

THE TOMBS OF THE RULERS OF PENG AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ZHOU AND NORTHERN NON-ZHOU LINEAGES (UNTIL THE EARLY NINTH CENTURY B.C.)

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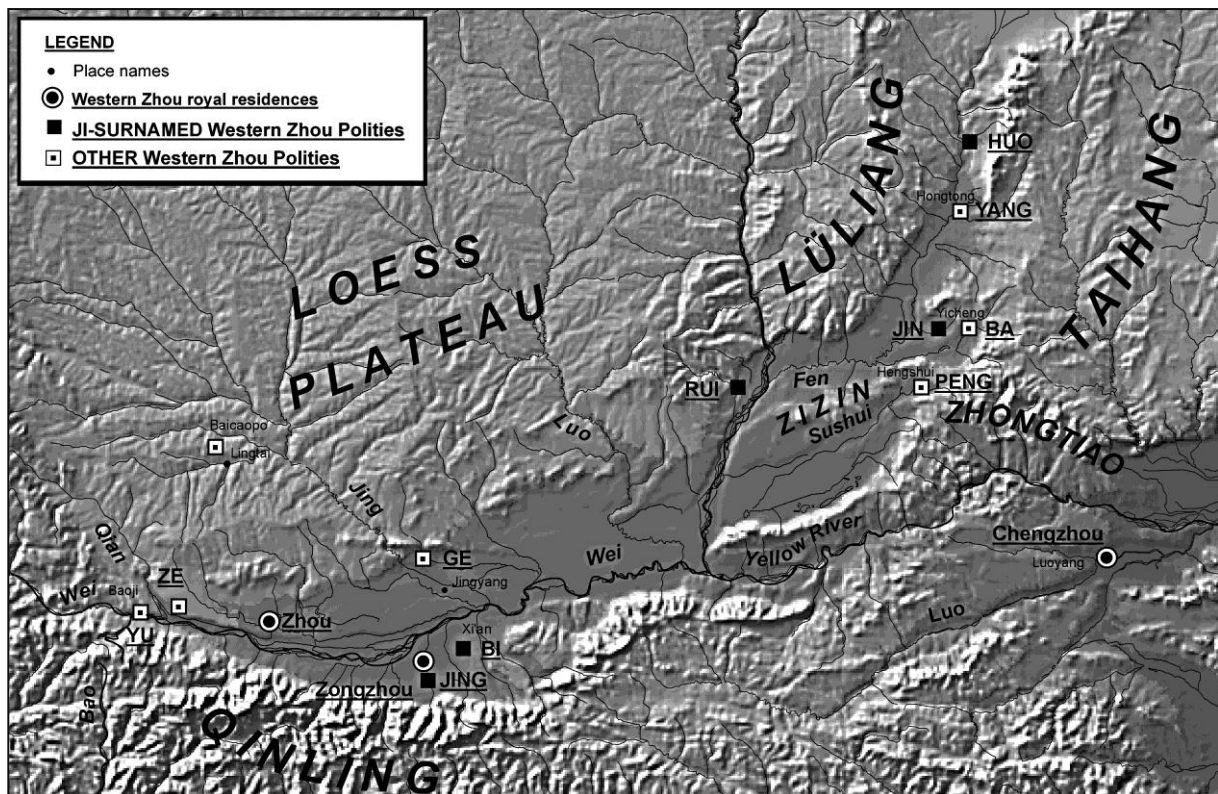
The discovery of a Western Zhou period cemetery near Hengshui zhen 橫水鎮 in Jiang 降 County, southwest Shanxi, counts as one of the most fascinating archaeological events of the last decade.² A comprehensive report about the excavations of the whole site has not yet been published, but some observations can be made based on preliminary reports about the tombs of Pengbo Cheng 棚伯甬 and his spouse Bi Ji 畢姬. Inscriptions discovered elsewhere reveal that Peng 棚 was a lineage of the Kui 媿/Gui 鬼 surname. Some received texts associate Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages with the Di 狄/翟 group of northern non-Zhou peoples. According to the Chinese historiographical tradition, the Di remained autonomous from the Huaxia 華夏 cultural and political community, which was dominated during the Western Zhou period by lineages of the Ji 姬 and Jiang 姜 surnames. The new discovery shows that a small non-Zhou polity, not referred to in transmitted literature, existed quite close to the eastern residence of the Zhou kings at Chengzhou 成周 and just to the south of Jin 晉, one of the major Ji-surnamed principalities. Moreover, rulers of Peng had marital relations with Bi 畢, a distinguished Ji-surnamed lineage closely related to the Zhou royal house. Thus, the case of Peng can be very instructive for understanding geo-political and cultural relations in China during the Western Zhou period. In the following, I briefly introduce the tombs of the Peng ruling couple and the inscriptions on their bronzes, and then proceed to discuss the following four questions:

- the date of tombs M1 and M2 of the Peng cemetery
- the relationship of Peng with non-Zhou peoples, as it can be observed based on the analysis of material remains and onomastic evidence
- the integration of the Peng lineage into the Zhou political and social network
- and the role played by Duke Yi 益公, mentioned in the inscription on the *Pengbo Cheng gui* 棚伯甬簋 tureen, in the acquisition of allies among non-Zhou peoples

In a concluding discussion, I use the case of Peng to discuss some general issues in the relationships between Zhou and non-Zhou polities of central China during the late tenth to the early ninth centuries B.C.

Peng Bronzes and the Date of the Peng Tombs

² Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di” 山西絳縣橫水西周墓地, *Kaogu* 考古 2006.7, 16-21; Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo et al., “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao” 山西絳縣橫水西周墓地發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 2006.8: 4-18.



Map 4.1. Geographical situation of Peng³

The cemetery of Peng was discovered in 2004 on the northern bank of the Sushui 涑水 River at Hengbei 横北 village near Hengshui town (Map 4.1). As has become common in the Chinese archaeological literature, I will refer to this site as Hengbei. The cemetery covers an area of about 35,000 m². During the 2004-2005 excavation season, the Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology excavated about 8500 square meters, containing 188 tombs and 21 horse-and-chariot pits.⁴ As of 2007, 81 tombs with bronze ritual vessels had been found.⁵ According to the most recent information, 1,326 tombs have been excavated through 2008. Most of the Hengbei tombs date to the middle and late Western Zhou periods.⁶

Two large tombs labeled M1 and M2 constitute the main focus of the Hengbei cemetery. They are constructed as vertical pits rectangular in cross-section and trapezoidal in profile, with the bottom slightly larger than the mouth, and with entry ramps on the western side.⁷ M3, a third large tomb with an entry ramp, had been completely looted before the beginning of excavations and has not been included in the report. There are no further tombs with entry ramps in this cemetery. Other tombs are divided into four categories according to size: large

³ Map 4.1 was made using the Harvard-Fudan China Historical Geographic Information System datasets (downloaded in March 2011) and ESRI Arc Map software.

⁴ Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di,” 16.

⁵ See Xie Yaoting 謝堯亭, “Hengshui mudi yong ding gui li de kaocha” 横水墓地用鼎簋禮考察, paper read at the Conference on Western Zhou Civilization, Qishan 岐山, Shaanxi, April 10-12, 2009.

⁶ Of this number, 27 tombs are of a much later date. See the interview with Song Jianzhong 宋建忠, director of the Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology: Li Shanghong 李尚鴻, “Shanxi Jiangxian: Xi Zhou Peng guo guojun furen mu chenshui 3000 nian” 山西絳縣: 西周倬國國君、夫人墓沉睡 3000 年, *San Jin dushi bao* 三晉都市報, 9.3.2009, quoted from *Shanxi xinwen* 山西新聞, <http://www.sx.chinanews.com.cn/news/2009/0309/3110.html>, last consulted on 10/14/2010.

⁷ The burial pit of M1 is 5.4 m long at the bottom, with an entry ramp 20.6 m long. The dimensions of M2 are 5.5 m and 16.8 m respectively.

(4 x 5 m), medium large (3 x 4 m), medium (2 x 3 m), and small (1 x 2 m).⁸ 97 of the 188 tombs (52%) excavated through 2005 belong to the “small” category. The percentages of the remaining categories have not yet been reported.

Archeologists noted some peculiarities in the construction of some large and middle-sized tombs. Square, round or oval holes were found outside the tomb mouth. In fourteen tombs, two such holes were located on its eastern side; in five tombs, holes were found at all four corners. In most cases the holes possibly served to hold pillars, but in a few cases sloping holes were connected to the tomb chamber. This is the first time that such features have been observed in a cemetery of the Western Zhou period. A number of large and middle-sized tombs with bronze vessels contained 1–5 human victims.⁹ Such extensive use of human sacrifices seldom occurred in the Zhou cultural sphere. These peculiar burial customs manifested in the Hengbei cemetery can possibly be related to the non-Zhou origin of the Peng lineage.

The occupants of tombs M1 and M2 had their heads directed to the west. The skeletons were not well preserved so that physical identification of the sexes was not possible. Each tomb was equipped with a wooden outer coffin (*guo* 槨) and two nested inner coffins (*guan* 棺). Each tomb also contained pieces of chariots that had been dismantled and placed atop the chamber or on an earthen platform inside the pit.¹⁰ The external coffin of M1 was covered with a red silk cloth, finely embroidered with large and small phoenix figures. Such textiles for coffins are referred to as *huangwei* 荒帷 in later ritual handbooks, but this is the first time they have been witnessed archaeologically.¹¹

In Tomb M1, skeletons of three human victims wrapped in reed mats were found in the burial chamber near the eastern side of the coffin. The burial chamber of M2 included skeletons of four other persons, two of whom were wrapped in mats, possibly made of bamboo, and had chariot ornaments near their feet. The third skeleton had already decayed, though its remains are said to have lain over some bronze objects—possibly also chariot ornaments. The excavators suppose that this might have been a charioteer. The fourth skeleton was that of a child.

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

⁸ Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di,” 18.

⁹ Cf. Qin Ying 秦穎 *et al.*, „Shanxi Jiangxian Hengbei Xi Zhou mudi rengu qian hanliang fenxi” 山西絳縣橫北西周墓地人骨鉛含量分析, *Wenwu* 2009.7: 42-7.

¹⁰ Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” 9, 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20, color plate 6:2. Reed mats covering the inner coffin have been discovered and identified as *huangwei* in tomb M8 at the cemetery of Ying state at Pingdingshan; see “Henan Pingdingshan Ying guo mudi ba hao mu fajue jianbao” 河南平頂山應國墓地八號墓發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 2007.7: 20-49.

In M2, horse-and-chariot ornaments, small and large jingle bells, axes and dagger-axes, clothing ornaments made of bronze, bone and wood, as well as jade pendants were placed along the northern outer side of the coffin. Ritual objects were arranged along the western side of the outer coffin in the following sequence from north to south: one pottery *li*-tripod, one bronze *pan*-basin, two *ding*-caldrons, one *he*-kettle, one *chan* 鏟-shovel, one jade scepter, one *gui*-tureen, one *jue* 爵-goblet, one *gu* 觚-goblet, one *zun* 尊-jar with a bronze plate decoration placed inside it, one fresh-water mussel shell, one lacquer vessel, five bronze *yongzhong* shank-bells, one carriage shaft, another sixteen fresh-water mussels shells, and one *yan*-steamer with one *you* 酉-pitcher placed inside it. Apart from one pottery *li* and one lacquer vessel, all other vessels in this set were made of bronze. Another bronze *ding*-caldron was placed near the northwestern corner of the coffin, and another bronze plate ornament was found in the southwestern corner.

Based on the burial inventories of the two tombs, the excavators identify the occupant of M2 as a male and the occupant of M1 as a female. Inscriptions on the vessels found in the tombs identify them as Pengbo 棚伯 or the First-born of Peng, and Bi Ji 畢姬, or Née Ji of Bi.

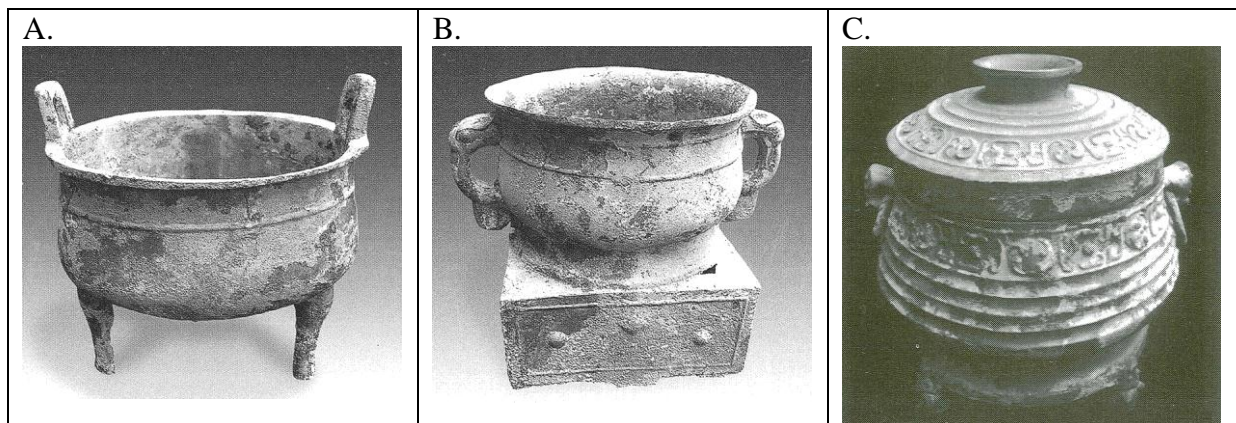


Figure 4.1 Objects from tomb M1 at Hengshui, Jiangxian, Shanxi

A. *Ding* tripod M1:212; B. *Gui* tureen M1: 199; C. *Gui* tureen M1: 205, after Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” fig. 11, 12 and “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi,” fig. 1.

Bronzes from M1 carry the following inscriptions:

棚伯作畢姬寶旅鼎

The First-born of Peng makes the treasured caldron for travels for Née Ji of Bi (*ding*-caldron M1: 212 as well as four other *ding* in the set);

棚伯作畢姬寶旅簋

The First-born of Peng makes the treasured tureen for travels for Née Ji of Bi (*gui*-tureen M1: 199, as well as several other *gui*);

唯廿又三年初吉戊戌。益公蔑棚伯禹歷。右告令金車旂。禹拜稽首對揚公休。用作朕考尊。禹其萬年永寶用享

It was the twenty-third year, first auspiciousness, day *wuxu*. Duke Yi praised the merits of Cheng, the First-born of Peng, and announced the command [to give Cheng] a metal chariot and a banner. Cheng bowed his head to the ground extolling in

response the beneficence of Duke Yi. [I] use [this occasion] to make [this] sacrificial vessel for my father. May Cheng eternally treasure and use it for offerings for ten thousand years! (*gui-tureen* M1: 205);

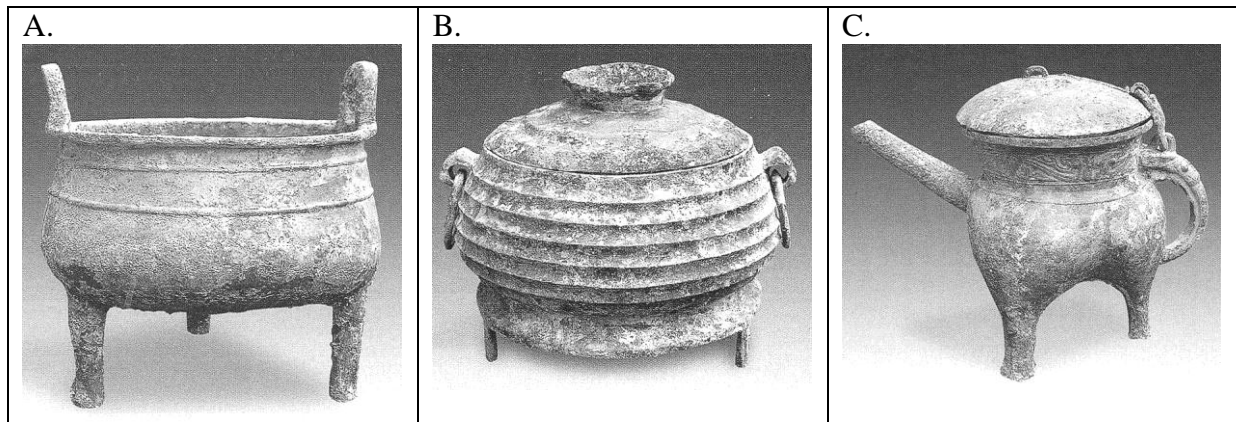


Figure 4.2 Objects from the tomb M2, at Hengshui, Jiangxian, Shanxi

A. *Ding* tripod M2: 57, B. *Gui* tureen M2: 62; C. *He* kettle M2: 61, after Shanxi sheng Kaoguxue yanjiusuo *et al*, “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” fig. 30, 31, 33.

Tomb M2 has also yielded several inscribed bronzes:

棚伯作畢姬尊鼎。其萬年寶。

The First-born of Peng makes the reverent cauldron for Née Ji of Bi. May it be treasured for ten thousand years! (*ding-cauldron* M2: 57).

棚伯肇作尊鼎。其萬年寶用享。

The First-born of Peng makes the reverent cauldron for the first time. May it be treasured and used for offerings for ten thousand years! (*ding-cauldron*, M2: 58).

唯五月初吉棚伯肇作寶鼎。其用享用考(孝)于朕文考。其萬年永用。

It was the fifth month, first auspiciousness, the First-born of Peng makes [this] treasured cauldron for the first time. May it be used for offerings and for filial piety towards my cultivated deceased father! May it be eternally used for ten thousand years! (*ding-cauldron*, M2: 103).

□□作寶盤其萬年永用

... makes the treasured basin. May it be eternally used for ten thousand years (*pan-basin*, M2: 65)

The inscriptions from M1 inform us that the First-born of Peng made a set of five *ding*-cauldrons and four *gui*-tureens for Née Ji of Bi. These objects were described as *li* 旅, i.e. objects “for travel.”¹² The presence of hairdressing ornaments and the absence of weapons in

¹² Some authors regard *li* as a special type of sacrifice, or translate it as “grand.” However, the definition *li* can be substituted by other words with similar meanings, e.g. *xing* 行 “to go, to travel,” *zheng* 征 “to campaign,” and *yu* 御 “to drive a carriage.” They appear on relatively small vessels that could easily be taken along on travels. For examples, see Maria Khayutina, “Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity,” *T’oung Pao* 96.1-3 (2010): 1-73, esp. 36 n. 87.

this tomb support the identification of the buried person as a female. Accordingly, the occupant of M1 has been reasonably identified as Née Ji of Bi. Interestingly, this tomb also contained a set of bells. This is the first occurrence of bells in a Western Zhou tomb occupied by a woman. The First-born of Peng, who commissioned several bronzes for Bi Ji, must be her husband. The inscription on the *gui*-turen M1:205 found in Bi Ji's tomb identifies his name as Cheng 甬. During the Western Zhou period, rulers of principalities and their spouses were usually buried in pairs.¹³ Hence, the male buried beside Bi Ji's tomb must be Pengbo Cheng. Tomb M2 has yielded one cauldron dedicated by the First-born of Peng to Bi Ji and designated as *zun* 尊 “reverent.” Whereas objects “for travel” were made for living persons, “reverent” vessels were normally made for the deceased.¹⁴ This suggests that Cheng outlived his wife and that tomb M2 dates later than M1.

Comparing the bronzes from Hengbei to the objects from the cemetery of Jin rulers at Tianma-Qucun 天馬曲村, the excavators observe that Peng tombs M1 and M2 date later than tombs M32-33 and earlier than tombs M91-92 in the Jin cemetery.¹⁵ These Jin tombs have been dated to the later part of middle Western Zhou and to late Western Zhou respectively; i.e., approximately the first half of the ninth century B.C.¹⁶ However, the excavators of Hengbei then go on to conclude that the Peng tombs date to the end of the reign of the fifth Western Zhou king, Mu 穆 (r. 956-923 B.C.) or slightly later, much earlier than the Tianma-Qucun comparisons would suggest.¹⁷

This dating is based on the topology of Western Zhou bronzes published by Li Feng 李豐 in 1988.¹⁸ It acknowledges the shift of focus of ritual assemblages from vessels for

¹³ For this custom, see Jay Xu, “The Cemetery of the Western Zhou Lords of Jin,” *Artibus Asiae*, 56. 3/4 (1996): 193-231, esp. 200; Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles, 2006), esp. pp. 111-123.

