocryphal, the massive size of the *Wangzi Wu ding* lends the story plausibility.<sup>82</sup> Chu's pretensions to sovereignty of the empire acknowledged the importance of the legitimizing symbols of Zhou. The enlargement of the repertory with vessels borrowed from the east and southeast should also be seen as an additional testimony to the importance of the ritual vessel in Chu.

The frequency of inscriptions on southern bronzes is a further indication of respect for Zhou tradition. In the north, by contrast, inscribed bronzes are rarer, not because literacy was less widespread, but because bronze was no longer considered a suitable vehicle for public pronouncements.<sup>83</sup> In this sense and in the preservation of certain late Western Zhou types such as the monumental *hu*, which in the north was increasingly challenged by a new, simpler type, Chu bronze work was the true successor to Western Zhou. The southern vessel repertory was, however, not a simple continuation of Western Zhou practices; there seems to have been a gradual shift in emphasis away from food vessels toward wine and ablutionary vessels. In the Zeng Hou Yi tomb the largest vessels and those with the most elaborate cast decoration are all wine vessels—the *hu*, the *jian* and the *zun-pan*. The once impressive *sheng ding*, on the other hand, have declined in size.

More significant for the purposes of this discussion, however, is the presence of two important bronzes—the drum and the figure of the antlered crane—which derive from a completely alien tradition. Many writers on early Asian culture, from Eliade to Eberhard, have recognized the cultic or shamanistic role of the drum.<sup>84</sup> Eliade's definition of the shaman as one versed in the techniques of ecstasy implies the

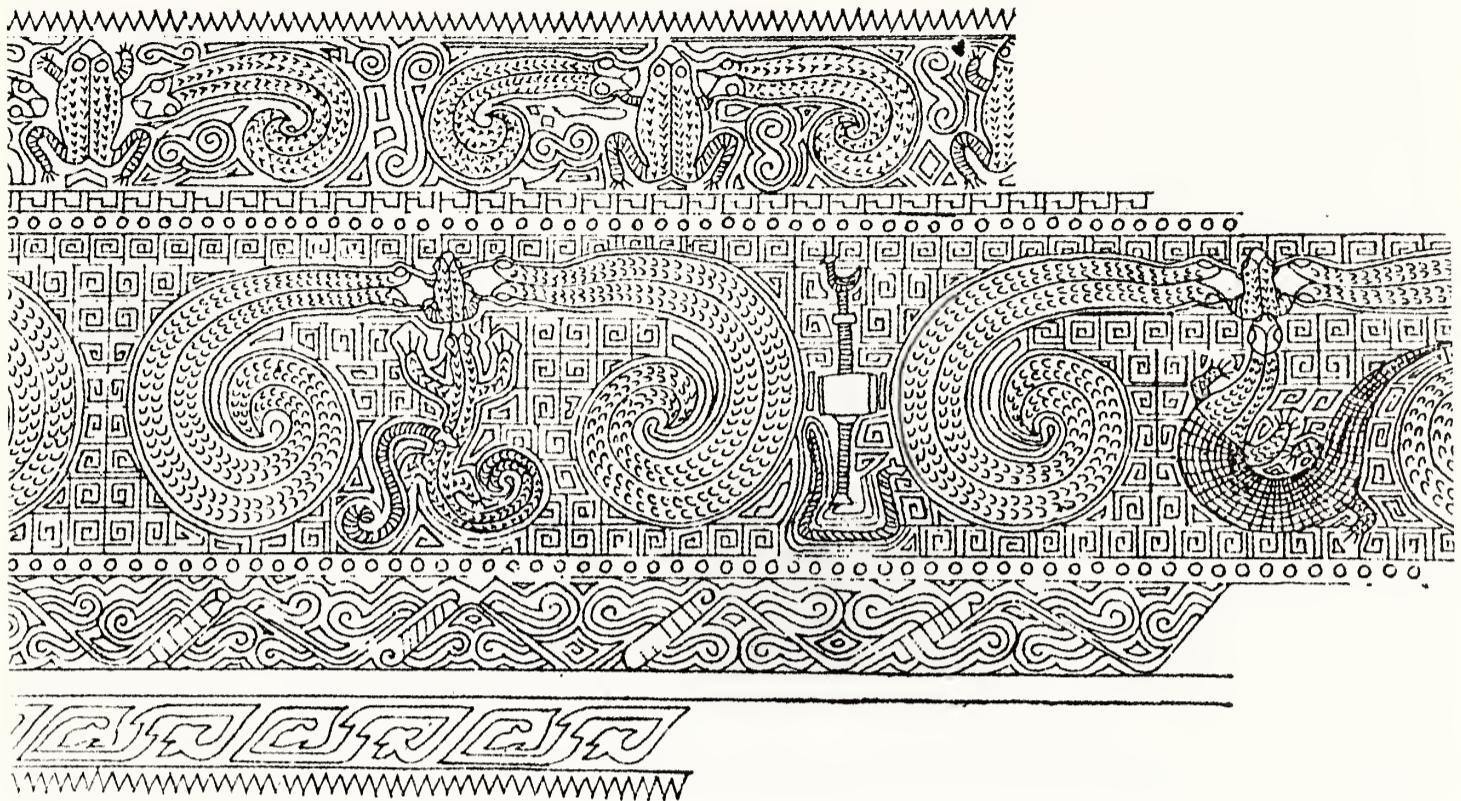


Fig. 72. Drawing of decoration on *zun* from Yangjia, Gongcheng, Guangxi. After *KG* 1973.1, p. 32, fig. 5, top.

entering of a trance.<sup>85</sup> As purveyors of popular music have long recognized, the drum is the trance-inducing instrument *par excellence*. Endorsement of the theory of a connection between the drum and the shaman in the culture of south China is provided by the depiction on the Sumitomo example of a figure whose horned head-dress must surely mark him as a priest, if not actually a shaman (fig. 71). In descriptions of Siberian shamans, two frequently encountered creatures are the bird and the snake. It may be no coincidence that these two accompany the shaman on his drum, the snake as feet, and strange avian forms as finials.<sup>86</sup> That the same associations of the drum survived into Eastern Zhou is shown by the depictions of a shafted drum on a *zun* from Yangjia 秧家, Gongcheng 恭城, in northern Guangxi (fig. 72). The bird on the top of the shaft is unambiguous, but the line rising from the base of the drum stand becomes intelligible only in the context of the drum strands in the form of snakes or the serpent-like monsters which form the base of the Zeng Hou Yi example.

Shamanism was by no means confined to the south during Eastern Zhou; references to shamans of Qin, Jin and Qi occur in pre-Han texts, and these references are matched by depictions of shaman-like images on the pictorial bronzes found over a wide area of China.<sup>87</sup> It may have been in Chu, however, that the shaman retained greatest prestige. Hawkes has emphasized that what unifies the *Chu ci* anthology is not meter or poetic form, but the pervasive imagery of shamanism.<sup>88</sup> While this interest was probably rooted in folk tradition—as late as Han the people of Jiangnan 江南 (the region of Hunan) were noted for their belief in shamans and spirits and their



Fig. 73. Decoration on bell from Tomb No. 2, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hong Kong 1984, p. 91, no. 67a.



Fig. 74. Detail of painted lacquer decoration from *se* from Tomb No. 1, Changtaiguan, Xinyang, Henan. After *Xinyang* 1986, pl. XVII:3.

addiction to lewd rites, while the people of Hubei were described as dissolute and unruly<sup>89</sup>—the use made of shamanist themes by Qu Yuan 屈原, himself a descendant of one of the oldest aristocratic families of Chu, implies that it enjoyed high prestige in the kingdom. If shamanism was an important component of Chu religion, it is reasonable to look for expressions of this belief in its art. The snake-wielding figure on a fourth-century axe from Jingmen 荆門 can plausibly be interpreted as a shaman.<sup>90</sup> It has been argued that this axe is in fact an import from the kingdom of Ba in Sichuan, but the occurrence of a snake-wielding figure on the *gu* of some of the bells from Leigudun Tomb No. 2 proves that the motif was current in Hubei by the fourth century B.C. (fig. 73). If the hooded and masked figures which orchestrate supernatural creatures on the side of a *se* 瑟 from the fourth-century Tomb No. 1 at Changtaiguan, Xinyang, are not shamans, they must be their kindred spirits of the mountains (fig. 74).

A recurrent theme of the *Chu ci*, the spirit journey, is taken by Eliade as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the shaman's magic, in contrast to the feats of other kinds of sorcerers.<sup>91</sup> In the *Li sao* 離騷 tremendous distances are covered in the space of a single day. Journeys through the heavens are also found in the texts of Daoism, a philosophic and religious system which is considered by some scholars to have originated in the south.<sup>92</sup> In the *Chu ci* the shaman-poet does not undertake these celestial journeys alone, but is sometimes accompanied by a host of supernatural creatures, including phoenixes. We have seen above that southern carvings of supernatural birds were based on the crane form. In later Daoism, the role of the crane as the steed of the Daoist was quite unambiguous.<sup>93</sup> The antlered crane-like bird in the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, notwithstanding its practical function as a drum stand, must have possessed also a symbolic role as the bearer of the Marquis's soul to heaven, a notion fundamentally similar to the spirit journey.<sup>94</sup>



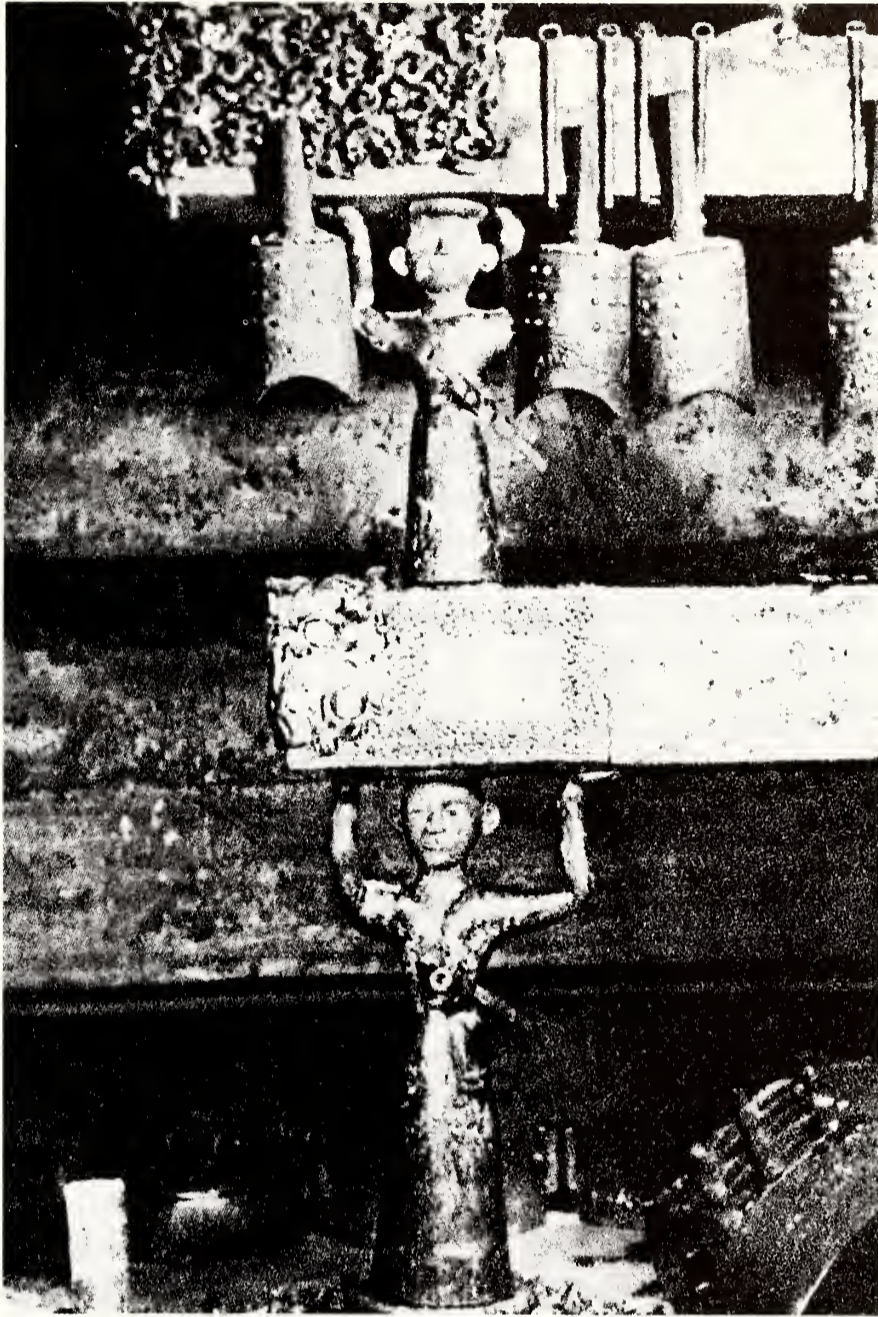


Fig. 75. Detail of bell rack from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After ZGWW 1980.2, p. 17, fig. 2.

We have seen above that many important features of the Chu decorative style were borrowed from wood carving. Some, like the cuboid blocks on the Zeng Hou Yi *jian* and *zun-pan*, were primarily formal elements in the design, but others, like the bird and monsters on the Xinzheng *hu*, were miniaturized versions of features which in their original forms clearly possessed religious symbolism. Were these, when reduced in scale and grafted on to the vessels, merely ornamental embellishment? Were they, to adapt Hawke's memorable phrase, the "cannibalization" of religious images for secular display?<sup>95</sup>

The figures painted in lacquer on the Zeng Hou Yi coffins are grounds for arguing that the new decorative features in bronze may have been believed to possess magical efficacy (fig. 64). Although identification of the demons on the coffin with specific creatures mentioned in the *Shan hai jing* 山海經 is fraught with difficulty, there can be little doubt that even the most schematic of the motifs would have been seen to



Fig. 76. Drawing of lacquered wooden box in form of duck from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, Leigudun, Suizhou, Hubei. After Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, p. 7.

contribute to the magical field of force surrounding the coffin. Although the iconographic variations of such figures are unlikely to have been individually prescribed by shamans, they may conceivably have originated in the artists' response to shamanist descriptions of their journeys to the spirit world.<sup>96</sup>

It seems reasonable therefore to postulate that the zoomorphic appendages applied to southern bronze vessels were imputed with some of the same magical efficacy attributed to the lacquer designs. This would account for the fairly dramatic modifications to appendages of vessel types borrowed from elsewhere; the handles on the *gui* from the tomb of the Marquis Zhao of Cai (fig. 37), as we have seen above, were probably descended from traditional early Western Zhou prototypes. When the vessel was adopted by the Zeng casters, these were replaced by hybrid creatures that partake both of avian and reptilian features (fig. 36). This development is unlikely to have been the result of incremental, arbitrary mutations, but represents the deliberate and perhaps sudden replacement of imported appendages with those of greater religious relevance. The ritual vessel forms were, in effect, animated with a new, magical power.

One further aspect of the imagery of the *Chu ci*—namely, the emphasis on exotic plants—is perhaps foreshadowed on the Zeng Hou Yi bronzes. In the *Chu ci* plants are often used as adornment of the person, but are also important for their fragrances. Matted growths of intertwined dragon forms on the Zheng Hou Yi bell rack (fig. 75) often terminate in florets which are surely references to vegetation. As Hawkes has pointed out, the interest in exotic plants is one aspect of the shaman's craft, that of pharmacology. The plants then had rather different, and perhaps more magical connotations than those mentioned in the *Shi jing*.<sup>97</sup> It is tempting therefore to see in

this decoration, no less than in that of the hybrid creatures which form the appendages of vessels, an expression of a distinct southern religious milieu underpinned by shamanism. Censers, which first appear in bronze in the Zeng Hou Yi tomb, may possibly also reflect this interest, since the imagery of fragrances permeates many of the poems of the *Chu ci*.<sup>98</sup>

If the interpretation of the decoration offered above is accepted, we can see in sixth- and fifth-century Chu bronze work a marriage of two distinct religious traditions, the ancestor worship of the Zhou, with its emphasis on offering vessels, and a shamanist tradition, in which communication with the spirits was effected through ecstatic performances and reptilian and avian symbols. This synthesis in Chu bronze art finds an analogous expression in the poem “Dong Huang Tai Yi 東皇太一,” one of the “Jiu ge 九歌.” Although vessels themselves are not explicitly mentioned, the reference to food and libations implies that they were present.

From the god's jewelled mat with treasures laden  
 Take up the fragrant flower-offerings,  
 The meats cooked in melilotus, served on orchid mats,  
 And libations of cinnamon wine and pepper sauces!  
 Flourish the drumsticks, beat the drums!  
 The singing begins softly to a slow, solemn measure:  
 Then as pipes and zithers join in, the sound grows shriller.  
 Now the priestesses come, splendid in their gorgeous apparel,  
 And the hall is filled with a penetrating fragrance . . .

(Translation after Hawkes 1985, p. 102)

If this description is anything to go by, the rituals at which these bronzes, both vessels and musical instruments, were employed were a far cry from the sedate ceremonies of the Zhou. This theory derives support from the scenes of drums and bells painted on a lacquered box in the form of a duck from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi (fig. 76). On this, the performers are depicted not in Chinese dress, but, disguised as outlandish animals, are reminiscent of the figures that occur on the *se* from Changtaiguan.<sup>99</sup> We may justifiably see the vessels, the bells and the drums not only as functional articles, but, through their forms and decoration as devices, no less than the wafting incense and intoxicating liquor, to encourage the suspension of disbelief necessary for the success of shamanist performance.

