

**CREATING VISUAL EMBLEMS FOR EASTERN ZHOU MILITARIZED FRONTIER
SOCIETIES (771-221 BCE)**

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My dissertation examines the hybrid imagery on burial objects from the tomb of the Zhao (赵) Minister of the Jin (晋) State in and the Zhao King Tomb No. 2, for example, gilded plaques decorated with paired dragon motifs (Fig. 1) and bronze daggers with a combat scene of tiger and bird (Fig. 2). These objects were considered to be modeled on Sino-Siberian motifs in past scholarship. Instead of using the term ‘hybridity’ merely as a stylistic label to describe these bronze artifacts as in previous scholarship, I re-define my use of this term and analyze how hybridity is practiced in different aspects. Hybridity is seen as a hybrid design on burial objects. It is also reflected in the purposeful selection of different practice for elite tombs and in the co-existence of both Zhou (周) and local population in commoner burials in this frontier region.

My research explores multiple meanings of these hybrid artifacts of the Jin and Zhao and consists of manifold approaches. I analyzed the broad social and political context of Jin and Zhao based on textual documents, which accounts for the needs of empowering themselves. A more confined perspective to examine these hybrid artifacts in burial setting aims to analyze how the Jin and Zhao elites used these artifacts to create a unique identity displayed at the time of their death. The third approach focuses on trade networks and bronze production in the region in order to show the development in the design of these hybrid style bronzes and to suggest a reciprocal relationship between the Chinese states and the frontier groups.

In conclusion, the creation and placement of the hybrid bronze artifacts in the elite Jin and Zhao tombs revealed a unique cultural identity for them that goes along with the unstable political tides around the 500 BCE. The practice of hybridity manifested itself on burial artifacts and programs and so were in accord with their all-inclusive diplomatic strategies that these practices became the sanctioned and collective means to negotiate their cultural identity and assert their power in the region.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	X
1.0 INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH QUESTION, PAST SCHOLARSHIP, AND RESEARCH APPROACH.....	1
1.1 OVERVIEW AND CHAPTER OUTLINES.....	13
2.0 EXTERNAL INTERACTION AND INTERNAL DYNAMICS: INCLUSIVE DIPLOMACY OF ZHAO	19
2.1 SCHOLARLY ATTITUDES TOWARD AND THEORIES OF ANCIENT INTERACTION IN THE NORTHERN ZONE	20
2.2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL INTERACTIONS DURING THE FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE: EVIDENCED IN JIN AND ZHAO BURIALS	24
2.3 EXPLANATORY MODELS OF EXTERNAL INTERACTION AND INTERNAL DYNAMICS: INCLUSIVE DIPLOMATIC POLICY OF ZHAO	26
2.3.1 Migration Model	27
2.3.2 Trade Model	29
2.3.3 Internal Dynamics: Struggle of Jin, and Inclusive Diplomacy of Jin and Zhao.....	34
2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS	46

3.0	HYBRID EMBLEMS CREATED TO BE DISPLAYED IN DEATH TRANSITIONS: WHAT THE ZHAO PEOPLE MAINTAINED AND CHANGED IN THEIR BURIALS.....	48
3.1	INNOVATIONS IN MORTUARY PRACTICES IN THE ZHAO MINISTER TOMB SEEN FROM THE RITUAL CONTEXT	51
3.2	DUAL PHASES OF FUNERARY RITES IN EARLY CHINA.....	57
3.3	CHARTING CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE ZHAO MINISTER TOMB IN RITUAL CONTEXT	62
3.3.1	The First Phase of Funerary Rites: the Innermost Coffin of the Zhao Minister.....	63
3.3.2	The Second Phase: The Transition of Identity toward Becoming the New Ancestor	66
3.4	THE REOCCURENCE OF HYBRIDITY IN THE GILDED PLAQUE FROM THE ZHAO KING MAUSOLEUM	74
3.5	ANOTHER TYPE OF HYBRIDITY IN LOCAL ZHAO CEMETERIES AT BAIJIACUN AND XINZHOUYAOZI.....	79
3.5.1	Cemeteries at Baijiacun and Maoqinggou.....	81
3.5.2	Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery.....	85
3.6	CONCLUDING REMARKS	89
4.0	THE MAKING OF HYBRID BRONZES IN THE JIN STATE OPERATED HOUMA FOUNDRY IN THE FRONTIER TERRITORY.....	94
4.1	THE DYNAMIC NORTHERN FRONTIER: THE RISE OF NORTHERN ARISTOCRACY	96

4.2	THE METAL NETWORK ACROSS JIN (LATER THE ZHAO), QIN AND THE NORTHERN FRONTIER REGION	103
4.3	THE HOUMA FOUNDRY: RENOVATION, THE EXTENSIVE MARKET AND CLIENTELE	108
4.4	CONCLUDING REMARKS	115
5.0	CONCLUSIONS	118
	APPENDIX A	129
	APPENDIX B	133
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	138

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Grouping of Upper Xiajiadian period graves and the distribution of Chinese bronzes among these graves (after Schelach, 2009: 140)	129
Table 2: Contents of Elite Tombs of the States of the Jin and Zhao during Eastern Zhou.....	130
Table 3: Weapons in the Eastern Zhou Elite Burials	131
Table 4: Chariot and Horse Remains in the Eastern Zhou Elite Burials	132

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1.0 INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH QUESTION, PAST SCHOLARSHIP, AND RESEARCH APPROACH

Official Cheng: “Dear Zhao King, I indeed heard that Your Majesty has started to wear the Hu people’s clothes. However, I have been confined to bed because of illness and therefore cannot walk quickly, so I did not visit you in advance. Now you have issued the order, therefore I must show my loyalty. As far as I know, the central part of China is an area where wise people congregate, various assets conglomerate, wise and capable people extend their teachings, principles of benevolence and righteousness are advocated and practices, *Shijing* (Anthology of Ancient Poems), *Shangshu* (The Book of the Shang Dynasty), *Liji* (The Book on Proprieties) and *Yueji* (The Book On Music) are taught, and talented people exhibit their feats. Moreover, people of the distant areas observe and mimic our customs, and the minority peoples regard us as paragons. Nonetheless, you are going to give up all these factors and wear the clothes of a distant minority people. It is against old instructions, the traditional way of doing things and the will of the people. In addition, it also deviates from fixed teachings and our own Chinese custom. I hope you can think twice!”

King Wuling: “There is no one way to rule the world, nor is there any need to copy the old to benefit my country.” - *Zhanguo Ce (Stratagems of the Warring States)*, [475-221 BCE]...

“臣固闻王之胡服也，不佞寝疾，不能趋走，是以不先进。王今命之，臣固敢竭其愚忠。臣闻之，中国者，聪明睿知之所居也，万物财用之所聚也，贤圣之所教也，仁义之所施也，诗书礼乐之所用也，异敏技艺之所试也，远方之所观赴也，蛮夷之所义行也。今王释西，而袭远方之服，变古之教，易古之道，逆人之心，畔学者，离中国，臣愿大王图之。”“故礼世不必一其道，便国不必法古。”¹

In this exchange from 307 BCE, Cheng’s admonition to his king exemplifies the strong opposition of officials of the Zhao State to the adoption of foreign uniforms and methods of fighting. Yet, objects excavated from tombs along the Great Wall, in an area usually described as

¹ Zhai Jianguo 翟江月. ed. *Zhanguo Ce* 战国策 (Records on the Warring States Period), 赵策二, vol. 19. Guangxi Shifandaxue Chubanshe 广西师范大学出版社, 2008: 786-811.

the “Northern Frontier” (or *beifang* 北方) Chinese States of Jin (Fig. 3) and its successor state of Zhao (Fig. 4.a), bear a strong resemblance in type or style to artifacts commonly associated with their pastoral neighbors and military rivals. These include: gilded plaques decorated with paired animals and bronze daggers with a scene of animal combat, all based on elements from both Chinese and steppe-style prototypes. Why, in a period when these Chinese states engaged in frequent wars with frontier groups, did their elite tombs contain objects shaped and/or decorated in ways that were associated with their enemies? How are we to interpret the phenomenon of adopting multiple existing stylistic or technological traditions into “new” objects and placing them in burials of Zhao elites? These are the problems that will be explored in this study.

Past scholarship has interpreted the prominence of burial goods with “foreign” motifs in the “Northern Frontier” as “influenced by Animal Style or Scythian-Siberian” models.”² A kind of ‘mixing’ or hybridity (or *hunhe* 混合) of both Chinese and steppic artistic expressions has also been suggested.³ Most scholarship that has focused on materials from the *beifang* has been treated typologically and stylistically in order to establish chronologies compared to Chinese materials from the Central Plain.⁴ One further example is the concept of the co-called ‘Ordos style’ (鄂尔多斯式) proposed by Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin in the 1980s to describe those bronze artifacts excavated from the pastoralist tombs along the Great Wall to indicate their non-

² Mikhail Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922. Esther Jacobson, *The Art of the Scythians*, E.J. Brill: Leiden, New York and Koln, 1995: 2.

³ Liu Tianying 刘天鹰 and Chen Bin 陈斌, “Discussion on Artifacts Excavated from the Zhao King Tomb No. 2 during the Warring States Period” (战国赵王陵二号墓出土文物论述) in *Wenwu Shijie* 文物世界, 2008, vol. 6. Zhao Jianchao 赵建朝, “Exploration on the Gilded Plaque from the Zhao King Tomb” (赵王陵出土金饰牌小考) in *Wenwu Chunqiu* 文物春秋, 2004, vol. 1.

⁴ Such studies, for example, include those by Li Hairong 李海荣, *The Research on the Bronze Objects of the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties Unearthed from the Northern Frontier Area of China* (北方地区出土夏商周时期青铜器研究), Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2003. Lin Yun 林沅, “A Re-examination of the Relationship between Bronzes of the Shang Culture and of the Northern Zone,” edited by Kuang-chih Chang 张光直, *Studies of Shang Archaeology*, 1986: 237-73. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Zhou stylistic features.⁵ Although the above-mentioned research has revealed the blending of discernable elements from multiple cultural traditions on these artifacts, they treat the Central Plain as the core area and *beifang* as the periphery and thereby denote an unequal relationship. The source of the core-periphery model was largely ingrained in the normative and dualistic explanations constructed by the Chinese historian Sima Qian (司马迁) in the *Shiji* (史记) during the 2nd century BCE, which assumed that a cultural chasm had always existed between China and pastoral groups. This perspective is not alone in the research of cultural interaction and material culture. For example, the core-periphery model is also seen in studies of colonial interaction and cultural contact in the Western scholarship based on the application of Wallerstein's 'world systems' theory⁶ and Hudson's 'locational model,'⁷ both of which overemphasize determination by the center and underrate the active role of peripheral peoples.

⁵ Tian Guangjin 田广金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新, *E'erdusi Qingtongqi* (鄂尔多斯青铜器 Ordos Bronzes). Beijing: Wenwu Press. 1986.

⁶ Wallerstein's world systems theory presents a hierarchical approach to study colonialism, stressing that cultural change is a result of internal development within the relationship between the core and periphery. As Kent Lightfoot has critiqued, the dominant core states taking advantage of weaker, undeveloped peripheral and semiperipheral regions in order to extract resources and labor. See Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. Academic Press, New York, 1974: 349-350, 102-103. For a brief review of Wallerstein's "World System" theory and the critiques of its application in prehistoric situations, see Kent G. Lightfoot and Antoinette Martinez, Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective, *Annual Review of Anthropology* (24), 1995: 471-492. Prudence M. Rice, Contexts of Contact and Change: Peripheries, Frontiers, and Boundaries, *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by James G. Cusick, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Occasional Paper No. 25. 1998: 44-66. Gil Stein, "From Passive Periphery to Active Agents: Emerging Perspectives in the Archaeology of Interregional Interaction," in *American Anthropologist* (104), 2002: 903-916.

⁷ Hudson's locational theory provides a model to study colonial expansion regarding the expansion of agrarian populations into undeveloped territory that involves different stages of colonization. The assumption is that the spacing patterns of settlements are modified with population growth. Spacing patterns from the initial period of low population density to the development of different settlement spacing patterns such as random, nucleated and even, are used to predict for different stages of the colonial process. Hudson's approach has been widely applied together with the core-periphery model by archaeologists to study culture change restricted to internal developments within colonial populations. See J.C. Hudson, A Location Theory for Rural Settlements. *Ann. Assoc. Am. Geogr.* 59, 1969: 365-81.

Such dichotomous viewpoints applied in the study of material change in cultural interaction in ancient China spawned critical literature that calls for alternative approaches and interpretations. In the past two decades, archaeologists and art historians have come to realize that different factors including economic trade, cultural and political exchange with the non-dynastic local groups in the northern frontier can have an impact on material culture and therefore place these factors to the fore of research.⁸ For example, Jenny So and Emmer Bunker, in *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier* (1995), suggest that trade was a vital interactive mechanism and as a result reconstruct a picture of contact and cultural exchange between ancient Chinese and their non-Chinese neighbors.⁹ This breaks down the traditional Sino-centric view by suggesting a mutually reciprocal relationship between dynastic Zhou and frontier groups. Another example comes from Di Cosmo, who argues that extensive agriculture practiced by non-Chinese communities beyond the Great Wall supported large urban centers and trade networks with regions other than China by looking at the presence of farming tools in burials in steppe regions in Manchuria, Inner and Northern Mongolia, Xinjiang (新疆), Tarim Basin and South Siberia from the latter half of the first millennium BCE to the 2nd century BCE.¹⁰ He finds that mobile and sedentary cultures seem to overlap in above-mentioned areas. In

⁸ Katheryn Linduff, "An archaeological Review," in *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, edited by Emma Bunker, Kawami, T. E, and En Wu, New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1997. Also see Nicola Di Cosmo, "The Northern Frontier in Pre-Imperial China," In *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins to 221 BC.*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999: 885-966. J. D. Rogers, "Archaeology and the Interpretation of Colonial Encounters," in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, edited by Gil Stein, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005: 331-354.

⁹ Emma Bunker and Jenny So, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995. A relevant note: a similar trade model has been raised by Katheryn Linduff in her analysis of the relationship between the prehistoric non-Shang site called "Zhukaigou" to the Shang dynastic center (1522-1066 BCE, prior to Zhou dynastic power). See Katheryn Linduff, "Zhukaigou, Steppe Culture and the Rise of Chinese Civilization," in *Antiquity*, vol, 69 (No. 262), 1995: 133-145.

¹⁰ Nicola Di Cosmo, "Ancient Inner Asian Nomads: Their Economic Bases and Its Significance in Chinese History," in *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1994, Vol. 53: 1092-1126.

addition, sources of agricultural products were available to the pastoralists even outside the scope of Chinese political, military, or economic power. Di Cosmo's argument turns down the previous rigid dichotomous viewpoints of the economic dependency of the import of Chinese goods, which he claims obscures historical events that took place outside the Chinese political and economic orbit.¹¹ There is also systematic fieldwork that focuses on settlement patterns, mortuary remains, population growth, and socio-political complexity in regions beyond the Central Plain. For example, the Chifeng (赤峰) International Collaborative Archaeological Project in Southeast Inner Mongolia, an area between dynastic center in the agriculturally productive Yellow River and the steppe land to its north and west where a mobile-pastoralism developed, discovered that the regions outside the Yellow River Basin developed their own regional lifeways and cultural remains that were quite different from those of the Central Plain.¹² This new research using economic and trade models have generally avoided some of the pitfalls that have impaired theories of cultural interaction and cultural mixtures, for example, passive and uni-directional change.

When we look at the group of artifacts with decorations resembling traditions of both Dynastic Zhou and northern areas from the Zhao elite tombs, how are we then to make sense of them? Are they best understood as examples of 'cultural mixture?' Or hybridity? In retrospect of previous scholarship, the first thing that needs to be examined is the use of cultural mixture and hybridity to describe or interpret these artifacts. The term hybridity was adopted in previous scholarship as a marker for identifying these bronze artifacts that blend, mix, and transform certain stylistic traditions. This benefitted our visual understanding of them. However, hybridity

¹¹ Ibid., 1095.

¹² Katheryn Linduff, Robert Drennan, and Gideon Shelach. 2002-2004. "Early Complex Societies in Northeast China: The Chifeng International Collaborative Archaeological Research Project," in *Journal of Field Archaeology*, vol. 29, No. ½; Spring, 2002- Summer, 2004, pp. 45-73.

is a concept that initially had biological associations with negative connotations when applied to human society.¹³ It is widely used in studies of culture contact and it refers to the new and transcultural forms produced through colonization.¹⁴ Past scholarship is not aware of the original theoretical context and connotations of the term. When the term hybridity is applied to describe material culture, one fact is ignored. Cultural interaction in ancient China may bear little resemblance to modern European colonialism, in which the term is most widely used. In this study, I will address how the notion of hybridity differs from cultural mixture and how hybridity may shed light for art historical studies of artifacts and their depositional contexts in ancient China, and perhaps elsewhere.

The second issue in past scholarship that I believe remains debatable is the stylistic analysis of these objects “designed with an eye towards the external sources of stylistic or technological influence, and not for understanding the context where such influences become blended and transformed.”¹⁵ The creation and placement of these objects in tombs of Zhao elite members beg for further explication, especially ones that take into account the importance of the local context and agency in understanding the visual character of these artifacts based on Zhao’s specific historical and political situations at the time.

¹³ Homi Bhabha first introduced the term “hybridity” into postcolonial studies. Back to the nineteenth century, the term was used to discuss cross-breeding between different animals. With the application of it to human beings, it defines difference and sameness in human communities. See R. J. C Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, London: Routledge, 1995: 1-28.

¹⁴ Matthew Liebmann, “Postcolonial Cultural Affiliation: Essentialism, Hybridity, and NAGPRA,” in *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*, edited by M. Liebmann and U.Z. Rizvi, 2008: 83. Matthew Liebmann, “Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico,” lecture presented in the Conference “Hybrid Material Culture: The Archaeology of Syncretism and Ethnogenesis” in the Center for Archaeological Investigations, SIU-Carbondale, 2009. Stephen W. Silliman, “What, Where, and When is Hybridity?” lecture presented in the same conference, 2009. For discussions of why the term “hybridity” should be anchored to colonial contexts, how “hybridity” shows menace and power relations that does not exclude dominance or asymmetry in Homi Bhabha’s introduction of “hybridity” into postcolonial studies, also see Carlos Canete and Jaime Vives-Ferrandiz “‘Almost the Same’: Dynamic Domination and Hybrid Contexts in Iron Age Lixus, Larache, Morocco,” in *World Archaeology*, 2011, vol. 43 (1): 124-143.

¹⁵ Personal communication with Jeb Card, organizer of the conference “Hybrid Material Culture: The Archaeology of Syncretism and Ethnogenesis” in the Center for Archaeological Investigations, SIU-Carbondale, 2009.

To address these problems, I think that these objects with mixed artistic features of both Chinese and Eurasian prototypes need to be approached from multiple perspectives. Firstly, I suggest a shift from looking at this group of artifacts merely as a result of passive one-way transmission (the so-called “Scytho-Siberian” motifs or steppic influence) to regard them as a conscious and active choice of the Zhao elites including the minister and the king reflected by the location of their inclusion and placement in burials. My consideration draws largely from reconsideration of the conventional anthropological studies of colonial encounters in North America where dichotomous thinking of cultural categories such as ‘Indian’ versus ‘Western’ and ‘European’ versus ‘Native American’ have been widely used to study change or continuity of the material culture during colonial periods from 16th to 19th centuries.¹⁶ Gil Stein suggested human agency as a main aspect of developing the new interaction paradigm to study interregional interaction while rejecting unilinear models.¹⁷ In the book *Objects of Change: The Archaeology and History of Arikara Contact with Europeans*, Daniel Rogers uses the Arikara material culture (or archaeological) record to determine the interactive process between the Arikara and the Euro-Americans and shows that individuals, households, and larger-scale groups are quite selective in what they choose to borrow from another group.¹⁸ This selectiveness means that when individuals or a group of people adopt or appropriate the material culture from another

¹⁶ Kent Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants, The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2004. Kent Lightfoot, Antoinette Martinez, and Ann M. Schiff, “Daily Practice and Material Change in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence from Fort Ross, California,” in *American Antiquity*, 1998, vol. 63: 199-222. Claire L. Lyons and John K. Papadopoulos (editors), *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, LA: The Getty Research Institute, 2002.

¹⁷ Gil Stein, “From Passive Periphery to Active Agents: Emerging Perspectives in the Archaeology of Interregional Interaction,” in *American Anthropologist*, 2002, vol. 104 (3): 903-916, 907. For application of agency theory in archaeology, see Marcia-Anne Dobres and John Robb, *Agency in Archaeology*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000. *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power and Being Human*, edited by Andrew Gardener, London: UCL Press, 2004.

¹⁸ Daniel Rogers, *Objects of Change: The Archaeology and History of Arikara Contact with Europeans*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.

through trade, emulation, or other ways, the borrowers transform the meaning or ideological content into the local cultural or symbolic system.¹⁹ This kind of selectiveness reflects human agency when choosing materials and goods. The subsequent transformation of meaning can be perceived from the passage I quoted at the outset of this paper from the ancient Chinese text *Zhanguo Ce* (战国策 *Stratagems of the Warring States*). The passage presents the concern of Zhao State official about losing Chinese identity if the state adopts cavalry and nomadic way of fighting. The dress, fighting methods, and likewise these bronze artifacts including daggers and plaques used as weapons and personal ornaments became the locus to express one's cultural identity.

A second exploration, partially related to the first one, of these artifacts will take into account the burial context. Burials have often been seen as a locus where status, social role, and identity is shaped and enforced; or as a source of social power for those who participate in, control, or create them, thus revealing a great deal about a given society and its dynamics.²⁰ Peter Wells' research provides an example. In his essay "Culture Contact, Identity, and Change in the European Provinces of the Roman Empire," he focuses on the expression of identity through change and continuity in building types, settlement and burial patterns, and forms of pottery, tools and weapons among indigenous peoples of Gaul and Germany before and after the Roman conquest.²¹

The incorporation of the burial context to study my group of artifacts will contribute to the understanding of how Zhao elites participated actively in identity construction, and how they

¹⁹ Gil Stein, 2002: 907.

²⁰ *The Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by Evangelos Kyriakidis, Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2007.

²¹ Peter S. Wells, "Culture Contact, Identity, and Change in the European Provinces of the Roman Empire," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by James G. Cusick, 1998: 316-334.

externalized and manipulated that through burial materials. This analysis will also shed light on the ritual process at the individual's death. The exploration of ritual at burial and in the cemetery is related to the theme of memory and practice in much archaeological research. For example, Howard Williams, in his *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*, has concentrated on the material objects, treating them as "objects of memory."²² Williams talks about the preparation of the deceased body, explores the meaning of interment periods and describes each event within the burial act as performance, as a way of assisting with the memory of dead.²³ This way of considering the significance of artifacts in the burial context as part of the rituals to achieve social identity and commemoration of the death is not uncommon in the study of burial objects. In the study of mortuary culture in ancient China, Hung Wu, in the early 1990s in his study of the Han dynasty elite tomb of Lady Dai, adopted a very similar theoretical approach. When dealing with the artifacts, Lady Dai's funerary painting/banner and the configuration of the inner and out coffins, he rejected the old iconographic explanations and suggested that they be interpreted in ritual context.²⁴ He made two methodological proposals that "the painting, rather than being an independent 'work of art,' was part of the whole tomb; and the tomb, rather than being a ready-made structure, took shape during a ritual process."²⁵ Hung Wu analyzed the funerary painting as related to the soul-recalling ritual and Lady Dai's life portrait through which she will be "identified and loved by the living," while the placement of burial objects in her inner

²² Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Howard Williams' approach of situating burial objects in the ritual context and his consideration of mortuary rituals are based on Metcalf and Huntington's work and Robert Hertz's work. See Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, second edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1979), 2008. Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand*, London: Cohen and West, (1960), 2009.

²³ Williams, 2006.

²⁴ Hung Wu, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," in *Early China*, 1992, vol. 17: 110-144.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 112.

and outer coffins acted as protection and the immortal paradise for her afterlife.²⁶ Hung Wu's framework was not only an analysis of the artifacts and burial, but about death and beyond, a structure to involve three actors: the corpse, the soul, and the living. Joy Beckman and Sheri Lullo's research on ancient China also adopted the approaches of Robert Hertz and Howard Williams. For example, in her study on the burial objects in Warring States China, Joy Beckman has addressed how the decoration of these burial objects, including the garments and bronzes, functioned as externalized materials that reflect the status of the deceased as well as the social relationship between the living mourners and the dead.²⁷ By applying the theories of Hertz and Williams and also referring to Hung Wu and Joy Beckman, Sheri Lullo discussed the various meanings associated with the toiletry cases to the deceased and the living community in the different stages during the funerary rites when considered in the context of life and death.²⁸ My group of bronze artifacts with decorations of mixed artistic prototypes, when situated in the burial context and viewed as part of the ritual practices, have the potential to not only create unique cultural 'identities' for the Jin and Zhao elites, but also to reflect the memory and recognition of larger ideologies regarding political ambition and authority in the multi-state system during Eastern Zhou.

The third approach to these artifacts will be a reconsideration of the stylistic term hybridity, as pertinent to this group of artifacts, particularly in the context of the Northern Frontier. From recent research on frontiers, one theory suggests that they²⁹ should be seen not

²⁶ Ibid., 122.

²⁷ Joy Beckman, "Layers of Being: Bodies, Objects, and Spaces in Warring States Burials." Two Volumes. PhD diss., University of Chicago. 2006.

²⁸ Sheri Lullo, "Toiletry Case Sets Across Life and Death in Early China (5th c. BCE – 3rd c. CE)." PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2009.

²⁹ The trend of treating frontier from a static place to a contact zone has been mentioned or suggested in all the following literatures. See Rice, 1998: 49-50. Also see Brian Ferguson and Neil Whitehead, *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, (1992) 1999.

from a static “Frontier-as-place” concept, but as active “Frontiers-as-process” or “Frontiers-as-arenas of socio-econo-political competition.”³⁰ The view of “frontier as a contact zone or middle ground” that “gives rise to hybrid forms of culture and ambiguous identities composed of selected elements from each previously distinct cultural repertoire” is of particular interest here.³¹

A static stylistic view of artifacts evidenced in the past scholarship will be reconsidered and replaced with a concept of hybridity that is more reflective. A framework and categorization of the tombs in the Northern Frontier, which analyzes the mixing of visual traditions, has been developed and applied here. It takes into account for the first time with this material the social positions of the deceased. Several levels of society have been discerned and creating a more textured view of Zhao society than attempted before. This recognition is then the framework within which the hybridity of type and style of items is discussed. The study examines: 1) royal or elite tombs that contain objects that follow Central Zhou dynastic conventions, local customs and those of peoples living outside of the Chinese political and cultural sphere; 2) commoner tombs and cemeteries that contain either exclusively dynastic or Steppe-like materials, and 3) recently excavated materials from ‘frontier tombs’ of other socio-economic groups that also display a mixed aesthetic or set of burial goods.

Kent G. Lightfoot and Antoinette Martinez, Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective, *Annual Review of Anthropology* (24), 1995: 471-492. Bradley Parker and Lars Rodseth, *Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2005.

³⁰For the application of “Frontier-as –arenas of socio-econo-political competition,” see M. Dietler, “Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter.” in *Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by James G. Cusick, 1998: 288-315.

³¹ For use and discussion of “frontier as middle ground,” see R. White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. For discussion of ambiguity of identities in frontier situations, see Peter Van Dommelen, “Ambiguous Matters: Colonialism and Local Identities in Punic Sardinia,” in *The Archaeology of Colonialism*. Edited by C. Lyons and J. Papadopoulos, LA: The Getty Research Institute, 2002: 121-147.

Here hybridity is used to fragment binary thinking and understand ambiguous cultural formations in the Zhao society.³² By expanding the stylistic arguments in previous scholarship that applies hybridity to these bronze artifacts, I suggest that there are other elements in this study that show hybridity, for example, the historically known intermarriage between Jin/Zhao and their non-Zhou neighbors may possibly cause genetic mixing that might carry out different patterns of mortuary practice in a single local cemetery (eg. Xinzhouyaozi cemetery 忻州窑子). The mixing of burial practices that featured both Zhou and non-Zhou's burial tradition in the Zhao Minister tomb creates another type of hybridity in my study. Therefore, would we consider only certain artifacts, such as Zhao Minister's bronze dagger decorated with combat motif, as hybrids due to their blended stylistic features of multiple aesthetic traditions, or would it also apply to Zhao King's gilded plaque which had quite a number of steppe counterparts but cast in traditional technologies? Could we consider the mixing of certain mortuary practice and behavior in the Zhao minister tomb as products of hybridization? Could we consider certain cultural groups that probably underwent a kind of ethnogenesis, like the mixing of both Zhou and non-Zhou populations in one cemetery, as hybrids?

My analysis suggests a modification of the term hybridity, which should be understood as a process and practice anchored in burial practice related to expressions of self-identity for the Zhao in Eastern Zhou China. Once hybridity is viewed as a process and practice, the term will be particularly helpful for understanding the motivation of the creation of these artifacts, their placement in burials as well as the transformation of Zhao identity towards the end of the Spring and Autumn period and the ambitious response from the Zhao King to official Cheng in the

³² Stephen W. Silliman, "What, Where, and When is Hybridity?" lecture presented in the Conference "Hybrid Material Culture: The Archaeology of Syncretism and Ethnogenesis" in the Center for Archaeological Investigations, SIU-Carbondale, 2009.

court. More importantly, the term hybridity accentuates the moment of transformation, which compels us to view the “Frontier-as-process,” during a time and in a place where people fashion new worlds” and “construct a desirable social order.”³³ This process can be witnessed in the Northern Frontier, where it unfolds as: the Eastern Zhou collapsed, the Jin rose and fell and its successor state of Zhao saw the emergence of non-Zhou aristocracy.

Based on convergence of visual cultures and the new visual forms produced by these encounters for use in burial, this study does not focus on Chinese art or nomadic art per se but on the creation of new categories that blur dichotomous identification with either steppic or metropolitan Zhou items. This study explores: 1) the motivations behind the emergence and adaptations of new visual forms, 2) how these forms can be used to explore the construction of identity by virtue of their ‘selectiveness’ and placement in burials; and 3) regional and inter-regional interaction in Chinese Northern Frontier manipulated by actors related to practice of hybridity. I have proposed three different approaches or ways of thinking about my group of bronze artifacts. They provide distinctive perspectives and render these artifacts as active nodes in processes of burials, rituals, constructing identities, maintenance of social identity, and expression of political desire and ambition of the Zhao during Eastern Zhou.