¹⁴ For examples, see Zhongguo Kexue yanjiuyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (hereafter *Jicheng*), 18 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984-1994); *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng shiwen* 殷周金文集成釋文, 6 vols. (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2001); Zhang Yachu 張亞初, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng yinde* 殷周金文集成引得 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001); electronic Chinese Ancient Texts Database CHANT, Chinese University of Hong Kong at <http://www.chant.org>, and Academia Sinica “Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions” *Yin Zhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliao ku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫 at <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>, hereafter cited as “*Jicheng*.”

¹⁵ Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di,” 19.

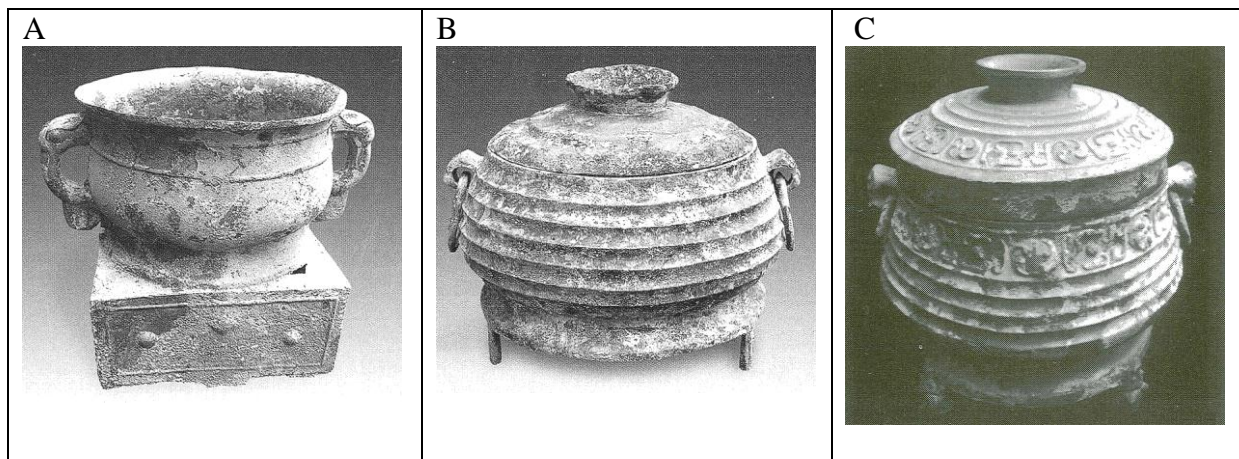
¹⁶ The excavators of the Jin cemetery date M32-33 to the later part of Middle Western Zhou and M91-92 to the earlier part of Late Western Zhou. They suggest that the occupants of M33 (Jin Hou Boma 晉侯燹馬) and of M91 (Jin Hou Xifu 晉侯喜父) were related as father and son; Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo and Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di san ci fajue” 天馬——曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第三次發掘, *Wenwu* 文物 1994.8, 22-34. Furthermore, they identify Xifu with Jing Hou 靖侯 (r. 858-840 BC).

¹⁷ I agree with David Nivison and Edward Shaughnessy that King Mu's reign did not last fifty-five years; David N. Nivison, “Dates of Western Chou,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43 (1983): 481-580, esp. 539-53; Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 245-54; Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Chronologies of Ancient China: A Critique of the ‘Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project,’” in Clara Wing-chung Ho ed., *Windows on the Chinese World: Reflections by Five Historians* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), p. 24. As the *Xian gui* 鮮簋 inscription testifies, King Mu reigned at least 34 years (*Jicheng* #10166: 34th year, 4th month, after the full moon, day *wuxu* 戊戌 [55]); the inscription mentions sacrifices performed by the reigning king to King Zhao 昭, i.e. King Mu's father. 956 B.C., regarded by both Nivison and Shaughnessy as the first year of King Mu, seems acceptable in light of currently available sources. For the end date of King Mu's reign, see the discussion below.

¹⁸ Li Feng 李豐, “Huanghe liuyu Xi Zhou muzang chutu qingtong liqi de fenqi yu niandai” 黃河流域西周墓葬出土青銅禮器的分期與年代, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1988.4: 383-418.

alcoholic beverages to vessels for meat and grain, understood in the Western literature as a part of the “ritual revolution” or “ritual reform.”¹⁹ Li Feng assumes that this turn took place during the reign of King Gong 恭 (r. 922-900 BC).²⁰ Since tomb M2 of the Hengbei cemetery has yielded *gu*-goblets and *jue*-beakers, the excavators conclude that it should date before or at the beginning of King Gong’s reign. However, although the “ritual reform” began during this reign, it was not accomplished during this single reign. Rather, the new standard became firmly established only towards 850 B.C.²¹ If Peng accepted the Zhou sumptuary rules, it can only be said that tomb M2 dates before 850 B.C. Besides, the *ding*-cauldrons and *gui*-tureens from the Hengbei tombs display a number of features that became current starting only from the reign of King Gong or even later.

In particular, the cauldrons from both M1 and M2 have relatively shallow bellies, flat bottoms and thin cabriolet legs. They have no decor other than one or two high-relief ribbons just below the rim (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). This shape, usually in combination with similar minimalist decor, is manifested in a number of standard vessels from King Gong’s reign, but is not typical of earlier periods.²² The *gui*-tureens commissioned by Pengbo for Bi Ji look archaic due to their square bases (e.g. M1:199; Figure 4.3A). Tureens with a square base were current especially during the early and middle Western Zhou periods. However, they were occasionally cast later as a reminiscence of an ancient tradition.²³ The earlier *gui* with square base are usually quite massive and their surfaces are completely filled with zoomorphic and geometric patterns (cf. Figure 4.3B). In contrast, the *gui*-tureen M1:199 manifests the same decorative minimalism as the *ding*-cauldrons from both M1 and M2. The very simple style of the tureen M1:199 and the tripods might result from the lack of ability of Peng craftsmen and cannot be regarded as decisive in establishing the date of Peng tombs, since other tureens from the two tombs display even more distinctive late features.



¹⁹ Cf. Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archaeology,” in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy ed., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 352–449, esp. 360; Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 56-64.

²⁰ For King Gong’s dates, see below.

²¹ Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 56-64.

²² For example, the *Jue Cao ding* and Fifth year *Wei ding* 衛鼎 (*Jicheng* #2831-2, Dongjia, Qishan County, Shaanxi; 5th year of King Gong). For descriptions and images, see Jessica Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1990), Vol. IIB, pp. 281-83. Undecorated *ding* appear earlier, especially on the Zhou periphery. But earlier pieces usually have slender legs only slightly narrowing toward the bottom, whereas cabriolet legs in combination with a flat-bottomed body represent a relatively late feature.

²³ See Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, *Zhongguo qingtongqi* 中國青銅器 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1988), pp. 131-32 and 138-140, figs. 25-32; Rawson, *Western Zhou Ritual Bronzes*, Vol. IIA, pp. 104-06.

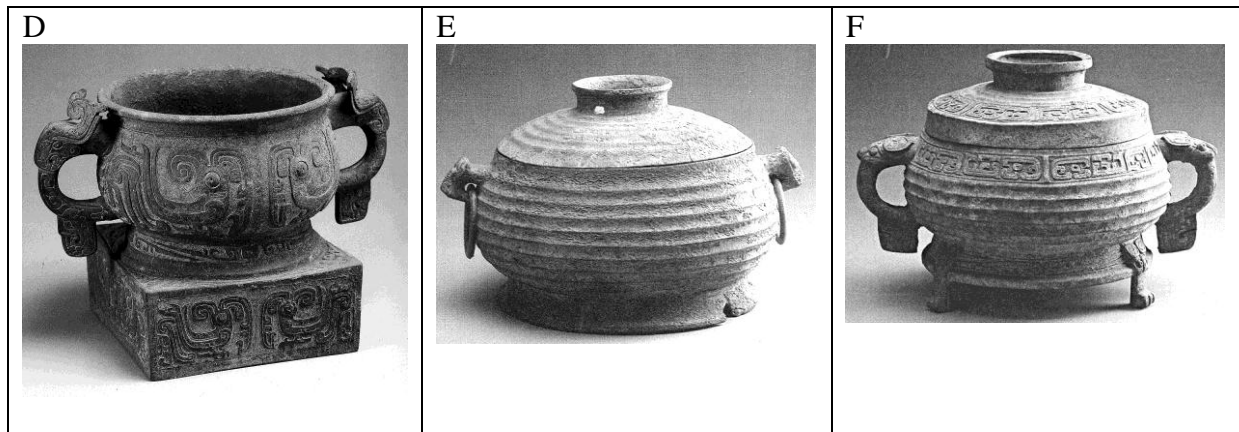


Figure 4.3 Tureens from Peng tombs M1 and M2 and their Parallels

A, C. Tureens M1: 199 and M1: 205 from Hengbei tomb M1, after Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” fig. 11, 12; B. Tureen M2: 62 from Hengbei tomb M2, after Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” fig. 31; D. Early to mid-Western Zhou square-based tureen *Meng gui* 孟簋 (cf. *Jicheng* #4163, Zhangjiapo 張家坡, Changan County, Shaanxi), after *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji bianji weiyuanhui: Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* 中國青銅器全集 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1993-1998), 5: 60; E. *Xun gui* 旬簋 (cf. *Jicheng* #4321, Sipo 寺坡, Lantian 蘭田, Shaanxi, King Gong’s reign), after Li Xixing 李西興, *Shaanxi qingtongqi* 陝西青銅器 (Xi’an: Shaanxi Renmin meishu, 1994), fig. 70; F. First year *Shi Shi gui* 師簋 (cf. *Jicheng* #4281, Zhangjiapo 張家坡, Mawangzhen 馬王鎮, Xi’an Chang’an qu 西安長安區, supposedly, reign of King Yi [865-858 B.C.]), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 78.

The tureens M1:205 and M2:62 have a ring base supported by three small zoomorphic legs. Their bodies and lids are decorated with relief ribbon (*wawen* 瓦文) ornament, which spread starting from the middle Western Zhou period, especially the reign of King Gong (cf. Figure 4.4A, C, E).²⁴ Additionally, the tureen M1:205 has ornamental ribbons in the upper register of the body and on the periphery of the cover. Instead of handles, it has small zoomorphic lugs pierced with rings, also popular during the reign of King Gong (cf. Figure 4.4A, C, E). The tureen M2:62 finds parallels in standard vessels of King Gong’s reign (cf. Figure 4.3E, F). The lid of M1:212 has an elevated base (Figure 4.3C). Lids with elevated base occasionally appear on tureens from the beginning of the ninth century B.C. (cf. Figure 4.3F and Figure 4.4F).²⁵ In sum, art-historical features widely manifested during the reign of King Gong or later predominate in the assemblages of Peng tombs M1 and 2. This strongly suggests that the Peng tombs were closed during King Gong’s reign or later; i.e., during the late tenth or first half of the ninth century B.C.

The inscription on the tureen M1:212 sets the *terminus post quem* for the closure of tomb M1. It commemorates the donation of a chariot to Pengbo Cheng by Duke Yi 益公. This event is dated to a twenty-third year. As usual, the inscription does not specify the name of the Western Zhou king whose year-count it uses.

²⁴ Ma Chengyuan, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, pp. 133 and 141-42, figs. 40-43, 50-51.

²⁵ *Chu gui* 楚簋 (*Jicheng* #4246, Renbei 任北, Sufang 蘇坊, Wugong 武功, Shaanxi; LWZ) may serve as another example of this feature. For the image see Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, *Shaanxi chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi* 陝西出土商周青銅器 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1979), fig. 4:122.

Yi 益, literally “advantageous,” was applied to individuals in two ways.²⁶ First, it could be used as a posthumous temple name for ancestors.²⁷ Second, similar to epithets such as *mu* 穆 “Reverent” or *wu* 武 “Martial,” *Yi* was also used as an honorific byname of one distinguished person, Duke Yi, during his lifetime.²⁸

Inscriptions representing Duke Yi as a living person date to the ninth, the twelfth, and the seventeenth years and are regarded as standard inscriptions of King Gong’s reign (see Appendix Table 4.2). The stylistic similarity of the dated and undated vessels, especially tureens, with inscriptions mentioning Duke Yi supports that all of them are roughly contemporary (Figure 4.4A, C-F).

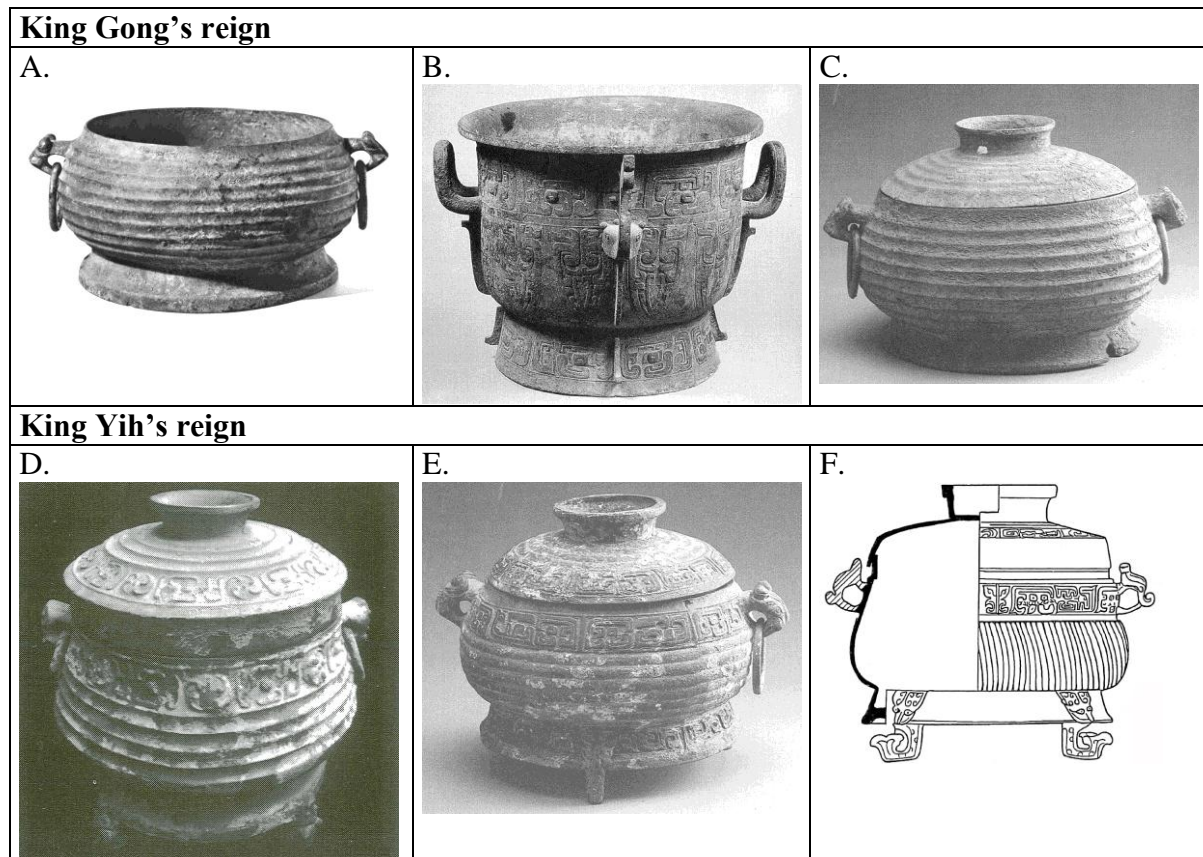


Figure 4.4 Vessels with Inscriptions Mentioning Duke Yi.

Vessels dating from the reign of King Gong: A. *Guaibo gui* 𦍋白簋, dated to the 9th year (cf. *Jicheng* #4331), after Shanghai Museum: *Shanghai bowuguan cang de qingtongqi* 上海博物館藏的青銅器 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964), fig. 54; B. *Yongyu* 永

²⁶ Pre-Qin literature never mentions an Yi lineage. Geographical descriptions from the Han period or later also do not give a place-name Yi from which this lineage could derive its name.

²⁷ Vessels commissioned by Li 盞 and discovered in Lijiacun 李家村 in 1955 (cf. *Jicheng* #6013, Lijiacun, Meixian 郟縣, Shaanxi; MWZ) were dedicated to an ancestor Yi Gong 益公 (Duke Yi). As the inscription on the *Qiu pan* 逌盤 from the hoard at Lijiacun discovered in 2003 shows, Li belonged to the Shan 單 lineage and was active during the reigns of Kings Zhao and Mu. However, the temple name Yi Gong does not appear in the *Qiu pan* inscription. Possibly, it corresponds to *Gongshu* 公叔, “Duke’s Third-born,” who was active during the reign of King Cheng. It is not clear why the name of an ancestor had been changed. One may wonder whether this might be due to the fact that during the reigns of Mu and Gong the byname Yi Gong (Duke Yi) became associated with a prominent royal official.

²⁸ Yang Yachang 楊亞長, “Jinwen suo jian zhi Yi-gong Mu-gong yu Wu-gong kao” 金文所見之益公穆公與武公考, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2004.6: 71-75.

盂, dated to the 12th year (cf. *Jicheng* #10322, Hubinzhen 湖濱鎮, Lantian, Shaanxi), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 219 C. *Xun gui* 旬簋, dated to the 17th year (cf. *Jicheng* #4321, Sipo 寺坡, Lantian, Shaanxi), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 70; D. Hengbei M1:205, *Pengbo Cheng gui* 棚伯甬簋, dated to the 23rd year, after Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” fig. 12. Vessels dating from the reign of King Yi: E. *Wang Chen gui* 王臣簋, dated to the 2nd year (cf. *Jicheng* #4268, Chuanyecun 串業村, Chengcheng 澄城, Shaanxi), after *Shaanxi qingtongqi*, fig. 71; F. *Shi Dao gui* 師道簋 (Xiaoheishigou 小黑石溝, Ningchen 寧城, Chifeng 赤峰, Inner Mongolia), dated to the 7th year, after Neimenggu zizhiqu Wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo *et al*, *Xiaoheishigou: Xiajiadian shang ceng wenhua yizhi fajue baogao* 小黑石溝: 夏家店上層文化遺址發掘報告 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2009), fig. 301.

According to the chronology of Western Zhou reigns proposed by Edward Shaughnessy and accepted by most western Sinologists during the last two decades, King Gong reigned from 917 to 900 B.C.²⁹ Earlier, David Nivison had proposed 922/920-904 as King Gong’s dates.³⁰ The dates of the three inscriptions mentioning Duke Yi during the ninth through seventeenth years are compatible with a year-count starting either from 917 or 922 B.C.³¹ However, the inscription on the *Zouma Xiu pan* 走馬休盤, dated to the twentieth year and also mentioning Duke Yi, suggests that King Gong reigned at least twenty years. The art-historical features of the *Xiu pan* as well as of a *gui*-tureen commissioned by the same person support their middle Western Zhou date.³² Considering this evidence, the Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project chaired by Li Xueqin 李學勤 suggested 922-900 B.C. as dates for King Gong’s reign.³³ The date of the *Zouma Xiu pan* is compatible with all other standard inscriptions of King Gong and they all fit the reconstructed calendar starting with 922 B.C. (cf. Appendix, Table 4.1). The newly discovered *Pengbo Cheng gui* also suggests that King Gong’s reign lasted twenty-three years from 922 until 900 B.C.³⁴

900 B.C., regarded as the last year of King Gong also by Shaughnessy, is verified by the inscriptions on the *Shi Hu gui* 師虎簋 and *Hu gui* 忽簋, both dated to the first year of King Yih 懿 (899/97-873). King Yih’s year-count is, in its turn, verified by the “King’s Servant’s tureen,” *Wang Chen gui* 王臣簋, dated to 898 B.C. (see Appendix Table 4.3). The latter

²⁹ See Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, 254-5.

³⁰ See Nivison, “Dates of Western Chou,” 556.

³¹ Zhang Peiyu 張培瑜, *Zhongguo xian Qin shi libiao* 中國現秦史歷表 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1987), p. 52.