In the courts of Chu and their vassals, the rites of Zhou were subverted and their paraphernalia turned to novel uses which would have surprised and perhaps even shocked their sober originators. Chu and its vassals formed an interface between Zhou culture and the peoples of the south. Drawing on traditions of both north and south, as well as of the east and, possibly, the west, Chu bronze casters fused their borrowings into truly original creations so well integrated that the debt to their diversity of sources was masked.

## Notes

1. I should like to express my gratitude to the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery for giving me the opportunity to air my ideas on Chu bronze work to an audience of distinguished collectors and scholars at the symposium on Chu culture. My heartfelt thanks are also due to Mrs. Jessica Rawson for her constant encouragement in my research, and for the many insights I have gained from our discussions on the bronzes and art of Chu. The writings of Jenny So on Eastern Zhou bronzes have proved equally inspirational. Individual debts to these authors are acknowledged in the course of the text.
2. For Western Zhou inscriptions which mention campaigns against Jing 荊, Chu 楚, and Chu-Jing 楚荊, see *SHBWGGK* 1 (1981), pp. 21–25. To this list can be added the *Wei Shu gui* 堆叔簋 from Huayyuancun 花園村, Chang'an 長安 (*WW* 1986.1, pp. 10–12, figs. 22–24) and the *Shi Qiang pan* 史牆盤 from Zhuangbaijia 莊白家, Fufeng 扶風 (*Shaanxi* 1980–84, vol. 2, no. 24).
3. See Wang Guanghao 1988, pp. 48–72, for a discussion of Shang and Western Zhou oracle bone inscriptions purporting to mention Chu. Wang accepts as references to Chu only those of the Western Zhou period. Historically the most significant is that which includes the phrase, “The Chu princeling came to offer his report 楚子來告” (Wang Yuxin 1984, p. 296, fig. 47). Wang Yuxin assumes that this mention of the Chu ruler must date from the reign of Cheng Wang 成王, when the Chu ruler Xiong Yi 熊繹 is recorded in the *Shi ji* as having been enfeoffed (Wang Yuxin 1984, p. 235). Certainly, no embassy is likely to have been dispatched during the reigns of Zhao and Mu, when relations between Zhou and Chu were hostile. An inscription on a middle Western Zhou *ding* from Huangdui 黃堆, Fufeng, records that a certain Sheng 生 was dispatched by an unnamed earl to serve in Chu, implying that friendly relations were at some subsequent time restored (*Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui* 1986, pp. 61–62, figs. 11:2 and 13).
4. *Shi ji*, “Chu Annals,” second edn., vol. 5, p. 1691.
5. For a brief review of the evidence relating to Chu’s borders, see Ding Yongfang 1980. The southern and southeastern borders of Chu are least well defined. Gao Zhixi has argued that by the middle Spring and Autumn period Chu had penetrated the middle reaches of the Xiang river (Xiangjiang 湘江) (Gao Zhixi 1987, pp. 57–58). Jiang Tingyu argues that the campaigns of Wu Qi 吳起 in the early fourth century B.C. crossed into the Lingnan 嶺南 region (the modern provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi), but admits that this may have been only a temporary incursion. Jiang believes that the southern border of Chu during the fourth century was probably around the watershed separating the Xiang and Li 漓 rivers (Jiang Tingyu 1980).
6. Liu Binhui’s discussions of Hubei bronze work start from the premise that Chu foundries must have been the most influential, even during the eighth and seventh centuries (Liu Binhui 1983, 1985, 1986).
7. The various theories on the location of Danyang have been meticulously reviewed by Blakeley, who provisionally favors the Xichuan location (Blakeley 1988).
8. The mention of the crossing occurs in the entry for the sixteenth year of Zhao: see *Zhushu jinian*, “Zhou ji 周紀,” pp. 43–44.
9. The reference to Chengzhou in the *Wei Shu gui* inscription (see note 2) occurs after the mention of the campaign against Chu-Jing. Chengzhou may merely have been the spot to which the Zhou forces returned after the campaign; the authors of the excavation report, however, interpret Chengzhou as the starting point of the expedition (*Shaanxi Sheng Wenwu* 1986, p. 31).

10. *Zuo zhuan*, 23rd year of Zhao (519 B.C.), in *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, vol. 4, p. 1448.
11. Blakeley, however, regards the location even of Ying as still unsettled (Blakeley 1988, pp. 118–19).
12. The evolution of this type has been discussed by a number of authorities, notably Yu Weichao (*WW* 1980.10, pp. 10–11, and *JHKG* 1982.2, pp. 4–5) and Wang Jing 王勁, in an unpublished paper presented to the Chu conference in Wuhan in 1988.
13. This is Wang Guanghao's position (Wang Guanghao 1988, pp. 145–59). Hawkes makes the point that the graph for *li* forms part of the character Yu 鬻 in the name of the early Chu ruler Yu Xiong 鬻熊 (Hawkes 1985, p. 23). In this context, it may be significant that the Qujialing 屈家嶺 neolithic culture of Hubei lacks the *li*. If the Chu entered the region during the late neolithic period from the north, they might well have incorporated the character for their cooking pot into the name of a king in order to distinguish themselves from the local population.
14. Kane 1974, pp. 99–100.
15. Personal communication to the author from Jessica Rawson. If this hypothesis on the location of Chu is accepted, it is the *Chu Gong Jia ge* 楚公冢戈 adduced by Kane as evidence of Chu's origin in Hunan, which now becomes the enigma. Since, however, the blade is likely to have been of Sichuan origin, it is in any case irrelevant to the discussion of Chu bronze work.
16. Chu Gong Jia is identified by Guo Moruo with Xiong Yi 熊儀 (reigned 790–764 B.C.) (Guo Moruo 1958a, vol. 8, p. 164b), and by Xia Lu with Xiong Yun 熊暉 (reigned 671–626 B.C.) (*JHKG* 1985.4, pp. 52–54), both too late to be reconciled with the style of the bells.
17. So 1981, pp. 89–90.
18. Rawson 1990. See also Kane 1974, p. 94, note 61.
19. The identification of Zeng with Sui, first proposed by Li Xueqin (Li Xueqin 1978), is now almost universally accepted by Chinese historians. Corroboration of Zeng's links with Zhou (Sui is known to have possessed the Zhou surname, Ji 姬) has been provided by the discovery in Sui Xian of an inscribed *ge* cast for a Zeng official who describes himself as a descendant of Zhou (see Thorp 1981, pp. 70–71, and *WW* 1980.1, pp. 34–41, figs. 6–8). Sui is specifically singled out as the largest of the states to the east of Han river in a dialogue passage in the *Zuo zhuan* (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 6th year of Huan Gong 桓公, vol. 1, p. 110). Tang 唐 is the only other Zhou state located in the Hubei region whose name appears in the histories. Many more petty statelets whose names have not survived may, however, have also coexisted there, since a dialogue in the *Zuo zhuan* includes the assertion: "Chu has completely annihilated all the Ji [clan states] northeast of the Han 漢陽諸姬, 楚實盡之" (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 28th year of Xi Gong 僖公, vol. 1, p. 459).
20. For information on the Tonglüshan mine, see Zhongguo Kaoguxue Hui 1979, *passim*. The recent discovery of another substantial late Zhou and Han period copper mine at Jinniudong 金牛洞, Tongling 銅陵, on the Yangzi in Anhui, is a further indication of the ample sources of copper available in the south (*KG* 1989.10, pp. 910–19, pl. 7).

Zhang Zhengming and Liu Yutang 劉玉堂 argue that before the mid-Spring and Autumn period the Tonglüshan mine was worked by the Yang Yue 楊越 tribes south of the Yangzi (Zhang Zhengming 1984, pp. 60–66). If the metal extracted from the mine was used purely in their own market, it is surprising that comparatively few Eastern Zhou bronzes have survived from south of the Yangzi. Whether or not Zeng exerted any control over the mine, it must surely have been a major patron. That Chu

did eventually gain access to abundant supplies of bronze is implied by a *Zuo zhuan* passage for the 18th year of Xi Gong (642 B.C.), which records the presentation of bronze to the State of Zheng 鄭. The strategic importance of bronze is illustrated by the Chu ruler's fear that it might be used by Zheng to cast weaponry (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, vol. 1, p. 377).

21. Bronzes published with the names of the aforementioned states are published in the reports listed below.  
 Huang: Baoxiangsi 寶相寺, Guangshan 光山 (*KG* 1984.4, pp. 302–32, 348, pls. 1–6);  
 Tian'edun 天鵝墩, Baoxiangsi, Guangshan (*KG* 1989.1, pp. 26–32, pl. 3);  
 Mopanshan 磨盤山, Shangyou 上油, Huangchuan 潢川 (*WW* 1980.1, pp. 46–50).  
 Jiang: Taipuxiang 太僕鄉, Jia Xian 郟縣 (*WWCKZL* 1954.3, pp. 60–62); Tomb No. 1,  
 Xiasi 下寺, Xichuan 淅川 (*KG* 1981.2, pl. 6:4).  
 Xi: Yunyang 潁陽, Sui Xian 隨縣 (*JHKG* 1980.2, pl. 1, upper).  
 Pan: Penggang 彭崗, Changtaiguan 長臺關, Xinyang 信陽 (*WW* 1980.1, pp. 42–45,  
 pl. 4); Tomb No. 5, Pingxi 平西, Xinyang (*KG* 1989.1, pp. 20–25, 9, pl. 2).  
 Fan: Pingqiao 平橋, Xinyang (*WW* 1981.1, pp. 9–14, pl. 5).
22. This type of *he* has already appeared at the late neolithic site of Beiyinyangying 北陰陽營, Nanjing (*KGXB* 1958.1, pl. 10:3,4). Bronze examples from Anhui include one from Xiaobali 小八里, Feixi 肥西 (*Zhongguo Kaoguxue Hui* 1983, p. 66, chart of forms); another from Fenghuangzui 鳳凰嘴, Shucheng 舒城 (*KG* 1964.10, p. 500, fig. 2:2); and a third from Yangjiapai 楊家牌, Jingong 金拱, Huaining 懷寧 (*WW* 1983.11, pp. 68–69, figs. 1:4 and 6). A late version of the form is present among the bronzes from Shizishan 獅子山, Shaoxing, Tomb No. 306 (*WW* 1984.1, p. 22, fig. 26).
23. See ceramic examples from Dachengdun 大城墩, Hanshan 含山, in Anhui (*KG* 1989.2, p. 114, fig. 11:2–3).
24. Xi was extinguished in 680 B.C. (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 14th year of Zhuang Gong 莊公, vol. 1, pp. 198–99); Huang in 648 B.C. (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 12th year of Xi Gong, vol. 1, p. 340); and Jiang in 623 B.C. (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 4th year of Wen Gong 文公, vol. 2, pp. 532, 534).
25. For the *yi*, see Watson 1962, pl. 49a; for the *pan*, Rong Geng 1941, vol. 2, p. 444, no. 842.
26. The bronzes from Zhijiang are illustrated in *WW* 1972.3, pp. 65–68. Two further bronzes of eighth- or early seventh-century date recovered from the west of the Han river are a round-bowled *ding* and a *fu* inscribed with the name of a Cai official from Huangtupo 黃土坡, Yicheng (*KG* 1989.11, pp. 1041–44).
27. This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the dates of the sites mentioned. The most important recent studies of the evidence relating to the respective sites are listed below.  
 Xinzheng: So 1981, pp. 119–23, Li Xueqin 1985a, pp. 85–87.  
 Xiasi, Xichuan: Zhao Shigang & Liu Xiaochun 1980; Li Ling 1981; Zhang Yachu 1985. Seven *ding* from Tomb No. 2 bear an inscription declaring their commissioner to have been Wangzi Wu 王子午, also named as Lingyin Zi Geng 令尹子庚. This personage is universally identified with the son of King Zhuang 莊 of Chu, whose elevation to the rank of *lingyin* is recorded in the entry for 558 B.C. in the *Zuo zhuan*, and whose death occurred in 552 B.C.  
 Ximen, Shou Xian: Soper 1964, and references therein.  
 The tomb of Zeng Hou Yi: Qiu Xigui 1979; Tan Weisi *et al.* 1980; Thorp 1981.  
 Tomb No. 2, Leigudun, Suizhou: Liu Binhui 1985.

Tianxingguan, Jiangling: Li Xueqin 1985a, p. 162.

Tomb No. 1, Wangshan, Jiangling: Chen Zhenyu 1979. Chen dates the tomb to the reign of Wei Wang 威王 (reigned 340–329 B.C.) or the early years of his successor.

For the purposes of this discussion, the only important controversy concerns the date of Xiasi, Xichuan Tombs Nos. 1–3. Li Ling's attribution of the tombs to the middle of the sixth century seems preferable to the later dating of Zhang Yachu, for the following reasons. (1) A *zhan* from Tomb No. 1 is very close to the *Chu Wang Yinshen zhan* 楚王禽審盞 (fig. 63) which, if its inscription is genuine, was cast for Chu Gong Wang (reigned 590–560 B.C.) (see note 71). (2) The set of bells from Tomb No. 2 is very close to that of the *Wangsun Yizhe zhong*, the commissioner of which has been plausibly identified with Lingyin Zi Nan 令尹子南 who died in 551 B.C. (Sun Qikang 1983).

(3) The decoration on the Xiasi bronzes is considerably less advanced than that on the Cai Zhao Hou bronzes, some of which were cast before 508 B.C. and possibly as early as 518 B.C. (4) The title Chu Shu 楚叔, which occurs in the name of *Chu Shu zhi sun Peng* 楚叔之孫棚, also occurs on bronzes from tombs earlier in date than Tomb No. 2 in which the *Wangzi Wu ding* were found (personal communication to the author from Li Ling). Peng is therefore not likely to have been a descendant of Wangzi Wu, as Zhang Yachun argues.

28. See also another example of a degenerate *gui* from Tomb No. 9 at Jinjiashan 金家山, Dangyang (WW 1982.4, pl. 3:4).
29. See WW 1989.9, p. 75, fig. 24, for a fifth-century example from Tomb No. 251 at Jinshengcun 金勝村, Taiyuan 太原. An inlaid example from Tomb No. 126 at Fenshuiling 分水嶺, Changzhi 長治, dates to the end of the fifth century (WW 1972.4, pl. 5:4).
30. In addition to the illustrated vessel from Tomb No. 2, at Xiasi examples of the *he* are known from the late sixth- or early fifth-century tomb at Caojiagang 曹家崗, Dangyang (KGXB 1988.4, p. 497, fig. 45:1), and Tombs Nos. 247, 249 at Jinjiashan (WW 1989.11, p. 75, fig. 12). It is absent, however, from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi and later Chu tombs.

The origin of the *he* form is puzzling; its sudden appearance raises the possibility that it may have been a borrowing from the steppes, although there is no concrete evidence to support this suggestion. Its disappearance from the repertory in the south may have been connected with the rise in popularity of lacquered eared cups (*er bei* 耳杯) which, sharing the oval shape of the *he*, may have performed the same function.

31. This parallel was first noted by Jenny So, who argues, however, that the type could equally well have been invented in Hubei (So 1981, pp. 103–04). For another Shandong example of the type, see a vessel from Laiyang 萊陽 (WW 1983.12, pl. 3:2). Other Shandong vessels with broad zigzag decoration include a *hu* from Guheya 崗河崖, Rizhao 日照 (KG 1984.7, pl. 2:5) and another from Qufu 曲阜, capital of the state of Lu 魯 (Qufu 1982, pl. 81).
32. See KGXB 1978.1, p. 129, fig. 20:6.
33. Three narrow-mouthed *ding* are reported from Tombs Nos. 1–4 (WW 1980.10, p. 15).
34. See KGXB 1974.2, pl. 9:3. For a discussion of the *he*, see also Rawson 1988, no. 34.
35. See, for instance, examples from Tomb No. 306 at Shizishan, Shaoxing (WW 1984.1, pl. 4:2); from Gaozhuang 高莊, Huaiyin 淮陰 (KGXB 1988.2, pp. 212–13, figs. 27–29); from Tomb No. 1 at Hougudui 侯古堆, Gushi 固始 (WW 1981.1, pl. 2:3); and from Wangjiashan 王家山, Jianbi 諫壁, Zhenjiang 鎮江 (WW 1987.12, pl. 4:1). The type also became important in the Lingnan region, where it is known from tombs at Niaodanshan 烏旦山, Sihui 四會 (KG 1975.2, p. 104, fig. 5) and Nanmendong 南門洞,