1.1 OVERVIEW AND CHAPTER OUTLINES

This dissertation examines Eastern Zhou bronze artifacts found in Jin and its successor state of Zhao tombs whose decoration combines both Chinese and Eurasian prototypes, and

³³ Igor Kopytoff, “The Internal African Frontier: The Making of Political Culture” in Igor Kopytoff, ed. *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987: 12.

explores why this visual convergence occurred at a time when Chinese states engaged in frequent wars with their northern rivals. My goal in this study is to go beyond the conventional diffusionist model of stylistic transmission to emphasize the importance of local context and ‘human agency’ in explorations of these cultural and material innovations in culture contact. I suggest situating these objects in burial context, which will focus on the role of these artifacts in ritual performance around the death of the elite. The ‘selectiveness’ and placement of these objects also reflect the construction of individual’s identity at death as well as their function of keeping social memory in relation to larger ideologies of political authority and ambition. My consideration of these artifacts in the frontier perspective with the reconsideration of hybridity as a process rather than a stylistic label enables me to provide a more nuanced view of these artifacts as they were anchored in a process of multi-state and multi-cultural interaction, from which the Zhao aesthetics and larger political ideologies innovated and evolved. Our ways of talking about hybridity tend to link it to cultural change and often disruption, but this maybe a moot linkage as shown by Zhao’s case. I argue that the adoption of alien aesthetics reveals the effort of Zhao elites to create a fluid identity at the time of their death, one which was well suited to their political position in the militarized Northern Frontier.

This dissertation is made up of this introduction (Ch.1), three main chapters (Ch. 2-4) and a conclusion (Ch. 5). Following this Introduction, Chapter Two *External Interaction and Internal Dynamics: Inclusive Diplomacy* of Zhao aims at locating the dynamics inside the state of Zhao and inner mechanisms of political change during Eastern Zhou, which sets up the historical and political context for discussion. In this chapter, I reviewed the theoretical models of ancient interaction including trade and migration and contend that the migration of people through the northern borders of the Zhao state and trade activities both contributed to the similarities in Zhao

and Jin material culture and that of the Northern Zone. I also scrutinize the textual records in *Shiji* (Historical Records) on conversations between the Jin elites and the ministers of other Chinese states on issues including dissolution of the Zhou feudal (*fengjian* 封建) system, faction confrontation within the vassal state, the growing local minister and land expansion in relation to these northern Chinese states of Jin and Zhao towards the end of the Spring and Autumn period around 500 BCE. I also analyze the debate between the Zhao King Wuling (武陵) and the officer Cheng on the court recorded in the *Zhanguo Ce* (Stratagems of the Warring States) regarding the adoption of foreign uniforms and methods of fighting. Based on this textual evidence, I argue that Jin and Zhao's political situation and their political goal played an immense role in their selection of the hybrid burial objects and construction of their burials.

Chapter Three *Hybrid Emblems Created to be Displayed in Death Transitions: What the Zhao People Continued and Changed in Their Burials* synthesizes and discusses the currently available archaeological data associated with tombs from several levels of the Zhao society: 1.) the Spring and Autumn Period tomb of a minister of the state of Jin who was a member of the Zhao clan in Taiyuan, 2.) Tomb of Zhao King No. 2 in Handan, and 3.) the local Warring States cemeteries of Baijiacun (百家村, Fig. 4.b) and Xinzhouyaozi (Fig. 4.b). This chapter shows that these Zhao tombs contain a mixture of different burial customs derived from Zhou or Steppe traditions that were combined and transformed over the centuries with discussions on the patterns of continuity and change within the Zhao burial practice. Methodologically, following Hung Wu and Howard, I adopt a ritual perspective and situate the tomb of the Zhao Minister in the context of funerary rituals and analyze how the layers of nested-coffin structure function as to separate death and afterlife and how the traces of lacquer paintings on the main coffin mark the realm of his death. Therefore, the selection of burial artifacts including those with

decorations of mixed artistic traditions that were placed close to his body not only decorates Zhao Minister's body but also participates in his afterlife and constructs his identity through different realms including this life and beyond. Once the innermost coffin was sealed and was moved to the mourning hall as well as the final gravesite, the deceased went through the transformation of what Hertz and Williams call the "renewed ancestor." This is the second phase in funeral rites in which the deceased soul reincarnates into a memorable ancestor whose identity is externalized by burial artifacts recognized through worship by the living mourners in the public.

Chapter Four is titled *The Making of Hybrid Bronzes in the Jin State Operated Houma Foundry in the Frontier Space*. Different from the historical perspective and the ritual perspective in the previous two chapters, this chapter situates the hybrid burial artifacts from the Jin and Zhao burials into the regional and frontier context of politics and trade. I aim to show how the materials from the Jin and Zhao burials would contribute to our understanding of the social progress including trade, interaction, political alliances, and immigration on the regional level in the northern frontier. Previous scholarship has held the theory that the pastoralist groups were "shadow empires" that were inferior to the Chinese states.³⁴ My study of hybrid artifacts from the Jin and Zhao burials contradicts this conventional core-periphery model. In this chapter I first present the recently excavated mortuary materials of the groups in or close to the Jin and Zhao territory. The refined casting technology and display of wealth shown in the key sites including Taohongbala (桃红巴拉, Fig. 4.b), Aluchaideng (阿鲁柴登, Fig. 4.b), Xigoupan (西沟畔, Fig. 4.b), and Maoqinggou (毛庆沟, Fig. 4.b) all testify to the emergence of social hierarchy and the rise of a leadership class among the pastoralists in the northern frontier that co-

³⁴ T. J. Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993: 137.

existed with the expanding Chinese states. Based on this symbiotic model, this chapter then examines the production of these hybrid objects, for example, the dagger of the Zhao Minister, by focusing on moulds produced by the Houma Foundry (operated by Jin during the Eastern Zhou period) that draw upon Steppe motifs. My research shows that Houma artisans incorporated Eurasian Steppe imagery into the traditional Chinese artistic vocabulary and that such objects were popular among the Chinese elite. These moulds and bronze daggers with hybrid motifs provide solid evidence to argue for a conscious and an active process of hybridization controlled by the Jin and Zhao elite. This process of hybridization can be further understood from its significance in politics, which is the social character of the commodities in Appadurai's account.³⁵ At the core of Appadurai's theory on commodities, the value of the exchange of objects lies in politics.³⁶ This theory holds true when one considers the wide spread of the bronze dagger with tiger combat motif during Eastern Zhou China. A similar dagger found in the State of Wu can be assumed to be a gift from the Jin. There are several other similar daggers stored in museums in Taipei and Japan nowadays. These examples indeed complete a full social biography for the bronze dagger to show that these daggers played different roles in ancient life, for example, used as burial objects in mortuary assemblage, objects in ritual performance, as commodities, and political gifts.

Toward the end of my study, I argue that the internal dynamics and developments within Jin and Zhao during Eastern Zhou together with external economic/trade needs and military pressures had ideological ramifications that resulted in the manipulation of an elite identity though the importation of structural forms used to serve their own symbolic purposes in the

³⁵ A. Appadurai, "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value," In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. A. Appadurai, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986: 13-15.

³⁶ Ibid.

selection of burial objects in Jin and Zhao burials. I argue that the shared iconography of the confronting dragons that appeared on a group of artifacts and the mixing of different ethnic traditions found in the burials in the state of Jin and Zhao, was not merely the result of fashion or random diffusionist movements of material culture, but the result of the interplay between material culture and the way symbols shaped Jin and Zhao's perception and acted upon the formation of a "new" and "distinctive" identity that they wished to carry and display during death transitions.

2.0 EXTERNAL INTERACTION AND INTERNAL DYNAMICS: INCLUSIVE DIPLOMACY OF ZHAO

In Chapter 1 I have introduced the archaeological materials from burials in regions where artifacts with mixed decorations were excavated: the Chinese states of Jin and Zhao and the Eurasian steppes in the Northern Zone. Given the phenomenal similarities among these artifacts like belt plaques with composite animal designs, previous scholarship has described these artifacts as “non-local” or “non-Chinese in origin”.³⁷ However, the meaning of similarities in subject matter and artistic style has not been fully understood; what were the context and processes that brought about the adoption or the creation of these ‘hybrid’ artifacts in Zhao burials? In this chapter I will first review scholarly attitudes and theoretical models of ancient interaction in the Northern zone located within and beyond the borders of China that are based on diffusionist, migration and trade models and then analyze how these models do or do not apply to examples of Zhao artifacts. Through my analysis, I suggest that the migration of people through the northern and western borders of the Zhao state and trade activities both contributed to the similarities in Zhao and Jin material culture and that of the Northern Zone. I suggest that

³⁷ Askarov et al, “Pastoral and Nomadic Tribes at the Beginning of the First Millennium BC” in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. I, *The Dawn of Civilization: Earliest Times to 700 BC*, edited by A. H. Damo and V. M. Masson. Paris: Unesco, 1992, pp. 459-75. Bunker et al, “*Animal Style*” *Art from East to West*, New York: Asia Society, 1970. Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Gideon Shelach, “Early Pastoral Societies of Northeast China: Local Change and Interregional Interaction During c. 1100 to 600 BC” in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Outside World*, edited by R. Amitai and M. Biran. Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 15-58.

the reason for the adoption of certain styles, subject matter and the convergence of visual elements that appear on those artifacts in Zhao's elite burials should be understood as connected to Zhao's socio-political policies during the Eastern Zhou. The creation and placement of these objects in graves reflected Zhao elites' conscious and purposeful choices in the construction of their burials, and were in accord with Zhao's inclusive diplomatic policies during the Eastern Zhou, which were also the basis for the creation of a new Zhao cultural identity.

2.1 SCHOLARLY ATTITUDES TOWARD AND THEORIES OF ANCIENT INTERACTION IN THE NORTHERN ZONE

To address how ancient societies interacted along the Northern Zone, we first need to review previous scholarship. Such topics were not even discussed by Chinese scholars before the 1990s and this lack of coverage was motivated by Nationalist sentiment and rooted in The Chinese historiographic tradition that intensified during the Anti-Japanese War period (1930s to 1940s) and the turbulent time period after the Second World War. Political and social uncertainties contributed to the desire for Chinese archaeologists under the political call from the Communist Party to focus excavation efforts in the Central Plain and confirm that China was one of the greatest civilizations since ancient period. Therefore, the academic activities of Chinese archaeology were largely based on the protection and continuation of this nationalist paradigm. The "indigenized focus of Chinese archaeology" before the 1970s was not a unique development in World Archaeology and had its counterparts, which shared a similar focus, within European

and North American archaeology.³⁸ This intellectual trend in European and American archaeology was based on early twentieth century “hyper-diffusionist” models,³⁹ whereas Chinese archaeology with the focus in the Central Plain was anchored in the specific context of World War II and flavored with strong protective and nationalist emotion.

In the 1970’s, Su Bingqi was the first Chinese scholar to suggested the possibility of multiple cultural “interaction spheres” in pre-history and the Bronze Age rather than a grand narrative of the development of Chinese civilization.⁴⁰ In 1986, Chang Kwang-chi coined the term “The Chinese Interaction Sphere” and argued “the dominant mechanism for the development of Chinese civilization was the contact between different regional Neolithic cultures rather than the spread of culture from one core area.”⁴¹ Although Chang’s claim was breakthrough in considering cultural interaction in ancient China, his concern was limited to Neolithic cultures. Since then scholars have focused on identifying similarities in style, subject matter and technology of objects from Northern Zone burials, and there has been growing attention and discussion of the issue of interaction between ancient societies in northern China and the Eurasian steppe.⁴² The discovery of mummies in the Tarim basin has brought added

³⁸ Gideon Shelach, *Prehistoric Societies on the Northern Frontiers of China: Archaeological Perspectives on Identity Formation and Economic Change During the First Millennium BCE*, London and Oakville: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2009: 115-116.

³⁹ Ibid., also see discussion in E. M. Schortman and P. A. Urban, “Modeling Interregional Interaction in Prehistory” in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 11, edited by M.B. Schiffer, San-Diego: Academic Press, 1987, pp. 37-95; and also see E. M. Schortman and P. A. Urban, “The Place of Interaction Studies in Archaeological Thought” in *Resources, Power, and Interaction*, edited by E. M. Schortman and P. A. Urban. New York: Plenum Press, 1992, pp. 3-15.

⁴⁰ Su Bingqi 苏秉琦, *Zhongguo Wenming Qiyuan Xintan* 中国文明起源新探 (Origins of Chinese Civilization), Beijing: Sanlian Press, 1999.

⁴¹ K. C. Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 234-42.

⁴² Emma Bunker and Jenny So, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in association with University of Washington Press, 1995. Katheryn Linduff, “Zhukaigou: Steppe Culture and the Rise of Chinese Civilization” in *Antiquity* 69, 1995, pp. 133-145.

interest to this topic as well as the attention of the public in Chinese contacts with people in regions to the west.⁴³

The shift from focusing on local trajectories within one country or single geographical units to external and regional contacts has become a trend not only in the field of Chinese archaeology but also among European and North American archaeologists. For example, Philip Kohl, James Cusick, Andrew Sherratt, and Colin Renfrew have all critiqued previous viewpoints that treated societies as isolated geographical units and have suggested the open-ended nature of these societies.⁴⁴ Also important is the rich literature related to frontier studies that focuses on the regions between ancient societies (referred to as the “middle ground”) and addresses regional contacts and various social and political aspects and results brought about by such interaction.⁴⁵

From the above review, two polemic trends in the research of cultural interaction among societies in the Northern Zone emerge: 1) an indigenized perspective that totally disregards regional context and external contacts usually embedded within a strong emotionally loaded nationalistic view; 2) an emphasis on “origins and directionality” which focuses on issues of origins and the spread of cultural traits.⁴⁶ What is commonly discussed in this second trend is where a specific technique, artifact type or style first appeared and where it spread.⁴⁷ The problem with the second trend, which I have mentioned in the Introduction, is that this

⁴³ Victor Mair, *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asian*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 1998. J. P. Mallory and V. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies: Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West*, New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000.

⁴⁴ Philip Kohl, “The Use and Abuse of World Systems Theory: The Case of the Pristine West Asian State” in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 11, edited by M. B. Schiffer, San-Diego: Academic Press, 1987, pp. 1-35. James Cusick (ed.), *Studies in culture contact interaction, culture change, and archaeology*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998. Colin Renfrew, “Pastoralism and Interaction: Some Introductory Questions” in *Ancient Interactions: East and West in Eurasia*, edited by K. Boyle, C. Renfrew and M. Levine, Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2002, pp. 1-10.

⁴⁵ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁶ Shelach, 2009: 134-135.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

perspective leans heavily towards deciphering the external sources of stylistic or technological influence and usually fails to consider the context in which such external ideas got blended and transformed. Archaeological information on “origins and directionality” is useful, but without considering them within proper theoretical models and without further consideration of the specific historical context, the socio-political motivations of individuals and groups, discussions of cultural interaction based on the perspective of “origins and directionality” still retain a “diffusionist” approach.

In what follows I will briefly review the archaeological evidence of regional interaction in Jin and Zhao burials in relation to their counterparts in the Northern Zone (along the Great Wall) and the central and western parts of the Eurasian steppes. I will then examine this evidence for similarities in artifacts, styles, techniques or subject matters in the explanatory model of “migration” and “trade.” Archaeological evidence and my analysis of textual records will show that both models are viable and useful in understanding the similarities in material culture in the region. However, these analytical models themselves are not explanations that reveal why Zhao would adopt and adapt certain styles or subject matter and choose to place them in their burials. To understand these developments we will need to consult ancient literature that addresses the socio-political environment and motivations that existed and contributed to Zhao’s choices and behavior.

2.2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL INTERACTIONS DURING THE FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE: EVIDENCED IN JIN AND ZHAO BURIALS

I divide Jin and Zhao's interaction with the outside world or other societies as: 1) short-distance or regional contact between societies in the Yellow River basin (dynastic Zhou culture) and the neighboring Northern Zone; and 2) long-distance or global contact with societies in the Eurasian Steppe to the west. The discussion of evidence of societal interactions between Jin and Zhao and other societies over short or long distances is mainly based on archaeological data that I will present in Chapter 3.

According to Chinese archaeologists and Western scholars who specialize in Chinese archaeology, interactions among ancient societies in the Northern Zone are usually suggested by types, shapes and decorations of pottery and bronzes in burials and the construction of tombs themselves. One famous example of this analysis is the Zhukaigou site in Inner Mongolia, which has been divided into five phases dating from the late third to early second millennium BCE (Fig. 5). By comparing the shape and decoration of pottery jars, scholars have claimed that the Zhukaigou site shows the existence of intense regional interaction between Zhukaigou, the Central Plain (*jue* vessels; *taotie* motif on bronzes), the Qijia culture to the west, the Lower Xiajiadian culture (*li* vessels with snake and floral decorations, Fig. 6) to the east, and the Northern Zone.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Katheryn Linduff, "Zhukaigou, Steppe Culture and the Rise of Chinese Civilization." *Antiquity*, vol, 69 (No. 262), 1995: 139. Li Xiuhui 李秀辉 and Han Rubin 韩汝玢, "Zhukaigou yizhi chutu tongqi de jinxiangxue yanjiu" (朱开沟遗址出土铜器的金相学研究, A metallurgical study of bronze artifacts from Zhukaigou) in *Zhukaigou: Qingtong shidai zaoqi yizhi fajue baogao* (朱开沟: 青铜时代早期遗址发掘报告, Zhukaigou: A Report on the Excavation of an Early Bronze Age Site), edited by Neimenggu zizhiqu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 内蒙古自治区文物考古研究所, E'erdusi bowuguan 鄂尔多斯博物馆, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000: 423, table 1, 445. Shelach, 2009: 119-121.

As I will show in details in Chapter 3, there are several attributes that suggest regional interaction and show the Zhao Minister's affiliation with the Central Plain and the Northern Zone. Sets of bronze vessels (featured combinations of *ding*, *dou*, *hu*, *pan*, *yi*, *zun*, as well as cooking vessel *li*, Fig. 7.a) and use of jade objects in the Zhao minister's tomb (Fig. 8) indicate clear associations with the Zhou royal house, although local shapes and attributes on the bronze bird-shaped vessel, the bronze dagger with animal combat motif and the bronze tent do suggest contact with the steppe regions. In addition, the use of a three-layer nested main coffin along with four separate storage chambers and the horse and chariot pits of the Zhao minister's tomb can also be attributed to intensive regional interaction and are based on Zhou mortuary traditions. In contrast, the construction of the Zhao Minister's tomb, including its east-west tomb orientation, the size of the tomb opening which is bigger than its bottom, and the placement of gold belt plaques all suggest conscious choices that reflect cultural association with societies in the Northern Zone. In short, the Zhao minister's tomb shows a mixture of mortuary practices typical of both the Central Plain and the Northern Zone.

Regarding the key item from the Zhao King Tomb No. 2, the plaque with the motif of confronting dragons has two other parallels: an inlaid gold plaque from the Peter the Great Siberian Collection dated to the 3rd century BCE (Fig. 9) and a bronze plaque excavated from a Xiongnu burial at Daodunzi, Tongxin County in Ningxia dated to the later Western Han dynasty (2nd-1st century BCE) when the Xiongnu were the dominant power in North China (Fig. 10). The "lupine-headed dragon" that appears on these plaques has been suggested to have western origins which can be seen on belt plaques with dragon motifs from Szidorovka (in Western Siberia, 3rd century BCE) (Fig. 11) and Ivolga (in Buryatia, 2nd century BCE).⁴⁹ (Fig. 12) The casting

⁴⁹ Emma Bunker. *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes*, 2002: 31.

techniques of these belt plaques indicate that although they bear similar iconography, these plaques were produced in local centers. Such findings are meaningful as they suggest some artifacts including their motifs, style and subject matter may have been transmitted over long distances from societies in the Eurasian steppes to the west of the Zhao state and Zhao's indigenous modifications of them.

2.3 EXPLANATORY MODELS OF EXTERNAL INTERACTION AND INTERNAL DYNAMICS: INCLUSIVE DIPLOMATIC POLICY OF ZHAO

The above archaeological data shows similarities among artifacts in terms of subject matter and style and the existence of cultural contact between Zhao and their neighbors in the Northern Zone or the even more distant Eurasian Steppes. To understand the patterns of regional interaction and their impact on local Zhao elites and local groups, we need to first determine whether or not the explanatory models of “migration” and “trade” are meaningful within the socio-political context of the Zhao state during Eastern Zhou.

2.3.1 Migration Model

The normative approach to migration was initiated in European archaeology to identify prehistoric trait distributions in Europe.⁵⁰ According to Clark, “migration” is most often used implicitly in archaeology to mean a relatively short-term or long-range process or event involving mass population movement.⁵¹ Bruce Trigger and Helena Hamerow have pointed out that in the 1960s and 1970s, British archaeologists abandoned migration theory because it was seen as being politically incorrect due to its association with late nineteenth and early twentieth-century European expansionism.⁵² Attention to migrations and invasions as explanations for cultural change has re-emerged after two decades of rejection.⁵³

As to how migration can be identified archaeologically, David Anthony has concluded several factors that can result in short or long-distance migrations: push and pull factors, interregional differences in economic development, and changes in transport technology.⁵⁴ In his case study, Anthony uses archaeological evidence including the appearance of a few eastern Sredni Stog-type cemeteries in the Carpathian Mountains and in Hungarian Plain, structural economic differences as push and pull factors, as well as consideration of horse transport, sheepherding, and bulk ox-drawn wagon transport to suggest the migration of the Sredni Stog

⁵⁰ S. J. Shennan, “Trends in the Study of Later European Prehistory” in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1987: 366-367. David Anthony, “Migration in Archaeology: The Baby and the Bathwater” in *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 92, 1990: 896.

⁵¹ G. A. Clark, “Migration as an Explanatory Concept in Paleolithic Archaeology” in *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Dec., 1994), p. 306

⁵² Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989: 150-74. H. Hamerow, “Migration Theory and the Anglo-Saxon ‘Identity Crisis’” in *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*, edited by John Chapman and Helena Hamerow, BAR International Series 664, 1997, Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 33-44.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ David Anthony, 1997: 908.

peoples around 3000 BCE.⁵⁵ Other factors such as population pressure and climate crisis, which are largely resource-based, have also been suggested by scholars as contributions to ancient or modern migration in their research.⁵⁶

In the Northern Zone, similar arguments regarding migration come from likeness among artifacts during the early first millennium BCE. For example, based on similarities in the motif of the mythological raptor-headed ungulate with exaggerated antlers that appear on headdress ornaments from a Xiongnu Tomb at Nalingaotu (Fig. 4.b) in Shaanxi dated to the late 4th century BCE, on the tattoos on the man buried in the 4th century BCE Pazyryk Tomb No. 2 in the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia and a later 3rd century BCE pair of gold belt plaques excavated from Aluchaideng in southern Inner Mongolia, Emma Bunker has suggested the migration of pastoral peoples from Central Asia through the Gansu corridor via the Silk Road and then north to Inner Mongolia and the Ordos Region.⁵⁷ However, this argument remains highly debatable as it is solely based on the iconography of these artifacts and is not backed by more concrete archaeological data.

Recent research has used ancient DNA to reconstruct population movement across Asia. Thirty-six skeletal remains from Kazakhstan (Central Asia) have been analyzed in terms of their mitochondrial DNA sequences to testify to their European lineages and past human migrations.⁵⁸ Another example that uses mitochondrial DNA comes from the male human remains that show European lineage excavated from the Yu Hong tomb in Taiyuan dated 1400 years ago.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Ibid, 907-08.

⁵⁶ E. E. Kuzmina, "Cultural Connections of the Tarim Basin People and Pastoralists of the Asian Steppes in the Bronze Age" in *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asian*, edited by V. H. Mair. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, 1998: 72.

⁵⁷ Emma Bunker, 2002: 26.

⁵⁸ C. Kakyeza-Fox et al, 2004: 941-947.

⁵⁹ C. Z. Xie et al, 2011: 1597-1601.

The archaeological data that I will present in a later chapter (Chapter 3) such as the local cemeteries in Xinzhouyaozi which indicate two types of ethnic background in the population based on morphological social studies of head types does not seem to support hypothesis of extensive migration or large-scale population replacement. However, ancient Chinese texts such as the *Shiji* mentions that until the Jin ruler Xiangong (晋献公, died in 651 BCE) was able to conquer sixteen small states located in present-day Shanxi, a number of Rong and Di people were absorbed by Jin.⁶⁰ This means Jin at least witnessed the travel, mobility or relocation of these non-Zhou peoples and possessed a multi-ethnic and multicultural population. Among these non-Zhou people, a small group of non-Zhou artisans or citizens with foreign aesthetic knowledge could very likely have existed. Therefore, although there is no concrete evidence to support large-scale population movement from the Northern Zone to the Chinese states of Jin and Zhao, the fact that morphological studies of head types from the Xinzhouyaozi cemetery suggests the co-existence of Zhou and non-Zhou population as ancient textual records do not preclude the hypothesis of movement of a small group of artisans.

2.3.2 Trade Model

A rich body of literature relating to trade studies emerged in the 1970s.⁶¹ In his article “Anthropological Perspective on Ancient Trade,” Robert Adams emphasized the entrepreneurial

⁶⁰ Cho-yun Hsu, “The Spring and Autumn Period” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, Cambridge University Press, 1999: 559.

⁶¹ Robert Adams, “Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade” in *Current Anthropology*, vol. 15, No. 3, 1974: 141-160. E. J. Alagoa, “Long Distance Trade and States in the Niger Delta” in *Journal of African History*, vol. 11, 1970: 319-29. E. A. Alpers, “Trade, State, and Society Among the Yao in the Nineteenth Century” in *Journal of African History*, vol. 10, 1969: 405-20. Richard Ford, “Barter, Gift, or Violence: An Analysis of Tewa Intertribal Exchange” in *Social Exchange and Interaction*, edited by E.N. Wilmsen, Museum of Anthropology, University of

aspects of trading activities with purposeful innovation and goal-motivated behavior in ancient societies and the way in which artifacts can be seen as indices of social life and systems.⁶² The contribution of his theory lies in his argument that studies on ancient trade should steer away from conventional diffusion models focusing on the origins, spread and routes of objects and pay more attention to how trade activities are related to consciously goal-motivated behavior of agents that may bring “subsequent institutional change in the societies that were in contact.”⁶³ Adam’s article invoked heated theoretical discussions on trade. J. M. Adovasio and Burchard Brentjes, raised the issue of how to identify or abstract the “consciousness” as an agent of cultural change in archaeological records as well as their uncertainty if Adam’s theory would be applicable to each concrete case study based on their own unique historical process and condition.⁶⁴

Despite these methodological discussions and critiques, trade models have been continuously adopted as explanations that account for culture contact which result in cultural change. For example, in Philip Curtin’s concept of culture contact, he focuses especially on cross-cultural trade: “Trade and exchange across cultural lines has played a crucial role in human history, being perhaps the most important external stimuli to change...”⁶⁵ Various authors have expressed similar sentiments in their research on culture contact. For example, Jonathan Hill chronicles the changing nature of the gun trade in the Amazon. He shows guns were originally prestige items that also possessed the intrinsic quality of being instruments of death. With

Michigan, *Anthropological Papers* 46, 1972: 2-45. Gair Tourtellot and Sabloff Jeremy, “Exchange Systems Among the Ancient Maya” in *American Antiquity*, vol. 37: 126-35. Howard Winters, “Value Systems and Trade Cycles of the Late Archaic in the Midwest” in *New Perspectives in Archaeology*, edited by S. R. Binford and L. R. Binford, Chicago: Aldine, 1968: 175-222. Henry Wright, “A Consideration of Interregional Exchange in Greater Mesopotamia: 4000-3000 B.C.” in *Social Exchange and Interaction*, edited by E.N. Wilmsen, 1972: 95-105.

⁶² Robert Adams, 1974: 142.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 151-158.

⁶⁵ Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988: 1.

European expansion into the Amazon region, the trade in guns escalated into an arms race with disastrous repercussions.⁶⁶ Michael Dietler, on the other hand, focused on the wine trade and discussed the socio-political and addictive dimensions of wine that differentiate from many other forms of trade goods.⁶⁷

As the above-mentioned trade studies have shown, trade in ancient societies serves as a very powerful and functional node of culture contact within which trade objects take on many culturally significant dimensions, as mass-produced technologically innovative products with profitable value that carried symbolic meanings in their own right. Compared to migration or diffusion models, trade models indicate a two-way interaction between human societies which avoids political biases.⁶⁸

In studies of the material culture in the Northern Zone, especially after the 1990s, trade studies are more and more integrated into inquiries regarding cultural contact and frontier research. As Jenny So and Emma Bunker have pointed out, around the first millennium BCE, two different economies developed in the Yellow River Valley and the Northern Zone based on differences in terrain and climate and the natural geographic boundary of the and Taihang (太行) Mountains that run north, north-east to south, south-west, following roughly the boundary between modern Shanxi and Hebei Provinces. The stable agrarian economy of the Yellow River Valley can be contrasted to the economy of the Northern Zone which was composed of mixed

⁶⁶ Jonathan Hill, “Violent Encounters: Ethnogenesis and Ethnocide in Long-Term Contact Situations” in James Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Center for Archaeological Investigations, 1998: 146-171.

⁶⁷ Michael Dietler, “Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter” in James Cusick, 1998, pp. .

⁶⁸ Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 2nd edition, London: Thames and Hudson, 1996: 335.

farming, animal husbandry and hunting-stock breeding⁶⁹ Differences in climate and substantial structures are believed to have motivated trade of materials or exchange of resources between the Northern Zone and the Yellow River region or even further south as early as the second millennium BCE.⁷⁰ To David Christian, this can be understood as “trans-ecological exchange.”⁷¹ Archaeological evidence demonstrates this kind of early trade and contact: some bronze artifacts including *ge* halberds and knives and bronze tripod *ding* that carry *taotie* motif excavated from the Zhukaigou site dated to early-to mid-second-millennium BCE in Inner Mongolia were produced by Shang artists and imported to the site.⁷² Another example comes from the Dadianzi (大甸子) site dated to the second millennium BCE in Inner Mongolia from which lacquer artifacts were excavated from 38 graves and cowry shells were found in 43 graves.⁷³ Lacquer objects and cowry shells are usually found in the Yangtze River region in southern China and some were found in Anyang (安阳) in Henan (河南) Province in the Central Plain, so this suggests an extensive volume of import goods from southern China and the Central Plain north to the Dadianzi site. During the late second millennium BCE to the early first millennium BCE, the distribution of Western Zhou bronze vessels in the richest graves in the Chifeng region in Inner Mongolia indicates the importation of Zhou bronzes to the Northern Zone.⁷⁴ According to Shelach regarding the distribution of Zhou bronzes in the Upper Xiajiadian period graves (dated to the late second millennium BCE to the early first millennium BCE), exchange within polities

⁶⁹ Jenny So and Emma Bunker, *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*, 1995: 33.

⁷⁰ Jenny So and Emma Bunker, 1995: 35-39. Shelach, 2009: 138.