³² The *Xiu gui* 休簋 (*Jicheng* #3609, MWZ) is a classic mid-Western Zhou tureen, most similar to the *Qiu Wei gui* (cf. Image 4.3A2). Both *pan* and *gui* are dedicated to Xiu’s father Fu Ding 父丁 / *wen kao ri* Ding 文考日丁, which makes evident that they were commissioned by the same person.

³³ See Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjia zu, *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng 1996-2000 nian jieduan chengguo baogao* 夏商周斷代工程 1996 代工程 IN 年階段成果報告 (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2001), 36; Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Lun Xi Zhou zhong qi zhi wan qi chu jinwen de zuhe” 論西周中期至晚期初金文的組合, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰綫 2000.4: 262-7. 922 B.C. as the date of the beginning of King Gong’s reign conforms to the reconstructed calendar of King Mu beginning in 956 B.C. as suggested by Shaughnessy. (cf. Xia Hanyi 夏含夷, “Cong Zuocuo Wu he zai kan Zhou Mu-wang zai wei nianshu ji niandai wenti” 从作册吴盂再看周穆王在位年數及年代問題, in Zhu Fenghan ed., *Xin chu jinwen yu Xi Zhou lishi* 新出金文與西周歷史 [Shanghai: Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2011], pp. 52-55). See also Appendix, Table 4.1.

³⁴ The *Pengbo Cheng gui* omits the month number and dates the event only with “first auspiciousness” and the day *dingyou* 丁酉 (34). This day can be found at the beginning of the second, the fourth, the sixth and the eighth months of 900 B.C. (cf. Appendix Table 4.2).

vessel also bears an inscription mentioning Duke Yi and shares many art-historical features with the *Pengbo Cheng gui* (Figure 4.4E).

Given that Pengbo Cheng received a chariot from Duke Yi during the twenty-third year, i.e., the last year of King Gong (900 B.C.), the Peng tombs should date from roughly the first quarter of the ninth century B.C. Therefore, the following discussion concerning the situation of the Peng lineage and the relationships between the Zhou and non-Zhou lineages is particularly relevant for the late tenth–early ninth centuries B.C.

Peng Pottery and Connections to Peoples of the North

The tombs of Pengbo and Bi Ji contain typical objects used by the aristocracy in rituals of ancestral worship throughout the Zhou cultural sphere. These include bronze vessels for cooking and serving meat and grain; for warming, pouring and drinking beer;³⁵ and for performing the hand-washing ritual. Tomb M1, occupied by Bi Ji, has also yielded thirteen pottery vessels with slightly squeezed globular bodies and three hollow, “breast-shaped” legs (*ruxing zu* 乳形足). Such vessels are usually referred to in archaeological reports as *san zu weng* 三足瓮 (“three-footed jars”), or *dai zu weng* 袋足瓮 (“pocket-footed jars”). In addition to these, three large jars with trumpet-shaped neck with a very wide rim, classified as *da kou zun* 大口尊 (“large-mouthed *zun*”) have been found in the same tomb (see Figure 4.5).

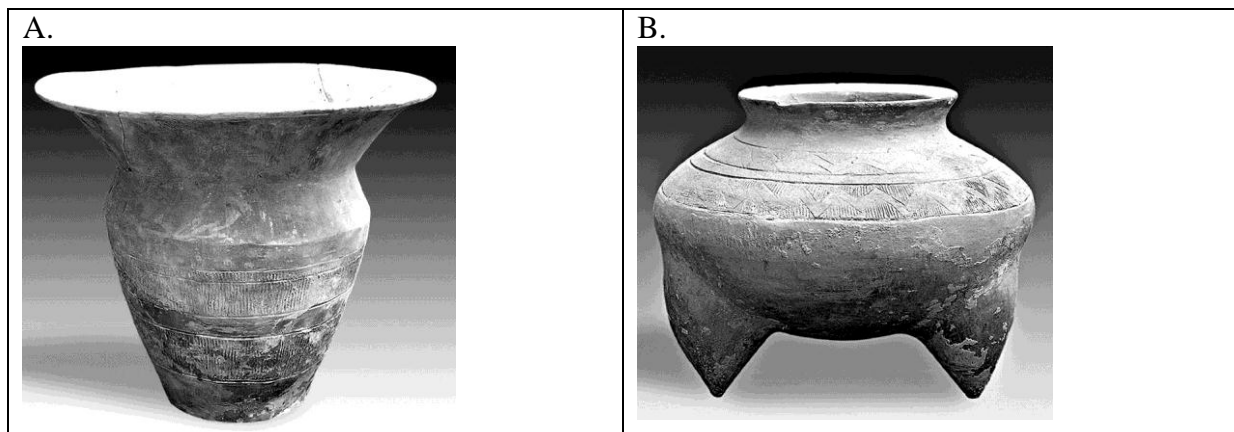


Figure 4.5 Pottery Vessels from Hengbei M1

A. *Da kou zun*; B. *San zu weng*, after Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” fig. 15-16.

Both *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* seldom occur in elite tombs of the Western Zhou period and have never before been found in a tomb in such large number. Their position at the top of the wooden rack inside the pit may also suggest that they were more highly valued than the bronzes placed on the lower shelves. The fact that such a prominent place was allotted to these pottery vessels in the tomb of Bi Ji may be related to the cultural self-identification of the Peng lineage.

San zu weng have been found in a small number of mid-sized tombs in the Jin cemetery at Tianma-Qucun, normally one per tomb. As Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹 points out, the occupants

³⁵ The alcoholic beverage often translated as “wine” in Sinological literature was in fact a kind of beer; see Thomas Höllmann, *Schlafender Lotus, trunkenes Huhn: Kulturgeschichte der chinesischen Küche* (München: Beck, 2010), pp. 145-47.

of these tombs were all female (see Figure 4.6A, D, F, G).³⁶ One pottery and one bronze *san zu weng* have been discovered in the large tomb M113 at Tianma-Qucun, supposedly occupied by the spouse of the ruler of Jin buried in the adjacent tomb M114 (see Figure 4.6E). The latter two tombs represent the earliest burials of the Jin rulers discovered so far. The excavators date them to the transition between the Early and Middle Western Zhou periods; i.e., to the first half of the tenth century B.C.³⁷

M113 also yielded another vessel, obviously foreign to the Zhou repertoire: a bronze double-handled jar *shuang er guan* 雙耳罐. As Lothar von Falkenhausen comments:

since bronze specimens of these vessel types have never been found in the cultures where their ceramic prototypes originated, the two specimens from Tomb 113 were made at Jin foundries in imitation of ceramics the tomb occupant brought from her home. ... Neither *san zu weng* nor *shuang'er guan* fulfilled a function that could not have been easily accomplished by established vessel types of the Zhou ceramic repertoire. This suggests that their significance in Zhou contexts was symbolic rather than utilitarian and increases the likelihood that they served to signify their possessors' ethnic origin.³⁸

A pottery *san zu weng* was found another time in tomb M92 at Tianma-Qucun, supposedly occupied by the spouse of Jin Hou Xifu 晉侯喜父 and dated to the late ninth century B.C. This time it was combined with a with a *da kou zun*. Both vessels were prominently placed outside the inner coffin on the left-hand side of the deceased woman, whereas all standard Zhou ritual bronze vessels were placed at the foot side of the coffin.³⁹ *Da kou zun* are found also in some other tombs of Jin rulers' spouses, but never in the rulers' tombs. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that not only *san zu weng* and *shuang er guan*, but also *da kou zun* fulfilled symbolic functions in burials of elite women married to the rulers of Jin and Peng.⁴⁰

Apart from the Tianma-Qucun and Hengbei cemeteries, pottery *san zu weng* have sometimes appeared in elite tombs of the Western Zhou period in other places. One *san zu weng* with a lid has been found in the early Western Zhou tomb M54 of the Yan 燕 cemetery at Liulihe 琉璃河 near Beijing (Figure 4.6B). The tomb was furnished with a wooden burial chamber and one coffin. Two human victims were placed in the space between them. Burial goods included pieces of a chariot, bronze and pottery vessels, jade and stone decorations.

³⁶ See Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹, "Jin hou mudi qingtongqi suo jian xingbie yanjiu de xin xiansuo" 晉侯墓地青銅器所見性別研究的新線索, in Shanghai bowuguan ed., *Jin-hou mudi chutu qingtongqi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 晉侯墓地出土青銅器國際學術討論會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2002), 157-96.

³⁷ Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di liu ci fajue" 天馬——曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第六次發掘, *Wenwu* 2001.8: 4-21, 55, esp. 21. Lothar von Falkenhausen dates the tomb to the mid-tenth century B.C.; see Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 211.

³⁸ Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 212.

³⁹ Cf. Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di wu ci fajue" 天馬——曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第五次發掘, *Wenwu* 文物 1995.7: 4-39, esp. 11.

⁴⁰ Sun Zhanwei 孫戰偉 has recently revealed that *da kou zun* as exotic objects had some extraordinary functions in Zhou culture. These functions were different in metropolitan Zhou and in Shanxi. In Shanxi, these vessels were mostly associated with burials of females. See Sun Zhanwei, "Xi Zhou tao da kou zun leixing ji qi fenbu tezheng" 西周陶大口尊類型及其分布特徵, *Wenbo* 文博 2010.6: 23-28.

The rich burial goods point to the high status of the deceased. The skeleton of the main occupant of the tomb had decayed and the sex could not be identified.⁴¹

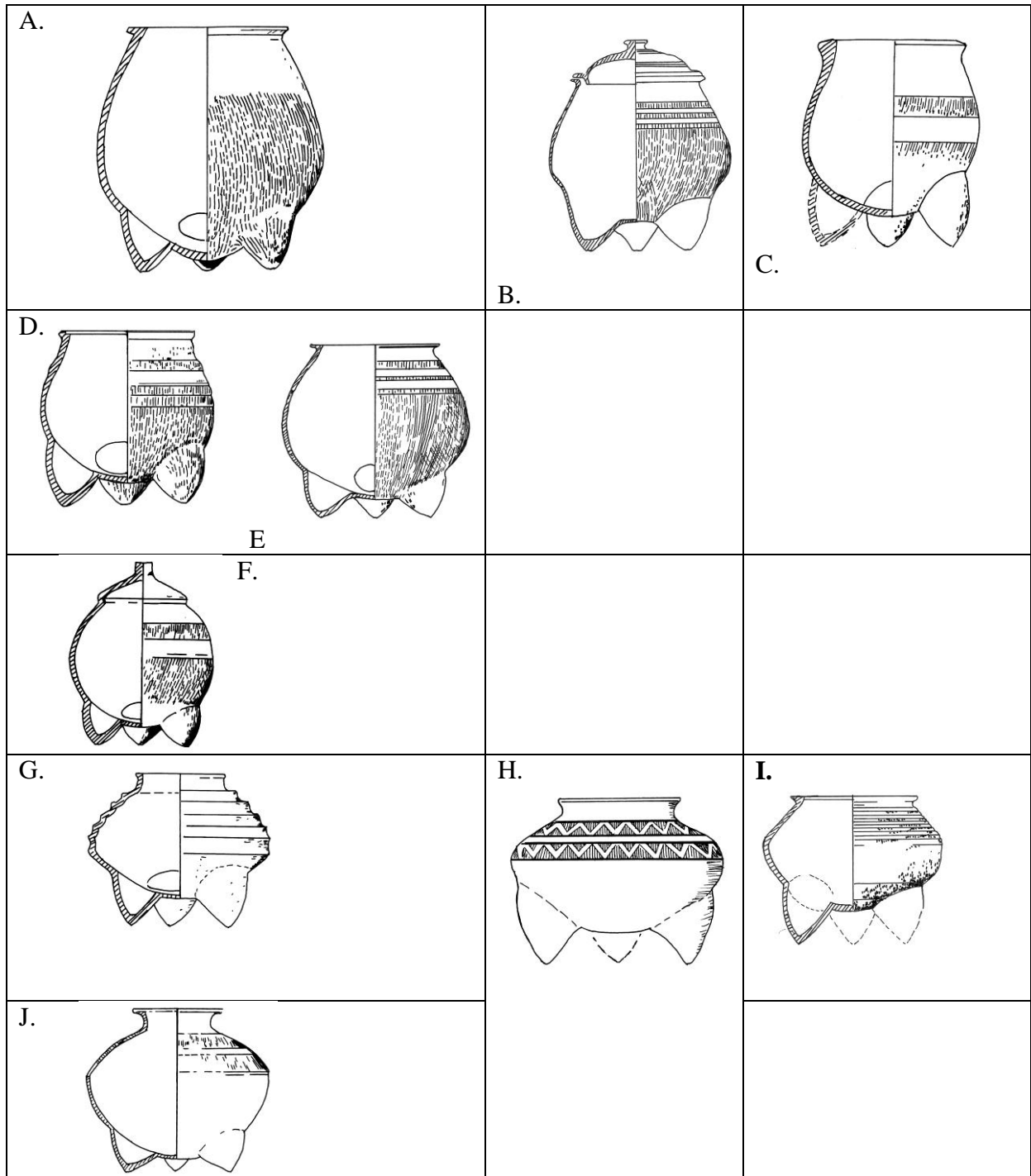


Figure 4.6 Three-Legged *Weng* in Western Zhou Tombs

A. Tianma-Qucun Tomb M6136, Phase I, EWZ; B. Liulihe Tomb M54, Phase I, EWZ; C. Yongningpu Tomb NDM14, EWZ; D, E. Tianma-Qucun Tombs M6049 and M113, Phase II,

⁴¹ Adjacent tombs M52 and M53 both contained many bronze weapons. In contrast, tomb M54 contained no weapons but many personal ornaments and hence probably belonged to a woman. See Beijing Wenwu yanjiusuo, “Liulihe Yan guo mudi 琉璃河燕國墓地,” in Su Tianjun 蘇天鈞 ed., *Beijing kaogu jicheng* 11 北京考古集成 11 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), pp. 3-302, esp. 20-5.

early MWZ; F. Tianma-Qucun Tomb M7093, Phase III, MWZ; G. Tianma-Qucun Tomb M7113, Phase IV, MWZ (King Gong's reign); H. Hengbei M1, MWZ (King Gong's reign); I. Qijiacun H90 (supposedly originally M33), late MWZ; J. Tianma-Qucun M92, LWZ (mid-ninth c. B.C.). A, D, F, G after Cf. Zou Heng 鄒衡 ed., *Tianma-Qucun: 1980-1989* 天馬—曲村: 1980—1989 (Beijing: Kexue, 2000), 4 Vols., Vol. 1, fig. 498; B after Beijing Wenwu yanjiusuo, "Liulihe Yan guo mudi," fig. 69:8; C after Shanxi sheng Wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui *et al.*, "Shanxi Hongtong Yongningpu Xi Zhou muzang," fig. 16; E after Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di liu ci fajue," fig. 33; H after Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao," fig. 16; I after Zhouyuan Kaogu gongzuodui, "2002 nian Zhouyuan yizhi (Qijiacun) fajue jianbao," fig. 4; J after Beijing daxue Kaoguxue xi and Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di wu ci fajue," fig. 12.

One other *san zu weng* has been found in the early Zhou tomb NDM14 at Yongningpu 永凝堡 in Hongtong 洪洞 County, Shanxi (Figure 4.6C).⁴² The excavators suppose that this cemetery belonged to the Yang 楊 lineage that traditional sources indicate was located in the Hongtong area.⁴³ Pottery and bronze vessels from Yongningpu mostly correspond to Zhou standards, though some tombs contain certain unusual objects. Tomb NDM14 had a burial chamber with one coffin and included pieces of a chariot, bronze and pottery vessels, and agate, stone and bone ornaments, suggesting the person buried in it—identified as a female on the basis of bone analysis—was of an elevated status.⁴⁴

San zu weng occasionally appear also in tombs on the Zhou Plain of Shaanxi province where the main Zhou royal residence was located.⁴⁵ One three-legged jar was found together with one pottery *shuang er guan* at Qijiacun 齊家村 in Fufeng 扶鳳 county (Figure 4.6J). These vessels originally belonged to the relatively large middle-sized tomb M33, dated to the later part of the middle Western Zhou period, but destroyed and robbed during the late Western Zhou period.⁴⁶ The skeleton of the deceased was not preserved, so identification of its sex is not possible. But in the late Western Zhou tomb in the Zhuangli 莊李 cemetery in Fufeng county that yielded another *san zu weng*, the deceased has been identified as a female by anthropological analysis.⁴⁷ This case confirms, that in the Zhou metropolitan region, *san zu weng* also appear in tombs of females.

⁴² Shanxi sheng Wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui and Hongtong xian Wenwu ju, "Shanxi Hongtong Yongningpu Xi Zhou muzang" 山西洪洞永凝堡西周墓葬, *Kaogu* 考古 1987.2: 1-16, esp. 4.

⁴³ Zhang Sulin 張素琳, "Jinnan diqu Xi Zhou muzang chutan" 晉南地區西周墓葬初探, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 1998.1: 36-43, esp. 40.

⁴⁴ Shanxi sheng Wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui and Hongtong xian Wenwu ju, "Shanxi Hongtong Yongningpu Xi Zhou muzang," 4.

⁴⁵ For the location and functions of royal residences, see Khayutina, "Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity."

⁴⁶ Tomb M33 was at least four times larger than the adjacent tomb M16 (ca. 1.2 x 2.6 m²). Judging by its size, it originally should have contained rich burial goods, including bronzes. But during the late Western Zhou period, the ash-pit H90 was dug on top of it, and anything valuable was probably stolen, whereas the damaged pottery vessels were left in place. Hence, the vessels are attributed to the pit, not to the tomb in the archaeological report. See Zhouyuan Kaogu gongzuodui, "2002 nian Zhouyuan yizhi (Qijiacun) fajue jianbao" 2002 年周原遺址(齊家村)發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2003.4: 3-9.

⁴⁷ Zhouyuan Kaogu gongzuodui, "Shaanxi Fufeng xian Zhouyuan yizhi Zhuangli Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao" 陝西扶風周原遺址莊李西周墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 考古 2008.12: 1-22, esp. 17, 20.

Although *san zu weng* have been found in many different places located at a great distance from one another, they share common features and display similar changes over time (see Figure 4.6). All of them have hollow legs set wide apart from each other. Earlier specimens have nearly globular bodies without a neck and with a relatively wide rim, whereas mid- to late Western Zhou *san zu weng* are slightly squeezed, have a short neck, and a comparatively narrow rim. The vessels are often decorated with horizontal relief ribbons, or with ribbons composed of triangles. Either the whole ribbons, or only the triangles are usually filled with parallel vertical lines incised into the clay before burning.

In sum, in cemeteries of Zhou lineages, *san zu weng* usually appear in tombs of women of high status. They represent rare and exotic elements in comparison to the standard local repertoire of ritual vessels. Considering the similarities in appearance of the *san zu weng* found in different places in tombs of females and not typical for the tombs of the local population nor found in the local settlement deposits, it is likely that women buried with *san zu weng* were migrants who belonged to mutually related cultural groups. The fact that such objects appear only in large, i.e. elite tombs, suggests that these women were not slaves captured during wars against aliens, but enjoyed a high status in the receiving societies. These women possibly belonged to elites of external, non-Zhou lineages. Their presence can only be explained by marriage to elite Zhou men, which was indeed politically relevant. This means that during the early and middle Western Zhou period both metropolitan elites and Zhou colonists concluded marital alliances with these women's native groups. In the tombs of the female non-Zhou migrants, *san zu weng* plausibly played a symbolic role, emphasizing the owner's cultural identity, as suggested by Falkenhausen. But where did these women come from?

Falkenhausen further mentions that both *shuang er guan* and *san zu weng*:

were established among the farmers and pastoralists, both sedentary, who flourished in the transitional zone between the agricultural core of China and the Central Eurasian steppes (Shaanxi, Southern Inner Mongolia, and northern Shanxi). The archaeological cultures associated with these populations go back to the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age – many centuries before any part of this area came under the control of polities governed by lineages of the Ji clan, and before any indications of urban civilization, an aristocratic rank order, or ancestral ritual ever became locally manifest.⁴⁸

This observation calls forth further questions. Did the women buried with *san zu weng* during the Western Zhou period come from societies residing far in the north? Why were Zhou colonists interested in entering marital alliances with them? And why do such objects appear in the tomb of the ruler of Pengbo Cheng's spouse, who was not a non-Zhou woman, but a daughter of a noble Ji-surnamed lineage?