- Luoding 羅定 (*KG* 1983.1, pl. 8:4).
36. For the example from Taipuxiang, Jia Xian, see Beijing 1972b, pl. 64.
37. Further examples of flat-based *ding* from Sui Xian include two from Liujiaya 劉家崖 (*KG* 1982.2, p. 142, fig. 1:2 and p. 145, fig. 5:2).
38. For *ding* very close in profile to the Liu'an vessel, see examples from Zhaozhuang 趙莊, Lujiang 廬江 (*Anhui* 1987, no. 18), and from Yangjiapai, Huaining (*WW* 1983.11, fig. 69, fig. 2); for *ding* with flat lids from Anhui, see examples from Fenghuangzhui, Shucheng (*KG* 1964.10, pl. 1:3,5).
39. The lids and perhaps the expanded belly of the *ding* are probably survivals from models introduced at the end of early Western Zhou. The survival of conservative forms and decorative features in the southeast and east was first observed by Jenny So (So 1981, pp. 83–84). Jessica Rawson has further developed this theme (Rawson 1987a, pp. 50–51; Rawson 1987b).
- For examples of eighth-century Shandong *ding* with flat lids, see an example from Guheya, Rizhao (*KG* 1984.7, pl. 2:2) and the unprovenanced *Qi Bo Mei Wang ding* 杞伯每亡鼎 (Shirakawa 1963–64, vol. 4, p. 41, fig. 462). A seventh-century tomb at Liujiadianzi 劉家店子, Yishui 沂水, yielded thirteen *ding* and nine *li* with flat lids (*WW* 1984.9, p. 3, pl. 1:1,2,4).
- Eighth- to seventh-century sites in Shandong which have yielded *ding* with bulging bellies include the following: Jiamengcun 賈孟村, Anqiu 安丘 (*WW* 1989.1, p. 96, fig. 1 and fig. 3:1); Quantoucun 泉頭村, Linqu 臨朐 (*WW* 1983.12, pl. 1:2) and Liujiadianzi, Yishui (*WW* 1984.9, pl. 1:1).
40. For a discussion of the southeastern *zun*, see So 1980, p. 265, no. 66, and Mackenzie 1986, pp. 42–44.
41. To the examples of southeastern *zun* cited in the preceding note can be added a squat, shouldered *zun* with massive aviform handles illustrated in Tajima 1910, pl. 40. The decoration on this would at first sight appear to be late Shang in style, but similarities in detail (including the tell-tale dotted circles) to the decoration of bronzes from Tunxi in southern Anhui indicate that it more likely represents the survival of earlier decorative styles.
42. See the rubbing of the inscription illustrated in *Shou Xian* 1956, pl. 38, sixth column, fifth character. Li Xueqin has recently identified the top right element of this character as *qiu* 酋, and argues that in ancient times the pronunciation of this graph (which he assumes is the phonetic element of the character) was close to *zhou* 舟. From this he concludes that the character as a whole denotes the *zhou* 舟 vessel mentioned in the *Zhou li*, and which, according to one commentator, was used as a stand or platform for the *zun* (Li Xueqin 1989a).
43. For a discussion of the inscription on the *zun* and *pan*, see Soper 1964, pp. 154–56. Li Xueqin argues that one, and possibly two, additional *zun-pan* sets exist among the Cai bronzes (Li Xueqin 1989a, p. 38). If this proves to be correct, then it may be that Cai was the first state to adapt the *pan* for use with the *zun*, which it had newly adopted from the southeast. The postulated association of these additional Cai *zun* and *pan* is, however, not nearly so strongly supported either by their inscriptions or by their relative positions in the tomb as is the set illustrated here (the additional *zun* were found inside *pen* 盆, not inside the *pan* to which Li refers: see *Shou Xian* 1956, p. 5).
44. For an example from Tangjiashan, Huancheng, Fanchang, see *WW* 1982.12, pl. 5:3.
45. See *Xinyang* 1986, pl. XCVIII:8.
46. The handles on the early Eastern Zhou *gui* so far found in Henan all lack this feature



- and seem to be descendants of late Western Zhou types. Compare the Cai *gui* with the examples from Zhoukoushi 周口市 (KG 1988.8, pp. 766–68) and Shangshui 商水 (KG 1989.4, pp. 310–13).
47. See, for instance, the *Chen Hou Wu gui* 陳侯午簋 illustrated in Rong Geng & Zhang Weichi 1958, pl. 32, no. 62.
  48. For the Shou Xian *gui*, see *Chu wenwu* 1954, no. 7. The argument that Chu acquired the pedestalled *gui* from the east would be overturned if the *Zhao Wang gui* proves to be as early as the reign of Chu Zhao Wang 昭王 (reigned 515–489 B.C.), the date proposed by Chen Rentao (Chen Rentao 1952, pp. 69–75, especially p. 72) and other Chinese authorities. The flattened execution of the decoration, the emphasis on the spiral and triangle and beading as filler motifs all militate against such an early attribution and imply instead a fourth-century date.
  49. Chen Fangmei argues that these basins were exclusively grain vessels (Chen Fangmei 1985, pp. 65–79), but their occasional occurrence together with *gui* suggests that they may have sometimes fulfilled other roles (see the assemblage from Taipuxiang, Jia Xian: *WWCKZL* 1954.3, p. 60).
  50. Wu and Jin seem to have enjoyed good relations for much of the sixth century. In 584 B.C. the Jin official Wu Chen 巫臣 was dispatched to Wu to teach its generals the art of chariot warfare (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 7th year of Cheng Gong 成公: vol. 2, pp. 834–35). In 568 B.C. the Wu official Shou Yue 壽越 was sent on a mission to Jin (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 5th year of Xiang Gong 襄公: vol. 3, p. 943). In 544 B.C. Ji Zha 季札, son of King Shou Meng 壽夢, embarked on a tour of the northern states which included a visit to Jin (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, 29th year of Xiang Gong: vol. 3, pp. 1153, 1161).
  51. The only possible prototypes for the square *jian* known to this author are a number of small square vessels excavated from Yiqi, Tunxi. See *Anhui* 1987, no. 38.
  52. Fourth-century square *jian* from the north include an example from Jincun 金村, Luoyang (Toronto 1972, no. 60) and another from Sanmenxia 三門峽, Shan Xian 陝縣 (Fong 1980, no. 75), both of which may have been designed to hold an internal container. For the fittings inside the *Wu Wang Guang jian* 吳王光鑑, see *Shou Xian* 1956, pl. 15:2; for those on the square *jian* from the tomb of Cai Zhao Hou, see Guo Baojun 1981, pl. 70:4.
  53. For a discussion of the typological sources of Chu bells, see von Falkenhausen's paper in this volume.
  54. For a discussion of the use of square pedestals in stone, bronze and other materials to support vessels during Shang and early Western Zhou, see Rawson 1984, pp. 13–15.
  55. For the only known Shang bronze example of the *zu*, in the Sumitomo Collection, and a late Chu version, said to have been unearthed from Lisangudui, Zhujiaji, Shou Xian, see Rong Geng & Zhang Weichi 1958, pl. 48, nos. 93 and 94. Wooden versions from Chu tombs abound: see *WW* 1982.4, p. 42, fig. 3; *WW* 1989.11, p. 73, fig. 4, and p. 77, fig. 21; and *Xinyang* 1986, pl. XX.
  56. The anaerobic conditions necessary for the survival of wood were achieved through a combination of design and natural circumstance. The encasement of tombs in "white oily clay" (*bai gao ni* 白膏泥), the earliest instance of which is recorded at the Western Zhou tombs at Lutaishan 魯臺山, Huangpi 黃陂 (*JHKG* 1982.2, p. 41), would by itself not have offered the desired protection to the tomb chamber. It was the gradual but eventually total inundation of the tombs after they had been sealed, a condition unlikely to have been actively sought by the tomb constructors, that preserved the wooden structure of the chamber in a waterlogged state, as well as relieving the

- pressure differential between the inside of the chamber and soil surrounding it.
57. For the Zigui stand, a Han period survival, see *JHKG* 1984.1, p. 16, fig. 14.4, and for the Shaoxing stand, *WW* 1984.1, pl. 2:1. I am grateful to Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen for bringing the Tunxi stands to my attention.
  58. Wu Rongzeng has pointed out that the cult of antlers may not have been confined to the south, citing finds of antlers from Fenshuiling, Changzi, Tombs Nos. 12 and 14 (Wu Rongzeng 1989, p. 50). Hayashi has also noted the presence of a crude lead antler stand in Tomb No. 1 at Zhaogucun 趙固村, Hui Xian 輝縣 (Hayashi 1972, p. 162). If, however, the cult was equally important in the north, it is surprising that northern bronze casters never felt the impulse to reproduce the forms of antlers or their stands in bronze, as was done in the south.
  59. Rawson 1984, p. 25.
  60. "The *jiangu* [is placed] to the west of the eastern steps 建鼓在阼階西" (*Yili*, "Dashe 大射," *juan* 16, p. 12b). For examples of *jiangu* depicted on the pictorial bronzes, see Weber 1968, figs. 66d, 67e, 68e.
  61. For the drum from Wangjiazui 王家嘴, Baimi 白霓, Chongyang 崇陽, south of the Yangzi in Hubei, see Fong 1980, no. 18.
  62. See Ling Chunsheng & Rui Yifu 1950, p. 208, fig. 81. Further evidence of the importance of the drum in the south is provided by its presence in the musical ensemble represented inside the model of a house from Tomb No. 306 at Shizishan, Shaoxing (*WW* 1984.1, pl. 1:3, pl. 24, fig. 38). It is not argued here that the drum was exclusive to the south; a large alligator skin drum from the late neolithic site of Taosi 陶寺, Xiangfen 襄汾 (*KG* 1983.1, pl. 6:5) and the matrix of a barrel drum preserved in the earth in Tomb HPKM1217 at Xibeigang 西北崗 (Liang Ssu-yung & Kao Ch'ü-hsün 1968, pls. XV–XVI) would disprove such an assumption. But it does seem that drums occupied a more central role in the religious activity of the southern peoples.
  63. Chen Bingxin claims to find in the inscription the character 余, which he interprets as the name of the state which cast the bronze (Chen Bingxin 1984).
  64. Rawson 1987c, pp. 55–56.
  65. Whole vessels in openwork include a *pan* from Tomb No. M3 at Yiqi, Tunxi (*Anhui* 1987, no. 39) and a rather later square container from Kuanguangdun 寬廣墩, Lishui 溧水, Jiangsu (*Zhongguo Kaoguxue Hui* 1983, pl. 132, fig. 6). The pinched-up corners of a small square box from Feixi (Beijing 1972a, p. 98, bottom) are also reminiscent of basketry containers (compare a Song period basketry box from Gong Xian 拱縣, Sichuan: *WW* 1980.6, p. 41, fig. 22).
  66. For the transmission of early Western Zhou forms from the southeast to the far south, see Rawson 1987b, p. 49.
  67. *Bo* decorated with openwork flanges are illustrated in Gao Zhixi 1986a, p. 213, figs. 1–8. Of these, an example from Hengyang 衡陽 (fig. 2) on which the crests of the birds are elaborated into an angular mesh could lie behind the adoption of flanges on the Xiangtan *you*. Although ascribed in its excavation report to the years spanning the late Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, Gao Zhixi plausibly reattributes the bell to Western Zhou.
  68. At Xiasi, flanges occur on *gui*, the *Wangzi Wu ding*, *he*, *yi*, and *li*. At the tomb of Cai Zhao Hou, they occur on *ding* and *he*, while on the bronzes from the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi they are restricted to the *zun-pan*. For earlier discussions of the interaction between wood carving and bronze styles, see So 1983, Mackenzie 1986 and 1987, and Rawson 1989, p. 94.

69. Rawson correctly emphasizes the importance of zoomorphic furniture legs as the source of the zoomorphic supports for bronzes (Rawson 1989, p. 94).
70. *WW* 1979.1, p. 8. Thote has also observed that use of mortise and tenon to fit together the limbs of the Zeng Hou Yi antlered bird clearly imitates joinery techniques (Thote 1987, p. 58).
71. Doubt has been expressed over the authenticity of the inscription by Gao Ming. Li Xueqin and Li Ling, however, accept it as genuine (personal communications to the author). Of the two characters which name the ruler, the first can be identified without difficulty as *yin* 音. This character occurs in a number of royal Chu inscriptions and was presumably in antiquity approximately homophonous with *xiong* 熊, the character which occurs as the first half of the names of many Chu kings as recorded in the historical texts (see Li Xueqin 1988a, p. 87). The crucial second character must be *shen* 審, since it differs from examples of that character given in Gao Ming 1980 only in the addition of an extra horizontal stroke across the graph at the bottom. Of the sixth-century Chu kings, the only ones whose names bear any phonetic resemblance to this character are Shen 審 (Gong Wang) and Zhen 珍 (Zhao Wang), of which the former is clearly closer.
72. For a discussion of the origin of the northern fashion for interlaced openwork, see Rawson 1987c, pp. 57–60.
73. The finds from Pit No. 1 and their significance have been discussed in Bagley 1988. Pit No. 2 is published in *WW* 1989.5, pp. 1–20, pls. 1–5. In the context of an article exploring the impact of wood carving on bronze work, it may be permissible to speculate that a wood carving tradition may also lie behind the Guanghan statuery. This theory, although lacking any concrete evidence, would at least explain the attenuated proportions of the figures and the sharply chiselled facial features of some.
74. Other small items, the casting of which would also have been facilitated by the use of fusible models, are a figure of a kneeling man and a feline monster (*WW* 1987.10, p. 5, fig. 8).
75. Two swords of Ba 巴 type were found in Tomb No. 11 at Xiasi of the late Spring and Autumn period (*WW* 1980.10, p. 18). Another was found in Tomb No. 2 at Shanwan 山灣, Xiangyang, also of late Spring and Autumn period date (*JHKG* 1983.2, pl. 7:12).
76. Rawson 1975, pp. 41–42; So 1980, pp. 263, 268, no. 71; Mackenzie 1986, p. 37.
77. The *terminus ad quem* for the dissolution of the Liyu style interlacery into curls is established by the *Biao zhong* 廟鐘, the top panels of which are decorated with massed curls. Karlgren's dating of the bells to the sixth century is now universally rejected in favor of 404 B.C. (see Li Xueqin 1985a, p. 34).
78. For the date of the Xiasi tombs, see note 27.
79. Fifth-century bronzes from Jiangsu and Zhejiang are frequently still decorated with conservative schemes of flat, miniaturized pattern; when the decoration is executed in relief, socketed bosses often replace curls as the main motif (see *WW* 1984.1, pl. 4:3; *KGXB* 1988.2, pl. 197, fig. 10:4). The somewhat larger scale of the motifs on the *Fu Chai jian* 夫差鑑 are the exception to this rule, and may have been imitating schemes originating further north and west. Diplomatic contacts with Jin noted above would have ensured that Wu casters were aware of trends in Jin casting during the sixth century. Contacts with Xu 徐 and Cai 蔡 would also have prompted the popularity of the curl in the southeast. The recent discovery of sixth-century Xu bells decorated with interlacery overlaid by curls at Beidingshan 背頂山, Dantu 丹徒, within Wu territory, illustrates how the exchange of bronzes could have fostered the intermingling of

- regional styles (WW 1989.4, pp. 51–56, pl. 3).
80. Although the *gu* of the *Chu Wang Xiong Zhang bo* differs from that on the Zeng Hou Yi bells (the dragons on the former are shown in profile, while the creatures on the Zeng bells are depicted in plan), this discrepancy is probably unlikely to reflect any clear-cut regional differences, since the decoration on its *zhuan* matches that on the Zeng bells very closely.
  81. Of the two ritual texts which treat the ritual vessels in detail, the *Zhou li* 周禮 specifies greater numbers of vessels than those of any excavated tomb, a prescription which probably represents the author's fanciful hyperbole. The *Yili* also specifies more sets of vessels than have yet been discovered within a single tomb—no doubt it was only a proportion of a ruler's ritual equipage that went with him to the grave—but their composition matches sets excavated from southern tombs relatively well, the main discrepancies being the greater number of *hu* specified. Only a few southern vessels such as the *zun-pan* fail to appear in the *Yili*.
  82. See the *Zuo zhuan* entry for the third year of Xuan Gong 宣公, 606 B.C. (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, vol. 2, p. 669).
  83. Bronzes from large tombs within Jin territory such as the recently excavated Tomb No. 251 at Jinshengcun, Taiyuan, generally lack inscriptions. This certainly does not imply any lack of literacy on the part of the northern aristocracy, since the jade tablets buried at Houma 侯馬 are routinely inscribed.
  84. Eliade notes that the iconography of the drum in Siberian shamanism is dominated by the symbolism of the ecstatic journey and that drumming at the beginning of the seance is intended to summon the spirits (Eliade 1964, pp. 168–80, especially p. 173). See also Eberhard 1968, pp. 363–64.
  85. Eliade 1964, p. 4.
  86. Eliade 1964, pp. 152, 156–58.
  87. For a discussion of shamanism in pre-Han China, see Waley 1955 and Hawkes 1985. Wu Rongzheng's survey of snake-wielding figures demonstrates that their geographical distribution during Eastern Zhou was certainly not confined to Chu (Wu Rongzheng 1989). For examples of "bird men" and snake themes on *hu* from Liulige, see Weber 1968, figs. 42c, 43 and 45. Notwithstanding the widespread popularity of the theme in Eastern Zhou, the juxtaposition of birds and a *taotie* with an unmistakably ophidian snout on a Shang period southern *fang zun* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Bagley 1987, fig. 186), implies that it may have been southern in origin.
  88. Hawkes 1985, p. 39.
  89. *Han shu* 漢書, "Dili zhi 地理志," vol. 6, p. 1666.
  90. See WW 1963.1, p. 64, fig. 1.
  91. Eliade 1964, p. 5.
  92. Peters is skeptical of the alleged shamanistic content of the *Chu ci*, pointing out that flight from the world rather than intercession with the spirits on behalf of the sick seems to be the motive of the celestial journeys, and that in this respect the themes are more Daoist than shamanist (Peters 1983, pp. 126–33). While the force of this argument cannot be gainsaid, both systems lay an emphasis on supernatural powers of the practitioner that is alien to the ancestor veneration of Zhou.
  93. The cranes depicted at the top of the funeral banner from Tomb No. 1 at Mawangdui 馬王堆 have been plausibly interpreted by Bulling and others as messengers announcing the arrival of the soul (*hun* 魂) at the gates of heaven, or perhaps as the soul's steeds (Bulling 1974, p. 169, notes 62–63). Post-Han illustrations of immortals riding

- on cranes become common: see, for instance, a mural painting of the fourth to sixth century A.D. from a tomb at Ji'an 輯安, Jilin 吉林 (McCune 1962, p. 115, pl. 44).
94. Thote has demonstrated that the antlered bird functioned as a stand for a drum suspended between its antlers (Thote 1987). The location of the sculpture in Marquis Yi's own chamber suggests that it formed part of his private musical ensemble. Its symbolic function must have been similarly limited to the Marquis's personal aspirations, rather than fulfilling any public religious function.
  95. Hawkes 1985, p. 39. Rawson 1988b, pp. 16–17, emphasizes secular display as the motive behind the elaborate decoration of the Zeng Hou Yi bronzes.
  96. Descriptions of the shaman's encounter with the spirits on his celestial or infernal journeys were an important element of the Siberian shaman's performance (Eliade 1964, pp. 211–12, 223). The poem "Zhao hun 招魂" in the *Chu ci* also includes descriptions of monsters encountered by the soul when it leaves the body, while the descriptions of monsters and preternatural hybrids that people the *Shan hai jing* may also have been shamanist in inspiration (Hawkes 1985, p. 39).
  97. Hawkes 1985, pp. 45–46.
  98. For illustrations of the censer see Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, p. 70, right.
  99. Performers with strange headdresses were not limited to Chu, if the scenes on pictorial bronzes are an accurate reflection of the rituals of the respective states in whose territory the bronzes were found. But, however elaborate their headdresses, the figures are rarely disguised completely as animals, as is the case in the scenes on the Zeng lacquered box.