⁷¹ Christian has pointed out that the ecological environment was similar throughout the steppe but strongly differ between the steppe and the areas to their south. He believes that this creates the stimulus for exchange of raw materials between these two regions. D. Christian, “Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Road in World History” in *Journal of World History* 11 (1), 2000: 7.

⁷² Katheryn Linduff, 1995: 139.

⁷³ Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所, *Dadianzi: Xiajiadian xiaceng wenhua yizhi yu mudi fajue baogao* (大甸子：夏家店下层文化遗址与目的发掘报告, Dadianzi: Excavations of the Domestic Site and Cemetery of the Lower Xiajiadian Period), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996: 183-87, 191-94.

⁷⁴ Shelach, 2009: 139-141.

in the south was monopolized by the paramount elite of the societies in the Chifeng region (Table 1).⁷⁵

Trade activities during this period already show two-way interaction. Excavation of the grave of a ninth-century BCE Western Zhou nobleman and his consort in Rujiazhuang, Shaanxi Province has uncovered jade animal pendants in the shape of stags and crouching felines which are usually cast in bronze and gold and worn on the chest as status or tribal symbols by non-Chinese tribal leaders in the Northern Zone.⁷⁶ Northern bronzes, horses and horse implements were also found in rich Shang and Western Zhou tombs in the Yellow River region, such as the tomb of Lady Fuhao (妇好).⁷⁷

There is clear evidence that I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4 suggesting that the Houma Foundry of the Jin State was involved in extensive trading with other Chinese states and the steppe region during the Eastern Zhou period. Pottery molds were used to mass produce cast bronze vessels and artifacts with traditional Shang and Zhou *taotie* or geometric motifs and these products were distributed in Jin elite tombs, including the tomb of the Zhao Minister Jianzi. Robert Adams' theory of ancient trade that emphasizes the entrepreneurial aspects of trading activities and purposeful innovation and goal-motivated behavior is applicable to the Houma Foundry. To take the pottery mold of bronze dagger with a tiger-bird combat scene from the Houma Foundry as an example, several bronze daggers decorated with similar motifs have been excavated from archaeological sites located in the ancient states of Jin and Wu, and at Luoyang, and several daggers stored in the Beijing Palace Museum, the Taipei Palace Museum, Taiwan Guyue Museum and Japan share similar motifs. Since animal combat scenes were not typical of

⁷⁵ Ibid., 140.

⁷⁶ Jenny So and Emma Bunker, 1995: 42.

⁷⁷ Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所, *Yinxu Fuhao mu* (殷墟妇好墓, The Fuhao Grave of Yinxu), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980.

the Zhou aesthetic tradition, this motif was based upon the indigenous development of external models. This kind of selectiveness and blending of certain subject matter and motifs on artifacts is undoubtedly innovative and purposeful. In addition, the Warring States Period tomb of an artisan in Xi'an (the 4th to the 3rd century BCE) introduced in the previous chapter provides evidence for commercial connections between the Chinese States and the Steppe region. The pottery molds found in this tomb and at the Houma foundry suggest the volume in which such goods were produced and traded. This perspective is closely related to the issue of what Robert Adam termed as “the entrepreneurial aspects of trading activities with purposive innovation and goal-motivated behavior.” To further analyze this “purposeful innovation and goal-motivated behavior,” we will need to examine the socio-political context of the states of Jin and Zhao during the Eastern Zhou period.

2.3.3 Internal Dynamics: Struggle of Jin, and Inclusive Diplomacy of Jin and Zhao

A) Struggle of Jin

It is unfortunate that there are no indigenous written documents handed down by people in the Northern Zone themselves, and the only source we possess are Chinese texts, for example, the *Shiji* composed by Sima Qian and the *Zuozhuan* (Zuo's Commentary 左传). Sima Qian commented in the *Shiji*: “My narrative is only a classification of the materials that have been preserved. Thus it is not innovation, and it is a mistake to compare my work with the *Chunqiu*.”⁷⁸ From his words, we may tell that Sima Qian did not have first-hand information about the societies that were prior to his own time, but was delivering information that he

⁷⁸ Sima Qian 1959. *Shi Ji* (Historical Records 史記). (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 北京：中華書局.). Vol. 10, 3299-3300. The original text reads: 餘所謂述故事，整齊其世傳，非所謂作也，而君比之於春秋謬矣。

believed was of true nature. Therefore, we should be aware of possible biases that a Chinese historian may have carried in his writing. In addition, we learn about the peoples living in the Northern Zone from the excavated covenant texts, fragments of tablets of jade and stone bearing ink inscriptions whose exact dating is still a matter of debate.⁷⁹ On these jade and stone implements were inscribed the text of covenants, oaths, and curses that created binding obligations between the Eastern Zhou sublineages, lineages and city-states.⁸⁰ An approach that combines information drawn from historical records as well as archaeological data to complement our understanding of the socio-political situation of the Northern Zone becomes necessary.

The Zhou dynasty is regarded by traditional Chinese historians as the formative age of Chinese civilization, which is termed as an “axial age” by Benjamin Schwartz that produced the “movement of thought” that deeply shaped and affected the entire subsequent history of China.⁸¹ It is widely recognized that the succeeding Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE) was the time during which Western Zhou rule underwent transformation. At the beginning of the Spring and Autumn Period the whole society was still organized under a kinship structure following the Western Zhou tradition with clan-based style of government.⁸² This means that the ministers of the ruling class of each city-state, which includes two grades, the *qing* (卿) and the

⁷⁹ Scholars have not yet reached an agreement on the precise date of these covenant texts excavated in Houma, Shanxi Province in 1965-1966. Zhang Han, the leading scholar who deciphered the inscriptions, identified the initiator of the texts as Zhao Jianzi (the Zhao Minister), head of the powerful Zhao clan in the State of Jin during the late Spring and Autumn period. See Shanxisheng Wenwu Gonguo Weiyuanhui 山西省文物工作委员会, Houma Mengshu 侯马盟书, Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1978: 65-68, 74-77.

⁸⁰ A large group of covenant inscriptions was discovered in the Kuai valley at Houma on the perimeter of the site of the ancient city of Xintian, the Jin capital, in current-day Shanxi Province. See Moruo Guo 郭沫若, “Houma Mengshu Shitan” (侯马盟书试探) in *Wenwu* 文物, 1966, vol. 2: 4-6.

⁸¹ Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, The Belknap Press, 1985: 2.

⁸² Cho-yun Hsu, *Ancient China in Transition*, Stanford University Press, 1965: 1.

daifu (大夫), were almost exclusively relatives of the local lords and that had been designated to certain areas to form new sublineages.⁸³ After King Ping (平) of Zhou established the capital in the eastern portions of Zhou territory in Luoyang, the power of the Zhou kingdom inevitably started to disintegrate and was distributed among local lords and ministers. The local ministers had the right to impose taxes in the areas under their control. Such isolated administrative structures separated from the fading centralized power of Eastern Zhou court, construction combined with improvements in cultivation methods including the use of iron tools applied in agricultural irrigation construction that brought economic advantage, population growth, and the relative geographic isolation - encouraged the desire for political independence and increased power by the heads of sublineages. In time seven powerful states emerged -- Qi, Qin, Chu, Jin, Wu, Yue, and Yan, despite the existence of the Zhou court in Luoyang. The power of the local lords and ministers no longer lay in their official position in the Zhou hierarchy, but rather in their political sovereignty over their assigned territory.⁸⁴

Inside of each state, there were power struggles among branches of the ruling houses. The *Zuozhuan* (Zuo's Commentary) text records such events. For example, in the state of Jin Marquise Zhao conferred upon Hengshu (恒叔) the area in Quwo (曲沃) in 745 BCE.⁸⁵ Within the next 67 years, in 679 BCE Hengshu's grandson Wugong (武公) was finally able to replace the previous Jin ruler, Duke Zhao of the Jin State (晋昭侯).⁸⁶ Wugong and his son Xiangong (献公, 676-651 BCE) made great efforts to defeat 12 smaller states and two non-Chinese groups, the Lirong (骊戎) and Chidi (赤狄), and achieved dominant political status among the other Chinese

⁸³ Jun Li, *Chinese Civilizations in the Making*, Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 1996: 103-105.

⁸⁴ Hsu, 1965: 78.

⁸⁵ Bojun Yang, *Chunqiu Zuozhuanzhu* 春秋左传注, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981: 93-95.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 203, 240, 1237.

states during the Spring and Autumn period. Xiangong, did not follow the Wugong practice, and did not give political positions to relatives from his own clan but instead hired officials from other clans. Xiangong's own sons proceeded to kill each other until the last one, Wengong (文公), finally came to power in 636 BCE. In 606 BCE, even the name *Gongzu* (公族), which literally means “the house of *gong* (公), or lord” was assigned to children of ministers rather than to true descendants and members of the Jin ruling house.⁸⁷ This resulted in the juxtaposition and competition among six powerful families/ministers in Jin: Zhi (知), Zhonghang (中行), Fan (范), Han (韩), Zhao (赵), and Wei (魏) and led to its final dismemberment by three of them: Han, Zhao, Wei in 393 BCE.

Despite the debates regarding the exact dates of the texts excavated from Houma and as to whether these covenants were initiated by Zhao Jianzi (the Zhao Minister, unknown- 476 BCE) or Zhao Huanzi Jia (赵桓子嘉, unknown- 424 BCE), the significance of these texts for this study lies in the fact that they recorded the power struggles among the Zhao, the Zhonghang and the Fan factions in the Jin state. In Zhang Han's opinion, the Houma covenant texts represent oaths sworn by members of the Zhao lineage to support Zhao Jianzi as lineage head.⁸⁸ The covenant texts echo other textual records, suggesting that the years around 500 BCE were a pivotal turning point in the decline of the Jin State. The *Zuozhuan* records a conversation between Shuxiang (叔向) of Jin and the Yanzi (晏子) of Qi in 539 BCE:

Shuxiang asked: “How are things in your Qi State?”

叔向曰：齐其何如？

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ *Houma Mengshu* 侯马盟书, 1978: 68-71. For English translation of the formula and content of Houma covenant texts, see Susan Roosevelt-Weld, *Covenant in Jin's walled cities: The discoveries at Houma and Wenxian*, (Ph.D Dissertation) East Asian Languages & Civilizations, Harvard University, 1990.

Yanzi answered: “This is the final time. I do not know, but Qi might be owned by the Chen clan.”

晏子曰：此季世也。吾弗知齐其为陈氏矣。

Shuxiang then said: “Well, this might also be the last generation of our ducal house. The horses are not yoked up, the ministers of our state are not ready to fight in the field, the chariots are not administrated, and the rank has no leaders. The commoners are poor while the palaces and luxury expenses increased.”

叔向曰：然。虽吾公室，今亦季世也。戎马不驾，卿无军行，公乘无人，卒列无长。庶民罢敝，而公室滋侈。

Yanzi asked: What will become of you?

晏子曰：子将若何？

Shuxiang said: The ducal lineage of Jin is coming to an end. I have heard that when the ducal house is going down, the remoter branches of its lineage fall first and the duke then falls second. My lineage consisted of eleven lines, only the Yangshe family remains and I have no son. Given the excesses of the ducal house, I will be fortunate if I live to die a natural death and how can I keep the hope that my sacrifices will be continued?

叔向曰：晋之公族尽矣。朕闻之，公室将卑，其宗族枝叶先落，则公室从之。朕之宗十一族，唯羊舌氏在而已。朕又无子，公室无度，幸而得死，岂其获祀？⁸⁹

The Chapter “Zhao shijia” (赵世家, the Zhao Clan) in the *Shiji* also presents Shuxiang’s conversation with Yanzi:

Yanzi talked to Shuxiang: The State of Qi will belong to the Tian Clan.

晏曰：齐之政后卒归田氏。

Shuxiang then said: The government of the State of Jin will soon be annexed by the six families. The six are swollen with ambition and our lord cannot bring himself to focus on the government.

叔向亦曰：晋国之政将归六卿。六卿侈矣，而吾君不能恤也。⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Bojun Yang 杨伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu* 春秋左传注, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 1990, vol. 4: 1236-1237.

⁹⁰ See Chapter “Zhao Shijia” (赵世家) in Sima Qian 司马迁, *Shiji* 史记, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, vol. 6, 1982: 1786.

As indicated by these documents, around 500 BCE the Jin state entered a long period of civil war and only three of the six families: the Zhao, the Wei and the Han, survived. The founding of separate states by each of these families marks the beginning of the Warring States period (481-221 BCE). This conversation also suggests that similar kinds of political conflicts and struggles took place in other Chinese states as well during this period. The spirit of centralization and solidity of the Zhou court was in fact abused and ignored.

The Zhao minister Jianzi of the Jin State made the following comment at an interstate meeting in 541 BCE after the news came that the Lu State (魯) had invaded the State of Ju (莒) and the envoy from the Chu State (楚) had suggested punishing the representative from the Lu State:

“Territory is defined by battles. It belongs to one state at one time, to another state at another time. Where is the constancy? ... Even since the time when there has not been a true king, rulers of states have competed to preside at the inner-state conferences, which therefore rotate among the rulers... Is there a constant leader? Supporting large states at the expense of the small ones is the way a leading state has acquired its leading status. What else is useful? Which state has not lost some land? Which presiding power can pass judgment?”⁹¹

季武子伐莒，取季武子伐莒，取鄆，莒人告於會。楚告於晉曰：尋盟未退，而魯伐莒，瀆齊盟，請戮其使。... 疆場之邑，一彼一此，何常之有？... 自無令王，諸侯逐進，狎主齊盟，其又可壹乎？恤大舍小，足以為盟主，又焉用之？封疆之削，何國蔑有？主齊盟者，誰能辯焉？⁹²

As Hsu commented, the Zhao minister’s speech grasped the mood of his time: the loss of faith in solidarity and centralization and unified identity of the original Zhou government and

⁹¹ For English translation of Zhao minister’s comments, see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5 (The Ch'un Ts'ew with The Tso Chuen), 576-7.

⁹² *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu* 春秋左传注, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 1990, vol. 4: 1204-1206.

order, which was supposed to be the responsibility of these enfeoffed states, but ironically been declared absurd and abortive by this mission.⁹³

B) Jin and Zhao's Inclusive Diplomacy

At the same time, non-Chinese northern peoples had been in contact with the Chinese states in various roles as military opponents, political allies, relatives via inter-marriage, and trading partners as early as the Shang dynasty (ca. 1200-1050 BCE). This contact and connection continued into the Eastern Zhou period. Probably due to the collapse of the Zhou court and political order, among the Chinese states Jin and the succeeding state of Zhao came to adopt a very inclusive diplomatic strategy. This was reflected in three major ways: 1) constant military alliances with Rong and Di groups; 2) intermarriage with Rong and Di people; and 3) the adoption of “nomadic” clothing and methods of fighting in battles.

Ancient literary sources record that Jin often allied itself with the Rong and Di to fight against their neighboring state of Qin. For example, the *Zuozhuan* records a story of how a Rong general named Juzhi (驹支) defended himself and their allied relationship with Jin in an interstate meeting to avoid being caught and put in prison by the Jin official Fan Xuanzi (范宣子). The arguments between Juzhi and Fanxuanzi went as follows:

Fan Xuanzi said: “Juzhi, it is because of you that your Rong leader is not treating us Jin as nicely as before, so you do not need to attend the meeting tomorrow and I will punish you.”

Juzhi replied: “Well, Qin was powerful and they tried to drive our Rong people out of the land. Your Duke Hui of Jin was generous as he said that we Rong people are descendants of the Four Mountains who should not be expelled. Duke Hui gave us farming land and we Rong are grateful and loyal to you and we never have a different thought. Previously Duke Wen of Jin allied with Qin to invade State of Zheng. However, Qin in fact contacted and allied with Zheng to

⁹³ Hsu, 1999: 569.

attack Jin. It was our Rong army to help confront with Qin, so that Qin finally failed... Our Rong group differs in the language, food, clothing and currency from your Jin State, so what bad deals can we do? If you do not want us to present in the meeting, then I have nothing to worry about.” Juzhi read a poem and left. Fan Xuanzi then agreed that Juzhi could attend the meeting in order to show that he himself was still a generous and noble man.

今诸侯之事我寡君不如昔者，盖言语漏泄，则职女之由。诘朝之事，尔无与焉。与，将执女。”对曰：“昔秦人负恃其众，贪于土地，逐我诸戎。惠公蠲其大德，谓我诸戎，是四岳之裔胄也，毋是翦弃。赐我南鄙之田，狐狸所居，豺狼所嗥。我诸戎除翦其荆棘，驱其狐狸豺狼，以为先君不侵不叛之臣，至于今不贰。昔文公与秦伐郑，秦人窃与郑盟而舍戍焉，于是乎有崤之师。晋御其上，戎亢其下，秦师不复，我诸戎实然。... 我诸戎饮食衣服，不与华同，贄币不通，言语不达，何恶之能为？不与于会，亦无蓍焉！”赋青蝇而退。宣子辞焉，使即事于会，成恺悌也。⁹⁴

This conversation between Juzhi and Fan Xuanzi not only reflects their benign relationship but is also interesting as it is one of the very few records that show the construction of the Chinese historian regarding how non-Zhou peoples thought of themselves. Juzhi emphasizes the difference between Zhou and Rong people primarily in terms of cultural differences including food, language, clothing, and currency instead of differences in subsistence modes, political competition or military interests.

Besides the military alliances between Jin and the Rong or Di groups in their actions against Qin, Jin was also connected to the Rong and Di through marriage. For example, Duke Xian of Jin (晋献公) married four different Rong women and each of them gave birth to one of his four sons.⁹⁵ Duke Wen of Jin (晋文公) was one of them and he himself married a Di woman,

⁹⁴ *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu* 春秋左传注, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 1990, vol. 3 (襄公十四年): 1005-1007.

⁹⁵ The original text is “晋献公娶于贾，无子。烝于齐姜，生秦穆夫人及大子申生。又娶二女于戎，大戎狐姬生重耳，小戎子生夷吾。晋伐骊戎，骊戎男女以骊姬。归，生奚齐，其娣生卓子。” see *ibid.*, vol. 1: 238-239.

whose sister married the famous Jin officer Zhao Shuai (赵衰).⁹⁶ Also, the sister of Duke Jing of Jin (晋景公) became the wife of a Rong leader whose name is Luzi Ying'er (潞子婴儿).⁹⁷

In addition to the military alliances and frequent intermarriage between Jin, Rong and Di, an even bolder inclusive action that reflected diplomatic strategy took place in the reign of King Wuling of Zhao in 307 BCE, who adopted the “nomadic” clothing and cavalry method of fighting. In fact, there was an even earlier textual records relating to this strategy, which appears in the *Shiji* where a conversation is recorded between the Zhao minister Jianzi and *yeren* (people of the field, 野人).⁹⁸ This conversation seems to function as a fortune-telling story in which the *yeren* told the Zhao minister that he must defeat the Fan and Zhonghang families and that one day his followers will have to adopt *hu* clothing and perform political revolutions.⁹⁹

The Chapter of “Zhao Shijia” (赵世家) in the *Shiji* contains passages that record the several rounds of thought, consideration and debate by King Wuling of Zhao and his officials regarding the adoption of cavalry and nomadic clothing in a time of increased military turmoil during the Warring States period. The first passage records the conversation between King Wuling of Zhao and his officials Fei Yi (肥义) and Lou Huan (楼缓):

King Wuling was sentimental, saying: “We are facing the Zhongshan State to our north ... Our former sovereigns (meaning the Zhao minister and Zhao Xiangzi)¹⁰⁰ wanted to revolutionize and won territories to our south, set up the Great Wall, and won places of Lin and Guolang, but failed in Ren, so they did not win the final victory. Now the Zhongshan state is the key, and we also confront

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ The original record is “潞子婴儿之夫人，晋景公之姐也。” See *ibid.*, vol. 2: 762.

⁹⁸ The term “*ye ren*” (野人) refers to the “people of the field” in contrast to the concept of “*guo ren*” (people in the state). It usually refers to the non-Chinese population including *Man* (蛮), *Yi* (夷), *Rong* (戎), and *Di* (狄) in ancient Chinese texts. See Hsu, 1999: 549.

⁹⁹ The original text goes: “当道者曰：...及主君之后嗣，且有革政而胡服，并二国于翟。” See Chapter “Zhao Shijia” (赵世家) in Sima Qian 司马迁, *Shiji* 史记, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, vol. 6, 1982: 1788.

¹⁰⁰ Here Zhao Wuling was referring to the Zhao Minister Jianzi and Zhao Xiangzi (襄子), which he in fact clarified and detailed in his conversation with Fei Yi.

the Yan State to our north, *hu* group to our east, the State of Qin, Han, as well as groups of *linhu* and *loufan* to our west. But we do not possess strong armies, and this will not bring us success, then how shall we proceed? If the topmost achievement is wanted, there must be the cost of breaking old customs. I want to adopt *hu* clothing!” Official Lou Huan responded: “Well...” All other officials opposed King Wuling’s idea.

召肥义与议天下，五日而毕。王北略中山之地...召楼缓谋曰：“我先王因世之变，以长南藩之地，属阻漳、滏之险，立长城，又取藺、郭狼，败林人于荏，而功未遂。今中山在我腹心，北有燕，东有胡，西有林胡、楼烦、秦、韩之边，而无强兵之救，是亡社稷，奈何？夫有高世之名，必有遗俗之累。吾欲胡服。”楼缓曰：“善。”群臣皆不欲。¹⁰¹

Fei Yi seemed to be the only one from the *Shiji* records who supported King Wuling’s

proposal:

[King Wuling said: The achievement of our previous lords lies in their balance and stabilization of *hu* (胡) and *zhai* (翟) groups. To serve lords, one should follow the etiquette and order to take care of the old and young, and care about the people to solidify the lord’s governance. Now I want to continue the unfinished goal of our previous lords to occupy the land of the *hu* and the *zhai*. I am not sure if I can achieve this in my life time. If we defeat our enemies, our people can live a comfortable life with surplus goods and this will continue the good will of our previous lords. However, if one wants to reach the unprecedented height, one must risk the cost of breaking the old rules and ways of doing things. If one has his own wisdom and thought, one must risk the complaints from the followers and people. Today if I adopt *hu* clothing and introduce cavalry to my army and my people, how would they critique me? How shall I deal with their opposition?”

Fei Yi responded: “Hesitation will not lead to success and hesitated behavior will not bring reputation. My dear king, if you have decided not to act like ordinary people, then you do not have to care about what they think. You should understand that those who know best etiquette do not debate with ordinary people, those who won achievements do not discuss them with everyone. For example, previously, Emperor Shun danced with the ‘Youmiao’ group and Emperor Yu presented his naked body to people in the state of Luo (“*luo*” literally means naked). Such behavior looked absurd but all purposed to achieve success. Foolish people have no idea what to do to succeed but those smart ones shall know clearly, so why are you hesitating?”

King Wuling said: “I do not doubt the adoption of *hu* clothing; what I fear is that people will laugh at me. What makes dumb people happy makes wise people sad and those wise people will understand. The effect of adopting *hu*

¹⁰¹ Chapter “Zhao Shijia” (赵世家) in Sima Qian 司马迁, *Shiji* 史记, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, vol. 6, 1982: 1805-1806. Translation was conducted by Jiayao Han.

clothing will be enormously positive. Even if people laugh at me, the territory of *hu* and the Zhongshan state will be under my control!”

王曰：“简、襄主之烈，计胡、翟之利。为人臣者，宠有孝弟长幼顺明之节，通有补民益主之业，此两者臣之分也。今吾欲继襄主之迹，开于胡、翟之乡，而卒世不见也。为敌弱，用力少而功多，可以毋尽百姓之劳，而序往古之勋。夫有高世之功者，负遗俗之累；有独智之虑者，任惊民之怨。今吾将胡服骑射以教百姓，而世必议寡人，柰何？”肥义曰：“臣闻疑事无功，疑行无名。王既定负遗俗之虑，殆无顾天下之议矣。夫论至德者不和于俗，成大功者不谋于众。昔者舜舞有苗，禹袒裸国，非以养欲而乐志也，务以论德而约功也。愚者暗成事，智者睹未形，则王何疑焉。”王曰：“吾不疑胡服也，吾恐天下笑我也。狂夫之乐，智者哀焉；愚者所笑，贤者察焉。世有顺我者，胡服之功未可知也。虽驱世以笑我，胡地中山吾必有之。”于是遂胡服矣。¹⁰²

After this conversation, the King Wuling of Zhao had made up his mind to carry out this new policy and he himself first wore *hu* clothing. On the other hand, the opposition from the court did not cease and the debates on King Wuling’s aggressive policies are documented in the *Shiji* and *Zuozhuan*. The strongest counterview came from King Wuling’s uncle, Official Cheng (成), who said:

I have always heard that China is where smart people reside, where properties and treasures are located, where etiquette and manners are taught, where benign actions are carried out, where rituals and music are performed, where various skills are practiced. People from remote areas travel to our land to learn and none of them do not admire us. Now you are changing the traditional teachings, betraying good ways of acting and irritating those learned people; you are losing your Chinese identity. I hope you can think about it all over again!

曰：臣闻中国者，盖聪明徇智之所居也，万物财用之所聚也，贤圣之所教也，仁义之所施也，诗书礼乐之所用也，异敏技能之所试也，远方之所观赴也，蛮夷之所义行也。今王舍此而袭远方之服，变古之教，易古人道，逆人之心，而怫学者，离中国，故臣愿王图之也。¹⁰³

What is remarkable in Cheng’s rigorous critique of King Wuling is that he was especially concerned about the symbolic transition and departure from Chinese ideology and identity upon

¹⁰² Ibid., vol. 6, 1982: 1806-1807.

¹⁰³ Ibid., vol. 6, 1982: 1808.

the adoption of *hu* clothing and fighting methods. Apparently, in Cheng's mind, this apparel functioned as important components of expressing one's cultural identity.¹⁰⁴

King Wuling of Zhao responds to Cheng's opposition recorded in the *Shiji* and the *Zuozhuan* are very similar. King Wuling said:

Customs differ in current day and before, why must we follow the old ones? Emperors are not inherited, so why shall we follow the previous rituals and etiquette? ... Until the time of the Three Emperors (probably referring to Emperor Yu, Yao and Shun in prehistoric times), they set up the rules according to their time; they conduct the rituals and orders according to the concrete occasions; they enacted laws to suit their proper needs and the same thing with clothing and utensils. There is no one way to rule the world, nor is there any need to copy the old to benefit my country.

王曰：“古今不同俗，何古之法？帝王不相袭，何礼之循？... 及至三王，观时而制法，因事而制礼，法度制令，各顺其宜，衣服器械，各便其用。故礼世不必一其道，便国不必法古；圣人之兴也，不相袭而王。”¹⁰⁵

Obviously King Wuling of Zhao was well aware of the dramatic changes that he had made and what militaristic benefits those changes would bring as well as the risks they could produce symbolically and ideologically. Military alliances, intermarriage with the Rong and Di people and the adoption of the cavalry and *hu* clothing all indicate an inclusive diplomatic policy taken

¹⁰⁴ Other textual documents from this time period or later attest to similar viewpoints. For example, in the *Lushi chunqiu* (吕氏春秋, Spring and Autumn Annuals Compiled by Lu Buwei) which was composed roughly around the third century BCE, there is passage explaining the non-Zhou group “Man” (蛮) and “Yi” (夷): [The Man and Yi, despite their backward tongues, their different customs, and odd practices; despite their clothes, caps and belts, houses and encampments, boats, carts, vessels, and tools; and despite their preferences of sound, sight, and flavor all being different from ours – are one with us and the same as us in satisfying their desires.]; See translation in J. Knoblock and J. Riegel, *The Annals of Lu Buwei*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000: 297-298. Also, Historian Ban Gu (32-92 CE) from a later period during the Han dynasty wrote that: [The people of the Yi and Di are greedy and seek profit. They wear their hair loose and fold the robe to the left... Their badges and clothes are distinct and customs differ from that of the Central States; their food and drinks are not the same, and their language is incomprehensible... They follow their herds across the grasslands, and hunt for living.]. See translation in Yuri Pines, “Beasts or Humans: Pre-imperial Origins of the ‘Sino-barbarian’ Dichotomy” in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Outside World*, edited by R. Amitai and M. Biran, 2005: 80. These two records not only explain how different these non-Zhou people are but also what factors and symbol the Zhou people are looking at to draw lines between themselves and outsiders.

¹⁰⁵ Chapter “Zhaoce Er” (赵策二) in Jiangyue Zhai 翟江月 (edited), *Zhanguo Ce* 战国策 (Records on the Warring States Period), Guangxi Shifandaxue Chubanshe 广西师范大学出版社, 2008, vol. 2, Book 19: 786.

by Jin and Zhao elites and an incorporation of what they believed were stronger factors to boost their power especially in military terms. As a result, in 305 BCE Zhao attacked the Zhongshan state and expanded its territory to the area of Yuzhong (榆中) to its west, which was once controlled by the *hu* people and the head of the *linhu* (林胡) group paid in tribute with horses to Zhao.¹⁰⁶ Six years later, Zhao invaded the State of Zhongshan (中山) again and enlarged their territory to the border of the State of Yan to their north and regions of Jiuyuan (九原) and Dai (代) to their west.¹⁰⁷ In 296 BCE, the State of Zhongshan was finally exterminated by the Zhao.¹⁰⁸

2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter I have reviewed previous scholarship on interaction in the Northern Zone in ancient China. I have pointed out that indigenous perspectives and the overzealous concern of “origins and directionality” in the exploration of similarities in artifacts regarding style, subject matter or casting techniques both fail to sufficiently contextualize specific historical and socio-political motivations that lie behind this phenomenon. Instead, I have described a historical situation in which trade and exchange among the people in the frontier region continued to happen. These burial items from Jin and Zhao states and mortuary traditions should be viewed in

¹⁰⁶ Original text recorded in the *Shiji* is: “王略中山地，至宁葭；西略胡地，至榆中。林胡王献马。” see Chapter “Zhao Shijia” (赵世家) in Sima Qian 司马迁, *Shiji* 史记, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, vol. 6, 1982: 1811.

¹⁰⁷ This part was translated by Jiayao Han and its original text in Chinese goes as “二十六年，复攻中山，攘地北至燕、代，西至云中、九原。” from *Shiji*, vol. 6, 1982: 1821.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

relation to cultural contact and interaction using certain explanatory models including migration and trade models. As my analysis indicates, the migration model remains a viable one and I argue that the movement of a small group of artisans could result in the transferring of artistic ideas in selecting and mixing elements to create new artifacts. I suggest and will discuss in more detail in Chapter 4 that trade may have also contributed to the spread of artistic ideas between Jin and Zhao and frontier peoples and that these activities should be understood in relation to purposeful innovation and goal-motivated behavior that was closely associated with Jin and Zhao's real social and political situation during Eastern Zhou.