Chinese archaeologists trace the origin of the pottery *san zu weng* with hollow legs to the Zhukaigou 朱開溝 culture, named after the Zhukaigou settlement on the Ordos Plateau in Ejin Horo 伊金霍洛 banner, Ikh Juu 伊克昭 League of Inner Mongolia.⁴⁹ Zhukaigou was a

⁴⁸ Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 212.

⁴⁹ Cf. Katheryn M. Linduff, Emma C. Bunker, and Wu En, "An Archaeological Overview," in *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1997), pp. 21-22; Wu En Yuesitu 烏恩岳斯圖, *Beifang caoyuan kaogu xue wenhua yanjiu* 北方草原考古學文化研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 61-93; Yang Zemeng 楊澤蒙, "Zhukaigou wenhua yinsu fenxi ji yu zhoulin diqu kaoguxue wenhua de guanxi" 朱開溝文化因素分析及與周鄰地區考古學文化關

large residential center occupied since ca. 2000 B.C. and abandoned about 1250 B.C.⁵⁰ Its inhabitants led sedentary lives, combined agriculture and animal husbandry, and learned bronze-casting technology about the eighteenth century B.C. About the mid-second millennium B.C., the Zhukaigou culture dominated the Ordos Plateau, southern Inner Mongolia outside the bend of the Yellow River, and the northern parts of Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces. At the same time it established contacts with the early Shang culture, and, possibly, some migrants from Shang resided in the Zhukaigou settlement.⁵¹

The Zhukaigou potters created a considerable variety of *san zu weng*, including egg-shaped, nearly globular, as well as specimens characterized by a straighter narrowing body. All of them had hollow legs (see Figure 4.8A). *Shuang er guan* also belonged to the ceramic repertoire of the Zhukaigou culture. The bearers of this culture were these “farmers and pastoralists” referred to in the passage quoted above. However, the geographical and chronological gap between the Zhukaigou people and those who could see *san zu weng* as a part of their cultural identity on the edge of the tenth and ninth century B.C. is clearly too big to suppose a direct connection between them. Who transmitted the Zhukaigou tradition to posterity and where did they reside?

Zhukaigou pottery types, including the *san zu weng*, appear in various places. These include Dakou 大口 on the western bank of the Yellow River near Hequ 河曲 in southern Inner Mongolia (see Figure 4.8B),⁵² the Shimao 石峁 and Xinhua 新華 sites in Shenmu 神木 county, Shaanxi province (see Figure 4.8C),⁵³ and Yudaohé 峪道河 in Fenyang 汾陽 county on the southeastern foot of the Lüliang Mountains 呂梁山 in Shanxi (see Figure 4.8D).⁵⁴ Further south, egg-shaped *san zu weng* were adopted by the Dongxiafeng 東下馮 culture (or the Dongxiafeng variant of the Erlitou culture) centered on the Yuncheng Plain in the middle course of Sushui River and spreading along the lower course of the Fen River *circa* 1800-1500 B.C. The Dongxiafeng culture was present in the upper course of the Sushui River from *circa* 1600 B.C.⁵⁵ This was the area where the Peng lineage resided during the middle and late Western Zhou periods.

係, in Tian Guangjin 田廣金 *et al.* ed., *Daihai kaogu (2) – Zhong Ri Daihai diqu kaocha yanjiu baogao ji* 岱海考古(二): 中日岱海地區考察研究報告集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2001), pp. 411-453. For the full archaeological excavation report, see Neimenggu zizhiq Wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Eerduosi bowuguan, *Zhukaigou: Qingtongqi shidai zaoqi yizhi fajue baogao* 竹開溝. 青銅器時代早期遺址發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000). For the geographical spread and chronological span of the Zhukaigou culture, see Jiang Gang 蔣剛, “Shanxi, Shaanbei ji Nei Menggu zhongnan bu Xia Shang Zhou shiqi qingtong wenhua de yanjin” 山西陝北及內蒙古中南部夏商西周時期青銅文化的演進, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 2008.5: 51-66, especially maps in figs. 1, 3, 4, 7. Liu Li and Chen Xingcan date the Zhukaigou culture alternatively to ca. 2000-1400 B.C.; see Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *The Archaeology of China from the Late Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 312.

⁵⁰ See Neimenggu zizhiq Wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Eerduosi bowuguan, *Zhukaigou*, p. 2.

⁵¹ See Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *The Archaeology of China*, p. 320.

⁵² Ji Faxi 吉發習 and Ma Huiqi 馬輝圻, “Nei Menggu Zhungeer qi Dakou yizhi de diaocha yu shijue” 內蒙古準格爾旗大口遺址的調查與試掘, *Kaogu* 考古 1979.4: 308-19.

⁵³ Shaanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shaanxi Shenmu Xinhua yizhi 1999 nian fajue jianbao” 陝西神木新華遺址 1999 年發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2002.1: p. 7; Yan Hongdong 閻宏東, “Shenmu Shimao yizhi taoqi fenxi” 神木石峁遺址陶器分析, *Wenbo* 文博 2010.6: 3-9.

⁵⁴ Wang Kelin 王克林 and Hai Jindong 海金東, “Shanxi Fenyang xian Yudaohé yizhi diaocha” 山西汾陽縣峪道河遺址調查, *Kaogu* 考古 1983.11: 961-65, 972.

⁵⁵ Shaanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, “Shanxi Jiangxian Liuzhuang Xia Shang yizhi fajue baogao” 山西絳縣柳莊夏商遺址發掘報告, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 2010.2: 12-23, 43.

Some scholars associate the Erlitou culture and its Dongxiafeng variant with the Xia dynasty. Hence, after *san zu weng* were discovered in tombs of the Jin principality at Tianma-Qucun but before the discovery of the Hengbei cemetery, some authors speculated that the spouses of Jin rulers buried with such vessels were “princesses of the Xia people” that lived in the shadows in southwestern Shanxi during the Shang period only to return to the scene during the early Western Zhou period.⁵⁶ Leaving aside the question of the historicity of the Xia dynasty, it is reasonable to check whether the *san zu weng* did not represent a pottery type adopted in the Sushui valley since the second millennium B.C. and maintained by the local population until the ninth century B.C.? Would this also mean that the Peng lineage arose during the middle Western Zhou period from a local background? This is however highly implausible.

First, the Dongxiafeng potters modified the Zhukaigou egg-shaped prototype of the *san zu weng*, replacing hollow legs with solid ones or making egg-shaped jars with a flat bottom (Figure 4.8F).⁵⁷ They did not adopt the nearly globular variant of *san zu weng* that could be compared with the specimens from the Jin and Peng tombs.

⁵⁶ See Hou Yi 侯毅, “Cong Jin-hou mu tongqi kan Jin wenhua de xingcheng yu fazhan” 從晉侯墓銅器看晉文化的形成與發展, in *Jinhou mudi chutu qingtongqi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji*, pp. 114-131, esp. 119; Lin Tianren 林天人, *Xian Qin San Jin quyu kaogu yanjiu* 先秦三晉區域文化研究 (Taipei: Taiwan Guji chubanshe, 2003), p. 163.

⁵⁷ The borrowing took place relatively late, in Dongxiafeng Phase III; see Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo ed., *Xiaxian Dongxiafeng* 夏縣東下馮 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 95-96; Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Shanxi gongzuodui, “Jinnan Erlitou wenhua.”

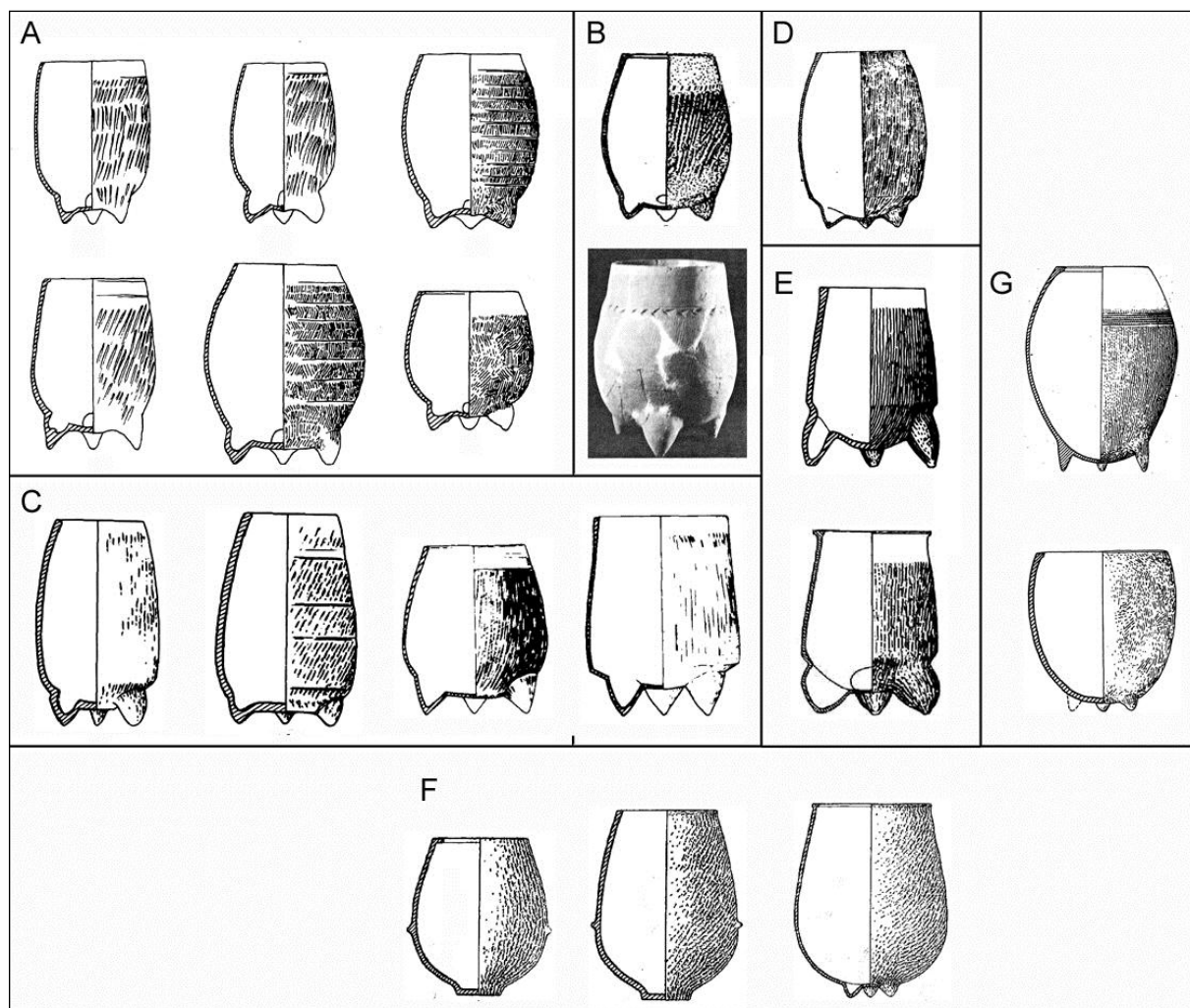


Figure 4.8 Northern *San Zu Weng* and Their Dongxiafeng Counterparts

A: Zhukaigou; B: Dakou; C: Shenmu; D: Yudaohu; E: Lijiaya; G: Baiyan; F: Dongxiafeng. A after Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, 74, fig. 33; B after Ji Faxi and Ma Huiqi, “Nei Menggu Zhungeer qi Dakou,” *Kaogu* 1979.4, 308-18, fig. 9 and plate 5; C after Yan Hongdong, “Shenmu Shimao yizhi taoqi fenxi,” fig. 2; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shaanxi Shenmu Xinhua yizhi,” fig. 11; D after Wang Kelin and Hai Jindong, “Shanxi Fenyang xian Yudaohu yizhi diaocha,” fig. 4; E after Zhang Yangwen 張映文 and Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Shaanxi Qingjian xian Lijiaya gucheng yizhi fajue jianbao” 陝西清澗縣李家崖古城遺址發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1988.1: 47-56, fig. 7; F after Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, *Xia xian Dongxiafeng*, 140, fig. 31; G after Jinzhong kaogudui, “Shanxi Taigu Baiyan yizhi diyi didian fajue jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1989.3, 1-51, fig. 12, 16.

Second, about 1500-1300 B.C., Dongxiafeng and related settlements were either taken over by bearers of the Erligang, e.g. early Shang culture, or abandoned.⁵⁸ With this change, egg-shaped *weng* almost disappeared from southwestern Shaanxi.⁵⁹ Moreover, after *circa* 1300 B.C., southwestern Shanxi became largely depopulated due to climatic changes, warfare, and

⁵⁸ Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *State Formation in Early China* (London: Duckworth, 2003), pp. 103-05.

⁵⁹ See Qin Xiaoli 秦小麗, “Jin xinan diqu Erlitou wenhua dao Erligang wenhua de taoqi yanbian yanjiu” 晉西南地區二里頭文化到二里岡文化的陶器演變研究, *Kaogu* 考古 2006.2: p. 63 Table III.

other reasons.⁶⁰ This situation changed during the late Shang period, as the Baiyan 白燕 culture moved from the middle course of the Fen River to the area of Linfen 臨汾,⁶¹ but the valley of the Sushui River seems to have remained a no man's land even longer. Hence, there was no direct continuity between Dongxiafeng *san zu weng* and the *san zu weng* from the Jin or Peng tombs, nor was there any relationship between the populations that inhabited the Sushui River valley during *circa* 1800-1500 B.C. and during the Western Zhou period. The absence of early Western Zhou tombs in the Hengbei cemetery suggests that the Peng lineage migrated to the Sushui valley during the middle Western Zhou period from elsewhere.

The Zhukaigou culture influenced several cultures in Inner Mongolia, northern Shaanxi and Shanxi that flourished during the late Shang period; some of them possibly even existed until the Western Zhou period.⁶² The Baiyan culture that dominated the middle course of the Fen River and the western part of the Taihang Mountains up to the Changzhi 長治 city area during the last centuries of the second millennium B.C. was one of them.⁶³ Egg-shaped *san zu weng* were adopted into the Baiyan ceramic repertoire. But, as with Dongxiafeng, Baiyan potters constructed the *san zu weng* with solid legs (see Figure 4.8G), so that these do not qualify as predecessors to the specimens from the Jin or Peng cemeteries.⁶⁴

By contrast, hollow-legged *san zu weng* have been witnessed in settlements of the Lijiaya 李家崖 culture, which also developed on the Zhukaigou cultural background. Its type-site Lijiaya in Qingjian 清澗 county, Shaanxi province, was occupied from the mid-Shang until the mid-Western Zhou period.⁶⁵ About thirty sites on both sides of the lower part of the great bend of the Yellow River in Qingjian, Suide 綏德, Chunhua 淳化, Yanchang 延長 and Ganquan 甘泉 counties of Shaanxi province and in Shilou 石樓, Baode 寶德, Yonghe 永和, Liulin 柳林 and Jixian 吉縣 counties in Shanxi province have been found up to day.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Liu and Chen, *State Formation in Early China*, 105; Ma Baochun 馬保春, “You Jinnan Erligang qi zao Shang wenhua de fenbu lun qi jinru chuanbo” 由晉南二里岡期早商文化的分布論其進入傳播, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2004.6: 23-33; Wu Junhua 武俊華, “Jin nan Shang shiqi kaogu yicun de xiangguan wenti” 晉南商時期考古遺存的相關問題, *Cangsang* 滄桑 2010.2: 84-85.

⁶¹ For the geographic spread and chronological span of the Baiyan culture see Jiang Gang 蔣剛, “Shanxi, Shaanbei ji Nei Menggu zhongnan bu Xia Shang Zhou shiqi qingtong wenhua de yanjing” 山西陝北及內蒙古中南部夏商西周時期青銅文化的演進, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 2008.5: 51-66, esp. maps in figs. 1, 3, 4, 7-10.

⁶² Yang Jianhua 楊建華 and Zhao Jumei 趙菊梅, “Jinzhong diqu yu Jin Shaan Gaoyuan ji Zhongyuan wenhua de guanxi” 晉中地區與晉陝高原及中原文化的關係, in Yang Jianhua 字 and Jiang Gang 字 ed., *Gongyuan qian er qian ji de Jin Shaan Gaoyuan yu Yanshan nan bei* 公元前 2 千紀的晉陝高原與燕山南北 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 44-55.

⁶³ See, e. g., Jinzhong Kaoguxuedui, “Shanxi Taiyuan Baiyan yizhi di yi dian fajue jianbao” 山西太原白燕遺址第一地點發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 文物 1989.3: 17-20, and Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shanxi Tunliu Xiligao yizhi fajue” 山西屯留西李高遺址發掘, *Wenwu chunqiu* 文物春秋 2009.3: 17, fig. 3.

⁶⁴ Jiang Gang 蔣剛, “Lun Baiyan wenhua yu xiangguan wenti” 論白燕文化及其相關問題, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2009.5: 27-37.

⁶⁵ Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Lijiaya gu chengzhi AF1 jianzhu yizhi chutan” 李家崖古城址 AF1 建築遺址初探, *Zhou Qin wenhua yanjiu* 周秦文化研究 (Xi'an: Shaanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1998), pp. 116-23.

⁶⁶ See Lü Zhirong 呂智榮, “Lijiaya wenhua yinsu fenxi ji qi xiangguan wenti” 李家崖文化因素分析及其相關問題, *Shaanxi lishi bowuguan guankan* 陝西歷史博物館館刊 2001.8: 363-71; Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, pp. 142-173; Cai Yahong 蔡亞紅, “Lijiaya wenhua yanjiu” 李家崖文化研究 (MA thesis: Dongbei daxue, 2008). For the geographic spread and chronological span of the Lijiaya culture, see Jiang Gang 蔣剛, “Shanxi Shaanbei ji Nei Menggu zhongnan bu Xia Shang Zhou shiqi qingtong wenhua de yanjing,” especially maps 9-11.

The Lijiaya settlement, situated in the valley of the Wuding 無定 River about five kilometers to the west of the Yellow River's bank, represented a small walled fortress with a palace- or temple-like structure on a rammed-earth platform in the middle. Among the pottery found on this site, *san zu weng* with large hollow legs and a straightly narrowing body have been found (see Figure 4.8E). Pottery sherds found at another settlement associated with the Lijiaya culture, Gaohong 高紅, display even closer relations with the *san zu weng* from the cemeteries of the Jin and Peng lineages (see Figure 4.9). The Gaohong settlement was situated atop a steep cliff inside a bend of the Sanchuan 三川 (Qinglong 青龍) River about twenty kilometers to the east of the Yellow River in the southern part of the Lüliang Mountains in Liulin 柳林 county, Shanxi province.⁶⁷ On the site, about twenty rammed earth structures of various sizes were identified in 2004.⁶⁸ Since rammed-earth platforms are usually associated with timber architecture and the presence of elites, Gaohong possibly represented an important political center.

Pottery pieces from Gaohong published up to now include upper parts of slightly squeezed globular jars with narrow rim (Figure 4.9A-B). The bottoms of these jars were lost, but pocket-legs found on the same site witness the presence of hollow-legged *san zu weng* (Figure 4.9D-F). Also, large egg-shaped *weng* were present there (Figure 4.9H). The ornaments include horizontal ribbons filled with parallel vertical lines or composed of triangles (Figure 4.9I). In addition, trumpet-mouthed *da kou zun* that can be compared to the specimen from Hengbei tomb M1 are also witnessed in Gaohong (Figure 4.9K).

⁶⁷ See Jinzhong kaogudui, "Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha" 山西婁煩,離石,柳林三縣考古調查, *Wenwu* 文物 1989.4, 31-39; Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, "2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi shijue jianbao" 2004 柳林高紅商代夯土基址試掘健報, in Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo ed. *San jin kaogu* (3) 三晉考古 (3) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 2006), pp. 116-127.

⁶⁸ Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, "2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi shijue jianbao," 116.