## DISCUSSION

**Jonathan Chaves:** This is a question for any of the speakers. If it is true, as was just implied, that there are what we might call shamanistic elements present in Chu culture, are we to attribute those shamanistic elements to some sort of local, indigenous, even folk, culture, which then somehow becomes intermingled with pan-Chinese culture, or would they have been shared with the northern Chinese culture? Or, are we wrong in finding them present at all?

**Colin Mackenzie:** I think since I raised the issue perhaps I should try and reply. I think shamanism was widespread during Eastern Zhou. David Hawkes cites references to shamans from the states of Jin 晋, Qin 秦 and Qi 齊. But perhaps the shamans of those states had a low status. And it seems to me that perhaps Chu—the Chu aristocracy—were more receptive to shamanist influences. There is a tradition preserved by the editor of the *Chu Ci* 楚辭, Wang Yi 王逸, that Qu Yuan 屈原 went down to the countryside and he adopted a lot of his themes from the rituals of the local people. Now David Hawkes is very dismissive of this. But I think perhaps if we generalize a little bit more, I think there is some truth in what Wang Yi is saying. But I am not an expert on shamanism. I have only had the revelation in the last three weeks.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** Intuitively, my own opinion would be that shamanism in Chu was probably much less distinctive than we are frequently led to think. I also am not an authority on shamanism. But K.C. Chang for a long time now has sponsored a controversial and rather audacious hypothesis interpreting all of Chinese Bronze Age ritual art in terms of shamanistic phenomena. In my view, the period for which this hypothesis might work best is the early period, especially the time of the Shang dynasty, when all forms of artistic expression were characterized by mask decoration. Shang shamanism, however, should be conceived as a cultural complex that was present in all areas affected by metropolitan Chinese civilization in the early part of the Bronze Age. Perhaps you are right, Colin, when you say that these

traditions diverged later on and that the Chu shamanistic tradition became more distinctive in Eastern Zhou. Right now, however, I shall have to think more about your ideas as to how we might identify Chu shamanism archaeologically before I decide whether I believe them all. But I am certainly stimulated by your remarks this afternoon.

**Colin Mackenzie:** Perhaps, in a way, we are addressing the wrong question. Perhaps we should be addressing the question of what happened in Western Zhou, and why there was a change in ritual in Western Zhou and whether certain Shang beliefs and practices were eliminated. Perhaps they did survive on the periphery, not just in Chu. But it is really difficult to identify in the bronze art of the northern states any very, very exotic elements. In the Liyu style the alien elements seem to be derived from the hunter-realist tradition of the north. There is not this interest in hybrids which is so important both in the bronzes and in the lacquer, of course, of Chu.

**Alain Thote:** On shamanism I am very cautious. I was very interested in shamanism at the beginning when I started to study the Leigudun 擂鼓墩 figures. And now I think it is a bit tendentious to identify any figure as a shaman. I think we have to wait for more archaeological discoveries to be sure as to whether shamanism was really widespread.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** You know, I am sure, the dualism of shamanistic ritual and the orthodox tradition of ancestral sacrifice was also present at the Zhou court, as documented by the *Zhou li* 周禮. Of course we may have all kinds of reservations about the *Zhou li* as a text, but the fact that it mentions shamanistic officials is interesting nevertheless. These court shamans are usually dismissed as low ranking. But when you look at the text more closely you find that they did not have any rank at all. They were placed outside the ranked bureaucracy of the Zhou court, and may have formed their own system. I don't know how these two aspects of ritual and administration would have been articulated in Eastern Zhou period Chu.

**Colin Mackenzie:** First of all, one has to think in terms of the beliefs of the bureaucracy. And then, as we know, Confucius did not want to be connected with the spirits in any way at all. But perhaps rulers still needed the advice of shamans—for want of a better word—or soothsayers. But they had no official position. One can think of certain modern analogies in this very nation of that phenomenon.

**Li Xueqin:** I am afraid that shamanism is completely outside of my field. But I would like to say that we have found some evidence from oracle bones: the character *wu* 巫 (shaman) in the inscriptions. Unfortunately, most of the inscriptions cannot be interpreted into modern Chinese. They are very fragmentary.



**Jonathan Chaves:** It seems to me that the issue of shamanism is very much a live one, and I find that fascinating in itself. I would like to insist, however, again on one element of my question, which is the problem of whether we are dealing here with a separate Chu culture in which there is some kind of shamanism? Or are we dealing with a pan-Chinese culture in which there is some kind of shamanism?

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** I think that, in Chu, we are dealing with pan-Chinese culture in a regional manifestation that may have accorded shamanism a role somewhat distinct from the role it played elsewhere within the same culture area. By contrast, when we look beyond the margins of Zhou culture, e.g. in the southeast, perhaps the picture is quite different in perhaps a much more fundamental way, as I argued in my talk this morning.

**James C. Y. Watt:** It seems that none of us knows anything about shamanism. But we want to talk about it. I would like to make my contribution to this “unknowledgeable” discussion of shamanism. Now, further to Professor Li’s mention of the



Fig. 1. Jade “parrot” from Tomb No. 5, Anyang, Henan. Shang dynasty, ca. 1200 B.C. After *Yinxu* 1982, no. 57.



Fig. 2. Jade figure with tall headdress from Tomb No. 5, Anyang, Henan. Shang dynasty, ca. 1200 B.C. After *Yinxu* 1982, no. 113.

word *wu* 巫 in the oracle bone script, I would like to draw attention to one of the most well-known types of jade carving in the Shang period, which is one of either a man or a bird in profile with split legs curled up (figs. 1, 2). Very often these carvings are ambiguous. Sometimes they look as if it is a man, sometimes they look as if it is a bird. Sometimes it is a man with lots of feathers. The only sensible interpretation of that figure is that it is a shaman dressed up in feathers, in a bird's costume. And this relates to the question of whether there is indigenous true Chu shamanism, or whether the Chu could have gotten some of it from the Shang culture. I think there was also a discussion of the Shang elements in Chu culture in the first conference on Chu script many years ago. I think this could be one such element.

On the other hand, when we go back to the drum—this is the drum on a stand—I want to reverse what I have just said. The drum, and the stand, and the antler do not necessarily denote shamanism, because if you look at the pictorial bronzes of the Warring States, they depict the *sheli* 射禮—the archery contest. Now obviously the drum there is a very northern, *zhongyuan* 中原, type which is used in the *sheli*, and which we know from bronze inscriptions and from all the *lishu* 禮書 went on for a long time. And of course when the archery contest is depicted on the pictorial bronzes it is always with the drum and a set of bells. It is the same stand, the same kind of stand you see in the Chu drums. In the *Yili* 儀禮 (*juan* 7, “Dashe 大射”) it is recorded that one shoots three times, four arrows each. The last time, it is said, “*bugu bushi* 不鼓不釋” (“you only release at the beat of the drum”). That is the highest test of the archer's skill, because he has to do it with music. Even if the archer knows the rhythm of the drumming, he still has to shoot on the beat.<sup>1</sup> And that drum, of course, plays a very important part. Therefore the drum may also play a part in non-shamanistic rituals.

Lastly, going back to Professor Li's often-made statement, towards the end of the Warring States the culture of Chu had tremendous influence, not only in the south of China but in the whole of China. That may have been a kind of feed-back, from Chu back to the *zhongyuan*.

**Colin Mackenzie:** I entirely agree that the drum doesn't necessarily have to be purely shamanistic. But I think the size of drums in the south, the two Shang period bronze drums (figs. 3, 4), is a reflection of the instrument's importance there. And the drum from Chongyang 崇陽—as I am sure you know—has this perforation going through it, through the saddle, at the top. These sorts of perforations also occur, I believe, on one bronze boar *zun* 尊, also from the south (fig. 5), as if it were something to be carried in procession. You don't do that to something that is just a tool. It must be an object of some veneration. Now I have glibly assumed that the shafted drum—the *jiangu* 建鼓 which, of course, does occur in the *Yili* while the crane figure doesn't—is a development from these large barrel drums. Perhaps I'm wrong, but they certainly are of the same shape.

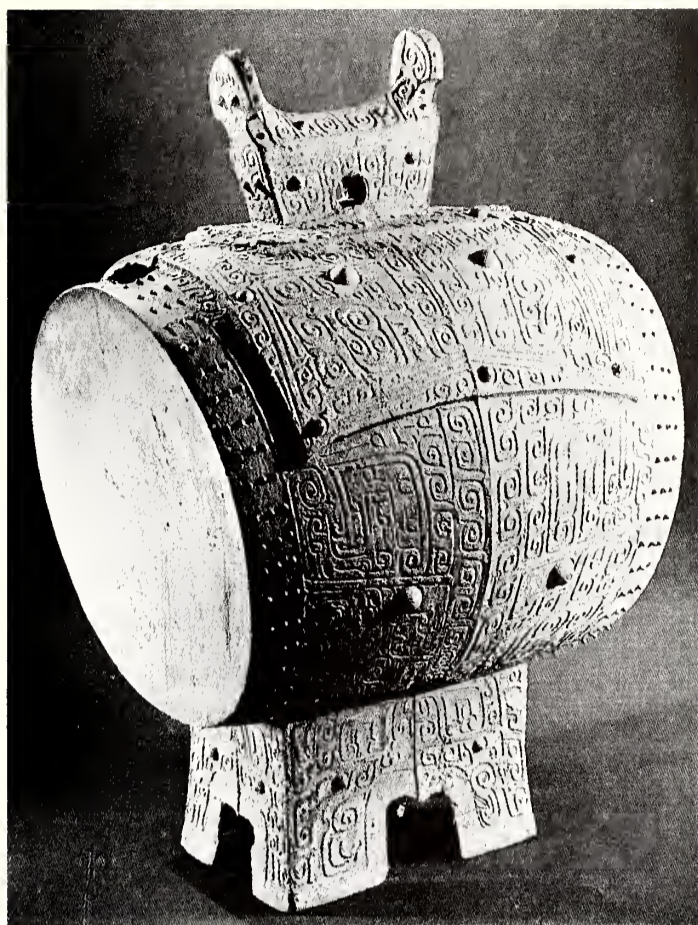


Fig. 3. Bronze drum from Wangjiazui, Chongyang, Hubei. Shang dynasty. Height 75.5 cm. After Li Xueqin 1985b, pl. 106.



Fig. 4. Bronze drum. Shang dynasty. Height 79.4 cm. Courtesy of the Sen'oku Hakkokan, Kyōto.

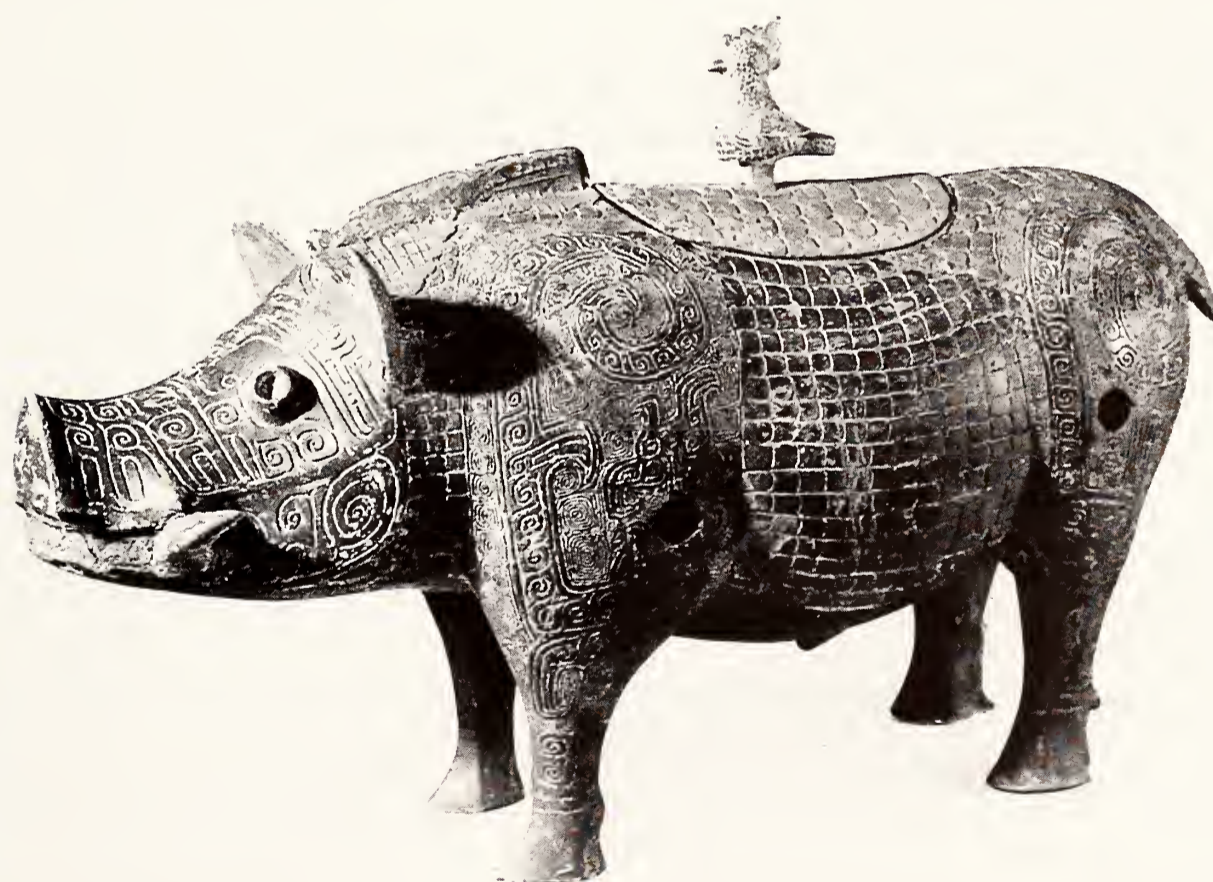


Fig. 5. Bronze *zun* in form of boar from Chuanxingshan, Xiangtan, Hunan. Shang dynasty. Length 113 cm. After Li Xueqin 1985b, pl. 113.

**James C. Y. Watt:** But there is another *jiangu* in the south. It has to do with the flat, the Dongson type, that has much more to do with action than music and entertainment. I don't mean to negate what you have said about assuming the use of the drum. I am sure that has at least an element of truth in it.

**Colin Mackenzie:** I would not claim that it has more than an element of truth.

**James C. Y. Watt:** And speaking as a descendant of Chu, I would certainly not dispute the very important element that shamanism somehow played in Chu. Except it is such an elusive entity that it is not very productive to be too dogmatic about it, that's all.

**Li Xueqin:** May I add one more word? Sometimes in the Chinese classics the drum, *gu* 鼓, was called a *ling* 靈. The character *ling* 靈 has the same meaning as *wu* 巫 in the south.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** Let us not forget that drums are prominently mentioned in such northern sources as the *Shi jing* 詩經. That is probably why the *Yili* has it, because the *Yili* is after all a construct on the basis of the *Shi jing*. So that is one argument for the fact that drums, and musically prominent drums, were not at all confined to the south. And we should remember that so far we only really have five or so examples. When we talk about bells, we talk about over a thousand pieces.

**Colin Mackenzie:** Yes, I would agree. And one could make an argument that the fact that the bases of *jiangu* 建鼓 are cast in bronze in the south is purely the reflection of a more extravagant use of bronze, and reflects better supplies of the ore.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** Or maybe an historically elevated position of the drum in China at one particular time, rather than throughout the entire course of the Bronze Age.

**Elizabeth Childs-Johnson:** I would like to comment on Dr. Mackenzie's point about music during the pre-Zhou era. Music, in particular drum-playing, is prominent in Shang oracle bone inscriptions. Although surviving drums or their remains are documented in only one or two archaeologically excavated cases, drum-playing was a standard part of organized ancestor worship, known by the term "Wuzhong Jisi 五種祭祀" (Five-part Rites). The importance of music to the early historic tradition of ancient China is also underscored by the alligator-skin drum excavated from the late neolithic, Longshan period site of Taosi 陶寺 in Shanxi (fig. 6). Evidently, drum-playing was prehistoric in origin and well established in early historic times since it served a standard part of the politico-religious rites from Shang times on. Just what



Fig. 6. Remnants of alligator-skin drum excavated at Taosi, Shanxi. Neolithic, 4th–3rd millennium B.C. Height 100.4 cm. After *KG* 1983.1, pl. 6:5.

the relationship between Shang and later Chu rites is depends on our interpretation of what transpired during the Western Zhou era. There is no question that with the Chu of the Eastern Zhou era there is a revival of earlier Shang-like practices that one can characterize as “shamanistic.” My own publications on ancestor cult rites and their relationship to artifacts and art works of the Shang era indicate that the Shang believed in a supernatural realm that could be reached by means of animal vehicles. This form of communication is corroborated, as I’ve published elsewhere, by the prominence of transformational imagery in ritual art and transformational rites in Shang oracle bone inscriptions. The spirit realms of Shang and Chu have in common the generic emphasis upon the supernatural power of spirits over the minds of men, thus the common need to summon and appease these spirits. Music is one way of making this appeal. Evidently drum-

playing by Chu peoples of the Eastern Zhou era may have been in part inherited from an earlier Shang “shamanistic” practice.

