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BURIAL PATTERNS OF THE CHOU PERIOD:
THE LOCATION AND ARRANGEMENT OF CEMETERIES
IN NORTH CHINA, 1000 - 200 BC

by
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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the Australian National University
June, 1985
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

Unless otherwise stated, this study is my original work.

[Signature]

Theresa [Last Name]
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

One of the most significant results of the last sixty years of scientific archaeology in China has been the excavation of many thousands of Chou period tombs. These finds have reinforced the picture which emerges from traditional textual sources of burial being an important ritual and symbolic act involving the expenditure of vast resources. This study focuses on one particular aspect of the material evidence — that of the physical location of burials, to explore what this may reveal about Chou burial practices and to investigate the potential of this kind of data for the study of wider historical questions.

The approach taken is to look first at the siting of cemeteries in terms of the physical and human features of the landscape, and then to focus on the arrangement of graves within cemeteries and the placing of individual burials. At all stages of the investigation the archaeological data are critically assessed and their interpretative potential evaluated. The first stage of this investigation draws on data from areas where extensive excavation has yielded a fairly comprehensive picture of the patterns of human activity. By piecing together the available information on settlement and cemetery sites, chronological changes in placing of burial grounds are observed and these are correlated with development in urban forms over the Chou period.

The examination of the arrangement of graves within cemeteries utilizes the archaeological data from sites where large numbers of tombs have been excavated. This section of the study draws particular attention to the problems of assessing and dating fragmentary material evidence, and to the way in which the groupings of the dead may or may not be used to
understand the social groupings of the living. Finally, the study of the placing of individual burials is chiefly concerned with examining the extent to which formulae for grave placement outlined in traditional sources may be found to have been applied in the Chou period.
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EASTERN CHOU
- Spring and Autumn 770 – 476 BC
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INTRODUCTION

The disposal of the dead is an act of social and religious importance in almost all human societies. The methods of disposal, the rituals involved, and the significance attached to different aspects of this act are, however, as many and varied as the societies themselves. In traditional China, where the preferred mode of disposal was inhumation, the preparation of a corpse for burial, the preparation of the grave, and the placement of the dead within the grave, were acts of particular import in the funerary process. That such concerns stretch back into Chinese antiquity is evident from very early textual sources, and these have been vindicated by the past sixty or more years of archaeological investigation. Many thousands of graves from pre-Han times have been excavated, and their often elaborate structures and rich artefact assemblages have underlined the enormous expenditure involved in burying the dead.

This study examines one particular aspect of the burial practices of the Chou period, that of the physical location of graves. In imperial times, the siting of graves was a fundamental step in funerary ritual; there were rules regarding the location of cemeteries and the arrangement of graves within them, and there existed a highly developed tradition of geomancy relating the grave site to its natural surroundings. In the case of the Chou period, textual references to this matter are rare and often enigmatic. It is only with the progress in archaeology and the exciting new input this discipline has given to pre-Han studies, that it is possible to examine the question of the placement of the dead in this earlier period.
The sheer quantity of burial data from Chou graves is enormous, yet it is important to stress at the outset that this study is a preliminary one. For every piece of information which archaeology brings to light, a multitude of new questions spring up. It is hoped that this investigation will draw attention to these questions and offer some pointers to the way in which they may, in future, be answered, as well as indicate potentially fruitful avenues of new enquiry. The study also underlines some of the methodological problems involved in the interpretation of the Chinese archaeological data, both from the point of view of the archaeologist working on the primary data and of the scholar who must rely on published materials.

Before turning to the subject matter of this study, it is first necessary to outline its scope and organization. I have restricted the study in geographical terms to the areas of northern and north-western China, incorporating the present-day provinces of Shensi, Shansi, Hopeh, Shantung, the northern areas of Honan, and the eastern areas of Kansu. There are several reasons for this: one is the great importance of the area as the main arena of Chou civilization. It incorporates the homeland of the Chou people prior to the Conquest of the Shang and the central and northern regions into which the Chou spread. In the Eastern Chou period it was the area dominated by the central states of Chou, Lu 蘭, Ch'i 齊, Chin 韓, and, later, by Chao 魏, Han 魏, and Wei 魏. The northern states of Yen 楚, and Chung-shan 楚, and the western state of Ch'in 楚 were also in this area in the Eastern Chou period.