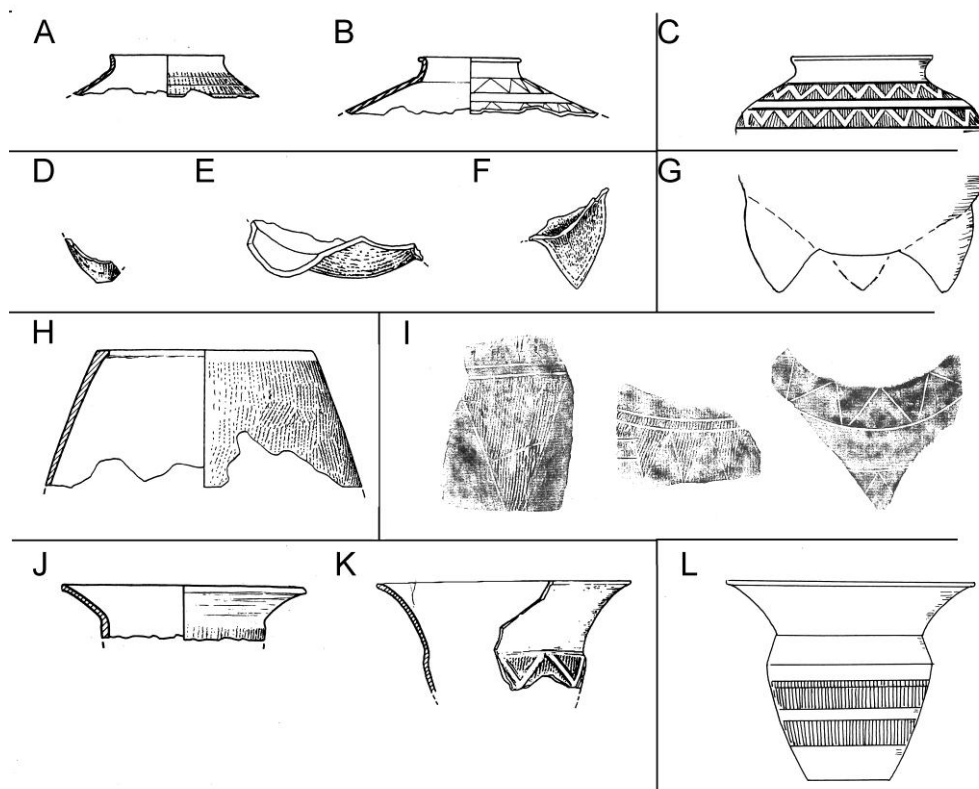


Figure 4.9 Gaohong Pottery in Comparison to Hengbei Vessels⁶⁹

San zu weng upper body and neck: A, B. Gaohong; C. Hengbei; lower body and feet: D-F. Gaohong; G: Hengbei. H. Egg-shaped *weng*, Gaohong. I. Pottery ornaments, Gaohong. *Da kou zun*: J, K. Gaohong; L. Hengbei. A, B, D- F, H-J after Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi shijue jianbao,” figs. 3, 7, 9, 10; K after Jinzhong kaoguxue dui, “Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha,” fig. 12; C, G. L after after Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo *et al*, “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao,” 11, figs. 15-16, redrawn by the author of the present article.

The shapes and ornaments of the Gaohong pottery display striking similarities with the objects discovered in tomb M1 at Hengbei.⁷⁰ Importantly, the pottery sherds with distinctive Gaohong features have been collected not in tombs, but in the settlement deposits. This indicates that the respective objects were used in daily life and were typical of this place.

Based on the similarities between the Gaohong pottery and the objects from Tomb M1 at Hengbei, it can be suggested that the inhabitants of Gaohong and Peng lineage shared the same cultural tradition. Still, a question remains whether these population groups lived during the same time, or were separated by a chronological gap?

In general, the dating of the Lijiaya sites is a problem that has not yet been definitively resolved. Apart from the two settlements mentioned above, Lijiaya and Gaohong, all other sites represent tombs. The Lijiaya tombs are characterized by the regular presence of bronze tools or weapons that display features typical of the northern Steppe cultures of Outer

⁶⁹ Sources: Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo, “2004 Liulin Gaohong Shang dai hangtu jizhi shijue jianbao,” figs. 3-7, 9-10; Jinzhong kaoguxuedui, “Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha,” figs. 12, 5.

⁷⁰ In particular, the Hengbei *san zu weng* seem to derive from Gaohong *guan* jars with narrow rims and wide shoulders, to which “breast-shaped” hollow legs, also witnessed in Gaohong, were attached; see Figure 4.10E, F, I-K. Both Hengbei *san zu weng* and Gaohong *guan* and *da kou zun* are decorated with two registers of ribbons filled with comb-patterned triangles (Figure 4.10N).

Mongolia, the Lake Baikal area and Southern Siberia, thus suggesting that the buried persons were related to peoples of the north.⁷¹ In some of these tombs, northern bronzes, especially tools (axes, daggers and knives), appear together with bronze ritual vessels imported from Shang or made according to Shang models. In other cases, only northern objects, especially weapons, are found. Some archaeologists distinguish between these two types of burial assemblages as Shilou and Baode variants (Shilou leixing 石樓類型, Baode leixing 保德類型) of the Lijiaya culture respectively.⁷²

Archaeologists usually date the tombs of the Shilou variant of Lijiaya to the Shang period based on the shapes of Shang ritual vessels. This is reasonable, but not necessarily very reliable. Not all vessels were imported from Shang, but were sometimes made by local artisans after Shang models. Their maintenance of Shang tradition could have continued after the fall of the Shang kingdom. In absence of better dateable ritual bronze vessels from the Central Plain, dating of the tombs of the Baode variant is even more problematic. As far as the northern bronzes found in these tombs are similar to those found in the tombs of the Shilou variant containing Shang vessels, the Baode variant tombs are usually also dated to the Shang period. In particular, since a burial with weapons of the northern Steppe style, but without ritual vessels, has been found in Gaohong in the 1980s, the excavators dated this site to the late Shang period.⁷³ Since no tombs combining northern bronzes and Zhou ritual vessels have been found in Shaanxi or Shanxi, it appears that after the end of Shang, the Lijiaya culture disappeared without any apparent reason. Thus, some authors state that it is difficult to understand what happened in Shanxi after the end of Shang.⁷⁴

After the Zhou conquest of the Shang, the Jin principality was established in the lower course of the Fen River, but during the early Western Zhou period it controlled a rather limited territory.⁷⁵ This has become gradually evident during the last decade, especially after the discovery of the Hengbei cemetery and, more recently, the Dahekou 大河口 cemetery of the non-Zhou Ba 霸 polity near Yicheng 翼城, circa 30 km to the east from Tianma-Qucun.⁷⁶ Although it is possible that Peng migrated to the Suhsui valley during the middle Western Zhou period, Ba was in its location during the same time as the Jin rulers buried in tombs 113 and 114 at Tianma-Qucun.⁷⁷ The dates of Ba and Peng tombs can be established rather easily based on Zhou ritual bronzes among their burial goods.

⁷¹ See Linduff *et al.*, “An Archaeological Overview,” pp. 22-25; Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, “Lijiaya wenhua,” pp. 142-44, 160-69; Wo Haowei 沃浩偉, “Jin Shaan gaoyuan Shang Zhou qingtongqi fenqun yanjiu” 晉陝高原商周時期青銅器分群研究, in *Gongyuan qian er qian ji de Jin Shaan Gaoyuan*, pp. 56-67.

⁷² See Jiang Gang 蔣剛 and Yang Jianhua 楊建華, “Shanbei Jin xibeinan liu Huanghe liang an chutu qingtongqi yicun de zuhe yanjiu” 陝北晉西北南流黃河兩岸出土青銅器遺存的組合研究, *Wenwu shijie* 文物世界 2007.1: 11-19.

⁷³ See Yang Shaoyao 楊紹舜, “Shanxi Yulin xian Gaohong faxian Shang dai tongqi” 山西柳林縣高紅發現商代銅器, *Kaogu* 考古 1981.3: 211-12.

⁷⁴ Cf. e. g. Li Boqian 李伯謙, “Zhongguo qingtong wenhua de fazhan yu fenqutong” 中國青銅文化的發展階段與分區系統, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 1990: 82-91.

⁷⁵ Cf. Zhang Tianen 張天恩, “Jinnan yi faxiande Xi Zhou guozu chuxi” 晉南已發現的西周國族初析, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2010.1: 50-56.

⁷⁶ Shanxi sheng Kaogu yanjiusuo Dahekou mudi lianhe kaogudui, “Shanxi Yicheng xian dahekou Xi Zhou mudi” 山西翼城縣大河口西周墓地, *Kaogu* 考古 2011.7: 9-18. The article gives only a very short summary of the excavation and provides more detail about two large tombs.

⁷⁷ This can be argued based on similarities between the bronze vessels from Dahekou and from tombs M113 and 114 at Tianma-Qucun. This however goes beyond the scope of the present study.

Investigations into the material culture of the northern zone, intensified during the several past decades, call for revisions of the dating of some archaeological sites, including the burials of the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture, such as the Gaohong burial and some other burials in Shilou and Jixian Counties of Shanxi and in Yanchuan County of Shaanxi.⁷⁸ The Gaohong bronzes possibly date from the Shang-Zhou transitional period or even up to the mid-Western Zhou period.⁷⁹ Hopefully, further archaeological investigations of the Gaohong settlement will determine this date.⁸⁰ If the early to mid-Western Zhou date is confirmed, from the chronological point of view, the inhabitants of Gaohong and other groups that shared the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture could then have been the source of the *san zu weng* that accompanied elite women in the cemetery of Jin.

Judging from the presence of rammed-earth foundations and elite burials with bronze weapons, Gaohong was home to a stratified society with war-like elites who were able to mobilize their people for large-scale construction work and for war. Although such non-Zhou polities as Gaohong might have been relatively small, they were able to attack the Zhou colonists residing in the valleys and to retreat rapidly back to the mountains. It was indeed better to have them as friends rather than as enemies, a consideration that might have motivated marital alliances between Zhou lineages and their non-Zhou neighbors. This might explain the presence of *san zu weng* and possibly also *da kou zun* in the tombs of other elite women in cemeteries of Zhou lineages. During the early Western Zhou period, these women might have come from such places as Gaohong or places located further to the south where other groups related to the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture resided. The Peng lineage, originally related to the Lijiaya culture, possibly moved further south closer to its Ji-surnamed marital partners and adopted many features of Zhou ritual culture. During the middle and late Western Zhou periods, Peng could have been one of the sources of women who married Jin men and even became spouses of Jin rulers.

If pottery related to a non-Zhou cultural tradition and found in elite female tombs in the cemeteries of Jin and other Zhou lineages emphasizes the cultural roots of its owners—women from non-Zhou polities, its function in the Hengbei tomb M1 must be different.

⁷⁸ See Jiang Gang and Yang Jianhua, “Shanbei, Jin xibeinan liu Huanghe liang an chutu qingtongqi yicun de zuhe yanjiu,” 15; Tian Jianwen, “Lingshi Jingjie Shang mu yu Shanxi Shang dai wanqi kaoguxue wenhua,” 灵石旌介商墓與山西商代晚期考古學文化, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2009.1, 39-44, 61, esp. 42; Wo Haowei, “Jin Shaan gaoyuan Shang Zhou qingtongqi,” pp. 66-67.

⁷⁹ See Yang Jianhua 陽建華, “Jibeizhou dai qingtong wenhuachutan” 冀北周代青銅文化初探, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2000.5, 22-30; Yang Jianhua, “Shang Zhou shiqi Zhongguo beifang yejin qu de xingcheng - Shang Zhou shiqi beifang qingtong qi de bijiao yanjiu” 商周時期中國北方冶金區的形成—商周時期北方青銅器的比較研究, *Bianjiang kaogu yanjiu* 邊疆考古研究 2007.6: 165-197. Decisive for this new date is the comparison with the assemblage of bronze weapons in the tomb discovered at Baifu 白浮 near Beijing (see Beijing shi Wenwu guanlichu, “Beijing diqu de you yi zhongyao kaogu shouhuo - Changping Baifu Xi Zhou muguo mu de xin qishi” 北京地區的又一重要考古收獲——昌平白浮西周木槨墓的新啟示, *Kaogu* 考古 1976.4: 246-58, 228. This tomb also included bronze ritual vessels and pottery *li* tripods of the early to mid-Western Zhou period.

⁸⁰ During the archaeological survey conducted in 1982, pottery collected at the Gaohong settlement was attributed to two periods: an earlier one, that could not be dated more precisely due to the lack of Central Plain comparisons, and a later one, corresponding to the Spring and Autumn to Warring States period (see Jinzhong kaogudui, “Shanxi Loufan, Lishi, Liulin san xian kaogu diaocha,” 39). The three charcoal samples analysed by C14 method date either from the late Shang, or from the late Spring and Autumn period (See Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Keji shiyan yanjiu zhongxin Tan shisi shiyanshi, “Fangshexing tansu ceding niandai baogao (ershisan)” 放射性碳素測定年代報告三二, *Kaogu* 考古 2006.7: 65-7, esp. 65). It is not yet clear whether the settlement was abandoned during a longer period of time between these both extremes, as it has been only surveyed, but not systematically excavated as of yet.

Although the *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* at Hengbei have also been found in the tomb of a female, she clearly did not belong to a non-Zhou lineage, but to a renowned Ji-surnamed lineage from the Zhou metropolitan area. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the thirteen *san zu weng* and the three *da kou zun* were intentionally emphasized in the set of her funerary equipment. A tentative explanation can be provided to this case.

Considering that in tombs of foreign women in the cemeteries of Ji lineages the non-Zhou ritual objects always appear in combination with standard Zhou ritual vessels, it would seem that the former symbolized the cultural identity of their owners, while the latter demonstrated the owners' role as members of their husbands' lineages and cultural communities. It was expected from a spouse to integrate into her husband's culture, whereas her original cultural affiliation was also handled with due respect. Although the Peng lineage adopted the Zhou ritual culture and imitated their Jin neighbors in many respects, some peculiarities in the tomb architecture and the extensive use of human sacrifice suggest that it was not yet fully assimilated, but still held to its roots. If the display of non-Zhou features was part of the self-representation of the Peng rulers, it stands to reason that the rulers' spouse would also be expected to respect to Peng culture and to contribute to this display. This might have included adopting some specific details of the costume or hairdressing, which cannot be witnessed archaeologically, or using some specific objects during her lifetime or in the burial rites for her, as we can now observe in Tomb M1 at Hengbei. Thus, the *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* in Bi Ji's tomb possibly fulfill a symbolic function, pointing not to the origin of the buried woman, but to the non-Zhou cultural roots of the Peng lineage.

There is some counter evidence to this hypothesis: the absence of similar vessels in Tomb M2, supposedly occupied by Pengbo Cheng. It would be logical to expect that the tomb of the ruler of Peng would yield even more idiosyncratic objects than the tomb of his spouse. However, this was evidently not the case. Nevertheless, this is not the only irregularity manifested in Pengbo Cheng's tomb. First, Tomb M2 is slightly smaller and contains fewer ritual objects than does M1. Most noteworthy, M1 included five bronze *ding* and five bronze *gui*, whereas M2 included only three bronze *ding* and one bronze *gui*. As the excavators note, it is unusual that the tomb of a wife should be furnished more richly than that of her husband. However, in the Hengbei cemetery, bronzes were in general used unsystematically in various numbers, and sets of *ding* or *gui* vessels with identical decor and graded sizes were not used.⁸¹ Second, the status of Pengbo Cheng or the economic situation in Peng might have changed in the years after the death of his wife. Although Pengbo Cheng offered her a very solemn funeral, it is possible that his descendants were not able to render him a higher honor. The absence of other large tombs with ramps in the Hengbei cemetery suggests that after Pengbo Cheng's death, the Peng lineage started to decline. Under such circumstances, tombs in the Hengbei cemetery constructed later than M2 might display fewer non-Zhou elements, since without a need to represent the lineage head as a non-Zhou ruler, there would be no further need to display otherness.

To sum up this long section, the presence of idiosyncratic pottery types in Hengbei Tomb M1 points to connections between the Peng lineage and northern non-Zhou peoples who lived along the lower part of the great bend of the Yellow River in Shaanxi and Shanxi provinces starting from the later part of the second millennium B.C. until the early to mid Western Zhou period and shared the Lijiaya cultural tradition.

Onomastic Evidence for the Northern Roots of the Peng Lineage

⁸¹ See Xie Shaoting, "Hengshui mudi yong ding gui li de kaocha."

As stated in the introduction above, the connections between the Peng lineage and northern non-Zhou peoples is also suggested by their surname. During the Western Zhou period, surnames were indicated only in designations of married females. Married women from Peng had to be buried in cemeteries of their husbands' lineages. For this reason, the surname of the Peng lineage does not appear in inscriptions from the Hengbei tombs. Nevertheless, it can be ascertained based on inscriptions found elsewhere:

棚仲乍畢媿賸鼎。其萬年寶用。

The Second-born of Peng makes the dowry tripod for Bi Kui/Gui. May she treasure and use it for ten thousand years!⁸²

□ 生乍成(成)媿賸鼎。其子孫永寶用。

Peng X-sheng makes the dowry tripod for Cheng Kui/Gui. May her children and grandchildren eternally treasure and use it.⁸³

Consisting of the phonetic *gui* and the “woman” determinative, the character 媿 is usually transliterated as “Kui.” However, the “woman” determinative was not necessarily a stable part of characters used for surnames, but sometimes simply emphasized that the intended person was a woman.⁸⁴ This means that otherwise, the same surname could be written with a different determinative, or without a determinative; e.g., Kui 隗, 傀 or simply Gui 鬼.

The “Zheng yu” 鄭語 chapter of the *Guo yu* 國語 mentions “Kui-surnamed Di” 隗翟 as one of the “western states” together with Yu 虞, Guo 虢, Jin 晉, Rui 芮 and Wei 魏.⁸⁵ The latter five Ji-surnamed states were located in southwestern Shanxi or in adjacent areas of Henan and Shaanxi on the opposite side of the Yellow River; i.e., to the west of the Eastern Zhou capital at Luoyang, which served as the reference point for this text. Judging by its geographical location, Peng could be one of the Kui/Gui-surnamed “western states” referred to in the “Zheng yu,” consistent with the peculiarities of its burial customs and the presence of idiosyncratic pottery types in Hengbei tomb M1 point. Thus, from the perspective of the authors of the “Zheng yu,” Peng could be classified as “northern non-Zhou,” which is to say Di. The same text also lists several “northern states” including Lu 潞, Luo 洛, Quan 泉, Xu 徐, and Pu 蒲. According to the commentary by Wei Zhao 韋昭 (204-273), they belonged to the “Red Di” group, sharing the Kui surname (赤狄隗姓) and living in the Taihang Mountains.⁸⁶

⁸² *Pengzhong ding* 棚仲鼎 (*Jicheng* #2462). The vessel is not preserved, but a rubbing is held at the Institute of Archaeology in Beijing.

⁸³ *Peng Xsheng ding* □ 生鼎 (*Jicheng* #2524).

⁸⁴ The character 妃 in a woman's name should be read not *fei* “concubine,” but Jǐ 己, as in the *Wang li* 王鬲 (*Jicheng* #645), dedicated by the king to Fan Ji 番妃. Ji 妃 (己) was the surname of the Fan and several other lineages.

⁸⁵ *Guo yu* 國語 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 16 (“Zheng yu”), p. 183.

⁸⁶ *Guo yu*, 16 (“Zheng yu”), p. 183, commentary. See also Chen Pan 陳槃, *Chunqiu dashibiao lieguo juexing ji cunmiebiao yhuanyi* 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表譌異 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1969), “Chi di” 赤狄 6.554b-6a.

Wang Guowei was the first to argue that the Kui/Gui-surname derived from the ancient Gui people (Guifang 鬼方),⁸⁷ whose existence is witnessed starting from the Shang period. According to received texts, Shang king Wu Ding 武丁, who ruled during the late thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C., led a war against the Gui people. The Gui were strong rivals, and it took Wu Ding three years to bring them to obedience.⁸⁸ Shang oracle bone inscriptions from Anyang also mention the Guifang. Although they do not contain records about military actions, they confirm that the relationship between the Shang and the Guifang was hostile.⁸⁹ Notably, the Gui appear in one inscription together with the Zhou. This may signify that these peoples were neighbors and allied with each other against the Shang.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the small number of references to the Guifang in the oracle inscriptions shows that their contacts with the Shang were not regular. This suggests that they resided at a considerable distance from the Shang.