Dr. Alain Thote illustrated the popularity of the intertwined dragon and bird theme in Chu art. This popularity seems directly tied to Shang ritual imagery and in this sense may be called a Chu revival of Shang religious interests. Here the question of revival of earlier Shang beliefs may be raised. As I’ve published, the bird and dragon are interchangeable in Shang religious imagery; it thus seems probable that the similar orientation of Chu imagery is conscious.

**Jessica Rawson:** It would seem a good moment to leave the discussion of drums and to turn to other items which may have been more closely allied to Chu culture, namely wooden animal sculptures, particularly those with protruding tongues or crowned by antlers. These wooden figures stood upon the sloping or square bases mentioned already by Colin Mackenzie. It seems more likely that the distribution of these figures rather than that of the drum will be found to coincide with the distribution of other aspects of Chu culture. In addition, both the shapes of the figures and their functions were unmatched by anything comparable in the Western Zhou.

Dr. von Falkenhausen has pointed out that bells from the south, particularly those from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng belonged to a tradition descended from that of the Western Zhou, one that was shared by other states in central China and thus not peculiar to Hubei. Indeed the main chamber of the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi contained many such shared bronze types. If we are to look for southern features, if not specifically Chu features, we should probably not search through the contents of the principal chamber but look instead at the chamber that housed the coffin. It seems that the two so-called incense burners were found here. One is shaped like an openwork beaker, without a base (fig. 7), and the other is like a small oven with a tall chimney (fig. 8). It is possible that these bronzes were employed in private religious practices typical of the area. In the same way the small orchestra in this chamber may have reflected local musical traditions, while the bell chimes in the main chamber belonged to a wider ritual tradition shared by several states, as mentioned by Dr. von Falkenhausen. It might therefore be fruitful to look at the contents of large tombs in some detail. I also wonder whether, in addition to incense burners, braziers and shovels might not provide interesting avenues of investigation.

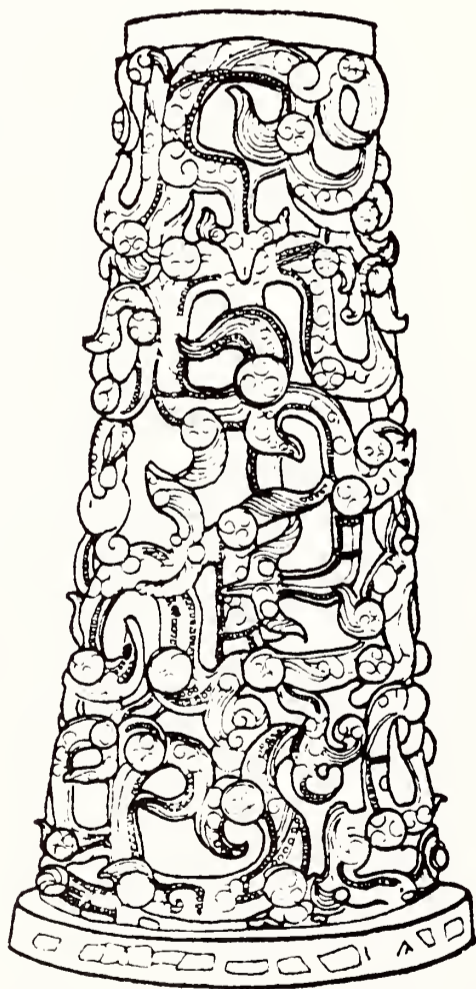


Fig. 7. Bronze openwork incense burner from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. Height 16.2 cm. After Hubei Sheng & Beijing 1984, p. 70, right.

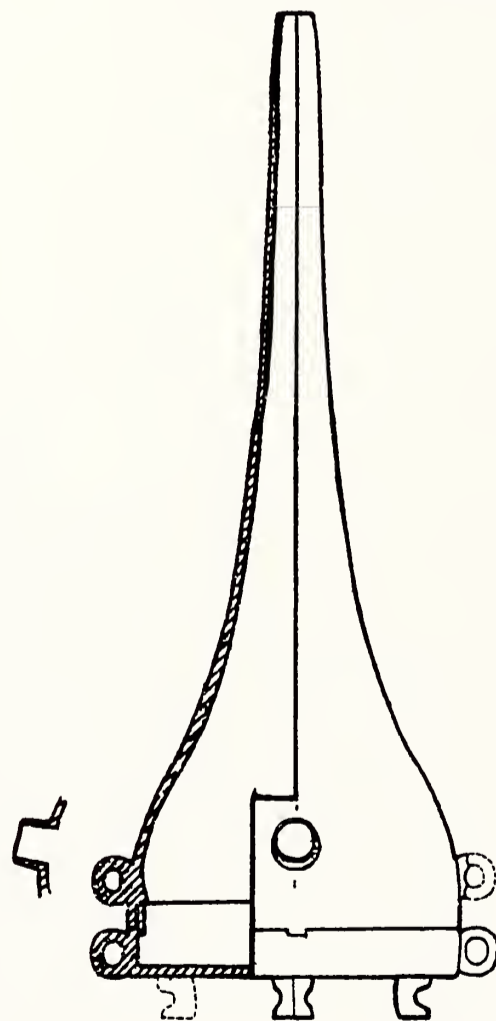


Fig. 8. Bronze incense burner from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. Height 42.8 cm. After Hubei Sheng Bowuguan 1989, vol.1, p. 248, fig. 145:1.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** I wrote about this subject recently, but not in such detail. I consider the Zeng tomb as a splendid example of fairly new pan-Chinese tendencies in tomb construction that got started in the Warring States period and continued throughout most of later Chinese history. In fact, this is the earliest example I am aware of that documents a transition of fundamental importance: the transition, that is, from the tomb conceived as a replica of the ritual environment of an ancestral temple, to the tomb conceived as a much more comprehensive model of the external world, or, more exactly, the specific world inhabited by a specific deceased person.

It is not surprising, then, that the ritual chamber in the center of Zeng Hou Yi's tomb is closest to the earlier ritual traditions, both in its arrangement and in the assemblages of objects that it contained, because those were the only kinds of objects buried in earlier tombs. Also, the ritual traditions reflected in these assemblages were long standing and had been transmitted over many generations at the Zeng court, just as at many other small courts of the Eastern Zhou period. By contrast, what we find in the outer chambers of the Zeng tomb, especially in the coffin chamber (specifically in the iconography of the sarcophagus discussed so well by Alain this morning), is something that we wouldn't expect to have seen in any earlier tomb. This is because the artifacts in those chambers reflect fairly recent changes in ideology, concerning the post-mortem existence of the dead, that lead us into a proto-Daoist mind set. But beware: this has nothing to do with shamanism, or at least nothing to do with the kind of shamanism we have been talking about before.

**Martin Powers:** I would like to comment on the antlered figures that I think James Watt spoke about a little bit earlier as possibly being interpreted as shamans dressed

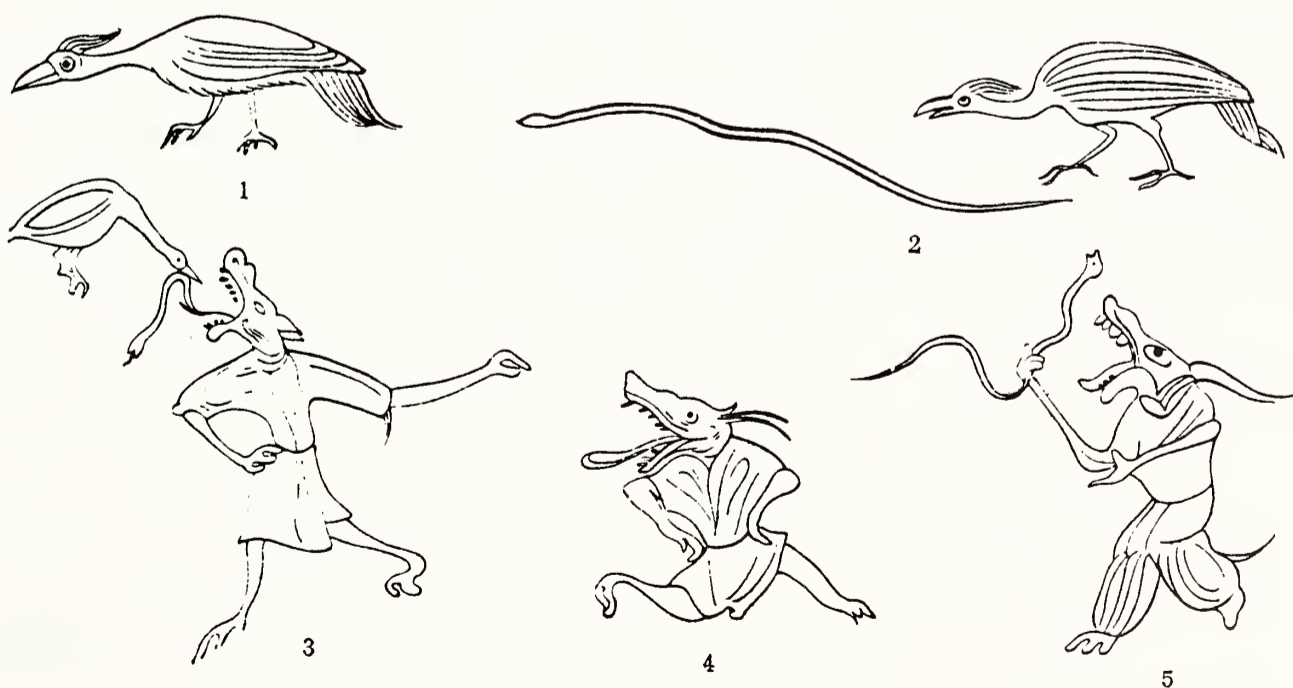


Fig. 9. Creatures on Mawangdui lacquer sarcophagus. After Sun Zuoyun 1973, p. 247, fig. 1.

up. Perhaps we should consider in this context the Mawangdui 馬王堆 black-ground casket, with the antlered figures and figures with the tongues sticking out (fig. 9). Indeed there are snake eaters on the coffin cover similar to those on the Sackler Chu Silk Manuscript. Many of these features don't seem to belong in the Central Plain. Sun Zuoyun 孫作雲 wrote an article many years ago on the black-ground casket from Mawangdui, and he tried to link these figures with various mythological beings he found in the *Shan hai jing* 山海經 and in the *Chu ci* 楚辭.<sup>2</sup> He interpreted them as spirits, largely with protective functions. He associated the antlered figures with *tubo* 土伯, and other creatures protective of the spirit of the deceased. At any rate, he brought a number of texts to bear on this notion. If one looks at the black-ground casket the figures depicted do indeed look as though they do have certain functions, one of which is to eat snakes. Sun Zuoyun associates snakes with water and *yin* elements and, therefore, with evil. Another function of these creatures is to guard the deceased, for several of them carry weapons. Professor Thote, in particular perhaps, do you think the Mawangdui material might have some bearing?

**Alain Thote:** I am rather reluctant to make the connection between ancient texts and the figures on paintings or on the bronzes, because I think it is rather difficult to know if it was the purpose of the people who have done such figures to do exactly what is described in one or another text we have now. But other texts have disappeared so we do not have all of the texts of antiquity to judge the figures which were drawn at that time. So I think it is rather dangerous to make these connections.

But it is a fact that more textual materials are available for the Han period than for the beginning of the Warring States period. This does not necessarily mean that it is possible to identify each of the creatures painted on the Mawangdui casket with the help of contemporary textual evidence. But it is beyond doubt that scholars do have at their disposal far more documents—textual or visual ones—to understand the general context in which the Mawangdui paintings were done.

Yet, it must be remembered that the painted lacquer coffin at Mawangdui is, up to now, the only example of its kind for the whole Western Han period. Between the paintings of the inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi—which is also the only example for the Zhou period—and the paintings on the Mawangdui casket, there is a gap of about three centuries.

I agree that the paintings at Mawangdui should reflect, as do the organization of the tomb itself and the greatest part of the burial furniture, customs and beliefs which were equally shared by Chu people during the third century B.C. But to what extent do the paintings of the inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi reflect the beliefs of Chu people?

As a matter of fact, it is easier to emphasize the differences between the two coffins than to find similarities: the Mawangdui coffin has no architectural element such as doors or windows. Most of the various creatures at Mawangdui, seen in



profile, are represented in action among clouds, while at Leigudun the creatures are static, displayed in a heraldic posture, without any indication of location in space. Compared with the creatures of Leigudun which are mostly hybrids, those of Mawangdui are more naturalistic. How should all of those differences be interpreted? As an evolution of styles and customs within the same culture? As cultural differences revealed by different beliefs and customs? The answer can only come from the archeological discoveries to be made in the future. For now, the major Chu tombs with painted lacquer coffins which are all of the fourth century B.C. do not possess paintings comparable to those of Leigudun and Mawangdui, whether considering their motifs or their styles.

**Martin Powers:** But you do have fairly strong visual context, the real problem here is whether the later materials are of any use in interpreting the earlier materials. In this case the provenance of Mawangdui and its connection with Chu culture, which persists archaeologically through the second century B.C., suggest continuity with earlier traditions. Sun Zuoyun's argument relied a great deal on contextual features, of course, such as the fact that you have figures with bows and arrows, and figures with spears. And in the case of the Zeng Hou Yi, you have figures with halberds. The placement on the coffin also offers many points of comparison. You have snake eaters right in the center of the top of the casket at Mawangdui. You also have snake eaters, and a large number of weaponed deities on the left side of the coffin, as opposed to the right side. You have more of them at the foot than at the head. Sun Zuoyun argued that all these features of placement were significant. His hypothesis certainly makes sense in a Han context, where protective deities are very common. The trick is to determine whether or not, or to what extent, one could push that back.

There is an issue that I think may merit discussion. There has been a lot of talk about influences and appropriations, and new styles current here or borrowed from there. It seemed to me that two of the speakers, Lothar and Professor Li, had explanations or functional notions about these appropriations. In other words, they held that the borrowings from one place or another actually had some kind of function.

Professor Li suggested, I believe, that as the Chu culture expanded, its vassal states appropriated or adapted its styles, presumably as a part of diplomacy. That is to say, when a vast state attends the ceremonies of a higher-ranking state, or vice versa, the vessels and the decor make a sort of statement about alliances. This is an interesting notion as the same sort of thing happened in Renaissance Europe also. Lothar went even further, I think, in saying there may even have been some rather subtle manipulation in terms of using forms clearly associated with one state or another in order to make statements. This, too, happened in Renaissance Europe, where decorative forms from one state or another were used in ceremonies between states for diplomatic purposes. I would like to ask two quick questions of Professor Li and

Lothar: (1) Have I construed what you were saying correctly? (2) Is there a conflict there, or are they consistent?

**Colin Mackenzie:** Perhaps I could interject. I think both things happened. I emphasized, not the influence of Chu on other states, but the appropriation of local forms, local traditions by Chu (although I am sure, as Dr. von Falkenhausen argued, the reverse also happened); and I think one example that can illustrate this is the *zun* 尊 and *pan* 盤 from the tomb of the Marquis of Cai 蔡侯 (fig. 10). You see Cai was not



Fig. 10. *Zun* and *pan* from tomb of Cai Zhao Hou, Shou Xian, Anhui. Eastern Zhou. Height of *zun* 29.7 cm, diameter of *pan* 49.2 cm. After *Shou Xian* 1956 pl. 13.

originally a southeastern state. In fact, it was never really a southeastern state. But it slowly devolved into the orbits of Wu 吳 and Chu. And that Cai *zun* and *pan* set formed part of the dowry of probably the daughter or, perhaps, the younger sister of the marquis on her marriage to the Wu king. And, of course, it was in the Wu area—or the Wu sphere of influence—that the *zun* was most important. So I think that both things were occurring.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** I think you have constructed my argument pretty correctly. I would only add that the parallel to Renaissance Europe could be stretched even further. In many cases, in Europe, the kinds of things that were interchanged diplomatically between interacting polities would have been things that had been handed down from classical antiquity, things that in some way or other could be ideologically linked up with a much more encompassing cultural framework, in terms of both time and space. This is exactly what I would have liked to have emphasized as well in the Chu context.

**Martin Powers:** That is fascinating. And that might help to explain some of the things Dr. Thote was talking about.

**Kenneth Dewoskin:** I have just a brief comment and then a question on a different subject. I want to dare to return to drums for a minute. It's not just in the oracle bones, in the *Shi jing* and in the *Yili*, but I think that very recently, there have been a number of neolithic drums uncovered. I think that Taosi 陶寺 (fig. 6) is the best example. And we probably have seen published material for only a few of such drums that have been uncovered. They raise a particularly interesting question. The one that we know best is the one from Taosi, which is over a meter long. So it is already quite a large drum, datable probably to about 3500 B.C. or something like that. But one of the interesting features is that the scientific analysis of the material surrounding the drum indicates that the head was made of crocodile skin. Now this whole class of drums has taken its name from that. And one of the features of the two bronze Chu drums really isn't often talked about. But the Sumitomo one clearly has a crocodile-skin head (fig. 4), whereas the one that is stored in Hubei just has a flat surface; it might be a buffalo skin, a *shuiniu* 水牛 skin (fig. 3). I don't have anything I can say definitively about why those differences exist, except that it is very clear that the technological inputs in these drums, even when found in reasonably closely clustered areas, can be very diverse. The point of these examples is to underscore how difficult it is to define a coherent musical culture, even in a well-defined geographic area, given the mobility of instrument-making technology and materials, performance competence, and musical styles.