During the Spring and Autumn period, the power of the royal Zhou family declined and power shifted to the local lords and ministers of the enfeoffed states. During the Warring States period the practice of political power was further concentrated in the hands of local rulers and their family instead of ties with the royal Zhou lineage. Jin's struggle towards the end of the Spring and Autumn period was typical of the ramifications of political fragmentation and developing factions in the local states that nurtured burgeoning thoughts of revolution and encouraged political ambitions as indicated by the speech of the Zhao Minister of the Jin State in the inter-state meeting. I argue that such ambitious political ideology and the pressure of competition embedded in the socio-political context of the states of Jin and Zhao during the Eastern Zhou period triggered their aggressive military action and their inclusive diplomatic policies with non-Zhou frontier peoples including the Rong and Di through marriage, political alliances and trading partners. In this perspective, their adoption and adaption of existing artistic styles and subject matter to create new artifacts should be understood as an inclusive artistic innovation that expressed their fluid cultural affiliations in a period of civil unrest after the collapse of the traditional Zhou political and social order.

3.0 HYBRID EMBLEMS CREATED TO BE DISPLAYED IN DEATH TRANSITIONS: WHAT THE ZHAO PEOPLE MAINTAINED AND CHANGED IN THEIR BURIALS

Based on the textual evidence presented in the last chapter, we know that a new historical condition emerged in which the Jin ruling elites were faced with a devastating decline and internal political struggle around the fifth century BCE during the late Spring and Autumn period. The succeeding Warring States period witnessed an even more competitive era for Chinese states and therefore the Zhao King tried to carry out military innovations to solidify his power. The speech that the Zhao Minister made at the end of the inter-state conference declared a new and different political order for the Eastern Zhou. Given the dramatic changes in the political realm in the Eastern Zhou society and the ambitious statement made by the Zhao Minister, one may wonder if and how his action would match his words: does the occurrence of hybridity on bronze artifacts in the Zhao elite tombs have anything to do with his political ambition? Would they still represent themselves as descendants of the dynastic Zhou, draw upon groups outside of Zhou or create a unique identity that differed from any existing tradition? Aside from the textual documents, excavated burial materials provide us with an additional avenue to explore how the Zhao elites constructed a public image, in particular at the time of their death.

Different from the historical approach adopted in the previous chapter that sets up the historical and political background, this chapter demonstrates a second approach that highlights the burial and ritual context of these hybrid artifacts in the Zhao elite tombs. The issue of the construction of cultural identity materialized and externalized through burial artifacts and burial construction is essential to our understanding of the motivation behind the making and distribution of the hybrid artifacts in Zhao elite burials. The burial and ritual contexts are extremely important as they represent the very immediate moment, space, location and process where various iconography, artistic elements, and burial practices were chosen and combined. Analyzing these two contexts allows us to tackle the issue of agency of the owner (the deceased) and the commissioner (the living group) and the issue of the construction of cultural identity displayed at death (eg. identity that keeps to the deceased himself or to be displayed in the public in different steps of funerary rites). This will shed light on why certain iconography or objects or burial practices were purposefully selected or carefully arranged in certain ways and at certain stages in relation to the process of burial construction and funerary rites in Eastern Zhou China.

This chapter presents a systematic study of the archaeological data of Zhao burials from several levels of society in the Eastern Zhou Dynasty (771-221 BCE). It aims to provide a complete view of what burial and stylistic traditions were available to the Zhao nobles and what sources they may draw in their burial programs with particular attention to the changes and continuities in their burial practices compared to the dynastic Zhou burial practices.

Section 1 and 2 include recently excavated elite tombs of the Zhao Minister (Taiyuan, Shanxi Province) and the Zhao King (Handan, Hebei Province). The analysis of the data of elite Zhao burials demonstrates the multiple types of hybridity displayed through construction of burials and placement of mortuary materials. Section 3 focuses on two local Zhao cemeteries of

Baijiacun (百家村) and Xinzhouyaozi (忻州窑子) with important information on their burial customs, wealth distribution, and population interaction on the local level, allowing us to look at burial customs beyond the most elite tier of Zhao society.

This chapter shows the following observations of hybridity in Zhao burials: 1) the creation and manifestation of ‘hybrid’ burial goods in Zhao elite tombs; 2) the innovation in burial structures of Jin and Zhao elite tombs that combined the burial tradition of dynastic Zhou and the northern population outside of Zhou; 3) the dichotomy of cultural identity (one was kept to the minister himself and the other to be displayed in public) represented by the assemblage of burial goods and ritual vessels in different spatial distribution (included in the inner coffin or outside the inner coffin in the burial chamber) and their use in different stages of funerary rites; and 4) co-existence of different groups of people or people of different ethnic background in Zhao local cemeteries. These unique patterns of burial practices allow us to shift from the idea of viewing hybridity as a static stylistic label on certain artifacts to a modification as a process and practice from which cultural identity negotiated and formed. I argue that these hybrid emblems on both the burial artifacts and the practices that combine elements of both Zhou and peoples outside of the Zhou sphere were created and positioned purposefully in Zhao burials and they contributed to the formation of a unique Zhao identity that is meaningful in death and matches their political goal during Eastern Zhou.

3.1 INNOVATIONS IN MORTUARY PRACTICES IN THE ZHAO MINISTER TOMB SEEN FROM THE RITUAL CONTEXT

Before considering the burial data from Zhao tombs and presenting a detailed discussion of my observations on features of their burial practice, an articulation of my analytical approach and theoretical concerns will set the stage.

During the era of political turbulence including incidents of migration and trade, the expression of cultural identity may be expected to be fluid and ambiguous as we see in modern times. However, to draw a unified explanation and discuss ‘identity’ based on archaeological data from a remote period of time is not an easy task. The anthropological uses of ‘identity’ are themselves ambiguous and complicated as they can refer both to individual and group identity.¹⁰⁹ Multiple dimensions of ‘identity’ should be considered including gender, age, class, ethnic background, economic status, and profession.¹¹⁰ Recent research and case studies also show the change in regarding ‘identity’ as objective, homogenous, collective and shared cultural identity towards the social constructs of group or personal identities which take on various dimensions of age, class, gender or professions according to changing conditions and social context.¹¹¹ This new tendency in anthropological research on cultural identity is especially useful when situated in the case of my study. One issue, for example, is how we judge and distinguish between material expressions found in archaeological data that are associated with expression of identity and those that were probably not so emphasized by the deceased or people who commissioned the burial? It has long been recognized that the visibility of materialized symbols can be linked to

¹⁰⁹ Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer, *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, London: Routledge, 1996: 292.

¹¹⁰ S. J. Shennan, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, 1989: 2.

¹¹¹ Paul Dimagio, “Culture and Cognition” in *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1997, vol. 23: 263-87. Stephen Silliman, “Agency, Practical Politics and the Archaeology of Culture Contact” in *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 200, vol. 1(2): 190-209. Lynn Meskell, “The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology” in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2002, vol. 31: 279-301.

representation of individual identity shown in mortuary contexts.¹¹² Therefore, usually we may take body ornamentation including body tattoos, clothing, ornaments and headdress as indications of personal identity, while objects of daily use such as ceramics are less likely to be associated with such expression.¹¹³ However, this conjecture is not always true; for example, the spatial distribution of certain ceramics in burials has been shown to well indicate the social status of an individual or cultural affiliation of the deceased.¹¹⁴ These different contexts require us to deal with our archaeological data in burials in a more contextual way by looking at the deceased, their body ornamentation, burial objects, and their spatial distribution, layout in burials, display of wealth compared with the common practice in the particular society, and the general burial construction all together and view them as “media” through which the identity of the deceased is engaged, negotiated and displayed.¹¹⁵

The second theoretical concern is how we interpret those innovations that emerged in burial context that go against conventional behavior or expression in burials. To anthropologists, these changes in burials usually work as signs of “ruptures” that would be thought to have linked to certain expression or emphasis of identity displayed at death. For example, the theoretical questions raised by Martin Wobst in 1977 with regard to visibility of symbols in burials may function as the guidelines when speculating on the meaning and roles of symbols as well as changes in mortuary context: “Who used the symbols and in what context? Who was the

¹¹² H. M. Wobst, “Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange” in *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, edited by C. Cleland. Anthropological Papers 61. Michigan: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, 1977: 317-42. Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, London: Routledge, 1997: 84.

¹¹³ Shelach 2009: 78-79. E. M. Brumfiel, “Ethnic Groups and Political Development in Ancient Mexico” in *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, edited by E.M. Brumfiel and J. W. Fox, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994: 96-97. K. T. Hansen, “The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture” in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2004, vol. 33: 269-92.

¹¹⁴ Shelach, 2009: 78.

¹¹⁵ Shelach 2009: 79. G. Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives” in *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 1997, vol. 5(4): 316-20.

intended audience of such symbols? Who could, technically and socially, see and understand them?”¹¹⁶ If we consider the innovations that happened in the tomb of the Zhao Minister involved in the preparation and process of constructing the burial, we should be aware that placement of the coffin and the distribution of burial items in and outside of the main coffin would have affected when and how they were viewed.¹¹⁷

The notion of time and different procedures in preparing the burials in life and death transitions have been much written about by scholars. Robert Hertz takes society as immortal and death as a rupture in society and the funerary rituals as the ways in which the living can impose their own sense of order and meaning on the transitions taking place.¹¹⁸ In this context, members of society never die and instead they change their relative relationships when they transition themselves from the living members of the society to the dead ancestors.¹¹⁹ In addition to regarding death as a transformation of individuality in death rituals and cosmic regeneration and the creation of ancestors, the contribution of Robert Hertz also lies in his analysis of the psychological dimension with regard to the relationship between the living and the dead and the emotional experience of grief by the mourners such as in his study of the “double burials” which included “wet” and “dry” phases of rituals.¹²⁰ In the view of Hertz, one is linked to the physical burial, which includes the process of the rotting corpse and accordingly the removal of the living identity of the deceased; while the second phase was a period when the living experienced the pain of their separation from the deceased.¹²¹ Incorporating both the social and emotional

¹¹⁶ Wobst, 1977: 323.

¹¹⁷ Sheri Lullo, “Toiletry Case Sets Across Life and Death in Early China (5th c. BCE – 3rd c. CE)” (Dissertation: University of Pittsburgh), 2009: 41.

¹¹⁸ Robert Hertz. "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death." In Rodney Needham and Claudia Needham eds., *Death and the Right Hand*. New York: Free Press, 1960. Also see Sheri Lullo, 2009: 44.

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Robert Parkin. *The Dark Side of Humanity: The Work of Robert Hertz and Its Legacy*. Netherlands: Harwood

dimensions experienced by the living and the dead in burial rites, Hertz takes the human body of the dead as a vehicle that embodies and expresses social values. Similarly, van Gennep looked at death as a *rite de passage* comparable to other lifecycle rites in which “the deceased moves through rites of separation and ...finally rites of incorporation into a new identity.”¹²² Metcalf and Huntingdon’s reformulation of Hertz’s theory has made the transition between life and death a mnemonic one which highlights the interaction between the living and the dead.¹²³ Based on Robert Hertz, and Metcalf and Huntingdon, Howard Williams reconfigured a triangle diagram, which considers three agents: the mourners as the living, the body of the deceased and the soul. Through interaction between these agents, social memories are transformed and reconstituted.¹²⁴

Treating death as either a crucial node or in Hertz’s term “rupture” in life cycle is not solely seen in Western scholarship. Ritual process and the interaction between the living and the dead in mortuary study has also been raised and addressed by Chinese archaeologists and art historians. K.C. Chang has discussed the shamanistic aspect of the master of ceremonies in the ritual performance conducted in burial ceremonies in Shang and Zhou dynasties in which the role of bronze ritual vessels function mainly as food and drink containers and the rituals were to communicate with the ancestors of the deceased and the ritual bronzes with other burial artifacts function as company and protection for the deceased in their afterlife.¹²⁵ In addition, symbolic associations with burial rituals and desires of immortality in death transitions and ideology of afterlife in death rituals have been addressed, for example, in Hung Wu’s discussion of the Han

Academic Publishers, 1996.

¹²² Arnold van Gennep *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedome and Gabrielle L. Caffé. London: Routledge & Paul, 1960. Also see Howard Williams, 2006: 17-18.

¹²³ Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, (1979), 2008: 1-22.

¹²⁴ Williams, 2006: 20-21.

¹²⁵ K. C. Chang. *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China*, Harvard University Press, 1983: 63-64.

dynasty elite tomb of Lady Dai. Wu analyzed the funerary painting as related to the soul-recalling ritual and Lady Dai's life portrait through which she will be "identified and loved by the living," while the placement of burial objects in her inner and outer coffins act as protection and the immortal paradise for her afterlife.¹²⁶ Recent studies in art history have also adopted Robert Hertz and Metcalf and Huntingdon's theories to expand their study of burials of material culture and their meaning to the deceased and the living community. For example, Joy Beckman has addressed the how the decoration of the burial objects including the garments and bronzes reflect the status of the deceased as well as the social relationship between the living mourners and the dead.¹²⁷ In her study Sheri Lullo has explored the use of the cosmetic boxes in the burials of the Han dynasty people by considering both the daily use of these cosmetic boxes and their after-life symbolic meaning within the different stages of the funeral rites to the dead.¹²⁸

However, we must be mindful that the phenomenal evidence of funerary rites perceived in archaeological remains in medieval England and ancient China and the conceptualization of life-cycles addressed by Western and Chinese scholars do not make them universal rules that account for all cases about ritual and death ideology in the world. Burial rituals and ideologies of afterlife may have shown to have developed differently due to various regional and temporal contexts. For example, in ancient China, extant textual documents reveal that thinkers openly argue for or against the existence of afterlife and the conduct of lavish burials. Confucius (孔子) and Mencius (孟子) insist on treating death burial according to the guidelines of etiquette such as

¹²⁶ Hung Wu, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," in *Early China*, 1992, vol. 17: 110-144.

¹²⁷ Joy Beckman, "Layers of Being: Bodies, Objects, and Spaces in Warring States Burials." Two Volumes. PhD diss., University of Chicago. 2006.

¹²⁸ Sheri Lullo, "Toiletry Case Sets Across Life and Death in Early China (5th c. BCE – 3rd c. CE)." PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2009

the time-consuming “three-year mourning” (*san nian sang* 三年丧).¹²⁹ However, the representative figure of the Legalist, Mozi (墨子), claims that the expenses of death rituals drain the resources and property of the state badly and therefore should be replaced with more efficient and cheaper rituals.¹³⁰ Likewise, the Daoist thinker Zhuangzi (庄子) holds an even more aggressive opinion that all these burial rituals should be abandoned.¹³¹

Respecting different regional and temporal context while recognizing the significance of biological death not as an end point but rather as a crucial node in the continuation of life-cycles that would have impact on a society, I intend to situate the analysis of innovations in burial practice in the Zhao Minister tomb under the lens of ancient Chinese death rituals. Following Robert Hertz and Hung Wu, I reconfigure and incorporate the concept of “dual phases” of the death ritual into my interpretation of the Zhao Minister tomb: the first phase was before the deceased was placed in the coffin which constructs and keeps an identity to the deceased himself; and the second one that focuses on the preparation of the burial goods into the underground tomb and the burial showing, mourning and ritual in the public at the grave site which represents more of an identity or image that is presented to the public. Given the dual phases in funerary ritual context, the innovations that appeared in the Zhao Minister tomb will be highlighted and noticed through their display in the funerary ritual. Based on this, I will then

¹²⁹ “滕文公薨。。。三年之丧，齐疏之服。。。 ” (Duke Teng wen died... [people should] follow the three-year mourning and wear clothing made of coarse materials) in Chapter “Teng wen gong zhang ju” (Duke Teng wen, 滕文公章句) in *Mengzi Yizhu* (Annotations of Mencius, 孟子译注), annotated by Yang Bojun 杨伯峻, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2000: 113-116.

¹³⁰ See Chapter “Jie zang xia”(frugality in funerary rites, 节葬下) in *Mozi* (墨子), annotated by Fang Yong 方勇, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011: 125-134.

¹³¹ See “孟孙才，其母死，哭泣无涕，中心不戚，居丧不衰。无是三者，以善处丧盖鲁国。” in the Chapter “Da zong shi” (大宗师) in *Zhuangzi* (庄子), annotated by Fang Yong 方勇, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010: 78. This citation records the Confucius student or figure Meng Suncai (孟孙才), who cried without tears and was not sorrowful when his mother died. Zhuangzi used this story to critique the conventional Confucian idea of three-year-mourning.

analyze the significance of the innovations in relation to the treatment of the deceased body, the burial objects and the construction of the burial, and discuss how these innovations express distinct and unique meaning in relation to construction of the identity of the Zhao minister that may have also expressed the ideology of the living.

3.2 DUAL PHASES OF FUNERARY RITES IN EARLY CHINA

The two most useful textual records that give informative and idealized codes of behavior in relation to mourning and burial rites are the *Yi Li* (Etiquette and Rites 仪礼) and the *Li Ji* (Record of Rites 礼记), although the compiling date of both accounts remains debatable.¹³² The popular view suggests that they contain sections of writings from Eastern Zhou through the Han periods. Despite the lack of a full range of possibilities of all individuals in a society, these two extant accounts reveal much about the idealized dictates of classically trained males from upper class (from ordinary officers called “*shi*” 士 to ministers and sovereigns) towards death and ritual in ancient China before the introduction of Buddhism. Both accounts contain several passages that have detailed descriptions in relation to etiquette and procedures that happened after death. In description of the *Yi Li*, strict dress codes called “*Sangfu*” (丧服) and behavioral manner are given regarding different days and times after the death including the evening before burial called “*Jixili*” (既夕礼), funerary rites (“*Shisangli*” 士丧礼), and post-burial rites (“*Shiyuli*” 士

¹³² Refer to the compiled version of these two texts edited by Li Xueqin 李学勤: *Shisanjing Zhushu* 十三经注疏, vol. 12-15 (Liji Zhengyi 礼记正义) and *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 10-11 (Yili Zhengyi 仪礼正义), Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2000.

遇礼)。Passages in the *Li Ji* with regard to mourning and funerary rites that are of particular interest of this study are “*tangong*” (檀弓) and “*sangdaji*” (丧大记).

As revealed in the *Yi Li*, once the individual is dead, a soul-recalling rite called “*zhaohun*” (招魂) is performed hoping to bring the soul back to its body.¹³³ The idealized procedure is recorded: The deceased must be in the master bedroom with his body covered with quilt. A shaman or the so-called summoner (“*fuzhe*” 复者) needs to be properly dressed: the left side of his upper and bottom clothing must be tied together with his collar tucked properly with a band. The shaman will climb onto the roof of the dead person’s house facing from East to North with the person’s garment in his hands. He will call out the person’s name three times, shouting each time: “Oh, XXX, come back!” Then he will hand the garment down from the front eaves to another person waiting below with a box, who would carry it within the box into the mourning hall, taking the eastern steps, and lay the garment upon the deceased’s body.

士丧礼：死于适室，用殓衾。复者一人，以爵弁服簪裳于衣，左何之，扱领于带；升自前东荣、中屋，北面招以衣，曰：“皋——某复！”三。降衣于前，受用篋，升自阼阶，以衣尸。复者降自后西荣。¹³⁴

According to the Han-dynasty scholar Zheng Xuan’s commentary to this passage (郑玄, 127-200 AD), when a person ceases to breathe, his family members would try to summon his soul. If this soul-recalling rite still cannot bring back his soul to life, then the death ritual will follow.

郑云若云此室凶不可居然也，自是行死事者。复而不苏，下文楔齿、缀足之等，皆是行死事也。¹³⁵

¹³³ *Shisanjing Zhushu*, vol. 35, p. 759-763.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 764.

After the soul-recalling rite finished and people realized that it was impossible for the soul of the deceased to return, they believe the person was indeed dead. The *Yi Li* reveals that until this point the deceased would start to receive ritual treatment and offerings. A servant would open his mouth with a spoon made of horn and would put a small stool under his feet; dried meat, ground meat and sweet wine in various vessels would be placed to the east of him with a curtain hung down.

楔齿用角柶，缀足用燕几，奠脯醢、醴酒。升自阼阶，奠于尸东。帷堂。¹³⁶

Then the host of the funeral, usually the elder son of the deceased, would announce the death to people outside the immediate family. Guests and relatives will arrive to offer condolences and clothes as funerary gifts and there could also be gifts and announcement from higher officials or the governors from the court. The deceased will then be washed and dressed by attendants and offered repeatedly with offerings in the ritual vessels.

The body preparation of the deceased (such as an ordinary officer) before and during the funerary rites is extremely careful and received detailed description in the *Yi Li*. The procedure consists of three parts: washing and initial dressing; a Lesser Dressing called “*xiaolian*” (小敛) in which more garments would be wrapped around the body and a Greater Dressing called “*dalian*” (大殓) in which further dressing of the deceased will follow.¹³⁷

After the Great Dressing, which happened on the morning of the third day after the death, a pit called “*kan*” (坎) was excavated in front of the mourning hall and the coffin would be put

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Beckman, 2006: 67. See also Lullo, 2009: 48.

into this pit as a temporary grave. (甸人掘坎于阶间，少西。)¹³⁸ A rectangular name banner called “mingjing” (名旌) will be made and inscribed with the words: “The jiu (柩, meaning the body in its permanent home) of XXX.” (书铭于末，曰：“某氏某之柩。”)¹³⁹ The name banner symbolizes and represents the existence of the dead and is hung beside the temporary grave in the ceremony called “bin.” (殓) The “bin” ceremony will move from inside to the outside of the mourning hall.

As previously outlined, Robert Hertz divided the funerary rituals into two phases: one is linked with physical dimension during which the processing of the rotting corpse takes place and the removal of the living identity of the deceased happens; while the second phase focuses on psychological dimension during which the living experienced the pain of their separation from the deceased. Without referring to Hertz’s theory, Hung Wu’s theory of dual phases of funerary rituals differs from but also echoes that of Hertz. Instead of drawing attention to the relationship between the living and the dead, Wu uses the change of ritual locale as the point of transition in burial rituals: the movement of the location inside or outside the mourning hall where the deceased was kept indicates the dual phases: firstly, the transition from death to rebirth; and secondly, the transformation of this worldly to the otherworld.¹⁴⁰ Based on Hung Wu’s theory of dual phases, Joy Beckman has also approached the two phases of the funerary rituals in the Warring States period and divided them as before and after coffining.¹⁴¹ She considers the first

¹³⁸ *Shisanjing Zhushu*, vol. 35, p. 764-65.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Hung Wu holds that the first phase of funerary ritual takes place “inside the mourning hall where the deceased underwent a symbolic transformation from death to rebirth: his body was removed from the *yin* to the *yang* side and from the ground to a couch, was purified, dressed and offered food and wine.... The second phase, outside the mourning hall, symbolized the next transformation of the dead from this world to the other world; the corpse, now purified and carefully dressed and wrapped, was concealed inside the coffin and represented by his Name Banner.” See Hung Wu, 1992: 117.

¹⁴¹ Beckman, 2002: 160.

part of phase as preparation of the “physical” body and the second phase that consists of collecting and display of grave goods before the ancestral temple and the final interment as the construction of the “social”¹⁴² body.

These theories of “dual phases” initialed by Robert Hertz, reconfigured by Metcalf and Huntington, Howard Williams and also coincidentally raised by Hung Wu in his study of another region and context and then later developed by Joy Beckman and Sheri Lullo in relation to their specific case studies all hold value for my research on the burial of the Zhao Minister. In my study of the Zhao minister burial, I use the change of the locale of ritual as the transitional point in the dual phases in funerary rites since my case study falls in a similar historical context as that of Wu. Also, Hertz’s theory that emphasizes the interrelationship between the living and the dead through the death transitions, I believe will better contextualize our understanding of the significance on the innovations that took place in this tomb. Joy Beckman’s theory of “dual phases,”¹⁴³ her division of “physical” and “social body” in which she shifts the attention from the preparation of the deceased body to the articulation of the social body, is particularly useful. If we consider the series of funerary rites during the construction of the Zhao Minister burial, the display of the innermost deceased coffin in the mourning hall, in the ancestral temple and at the final gravesite before its final interment all become the locus where the living communed with the deceased and when gifts were received and grief was expressed. In the words of Howard Williams, it also infers much about the construction of the burial and provides “further layers of meaning when we consider the deployment of grave goods during the funerary rites and their impact on audiences and mourners”.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Williams, 2006: 90; Lullo, 2009: 54.

The descriptions of steps of funerary rites found in the *Yi Li* and the *Li Ji* provide idealized dictates for male individuals from upper class in ancient China. The procedure of rites could well be applicable to the preparation of the Zhao Minister burial during Eastern Zhou. Only after recognizing the specific procedure and nature of these funerary ritual events can we better understand the innovations in burial practice that appeared in the Zhao Minister tomb.

3.3 CHARTING CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE ZHAO MINISTER TOMB IN RITUAL CONTEXT

Based on the records of the funerary rites in these textual documents, one can envision that after the death of the Zhao Minister, the first phase of his funerary rites consists of those that happen before the body was moved outside the mourning hall, including events such as the soul-recalling rite, rites of cleaning, washing, the Lesser Dressing and the Greater Dressing along with offerings of food and wine. After the Great Dressing that would have taken place on the morning of the third day after the Zhao Minister died, the relocation of the deceased body from inside to the outside the mourning hall and the placement of the body in the coffin in the temporary grave presents a transition in the funerary ritual. These events unfold as a procedure of steps that the living experienced to accept his death and prepare for him to move on to the next stage in the ancestral temple and to the final interment. According to the theories of dual phases: before and after coffin in death rituals, I divide my analysis of the Zhao Minister burial into two parts: 1) the first phase which emphasizes the preparation of Zhao minister's innermost coffin with particular attention to the treatment of the body and 2) the second phase that focuses on the placement of other burial goods in his tomb through which his identity was transitioned from the dead to the new ancestor.

3.3.1 The First Phase of Funerary Rites: the Innermost Coffin of the Zhao Minister

The Zhao minister was buried in a three-layered coffin which was placed at the bottom of a vertical pit. The structure and use of nested coffins was typical of earlier Western Zhou elite and royal tombs and number of the layers of coffins needs to be adopted according to the rank of the deceased. The “Tangongshang” 檀弓上 chapter of the *Li Ji* (礼记 Book of Rites) claims that the king’s coffin featured four-layered nested coffins, while ministers had three-layered-nested coffins (天子之棺四重...诸公三重...[郑玄注]).¹⁴⁵ It seems that beginning in the Warring States Period, changes were made to this conventional practice as we see divided compartments as substitutions for nested chambers in the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (曾侯乙).¹⁴⁶ The tomb of the King Cuo of the Zhongshan State (中山国王错) also abandons the structure of nested coffins.¹⁴⁷ Not as revolutionary as these kings and lords in the Warring States period, the Zhao Minister, as a member from the Zhao clan as well as the influential in politics of the last generation of the Jin, he kept the use of the nested coffin for this main chamber and included several auxiliary burial coffins around him.

Inside the innermost coffin, the body of the Zhao minister was placed in a supine and extended position with his head to the east. The dead body was carefully prepared and decorated. Following the practice of his Western Zhou predecessors, nearly fifty jade pieces including *huang* (semi-disc 璜), *bi* (disc 璧), *gui* (elongated tablet 圭), *cong* (hollow tube of a cylindrical section 琮), *huan* (hoop 环) and glass beads covered his entire body. Necklaces made with beads

¹⁴⁵ *Li Chi* (礼记 Book of Rites). Translated by James Legge, 1967, New York: University Books.

¹⁴⁶ Li Yujie 李玉洁, *Xianqin Sangzang Zhidu Yanjiu* 丧葬制度研究. 1991: 28.

¹⁴⁷ Xiaolong Wu, *Bronze Industry, Stylistic Tradition, and Cultural Identity in Ancient China: Bronze Artifacts of the Zhongshan State, Warring States Period (476-221 BCE)*. Diss. University of Pittsburgh, 2004: 27-43.

and turquoise hung over his wrists and ankles. One dragon-shaped jade pendant was placed on both right and left sides of his head. One jade piece was placed in his mouth and jade plaques covered his face with two pieces replicating his eyes.¹⁴⁸ The tradition of using jade face coverings for elite burials can be traced back to Western Zhou period.¹⁴⁹ To the right side of the body of the Zhao minister, bronze swords were placed. Around his waist also ornamented with four bronze belt hooks and four gold belt hooks (Fig. 7.b; locations are item No. 385, 386, 387, 388 in Fig. 8, they are very likely once attached to his clothes). Two of the bronze belt hooks featured a gold cloud inlay pattern. The gold and inlay are rarely found in tombs of the dynast Zhou or other Chinese states in the Central Plain at this time which probably suggests a non-Chinese origin that was evidenced in a later Zhao custom recorded in the *Zhanguo ce* (*Stratagems of the Warring States*) that says “King Wuling of Zhao gave (officials) *hu*-style clothes and gold belt plaques and hooks.” (武灵王乃赐遂赐周绍胡服衣冠，具带黄金师比，以傅王子也).¹⁵⁰ On the left top position of the body were placed two bronze daggers, one of which is a socketed dagger. The socket top is sculptured with the scene of a ferocious tiger seizing a bird.¹⁵¹ (Fig. 2) Although there is no agreement on the definition of the bird type, one can see the high resemblance of the bird to the ring-necked pheasant, which existed all over China and the Ordos region.¹⁵² The crouched tiger’s mouth is wide open, and it grasps the pheasant with its paws.

¹⁴⁸ These jade plaques were probably once attached or sewn into a cloth to cover his face. See Joy Beckman, “Minister Zhao’s Grave: Staging an Eastern Zhou Burial,” in *Orientalism*, Vol. 34, No. 5, 2002: 22-26. Also Shelach, 2009: 85-86.

¹⁴⁹ Wang Tao and Liu Yu, “The Face of the Other World: Jade Face-covers from Ancient Tombs” in *Chinese Jades*, ed. Rosemary E. Scott, London: University of London and the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1997: 133-46.

¹⁵⁰ See the Chapter “赵策二” in *Zhan’guo ce* 战国策 (*Stratagems of the Warring States*), Taipei: Wenhua Tushu Gongsu.

¹⁵¹ Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所. *Taiyuan Jinguo Zhaoqing mu* 太原晋国赵卿墓. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe. 1996: 372.

¹⁵² There are different types of pheasants including Chinese ring-necked pheasant, Korean ring-necked pheasant and Mongolian ring-necked pheasant. Personal communication with Dr. Bryan Hanks.