Reconstruction of the historical geography of the Shang period is very complicated in general, and the location of the Guifang in particular is problematic because of the scarcity of information. Various scholars accept Wang Guowei's assumption about the genetic relation between the Guifang and the Kui 隗-surnamed Red Di of the Spring and Autumn period as established fact. Accordingly, they locate the Guifang homeland in a variety of places in Shanxi.⁹¹ The Warring States-period text *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 mentions two place-names in connection with the Guifang of the Shang period. However, neither can be located with certainty. In particular, this text states that on his way to fight the Guifang, Wu Ding stopped at Jing 荆.⁹² Liu Yunxing 劉運興 suggests reading this place name as Jing 井 and identifying it with the Jing Canyon 井經 mentioned in some later texts and located in the northern part of the Taihang Mountain range in the vicinity of Heng 恒 Mountain, about 500 km from Wu Ding's capital at Anyang.⁹³ This location would place the Guifang very far to the north. On the other hand, the place name Jing 荆 can be related to Jingfang 井方, mentioned in the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions.⁹⁴ During the Western Zhou period, the Ji-surnamed Xing 邢 state was founded on the Huabei 華北 Plain near present-day Xingtai 邢臺 in the southern part of Hebei province, only 125 km north of Anyang. Jing 荆 and Xing 邢 were both written with the phonetic *jing* 井 in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and both place names might be

⁸⁷ See Wang Guowei 王國維, "Guifang Kun Yi Xianyun kao" 鬼方昆夷獫狁考, in Peng Lin 彭林 ed. *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林, (1923; rpt. Shijiazhuang: Hebei Jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 296-307, esp. p. 300. Wang Guowei also suggested that this surname had such variants as Kui/Tui 媯/潰/隗 and Huai 懷. The connection between the *Guifang* and the Kui/Tui 媯/潰/隗 surname is confirmed by a number of Warring States to Han-period texts. See Wang Yuzhe 王玉哲, "Guifang kao" 鬼方考 (1945), in Wang Yuzhe, *Gu shi jilin* 古史集林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), pp. 289-308, esp. p. 297. No textual evidence for the connection between Guifang and either Kui/Gui 隗/媯 or Huai 懷 surnames is available.

⁸⁸ Wang Guowei 王國維, *Jinben Zhushu jinian shu zheng* 今本竹書紀年疏證, in Fang Shiming 方詩銘 and Wang Xiuling 王修齡, *Guben Zhushu jinian jizheng* 古本竹書紀年輯證 (rev. 2nd ed.; Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2008), p. 232 (Wu Ding 32-34); Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 87 ("Xi Qiang zhuan" 西羌傳) p. 2870.

⁸⁹ See Shima Kunio 島邦男, *Yinxu buci yanjiu* 殷墟卜辭研究, tr. Pu Maozuo 濮茅左 and Gu Weiliang 顧偉良 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2006), pp. 802-04; Wang Yuzhe, "Guifang kao buzheng" 鬼方考補正, in Wang Yuzhe, *Gu shi jilin*, pp. 309-17.

⁹⁰ Wang Yuzhe, "Guifang kao buzheng," pp. 310-12.

⁹¹ See Shima Kunio, *Yinxu buci yanjiu*, pp. 802-04 with further references.

⁹² Fang Shiming and Wang Xiuling, *Guben Zhushu jinian jizheng*, 232 (Wu Ding: 32-34).

⁹³ Liu Yunxing ??, "Wu Ding fa Guifang jinjun luxian ji qita" 武丁伐鬼方進軍路線及其他, *Yindu xuekan* 殷都學刊 1987.2: 22-27.

⁹⁴ See Shima Kunio, *Yinxu buci yanjiu*, pp. 799-800.

related to the Jingfang referred to in oracle-bone inscriptions.⁹⁵ Besides, the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, found together with the *Zhushu jinian*, mentions Mount Xing 鉞 in the central part of the Taihang Mountains,⁹⁷ possibly, not very far from Xing 邢.⁹⁸ Thus, Wu Ding's campaign might have been related to attempts by the Guifang to penetrate the Huabei Plain from the north or northwest, even though their own location remains unclear.

The *Jinben Zhushu jinian* states further that during the thirty-fifth year of Shang King Wu Yi 武乙, i.e., in the early eleventh century B.C., the Zhou leader Ji Li 季歷 (the father of the future King Wen) fought the Gui-Rong peoples of Western Luo 西落鬼戎.⁹⁹ The *Hou Han shu* provides a longer quotation from the original *Zhushu jinian*:

周公季歷伐西落鬼戎，俘其二十翟王

The Duke of Zhou Ji Li fought the Gui-Rong of Western Luo, capturing twenty of their Di kings.¹⁰⁰

The authors of this passage seem not to be certain whether Guifang were Rong or Di, or, as was common among early Chinese writers, simply did not differentiate between them. According to this text, the designation “Gui” referred to a group of small states ruled by kings, which could join together temporarily to attack the Shang and their allies or to defend themselves. The geographical information in this passage is just as ambiguous as in the previous entry. Some authors identify Western Luo with the Kui-surnamed Lu 潞 or Luo 洛 polity of the Spring and Autumn period; i.e., one of the “northern states” referred to in the “Zheng yu” as being located in the southern part of the Taihang Mountains. On the other hand, the place name Western Luo might also refer to the Luo 洛 River, a northwestern tributary of the Yellow River in Shaanxi. Ji Li, who resided on the Zhou Plain, would have been more able to launch an expedition into the Luo River valley in Shaanxi than into the Taihang Mountains of Shanxi.¹⁰¹

Some archaeologists link the Guifang to the archaeological Lijiaya culture.¹⁰² If Kui-surnamed lineages really did descend from the Guifang, it would support the relationship of the Kui-surnamed Peng lineage to the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture discussed above. Many Lijiaya sites were located in east central Shaanxi and could be accessed through the Luo River valley; this would be consistent with the information in the *Zhushu jinian*. Peoples on both sides of the Yellow River in Shaanxi and Shanxi who shared this cultural tradition had contacts with the Shang. Besides, changes within assemblages of ritual bronze vessels in burials of the Shilou variant of the Lijiaya culture during the late Shang period can be explained by the influence of the pre-dynastic Zhou culture: in earlier tombs, vessels for alcoholic beverages and *ding* tripods for meat offerings prevailed, as was customary with the Shang; however, by the late Shang period, the *ding* start to appear regularly in combination

⁹⁵ For 荊, see, e.g. *Guobo gui* 過伯簋 (*Jicheng* #3907). 邢 was in fact written simply as 井 in Early Western Zhou inscriptions; e.g., *Mai ding* 麥鼎 (*Jicheng* #2706)

⁹⁷ For the transcription of the character as *xing*, see Zang Kehe 藏克和 and Wang Ping 王平, *Shuowen jiezi xin ding* 說文解字新訂 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), p. 926. This character is absent in bronze inscriptions, but, by analogy with the two others, it would be likely written with the *jing* 井 phonetic as well.

⁹⁸ See *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (*Sibu beiyao* ed.), 1.1.

⁹⁹ Fang Shiming and Wang Xiuling, *Guben Zhushu jinian jizheng*, 235 (Wu Yi: 35).

¹⁰⁰ Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu*, 87.2871; cf. Fang Shiming and Wang Xiuling, *Guben Zhushu jinian jizheng*, p. 34.

¹⁰¹ Besides, as residents of the Wei kingdom in southwestern Shanxi, the compilers of the *Zhushu jinian* would not have called a place in the Taihang Mountains “western” Luo.

¹⁰² See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China. The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 BCE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 54 with further references.

with *gui* tureens, as was customary with the Zhou.¹⁰³ The absence of ritual bronze vessels in tombs of the Baode variant of Lijiaya culture suggests that within this cultural community, certain groups were unwilling to accept Shang or, later, Zhou customs at all.

The Zhou led another war against the Guifang during the twenty-fifth year of King Kang. The campaign was directed by Yu 盂, a descendant of an important aristocratic lineage in the Zhou metropolitan area. Two years earlier, the *Da Yu ding* 大盂鼎 inscription records the king's command to Yu:

王曰：「而，令汝盂型乃嗣祖南公！盂，迺紹夾死司戎，敏諫罰訟，夙夕召我一人烝四方，孥我其遙省先王受民受疆土！」

The king said 夙夕召我一人烝四方, command you, Yu, to take as a model your ancestor Nangong! Yu, then continue thoroughly until death to supervise the Rong, diligently admonish [while applying] punishments [and judging upon] lawsuits, mornings and evenings summon me, the single man, to assist the four quarters, follow me to inspect the peoples and the territory received by the former kings!¹⁰⁴

Yu was apparently entrusted to control some northern non-Zhou groups referred to in the inscription as Rong.¹⁰⁵ To support him, “four elders, overseeing domains” (*si bang si bo* 司邦四伯, possibly referring to heads of Zhou lineages) and “thirteen elders, alien overseeing king's servants” (*si; yi si wang chen shiyousan bo* 夷司王臣十又三伯, possibly referring to heads of non-Zhou lineages who sided with the Zhou), as well as more than two thousand people controlled by these elders, had to be resettled from their lands and transferred under Yu's control as a “gift.” The conflict with the Guifang could have resulted from Yu's activities related with his mission among the Rong. Yu commemorated his victory over the Guifang and its celebration in the Temple of Zhou with another inscribed bronze vessel: the *Xiao Yu ding* 小盂鼎. Yu and his fellow combatants brought back a rich booty: several thousand prisoners, more than one hundred war chariots, several hundred oxen, dozens of sheep and many horses.¹⁰⁶

The inscription on the *Xiao Yu ding* suggests that the Guifang represented a large political entity and that this people raised horses and practiced cattle breeding. They were not nomads, since cattle are not suitable for mobile pastoralism, although they could be moved to summer pastures. The Guifang way of life basically corresponds with that of the Lijiaya people, who resided in foothill settlements and bred horses, sheep, oxen and pigs. However, it is as yet unclear whether such small settlements as Lijiaya and Gaohong belonged to a larger overarching structure, which could recruit so many armed men for a war against the Zhou. The *Xiao Yu ding* inscription further suggests that the Guifang possessed a developed technology permitting them to equip their troops with large numbers of chariots. Parts of a horse-and-chariot complex, possibly imported from Shang, have been found in one tomb associated with the Baode variant of the Lijiaya culture in Linshuyu 林庶峪, Baode county in

¹⁰³ See Jiang Gang and Yang Jianhua, “Shanbei Jin xibeinan liu Huanghe liang an chutu qingtongqi yicun de zuhe yanjiu,” 14-15. Jiang and Yang suggest too (p. 15) that Zhou influence can be seen in the decor on some bronze vessels.

¹⁰⁴ *Da Yu ding* 大盂鼎 (*Jicheng* #2837).

¹⁰⁵ The word *rong* designates not only the Rong group of peoples, but can also signify “warriors.” Hence, Edward Shaughnessy has previously suggested that Yu acted as “overseer of the Supervisors of the Military”; see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, p. 320. Most recently, he has suggested reading Rong as a person's name; see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “The Zhou Dynasty and the Birth of the Son of Heaven” in Maria Khayutina ed., *Qin - The Eternal Emperor and His Terracotta Warriors* (Zürich: NZZ Libro, 2013), p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ *Xiao Yu ding* 小盂鼎 (*Jicheng* #2839).

the northern part of Shanxi province.¹⁰⁷ It is not yet clear where else in the north chariotry was developed to such extent during the early Western Zhou period.

After the reign of King Kang, the Guifang is not mentioned in sources of any kind. Possibly, after Yu's campaign it ceased to exist as an entity and split into smaller groups, identifying themselves by surnames deriving from the name Gui. The connection between the Kui/Gui-surnamed Peng lineage and the Gaohong variant of the Lijiaya culture revealed in the present study, may provide a new link between both of them and the Guifang.

The lineage name Peng represents another link connecting the polity at Hengbei with the peoples of the north. It is written in bronze inscriptions in two ways: with the determinative “hand” and with the determinative “roof”:



As inscriptions quoted at the beginning of this section demonstrate, it appears in each case together with the surname Kui/Gui, showing that both of these Peng peoples were related to each other. These two characters might represent either graphic variants of the same name or branches of the Peng lineage that distinguished themselves by the graphic form of their name.

The Peng lineage designated in either one of these ways does not appear in early Chinese literature. Some scholars have suggested that the Peng lineage was related to the Peng 鄆 polity mentioned in the *Mu Tianzi zhuan*.¹⁰⁸ The first chapter of this text provides an account of King Mu's journey from the eastern Zhou capital at Chengzhou to the north and northwest. According to it, King Mu first marched with his armies northward through the Taihang Mountains. Gaining the northern bank of the Hutuo 滹沱 River, he went farther north to the Quan Rong 犬戎 people. Then he turned west through the Jueyu Pass 絕谿 (identified with the Yingmen 雁門 Pass of the Han 漢 period) and reached the territory of the Peng people (*ren* 人) or Peng state (*bang* 邦).¹⁰⁹ This Peng has been located near the southward bend of the Yellow River; i.e., in southern Inner Mongolia near Hohhot.¹¹⁰ According to the *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, Peng belonged to the “River Clan” (*He zong* 河宗), which possibly underscores the close geographical relationship of this people to the Yellow River. Guo Pu 郭璞, commenting on this text, stated that there was a Peng state (*guo* 鄆國) located between Yu 虞 and Rui 芮 in southwestern Shanxi. The latter Peng certainly corresponds to the Peng discovered now in Hengbei, but there are no indications that there was any connection between the Peng lineage of Hengbei and the populations who inhabited the area near Hohhot during the early to mid-Western Zhou period.

The area encompassed by the upper course of the Fen, Hutuo and Sanggan 桑干 rivers in northern Shanxi and stretching northeast toward the valley of the Qingshui 清水 River, which empties into the Yellow River near the place where the latter turns south, was settled by bearers of the archaeological Xicha 西岔 Culture. The Xicha Culture borrowed a number of features from the Zhukaigou culture that dominated these areas earlier, but differed in many respects from the contemporary Lijiaya culture in northeastern Shaanxi and the Lüliang

¹⁰⁷ Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, p. 143.

¹⁰⁸ Ma Baochun 馬保春, “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou Peng guo da mu de xiangguan lishi dili wenti” 山西絳縣橫水西周倮國大墓的相關歷史地理問題, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2007.6: 37-43.

¹⁰⁹ *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, 1.1.

¹¹⁰ *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, 1.2., 4.3.

Mountains of Shanxi, to which the Peng lineage was more likely related.¹¹¹ For instance, neither *san zu weng* nor *da kou zun* belong to the standard Xicha pottery types. Thus, there is no archaeological evidence that would support the idea that the Peng lineage migrated to Hengbei from Hohhot, and was perhaps even encouraged to do so by King Mu. On the other hand, the Peng lineage archaeologically now revealed in the Sushui valley could have migrated to this place during the reign of King Mu or slightly later. The third tomb with an entry ramp at the Hengbei cemetery might belong to one of Pengbo Cheng's predecessors who brought the people to this new location. The *Mu tianzi zhuan* might reflect the Peng lineage's memory of its northern origin and close relationship with the Yellow River, but its geography is not reliable.¹¹² The "southern turn of the Yellow River" might refer to one of the many loops it cuts through the mountains. Hence, the Peng mentioned in this text may have existed already as a political entity during the reign of King Mu, though not near Hohhot, but somewhere in the Lüliang Mountains, within the distribution area of the Lijiaya culture.

In sum, together with other Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages of southern and southwestern Shanxi, the Peng lineage belonged to the group of northern non-Zhou peoples classified by early Chinese authors as "Rong-Di" or simply "Di." It is not yet possible to verify whether all Kui-surnamed lineages, and Peng in particular, were descendants of the ancient Gui people of the Shang and Western Zhou periods. There is still too little evidence to permit us to locate the Guifang of the Shang and early Western Zhou periods, and its connections with the Lijiaya culture remain hypothetical. On the other hand, the *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* in Tomb M1 at Hengbei suggest a link between the Peng lineage and northern non-Zhou peoples residing in the Lüliang Mountains from the middle Shang to middle Zhou periods and currently associated by archaeologists with the Lijiaya culture. As did their predecessors—bearers of the Zhukaigou culture, peoples associated with the Lijiaya culture were involved in exchanges with contemporary polities of central China. They were organized in small, possibly lineage-based polities centered on fortified settlements in mountainous river valleys. Finds of pottery and bronze objects characteristic of these peoples in large richly equipped tombs of females in cemeteries of Zhou lineages in Shanxi, Shaanxi and Hebei witness marital alliances concluded between the ruling elites of the latter and northern non-Zhou polities. Aimed at maintaining a status quo or even a more intensive cooperation, such alliances suggest that Zhou polities communicated with their non-Zhou peers at eye level and were vitally interested in their friendship. Peng was one such non-Zhou lineage that migrated to a depopulated area to the south of Jin and maintained autonomy from its Ji-surnamed neighbors until about 900 B.C.

The Peng Lineage Within the Zhou Political Network and the Activities of Duke Yi

Although it is not clear why and how the Peng lineage migrated to Hengbei, by no later than the end of the reign of King Gong it had gradually become incorporated into the Zhou political and social network. The inscription on the *Pengzhong gui* quoted above was commissioned by a member of the Peng lineage for his daughter, who was married to a man from the Bi lineage. This was the native lineage of Bi Ji, who was buried in Tomb M1 at Hengbei. Evidently, during the middle Western Zhou period, marital relationships between Bi and Peng were reciprocal. This is important for understanding the political standing of Peng. Weaker lineages often married out their daughters to stronger ones, thus displaying loyalty

¹¹¹ Ma Mingzhi 馬明誌, "Xicha wenhua chubu yanjiu" 西岔文化初步研究, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 2009.5: 38-45.

¹¹² In particular, its information about marching distances between the stations of King Mu's journey is obviously wrong.

and seeking protection, without getting brides in exchange. By comparison, a bilateral exchange of women signifies that lineages or principalities treated each other as equals.¹¹³ The number of tombs containing bronze vessels in the Hengbei cemetery, by far exceeding the percentage of bronze-containing tombs in the neighboring Jin cemetery at Tianma-Qucun, suggests the considerable economic strength of Peng. Possibly, Peng owed its wealth to its proximity to copper ore deposits in the nearby Zhongtiao 中條 Mountains, or to its involvement in the horse trade.¹¹⁴

At about the same time as the marital alliance between the Bi and Peng lineages was concluded, a member of the Zhou royal house married another Peng woman. Her son Pengsheng 棚生 exchanged horses for land with Gebo 各伯. Ulrich Lau has identified Ge with Lu 路, another Kui/Gui-surnamed lineage in the Taihang Mountains.¹¹⁵ Pengsheng's connections to the Peng lineage via his mother could have helped him to trade with other lineages of the same surname. Judging by his extraordinarily beautiful tureens, Pengsheng accumulated considerable wealth.

Pengfu 棚父, another member of the Peng lineage, held the prestigious office of royal superintendent *zai* 宰 at the court of King Gong,¹¹⁶ as is documented by the *Wang gui* 望簋 inscription.¹¹⁷ It is possible that Pengfu arranged marriages of women from other Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages with members of the metropolitan elites: in one hoard in Wugong county, Shaanxi, tureens constituting the dowry of a Kui/Gui-surnamed woman were found together with tureens commissioned by a certain Chu 楚 – most likely that woman's husband – who was introduced at a royal audience by Pengfu.¹¹⁸ It may be not mere coincidence that Chu's tureens look very similar to the tureen of Pengbo Cheng.¹¹⁹ Perhaps the marriage between Pengbo Cheng and Bi Ji was also arranged by Pengfu.

The *Wang gui* inscription suggests that Pengfu maintained a close relationship with the Bi lineage, since he acted as *youzhe* 右者 for Wang 望, who was appointed by the Zhou king to serve the Bi lineage:

¹¹³ Chen Zhaorong 陳昭容, “Cong qingtongqi mingwen kan liang Zhou Han-Huai diqu hunyin guanxi” 從青銅器銘文看漢淮地區婚姻關係, *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 75.4 (2004): 672.

¹¹⁴ For distribution of copper deposits, see Liu and Chen, *State Formation in Early China*, p. 12 Fig. 1. For horse trade, see the *Pengsheng gui* 棚生簋 (also known as *Gebo gui* 格伯簋; *Jicheng* #4262).