Now to the question, which I want to address to Lothar primarily, although I certainly would welcome answers from others. I have a question on musical culture and what we can say on the basis of the Zeng Hou Yi tomb. The point is very interesting about the difference in ensembles between the main chamber and the bedroom chamber. I think it's very instructive and I want to push you a little bit to speculate as to what that might actually mean. My sense is that the large collection of ritual instruments would always be part of a more pan-Chinese culture, simply because the instruments themselves, the bronze instruments especially, were so much a part of the political structure all across feudal China: the giving of bronzes, the investing of political authority through them. The bedroom music is a somewhat different story. Again, as a personal reaction I feel that the bedroom music is actually much more likely to partake of local culture. I say this, in part, reading back from the Han dynasty. The term seems to come up very frequently in Han histories, this notion of *fangzhong zhi yue* 房中之樂. And *fangzhong zhi yue* for many of the Han emperors is associated with Chu music. Could you answer the question of how the music of Chu developed from the bedchamber of Marquis Yi of Zeng to the bedchambers of the Han emperors?

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** I'm afraid I can't answer that last question competently. Of course I agree with you that the chances for folk musical elements to penetrate into the bedchamber were very much higher than for them to penetrate into the

ancestral temple. Who is going to prove to me, however, that the bedchamber music of Zeng was indeed Zeng or Chu—in a word, southern—in origin?

We have plentiful records in pre-Qin and Han sources that mention travelling musicians who either went from court to court on their own accord, or, perhaps even more commonly were exchanged as presents from ruler to ruler. They wouldn't necessarily perform in a ritual context; more probably, they would have been used for entertainment in the bedchamber, and sometimes, in ways you may imagine for yourselves, they were intended for covert political purposes.

So I agree that unspecified "local" musicians are likely to have turned up in princely bedchambers of the Eastern Zhou period. But any one given variety of bedchamber music might occur in many bedchambers all over. Compared to the monolithic tradition of ritual music of Zhou derivation, musical entertainment was perhaps more fragmented, since many different kinds of music, many different regional flavors of musical entertainment, were represented at any one court; but even so, bedchamber music was as international an affair as the Zhou-derived ritual music. These various musical traditions, however different they may have been from one another at the outset, cannot have failed to influence one another, and what we find at the end of the Warring States period at the level of musical entertainment may have been nothing more than a kind of vaguely regionalistic mishmash. I don't know whether Chu, for instance, had an "Institute for the Conservation of Local Music" which trained the musicians who were subsequently sent out to other courts to perform in the bedchambers of Chu allies. That's entirely possible. But I think that, no matter what, regional distinctions must have become blurred as time went on. Perhaps due to Chu's political eminence, Chu musical styles eventually predominated in the south, especially if Chu continued its well-established policy of musical dissemination that I tried to document, based mainly on sixth- and fifth-century materials, in my talk this morning. In such a process, *chusheng* 楚聲 (the sounds of Chu) may have become nothing less than a generic designation of all kinds of local musical entertainments.

At any rate, the occurrence of the term "Chu music" in Han texts, and of what seem to be Chu musical paraphernalia in Han tombs, would have to be seen in their Han historical context. We should not forget, moreover, that other names besides Chu do occur in Han records on music.

**Kenneth Dewoskin:** I would just like to say that Chu seems to me—and I haven't counted up the number of times it is mentioned in Han records—Chu seems to me to be attached to music that was associated more with entertainment and less with ritual practices. And the Han records, of course, did refer to things like Ba 巴 music, music that was even further to the southwest. And so they were not entirely *not* specific when they were talking about Ba music. So I agree with the way you described that situation and the fluidity of musical cultures for the highborn,

especially when we are looking at the use of portable instruments as well.

**Magdalene von Dewall:** May I take on the issue of the bedchamber—not the music, but the bedchamber as a unit of space—and ask both of you, Dr. Thote and Dr. von Falkenhausen, because you were presenting the Leigudun and other coffins with the obvious window and door decoration. It is not an interpretation that I did choose, to see a house. You did not say so, but certainly you must have observed something of that kind. I would like to hear both of your opinions, since you (Dr. von Falkenhausen) were discussing the spatial setup of mortuary furniture in terms of possible cosmological implications of the arrangement within the tomb.

And forgive me for drawing a parallel between the coffin with structural features of a house and the southwest Bronze Age Dian culture, since there we have the striking bronze sarcophagus from Dabona 大波那, Xiangyun 祥雲, western Yunnan, resembling a building with a gabled roof, erected above a solid bottom plate and raised on twelve supporting short feet.<sup>3</sup> Although here the four massive cast side walls decorated all over with figurative and ornamental designs do not have any apertures signalling window or door, as would befit a “house,” the interpretation suggested by its unique features has been that of a structure modelled after a house to live in. I would like to hear your comments.

**Alain Thote:** It is difficult to say that it was a house rather than something else, because we don't have any models of houses. And if it were a house it is different from the representation of the house we have on the lacquer decorated plate I showed this morning. So I think it is difficult to say whether it is a house, or whether it is a temple, or whether it is a symbolic representation of something else.

**Magdalene von Dewall:** You are very cautious.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** We might, in this context, find some still useful ways of visualization, or conceptualization, of houses in mortuary contexts in Carl Hentze's old book, *Das Haus als Weltort der Seele*. But that is an aside. I think that definitely there are architectural elements in the layout of that tomb, and in the decoration of the Zeng sarcophagi. Whether, however, the sarcophagi in their entirety were house models is a matter on which we might as well suspend judgment for the time being, just as Alain suggested.

**Magdalene von Dewall:** There are parallels closer by, in China, though of a much later date. In Song tombs, e.g. those of Shijiazhuang 石家庄 which I have before my eyes, we find in the burial chamber windows carved into the brickwork of the side-walls, and a central door in the rear, slightly pushed open, in which appears a female figure as if she were a messenger from a yonderworld.<sup>4</sup>

**Alain Thote:** And also the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi is very special in its organization. There are four chambers: one for the dead, for Marquis Yi of Zeng; one central chamber where the ritual instruments are displayed, and also another chamber with the coffins of sacrificial victims. And in the north, a chamber with arms and armor. So it is organized in a certain way. And to me this mode of organization is between the northern way of organizing tombs and the southern way of organizing tombs, because in the northern part of China many tombs are organized with a central chamber and with pits, which are arranged around the central chamber but not attached to it. And in Chu we have another completely different organization. Everything is on the tomb itself, which is organized in different compartments as if there were many chambers all together. But the general shape is rectangular. It is a square or a rectangle. But not, as in Leigudun, a very special form. So I have the feeling that in Leigudun they have followed Chu customs by adding all of the chambers in one place—while in the north the pits would have been separated from each other. So the chambers of the Leigudun tomb are specialized with their furniture. There is a special organization as a whole. Also on the coffins you have windows and doors, you have openings between the chambers; so you have many elements that you do not find in any other place in China at that period. So that is why it is difficult to make a definitive conclusion. It would be interesting now to discover the tomb of a Chu king to compare.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** I think the breakthrough to conceiving of the tomb as a full-scale model of real-life architecture was not made in the southern area, but it was made in Qin 秦. Here, in the fourth century B.C., the previously dominant straight-shafted tombs (essentially identical in type to the tombs of the Chu area) suddenly became replaced increasingly by the so-called “annex tombs” or “catacomb tombs.” These superficially resemble a much earlier, neolithic tomb type widespread in the western areas of China, but really have nothing to do with it. In Eastern Zhou, these annex tombs are replicas of cave dwellings quite similar to those which we can still see in the same area of Qin today. These consist of courtyards dug out of the loess soil (= the vertical shaft of the tomb), with adjacent chambers where people live (= the tomb chamber where the sarcophagus is placed). That the Eastern Zhou/Qin annex tombs were conceived architecturally is proven by the fact that there are actual architectural elements present, such as doors blocking off the entrance into the annex chamber. From Qin times onward the Chinese, perhaps under the standardizing influence of Qin, were much less reluctant than before to imitate terrestrial architecture underground at full scale. But the Zeng tomb, too, can be viewed as an initial attempt into that direction, at least at a conceptual level.

**James C. Y. Watt:** I hadn't intended to speak again, but I thought that at a gathering of art historians I shouldn't let this meeting end without endorsing a very important

point made by Dr. Mackenzie. That is the very major role played by wood carving and lacquer in the art of the Chu. It doesn't apply only to bronze casting, which was made possible by lost wax—a new technique—but it also affected the development in Chinese jade carving.

The discovery of the Xiasi 下寺 site was one of the most wonderful things to happen for the study of Chinese jades, because that shows the beginning of a brand new style (fig. 11). Without it we cannot explain the later styles such as that seen in Jincun 金村 jades, of which the Freer Gallery and the Nelson-Atkins Museum have so many examples (fig. 12). Because here for the first time you have a Chinese lapidary who is not so reverential of the very precious material that he uses whatever



Fig. 12. Jade pendant. Eastern Zhou, 5th–4th century B.C. Length 11.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 32.39.

Fig. 11. Jade mask from Xiasi, Xichuan, Henan. Eastern Zhou, 6th century B.C. Yang Boda & Zhou Nanquan 1986, pl. 108.

technique available to sculpt the jade without reference to earlier forms. Here for the first time, jade is treated as a material. That is to say, you can imagine a piece of wood carving in exactly the same style and in exactly the same shape, in exactly the same form as the particular jade. Therefore it is a kind of cheapening, in a way, a kind of secularization, of the attitude towards jade, because apparently it was used as a luxury item, as a material for a luxurious object, as opposed to something that had something more than material value to it. But nevertheless it is a very good point that applies not only to bronze casting, but probably to whatever form of Chu, or Eastern Zhou art that we find.

**Jane Tilley Griffin:** I wonder if any of you would care to comment on the manuscript that is on display here and the twelve figures in it which seem very much like those guardian figures in the tombs that we saw this morning and, once again, return to shamanism?

**Li Xueqin:** Fortunately, we have two authorities on this subject in this hall. One is Professor Jao Tsung-i, the other is Professor Li Ling. I will direct the question to them.

**Jao Tsung-i:** I have been doing research on the Chu Silk Manuscript ever since 1967 when a symposium on the subject was organized by the Department of Art History and Archaeology at Columbia University. I took part in that symposium more than twenty years ago.<sup>5</sup> But actually, I had studied the Chu Silk Manuscript for some thirteen years earlier. If you add all of those years together, I have been studying the manuscript for almost half of my life.

That such an ancient artifact should so fascinate me that I have spent such a long period of time on it should, I believe, be a memorable thing. Why should the research be so difficult? Because some of the characters cannot be identified, some cannot be determined. In addition to the difficulty of identifying some of the characters, the silk itself is dark, making it difficult to see. Photographs of the manuscript made at different times differ from one another.

At the present time we have the very latest material. Those portions of the silk on which mildew formed are lighter in color. So the object itself has changed, presenting an opportunity to re-examine many of the problems.

But as of the present moment I am able to offer a comparatively new interpretation of the Chu Silk Manuscript. In simple terms, I can say that it ought to be a text and diagram on matters relating to astronomy. It is a mid-Warring States period discussion of the constellations and of astronomy by a person from the State of Chu. In antiquity discussions of the constellations and of astronomy were inseparable; this was true of China as well as of other countries.

My latest research took place after I published a large book on the Chu Silk Manuscript.<sup>6</sup> The most recent discussions by colleagues in China have provided ideas from which I have benefited, while adding my own revised thoughts on the subject. There are at least eight or ten characters in the text which, while they cannot be definitely identified, can be interpreted on a comparative basis with some assurance. Finally, I can speak of a conclusion.

I have just completed two articles. In one of those articles I discuss the Chu Silk Manuscript in comparison with the "Tianguan shu 天官書" in the *Shi ji* 史記. The other article discusses the Chu Silk Manuscript in terms of the bamboo *rishu* 日書 (almanacs) from both the Chu burials at Yunmeng 雲夢 and Qin burials at Tianshui 天水. Consequently I have been able to attain—while I would not dare to say it is my final conclusion—at least what appears to be a reasonably certain conclusion.

In the "Tianguan" text there are many statements which also appear in the text of the Chu Silk Manuscript (you must refer to my manuscript for particulars, I am unable to discuss them in detail here), especially the astronomical aspects. These are consistent with those in the almanacs, in which there is a passage referring to the



twenty-eight *xiu* 二十八宿—the twenty-eight zodiacal constellations—with two or three symbolic creatures paired with each month. In addition, there is a statement about which activities one may perform, which activities one may not perform. Many of those statements are the same as those comments that appear on the four outer edges of the Chu Silk Manuscript.

In the past, one of the major lacunae in our research on Chu astronomy was the lack of definite information. We could only decide on the significance of those statements if we knew the period when the earliest twenty-eight zodiacal characters could be found. Recently, excavated from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng at Sui Xian was a lacquer garment chest on the exterior of which there is a large character *dou* 斗, referring to the Big Dipper (fig. 13). Surrounding that character *dou* are characters denoting the twenty-eight constellations. There is no question regarding the date of the tomb at Sui Xian: it is earlier than the Chu Silk Manuscript. This demonstrates that at the time of the Chu Silk Manuscript, the Chu people were well aware of the twenty-eight constellations.

In all of the discussions of the astronomical aspects of the Chu Silk Manuscript that appear on the silk there is no specific reference to the twenty-eight constellations. There are, as I have said, several characters that still cannot be decisively determined. Now, as the result of my most recent research, I have found that there are at least six or seven characters that ought to relate to the twenty-eight constellations, such as 婁、參、長(張)、尾(尾)、女、火. In that way, although the Chu Silk Manu-

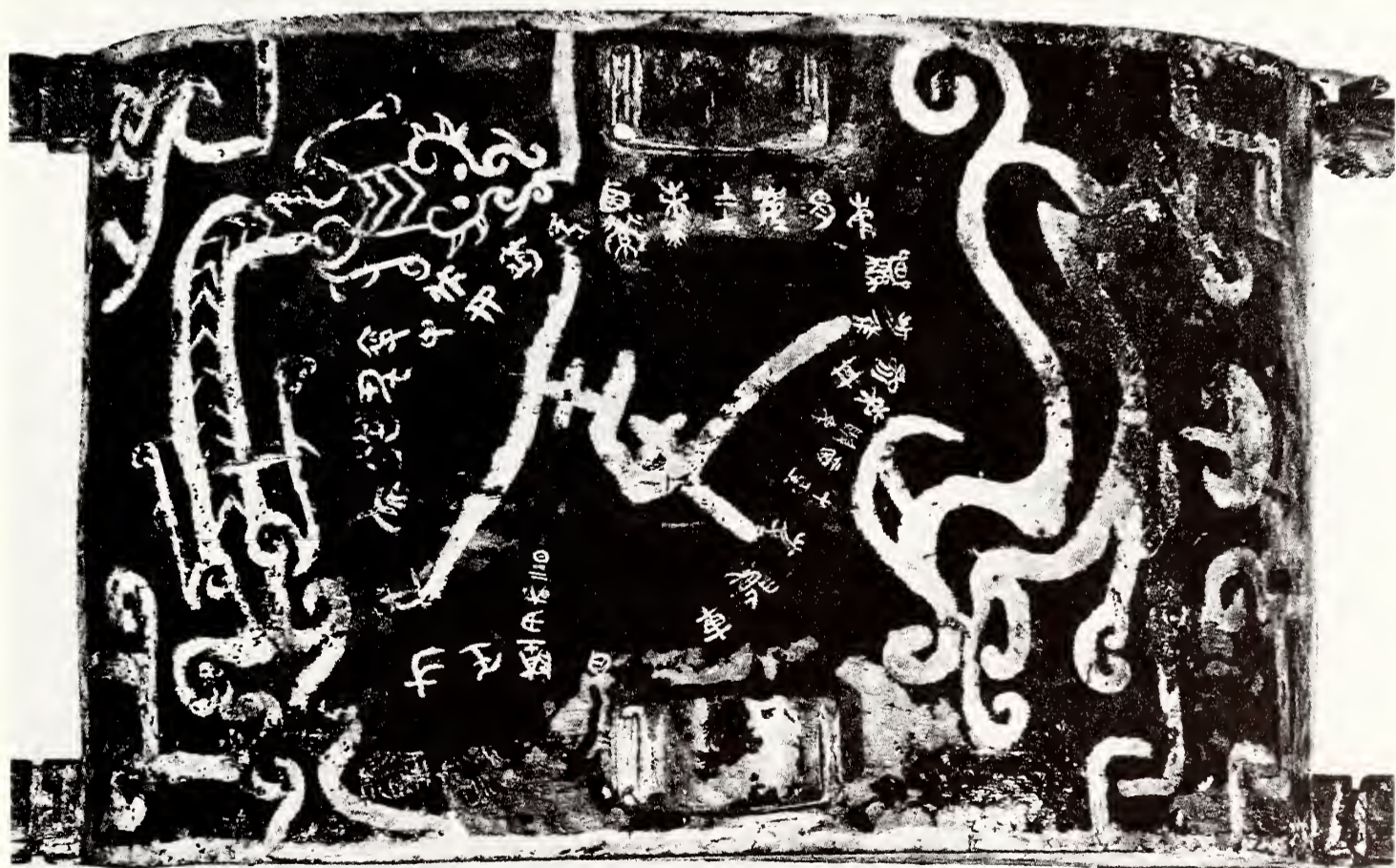


Fig. 13. Lacquer garment chest from tomb of Zeng Hou Yi. After ZGWW 1980.2, p. 24.

script text does not specifically refer to the twenty-eight constellations, there is sufficient evidence to suggest their associations with the individual months. From these aspects we can understand that the Chu Silk Manuscript is an astronomical text that discusses activities of the months.