These images emphasize violence, movement and tension and are not typically seen in tombs from the dynastic center in the Central Plain but rather recalls those models found in the Ordos region, for example, the gold plaques featured the combat scene between tiger and boar found in the Aluchaideng site in the Ordos region in Inner Mongolia.¹⁵³ The other dagger reveals the identity of the tomb owner as it bears with the inscription “赵明之御戈” which means the dagger belongs to Zhao Jianzi (the Zhao Minister).¹⁵⁴

All these careful body arrangements and placement of objects attached to the dead body, for example, covering the face and eyes with jade or decorating wrists and ankles with jewelry were finished in the very early stage of body preparation after the soul-recalling ritual. The body preparation and decoration provide an opportunity for the living of the household to offer their condolences and accept the fact that the person indeed died and that his body had lost earthly human form in this world. As recorded in the ritual codes the *Li Ji* and the *Yi Li* in ancient China, these body purifications and decorations including body washing, nail clipping and dressing were required to be conducted in the right order in order to protect the deceased against evil spirits in the threshold of death before entering the other world.¹⁵⁵ Guest visits, seating, gift offering and the acceptance of the gifts would also follow strict procedures and gestures to guarantee auspiciousness and communication with ancestral spirit for their protection of the living community.

The innermost coffin distinguishes itself from the other layers of coffins due to its role in the funerary rituals. The innermost coffin would be sealed and functioned as the “*jiu*” (柩) in the “*bin*” (殓) ceremony in the temporary grave in front of the mourning hall at the household before

¹⁵³ En Wu, 1997: 333.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Lullo, 2009: 53.

it was further moved to the ancestral temple. Upon this change of location, the physical body of the dead starts fades from the public gaze and the attention moves to the encoffined body called “*jiu*” (柩).¹⁵⁶ Similar sentiment for transition in funerary rites has been expressed by other scholars. For example, Joy Beckman thinks that the “*jiu*” was the articulation of “the social body”¹⁵⁷ after the disappearance of the physical body; and in Hertz’s words as the “renewal of individuals in their new, spiritual form.”¹⁵⁸ Therefore, the “*bin*” ceremony in the Chinese context marks the transitional point of the deceased from the living being in this world to the formation of the identity of the deceased as ancestor in the coffin and the final burial that delineates a world beyond. In other words, once the innermost coffin of the Zhao minister was sealed, the second phase in the funerary rites of the Zhao minister that focused on the transition of his identity to that of an ancestor was shaped by objects placed in the final burial.

3.3.2 The Second Phase: The Transition of Identity toward Becoming the New Ancestor

After the “*bin*” ceremony, the locale of the funerary rites would be moved to the temple in order to conduct ancestor worship.¹⁵⁹ A length of time exists between the time when his coffin was moved to the ancestral temple and its final interment, which varies according to the status and the rank of the deceased.¹⁶⁰ During this period of time, two issues need to be considered: 1) the date of the final interment would be decided based on auspicious dates; and 2) gifts and other

¹⁵⁶ Hung Wu, 1992: 117.

¹⁵⁷ Beckman, 2006: 163-164.

¹⁵⁸ Hertz, [1960] 2009: 80-81, also see Williams, 2006: 94, Lullo, 2009: 53.

¹⁵⁹ Hung Wu, 1992: 134.

¹⁶⁰ For discussion and statistics on the length of time between death and coffining and final burial, refer to Miranda Brown “Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses? A Reconsideration of Elite Conceptions of Death” in *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, 1-4, 2002: 210-12.

grave goods were collected and displayed.¹⁶¹ The collection of grave goods usually includes personal items or symbols of rank that the deceased treasured in life; sets of vessels for ritual or secular feasts and banquets; objects that are believed to protect the deceased against evil spirits and those items made specifically for burials.

The final step of the funerary rites would be the procession of the coffin to the gravesite. In the burial of the Zhao minister, an outer encasement called “*guo*” (槨) made of timbers was constructed as an underground adobe for the main coffin and its other four auxiliary coffins. According to the ritual records in the *Yi Li*, the construction of the Zhao minister’s final burial could probably consist of at least the following steps: 1) burial goods were first arranged and displayed on the eastern and western sides of the grave; 2) a brief ceremony held could be conducted by the “*zhongren*” (冢人, the tomb man) who would also examine the tomb furnishings including burial items and food; 3) the families, relatives, and guests mourned and watched that the main coffin and its auxiliary coffins were lowered into their position in the outer encasement; 4) burial goods and food in their prescribed position and vessels were distributed; and 5) the whole burial construction was sealed.¹⁶²

The “*guo*” (槨) structure where the main coffin and the auxiliary coffins are finally placed is considered to be the underground home for the dead. Around his main coffin, there are four auxiliary coffins: one is located to the right of the deceased’s head and the other three lie around the foot of the coffin. Inside this underground dwelling of the Zhao minister, sets of bronze vessels, bronze musical instruments and weapons, a total of 1690 pieces - all of these burial objects would have served him in his underground life. Human remains in auxiliary

¹⁶¹ Lullo, 2009: 55. *Yili zhushu* 39: 864-874.

¹⁶² Hung Wu has analyzed the procedures of building the “*guo*” structure of the Mawangdui tomb, see Hung Wu 1992: 135.

coffins were considered to be attendants who would follow and serve the Zhao Minister after his death. A young female was buried in auxiliary coffin No.1 with a bronze *dou* vessel and jade objects. Some bronze and jade objects were also found in auxiliary coffin No. 2 along with horse tools and trappings and bronze weapons. Auxiliary coffin No. 3 contained the body of a female with 250 glass beads around her waist. Sets of 19 bells and 13 chime stones were found on top of auxiliary coffin No. 4. The bells were decorated with dragon or serpent patterns. Remarkably, the number of musical instruments found in the Zhao Minister's tomb also exceeds that of the earlier Western Zhou dukes of Jin. (Table 2)

Besides these auxiliary storage coffins, there is a hoard of bronze vessels collectively placed together above (to the east of) the main coffin, which is known as the “head hoard” (头箱) in burial custom in ancient China. In this hoard at his head, ritual bronze vessels were placed collectively as component of Zhao minister's tomb furnishings. The ritual bronze vessel assemblages basically adhere to Zhou-style sumptuary rules. The bulk of these vessels featured combinations of *ding* (鼎), *dou* (豆), *hu* (壶), *pan* (盘), *yi* (匜), *zun* (尊), which function as food, meat and wine containers as well as cooking vessel such as *li*. Among them, there are twenty-five *ding* vessels in total that include three sets of “seven *ding*” rather than the sets of “five *ding*” conventionally placed in a minister's tomb according to Zhou sumptuary rules. The twenty-five bronze *ding* vessels also greatly exceed the number of *ding* vessels placed in other elite tombs of this time. (Table 2)

To look beyond the number and the style of these bronze ritual vessels to their functional significance is necessary, since food, feasts and banquets have been implicated in significant

ways in processes of social change and transitions.¹⁶³ Much research has indicated that food and feasts are basic elements in the construction and maintenance of social relations of power and inequality and some have explored the power of them to shape social identities and behavior.¹⁶⁴ Sarah Nelson has argued that in ancient China the evidence for gravesite feasting from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age suggests that enlisting the aid of the dead was of greater importance than forming alliances with the living.¹⁶⁵ In the case of the Zhao minister tomb, the hoard of ritual bronze vessels which consist of large number of different but set shapes of vessels used as food, meat, wine containers as well as cooking vessels suggest that a formal meal probably with foods and wine were consumed in a prescribed sequence.¹⁶⁶ The excavation report reveals that sheep heads and cattle bones were found in a bronze *ding* in the Zhao Minister's tomb, which testifies to the ceremonial feast in situ.¹⁶⁷ The residue of food and the centrality of bronze food containers and cooking vessels are illustrative of the participation of the living in the feasting rituals at the gravesite, which was to celebrate a new ancestral spirit. The food and wine offered to the dead function to keep the ancestral spirit attached to the living to aid descendants through incantation shown in the call of the soul-recalling rite ("O soul, come back!").¹⁶⁸

The sheep heads in the bronze *ding* may show Zhao minister's affiliation with other cultural groups. Between the 9th and the 3rd centuries BCE, animal sacrifices, especially the head

¹⁶³ Tamara Bray "The Commensal Politics of Early States and Empires" in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara Bray, New York and Boston: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publisher, 2003: 8-9.

¹⁶⁴ Dietler 1996; Blitz 1993.

¹⁶⁵ Sarah Nelson "Feasting the Ancestors in Early China" in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara Bray, New York and Boston: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publisher, 2003: 86-7.

¹⁶⁶ Jessica Rawson, "The Ritual Bronze Vessels of Shang and the Zhou" in *Mysteries of Ancient China: New Discoveries from the Early Dynasties*, edited by Jessica Rawson, pp. 248-265. George Braziller, Inc., New York, 1996.

¹⁶⁷ Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所. *Taiyuan Jinguo Zhaoqing mu 太原晋国赵卿墓*. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe. 1996: 248-250.

¹⁶⁸ Sarah Nelson, 2003: 87.

and hooves of sheep, cattle and horses, were a shared burial custom among Northern pastoralists, especially in Eastern Gansu and Southern Ningxia, the Ordos and contiguous areas, South Central Inner Mongolia, Northern Hebei, and the arching areas surrounding the Central Plain.¹⁶⁹

What is also unique is that the outer encasement tomb structure was oriented east-west instead of the north-south orientation commonly seen in previous royal Zhou burial customs and the tombs of earlier dukes of the state of Jin. (Table 2) Lacquer flakes were found between the coffins with traces of colored paint in geometric patterns. There are also bronze rings decorated with animal masks found in between the outer and middle layers of the coffin. These bronze hoops mimicked door rings used in residential architecture, which further confirms that these nested coffins in his tomb were regarded as a residence for the Zhao Minister after his death.

Although rarely seen in other Chinese states at the time, the east-west orientation of the Zhao Minister's tomb seems to be more common than what would be expected within the Zhao State during the Warring States period. For example, the excavation of the 59 tombs in the Baijiacun cemetery in the Zhao State capital of Handan reveals a situation of mixed tomb orientation. Among all these tombs, 52 are oriented south-north and seven east-west. This kind of mixed tomb orientation also occurred in the Maoqinggou cemetery in the Ordos region.¹⁷⁰ As was analyzed in last chapter, in this frontier region relocation and travel of population of various backgrounds very likely happened due to military confrontation, inter-state marriage, and trade. Although no definite conclusion such as cultural affiliation or identity of the cemetery can be drawn from the mixed tomb orientation at Baijiacun based on our currently available data which I will introduce in a later section, one should not be surprised to see a mixed population in the

¹⁶⁹ Katheryn M. Linduff, "An Archaeological Overview." In *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppe from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, edited by Emma Bunker, Trudy Kawami, Katheryn Linduff and En Wu. New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1997: 33, 40, 46, 47, 56-7, 59, 63, 67.

¹⁷⁰ Tian Guangjin 田广金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新. *E'erdusi shi qingtongqi 鄂尔多斯式青铜器*. 1986: 231.

local cemetery in Zhao territory during the Warring States period. An auxiliary tomb of the king of Zhao's King mausoleum (Zhouyao No. 1 tomb 周窑一号墓) provides another example of the east-west tomb orientation. (Fig. 13) The five mausoleums (not yet officially excavated) that are believed to belong to several Zhao kings in Handan also possess raised platforms and passages that run east to west.¹⁷¹

In addition to the east-west orientation of the tomb, another feature that makes the Zhao Minister's tomb distinct from elite Central Plain tombs is the size of the tomb opening (11m x 9.2m, see Table 2), which is wider than the bottom. The east-west orientation together with the type of wider-opening vertical shaft tomb is not usually seen in Spring and Autumn and Warring States tombs except in the state of Qin during the Late Warring States period (4th-3rd BCE).¹⁷²

Regarding the inventory of the tomb goods, the tomb of the Zhao Minister includes valuable sets of bronze ritual vessels, musical instruments, bronze weapons, jades, and war chariots and horses. Although most of these burial goods are similar to those found in other elite Jin or elite burials from the Central Plain, there are objects stylistically associated with mixed artistic features, resulting from a purposeful adoption and delicate blend of elements of various traditions that created a unique emblem of its own. Among these finds, the bronze bird-shaped vessels featured with composite animal fighting scenes (like the bronze dagger found in the main coffin) can be traced to the Houma Foundry. The feathers on the eagle are depicted in a realistic style unlike the symbolic geometric designs on bronzes found in the Central Plain region. The tent with bronze supports that was used in burial rituals to symbolize superior military status

¹⁷¹ Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Institute 河北省文管处. 1982. "Hebei Handan Zhaowangling (The Zhao Mausoleums in Hebei Handan 河北邯郸赵王陵)" in *Kaogu* 考古, 1982, no. 6: 597-599.

¹⁷² Katheryn Linduff, 2009. Production of Signature Artifacts for the Nomad Market in the State of Qin during the Late Warring States Period in China (4th-3rd century BCE) in *Metallurgy and Civilisation: Eurasia and Beyond Archetype*. pp. 90-96. The *Shiji* says that, "the Qin and Zhao had the same ancestor" (赵氏之先，与秦共祖). See the Chapter "Zhaoshijia (赵世家)" in *Shiji* (Historical Records 史记), 1959, vol. 6: 1779.

follows a local custom in the frontier.¹⁷³ It has only one parallel in this region of the time, which was excavated from the tomb of King Cuo of the Zhongshan State (Hebei).¹⁷⁴

The other noteworthy feature of the burial goods in the burial of the Zhao minister is its large number of weapons in the main coffin and the auxiliary coffin #2 that include dagger axes, halberds, socketed spearheads, axes, *yue* (钺) battle axes, bows and arrowheads. Altogether 656 bronze weapons were found in the Zhao Minister's tomb, which excessively exceeds that of other contemporary elite tombs. (Table 3) The distribution of the weapons in the main coffin shows great attention and deliberation as they were placed very close to the body of the Zhao Minister to emphasize his elite status and military power together with jade ornaments and gold and bronze belt hooks. His elite status and military role is further enhanced by the massive storage of ritual bronzes, musical instruments and bronze weapons in the other auxiliary coffins.

Outside the tomb structure, an L-shaped horse and chariot pit was found to the northeast of the tomb. There were 16 chariots in the chariot pit. The bronze components of the chariots were removed and placed in the tomb. In the horse pit, there are 44 horses buried with their heads facing west in an arranged order. The excavation reports identified these horses as Mongolian horse types.¹⁷⁵ The historical records note that in order to fight against Linhu and Loufan on the steppe, Zhao needed to get these horses probably from a friendly frontier polity Yuezhi (月氏).¹⁷⁶ Yuzhi was also the major supplier of horses to the Qin State at the time. The Zhao State was fearful that once Qin occupied the northern frontier, suppliers of horses, dogs and

¹⁷³ Personal communication with Cho-yun Hsu and Hsu referred the use of bronze tent in burials as a military symbol practiced by the group of Shanrong and Di.

¹⁷⁴ Xiaolong Wu, *Stylistic Traditions, Statecraft, and Cultural Identity in Ancient China: Bronze Artifacts of the Zhongshan State, Warring States Period (476-221 BCE)*, PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2004.

¹⁷⁵ Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所. *Taiyuan Jinguo Zhaoqing mu 太原晋国赵卿墓*. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe. 1996: 377.

¹⁷⁶ Qian Sima, *Shiji*: 43/1817–18.

jades from northwest would be cut off.¹⁷⁷ The number of both the chariots and horses buried in the Zhao Minister's tomb greatly exceeds that of the tombs of contemporary kings and ministers or those of the Western Zhou. (Table 2 and Table 4) Most of the chariots in the Zhao Minister's tomb were functional war chariots.¹⁷⁸ These chariots and horses do not merely symbolize warfare, ritual hunting, or the minister's power in the afterlife, but also suggest that his power and social status was maintained through violence and warfare while he was living.

To sum, the identity of the deceased is formed in two ways in the tomb of the Zhao minister: firstly, the feasting and banquet conducted at the gravesite evidenced by the large number of food and wine vessels and the residues of meat in the food container indicate the transition of the dead to become the new ancestral spirit. In addition to this "new ancestor" who brings auspiciousness and protection to the living group, his new identity also possesses another unique perspective highlighted by the inclusion of burial goods whose iconography or use of material is not commonly seen in the region of the Central Plain, including the gold belt hooks, the bronze dagger with combat motif, the use of sheep heads in burial, as well as the changes in the overall structure of the tomb shows prominent interest in innovation and involvement with non-dynastic but local customs. A checklist of the innovations that we perceive in Zhao Minister burial clearly shows his unique taste, which is strikingly new among the elite tombs of his time in other Chinese States: 1) change of the orientation of its outer encasement tomb to east-west vs. the conventional south-north orientation; 2) the inclusion of artifacts that bear innovative iconography that results from adopting and blending multiple existing motifs; 3) the use of material in burial goods or ceremonial activity that are rarely seen in the Central Plain; and 4) the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, 1996: 241.

inclusion of a large set of bronze vessels, weapons and chariots and horses which greatly surpasses the number in elite tombs of other Chinese states of his time.

The political situation of the Jin state around 500 BCE reveals that the Jin was faced with crucial decline resulting from military confrontations with rivals from other Chinese states, frontier polities such as Rong and Di and competitions coming from their inner branch families. Given this background, the changes in burial practices did not appear to be a coincidence that only speaks about blending or convergence of style if they were taken at the face value. These changes footnoted and evidenced a microcosm of the world of his time when Jin was challenged with political pressure and pitfalls as outlined in the previous chapter.

3.4 THE REOCCURENCE OF HYBRIDITY IN THE GILDED PLAQUE FROM THE ZHAO KING MAUSOLEUM

Despite obvious changes, many elements in the tomb of the Zhao minister and burial goods are typical of those found in elite tombs in the Central Plain. These discrepancies resulted from purposefully choosing burial practices and goods in constructing the tomb of the Zhao minister has formed a unique and unusual identity that could be seen by the living. This ‘mixed’ or ‘hybrid’ characteristic is not an isolated occurrence dictated by the choices and position of a single individual, but seems to reoccur in later mortuary practice in the state of Zhao. In the following sections I will examine the burial goods and practices found in the tomb of a Zhao king and in local Zhao cemeteries during the Warring States Period. They add up to a ‘mixed’ or ‘hybrid’ pattern already perceived in the Zhao minister tomb. Provided the historical background that the several decades around the fifth century BCE presents a period full of transitions in the substitution of Zhao over the Jin, these reoccurring ‘hybrid’ characteristics shown in different

ways in these Zhao burials enable me to speculate further on the term hybridity, which was used in previous scholarship only as a stylistic label to describe objects that bear with motifs based on multiple artistic traditions. Hybridity can be a more useful term if considered as practice and process purposefully constructed in relation to cultural identity displayed on occasions of death transitions as my study of the Zhao burials in the following two sections will show.

So far, there are five mausoleums that have been identified with five kings of the Zhao State dating to the Warring States Period in Hebei Province (tombs of Zhao King #1-5).¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately, no systematic excavation has been conducted and only an accident of looting has provided an official tentative excavation of one of these Zhao mausoleums. The result shows that the auxiliary tomb of one Zhao king (Zhouyao Tomb #1 周窑 1 号墓) is oriented east-west.¹⁸⁰ What is even more phenomenal is that the five Zhao King mausoleums all possess raised platforms and passages that also run from east to west, indicating these five tombs are all east-west oriented.¹⁸¹ The orientation of the overall tomb complex of these five Zhao kings is consistent with the innovation that the Zhao minister.

The tomb of Zhao King #2 was reported to have been looted in 1997, but the looted items were retrieved by the police in 1999. Although very limited, these retrieved objects still give us some clue about the burial practice of the Zhao King tomb. Among these items, there are about two hundred jade squares, which probably formed a jade suit.¹⁸² The use of jade plates to form a jade suit is more often seen later in the Han dynasty. Unlike those jade suits in the Han dynasty tombs, Chen Bin has argued that this jade suit of Zhao King takes the shape of armor. Without

¹⁷⁹ The Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Institute 河北省文管处. 1982. "Hebei Handan Zhaowangling (The Zhao Mausoleums in Hebei Handan 河北邯郸赵王陵)" in *Kaogu* 考古, 1982, no. 6: 597-599.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Chen Bin 陈斌 "shilun zhanguo zhaowangling yupian de xingzhi" (试论战国赵王陵玉片的性质) in *Handan Zhiye Jishu Xueyuan Xuebao* (邯郸职业技术学院学报), vol. 2, 2005.

further information as to where this jade suit was originally placed in the tomb, we conjecture that must have covered Zhao King's body like the practice of the jade covering used in the innermost coffin of the Zhao minister. According to the steps that the *Yi Li* dictated the funerary rituals, the preparation of the large number of jade beads and the placement of the jade suit should also take place in the very early steps before the encoffined body was moved to the mourning hall. The attachment of the jade suit to the body of Zhao King could most likely happen in Lesser or Greater Dressing Rites after the initial cleaning of his body was finished.

In addition to the jade pieces which made up the jade suit, three bronze horse sculptures were also found. These bronze miniature horse sculptures were unusual because they are realistic representations of horses, which are rarely seen in the Warring States period. These horse sculptures form part of the burial goods in the Zhao king tomb that glorify the horses and also perhaps riding and mounted practices.

Like those bronze door rings (*pushou* 铺首) found between the coffin layers in the tomb of the Zhao minister, the tomb of the Zhao king included similar pieces. They feature a *taotie* motif. Since in most cases the *taotie* motif occurs on ritual bronze vessels used for ritual sacrifices, it is believed that they had connection to death or the afterworld.¹⁸³ These bronze door rings with *taotie* motif in the Zhao King tomb may have had the same function in the Zhao minister coffins. When these were situated within the layers of coffins, the door rings symbolize entrances at the occasion of transition in the funerary rituals to the ultimate underground home in the tomb. It has been suggested that the *taotie* guards the entrance to the world of death, or that the *taotie* is the one who escorts the spirits to their destination.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ For a detailed discussion of the meaning of *taotie*, see Ladislav Kesner, "The *Taotie* Reconsidered: Meanings and Functions of the Shang Theriomorphic Imagery." In *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 51, No. ½ (1991): 29-53.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

The last piece among the looted items of the tomb of Zhao King #2 is a gilded plaque that depicts paired-animals. The iconography of paired animals on this plaque appears akin to steppe counterparts, but it features dragons, a traditional Chinese motif associated with kingship, instead of the paired wild animals typically seen on steppe objects.¹⁸⁵ (Fig. 1) This plaque of Zhao king with the motif of confronting dragons has two other parallels which look almost identical in overall design that features the symmetrical pattern of paired animals. One is an inlaid gold plaque from the Peter the Great Siberian Collection (Fig. 9), dated to the 3rd century BCE.¹⁸⁶ The other plaque was made of bronze and was excavated from a Xiongnu burial at Daodunzi, Tongxin County, Ningxia (宁夏同心县倒墩子墓).¹⁸⁷ (Fig. 10) It was dated to a later period, in the Western Han dynasty (2nd-1st century BCE) when the Xiongnu became the dominant power in North China.

The Daodunzi plaque and the plaque in the Peter the Great Siberian Collection have been discussed previously and scholars have written about this shared iconography, which they termed the “lupine-headed dragon,” and compared them with some other belt plaques with dragon motifs from Szidorovka (in Western Siberia, 3rd century BCE) and Ivolga (in Buryatia, 2nd century BCE).¹⁸⁸ (Fig. 11 and Fig. 12) The visual hybridity on the Zhao king’s plaque and its two parallels is striking because this hybrid design of composite paired-animals is not

¹⁸⁵ Liu Tianying 刘天鹰 and Chen Bin 陈斌, “Zhanguo Zhaowangling Erhaoling Chutu Bufen Wenwu Lunshu (Discussions on Some Artifacts Excavated in the Zhao King Tomb No. 2 战国赵王陵二号陵出土部分文物述论)” in *Handan Zhiye Jishu Xueyuan Xuebao* (Academic Journal of Handan Professional Technology College 邯郸职业技术学院学报), 2008, vol. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Emma Bunker. *Nomadic Art of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes*, 2002: 32.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Also see Ningxia Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 宁夏文物考古研究所, “Ningxia Tongxin Daodunzi Xiongnu Mudi” (宁夏同心倒墩子匈奴墓地 The Xiongnu Burials at Daodunzi Site in Tongxin Ningxia), in *Kaogu Xuebao* (考古学报), 1988, vol. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Katheryn M. Linduff and Karen S. Rubinson, “Exchange of Metallurgical Technology, Objects and People in Eurasia in the late 1st millennium BCE – early 1st millennium CE”, International Conference: Ancient Cultures of Eurasia Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for the History of Material Culture, St. Petersburg, December 15-18, 2010.

exclusively indebted to western Asian or Steppic inspiration. It arises from the purposeful blending of several visual traditions. Animals as subject, for example, the predatory beasts and the paired rams or other wild animals, are known in the Ordos region. Both the dragon motifs and the symmetrical design have deep roots in traditional Chinese aesthetics since late Neolithic Period (c. 5000 BCE), for example, the dragon motif on the jade tube (*cong*) from the Liangzhu Culture and continued to appear on bronze vessel designs. The *taotie* motif represents such an example that some say first appeared at the beginning of the Neolithic period (6500 BCE) and continued to decorate ritual bronze vessels in the Shang and Zhou dynasties.¹⁸⁹ (Fig. 14, Fig. 15) On the plaque from the tomb of Zhao King #2, the blending of dragon motif with composite paired-animal design replaces the configuration of predatory/fighting animals, signaling a switch from dynamic narration to heraldic symbolism.

The placement of the plaque of Zhao King with hybrid designs in the mausoleum of Zhao King may recall the distribution of the bronze dagger with animal combat scene in the Zhao minister tomb in such a way that it speaks largely to the construction of the social identity of the Zhao King displayed at his death transition. The plaque must be prepared by the living household and was probably placed in his coffin at the waist of the body of Zhao King during Lesser Dressing or Greater Dressing rite as an important personal belonging. The special design of hybrid motifs and the use of mercury gilding conform to his unique trans-local taste, the

¹⁸⁹ A widely accepted argument is that the *taotie* is man-eating beast that harms people. Because the *taotie* occurs on ritual bronze vessels used for sacrifices, it is believed that they had some connection to death or the afterworld. It has been suggested that the *taotie* guards the entrance to the world of death, or that the *taotie* is the one who escorts the spirits to their destination. For a more detailed discussion of the meaning of *taotie*, see Ladislav Kesner, "The *Taotie* Reconsidered: Meanings and Functions of the Shang Theriomorphic Imagery." In *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 51, No. ½ (1991): 29-53.

materialization of his identity and the function of material evidence to aid the living in memorialization of their ancestor.¹⁹⁰

Through the analysis of the burial practices and funerary goods in the Zhao minister tomb and the Zhao King tomb #2, the notion of hybridity should be used to refer to a stylistic articulation of the blending of iconographies or subject matters from multiple artistic traditions on single artifact. Hybridity also occurs in burial practices in the case of the Zhao minister tomb, such as the purposeful selection of burial customs from both Zhou and groups of Rong and Di outside of Zhou along the Northern Frontier. Also remarkable is that hybridity embodies the passage of time: the reoccurrence of hybridity shown on the Zhao King gilded plaque recalls the design of the Zhao minister bronze dagger several decades earlier, suggesting the existence and practice of this concept in the manufacture of certain bronze artifacts and their selection for use in elite burials in the transitional process of Jin and Zhao. This could be linked to the larger ideology, for example, the all inclusive diplomatic policies raised by Jin introduced in the previous chapter. The term hybridity, therefore, has further potential in explaining social patterns in the frontier society as the next section on the archaeological data regarding local Zhao cemeteries will demonstrate.

3.5 ANOTHER TYPE OF HYBRIDITY IN LOCAL ZHAO CEMETERIES AT BAIJIACUN AND XINZHOUYAOZI

The Zhao State in the Warring States was located in the far north on the periphery of the Central Plain, and became independent when Jin separated into three independent states in 475 BCE.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Williams, 2006: 36-78.

¹⁹¹ Hsu, 1999: 573-74.

Following the Jin, the Zhao were also involved in endless wars in attempt to balance powers to its south in the Central Plain, Qin to its west and to defend its northern border from the northern “horse riding” people described in the texts as inhabiting the regions eventually north of the Great Wall.¹⁹² Zhao King Wuling's reforms in 337 BCE, initiated by the famous debate introduced at the beginning of this study, greatly improved the fighting capability of the Zhao military.¹⁹³ This section will look at the archaeological data regarding the cemeteries in the Zhao State or within the administrative territory expanded by the Zhao in the Warring States Period. Looking at these cemeteries I will argue that archaeological data in these Zhao local cemeteries testify to the co-existence of people with different levels of wealth, life style, or ethnic background, adding another layer to the notion of hybridity in Zhao society. The mixture of populations and burial customs and ramifications of burial goods in these cemeteries provide a good example to show that a mixture of animal husbandry and farming was also practiced within the Zhao Confederation.

¹⁹² Greg Indrisano, *Subsistence, environmental fluctuation and social change: A case study in south central Inner Mongolia*, (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh), 2006: 2. Hsu, 1999: 573-574. Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004: 11.

¹⁹³ The same year the Zhao attacked the Zhongshan State and won several cities. In 306 BCE, the Zhao military launched expeditions into nomadic territory in the north. The northern expeditions were highly successful: in 304 BCE the upper reaches of the Yellow River were invaded and taken from the barbarian tribes such as the Hezhongshi 河宗氏 and the You 休. King Wuling created two prefectures in 302 BCE including Yunzhong 云中 and Jiuyuan 九原. In five years Zhao King Wuling had expanded his country to the border of the Yan state, the upper reaches of the Yellow River and in the north. For detailed description of this history, see Shen, 2000: 168-178.

3.5.1 Cemeteries at Baijiacun and Maoqinggou

The Baijiacun Cemetery in Handan, the capital of the ancient Zhao State, went through two excavations in the 1950s.¹⁹⁴ 59 tombs were excavated and all of them are earthen pit tombs with openings that were wider than the bottom. Although important information regarding the age and sex of those buried in this cemetery is not available, this cemetery is one of the very few published reports of Zhao sites that include information about tomb orientation, measurements and grave goods.¹⁹⁵ Compared to the Maoqinggou cemetery (毛庆沟),¹⁹⁶ excavated in 1979 in Liangcheng County (凉城), Inner Mongolia, the Baijiacun cemetery has also not received much scholarly attention.

Similar to the Maoqinggou cemetery, among the fifty-nine tombs at Baijiacun there are two distinct groups of tombs: seven tombs (Nos. 16, 17, 19, 28, 29, 31, and 41) were oriented east-west and the remaining fifty-two were oriented north-south.¹⁹⁷ Unlike the Qin catacomb tombs, the construction of these north-south oriented tombs do not contain an adjacent vertical shaft.¹⁹⁸ They are earthen pit tombs and basically follow the structure of north-south oriented tombs in the Central Plain. Skeletons in north-south tombs were all buried in supine and extended position.¹⁹⁹ There are no animal sacrifices associated with individual tombs but there are six horse and chariot pits in the cemetery with burials of horses and dogs, which could

¹⁹⁴ Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Institute 河北省文管处, "Hebei Handan Baijiacun Zhanguo mu (The Baijiacun Cemetery of the Warring States Period in Hebei Handan 河北百家村战国墓)" in *Kaogu* 考古, 1962, no. 12: 612-634.