¹¹⁵ See *Pengsheng gui* (*Jicheng* #4262). For the reading of the name of Lubo (usually transcribed as Gebo), see Ulrich Lau, *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Dynastie (1045?-771 v. Chr.)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 41 (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica, 1999), 327-34. The membership of Pengsheng in the Zhou lineage follows from the clan-sign “Zhou” at the end of his inscription. Some authors, however, argue that members of the Zhou royal house did not use clan signs and that this sign was used by members of a Yun-surnamed lineage; see arguments pro and contra in Maria Khayutina, “Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (sheng 甥 and hungou 婚媾) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions,” forthcoming.

¹¹⁶ For the date of the *Wang gui*, see Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳翰, *Gudai Zhongguo qingtongqi* 古代中國青銅器 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2009), 3 Vols, Vol. 2, p. 1221.

¹¹⁷ Although names with a *fu* 父 suffix often represent personal names (e.g., Yifu 義父), names such as Bo Liangfu 伯梁父 and Bo Weifu 伯衛父 include names of lineages to which these persons belonged. By analogy, Zhong Pengfu 仲棚父 or Zai Pengfu 宰棚父 were probably members of the Peng lineage.

¹¹⁸ *Hushu Hu Ji gui* 叔 姬簋 (*Jicheng* #4066), commissioned by the Third-born of Hu 叔 and his spouse Née Ji of Hu 姬 for their daughter the First-born Née Kui/Gui 伯媿. Her husband Chu 楚 was introduced at a royal audience by the Second-born Pengfu 仲棚父; see *Chu gui* 楚簋 (*Jicheng* #4246).

¹¹⁹ See note 26 above.

唯王十又三年六月初吉戊戌，王在周康宮新宮。旦，王各大室，即位。宰匭父右壘入門，立中廷，北嚮。王呼史年冊命望：死司畢王家，賜汝赤市、鑾。用事。望拜稽首，對揚天子丕顯休。用作朕皇祖伯 X 父寶簋，其萬年子子孫孫永寶用。 It was the thirteenth year, sixth month, first auspiciousness, *wuxu*. The king was in the new palace in the Kang Palace in Zhou. At dawn, the king entered the Great Chamber and assumed his position. The Superintendent Pengfu, accompanying Wang on the right-hand side, entered the Gate. [They] stood in the Middle Yard, facing north. The king ordered Secretary Nian to read aloud the written command to Wang: “Until your death oversee the Bi royal family. I bestow on you red kneepads [and] tinkling bells. Use them in service!” Wang bowed his head to the ground extolling in response the illustrious beneficence of the Son of Heaven. [I, Wang] use [this opportunity] to make a treasured tureen for my august ancestor Bo Xfu. May [my] children and grandchildren eternally treasure and use it for ten thousand years!¹²⁰

The expression “*Bi wang jia*” 畢王家, the “Bi [branch of the] royal family” points to the especially close connection between the royal house and Bi lineage, and the privileged position of the latter compared to other metropolitan lineages.

The Bi lineage was descended from Bi Gong Gao 畢公高, a confidante of King Cheng and King Kang,¹²¹ and thus closely related to the Zhou royal house. Sima Qian 司馬遷 stated that “Bi Gong Gao had the same surname as the Zhou,”¹²² and Bi is listed in the *Zuo zhuan* as one of sixteen states belonging to “King Wen’s *zhao* 昭 generation.”¹²³ Early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions confirm that heads of the Bi lineage had the status of dukes (*gong* 公).¹²⁴ According to Sima Qian, the Bi lineage later came to be demoted to the status of commoners for some unknown reason.¹²⁵

The inscription on the late Western Zhou *Bi Xian gui* 畢鮮簋 tureen indicates that Duke Yi, who gave a chariot to Pengbo Cheng in 900 B.C., was probably a member of the Bi lineage:

畢鮮作皇祖益公尊簋，用祈眉壽魯休，鮮其萬年子子孫孫永寶用。

Xian of Bi makes this reverent tureen for his august ancestor Yi Gong. [He] will use it to pray for longevity and abundant grace. [May I], Xian, for ten thousand years [have] children and grandchildren to eternally treasure and use [this tureen]!¹²⁶

As mentioned above, Yi 益 might be simply a posthumous title, such that the Duke Yi mentioned in this inscription was not necessarily the same person who used this name during his own lifetime during the reign of King Gong. However, if Duke Yi belonged to the Bi lineage, this would explain why a bronze vessel commemorating the donation of a chariot by Duke Yi to Pengbo was found in Bi Ji’s tomb. The gift would have been related to the marriage between Pengbo and Bi Ji, with Duke Yi being Pengbo’s father-in-law.

¹²⁰ *Wang gui* 壘簋 (*Jicheng* #4272).

¹²¹ See *Shang shu zheng yi* 尚書正義 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 16.3 (“Gu ming” 顧命), p. 272; 19.1 (“Kang wang zhi gao” 康王之誥), p. 285; and 19.2 (“Bi ming” 畢命), p. 287. Note that only the “Gu ming” chapter is also found in the “new text” *Shang shu*.

¹²² Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 44 (“Wei shijia” 魏世家), p. 1835.

¹²³ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1981), p. 421 (Xi 僖 24).

¹²⁴ *Shi Huo gui* 史匭簋 (*Jicheng* #4030); *Xian gui* 獻簋 (*Jicheng* #4205).

¹²⁵ Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 44.1835.

¹²⁶ *Bi Xian gui* 畢鮮簋 (*Jicheng* #2664). Compared with other inscriptions, Xian seems to be a masculine personal name.

Traditional sources provide conflicting information about the location of Bi. Some locate it to the south of the Chang'an 長安 of the Han period, some to the north of Xianyang 咸陽, some thirty *li* west of Feng 豐, the royal residence during the Western Zhou period, while other texts state that it was very large and stretched along both sides of the Wei River.¹²⁷ Bronze inscriptions confirm that at least part of the Bi territory was to the south of present day Xi'an 西安, the provincial capital of Shaanxi. They also show that some descendants of Duke Yi lived in Zhouzhi 盩厔 County; i.e., to the west of Feng.¹²⁸ Possessions of the Bi lineage north of the Wei River have not yet been confirmed, but the activities of Duke Yi reached many distant places both in the south and in the north. A series of bronze inscriptions demonstrates that he played a crucial role in acquiring allies for the Zhou among foreign peoples. His meeting with Pengbo Cheng should be considered in the context of this political process.

According to the inscription on the *Guaibo gui* 乖伯簋, during the ninth year of King Gong's reign (914 B.C.) Duke Yi led a campaign against Mei'ao 眉敖.¹²⁹ Mei'ao was related to the Guai 乖 kingdom, the native polity of the vessel's commissioner. The locations of both of these polities are unclear, but recently Li Feng has suggested that Guai was located in southern Gansu province. More evidence is required in order to verify this hypothesis, but it should certainly be considered.¹³⁰ After Duke Yi's expedition, the ruler of Guai hastened to express loyalty to the Zhou king,¹³¹ so that Duke Yi's success both increased the prestige of the Zhou king and also strengthened his own position in the Zhou governmental structure.

In the twelfth year of King Gong's reign (911 B.C.), Duke Yi "received the mandate from the Son of Heaven" and transferred a part of his fields to his protégé Captain Yong 師永.¹³² Yong's *yu* vessel was found in the southeastern part of Lantian 蘭田 county near the foot of the Zhongnan 終南 Mountains. This is part of the Qinling 秦嶺 Range and is located about 180 km from the Zhou Plain, 60 km from Feng, and 40 km from the putative location of Bi near Xi'an. The fields given to Yong were located at Yinyang Luo 陰陽洛, understood to be the upper course of the southern Luo River in southern Shaanxi, in present day Nanluo 南洛 county to the east of Shangluo 商洛 city.¹³³ This area south of the Qinling Range was on the way between the Zhou metropolitan area and regions inhabited by Huayi peoples. Therefore, it was strategically very important to Zhou. The place of the vessel's discovery suggests that Yong did not reside in the upper Luo valley permanently, but as a landowner he

¹²⁷ See Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dashibiao lieguo*, 330.

¹²⁸ *Wu Hu ding* 吳虎鼎, discovered at Xujiashai 徐家寨, Shendian 申店, Chang'an 長安 County, Shaanxi; see Mu Xiaojun 穆曉軍, "Shaanxi Chang'an xian chutu Xi Zhou Wu Hu ding" 陝西長安縣出土西周吳虎鼎, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 1998.3: 69-71. This inscription documents the transfer of land to Wu Hu 吳虎, who is supposed to have lived near the place of the vessel's discovery. His fields bordered the lands of Pang Jiang 姜 to the west and those of the Bi people 畢人 to the south. This corresponds well with the location of Bi to the south of Han Chang'an and close to Du 杜. Another late western Zhou vessel dedicated to the great-grandfather of the commissioner Duke Yi was found during the Song dynasty in Zhouzhi 盩厔 county, though the exact place of its discovery is unknown. Although the name of the lineage is not stated, this may be near another location of Bi "thirty *li* west of Feng."

¹²⁹ *Guaibo gui* (*Jicheng* #4331).

¹³⁰ Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, pp. 183-85.

¹³¹ Duke Yi's campaign against Mei'ao and the coming to court of Guaibo were related, but Guai and Mei'ao were not necessarily two designations of the same polity, as many scholars believe. The inscription does not make clear that Guai and Mei'ao were the same.

¹³² *Yong yu* 永盂 (*Jicheng* #10322).

¹³³ Cf. Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽, "Jinwen yanjiue zhaji" 金文研究劄記, *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 1981.2: 93-6, esp. 93.

would have been motivated to participate in the defense of this area against attacks by alien peoples. Otherwise, he would not only have failed in his duties in the royal service, but at the same time would have lost his sources of income.

After this time, Duke Yi is often mentioned in inscriptions as the “right-hand attendant” (*youzhe* 右者) accompanying other persons to royal audiences. Li Feng has shown correlations between the administrative responsibilities of various *youzhe*, usually high officials at the Zhou court, and the occupations of those they introduced to the king. Li suggests that “Western Zhou officials were usually accompanied by people from the same administrative sectors of the central government.”¹³⁴ Considering the still very personal rather than “rational” character of the Western Zhou government, it is plausible that the *youzhe* and the individuals they brought to royal audiences were not just associated with each other as representatives of the same branch of government, but were related to each other by kinship, or as neighbors or friends. Examples of some persons introduced to the Zhou king by Duke Yi support this assumption.

During the seventeenth year of King Gong’s reign (906 B.C.), Duke Yi accompanied Captain Xun 師甸 to a royal audience. Xun was appointed as general coordinator of activities of various military divisions, including the royal guard (“tiger-warriors” [*huchen* 虎臣]), foot soldiers, border watches, and many groups of non-Zhou peoples denominated as Yi 夷. The area under Xun’s control stretched from central Shaanxi to the eastern royal residence Chengzhou in central Henan, separated from each other by about four hundred kilometers:

王若曰。「甸！不顯文、武受令(命)。則乃且(祖)奠周邦。今余令(命)女(汝)啻(商)官、(司)邑人，先虎臣後庸：西門夷、秦夷、京夷、夷、師零側(鏹)薪、 \square 華夷、弁豸夷、人！成周走亞、戍：秦人、降人、服夷！易女玄衣黼屯(純)、(緇)市、(綱)、黃(衡)、戈瑀、(厚)必(秘 or 鉞)、彤沙、(鑾)旂、攸勒。用事！」甸 (稽)首、對揚天子休令(命)。用乍文且(祖)乙白(伯)同姬 (尊簋)。甸萬年！子子孫孫永寶用！唯王十又七祀。王才射日宮。旦。王各。益公入右甸。The King spoke as follows: “Xun! Illustrious [Kings] Wen [and] Wu received the Mandate. Hence, your ancestors established the state of Zhou [on their orders]. Now I command you to assume the position as the root officer. Administer the people of the City, first [taking care of] the tiger-warriors, then of the ordinary [men]: aliens from Ximen, aliens from Qin, aliens from Jing, aliens from Chuo, faggotters of Captain Ling, aliens from X-Hua, aliens from Bianzhi, [and] men of Yu. [In] Chengzhou, [administer] the foot soldiers [and] frontier guards: men of Qin, men of Jiang, [and] aliens [who perform] services [for Zhou]. [I] bestow on you a dark robe with embroidered border, black leather kneepads,¹³⁵ a light clothing, a [jade] pendant, a halberd with a carved handle, a [weapon with a] a handle wound with rope, cinnabar sand, a flag with tinkling bells, and [a horse] harness. Use them in service!” Xun bowed his head, in response extolling the beneficent command of the Son of Heaven. [He] uses [this occasion] to make this sacrificial tureen for his cultivated ancestor Yibo and [Lady] Ji. May Xun for ten thousand years [have] sons and grandsons [to] eternally treasure and use [this vessel].

¹³⁴ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and State in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 122-33.

¹³⁵ *Zai* (?) is an adjective describing *fu* 市, kneepads, which differed in color and served as indicators of status in the Western Zhou hierarchy of officials. The compilers of the *Jicheng* suggest reading it as *zi* 緇 “black.”

It was the seventeenth sacrificial year of the king. The king was in the Shooting-Sun-Palace (?). At dawn, the king entered. Duke Yi entered, [accompanying] Xun on his right-hand side.¹³⁶

Captain Xun was a member of the Mi 弭 lineage residing at Sipo 寺坡 in present-day Lantian county.¹³⁷ This place was located about 150 km from the Zhouyuan, 35 km from Zongzhou, and 25 km from where the *Yong yu*, mentioned above, was discovered. This was a place from which it would have been possible to control various activities in the valleys of many rivers coming out of the Qinling Mountains and thus giving access to the Zhou core area from the south. The creation of such coordinating hubs on the periphery of metropolitan Zhou signified the establishment of a new decision-making level in the Zhou state. This increased the complexity and the effectiveness of the Zhou administrative structure and represented an important step in the development of Zhou statehood. Sipo was located only 10-15 km to the south of Bi. Hence, the Mi and Bi lineages were neighbors. If Duke Yi were a member of the Bi lineage, as I have supposed above, it seems likely that he would put his neighbor Xun in this commanding position, which defended both lineages, gradually making the area of present-day Xi'an a counterweight to the royal political center in the Zhouyuan.

The *Xun gui* records that Duke Yi engaged many non-Zhou peoples in the organization of the Zhou defense. However, the relationship between Zhou and these “aliens” remains unclear. A hint may be found in the example of the “King’s Servant” 王臣:

隹二年三月初吉庚寅。王各于大室。益公入右王臣。既立中廷北鄉。呼內史冊命王臣：易女朱黃(璜)、奉親(襯)、玄衣黼屯、繡旂五日、戈：畫、厚秘、彤沙。用事！王臣拜稽首。不敢顯天子對揚休。用乍朕文考易仲尊簋。王臣其永寶用。 It was the second year, the third month, first auspiciousness, *gengyin* (day 27). The King entered the Great Chamber. Duke Yi entered accompanying the King’s Servant on the right-hand side. [They] took [their] position in the central yard facing north. [The King] ordered the Internal Secretary Ao to read aloud the written command to the King’s Servant: “[I] award you with a crimson pendant, ornate shirt, black robe with embroidered hem, a banner with five suns, a bridle [for a chariot]; halberds: [one] with a carved handle, [one] with a handle wound with rope; cinnabar sand. Use them in service!” The King’s Servant bowed, touching his head to the ground, not daring to extol in response the illustrious beneficence of the Son of Heaven. [I, King’s Servant] use [this occasion] to make a reverent tureen for my deceased father *Yizhong*. May King’s Servant eternally treasure and use it!¹³⁸

This audience took place during the second year of King Yih’s reign. Here again we see Duke Yi in the role of *youzhe*. The vessel, commissioned by the “King’s Servant,” was found in 1977 in a tomb in Dengcheng 澄城 county to the east of the northern Luo River in central Shaanxi. This place is located about 300 km from the Zhouyuan and about 180 km from Zongzhou in the Feng River Valley. Apart from this inscribed tureen, the tomb included a broken caldron, four tinkle-bells and twelve bronze fishes.¹³⁹ To date, this has been the only find of Zhou material culture in the vicinity of Dengcheng. Thus, it is unlikely that this area was colonized and firmly controlled by the Zhou. Rather, the person referred to as “King’s

¹³⁶ *Xun gui* 匱簋 (*Jicheng* #4321).

¹³⁷ The *Xun gui* was found in a hoard together with a number of vessels cast by the Third-born of Mi; e.g., *Mi shu Shi Cha gui* 弭叔師察簋 (*Jicheng* #4253).

¹³⁸ *Wang Chen gui* 王臣簋 (*Jicheng* #4268).

¹³⁹ See Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽 and Wang Donghai 王東海, “*Wang Chen gui de chu tu yu xiangguan tongqi de shidai*” 王臣簋的出土與相關銅器的時代, *Wenwu* 文物 1980.5: 64-6.

Servant” was a local non-Zhou leader, one of the many “aliens” that Duke Yi and his trustees attempted to draw to their side.¹⁴⁰

It is remarkable that, apart from this King’s Servant, very few other persons were given a banner with five suns during a royal audience. Possibly, this represented a special privilege. Recipients included [Captain] Hu 虎, who was given an audience by King Mu during his thirtieth year (927 BC). The lid of an inscribed tureen of his was found in southeastern Shaanxi in the valley of the Dan 丹 River about 300 km from the Zhouyuan, 190 km from Zongzhou, and about 70 km to the south from the Yinyang Luo area where Shi Yong was invested in 911 B.C.¹⁴¹ Another recipient was Captain Ji 師藉 of the Mi 弭 lineage, who served King Gong.¹⁴² As did his other relatives, Ji guarded passes through the Qinling Mountains.¹⁴³

Both Zhou and non-Zhou recipients of banners with five suns held the title Captain (*shi* 師). “Captain’s lineages” (*shi shi* 師氏) resided in strategically important places and constituted the foundation of the Zhou military forces, including the so-called “eight western and six eastern *shi* 師.” Although *shi* 師 is usually translated into English as “garrisons” or “armies,” I find it highly improbable that in absence of a developed taxation system the Zhou could have maintained standing armies consisting of recruits or even professional warriors financed by the king. The example of the Mi lineage shows quite clearly that the *shi* (“Captaincies”) were lineage-based, but that these lineages were strongly controlled by the Zhou king and his agents, such as Duke Yi.

The most amazing find relating both to Duke Yi’s activities and to the policy of creating non-Zhou “Captaincies” was made in 1996 in Xiaoheishigou 小黑石溝 near Chifeng 赤峰 city in eastern Inner Mongolia. The rich tomb M9601 with a stone burial chamber has been identified with the Upper Xiajiadian 夏家店 Culture. Although it was partially emptied by robbers, still it yielded many bronzes of both northern Steppe and Zhou styles. The latter include a tureen, the *Shi Dao gui* 師道簋, with the following inscription:

唯二月初吉丁亥。王在康宮。各(格)于大室。益公內右師道。即立(位)中廷。王呼尹冊命師道：賜汝奉(賁)朱亢(璜)，玄衣黼屯(純)，戈：琯□，厚必(秘)；彤沙，旂五日，轡。道拜稽首，對揚天子丕顯休命。用作朕文考寶尊簋。余其萬年寶用享于朕文考辛公。用勺得屯(純)盃(和)，亘(恒)命，霽冬(終)。

¹⁴⁰ Note that alien “king’s servants” were established already during King Kang’s reign as suggested by the *Da Yu ding* inscription quoted above.

¹⁴¹ *Hu gui gai* 虎簋蓋, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1997.3, 3. Hu was the same person as Shi Hu 師虎 (cf. *Shi Hu gui* 師虎簋), see Xia Hanyi 夏含夷, “Cong Zuoce Wu he zai kan Zhou Mu wang zai wei nianshu ji niandai wenti” 從作冊吳盃再看周穆王在位年數及年代問題, in Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 ed., *Xinchu jinwen yu Xi Zhou lishi* 新出金文與西周歷史 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 2011), pp. 71-78.

¹⁴² *Mibo Shi Ji gui* 弭伯師藉簋 (*Jicheng* #4257). The inscription is dated to the eighth month, first auspiciousness, *wuyin* 戊寅 (day 15), but the year is not identified. The day *wuyin* occurred at the beginning of the eighth month only once during the reign of King Gong, namely during his fifth year (918 B.C.). A later date (e.g., 892 B.C.) is less likely, because the inscription mentions Rongbo 榮伯, who was active mostly at the beginning of King Gong’s reign.