Now we can see that the Chu Silk Manuscript consists of three parts. One portion is written right side up; one is written upside down. The third portion of the text is written along the four outer edges of the silk. Why should a portion of the text be right side up, while the other is upside down? The section written right side up discusses the story of the creation of the Chu people, i.e. when did the sun and moon appear, and other natural events relating to the creation. Only at the end of that portion of the text does it mention disruptions in the astronomical order. I have changed my earlier interpretation of that passage. I now believe the meaning to be that there is heavenly disorder. So the second portion of the text written on the Chu Silk Manuscript describes those events when heaven is in disarray. All of the discussion of confusion and disarray in the sun and moon marks the text of the second portion of the manuscript. Since the discussion of such confusion develops out of the first section, the second section is written upside down. That is the logic of having that section upside down.

The “Tianguan” section of the *Shi ji* refers to Gan 甘 and Shi 石, who discussed the dire consequences when the stars and heavens move in disorder. Gan is Gan De 甘德, who lived in the state of Chu about the same time as the writing of the Silk Manuscript, and it is possible that the Silk Manuscript may be connected with him.<sup>7</sup> At any rate, I can now say with some degree of certainty that the Silk Manuscript is a Chu text on astronomy.

Now as to the question of the images painted on the four sides of the Chu Silk Manuscript, we can use the seven stars and twelve deities of the Han dynasty for comparison. One possible interpretation of the twelve deities is that they might be symbols of the zodiac. A passage in the text of the Chu Silk Manuscript states, “there are twelve. . . .” Unfortunately, the character that would indicate the exact nature of those “twelve” is unclear and difficult to decipher. It could be *sui* 歲, or it could be *zi* 次. I dare not decide. But I believe the reference to “twelve” is related to the images on the edges of the Chu Silk Manuscript. So if we use the Han dynasty concept of twelve deities that are associated with the seven stars in the Big Dipper, we can reach a conclusion about the twelve painted images, that they might be representations of the zodiac. So it is clear that the Chu Silk Manuscript is an astronomical text. One could also say that it is a *tianguan* text written by a Chu person.

**Li Ling:** The Chu Silk Manuscript is the oldest manuscript on *shushu* 數術 (numerals and skills) discovered to date. While the modern reader obviously finds such a text bewildering, it must, however, have been widely read in ancient times. It belongs in the same category as the large numbers of excavated *rishu* 日書, or almanacs.<sup>8</sup> Al-

though only the *rishu* from the Qin burials at Shuihudi 睡虎地 have been published, they will nevertheless become a special topic of study as the many other excavated texts of a similar nature are systematically published. We shall be able to see clearly, then, that the study of the Chu Silk Manuscript marks the beginning of it all.

In my past studies of the Chu Silk Manuscript,<sup>9</sup> I have always felt that there is an underlying facet that requires further study, and that is the manuscript's connection with the *shitu* 式圖, a diagram of *shi* 式 (or cosmic model). I have devoted much thought to this problem during my recent visit to the United States, and have, just before my coming to Washington, D.C., completed a long article on the subject.<sup>10</sup> That is why I would like to look at the Chu Silk Manuscript from the point of view of its relationship with the cosmic model here.

The first question to ask is, "What kind of text is the Chu Silk Manuscript?" Some say that the rise of different schools of thought in China during the Warring States period and in ancient Greece are "standard breakthroughs" that normally accompany the progress of civilizations at certain stages of their development.<sup>11</sup> But then, what were the thoughts and philosophies of those civilizations before these "breakthroughs?" This is clearly an important question. In my view, ideas on *shushu* and *fangji* 方技 (prescriptions and techniques) are the two best reflections of prototypical thought. The systematic texts of *shushu* and *fangji* are perhaps already a relatively late phenomenon but ideas contained in these texts were formulated much earlier. *Shushu* is primarily related to the universal order (hence, the cosmos), while *fangji* is primarily related to the human order (hence, the human body). Both include a variety of subjects and activities.<sup>12</sup>

*Shushu* not only includes astronomy and the calendrical and mathematical sciences, but also the various related areas in divination (based on deduction) and physiognomy (based on observation). Among the two major types of divination practices, the first corresponds to that described in the "Ri Zhe Liezhuan 日者列傳" section of the *Shi ji*, and the second corresponds to that described in the "Gui Ce Liezhuan 龜策列傳" section of the *Shi ji*. The Chu Silk Manuscript is primarily related to the first practice, and is a text that discusses the calendrical taboos based on the operating methods for the cosmic model.

This text can be divided into two types, one describing the forbidden and permissible activities for the months, and one for each of the days. The Chu Silk Manuscript is one such text for the months, while the numerous excavated *rishu* belong to the latter. While the two types of texts are both based on knowledge of astronomy and calendrical and mathematical systems, they are, according to traditional Chinese classification of books, different from texts of the *tianwen* 天文 (astronomy) or *lisuan* 曆算 (calendar and mathematics) categories and belong to the category of *wuxing* 五行 (five elements).

A second important feature of the Chu Silk Manuscript is the meaning of its unusual layout, which appears to follow a set scheme with the corresponding figures



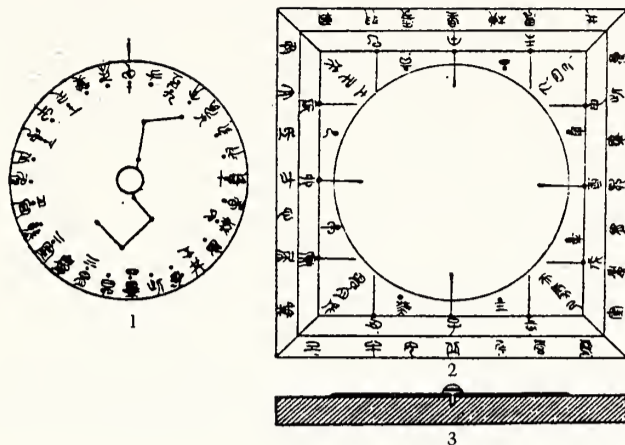
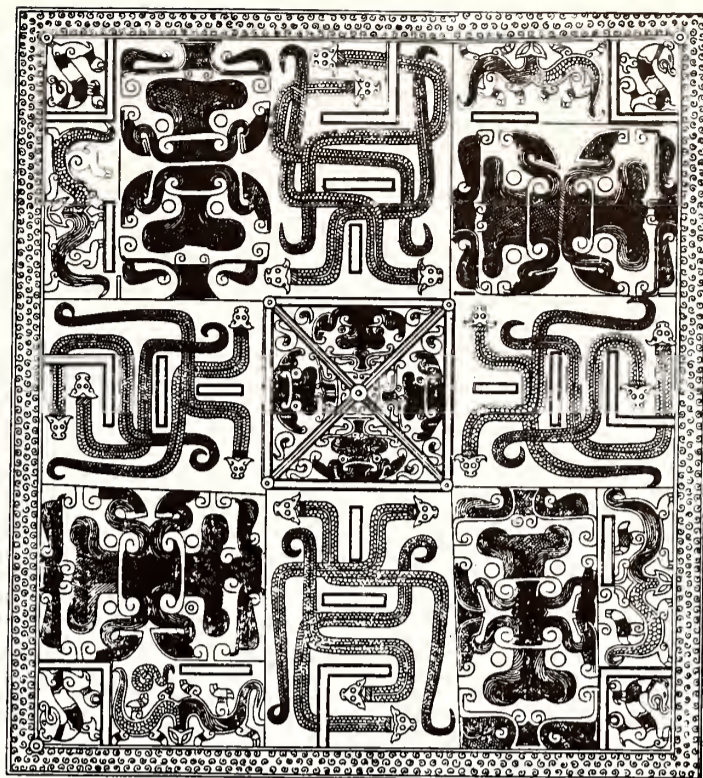


Fig. 15. *Liuren shipan* from Shanggudui, Fuyang, Anhui. After WW 1978.8, p. 25, fig. 10:1-3.

Fig. 16. Stone *liubo* board from tomb of Zhongshan Wang, Hebei. Eastern Zhou. After WW 1979.1, p. 26, fig. 33.



in prescribed locations (fig. 14). This kind of scheme, described in the *Liu jia yao chi* 六家要旨 by Sima Tan 司馬談 as “*sishi* 四時, *bawei* 八位, *shi'erdu* 十二度, *ershisijie* 二十四節” (the four seasons, the eight positions, the twelve degrees, and twenty-four solar terms) is actually derived from the *shitu*. On the Silk Manuscript, the four sides marking east, south, west, and north represent the “Four Seasons;” the four trees in green, red, white and black at the corners, and each of the four central figures on each side represent the “Eight Positions,” while the twelve figures represent the “Twelve Degrees.” Many different diagrammatic versions of the cosmic model were used in ancient times, but the most widespread version is that known as the *liuren* 六壬 type, and it is on this that the Chu Silk Manuscript was based. The layout of the *liuren shitu* (also called *shipan* 式盤) is based on numerical divisions of 4, 8, and 12, accompanied by twelve gods; other types of *shitu* were organized around the numbers 9 and 18, accompanied by nine or sixteen gods.

Although the earliest excavated examples date from early Han (fig. 15),<sup>13</sup> cosmic models must have been in existence before the Qin and Han periods. We now have two excavated pieces of evidence for their existence before the Han period. The first is the painted diagram on top of a lacquered garment box from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng 曾侯乙墓 at Sui Xian (fig. 13), and the second is the stone board for the game *liubo* 六博 excavated from the tomb of the Zhongshan king 中山王 at Pingshan 平山 in Hebei (fig. 16). The top of the painted garment box shows the Great Dipper in the center surrounded by a green dragon, white tiger, and the lunar mansions, and is clearly derived from the *shitu*.<sup>14</sup> The board is based on the *liubo* game which is ultimately derived from the cosmic model.<sup>15</sup> Two even more recent finds also have major bearing on this subject: one is the diagram with dragon and tiger laid out in Tomb No. 45 at the Yangshao site at Puyang 濮陽, Xishuipo 西水坡, Henan (fig. 17),

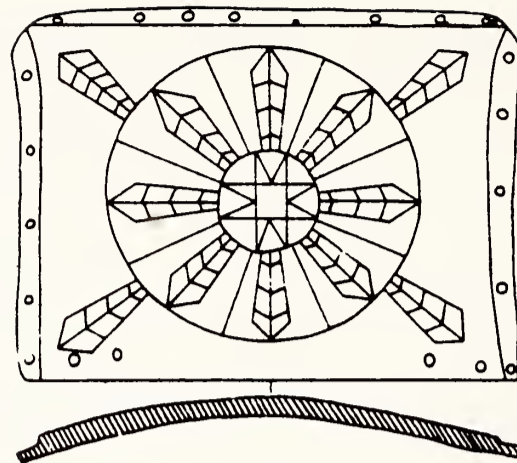


Fig. 18. Jade plaque from Tomb No. 4 at Linjiatan, Hanshan, Anhui. After WW 1989.4, p. 15, fig. 2.

Fig. 17. Section of Tomb No. 45 at Xishuipo, Puyang Xian, Henan. After WW 1988.3, pl. 1.

and the other is the jade plaque from Tomb No. 4 at the late neolithic site at Lingjiatan, 凌家灘, Hanshan 含山, Anhui (fig. 18). The Puyang configuration relates to the diagram on the lacquer garment box from Sui Xian (fig. 13), while the jade plaque closely resembles the *shitu* (fig. 15). Both are much earlier in date, reaching about 4,000 years back in time.

A long-standing problem related to the layout of the Chu Silk Manuscript is the alternately upright and inverted placements of the two central sections of the text. There are traditionally two theories on this problem. One reads the manuscript with the top pointing south; the other reads it as pointing north. After the names of the gods of the twelve months had been deciphered in the sixties, the north-south theory seems to have taken precedence. But many opinions were reversed with the more recent discoveries of the Han dynasty maps at Mawangdui and the palace plans from the tombs of the Zhongshan kings at Pingshan, Hebei.

Professor Jao has just offered his interpretation of the alternate arrangement of these texts; I would like to offer mine for consideration. I looked at this problem in connection with the "Xuanguong 玄宮" and "Xuanguong tu 玄宮圖" sections of *Guan Zi* 管子 in my first publication on the Chu Silk Manuscript.<sup>16</sup> My conclusion there was that these texts can be arranged in both south-north and north-south directions, although I still decided in favor of a single orientation for the Chu Silk Manuscript. At a slightly later date,<sup>17</sup> I re-examined this problem in the light of orientation as documented in oracle bone and bronze inscriptions as well as in ancient texts, and found that there actually existed two different modes of orientation in ancient writings. The south-north orientation used the sun as guide (with the face or back to the sun); the other used the Pole Star and clockwise rotation of the Big Dipper to guide its orientation. The former method of orientation was used mainly in geography, while

the latter was used mainly in astronomy and calendars. For example, the “Dixing 地形” section in *Huainan Zi* 淮南子 used the south-north orientation, and its “Tianwen 天文” and “Shiling 時令” sections followed the north-south orientation. The recent find of late Warring States maps in ancient Qin territory near Tianshui 天水 in Gansu province, which showed the character *shang* 上 in many locations, indicates that the orientation is from north to south.<sup>18</sup> This confirms my theory that both orientations can be used side-by-side.

As to the question of the meaning of the twelve gods painted around the edge of the manuscript, I would like to point out that the discovery of the correspondence between the gods of the twelve months in the Chu Silk Manuscript and those recorded in the *Er ya* 爾雅 was a major contribution by Professor Li Xueqin. But this still does not answer the question of their identity. In my previous publication,<sup>19</sup> I have indicated that the twelve gods belong as a systematic grouping and therefore should not be explained by randomly identifying them with mythological figures recorded in ancient texts. I still feel the same way today.

In a recent article, Professor Li Xueqin suggested that the twelve gods of the Chu Silk Manuscript should perhaps be linked to the celestial gods of the twelve months represented on the *liuren* version of the cosmic model.<sup>20</sup> This equation between two systematic groupings of figures makes a great deal of sense. Differences in schools of thought, time, and geographical location may result in differences in the choice of gods on the cosmic models. So while the names of the twelve gods in the Chu Silk Manuscript and the *liuren* cosmic model may not be the same, their functions as indicators in the rotation of the heaven plate over the earth plate of the *shi* remain essentially the same. Now, I have strong evidence to support Professor Li’s idea: on the earliest example of the cosmic model from Fuyang (fig. 15), the twelve gods of *liuren shitu* are represented directly by the names of the twelve months just like the Chu Silk Manuscript.

Of course, there is still disagreement concerning the reading of the three characters beside each figure. I read the first character as the name of the month; the following two characters should be read together with the first, and are related to the activities described in the caption that accompanies each of the figures.

**Jao Tsung-i:** I would also like to discuss a relatively major question. We have been talking about ritual music, a very important subject. Recently there was a report of a find at Dantu 丹徒 of a bronze bell of the state of Xu 徐.<sup>21</sup> On the bell was an inscription, “*yi xia yi nan* 以夏以南.” Originally that phrase came from the *Shi jing* which says, “*yi ya yi nan, yi yue bujian* 以雅以南, 以籥不僭.” In that phrase, what does the character *nan* mean? I believe this to be an important question we can discuss. The fact that the inscription on the bell reads “*yi xia yi nan*” while in the *Shi jing* it reads “*yi ya yi nan*” indicates that the music played in the State of Xu was both from the Central Plain and from the south. *Xia* should refer to *xiasheng* 夏聲, the



Fig. 19. Rubbing of inscription on *goudiao* from tomb of Nanyue Wang. After *KG*, 1984.3, p. 227, fig. 3.

sound (music) of the Central Plain; *nan* should therefore refer to *chusheng* 楚聲, the sound (music) of Chu. On the basis of this new material, I believe that the State of Xu in the south was capable of the ritual music of both the Central Plain and of Chu. At this time, the different states, including Chu and Qi, all have their own musical pitch systems, but the most important was that of Chu. It is my belief, therefore, that *nan* refers to Chu.

The most important point is that the pitch pipes discovered at Yutaishan 雨臺山 correspond exactly to the Chu pitch system as recorded on the Zeng Hou Yi material.<sup>22</sup> So what was the Chu sound (music) like? This is not a question that can be easily answered. But at least we can say that the term *nan* refers to Chu music. I am not sure that everyone will agree.

Also of interest is that the Chu pitch system travelled as far as Guangdong 廣東. I am sure everyone has seen the set of eight *goudiao* 勾鐃 (bronze bells) from the tomb of the Nanyue Wang 南越王; they are inscribed with the characters “*yuefu* 樂府” (bureau of music) (fig. 19).<sup>23</sup> In the past discussions of *yuefu* have been concerned with the question of when and where the institution first appeared. Today we know from the mention of *yuefu* on bronzes that it existed in Qin as well as Guangdong. Music academies

existed not only in the Central Plain, but also in such outlying regions as Guangdong. So if we talk about Chu music, we must extend it all the way to Guangdong, and the problem becomes more complex. The more material we have on the subject, the more interesting it becomes. That is why I wanted to bring up this question.

**Lothar von Falkenhausen:** Let me comment on Professor Jao’s questions relating to ancient Chinese music. First Professor Jao very commendably directed our attention to a newly excavated set of bells from the State of Xu, which features an inscription, one sentence of which is similar to a line in the *Shi jing*. In the Xu inscription, the sentence runs, “We will use these bells to perform the *xia* [dances] and the *nan* [dances].” *Xia* is, of course, the northern Chinese populations of the Zhou states, and *nan* (south) refers, in Professor Jao’s interpretation, to the populations of the Yangzi



river basin further to the south. The parallel phrase from the *Shi jing* is very similar: “With them they perform the *ya* [the *elegantiae*, as the term is sometimes rendered, a form of Zhou court dance], and they also perform the *nan*.” What this *nan* meant used to be fairly controversial. Professor Jao now suggests the interpretation that the *nan* were, in fact, the indigenous music of the Yangzi river basin, which were contrasted in both contexts—in the Xu inscription from, I think, at least as early as the late sixth century B.C., and in the *Shi jing*, which might be even slightly earlier in date. In both cases the indigenous “southern” music was contrasted with the court music of the Zhou.