¹⁹⁵ Other published reports on cemeteries such as Zhongyangquan 中羊泉 and cemeteries in Xingtai 邢台, Hebei are even more tenuous in their data and therefore insufficient for the current study.

¹⁹⁶ Tian and Guo, 1986: 231. Also see Xiaolong Wu, "Female and Male Status as Displayed at the Maoqinggou Cemetery: Ascribed or Achieved." In *Gender and Chinese Archaeology*, edited by Katheryn Linduff and Yan Sun. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2004.

¹⁹⁷ Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Institute 河北省文管处, 1962: 612-634.

¹⁹⁸ Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Mortuary Behavior in Pre-Imperial Qin: A Religious Interpretation," in *Chinese Religion and Society*, John Lagerwey (ed.), v. 1: 109-172, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004.

¹⁹⁹ Hebei Provincial Cultural Relics Institute 河北省文管处, 1962: 612-634.

indicate a pastoral life styles. Except for several larger tombs, the structure of all is roughly the same: rectangular earthen pits with openings that were wider than the bottom. Three tombs among the north-south oriented ones had niches, which contained grave goods. Skeletons in the east-west tombs were buried with legs flexed (M41 is an exception).²⁰⁰

Some interesting patterns of display of wealth and status appear among the burials at Baijiacun. First, the rich tombs (M1, 3, 10, 20, 25, 57) are all oriented north-south.²⁰¹ These tombs contain whole sets of ceramic pots including cooking vessels and animal-shaped utensils (Fig. 16).²⁰² The bronze artifacts in these tombs consist of bronze weapons such as daggers, swords, arrowheads as well as belt hooks, buckles, and tools. In addition, jade and bone ornaments were also found in large quantities. In comparison, the seven east-west-oriented tombs yielded fewer offerings and lacked bronze artifacts, weapons or tools and even the storage of ceramic vessels were limited. Most of them had less than ten ceramic pots and no bronze grave goods.²⁰³

Although the number of grave goods in the seven east-west-oriented tombs turned out to be the lowest in the cemetery, half of them have bronze belt hooks of the Chinese style with curvy or geometric patterns and stone ornaments. For example, M16 had only four ceramic pots but 25 pieces of stone ornaments; M17 had 12 ceramic pots and 17 stone ornaments and 15 stone *gui*; M19 had eight ceramic pots and 19 stone ornaments and 27 stone *gui*.²⁰⁴ In contrast, the richest north-south tomb in this cemetery, M3, contained 46 ceramic vessels and dozens of

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

bronze artifacts, 48 stone ornaments and 15 stone *gui*.²⁰⁵ That is, compared to other not so wealthy north-south-oriented tombs, these east-west-oriented tombs at Baijiacun possessed a large number of stone ornaments despite their lack of other grave goods.

Generally speaking, different tomb orientations (east-west vs. north-south) and dispositions of the deceased body (flexed vs. supine and extended position) may indicate different burial customs and therefore suggest different populations or ethnic identities. Unfortunately this hypothesis cannot be tested using bone analysis or other testing, so these two factors cannot be seen as decisive indicators of gene pools. Even so, the Baijiacun cemetery may consist of different groups of people based on these differences in burial customs.

To analyze the different symbols of identity that exist in the east-west-oriented and north-south-oriented tombs in the Baijiacun cemetery, I look at the distribution of artifacts around the body, since identity of any kind is often symbolized through the human body.²⁰⁶ Body decoration is amenable to the expression of individual and group identity because it not only touches the human body but also faces the viewer.²⁰⁷ Interestingly, in the rich north-south-oriented tombs, despite some jade ornaments, a bronze sword is always placed on the center of the body, including M1, M3, and M57.²⁰⁸ (Fig. 17, Fig. 18) The beads, stone and bone ornaments and the storage of ceramic pots and animal-shaped vessels are placed farther away from the body. The position of the bronze swords articulates its importance not only in terms of symbolic military power and protection, but also distinguishes these tombs from others within the cemetery that would have been displayed in the public during funeral rituals.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Shelach, 2009: 80.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ The diagrams of these three north-south-oriented tombs are the only ones of the rich tombs provided in the original excavation report of the Baijiacun cemetery. Information on the rest of the rich tombs as well as the distribution of artifacts is not available.

The seven east-west oriented tombs at Baijiacun only yielded ceramics, belt hooks and stone ornaments. What does this inventory of grave goods tell us about this group of people? One way to explore this question is to compare these east-west-oriented tombs at Baijiacun with those east-west tombs in other contemporary cemeteries such as Maoqinggou.

The Maoqinggou cemetery is located in Liangcheng County in Inner Mongolia where the ancient Zhao State expanded north enlarging their territory. The site was excavated in 1979 and the excavation report includes abundant tomb data regarding age, sex, and grave goods allowing a more detailed analysis.²⁰⁹ Like Baijiacun, the Maoqinggou cemetery also witnessed two types of tomb orientation, east-west and north-south.²¹⁰ Scholars agree that there were two groups of people of distinct cultural affiliations at Maoqinggou.²¹¹ The grave goods in east-west tombs emphasized animals such as horses, cattle, and goats, suggesting the importance of pastoralism while the north-south tombs yielded no animal sacrifices or bronze harnesses that could be said to relate to this form of subsistence.²¹²

In contrast to Maoqinggou, all the square or round shaped belt buckles at Baijiacun came from north-south-oriented tombs. The eight belt buckles come from the rich north-south tombs M3, M20, M57. The bronze belt rings that could be used together with belt buckles or to hang other objects on a belt were also found only in north-south tombs. The 32 horse harnesses were also excavated from north-south tombs (M1, M3, M20, and M57). Only belt hooks that could be used to fasten garments were found in east-west tombs. Compared to the north-south tombs, the east-west-oriented tombs contained a large number of stone ornaments.

²⁰⁹ Tian and Guo, 1986: 231.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid. Also see Xiaolong Wu, "Female and Male Status as Displayed at the Maoqinggou Cemetery: Ascribed or Achieved." In *Gender and Chinese Archaeology*, edited by Katheryn Linduff and Yan Sun. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2004: 230-231.

²¹² Wu, 2004: 230-231.

The seven east-west tombs in Baijiacun were not looted. Therefore, despite the tomb orientation and position of the bodies, these east-west tombs in Baijiacun did not show features that could be clearly linked with pastoral population like those Maoqinggou east-west tombs. They leave the impression that they were “compromised” or “depleted” of significant items such as ceramic animal-shaped vessels, bronze weapons and horse harnesses. Among the categories of the grave goods at Baijiacun, types of grave furnishing appear to indicate group distinctions: from pots, ornaments and metal weapons, I assume to represent symbolic a difference in representing the two groups of people. This could be interpreted as reflecting symbolic difference where the deceased as well as the living community displayed at death, since pottery was commonly associated with family and activities within the group, and ornaments were closely related to personal fashion and style and they could also function as indicators of group identity. On the other hand, metal weapons, tools and horse harnesses that appeared in the south-north tombs are objects that people used when they went outside of their domestic locations and interacted with outsiders.²¹³

In sum, the people buried in the east-west tombs at Baijiacun possessed less wealth and their burials emphasized the idea of a small and closely affiliated group that differed from the people buried in the north-south tombs and could only display their wealth on a daily, personal and domestic level of contact restricted to the local group. In contrast, the north-south-oriented tomb owners at Baijiacun were probably intended to externalize their identity or to emphasize their wealth and power to show or to interact with people outside their local community.

3.5.2 Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery

As discussed above, the cemetery at Baijiacun in the Zhao capital suggests a mixture of two different groups of people with different levels of wealth and affiliation. The well-known

²¹³ Shelach, 2009: 111-113.

Maoqinggou cemetery, located further north within the Zhao expanded territory, gives another example of this regional burial pattern, a mixed type of tomb orientation that included east-west and north-south tombs also supports the notion that two groups of people with distinct cultural affiliations co-existed.²¹⁴ In what follows I will address the newly excavated cemetery at Xinzhouyaozi, Liangcheng County, Inner Mongolia that was also located within the territory acquired after Zhao expansion. I argue that the sixty-nine tombs excavated there exemplify yet another pattern of population integration in this region.

The graves at Xinzhouyaozi are all earthen pits oriented east-west and most include head niches and second-tier platforms with animal sacrifices.²¹⁵ As the excavation does not reveal all details relating to gender and age, only some comparisons can be made based on the available grave diagrams in the excavation report. We can use these diagrams together with the inventory of grave goods to compare them with contemporary cemeteries in the northern zone such as the Maoqinggou cemetery. Like those east-west tombs at Maoqinggou, the bodies in the Xinzhouyaozi cemetery are laid in the extended supine position and placed in the center of the burial pit. Similar ceramic vessels with or without animal bones were often placed near the edge of the grave and above the head of the skeleton. (Fig. 19, Fig. 20) As at Maoqinggou, goats and cattle bones were the most common animal sacrifices at Xinzhouyaozi while horse remains were rare. The majority of the ceramic vessels were jars with no pattern and jars with two handles similar to those in Maoqinggou burials and these vessels were intended for daily use. (Fig. 21) The inclusion of goat, cattle and horse skulls indicates the significance of animal husbandry to

²¹⁴ Xiaolong Wu, "Female and Male Status Displayed at the Maoqinggou Cemetery" in *Gender and Chinese Archaeology*, edited by Katheryn M. Linduff and Sun Yan, AltaMira Press, 2004: 230.

²¹⁵ The Inner Mongolia Cultural Relics and Archaeological Institute 内蒙古文物考古研究所, "The Excavation Report on the Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery in the Liangcheng County in Inner Mongolia" (内蒙古凉城县忻州窑子墓地发掘简报) in *Kaogu* 考古, 2009, No. 3: 220-240.

the group of people buried in east-west tombs at Maoqinggou and at Xinzhouyaozi. The burial arrangements at Xinzhouyaozi and Maoqinggou were very consistent and therefore must have been a part of a regional burial practice, although Xinzhouyaozi seems to be less wealthy than Maoqinggou. Despite the consistence of the distribution of ceramics and animal bones and other grave goods, certain objects such as bronze daggers and the bronze plaques with cloud patterns were popular at Maoqinggou but were not found at Xinzhouyaozi.

In addition to the specific placement of animal bones and ceramics at Xinzhouyaozi and Maoqinggou, bone analysis also suggests that the Xinzhouyaozi cemetery was comprised of two populations with north Asian and Central Plain physical features.²¹⁶ There were 64 bone samples in total in this cemetery and sex analysis shows that 32 were males, 13 females, 10 children and nine that could not be determined due to the poor condition of the bones.²¹⁷ Among these, 30 were analyzed for ethnological information. It turned out that 19 of them were reported as north Asian types and the rest 11 were Central Plain types.²¹⁸ Although not all detailed sex and bone information is correlated with each tomb in the excavation report, I will use the M19 (male, age 45, Central Plain type of skull), M28 (male, age 25, North Asia type), M50 (female, age 25, Central Plain type) and M10 (female, age 25, North Asia type) as two sets of comparisons. I suggest that although two different populations were buried at the Xinzhouyaozi cemetery, their tombs were identical in terms of cultural content and affiliation. It seems that there were no sharp ‘qualitative’ differences in materials or types of grave goods between these two populations at Xinzhouyaozi, and that the only difference might exist in the ‘quantity’ of their grave goods.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

M19 contains a male body, 45 years old, Central Plain type of skull and his body was laid out in the extended and supine position in the rectangular earthen pit with a head niche in the shape of a semicircle.²¹⁹ (Fig. 22) A pottery jar was placed in the head niche. Above his head and near the edge of the grave there were animal bones including one cattle skull and four goat skulls. (Fig. 23) Around his waist, there were six bronze plaques decorated with a bird pattern. Like M19, M28 is also the tomb of a male with the body laid out in the same position.²²⁰ (Fig. 24) Again, the pottery jar is placed in the head niche. There were no cattle bones buried in this grave, but it includes five goat skulls and one horse skull. (Fig. 25) When compared to the bronze plaques in M19, M28 contains more plaques in various styles as well as some belt hooks. (Fig. 26)

M50 is a female tomb, which also has a head niche with a pottery jar placed in it.²²¹ The female body was of the ancient Central Plain type, age 25, and she found in the supine and extended position. (Fig. 27) Five stone beads were discovered around her neck and a bronze plaque was found near her waist. There were another 10 bronze bead ornaments found near her hip bone. There were no animal sacrifices associated with M50. M10 was also a female tomb, but the tomb owner had a North Asian type skull and her age was between 25 and 30.²²² This tomb featured the same kind of head niche with the pottery jar. Her body was also in the supine and extended position. (Fig. 28) Animal sacrifices were found in M10, which included four goat skulls and one cattle skull. Other than the animal sacrifices, there are not many differences between M10 and M50 in terms of other grave goods. M10 also had bronze bead ornaments and bronze plaques.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

Animal sacrifices were found in graves at Xinzhouyazi in more than half of the 69 tombs. No evidence could prove whether M10 was the only female tomb with a Central Plain skull that did not possess animal sacrifices and so represents broader phenomenon at this cemetery which could further imply cultural affiliation. The sacrifices of goats, cattle, and horses, and belt plaques found in this cemetery all seem to suggest a strong affiliation with a pastoralist life style. Due to the lack of detailed gender and bone information correlated with each tomb, what we can observe from the current available data seems to suggest that regardless of sex, age or ethnic affiliation, the tomb structure and the grave goods at the Xinzhouyaozi cemetery tended to be very similar, although the quantity of certain burial items such as body ornaments, belt plaques, and animal sacrifices did indicate that some people might be wealthier than others. Unlike the cemetery at Maoqinggou where the two types of tomb orientation represent the mix of two different groups of people who possessed different cultural and probably ethnic affiliation, the bone data at Xinzhouyaozi clearly points out that two different traditions and perhaps affiliated populations co-existed in this cemetery but their burial customs and mortuary behavior reflected by tomb construction and grave goods were basically the same.

3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

At the beginning of this chapter I posed the question of how to understand the phenomenon of hybridity in the mortuary context in Jin and Zhao burials in relation to the construction of their identity? This question contains two separate but related inquiries: one is to choose an analytical approach/model via which we are able to comb through the issue of interpreting identity based on crucial signifiers such as changes, continuities, or phenomenon of

hybridity through archaeological materials, and the other is then how to apply this approach to the burial data of the Zhao society.

In order to better analyze my observation of innovations, I argue that the emergence and practice of hybridity in the Zhao burial practice from the perspective of funerary rituals is effective. The theory of ‘dual phases’ in funerary rites raised by Robert Hertz and developed by Metcalf and Huntington and William Howards, which considers the role of death as a crucial step instead of end point in life cycles in a society and the death ritual involves a triangle structure suggesting the inter-relationship between the dead body, the soul, and the living community; was introduced and applied. In their view, through funerary rites the metaphorical link between the body and soul would form, the physical form of the deceased would diminish, and the order between the living and the dead would be forgotten by the living and generate a new conceptualized ancestor. In line with these theories, Hung Wu suggested the change of ritual locale as the dividing point of funerary rites. My analysis of the funerary rites of the Zhao minister tomb is cast into two phases: the first phase regards the treatment of the dead body before it was sealed in the innermost coffin; and the second phase focuses on the preparation of the rest of burial goods and the transition of the deceased to the new ancestral spirit at the gravesite.

With this ritual perspective, I examined the first phase (before the dead body was sealed in the innermost coffin) when special body decoration was placed with the Zhao minister: jewelry was hung over his wrists, ankles and body; a noticeable number of bronze weapons and swords were placed next to him; bronze daggers and gold belt hooks that evoke artistic features from multiple and non-Zhou traditions were attached to his body; and jade covering was also

used. The body treatment becomes “a canvas upon which identification can play.”²²³ The careful body preparation at a very early stage of the funerary rites was thus telling about his wealth, power, and his martial identity. It happened after the soul-recalling rite, therefore it also indicates the process that the living group accepted his death and the dead body was ready to transform to the “*jiu*” (the encoffined body), which follows its placement in the innermost coffin.

In analysis of the second phase, I focus on the rest of the burial goods and the movement of the coffin to the final gravesite. Special attention was drawn to the hoard of the bronze ritual vessels in relation to the feasting activity at the gravesite, which foregrounds the discussion of the construction of the identity of the deceased. According to the funerary rites before the final interment, the identity of the deceased would transform into a new ancestral spirit through drinking and feasting while his identity was externalized through the construction of his burial. Again, the general structure of the Zhao minister burial which was thought to be his underground home differs dramatically different from the conventional Zhou practice and his Chinese peers including: 1) east-west tomb orientation; 2) the size of the tomb opening wider at the top than at the bottom; 3) the use of sheep in feasting or sacrificial rituals at the gravesite; and 4) the inclusion of large numbers of bronze vessels, weapons, musical instruments, horses and chariots that ignores the Zhou sumptuary rules and greatly exceeds other Chinese elite tombs. Among these changes, the east-west tomb orientation and use of sheep in feasting rituals are linked with non-Zhou populations in the frontier.

To this point, I have shown that innovations in the tomb of the Zhao minister indicates that the concept of hybridity not only refers to the stylistic description of a single object, but also lies in purposeful selection of burial practices. Compared to those elite tombs of ministers and

²²³ Jenkins, 1996: 21.

lords from other Chinese states of his time and seen from the ritual perspective of constructing tombs in the Chinese context, which requires that everything follow strict codes and conventions, the unusual and innovative features in the Zhao minister tomb are sensational. The practice of hybridity in constructing his burial undoubtedly contributed to the construction of Zhao minister's unique public identity and his involvement with non-Zhou people and customs, which was in accord with the all-inclusive diplomatic policies adopted by the Jin towards the end of the Spring and Autumn period.

Section 3.4 focuses on burial objects and practices from the looted tomb, the tomb of Zhao King #2, in the ancient Zhao capital Handan, which is also 'hybrid.' Again, the practice of hybridity was obvious not only in the blending of dragon and paired animal motifs from both Zhou and local steppe artistic traditions but also evident in the combination of burial practices including east-west orientation of the tomb.

Section 3.5 analyzed archaeological data from local cemeteries at Baijiacun and Xinzhouyaozi, adding another type of hybridity to Zhao burials. Although hybridity on the single burial object, as those examples in the tombs of the minister and the king, is not present in the local Zhao cemeteries, these local cemeteries provide examples show the co-existence of populations of people of different levels of wealth and of perhaps different ethnic background. These Zhao local cemeteries also provide evidence that helps us to understand the process of relocation of population in frontier space and how these groups of different populations had integrated culturally with each other during this period, which was locally determined and not dictated by the state of Zhao at this time.

Overall the elite tombs including the minister and the king in the Zhao society show a mixing of different elements of burial customs derived from the Zhou or frontier independent

groups that had been purposefully selected, combined and transformed over the centuries. There are two distinct reasons for the practice of hybridity. The first reason lies in the political ideology of the Zhao and need of the Zhao elites to construct a unique public identity to separate from dynastic Zhou royal power. At the same time since the community of Zhao people and the local frontier groups also encountered and went through a process of integration, reflected from the Zhao local cemeteries, there was the need for the local Zhao people to create an alliance locally. Based on these needs, the creation of 'hybrid' emblems and the practice of hybridity for the Zhao elites to display in their burials functions as political manipulation of allegiance with local frontier groups and at the same time to the creation and maintenance of their unique social privilege and political power distinguished from the peer Chinese states.

4.0 THE MAKING OF HYBRID BRONZES IN THE JIN STATE OPERATED HOUMA FOUNDRY IN THE FRONTIER TERRITORY

Previous chapters have so far examined the hybrid artifacts and innovations in burials of Jin and Zhao from two different perspectives: to situate them in historical context in relation to the social-political process of Jin and Zhao during Eastern Zhou and also to interpret them in ritual context in mortuary settings. This chapter presents a third perspective, one that takes these hybrid artifacts and burial innovations out of the funerary ritual activity into the regional context of politics, economics and trade. Thanks to the accumulation of archaeological data from recent excavations in this region, a regional perspective provides an entirely different context for us to understand that the construction of elite identity of Jin (and its succeeding state of Zhao) actively took place during the process of cultural contact, trade activities and imperial expansion in this frontier region.²²⁴ The discussion of these hybrid artifacts and the making of them within a frontier context will contribute to our understanding of this region as new Jin and Zhao archaeological evidence solidifies the argument that the cultural sphere of various groups proved both hostile and symbiotic in the frontier region. This will radically refute the “core-periphery” model that denotes a binodal relationship between metropolitan Zhou and the surrounding

²²⁴ Ferguson and Whitehead, “Preface” in *Wars in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 1992: xvii.

pastoralist groups with a biased inferior position assumed for the pastoralists recorded in ancient Chinese texts.

In this chapter by presenting recently excavated archaeological materials of the pastoralist groups geographically close to Jin and Zhao during Eastern Zhou, I argue that the emergence of hierarchy and the rise of aristocracy among the pastoralist population in Northern Frontier co-existed and co-developed with the expanding Chinese states, for example, in the Jin and the Zhao. Based on analysis of this regional context, archaeological findings of foundry and artisan sites from the last two decades in north China can be mapped onto the network of trade and production suggesting organized activities in this region. For example, the excavation of the artisan tomb in the ancient Qin state yielded evidence of trade relations between the Chinese state and the frontier people. Characters on plaques found at the site of Xigoupan attested to cooperation between Qin and Zhao. The analysis of the casting technology and metal ingredients in the alloy of the group of plaques with paired-dragon motif indicates that they were produced in their centers across the steppe region.²²⁵ The archaeological finding of pottery moulds for hybrid artifacts in the Jin-operated Houma foundry proves the actual production of the hybrid bronzes and the commercial relationship between Zhou and the frontier groups. The *taotie* motif in Houma Foundry shows the traditional *taotie* intertwined with skirmishing dragons represented innovation and a primitive stage of hybridity. From the frontier contact zone perspective, we will see that the production of the hybrid artifacts in the Jin state-operated foundry was linked to the practice of hybridity in their burial programs and can be seen as a fundamental expression of cultural practice and a sanctioned means of collective communication and exchange, through

²²⁵ Katheryn Linduff and Karen Rubinson, “Exchange of Metallurgical Technology, Objects and People in Eurasia in the late 1st millennium BCE – early 1st millennium CE”, International Conference: Ancient Cultures of Eurasia Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for the History of Material Culture, St. Petersburg, December 15-18, 2010.

which the ‘enemy,’ or other local peoples became integral to Jin/Zhao cultural sphere and identity.

4.1 THE DYNAMIC NORTHERN FRONTIER: THE RISE OF NORTHERN ARISTOCRACY

The complaint is commonly heard that there is no written document about the history of the pastoralists left by themselves in the Northern Zone since the ancient period. The marginalization of studies of these people and cultures, by contrast to the immense focus on material cultures of the dynastic centers in the Central Plain, is obvious. Even so, studies on frontier life and cultural contact have appeared in the last two decades. For example, the growing attention among anthropologists who raise questions about conflict and war in relation to contact between early societies try to find out what the implications of regional conflicts would have been on cultural processes in both local and global dimensions.²²⁶ Scholars have suggested various types and genesis for conflict; there are ethnic conflicts driven by revenge and post-contact genocidal killings motivated by new economic goals.²²⁷ Warfare is another important form of conflict intensified by contact. Ferguson has argued that warfare existed among non-state people and can be generated via contact.²²⁸ My case study can add to their discussion of warfare

²²⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 1992. Jon Abbink, “Ethnic Conflict in the ‘Tribal Zone’: The Dizi and Suri in Southern Ethiopia” in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol 31, 1993: 675-682. Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*, London and New York: Routledge, 1995. Catherine Besteman, “Violent Politics and the Politics of Violence: The Dissolution of the Somali Nation-State” in *American Anthropologist*, vol 23, 1996: 579-596.

²²⁷ Douglas Bamforth, “Indigenous People, Indigenous Violence: Precontact Warfare on the North American Great Plains” in *Man* 29, 1994: 95-115. Paul Shankman, “Cultural Contact, Cultural Ecology, and Dani Warfare” in *Man* 26, 1991: 299-321. Jeffery Blick, “Genocidal Warfare in Tribal Societies as a Result of European-introduced Culture Conflict” in *Man* 23, 1988: 654-70.

²²⁸ Brian Ferguson, *Yanomami Warfare: A Political History*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1995: Preface.

and contact within the “space of the Northern Frontier” during the Eastern Zhou period, where we can document that wars and conflicts intensified and created a place full of dynamic change. The imperial expansion of the Chinese states took place at the same time and probably encouraged the formation and rise of an aristocracy in frontier communities.

As previously outlined, the Eastern Zhou period overall saw indigenous wars in almost each Chinese state while at the same time these Chinese states looked for expansion and solidification of their power. Among the Chinese states Jin was not the only one that responded to the decentralization of the Western Zhou dynastic court and the political competition and struggle from internal families. For example, the *Commentary of Zuo* (左传) records the conversation between Shuxiang (叔向) of Jin and the Yanzi (晏子) of Qi in 539 BCE. Yanzi expressed his concern that the Chen clan would distinguish itself from the four big clans: Luan (栾), Gao (高), Chen (陈), and Bao (鲍) and dominate the State of Qi. Yanzi was right in his conjecture that Chen Chengzi (陈成子) became the ruler of Qi in 481 BCE after he killed Hanzhi (阚止) and wiped out all other clans.²²⁹

The competition and reshuffling of controlling power in each of these Chinese states achieved a temporary new balance among several large states. During the Warring States period, aggressive territorial expansion from these Chinese states was expected. For example, the Duke Hui of the Wei State (魏惠侯, 369-335 BCE) reached the peak of his power and succeeded in incorporating several small states into his control. He adopted the title of “king” (wang, 王) in 344 BCE which was originally used only by the lords of the Zhou family. The Duke Hui of Qin (秦惠文王) took the title of “king” in 325 BCE. King Wuling of Zhao and the Duke Wei of Qi (

²²⁹ Bojun Yang 杨伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu* 春秋左传注, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 1990, vol. 4: 1236-1237.

齐威侯, r. 356-320 BCE) both followed and took the royal title of “king” and by 323 all the rulers of the major states had claimed royal titles.²³⁰ The old confederation of enfeoffed states ruled by the Zhou family became no more than a geographic concept after the civil wars and their military confrontation with Rong and Di entities continued along the Northern Frontier in the two and a half centuries of the Warring States period.

Unlike the well-established chronological records of these Chinese states, knowledge and information about non-Zhou groups, for example, the Rong and Di in this region were only available from sparse descriptions in historical records composed by Chinese historians, which usually refer to them as peripheral, uncivilized and inferior to people of the Central Plain. From the Chinese records, these people participated in Chinese history in their own right via roles as enemies, allies, relatives, and traders. Through recent years, the increasing archaeological excavation and findings in this region of non-Zhou burials provide an opportunity to examine their own material culture and cultural and political development. In what follows I select and present archaeological materials from the sites of Xigoupan, Aluchaideng, and Taohongbala, geographically close to the ancient State of Jin and Zhao. I intend to show that juxtaposed to the rise and fall and conflicts among the well-known Chinese states in this frontier area, the concentration of power, formation of hierarchy and intentional display of wealth also emerged among the elite class of the Rong and Di or whoever those groups were. The materials and wealth that were displayed in their elite burials indicate their own cultural development, foreshadowing the coming of the Xiongnu Empire during the later Han Dynasty.

²³⁰ Mark Edward Lewis, “Warring States Political History” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, Cambridge University Press, 1999:602-603.

In the Northern Frontier very early local cultural traits emerged during the second millennium BCE, for example, the Zhukaigou culture in Inner Mongolia shows indigenous production of northern-style bronze daggers. The findings of typical Shang dagger-axes (*ge*) and knives but with terminal ring in Zhukaigou can be said to be of mixed style, suggesting early contact between the local community in the Shang territory and the Central Plain.²³¹ The Lower Xiajiadian Culture in Heilongjiang in the northeast sector of the Northern Zone is another example, that saw an initial stage of casting bronzes, although limited to small items such as rings and knives. In the Western and Early Eastern Zhou period, the bronze inventory in the Upper Xiajiadian culture developed and included bronze weapons including daggers, knives, axes, helmets, and spearheads and horse fittings, underscoring a militaristic society.

During the Eastern Zhou period, sites including Xigoupan, Maoqinggou, Taohongbala, and Aluchaideng clustered and concentrated in the Ordos region in Inner Mongolia, close to the Zhao in the central sector of the Northern Zone. Several characteristics can be summarized from burials in these sites: Firstly, the burial assemblages largely consist of bronze weapons and ornaments including belt buckles, buttons, plaques, rings and earrings. These became a standardized set of the burial items. Not only was the burial assemblage standardized, but the decoration of these bronze weapons and ornaments also showed a tendency toward standardization.²³² For instance, there is bronze knife with ring pommel and the bronze plaques are decorated in both geometric patterns and animal motifs such as felines and boars. Some of these ornaments are cast in gold, reflecting the rise of an elite class. For example, a pair of gold

²³¹ Kathryn Linduff, “Zhukaigou: Steppe Culture and the Rise of Chinese Civilization” in *Antiquity* 69, 1995: 133-45.

²³² Nicola Di Cosmo, “The Northern Frontier in Pre-Imperial China” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, Cambridge University Press, 1999:934.

belt plaques excavated from Aluchaideng in southern Inner Mongolia is decorated with carnivores with the raptor-headed appendages unlike anything unknown from the Central Plain (Fig. 29).²³³

Secondly, the sharing of imagery and style in certain artifacts in this regional context suggests that independent from the Central Plain, these local communities had their own coherent artistic activities and they were in contact with each other in the Northern Zone and those probably as far away as in the Altai region in southern Siberia. To add to the previous example, a raptor-headed appendage is also seen on the gold headdress from a Xiongnu Tomb at Nalingaotu, Shenmu in current-day Shaanxi Province dated to the late 4th century BCE in Qin State (Fig. 30) and a hybrid animal tattoo on the man buried in the 4th century BCE Pazyryk Tomb No. 2 in the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia (Fig. 31). The presence of Chinese silk and a mirror in the burial of the Pazyryk male (tomb# 6) of the 4th century BCE (Fig. 32) and the possible clay mold for casting the mirror in Yixian in Hebei Province (Fig. 33) indicate that the interaction went both directions.²³⁴

Thirdly, a variety of burial styles and different levels of wealth displayed in burials in a single cemetery not only indicate the co-existence and co-habitation of different groups integrated into one society but also the emergence of differentiated of social status in the Northern Zone. Compared to burials in the sites of Taohongbala, Xigoupan and Aluchaideng, the Maoqinggou cemetery is regarded as a less wealthy cemetery since the burials contained fewer sacrificed animals and lacked gold and silver artifacts. This cemetery works as an example that reveals information about wealth distribution and social differentiation in the Northern Zone.