¹⁴³ The place where the *Mibo Shi Ji gui* was discovered, Xincun 新村, Lantian 蘭田, Shaanxi, lies in the Wangyu 網峪 River valley about 190 km from the Zhouyuan, 65 km from Zongzhou, and 45 km from Sipo. The Wangyu River flows parallel to the Tangyu River, where the *Yong yu* was found. They are separated from each other by about 30 km. Judging from the locations of vessels cast for members of the Mi lineage, they guarded several passages through the Qinling Mountains; see *Shi Xun gui* 師旬簋 (*Jicheng* #4342); *Xun gui* 旬簋 (*Jicheng* #4321); *Mishu xu* 弭叔盥 (*Jicheng* #4385) and other vessels of Mishu from Sipo, Lantian County.

It was the second month, the first auspiciousness, *dinghai* (day 24). The king was in the Kang Palace. [He] entered the Great Chamber. Duke Yi entered, accompanying Captain Dao on the right-hand side. [They] took [their] position in the central yard. The king ordered the Document-Maker to read aloud the written command to Captain Dao: “[I] award you a large crimson pendant, black robe with embroidered hem, halberds: [one] with a carved handle, [one] with a handle wound with rope; cinnabar sand, a banner with five suns, and a bridle [for a chariot].” Dao bowed, touching his head to the ground, extolling in response the illustrious beneficent command of the Son of Heaven. [I, Dao], use [this occasion] to make a treasured sacrificial tureen. During ten thousand years may I use it for offerings to my cultivated deceased father Xin Gong. [May it be] used for greatly obtaining pure harmony, everlasting command [and] a numinous end.¹⁴⁴

Here again, Duke Yi acted as the *youzhe* at a royal audience during which he accompanied Captain Dao. The latter received a set of objects identical to that of the “King’s Servant,” including the banner with five suns. The inscription indicates only the month and the day, but not the year of reign. Judging from both the appearance of the vessel and the date, it can be dated to the reign of King Yih (probably, 893 B.C.).¹⁴⁵

Xiaoheishigou was located more than 1600 km from the Zhouyuan, where the king offered audience to Captain Dao 師道. It is still hard to believe that local rulers personally attended the Zhou court, even if we know that rulers of Yan 燕 near present-day Beijing 北京 travelled almost 1200 km in order to visit the Zhou king in Zongzhou more than one hundred years earlier.¹⁴⁶ It should be taken into account that contacts between the Lower Xiajiadian Culture in the Chifeng area (ca. 2300-1600 BC) and central China had been established already during the early second millennium B.C.¹⁴⁷ Not just one but a number of tombs at Xiaoheishigou contained various bronze objects of Zhou style. The same tomb, M9601, also yielded a bronze helmet similar to one found in a tomb near the Gaohong settlement, considered above for its possible connection with the Peng lineage.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, an early Western Zhou tureen dedicated by Peng Mian 棚丐 to a Grandmother Yi 義妣 was found in a hoard near Pingfangzi 平房子 in Liaoning province, a little more than 100 km to the southeast of Xiaoheishigou.¹⁴⁹ Thus, peoples in the northeast of present-day China maintained communication with peoples in Shanxi during the early and middle Western Zhou periods. The Peng lineage at Hengbei, located 440 km from the Zhouyuan, 330 km from Zongzhou, and about 300 km from Bi, was also involved in this process. The meeting between Duke Yi and Pengbo Cheng in 900 B.C. may have had as a consequence that an envoy from Xiaoheishigou went to the royal court seven years later in the hope of rich awards. There he was given the title Captain and sent back with a banner with five suns as a new representative of the Zhou king.

¹⁴⁴ *Shi Dao gui* 師道簋 (Neimenggu zizhiqu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo *et al.*, *Xiaoheishigou*, 369); transcription by Li Chaoyuan 李朝遠, “Shi Dao gui mingwen kaoshi” 師道簋銘文考試, in Li Chaoyuan, *Qingtongqixue bu ji* 青銅器學步集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), pp. 243-50.

¹⁴⁵ The *Shi Dao gui* and other bronzes from this tomb find parallels with objects dated to the first half of the ninth century B.C. Therefore, it is likely that this vessel was made during the reign of King Yih. During the latter reign, only the second month of 893 B.C. included a day *dinghai* at the beginning of the month (the fourth day of the month). Alternatively, the nineteenth year of King Gong (903 B.C.) is possible. In this case, *dinghai* was the sixth day of the second month. An earlier date (914 B.C.) is less plausible because of the stylistic features.

¹⁴⁶ *Yanhou Zhi ding* 匱侯旨鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2628).

¹⁴⁷ Robert L. Thorp, *China in the Early Bronze Age* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 57.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *Xiaoheishigou*, 378, fig. 306, and Wu En, *Beifang caoyuan*, 152 fig. 68.

¹⁴⁹ *Peng Mian gui* 棚丐簋 (*Jicheng* #3667).

The examples of “King’s Servant” and Captain Dao reflect attempts to establish loyal “Captaincies” as outposts beyond the territories colonized and effectively controlled by the Zhou during the reigns of Kings Gong and Yih, i.e., from the late tenth to early ninth centuries B.C. The aim of this policy, especially in the case of Captain Dao, would have been to demonstrate the authority of the Zhou king rather than to govern effectively.

In contrast to other non-Zhou lineages drawn by Yi Gong to the Zhou side, Peng did not become a Captaincy. Although men and women from Peng rotated at the Zhou court and interacted with metropolitan lineages during the reign of King Gong, Peng rulers possibly did not volunteer to come to a royal audience and to accept insignia that would identify them as king’s servants. In the case of Peng, Duke Yi privately concluded an alliance with this non-Zhou lineage residing in a strategically and economically important place. This alliance was sealed not only by the gift of a chariot, but also by a marriage of Duke Yi’s daughter (or another female member of the Bi lineage) with Pengbo Cheng. In doing this, Duke Yi possibly acted not only in the interests of the Zhou king. Although his actions were usually sanctioned by the king, he aimed to strengthen his own position both internally and externally and to increase his own prestige. A similar policy of establishing marital connections with the non-Zhou can also be observed in other Ji-surnamed lineages, as this is reflected both in finds of idiosyncratic pottery or bronzes discussed in the previous part of this article and in bronze inscriptions from many places.¹⁵⁰

The Peng lineage continued to exist until the late Western Zhou or early Spring and Autumn period and intermarried with Ji-surnamed lineages in the west and the east, including the Ji-surnamed Cheng 郕 lineage in Shandong. Hence, despite its “barbarian” origin, Peng and other Kui-surnamed lineages became firmly integrated into the Zhou political and cultural spaces, which were gradually becoming more inclusive for non-Zhou lineages in general.

Concluding Remarks

The discovery of the tombs of Peng, a state forgotten by traditional Chinese historiography, sheds new light on a number of aspects of early Chinese history. A comparison of the bronze vessels from Hengbei with other mid-Western Zhou bronzes, especially those related to the person of Duke Yi, confirms that King Gong reigned twenty three years from 922 to 900 B.C., as has been suggested by the Xia-Shang-Zhou Periodization Project. This does not mean that the results of that project must be accepted in their entirety, but correcting the dates of King Gong is an important step towards reconstructing the chronology of the Western Zhou dynasty. Specifically, the date of the *Pengbo Cheng gui* (900 B.C.) is important for the analysis of the political relationships between the Zhou royal house, Ji-surnamed lineages, and lineages of non-Huaxia cultural background during the reigns of Kings Gong and Yih.

The *san zu weng* and *da kou zun* pottery vessels found in tomb M1 at Hengbei do not belong to the cultural repertoire of southwestern Shanxi during the early Zhou period. They display strong relations with the Baode variant of the archaeological Lijiaya culture evident in northeastern Shaanxi and central and northern Shanxi from the middle Shang until early to mid-Western Zhou periods. Both the Peng lineage and the bearers of the Lijiaya culture might also be related to the Gui people referred to in Shang oracle bone inscriptions, Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and Eastern Zhou traditional literature, but evidence for this relationship is fragmentary. From the viewpoint of early Chinese authors, both the ancient Gui people and the Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages residing in Shanxi during the Western Zhou and Spring and

¹⁵⁰ For more examples in inscriptions, see Khayutina, “Marital Alliances,” forthcoming.

Autumn periods belonged to the “Rong-Di” or “Di” group of northern non-Zhou peoples. After the Zhou conquest of Shang, Ji-surnamed polities colonized the Fen River valley and had to establish relations with their non-Zhou neighbors. The case of Peng shows that, as late as Middle Western Zhou, Ji-surnamed lineages were not able to prevent the migration of non-Zhou peoples into the Sushui River valley, which had been depopulated during the late Shang period. Possibly, they even welcomed some migrant groups in order to prevent the resettlement of less friendly peoples into these places. The finds of pottery *san zu weng* in tombs of elite women in cemeteries of Ji-surnamed lineages reveals that the Zhou colonists and their non-Zhou neighbors maintained peace by concluding marital alliances. The discovery of such objects in Tomb M1 at Hengbei suggests that these non-Zhou lineages maintained a memory of their cultural roots, even if they also adopted some Zhou customs and used standard Zhou ritual vessels. By using idiosyncratic objects in burials, and, possibly also during their lifetime, rulers of non-Zhou lineages tried to find their own way of representing themselves in the face of various spectators, including their own subordinates, relatives by kinship and marriage, and, perhaps, also their neighbors.

Inscriptions from tombs M1 and M2 at Hengbei provide important evidence to investigate Zhou relations with their non-Huaxia neighbors. Thanks to the discovery of the *Pengbo Cheng gui* as well as other recent finds of inscribed vessels, it has become clear that Duke Yi was one of the key political figures during the reigns of Kings Gong and Yih. Supposedly a member of the Ji-surnamed Bi lineage intimately related to the Zhou royal house, Duke Yi became famous after his successful campaign against the non-Zhou Mei’ao polity in 914 B.C. Duke Yi’s success prompted some other non-Zhou rulers, such as Guaibo, to take sides with the Zhou king. During subsequent years, Duke Yi was responsible for installing a number of new outposts on both the northern and southern peripheries of the Zhou core area. He also brought newly recruited non-Zhou allies to audiences in the royal residence at Zhouyuan. In the course of these audiences, these allies were given standardized garments and other insignia identifying them as Zhou beneficiaries. Some of them even assumed new designations, such as “King’s Servant,” thereby expressing their fidelity to the Zhou court. The discovery of the *Shi Dao gui* in eastern Inner Mongolia shows that some of the individuals sponsored by Duke Yi resided at a great distance from the Zhou centers.

Although in most cases Duke Yi acted as a representative of the king, the *Pengbo Cheng gui* demonstrates that he also forged private alliances with non-Zhou lineages. He offered gifts to the ruler of Peng and possibly arranged a marriage between him and his own daughter or another woman from the Bi lineage. When this happened, Peng was a wealthy autonomous polity. Judging by the size and burial equipment of the Peng rulers’ tombs, they attempted to imitate and to compete with the neighboring state of Jin.¹⁵¹ Thus, they manifested behavior defined by Collin Renfrew as “competitive emulation,” characteristic of what he calls “peer-polity interaction.”¹⁵² Although Peng, as we can judge by the absence of later large tombs, could not maintain this competition for long, at the beginning of the ninth century B.C., its rulers considered themselves and were possibly considered by others as peers of Jin and other important lineages.

¹⁵¹ Due to space constraints, comparative analysis of the contemporaneous tombs of Peng and Jin cannot be provided here, but will be published elsewhere.

¹⁵² Collin Renfrew, “Introduction: Peer-Polity Interaction and the Socio-Political Change,” in Collin Renfrew ed., *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 1-18, esp. p. 8.

Peng was one of many non-Zhou lineages receiving favors from the king or from metropolitan Zhou elites and supporting Zhou rule in return. In view of the strategically favorable location of Peng as well as its connections with other Kui/Gui-surnamed non-Zhou lineages, Zhou kings undertook various measures in order to integrate the Peng lineage into their political network. Hence, sons of Peng women and some male members of the Peng lineage circulated within the Zhou court. Apparently, they arranged marriages between other Kui/Gui-surnamed lineages and representatives of the metropolitan elite. The bilateral exchange of women between Peng and the metropolitan Bi lineage was mutually advantageous. On the one hand, Peng strengthened its connections with the metropolitan Zhou elites, which also was relevant for Peng's relationships with its neighbor Jin. On the other hand, Bi benefited from getting allies among the wealthy non-Zhou, who were at the same time marital relatives of the Zhou royal house. By choosing marital allies among the non-Zhou, heads of Bi and other major Ji-surnamed lineages competed with each other for influence and prestige. In addition, as in the case of Duke Yi, they used their connections with the non-Zhou in their service for the Zhou court. In the end, the inclusion of the non-Zhou into the Zhou political and social spaces facilitated cultural exchange and the genesis of the Chinese nation. At the same time, it was also a source of much conflict on various levels of Zhou society, and made Zhou rule a dangerous balancing act.

Appendix

Table 4.1 King Mu (r. 956-928 B.C.) Inscriptions from Years 20-34¹⁵³

		Months												
Nr	BC	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
20	937	6	36	6	35	5	35	4	33	3	32	1	31	
21	936	1	31	60	30	59	29	58	28	57	27	56	26	
22	935	55	25	54	A 24	53	23	52	22	52	21	51	20	50
23	934	19	49	18	47	17	47	16	46	15	45	15	44	
24	933	14	43	13	42	11	41	10	40	B 9	39	9	39	8
25	932	38	7	37	6	35	5	34	4	33	3	33	2	
26	931	32	2	31	1	30	59	29	58	27	57	27	56	
27	930	26	56	C 26	55	25	54	23	53	22	51	21	50	20
28	929	50	20	50	19	49	18	47	17	46	15	45	14	
29	928	44	14	44	13	43	12	42	D 11	41	10	39	9	
30	927	38	8	38	E 7	37	7	36	6	35	5	34	4	33
31	926	2	32	1	31	1	30	60	30	59	29	58	28	
32	925	57	27	56	25	55	24	54	F 24	53	23	53	22	
33	924	52	21	51	20	49	19	48	18	47	17	47	16	46
34	923	16	45	15	44	13	G 43	12	41	11	41	10	40	

	Vessels		year	month	phase	ganzhi	day
A	Geng-ying <i>ding</i>	庚嬴鼎	22	4	3	46	23
B	<i>Shi Lu gui</i>	師录簋	24	9	3	27	19
C	<i>Qiu Wei gui</i>	求衛簋	27	3	2	35	12
D	<i>Ban gui</i>	班簋	29	8	1	11	1
E	<i>Hu gui gai</i>	虎簋盖	30	4	1	11	5
	<i>Zuoce Wu he</i>	作册吴盃	30	4	2	19	13
F	<i>Xian gui</i>	鮮簋	34	5	3	55	13

¹⁵³ Source: Zhang Peiyu, *Zhong guo xian Qin shi li biao*, pp. 48-53 (modified).

Table 4.2 Calendar of King Gong (r. 922-900 BC)

		Months												
N r	BC	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	922	10 ¹⁵⁴	40	A 9	39	8	37	7	36	5	35	4	34	4
2	921	34	4	33	3	32	1	31	60	29	59	28	58	
3	920	28	58	B 27	57	27	56	25	55	24	53	23	52	
4	919	22	52	21	51	21	50	20	49	19	48	17	47	16
5	918	C 46	16	55	15	55	14	44	13	43	12	42	11	
6	917	40	10	39	9	38	8	38	7	37	7	36	6	
7	916	36	6	35	5	34	3	33	2	32	D 1	31	1	30
8	915	60	30	59	29	E 58	27	57	26	56	25	55	F 24	
9	914	G 54	24	H 54	23	53	22	51	21	I 50	19	49	18	48
10	913	18	48	17	47	16	46	15	45	14	43	13	42	
11	912	12	41	11	41	10	39	9	38	7	37	6	36	
12	911	6	35	J 5	35	4	34	K 3	33	2	31	1	30	
13	910	60	30	60	29	59	L 28	58	27	57	26	55	25	54
14	909	24	53	23	53	22	52	22	51	21	50	19	49	
15	908	18	48	17	47	M1 6	46	N1 6	45	15	44	14	44	
16	907	13	42	12	41	11	40	10	39	O 9	39	8	38	8
17	906	37	7	36	5	35	4	33	3	33	2	32	2	
18	905	31	1	31	60	29	59	28	57	27	56	26	56	26
19	904	55	25	55	24	53	23	52	21	51	20	50	20	
20	903	P 49	19	49	19	48	17	47	16	45	15	44	14	43
21	902	13	43	13	42	12	41	11	40	9	39	8	38	
22	901	7	37	7	36	6	36	5	35	4	33	3	32	
23	900	Q	R	1	S	60	30	59	29	58	28	57	27	56

¹⁵⁴ King Gong's calendar had to include two first months in the initial year.

3		2	31		30									
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	Vessels		year	month	phase	ganzhi	day	mentioned persons				
								益公	井伯	榮白	定伯	伯俗父
A	Xun <i>gui</i>	師匋簋	1	2	3	27	21			x		
	Dou Bi <i>gui</i> (?)	豆閉簋	2	2	15	7			x			
B	Wei <i>he</i>	衛盃	3	3	2	39	13		x	x	x	
C	Wei <i>ding</i>	衛鼎	5	1	1	47	2		x		x	x
D	Jue Cao <i>ding</i>	曹鼎	7	10	2	?			x			
E	Geng-ji <i>ding</i>	庚季鼎	?	5	2	7	11					x
F	Qisheng Lu <i>yi</i>	齊甥魯彝	8	12	1	24	1					
G	Wei <i>ding</i>	衛鼎	9	1	4	17	27					
H	Ji <i>gui</i>	即簋	?	3	1	57	4				x	
I	Guaibo <i>gui</i>	乖伯簋	9	9	?	51	2	x				
J	Zou <i>gui</i>	走簋	12	3	3	27	23		x			
K	Yong <i>yu</i>	永盃	12	?	1	4	2	x	x			x
L	Wang <i>gui</i>	望簋	13	6	1	35	8					
M	Jue Cao <i>ding</i>	曹鼎	15	5	2	19	4					
N	Shi Kui-fu <i>ding</i>	師奎父鼎	?	6	2	27	12		x			
O	Shi Shan <i>pan</i>	史山盤	16	9	2	21	13					
P	Zouma Xiu <i>pan</i>	走馬休盤	20	1	3	11	22	x				
Q	Shen <i>gui</i>	申簋	?	1	1	4	3	x				
R	Pengbo Cheng <i>gui</i>	棚伯甬簋	23	?	1	34		x				
S	Shi Hu <i>gui</i>	師虎簋	?	4	2	34	5					

Table 4.3 King Yih (r. 899 - 873) Inscriptions Years 1-8.

Nr	BC	Months												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	899	26	55	25	54	24	A 53	23	53	22	52	21	51	
2	898	20	50	B 19	49	18	48	17	57	16	56	16	45	
3	897	15	45	14	43	13	42	11	41	10	40	10	40	9
4	896	39	C 9	38	7	37	6	35	5	34	4	34	3	
5	895	33	3	33	2	31	1	30	59	29	58	28	57	27
6	894	57	27	56	26	55	24	54	23	53	22	52	21	
7	893	51	D	50	20	50	19	49	18	47	17	46	16	

			21											
8	892	E 45	15	44	14	44	13	43	13	42	11	41	10	40

	Vessels		year	month	phase	ganzhi	day	mentioned persons		
								益公	井伯	内史吳
A	<i>Shi Hu gui</i>	師虎簋	1	6	3	11	21		x	x
	<i>Hu gui</i>	召簋	1	6	3	12	22			
B	<i>Wang chen gui</i>	王臣簋	2	3	1	27	9	x		
C	<i>Shi Yun gui</i>	師殯簋	?	2	1	15	7		x	x
D	<i>Shi Dao gui</i>	師道簋	?	2	1	24	4	x		
E	<i>Mu gui</i>	牧簋	7	13	2	51	7	x		x

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¹⁵⁵ The present investigation was supported by a BGF-grant of the Ludwig-Maximilians-University of Munich. The text represents an amended version of my conference paper “The Tombs of Peng State and Related Questions” read at the “Ancient Chinese Bronzes from the Shouyang Studio and Elsewhere: An International Conference Commemorating Twenty Years of Discoveries” in Chicago in November 2010. I use this opportunity to express my thanks to Professor Shaughnessy and his colleagues for organizing this meeting.