I have thought about that matter myself and, with all due respect, I am less sanguine about the geographical interpretation of *nan* than Professor Jao. Instead, I would like to look back to the traditional explanation of the *nan* in the *Shi jing* 詩經 commentaries, where *nan* is taken as referring to the “Zhounan 周南” and the “Shaonan 召南,” two categories of poems. There again it was never exactly clear what this *nan* meant; but it was agreed that it referred to a genre of poems that might have been sung to different sorts of music. Of course, the inscription of the newly excavated bells does seem to lend a stronger geographical connotation to that, and perhaps we should consider the possibility that *nan*, even in the *Shi jing*, refers to southern musics. But so far I remain reluctant to accept this. *Nan* might just as well have been a northern type of court music present at the Xu court, alongside the *xia* music, which is most likely somehow related, or identical, to the unquestionably northern *ya*.

Even if *nan* in these Spring and Autumn period contexts is indeed a southern type of music, is it really identical with the type of music that occurs in other, much later texts of the Han dynasty under the name *chusheng* (sounds of Chu)? That identification of Professor Jao’s seems to me a fairly bold step to take. It is possible, but I am not yet convinced.

Professor Jao also pointed out that the newly discovered pipes from Yutaishan use the same names for pitch standards that are specified in the Zeng inscriptions as belonging to the Chu system. That is certainly true and should not surprise us given that these pipes came from a Chu aristocratic tomb. Professor Jao takes the Yutaishan pipes as pitch pipes, a matter on which I indicated some reservations in my talk. Whatever they were, I certainly agree with Professor Jao that they were used in the context of Chu music-making; but the musical theory their inscriptions document is, without question, the Zhou-derived nomenclature of Chu ritual music that I have treated in my talk this morning.

Professor Jao also doubted that Chu music was keyed to another pitch standard than the one of the Zhou. Perhaps it is fairer to say that Professor Jao is simply agnostic on this point, and this is probably a good idea. On the other hand, the Zeng inscriptions do indicate that the principal pitch standard of the Chu system was *GUXIAN* 姑洗, which was also known in Chu under the name of *LÜZHONG* 呂鐘.



Fig. 20. Bronze bell with gold inlay from Lintong, Shaanxi. After Li Xueqin 1986, p. 154.

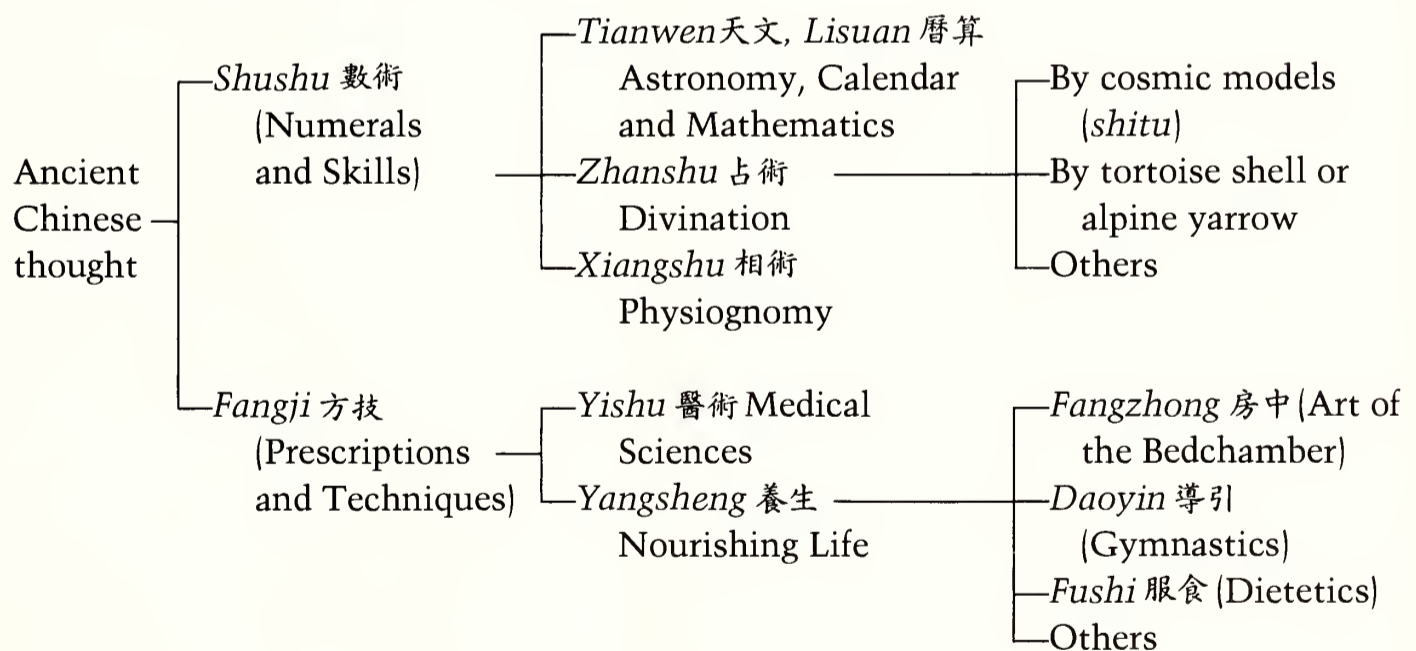
Whether or not that was also the principal pitch standard of Zhou court music remains, to some extent, a moot point; here I agree with Professor Jao. The reason is that all the texts specifying *HUANGZHONG* 黃鐘 as the principal pitch standard of “classical” Chinese musical theory date to a time somewhat later than that of the Zeng inscriptions.

I fully and wholeheartedly endorse Professor Jao’s final comment. He points to two archaeological finds documenting the existence of what I have just flipantly referred to as “Institutes for the Preservation of Local Music,” predating the earliest appearance of the term *yuefu* (bureau of music,) in the Han dynasty records. We know that the Han had such a bureau of court music at least from the time of Wu Di 武帝; there are no earlier

records to that effect in the transmitted texts. One of the two epigraphic proofs for the earlier existence of the *yuefu* is on a small inlaid bell, a *niuzhong*, found at Lintong, Shaanxi, right next to the tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi in an undoubtedly Qin archaeological context (fig. 20).<sup>24</sup> It bears the inscription “Yuefu,” and I should certainly agree with Professor Jao that this would seem to testify to the pre-Han existence of an institution similar to the *yuefu* of the Han. Secondly, the term *yuefu* is found inscribed on a set of eight *goudiao* bells, very interesting pieces, found in the tomb of the early Western Han king of Nanyue at Xianggangshan 象崗山, Guangzhou, Guangdong.<sup>25</sup> This is especially significant since these are bells of a specific regional type restricted to the southeastern area and pretty much extraneous to the Zhou tradition of court music. The inscription on these bells dates to the year 129 B.C., in the reign of the Nanyue emperor Wen Di 文帝. The occurrence of the term *yuefu* in this context makes it clear that during the Han period not only the central government had a *yuefu*, but the local semi-independent polities had *yuefu* as well, and these *goudiao* clearly show that there was an institutionalized context for the preservation of indigenous musical traditions at the local level. If I understand Professor Jao correctly, he suggests that this sort of thing may go back further in time; I agree that there is a strong basis for such an argument.

## Notes

1. The drum beat is not recorded in the chapters on the various archery contests in the *Yili* 儀禮. However, in the *Yili*, appended to the chapter on *touhu* 投壺 (the quasi-ritualistic game of pitching arrows into a *hu* vessel) are the notations for the drumming used for the *touhu* and *yanshe* 燕射 (banquet archery contest) in the [Zhou and] Lu 魯 and Xue 薛 states. This will at least give us an idea of the drumming for the more serious contest, the *dashe* 大射. (I have used the 1887 Maiwangxian Guan 脈望仙館 edition of the *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 for this information).
2. Sun Zuoyun 1973.
3. Lutz 1986, pp. 58–59; Yunnan Xiangyun 1964.
4. *KGTX* 1975.5, pp. 64–66.
5. Jao Tsung-i 1977.
6. Jao Tsung-i & Zeng Xiantong 1985b.
7. Needham 1959, p. 197, records that Gan De was from the state of Qi.
8. The Chu bamboo strips from Jiudian 九店 (unpublished), the Qin bamboo strips from Shuihudi 睡虎地 (*Yunmeng* 1981) and Fangmatan 放馬灘 (*WW* 1989.2, pp. 23–31), and the Han strips from Bajiaolang 八角廊 (*WW* 1981.8, pp. 11–13), Shuanggudui 雙古堆 (*WW* 1983.2, pp. 21–23), and Zhangjiashan 張家山 (*WW* 1981. 1, pp. 9–15) all contain *rishu*. In addition, the silk manuscript of *Yin yang Wuxing* 陰陽五行 from Mawangdui 馬王堆 (*WW* 1979.11, pp. 71–73) and the bamboo strips from Yinqueshan 銀雀山 (*Yinqueshan* 1985) are similar.
9. Li Ling 1985 and 1988.
10. Li Ling forthcoming.
11. Jaspers 1953; Hsu Cho-yun 1984.
12. These can be tabulated as follows:



13. From the tomb of the Marquis of Ruyin 汝陰侯 at Shuanggudui, Fuyang 阜陽, in Anhui (*WW* 1978.8, pp. 12–31); see also discussions of the *shipan* in *KG* 1978.5, pp. 334–37 and pp. 338–43.
14. Yan Dunjie 1985.
15. The relationship between the TLV mirrors (i.e. mirror designs based on the *liubo* game board) has already been suggested (Kaplan 1937). The relationship is discussed in even greater detail in Loewe 1979.

## DISCUSSION

16. Li Ling 1985.
17. Li Ling 1988.
18. *WW* 1989.12, pp. 78–85.
19. See note 9.
20. Li Xueqin 1987.
21. *WW* 1989.4, pp. 51–56.
22. *WW* 1988.5, pp. 35–38.
23. *KG* 1984.3, p. 227; all eight pieces are illustrated in colour in Beijing 1987, pp. 241–48.
24. *KG YWW* 1982.4, pp. 92–94; color illustrations in Tokyo & Beijing 1982, p. 26;  
Li Xueqin 1986, p. 145, no. 179.
25. See note 23.



Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen, Dr. Alain Thote, Dr. Colin Mackenzie and Professor Li Xueqin responding to questions during the Discussion.



Dr. Jonathan Chaves discussing the role of shamanism in Chu culture.



Professor Jao Tsung-i responding to a question about the Chu Silk Manuscript.



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Periodicals and newspapers are abbreviated as follows:

AA	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>
AAA	<i>Archives of Asian Art</i>
ACASA	<i>Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America</i>
ASA	<i>Arts Asiatiques</i>
BIHPAS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica</i> 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊
BM	<i>Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft</i>
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
BOCSHK	<i>Bulletin of the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong</i>
CJA	<i>Chinese Journal of Acoustics</i>
CM	<i>Chinese Music</i>
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions &amp; Belles-Lettres</i>
EC	<i>Early China</i>
FY	<i>Fangyan</i> 方言
GGXSJK	<i>Gugong xueshu jikan</i> 故宮學術季刊
GMRB	<i>Guangming ribao</i> 光明日報
GWZYJ	<i>Gu wenzi yanjiu</i> 古文字研究
HNKGJK	<i>Hunan kaogu jikan</i> 湖南考古輯刊
HXKG	<i>Huaxia kaogu</i> 華夏考古
HZ	<i>Huangzhong</i> 黃鐘, <i>Journal of the Wuhan Music Conservatory</i>
JHKG	<i>Jiangnan kaogu</i> 江漢考古
KG	<i>Kaogu</i> 考古
KGTX	<i>Kaogu tongxun</i> 考古通訊
KGXB	<i>Kaogu xuebao</i> 考古學報
KGXJK	<i>Kaoguxue jikan</i> 考古學集刊
KGYYW	<i>Kaogu yu wenwu</i> 考古與文物
KK	<i>Kokka</i> 國華
KSD	<i>Kōbe Shōka Daigaku 'Jinbun Ronshū'</i> 神戶商科學大學人文論集
KXTB	<i>Kexue tongbao</i> 科學通報

MA	<i>Musica Asiatica</i>
MSYJ	<i>Meishu yanjiu</i> 美術研究
MZXYJSJK	<i>Minzuxue Yanjiusuo jikan</i> 民族學研究所集刊
OA	<i>Oriental Art</i>
OS	<i>Oriental Art</i>
QS	<i>Qiusuo</i> 求索
RAA	<i>Revue des Arts Asiatiques</i>
SHBWGGK	<i>Shanghai Bowuguan guankan</i> 上海博物館館刊
SHK	<i>Sen'oku Hakkokan Kiyō</i> 泉屋博古館紀要
SXXB	<i>Shengxue xuebao</i> 聲學學報
TG	<i>Tōhō Gakuhō</i> 東方學報
TOCS	<i>Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society</i>
WW	<i>Wenwu</i> 文物
WWCKZL	<i>Wenwu cankao ziliao</i> 文物參考資料
WWZLCK	<i>Wenwu ziliao congkan</i> 文物資料叢刊
WYYJ	<i>Wenyi yanjiu</i> 文藝研究
YYLC	<i>Yinyue luncong</i> 音樂論叢
YYYJ	<i>Yinyue yanjiu</i> 音樂研究
YYYS	<i>Yinyue yishu</i> 音樂藝術
ZGLSBWGGK	<i>Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan guankan</i> 中國歷史博物館館刊
ZGWW	<i>Zhongguo wenwu</i> 中國文物
ZGWWB	<i>Zhongguo wenwu bao</i> 中國文物報
ZYWW	<i>Zhongyuan wenwu</i> 中原文物

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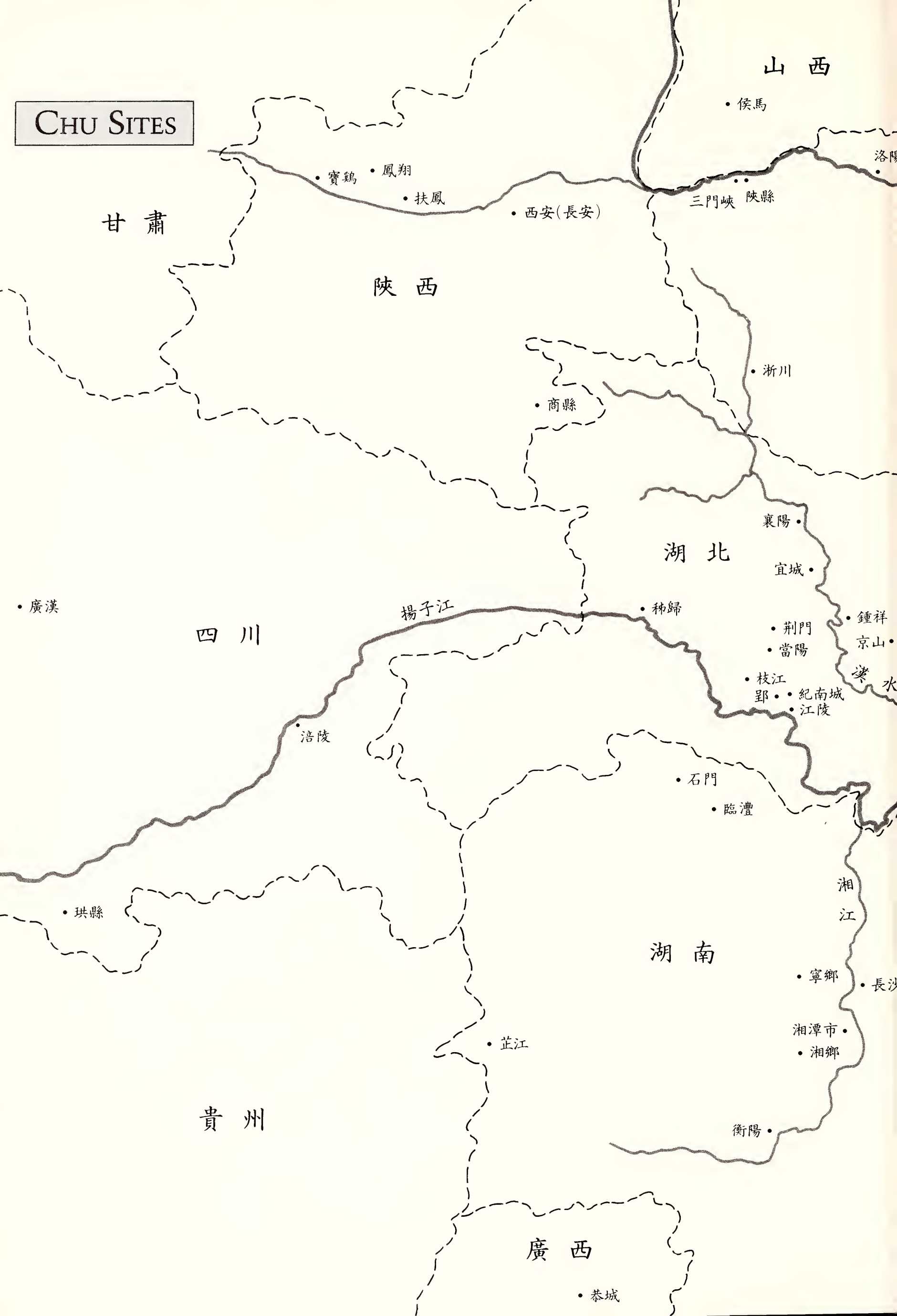


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