²³³ Wu En 乌恩岳斯图, *Beifang Caoyuan Kaoguxue Wenhua Yanjiu: Qingtong Shidai zhi Zaoqi Tieqi Shidai* (北方草原考古学文化研究: 青铜时代至早期铁器时代, Research on Archaeological Cultures in the Northern Steppe Region: From the Bronze Age to Early Iron Age), Kexue chubanshe 科学出版社, 2007: 323.

²³⁴ S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*, London: Dent, 1970: 39.

The Maoqinggou cemetery is located in the Liangcheng County in Inner Mongolia and includes seventy-nine tombs dated from the fifth to the third century BCE.²³⁵ The findings of sacrificed animals including horses, cattle, and goats, bronze weapons and plaques with depictions of animals and an absence of agricultural tools have led scholars to believe that the site belonged to population of a mobile group.²³⁶ What is remarkable about this cemetery is that the two types of tombs found there as discussed above suggests the co-existence of two groups of people associated with distinct cultural affiliations.²³⁷ The east-west tombs were rich in animal sacrifice and featured bronze daggers and belt ornaments while the north-south tombs are furnished with garment hooks associated with Central Plain. Animal sacrifice and the placement of luxury body ornaments were indicative of wealth distribution and societal status in the Maoqinggou cemetery.²³⁸ The excavation report shows that goats rank the first in animal sacrifice at Maoqinggou, and the second were cattle and horses were rare. Compared to the nine horse skulls from tomb M1 at Taohongbala, only three tombs are buried with horse skulls at Maoqinggou. Considering the significance of horses for pastoral population, the rarity of horse skulls at Maoqinggou should suggest the wealth and social status of the deceased.²³⁹ Regarding display of wealth at the Maoqinggou site, provided that no child burial at Maoqinggou was well furnished, Pak argued that the social structure at Maoqinggou was based on an “acquired wealth” system, and the wealth and status of an individual was achieved through personal efforts in their own life.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Tian Guangjin 田广金 and Guo Suxin 郭素新, *E'Erduosishi Qingtongqi* (鄂尔多斯式青铜器), Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1986: 304.

²³⁷ Xiaolong Wu, “Female and Male Status Displayed at the Maoqinggou Cemetery” in *Gender and Chinese Archaeology*, edited by Katheryn Linduff and Sun Yan, AltaMira Press, 2004: 230.

²³⁸ Ibid., 221.

²³⁹ T. J. Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993: 137.

²⁴⁰ Yangjin Pak, “A Study of the Bronze Age Culture in the Northern Zone of China,” Ph.D Dissertation, Department

Barfield argued that, “Empires established by nomads in Mongolia were ‘shadow empires’ that arose as a secondary phenomena in response to imperial expansion by the Chinese. Their stability depended on extorting vast amounts of wealth from China through pillage, tribute payments, border trade, and international re-export of luxury goods – not by taxing steppe nomads. When China was centralized and powerful, so were nomadic empires; when China collapsed into political anarchy and economic depression, so did the unified steppe polities that had prospered by its extortion.”²⁴¹ This theory does not hold true during Eastern Zhou period. With the burial data I have presented and social and historical conditions I have discussed, the picture of the cultural and political change of the Frontier community was indeed ‘co-evolutionary’ with Dynastic Zhou cultures rather than becoming the ‘mirror image’ that Barfield has delineated.²⁴² Refuting the sentiment of core-periphery relationship between the dynastic Zhou and surrounding pastoralist cultures characterized in the Chinese written text or by modern scholars, I argue that the rise of the class of aristocracy among the pastoralist population suggested by archaeological materials was symbiotic while independent from the Chinese states in the Yellow River Region. The concentration and the distribution of wealth in burials in the sites of Xigoupan, Aluchaideng, and Maoqinggou arose out of the values and ideology as applied to mortuary behavior and practice in their own community.

of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995.

²⁴¹ T. J. Barfield, “The Shadow Empires: Imperial State Formation along the Chinese-Nomad Frontier” in S.E. Alcock, T.N. D’Altroy, K.D. Morrison, C.M. Sinopoli (edited), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*. Conference “Imperial Designs: Comparative Dynamics of Early Empires” held in Mijas, Spain, in the autumn of 1997, Cambridge, New York, 2001: 10. B Also see T. J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China 221 B.C. to AD1757*, Cambridge, Mass, and Oxford: Blackwell, 1992 (1989).

²⁴² P. Turchin, “A Theory for Formation of Large Empires” in *Journal of Global History*, 2009, vol. 4: 191-217.

4.2 THE METAL NETWORK ACROSS JIN (LATER THE ZHAO), QIN AND THE NORTHERN FRONTIER REGION

Given the regional trajectory of the growing aristocracy among the pastoralists and the imperial expansion of the Chinese states, the commercial connection and trade activities in the Northern Frontier among the states of Qin, Zhao and the frontier people are documented by archaeological findings in the past two decades. This section provides an accounting of such archaeological findings, which attests to the reciprocal relationship among these polities and refutes the core-periphery model that prescribes a secondary or inferior status for the independent frontier polities compared to those metropolitan dynastic Zhou states.

The historical records *Shiji* state that the Qin and Zhao had the same ancestor and that these two states were once closely connected through marriage alliances.²⁴³ Archaeological excavations in the Northern Zone show that metallurgists in the Qin and Zhao produced objects to be sold to groups in further north. A third century BCE pair of gold belt plaques found in the Xigoupan site, Inner Mongolia in the ancient State of Zhao, depicts a scene of animal combat between a tiger and a wild boar (Fig. 34). On the back of the plaque are Chinese characters that record the weight of the plaque and its subject matter.²⁴⁴ The weight is recorded on the left: “一斤五两四朱少半” (1 jin, 5 liang, and 3.5 zhu). The right side of the back of the plaque reads, “故寺 虎三,” referring to the representation of the scene of combat between the boar and the

²⁴³ Duke Mu of Qin (秦穆公) married Boji (伯姬), who was the daughter of Duke Xian of Jin (晋献公) and this initiated their relationship known as the “Friendship between Qin and Jin” (秦晋之好) during the Spring and Autumn period. Although in Shanxi and Hebei, due to the Zhao’s policy of conducting mounted warfare, where non-Zhou groups such as Hu (胡) and Linhu (林胡) were active among the Jin and Zhao people, the states of Jin and Zhao were still regarded as lineal descendants of the Zhou (Chinese). Yet the Qin in Sima Qian’s *Shiji* are referred to as being descended from the non-Zhou groups of Rong 戎 and Di 狄 rather than Zhou. See *Shiji* (Historical Records 史记) 1959, 5: 202; 15: 685; 68: 2234.

²⁴⁴ Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin, 1986: 352-353.

tiger.²⁴⁵ A silver tiger head from the same site bears the characters “少府二两十四朱” (*Shaofu* 2 liang and 14 zhu); *Shaofu* refers to both where it was manufactured and its weight.²⁴⁶ *Shaofu* 少府 was a Warring States Period Qin post.²⁴⁷ (Fig. 35) The character for liang 两 on the silver head, however, is written in script that was prevalent in the state of Zhao, not Qin,²⁴⁸ suggesting that the gold belt plaque was produced by Qin craftsmen and the silver tiger head came from Zhao.²⁴⁹

The reverse side of the Xigoupan plaque also displays the imprint of woven patterns from the indirect lost-wax casting process. The woven patterns come from textile that originally supported the wax model when it was removed from the clay mother-mould. The use of cloth in between the clay mother-mould and the wax models was a variation of the original lost-wax casting technique that was used to produce very thin plaques.²⁵⁰ Plaques produced using this method are easily identifiable by these woven patterns and include plaques from Tomb 30 at Xinzhouangtuo, Yi County, Hebei located in the ancient state of Yan suggesting the extent of the market and clientele for objects made from this casting method.²⁵¹

Other than the Xigoupan plaque that footnoted the trade and production of plaques between Jin, Qin and the local peoples in Northern Frontier, the excavation of an artisan's tomb in the Qin state presents an example of mass production of plaques for the steppe community. The structure of the artisan's tomb in Xi'an (4th to 3rd century BCE) was a vertical shaft with its

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 358.

²⁴⁷ Emma Bunker, Trudy Kawami, Kathryn Linduff, and En Wu, *Ancient Bronzes of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections*, 1997: 52.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Civilizations*, Trans. K. C. Chang. Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1985: 333-36. Also see footnote 45.

²⁵⁰ Emma Bunker, 2002: 27-28. Kathryn Linduff, 2009: 93-94.

²⁵¹ Kathryn Linduff, 2009: 94. Also see Emma Bunker, “Lost Wax Lost Textile,” in R. Maddin (ed.) *The Beginning of the Use of Metal and Alloys*, 222-7. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988.

opening wider than its base, typical of the tombs seen in Qin during this period. The tomb has an east-west orientation and the deceased was placed in a flexed position, and buried with pottery, bronzes, lacquer ware, iron and stone objects as well as ceramic models for casting bronze artifacts.²⁵² Some of the 25 ceramic models for casting bronze plaques resemble Steppe plaques from the Ordos region.²⁵³ Of the 25 moulds, several were used to make Steppe-style plaques including one that showed a design with a human figure (Fig. 36) and four that depicted animal motifs including single and paired horses, paired rams, and one of a hawk fighting a feline (Fig. 37).²⁵⁴ The presence of these ceramic moulds with the rendition of human activities and realistic animal designs in the Qin artisan's tomb indicates that during the late Warring States Period the Qin artisan produced these plaques for a variety of clients.

The analysis of casting methods and use of alloys of artifacts can take us further in reconstructing the regional network of centers of metal production. As I analyzed in a previous chapter, the spread of shared iconography on objects such as the plaques with paired-dragon motifs in this region probably ensued from a small-scale movement of artisans due to travel, trade, or wars. These plaques include: 1) A third century BCE inlaid gold plaque from the Peter the Great Siberian Collection (Fig. 9), 2) A second to first century BCE bronze plaque from a Xiongnu burial at Daodunzi, Tongxin, Ningxia (Fig. 10), and 3) the fourth to second century BCE gilded plaque from the tomb of a Zhao King in Handan, Hebei (Fig. 1). These plaques are decorated with hybrid iconography from different visual traditions -- the dragons are a traditional Chinese motif, while the 'lupine-headed dragon' recalls third and second century BCE belt

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ The Archaeology Institute of Shanxi Province 陕西省考古研究所, *The Qin Tomb in the Northern Suburb of Xi'an 西安北郊秦墓*. 2006. Xi'an: Sanqin Press. 西安: 三秦出版社. Linduff, Katheryn M. 2009. "Chinese Production of Signature Artifacts for the Nomad Market in Zhou China," in Jianjun Mei and Thilo Reheren, *Metallurgy and Civilisation: Eurasia and Beyond*, London: Archetype Publications, 2009, pp. 90-96.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

plaques decorated with dragon motifs from Szidorovka in Western Siberia (Fig. 11) and Ivolga in Buryatia (Fig. 12). The metallic composition of these plaques can be used to suggest where they were manufactured. The openwork plaques were made using two very different alloys.²⁵⁵ The Ivolga piece was made with an alloy of copper with a high level of arsenic while the Daodunzi plaque was made of an alloy of copper, tin and lead, the traditional alloy used in Chinese bronze manufacture.²⁵⁶ According to Chernykh's research, only two examples of a copper alloy high in arsenic were found in his eastern survey of materials in Bronze and Iron Age in China; all others were made from a tin alloy.²⁵⁷ In this group of plaques, those that contain high levels of arsenic were probably manufactured in the Minusinsk region and those made from an alloy of copper and tin, were produced in China, probably in the Ordos.²⁵⁸ Although arsenic bronze has been excavated in this region, it may have been recycled from materials made outside of the area. The Zhao King's gilded plaque was made using a mercury gilding technique that was developed in China.²⁵⁹ Therefore, the existence of artifacts created with different alloy types suggests that there were local or regional metal manufacturing centers in this vast region. The different use of alloys in these metal plaques found in Handan, Daodunzi, Minusinsk, and Buryatia suggest that at least two production centers existed: one in the Ordos

²⁵⁵ Linduff, Katheryn M. 2009. "Chinese Production of Signature Artifacts for the Nomad Market in Zhou China," in Jianjun Mei and Thilo Rehren, *Metallurgy and Civilisation: Eurasia and Beyond*, London: Archetype Publications, 2009, pp. 90-96.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Linduff, "How Far Does the Eurasian Metallurgical Tradition Extend?" in *Metallurgy in Ancient Eastern Eurasia from the Urals to the Yellow River*, (ed.) Katheryn Linduff, 2000: 5-6.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Linduff, Katheryn M. 2009. "Chinese Production of Signature Artifacts for the Nomad Market in Zhou China," in Jianjun Mei and Thilo Rehren, *Metallurgy and Civilisation: Eurasia and Beyond*, London: Archetype Publications, 2009, pp. 90-96.

where bronzes were made from a tin alloy and another in the Minusinsk Basin where artifacts were produced in alloys containing copper and arsenic.²⁶⁰

These archaeological findings can be mapped together into a regional network of metal workshops or production centers during the late first Millennium BCE. For example, workshops in Qin, Zhao, Ordos, and Minusinsk region delineate the trade relations between the Zhou and these other communities. What is noteworthy in these findings is that the artisans or the workshops in the Chinese states were producing artifacts targeting the frontier groups, which not only refutes the core-periphery model previously used to describe the Zhou and their surrounding neighbors but also provides evidence of the existence of social hierarchy within the community in which members of an elite class were privileged to purchase and possess certain items produced in workshops in these Zhou states.

The excavation of the Houma foundry in the ancient Jin State added another spot in this regional metal network. Thousands of pottery moulds excavated from the Houma Foundry provide a unique example informative of the categorization of artifact types and styles and innovations that took place in its duration in Eastern Zhou period. The following section addresses stylistic innovation in the Houma foundry based on the analysis of the transformation of the *taotie* motif on the Houma moulds. Plaques decorated with composite animal design from the Jin and Zhao elite burials found their provenance in the Houma foundry, document the incorporation of elements of decoration not typical of dynastic Zhou tradition, a change in taste of the Jin and Zhao elites, or a more direct steppe clientele.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

4.3 THE HOUMA FOUNDRY: RENOVATION, THE EXTENSIVE MARKET AND CLIENTELE

This section analyzes how the decoration of bronzes, such as the *taotie* (animal-mask motif), at the Houma foundry underwent stylistic changes that suggest that the Houma founders were acquainted with the art of the local groups in the frontier region and the artistic elements in ancient Near East.²⁶¹ Certain objects including the bronze dagger with animal combat motifs from the tomb of the Zhao Minister with hybrid decoration can be matched to moulds found in the Houma foundry. Based on the fact that replicas of this dagger with a similar motif were found in multiple places and the historical records on the state alliance between Jin and Wu, I argue that the market of the Houma Foundry extended as far south as the state of Wu via gift exchange in relation to the political allies of the time. Houma moulds with openwork designs typical of the steppe region also indicate a direct trade relationship in which the Jin artisans were producing objects for clientele in the Steppe region.

The Houma foundry is located in modern city of Houma, Shanxi, called Xintian (新田), the capital of the Jin State from 585 to 453 BCE.²⁶² The Houma foundry was the major Jin bronze-manufacturing center and continued to produce bronzes during the Warring States Period. Excavations in the 1950's and 1960's discovered thousands of pottery moulds used to produce bronzes. The pottery moulds from the foundry show the production of various types and decorative styles, most of which were used to produce ritual bronze vessels and artifacts placed in elite burials, for example, ritual bronze containers to hold food, meat, wine, and water that have been unearthed from the Zhao minister tomb such as *ding*, *dou*, *hu*, *pan*, *yi*, and *jian*.²⁶³

²⁶¹ Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi Province, ed., *Art of the Houma Foundry*, Princeton, 1996: 25.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

Others also include musical instruments such as bells or weapons including swords, knives, arrowheads, as well as horse equipment, chariot parts and horseriding gear.²⁶⁴

Houma casters used the piece-mould technique while at the same time they adopted a stamp-mould technique in order to accelerate mass production.²⁶⁵ Among all the Houma debris involving various types of artifacts, the change and development of the artistic styles of certain iconography on these artifacts took place during the several hundred years of the foundry's duration. The decorative design of the *taotie* motif presents such an example that can be analyzed in that regard. By analyzing various visual elements of the *taotie* motif found on moulds in the Houma debris, we will see that the *taotie* motif at Houma evolved into two types: one that represents the revival but a deviation of interlaced reptiles of the Shang tradition instead of the Western Zhou semi-geometric design (Fig. 38), and the other that is the blending of traditional *taotie* motif and the animal combat scenes with noticeable dragon claws that is typically found on objects in the Ordos region (Fig. 39).

The first type of *taotie* motif found on the moulds from Houma show the revival of the *taotie* motif depicted on Shang bronzes (Fig. 38) such as those found in the bronzes from the tomb of Lady Fu Hao in Anyang, rather than the more geometric patterns that decorate Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn period bronzes like those excavated from Shangcunling, Sanmenxia, Henan.²⁶⁶ As can be seen in Figure 1, the first type of *taotie* found on Houma moulds depicts an animal face frontally with densely interlaced decoration on its left and right sides. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Zhao Minister's tomb possessed sets of ritual

²⁶⁴ See footnote 1: 75.

²⁶⁵ Robert Bagley, "Replication Techniques in Early Zhou Bronze Casting" in Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, ed., *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Washington, DC, 1993, pp. 231-41. Robert Bagley, "What the Bronzes from Hunyuan Tell us About the Foundry at Houma" in *Orientalia*, January 1995, pp. 46-54.

²⁶⁶ Li Xiating, 2009: 18.

bronzes whose iconography contained the motif that can be traced to its production in Houma. An intertwined reptile *taotie* motif can be found on the surface of a bronze bell from the Zhao Minister's Tomb suggesting that it, too, was made at Houma (Fig. 40).

Although it is not surprising that one would find a variety of types of styles and motifs produced at a large state-level foundry such as Houma, it is important to note that this stylistic development went beyond the traditional form of the Shang *taotie*. Although the eyes and claws of some Shang *taotie* are exaggerated and their bodies are intertwined, the traditional Shang *taotie* was always strictly frontal, symmetrical, self-contained and mostly static (Fig. 41). Compared with Shang prototypes, the stylistic changes that can be seen on *taotie* from Houma is a revolution, which presents an active scene between animals and beasts, usually combatant or predatory subjects with one grabbing or stabbing at the other. For example, Figure 42 shows a piece of a bell mould in which two dragon heads were incorporated and intertwined with the body of a *taotie* (Fig. 42). In its overall design, the *taotie* was placed in a symmetrical arrangement with two dragon heads rising from its center, one facing left and the other facing right. The bodies and tails of the dragon intertwine with the *taotie* and on the other side of the design are two open claws decorated with a feather pattern.

This new design that incorporated intertwining or skirmishing dragons with the *taotie* can be seen on many moulds at Houma, which were usually used to decorate the side of bronze bells or large bronze ritual vessels. Several bronze bells from tomb M1 at Shanbiaozhen in Henan in the ancient Warring States Period kingdom of Wei (河南汲县山彪镇 M1) (Fig. 43), tomb M251 of the Spring and Autumn Period Tomb of the Zhao minister (Fig. 44) as well as a bronze bell in the Harvard University Museum (Fig. 45) all depict this type of *taotie* and dragon imagery, but

they differ slightly in the directions of the curves that the dragons make. Their similarity in decoration suggests that they were very likely the products of the Houma Foundry.

From the revival of the Shang *taotie* to a new iconography that incorporates skirmishing dragons, one must ask from where artisans at Houma drew their inspiration. First, it is obvious that this new design is ultimately based on the Shang *taotie*. But we may wonder if the intertwined or interlaced dragon and *taotie* motif could be a copy of interlaced reptile or geometric (reduced *taotie*) patterns of the Western Zhou period. This hypothesis does not hold, since there are examples of the Houma moulds that show the very simplified interlace patterns common to Western Zhou bronze vessels at Houma (Fig. 46). In these examples, reptiles are so simplified or miniaturized that they can be barely recognized or seen.²⁶⁷

The idea of combining independent reptiles and dragons with the *taotie* on the Houma moulds changed the static traditional Shang *taotie* into a lively, kinetically-charged image. Yet these are not the most fierce or violent images we find at Houma. External inspiration of artistic elements is obvious in Houma as other moulds depict vivid combat imagery that is derived from scenes of animal combat popular in the Steppe region on the northern frontier of Jin. Figure 47 shows a mould of a bronze dagger with a hollow scabbard, which produced the bronze dagger from the Zhao Minister's Tomb (Fig. 47). This dagger mould shows a tiger attacking a bird with its claws grasping the bird's eye and tail feathers. Contrary to the conventional argument that the bird is not recognizable as any known type, but recalls the griffin, a bird-headed winged feline from the ancient Near East,²⁶⁸ I argue that the bird is decorated with a ring around its neck and usually delineated with enlarged eyes, typical of pheasants which are mainly a type of game

²⁶⁷ Bagley, 1996: 54.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

birds.²⁶⁹ There are different types of pheasants and they appear in various geographic regions, including for example Mongolian ring-necked pheasants, Chinese ring-necked pheasants or Korean ring-necked pheasant. The Houma casters added bird wings to traditional Chinese motifs fusing such creatures as the *taotie* and dragons (Fig. 42), birds (Fig. 48), and tigers (Fig. 49) into composite animals. These new composite animals with pheasant wings and combat motifs on the moulds at Houma indicate that the Houma foundry was accommodating local aesthetics and was also well acquainted with the art of the Steppe. A block in the form of a pig among the Houma moulds whose style is alien to the artistic tradition of the Central Plain suggests that Houma casters also manufactured trinkets for export to the people in further north (Fig. 50).²⁷⁰

These moulds are an important source of information regarding not only bronze production techniques and artistic styles, but they also allow the possibility of tracing how far away the Houma bronzes were sold and spread.²⁷¹ The mass production made possible by the piece-mould and stamp mould techniques at Houma was in accordance with the need in the market as these artifacts with motifs involving pheasant wings and combat scenes were found popular among elite burials of Zhou states across the Yellow River region. To take the bronze dagger with the tiger-bird combat scene as an example, several bronze daggers decorated with similar motifs have been excavated from archaeological sites located in the ancient states of Jin (burials of Wanrongmiaoqiancun 万荣庙前村 and Changziniujiapo 长子牛家坡) and Wu, and in the dynastic Zhou capital at Luoyang (洛阳中州路).²⁷² These bronze daggers all are decorated

²⁶⁹ Personal communication with Dr. Bryan Hanks.

²⁷⁰ Bagley, 1996: 57.

²⁷¹ Robert Bagley, "Debris from the Houma Foundry" in *Orientalia*, October 1996: 50.

²⁷² Yang Fudou 杨富斗, "The Excavation Report on the Eastern Zhou Cemetery in Wanrongdianqiancun in Shanxi Province" (山西万荣庙前村东周墓地调查发掘简报) in *Kaogu* 考古, vol. 5, 1963. Archaeological Institute of Shanxi Province 山西省考古研究所, "The Eastern Zhou Tombs in the Changzi County in Shanxi" (山西长子县东周墓) in *Kaogu Xuebao* 考古学报, vol. 4, 1984. Archaeological Institute of Chinese Social Academy 中国社会科学

with fantastic combat scenes between tigers and birds like the one that appears on the dagger from the Zhao Minister's tomb that was produced at Houma. In addition, bronze daggers cast with a tiger-bird combat scene are also stored in the Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 51), the Taibei Palace Museum (Fig. 52), Taiwan Guyue Attic (台湾古越阁) and Japan (Fig. 53) whose provenance is unknown show close similarity to this animal combat motif on the dagger of the Zhao minister.²⁷³ Since the mould for making this kind of bronze dagger has only been found at Houma, it is probable that all of the bronze daggers of this type were probably manufactured there.

Among these bronze daggers, the “Hanwang Shiye 邗王是野戈” dagger stored in the Palace Museum in Beijing (Fig. 51) is particularly appealing as it connects to the king of the state of Wu and is evidence that bronze weapons with combat motifs were favored by kings and used in gift giving during the middle to late Spring and Autumn period (6th-4th century BCE). The “Hanwang Shiye” dagger has a hollow scabbard that depicts a tiger and bird combat scene. It differs from the Zhao Minister's piece and includes a snake-like reptile that has been caught by both the tiger and the bird. On the dagger, there are two lines of inscription, which read, “邗王是野，作为元用 (Hanwang Shiye used this dagger).”²⁷⁴ Despite the uncertainty over which king was the owner, scholars do agree that the dagger belonged to a king of the Wu State and was

院考古研究所, *Luoyangzhongzhoulu* (洛阳中州路), Kexue Press 科学出版社, 1957.

²⁷³ The Palace Museum 故宫博物院, *Bronzes in the Palace Museum 故宫青铜器*, Zijincheng Press 紫禁城出版社, 1999: 264; Taibei Palace Museum 台北故宫博物院, *Catalogue of Bronze Weapons from the Shang and the Zhou periods 商周青铜兵器图录*, 1995: Plate 32; Wang Zhenhua 王振华, *The Bronze Weapons of Shang and Zhou Stored in the Guyue Attic 古越阁藏商周青铜兵器*, Taibei Guyuege 台北古越阁, 1993 and Li Xiating 李夏廷, “Discussions on the Hanwang Shiye Dagger” (“邗王是野戈”杂议) in *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan 故宫博物院院刊*, 2008, vol. 6: 76-80.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 1999: 264.

very likely a gift from Jin. (Fig. 54)²⁷⁵ Although the dagger clearly belonged to a king of the state of Wu, its overall design, including the composite animals, animal-combat scene, the feather-like tail of the bird, the detailed fillings of the scale pattern (鳞甲纹), the patterns of cloud and thunder (云雷纹) and the patterns of intertwined wires (绞丝纹) used in the bodies of tiger and bird are all typical of Jin bronze decoration and not those from the state of Wu, indicating its provenance in the Houma foundry.²⁷⁶

The states of Jin and Wu were allied during the Spring and Autumn Period. The *Zuozhuan* (左传) records that in 584 BCE the Jin sent ambassadors to Wu to request an alliance. Wuwang Shoumeng (the King of Wu, Shoumeng), the possible owner of the “Hanwang Shiye” dagger, was delighted and agreed. (请使于吴，晋侯许之，吴子寿梦说之。乃通吴于晋)²⁷⁷. It is not far-fetched to imagine the King of Wu requested a dagger decorated with a scene of animal combat from Jin and the result was the “Hanwang Shiye” dagger, a customized product from Houma foundry with inscription of the name of the Wu King. The “Hanwang Shiye” dagger, therefore, could have played a significant symbolic role in gift-giving and cultural exchange between the states of Jin and Wu at that time. The incorporation of the animal combat motif so popularly found on artifacts in the steppe region in the decoration of these bronze daggers probably highlighted their appeal as exotica which may have contributed to the reputation of the State of Wu of their interest in collecting good weapons.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ Because of the pronunciation of the name of the king and how “Shiye” correlates to a specific king’s name in the ancient Chinese pronunciation system, discussions on this dagger beginning in the 1950s have argued as to whether it belonged to Wuwang Shoumeng 吴王寿梦, who reigned from 585 – 561 BCE. See discussion in Li Xiating, 2008: 76.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 79.

²⁷⁷ *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhu* (The Annotation of Chunqiu and Zuozhuan 春秋左传注), annotated by Yang Bojun 杨伯峻, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981, vol. 2: 834-835.

²⁷⁸ A story in the ancient Chinese mythological account, the Soushenji 搜神记 (Searching for Deities) records the

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

To conclude the ideas discussed in this chapter, the archaeological data available through excavations from the last two decades in the Northern frontier region supports the idea that starting from the late second millennium BCE (middle Shang dynasty) interactions between peoples in the Yellow River region and the region further north took place as demonstrated by the Zhukaigou site which involves quite a number of artifacts and vessel types typical of the Shang tradition in the Yellow River region. Examining the burial artifacts from sites in the Northern Zone, we can find out that the use of the term “Northern Zone” or “Northern Frontier” by no means represents a unified or homogeneous society which has been very often regarded inferior or “periphery” to the so-called “Central Plain.” The archaeological data from burials in the Northern Zone show that this region contains various local trajectories that are reflected by different levels of wealth or preference of different types of artifacts or use of different materials displayed in burials according to their own social condition and taste. Also crucial to our understanding here is that the rise of a local aristocracy and centralization of wealth in certain elite burials in the Northern Zone suggests that a co-developmental model is more appropriate.

This perspective from the frontier greatly differs from approaches based on the historical records and one based on burial/ritual focus applied in the previous chapters. It provides a regional context that involves a network of metal manufacturing and noticeable volume of trade in this region that is visible archaeologically. The Xigoupan plaques excavated in the ancient Zhao area that refer to weight, subject matter and manufacturing document a connection between Chinese manufacturers and Xiongnu or other regional clientele. The ceramic moulds from the

names of two Wu sword artisans, Ganjiang 干将 and Moxie 莫邪 who were known for the high-quality swords that they produced. Bao Gan 干宝, *Soushenji* (Searching for Deities 搜神记), 2008, Wanjuan chuban gongsi.

Qin artisan's tomb used to produce plaques representing patterns of non-Zhou human figures and composite animal motifs give further evidence of the Chinese side of a commercial relationship with peoples beyond their dynastic borders. Analysis of alloys of the plaques with shared iconography of paired dragons indicates that they were made locally in different metal centers across this vast area, which refutes a single-directional diffusionist model of stylistic transmission. Largely reflecting the taste and ideology of the aristocrats of Jin during the Eastern Zhou, the Jin foundry of Houma produced objects including bronze daggers with combat motifs and bronze bells decorated with flying dragons over the *taotie*, suggesting that artisans at Houma incorporated imagery that was popular in the frontier region into the traditional Chinese artistic vocabulary and that such objects were popular among the Chinese elite. The limited number of trinket moulds at Houma might have been an early and tentative trade contact between the pastoral peoples in the steppe region and their settled neighbors.

The larger picture of the metal industry and the production of wealth across the region of the Northern Frontier, the shared iconography of objects which are usually ritual artifacts placed attached to the body of the deceased elite in the innermost coffin during the first millennium BCE, and differences between burial practices in the state of Zhao vis à vis their Chinese neighbors prompts a larger question: Why change and why at this time? The innovations in the burials of elite Jin and Zhao burials introduced in the previous chapter including the selection of artifacts with hybrid motifs was not merely an isolated incident of an individual with peculiar tastes. The making of hybrid bronze artifacts at the Jin operated Houma foundry again may not be merely the result of fashion or random movement of material culture but rather the genesis of ideology, taste, and identity expressed by the practice and appreciation of hybridity through the process of producing such artifacts. The production and use of these hybrid artifacts and practice

of hybrid burial practices, as shown in the previous chapter, is closely tied to the socio-political and economic status of the Jin and Zhao deceased. The Jin and Zhao aristocrats are so committed to the idea and practice of hybridity in their burials and bronze artifact design and production. This material control and allocation were exclusively accessed by elites and placed in their tombs, which became the very meaningful method to establish their unique identity in their society in the militarized frontier region.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS

This research started with a question about why during the Eastern Zhou period when the Chinese states were involved in frequent wars with local groups along the Northern frontier their burial programs bore resemblance to the burial traditions of their enemies. How should artifacts with hybrid decorative elements, for example, the Zhao King plaque with paired-dragon motif and the Zhao minister dagger with animal combat scene be interpreted given their provenance in elite Chinese tombs when their decoration repeated an artistic tradition of their rivals during the Eastern Zhou period around the fifth century BCE? In past scholarship, this question proceeds from the issue of stylistic resemblance of these objects that relies heavily on stylistic comparison and concludes that these objects are ‘hybrids’ or influenced by ‘Scythian-Siberian animal style artifacts.’ In this research I suggest moving forward from this over-simplistic conventional stylistic view to more contextualized approaches that involve discussion of local historical and political conditions, social and economic mechanisms including trade and migration, and consideration of burial context in relation to death rituals and ancestor worship. This revealed that the creation and making of these hybrid artifacts and the distribution of them in tombs were actually meaningful and functional for different users and commissioners. I argue that there are several problems surrounding the stylistic interpretation in previous scholarship. The first focuses on the use of the diffusionist model of direct stylistic transmission. Although conventional stylistic interpretation has discerned the blending of multiple artistic elements of

these artifacts, it does not adequately account for the multiple uses and desires of the owner/deceased, the commissioner and the living at the moment around the time of death of the deceased. On a relevant note, the conventional stylistic approach also ignores the ritual and burial context of these hybrid artifacts, which represent “very unique moments in time where the identity of the deceased can be actively (re)negotiated by the living through communicative action and display.”²⁷⁹

The second problem focuses on the conceptual issue of the term hybridity, the original usage of which has been overlooked in previous scholarship. Simply using the term as a stylistic pointer or label to describe these objects renders the term the same as mixing. As discussed in previous chapters, hybridity not only occurs with the convergence of styles and/or motifs on certain bronze artifacts in these Zhao elite tombs, but also include carefully chosen and combined burial practices regarding tomb orientation, overall construction and the distribution and placement of burial objects in these tombs. This gives us a chance to maximize the power of the term hybridity, making it not only a general stylistic label for these artifacts but also urges us to view the burial practice and process in which these artifacts were involved at the specific moment of burial construction under an even broader spatial conditions and socio-political moment. This occurred when these Chinese vassal states were symbiotic with the frontier groups in the region in the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. To avoid these shortcomings and to better interpret the creation of these hybrid bronze objects, a variety of approaches that can access and analyze the evidence including burial objects and practices and textual documents have been adopted.

²⁷⁹ Bryan Hanks “Reconsidering Warfare, Status, and Gender in the Eurasian Steppe Iron Age” in *Are All Warriors Male? Gender Roles on the Ancient Eurasian Steppe* edited by Katheryn M. Linduff and Karen S. Rubinson, Altamira Press, 2008:

In Chapter Two, I aimed at providing the broad political and historical context of the states of the Jin and Zhao and their succession during the Eastern Zhou society. I reviewed the theoretical models of trade and migration that was applicable to the cultural interaction among the Jin and Zhao people with local peoples in the Northern Zone. Based on currently available archaeological data and the textual documents, I show that these hybrid burial goods found in Jin and Zhao elite burials were probably not due to large-scale of population replacement or movement from the steppe region but were very likely associated with the interregional interactions among Jin and Zhao and people in these areas through political alliance, intermarriage, relocation of population after military occupation or small-scale movement of artisans. Textual documents, which revealed that power struggles took place both in the dynastic Zhou and among the family divisions in the local vassal states, were used as well. Jin was a vassal state faced with a dramatic political change when the centralized dynastic Zhou power collapsed and control began to be usurped by local ministers and lords. The states of the Jin and the Zhao were quite responsive to the new political condition, but with complex feelings: on the one hand textual evidence shows the morose sentiment of the Jin elites expressed through their conversations with other states when mentioning that it might be the last generation of their own clan to be in power, a prediction that their fragmentation was inevitable. On the other hand, both Jin and Zhao rulers adopted flexible yet pragmatic political strategies including marriage and military alliances with Rong and Di leaders and adopted nomadic clothing and cavalry that aligned them strategically with local groups. This dual reaction, both conservative in speech while pragmatic and aggressive in action, reflects the changing and shifting political situation of Jin and Zhao elites and their conscious and purposeful choices in taking in what they believed as positive elements and strategies to maximize the strength of their states. Likewise, the creation

and placement of the bronze artifacts that involves the adoption of hybrid visual elements should also be understood as linked to the inclusive socio-political strategies of Jin and Zhao during the Eastern Zhou period.

The failing political situation that the Jin faced around the 500 BCE was in fact universal in other vassal Chinese states that still served and protected the Zhou royal family. Although their political situation inside and outside varied, all of them were aware of and agreed upon at least one issue, that the current political reality was that the Zhou would be taken over and a new and different political order would soon take shape. This message was explicitly sent out at the inter-state conference when the Zhao Minister commented on the invasion of the State Lu into the State of Ju, saying who would care about the changing of the dynasties at the risk of smaller and weaker states. For Jin, who was established by Zhou and whose role was to serve as a vassal state and be responsible to protect Zhou rule with support from all other vassal states, the Zhao Minister statement was outspoken, ambitious and rebellious, indicating a shifting ideology that was not aligned with the previous orthodox Zhou identity. This conflicted and dual mission to protect Zhou while building an independent polity were the major driving forces for their all-inclusive policies and cultural activities. This was a crucial footnote to the selection and blending of various artistic motifs on traditional Zhou bronze designs. This conflict was manifest in Jin and Zhao burial programs, revealing a purposeful construction of a unique identity for display at the time of death.

To explore these hybrid artifacts in relation to the display of a unique Jin and Zhao elite identity different from the Zhou at the time of death, in Chapter Three these bronze artifacts with hybrid motifs in their burial and ritual contexts were analyzed. Compared to the historical approach, this is a more confined set of mortuary data of Zhao elite and local cemeteries during

the Warring States Period. In Chapter Three with the incorporation of anthropological theory on funerary rites and dual phases in death rituals, I have examined and discussed the creation of mixed characteristics that occur on certain burial goods and tomb construction of the Zhao Minister's tomb, and fitted into dual phases of funerary rites. These theories and their application in Europe and ancient China inspired me to comb through the Jin and Zhao burial evidence and argue that hybridity shown in burial artifacts (the bronze dagger with fighting motif and the belt plaques and hooks in gold material) in the innermost coffin of the Zhao Minister was a manifestation of his unique body and coffin treatment, displaying a cultural identity that was kept to himself. The hybridity in the burial practice, including the east-west tomb orientation and the devotion of large number of sets of typical Western-Zhou bronzes, however, with sheep heads inside, I take to indicate a mix of both dynastic Zhou and pastoralist cultural and burial norm, one that contributed to the second phase of the death ritual which is the transition of the identity of Zhao Minister into a living ancestor. Burial ritual bronzes containing sheep meat and other foods was intended to be witnessed and consumed during the local process of funerary rites at the gravesite in public, indicating a choice either from the living will of the Zhao Minister himself or by the living community. Another essential notion from Howard Williams is his argument for the mnemonic capacity of material culture, and when situated in ritual context he suggests that such burial objects memorialize through ceremonies that were perpetuated in the materials, customs and ideologies of death.²⁸⁰ The perspective of ritual also contributed to my understanding of how a modified selection of burial objects and customs in the tomb of the Zhao Minister differed from the traditional Zhou practice and could link to different stages in funerary rites. Hybrid objects placed close to the body of the Zhao Minister in the innermost coffin are

²⁸⁰ Howard Williams, 2006: 220. Also see Lullo, 2009: 168.

associated with the treatment and transformation of the body that holds probably the most intimate cultural identity and individual biography of the Zhao Minister himself. While those hybrid burial customs, the east-west tomb orientation and the use of sheep in burial practices reveals that the innovations in burial practice created a unique public image connected to their larger political ideology and ambition.

Other than applying the theories of dual phases in funerary rites, the significance of Chapter Three also lies in the systematic representation of the recently excavated archaeological materials from the all levels of the society from the Jin and the Zhao, including the Zhao king's tomb, the tomb of the Zhao Minister of the Jin, and also the lower classes – the commoners cemeteries in Zhao's territory. This mission has never been attempted. More importantly, my analysis of these archaeological materials in this northern frontier region during Eastern Zhou China presents a different perspective from the use of hybridity as a simplistic stylistic label formed in previous scholarship and adds a unique case study to the body of hybrid material culture. Matthew Liebmann has expressed his concern that the trendy jargon like hybridity has been probably too widely deployed as a “catch-all” for cultural mixture in an unreflexive way and that will risk losing interpretive power.²⁸¹ But if we come to admit that material culture is hybrid in essence and not limited only to colonial and post-colonial experience or exclusive to the cultural formations that took place during the European invasion of the Americas, then a better or an alternative question is: what is the advantage or value of using the term hybridity to describe the phenomenon of cultural mixture compared to other terms, for example, mixing?²⁸²

²⁸¹ Matthew Liebmann's presentation “Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico” in the Conference “Hybrid Material Culture: The Archaeology of Syncretism and Ethnogenesis”, Center for Archaeological Investigations, SIU-Carbondale, 2009.

²⁸² The concept of “hybridity” originated in natural sciences and biology and then became important in discussions about races. It then had its application in social sciences in relation to the discussion of trans-border and

In my systematic presentation of the Jin and Zhao mortuary materials from several levels of the society, hybridity can be seen and interpreted in multiple ways. It was reflected in burial practices in Jin and Zhao in the convergence of artistic motifs and styles on certain burial objects; in the selection of burial practice and tomb orientation of both Dynastic Zhou and independent frontier groups; and the co-existence of different populations in Zhao local cemeteries during the Warring States period. The variety in the manifestation of hybridity reflected from the Jin and Zhao mortuary evidence enables me to modify the use of the term, rendering it as a process anchored in burial practice. Thus hybridity was also linked to expressions and transformation of self-identity for the Jin and Zhao elites in Eastern Zhou China. The practice of hybridity further reveals a microcosm of Jin and Zhao ongoing ideology and ambition in the transitional historical context of the Eastern Zhou period, which is echoed in Zhao Minister statement in the inter-state meeting and the ambitious response of Zhao King to official Cheng in court. The idea and practice of hybridity emerged as by-product of their all-inclusive diplomatic strategies to forge allegiances with those independent frontier groups who had very different cultural affiliations and interests. Their conflict with these local polities helped to distinguish themselves with a new and unique Zhao identity from the rest of the Chinese states during Eastern Zhou period. That was displayed in their death transitions.

Chapter Four focused on the broader significance of hybridity represented in archaeological evidence from Jin and Zhao burials that then was considered within the frontier context, examining the potential to understand the regional contacts between the Chinese states

transnational interaction and dynamics and got warm welcome among archaeologists in their application of the notion to interpret colonialism and especially the experiences of indigenous people. See Alicia Jimenez, "Pure Hybridism: Late Iron Age Sculpture in Southern Iberia" in *World Archaeology*, 2011, vol. 43 (1): 102-123. Also see Stephen W. Silliman presentation of "What, When, and Where is 'Hybridity'?" in the Conference "Hybrid Material Culture: The Archaeology of Syncretism and Ethnogenesis", Center for Archaeological Investigations, SIU-Carbondale, 2009.

of Jin and Zhao and their neighbors. The term “northern frontier” or “beifang” in Chinese first appeared in the bronze inscriptions from the Shang dynasty and has since then been loosely defined in historical documents and modern scholarship. The “Northern Frontier” geographically refers to lands from Siberia to Mongolia to the northeast (Liaoning and Heilongjiang) and northwest (Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang).²⁸³ The connections and contacts between the Chinese and the local frontier peoples have been illuminated by the Chinese historical records, a one-sided account. Provided the bias and uncertainty in the historical evaluation of these inter-societal connections, the archaeological data of the Jin and Zhao benefits from research of social, political and economic processes and inter-societal interactions in this northern frontier region.

In Chapter Four major archaeological materials from burials during the Eastern Zhou in the northern frontier including the sites of Xigoupan, Maoqinggou, Taohongbala and Aluchaideng as well as the early sites including Zhukaigou and the Upper Xiajiadian were reviewed. The Zhukaigou site exemplifies early contact with the Shang dynasty and mortuary evidence from other sites such as Taohongbala and Aluchaideng in the frontier region illuminates the rise of a northern aristocracy and the existence of social hierarchy, which remained distinctive and independent from the burial practice developed in the Central Plain, the heartland of the dynastic Zhou. These examples refute Barfield’s theory that describes the frontier regions as shadow or secondary empires that followed the imperial process of Chinese states. Such archaeological findings also contradict what has been called the core-periphery relationships in historical documents between the dynastic Zhou and their frontier neighbors.

²⁸³ Nicola Di Cosmo, “The Northern Frontier in Pre-Imperial China” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, Cambridge University Press, 1999: 887-889.

At the heart of Stephen Silliman's construction of hybridity is his perspective that hybridity not only is a stylistic label to be used to interpret burial artifacts but also to describe social activity and process, although his use of this term was largely confined to his research on the 19th century America colonial experience. I found Silliman's modification of this concept very useful for understanding the inter-societal interaction in ancient China since we need to address these issues through archaeological data without much help of written evidence. Once hybridity becomes a concept that is anchored in specific archaeological data of actual change within the specific social and political context, it avoids the pitfalls of previous use of 'diffusion' or 'influence' that focused on unilineal processes and also makes itself superior to the term mixing which concerns stylistic features of the artifacts. It then becomes a powerful lens under which to explore the inter-regional contact from the archaeological materials from multiple perspectives, taking into account not only the change and convergence of the form and style on certain mortuary artifacts, but also the range of their context, their placement in burials, and the broader political and social condition behind them. My analysis of the site of Xigoupan, later absorbed into the expanded Zhao territory, documents combined populations of Chinese and frontier peoples. It exemplifies a similar type of hybridity, the co-existence of populations of various local groups in the northern frontier and mixture of their burial practices that was seen in Zhao local cemeteries Xinzhouyaozi. The significance lies in my assumption that the inter-societal interaction probably travelled both ways between the Zhao and these local groups, refuting the inferior position of the local groups recorded in the ancient Chinese texts such as *Shiji*. By highlighting the hybrid motifs reflected from the fearsome 'taotie' motif intertwined with the dragon on bronzes in the Jin State foundry Houma as well as the metal and trade network along the northern frontier, my argument for the co-evolutionary and symbiotic

relationship among these Chinese states and the steppe populations in the northern frontier was brought to the fore. This panorama of the burial practices in this frontier region that reveals strong pattern of hybridity in multiple ways allows me to view the northern zone, as a “frontier-as-process,” a place with temporal and spatial dimensions where people “fashion new worlds” and “construct a desirable social order” depending on their own social trajectory.²⁸⁴

In retrospect, during the period of writing my dissertation, I became more and more aware of the gap that has existed between excavated mortuary materials and the traditional interpretation of the style and formation of certain styles and what these formal arguments can imply about the social identity of the people and their interaction and their lives in the research of ancient China. The formal, aesthetic, and material dimensions of these burial objects are unquestionably important, but the exploration of the actual meaning or the potential of the multiple meanings behind these hybrid artifacts was more tempting to me. Speculation on these hybrid artifacts with relation to the social categories, that is, its full range of contexts including social, political, ritual and economic perspectives on the local and regional levels, indeed requires much effort. This is the major motivation that has pushed me to reflect on the selection and incorporation of research approaches outside conventional art historical analysis. Drawing on theories from Robert Hertz and Howard Williams on dual phases in ritual practice in their research of Medieval Britain and debates of the concept of hybridity and its modification by Jeb Card, Matthew Liebmann, and Stephen Silliman, I have presented a multi-disciplinary study on the use and meaning of these hybrid artifacts in Jin and Zhao burials in Eastern Zhou China. These theories and approaches have significantly improved and enriched ways of examining these artifacts in the temporal, social, political and cultural contexts. I hope this study presents

²⁸⁴ Ian Hodder, *The Present Past*, 1982: 192. P. S. Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, London: Duckworth, 2001: 29-30. Shelach, 2009: 111.

itself as an example of the exploration of the material culture in early China that can take advantage of approaches from various case studies even distant from ancient China in both temporal and geographic regards. In turn my research can still contribute to the study of the underlying discourse on the convergence of visual features in the material culture and inter-societal interaction in an ancient period. Moreover, my study of Jin and Zhao burial materials from multiple levels of the society also forms an example that the research of burial materials of other Chinese states in the frontier region, such as those of Qin and Yan during Eastern Zhou, may be conducted in a similar way in order to understand the formation and shift in choice of burial construction and identity.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

	Graves containing no artifacts	Graves containing artifacts but without large bronzes	Graves containing 1-11 large bronzes	Graves containing more than 11 large bronzes
Number of Graves	5	26	48	2
Average Grave Size	0.75	1.36	1.68	7.75
Average Grave Depth	0.39	0.71	0.76	2.25
Average Number of artifacts	0	59	225	563
Average Number of bronzes	0	39	39	510

Table 1: Grouping of Upper Xiajiadian period graves and the distribution of Chinese bronzes among these graves (after Schelach, 2009: 140)

	Tomb of the Duke of Jin Jinghou Yijiu 晋靖侯宜臼墓 M91 (877-841 BCE,西周晚期)	Tomb of Duke Jin Wenhou Chou 晋文侯仇墓 M93 (781-720 BCE,春秋早期)	Zhao Minister Tomb 赵简子墓 (太原金胜 251 大墓) (770-476 BCE,春秋)	Baijiacun Cemetery 百家村赵墓群 (475-221 BCE,战国)	Company Tomb of the Zhao King Mausoleum 赵王陵殉葬墓 (周窑一号墓) (475-221 BCE,战国)
Tomb orientation	South-north	South-north	East-west	South-north (52) East-west (7)	East-west
Tomb size	Shaft tomb top:5.35*4.08 Bottom:6.45*5.34	Shaft tomb top:6.3*5.1 Bottom:6.4*5.4	Shaft tomb top:11*9.2 Bottom:8.8*6.8	N/A	N/A
Chariots	2 chariots	N/A	16 chariots	6 horse and chariot pits	1 horse and chariot pit
Animals	2 dogs	14 pits in the south tomb path (2 human burial company; 2 dogs; horse, cattle, and goat skeletons)	44 horses	Horses, dog skeletons	Horse skeletons up to 2 horses
Bronze Vessels	26 (7 <i>ding</i> , 5 <i>gui</i> , 2 <i>li</i> ...)	16 (5 <i>ding</i> , 6 <i>gui</i> ...)	25 <i>ding</i> , 14 <i>dou</i> , 8 <i>hu</i> , 6 <i>li</i> , 6 <i>jian</i> ...	<i>ding</i> , <i>li</i>	Bronze arrow heads, chariot ornaments, belt plaque, mirror, seal...
Musical Instruments	7 bronze bells, 20 stone <i>qing</i>	16 bronze bells (2 sets), 10 stone <i>qing</i>	19 bronze bells (2 sets), 13 stone <i>qing</i>	N/A	3 bronze bells (<i>ling</i>)
Jade	Facial mask ornaments (40 pieces), hair ornament, <i>jue</i> (2), 1 necklace (plaques, beads, and glass tubes), mouth pieces (60)...	Facial mask ornaments (16 pieces), hair ornament, 1 necklace (plaques and beads), 1 dragon-shaped mouth piece...	Necklaces, beads.	N/A	N/A
Source	<i>Wenwu</i> , 1995: (7), 4-39	<i>Wenwu</i> , 1995: (7), 4-39	<i>Wenwu</i> , 1989: (9), 59-94	<i>Kaogu</i> , 1962: (12), 613-627	<i>Kaogu</i> , 1982: (6), 597-603

Table 2: Contents of Elite Tombs of the States of the Jin and Zhao during Eastern Zhou

Tomb	Tomb Owner	Weapons in the burial	Total Number of the Weapons in the Burial
Shangcunling M 1052 上村岭 M1052	Prince of the Guo State 虢国太子	<i>ge</i> (戈 5), <i>mao</i> (矛 1), <i>zao</i> (凿 1)	5
Xinzheng 新郑古墓	Duke of the State of Zheng 郑伯	<i>ge</i> (戈 2), <i>mao</i> (矛 1), <i>dui</i> (镞 2)	5
Tom of the Marquis of the Cai State 蔡侯墓	Marquis of the Cai State 蔡侯	<i>ge</i> (戈 13), <i>mao</i> (矛 8), <i>dui</i> (镞 3), sword (剑 4), axe (斧 2), arrowhead (镞 29)	60
Shanbiaozhen M1 山彪镇 M1	Minister of the State of the Jin (?) 晋卿(?)	<i>ge</i> (戈 12), <i>mao</i> (矛 3), <i>ji</i> (戟 8), arrowhead (镞 96)	128
Changguantai M1 长关台 M1	Minister of the State of the Chu 楚卿	<i>ge</i> (戈 2)	2
Liulige M80 琉璃阁 M80	N/A	<i>ge</i> (戈 6), <i>mao</i> (矛 5), sword (剑 3), axe (斧 8), arrowhead (镞 1)	23
Liulige M60 琉璃阁 M60	N/A	<i>ge</i> (戈 14), sword (剑 3), axe (斧 2)	21
Liulige M75 琉璃阁 M75	N/A	<i>ge</i> (戈 17), <i>mao</i> (矛 6), <i>ji</i> (戟 7), sword (剑 3), arrowhead (镞)	73
Shanxi Taiyuan Jinsheng M251 山西太原金胜村 M251	Zhao Minister 晋国赵卿	<i>ge</i> (戈 28), <i>mao</i> (矛 24), <i>ji</i> (戟 4), sword (剑 8), axe (斧 6), arrowhead (镞 465)	656

Table 3: Weapons in the Eastern Zhou Elite Burials

	Henan Shangcunling Tomb 1052 河南三门峡上村岭 M1052	Tomb of the King of the Zhongshan State in Hebei Sanjizhen 河北平山县三汲镇中山王陵	Shandong Yishui Tomb 1 山东沂水县刘家店子 M1	Shanxi Changzhi Tomb 269 山西长治分水岭 M269	Shanxi Taiyuan Jinsheng Tomb 251 (Zhao Minister Tomb) 山西太原金胜村 M251
Period	Early Spring and Autumn Period	Warring States Period	Middle Spring and Autumn Period	Between the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Period	Late Spring and Autumn Period
Tomb Owner	Prince of the Guo State 虢国太子	King of the Zhongshan State 列国国王	Marquis of Ju 莒侯	<i>dafu</i> 大夫	<i>Qing</i> 卿 (minister)
Number of the Chariots	10	8	14	N/A	16
Number of the Horses	20	24	N/A	2	44
Source	Archaeology Institute in China Science Academy 中国科学院考古研究所: <i>Shangcunling Cemetery of the Guo State</i> (上村岭虢国墓地), Kexue Press 科学出版社, 1959	Cultural Relics Research Institute of Hebei Province 河北文物研究所 : <i>Cuo's Tomb: The Zhongshan State</i> 错墓-战国中山国国王之墓, Wenwu Press 文物出版社, 1996	Shandong Provincial Cultural Relics Research Institute 山东省文物考古研究所 : Shandong Yishui Liujiadianzi Tomb 山东沂水刘家店子春秋墓发掘简报. <i>Wenwu</i> 文物, 1984,no. 9.	Shanxisheng Wenguanhui 山西省文管会. 1974. Changzhi fenshuiling 269, 270 dongzhou mu 长治分水岭 269、270 东周墓 . <i>Kaogu xuebao</i> 考古学报, no. 2.	Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 .1996. <i>Taiyuan Jinguo Zhaoqing mu</i> 太原晋国赵卿墓. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

Table 4: Chariot and Horse Remains in the Eastern Zhou Elite Burials

APPENDIX B

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 Gilded Plaque with Symmetrical Dragon Motif from the Zhao King Tomb #2, Warring States Period (475-221 BCE), Handan Museum, Hebei Province

Fig. 2 Bronze dagger with tiger biting bird-beast motif from the Zhao Minister Tomb 251, Spring and Autumn Period (771-476 BCE), Handan Museum, Hebei Province

Fig. 3 The State of Jin among the major Zhou vassal states during the Spring and Autumn Period

Fig. 4.a The State of Zhao and other major Chinese states during the Warring States Period

Fig. 4.b The State of Zhao, Qin and Yan and major archaeological sites in the region during the Warring States Period

Fig. 5 Location of the Zhukaigou site in the Map of Northern Zone Sites of the Second Millennium BCE

Fig. 6 Pottery Jar (*li*) with snake patterns from the Zhukaigou Site, the late third to early second millennium BCE, Inner Mongolia Museum

Fig. 7.a One set of 5 bronze tripod vessels (*ding*) and a set of 7 tripod bronze vessels (*ding*) from the tomb of the Zhao Minister, Spring and Autumn Period, Shanxi Provincial Museum, Shanxi Province

Fig. 7.b Gold belt hooks from the tomb of the Zhao Minister, Spring and Autumn Period, Shanxi Provincial Museum, Shanxi Province

Fig. 8 Diagram of the tomb of the Zhao Minister, Spring and Autumn Period, Handan Museum, Hebei Province

Fig. 9 Gold inlaid belt plaque, 3rd century BCE. Peter the Great Collection

Fig. 10 Bronze openwork belt plaque with pair of dragons, tomb 1, Daodunzi, Tongxin County, Ningxia. 2nd-1st century BCE, Ningxia Provincial Archaeological Institute

Fig. 11 Inlaid gold plaque, Szidorovka, Kurgan 2, Grave 1, 3rd century BCE, Western Siberia

Fig. 12 Openwork bronze plaque with two tigers and dragon, Ivolga, Buryatia, 2nd century BCE

Fig. 13 Diagram of the Auxiliary Tomb of the Zhao King Mausoleum (Zhouyao No.1 Tomb), Warring States Period, Handan Museum, Hebei Province

Fig. 14 Jade cong tube with face mask design (*taotie*) from M4 burial at Wujin, Sidun, Neolithic Period (Liangzhu Culture), c. 6500 BCE, Liangzhu Museum, Zhejiang Province

Fig. 15 The development diagram of mythological animals (*taotie* motif) in Shang bronze decorative design by Li Ji

Fig. 16 Duck-shaped vessel from the Baijiacun Cemetery, Handan, Hebei, Warring States Period, Handan Museum, Hebei Province

Fig. 17 Diagram of Tomb M1 at the Baijiacun Cemetery, Warring States Period

Fig. 18 Tomb M3 at the Baijiacun Cemetery, Warring States Period

Fig. 19 Diagram of Tomb M3 at the Maoqinggou Cemetery, Warring States Period

Fig. 20 Diagram of Tomb M10 at the Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period

Fig. 21 Pottery Jars from the Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period

Fig. 22 Diagram of Tomb M19 at the Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period

- Fig. 23 Animal Skulls in Tomb M19 at Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period
- Fig. 24 Diagram of Tomb M28 at the Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period
- Fig. 25 Animal Sacrifice in Tomb M28 at Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period
- Fig. 26 Belt Hooks and Ornaments in M28 at Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period, Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot, Inner Mongolia
- Fig. 27 Diagram of Tomb M50 at the Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period
- Fig. 28 Diagram of Tomb M10 at the Xinzhouyaozi Cemetery, Warring States Period
- Fig. 29 Two pairs of gold belt plaques excavated from Aluchaideng site, 403-221 BCE, Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot, Inner Mongolia
- Fig. 30 Gold headdress ornament from Nalin'gaotu Site, 4th century BCE, Shenmu county, Shaanxi Province
- Fig. 31 Tattoos of zoomorphic symbols on the right arm of the Pazyryk man, kurgan 2, Pazyryk, 4th century BCE
- Fig. 32 Fragment of a Chinese mirror from tomb 6, Pazyryk, 4th century BCE
- Fig. 33 Clay mirror-mold fragment from Yixian, Hebei, 4th century BCE
- Fig. 34 Gold Plaques depicting tiger and wild boar from the Xigoupan (tomb 2) Site, Warring States Period, Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot, Inner Mongolia
- Fig. 35 Line drawing of the silver tiger head with Chinese characters from tomb M2 at Xigoupan, Warring States Period, Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot, Inner Mongolia
- Fig. 36 Pottery Mold of the Plaque Depicting Human Figures from the Artisan Tomb in the State of Qin, Warring States Period, Warring States Period, Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Shaanxi Province

Fig. 37 Pottery Mold of Animal Design from the Artisan Tomb in the State of Qin, Warring States Period, Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Shaanxi Province

Fig. 38 Pattern restored of a pottery mould from Houma with *taotie* motif based on the *taotie* motif typical of Shang Dynasty bronze vessels, Eastern Zhou Period (771-221 BCE), Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 39 Pattern restored of a pottery mould from Houma with *taotie* motif, Eastern Zhou Period (771-221 BCE), Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 40 Rubbing image from the bronze bell (M251: 203) from the tomb of the Zhao Minister, Spring and Autumn Period, Handan Museum, Hebei Province

Fig. 41 *taotie* motif on the bronze vessel *ding* from Pinglu County in Shanxi Province, Eastern Zhou Period, Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 42 Pattern restored of a pottery mould from Houma with *taotie* motif intertwined with dragons, Eastern Zhou Period, Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 43 Rubbing of the *taotie* motif intertwined with dragons from the bronze bell from Shanbiaozhen, Warring States Period, Henan Provincial Archaeological Institute, Zhengzhou, Henan Province

Fig. 44 Line-drawing and rubbing of the *taotie* motif intertwined with dragons from the bronze bell (M251: 203) from the tomb of the Zhao Minister, Spring and Autumn Period, Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 45 *Taotie* motif intertwined with dragons on the bronze bell stored in Harvard Museum, Warring States Period

Fig. 46 Houma mould debris of geometric pattern, Eastern Zhou Period, Shanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 47 Mould of the bronze dagger from the tomb of the Zhao Minister excavated from Houma, Eastern Zhou Period, Shanxi Provincial Archaeology Institute, Shanxi Province

Fig. 48 Mould of a bird with feather wings from the Houma foundry, Eastern Zhou Period, Shanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 49 Mould of a tiger with feather wings from the Houma foundry, Eastern Zhou Period, Shanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 50 Mould of pig with decoration in the positive and lozenge pattern from the Houma foundry, Eastern Zhou Period, Shanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province

Fig. 51 “Hanwang shiye” dagger stored in Beijing Palace Museum, Warring States Period

Fig. 52 Bronze dagger with combat scene stored in Taipei Palace Museum, Warring States Period

Fig. 53 A bronze dagger with combat scene in Japan, Warring States Period

Fig. 54 The State of Wu and other Chinese States during the late Spring and Autumn Period

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