The archaeological understanding of the area is relatively advanced. It has been the focus of extensive excavations since the 1920s, and the quantity and quality of the data have allowed detailed typological
sequences to be established to aid dating of archaeological remains. The quantity of the archaeological data now coming out of the People's Republic of China also imposes restrictions on the size of a sample which can be examined in a study of this length -- a rough count reveals that there are published reports of some seven thousand Chou period graves excavated in the area under consideration.

The southern limits of this area, which correspond approximately with the thirty-third parallel and, in the east, with the course of the Huai River 淮, coincide with an ecological boundary dividing the climatic and geographical zones of North and South China (Chang, K.C. 1977:20). There is also a significant cultural boundary which has been taken into account, a boundary which was not static in the period under examination. I have specifically omitted the areas dominated by the state of Ch'u 楚, the most powerful state in southern China in the Eastern Chou period, which gradually expanded into central areas and even parts of northern China in the later part of this period. The archaeology of Ch'u is one of the fastest growing spheres of enquiry in modern Chinese archaeology and debates rage about the cultural and ethnic origins of its people and the differences between its political and social structure and those of the central and northern states. Its burial practices have some features in common with those of the central and northern states, but there are also many regional traits in terms of

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1See, for example, the publication of the proceedings of the Second Annual Conference (1980) of the Chinese Institute of Archaeology (Chung-kuo k'ao-ku hsüeh-hui 中國考古學會) (Anon. 1982:1-106) and the collection of essays compiled by the Hupeh Provincial Study Group on Ch'u History and the Journal of the Wuhan Normal College (Anon. n.d.).
grave goods and structure which suggest significant cultural differences. A recent estimate sets the number of Ch'u tombs excavated at 3,500 (Kuo Te-wei 1983:249), and classification of tomb and artefact styles is still in its early stages (ibid:249-259; CHKK 1983.1:1-18). The study of Ch'u burial practices is, in fact, subject matter for an entire thesis in itself.

In terms of organization, this study approaches the question of the location of burials first by examining the placement of cemeteries in relation to settlements and physical environment, and, secondly, by examining the composition and layout of the cemeteries themselves. Section 1 draws on archaeological data from localities where a settlement and some of the burial areas used by its inhabitants have been found, and discusses the placement of these burial areas in relation to the geographical and human features of the landscape. Section 2 looks at the kind of graves found within cemeteries, their placement in relation to other graves, and the orientation of individual graves. At each stage the archaeological data are appraised and their potential interpretative use discussed. Relevant textual evidence from Chou sources is drawn on to aid understanding of the material evidence.

In each section, attention is drawn to the particular problems inherent in the sorting and interpretation of the archaeological evidence in question. It is, however, necessary to discuss in this introduction some of the general problems relating to the kind of data from burials with which we are dealing. First, there is the inevitable problem that archaeological data are selective. Ideally, if we wish to understand where people of any particular settlement placed their dead, the necessary sample would have to include graves of the vast bulk of the
population. Yet most of the graves which are excavated, and for which detailed reports are published and reliable dates estimated, are those of relatively high-status individuals. It is rare for the graves of low-status members of a society to be archaeologically visible. Burial areas are usually discovered as a result of the chance find of a bronze or other significant item, the local cultural bureau is alerted and excavation takes place. A pottery shard or a few human bones found in the process of ploughing a field, for example, are likely to pass unnoticed.

The poorer the burial, the fewer artefacts there are with which to establish the date of the burial, but problems of dating do not apply only to low-status burials. To understand the relationship between a burial area and a settlement area, or between graves in a cemetery, it is essential that estimates of the relative dates of the finds be as accurate as possible. A great deal of painstaking research has gone into the formulation of chronological typologies of artefact styles, tomb structures and so on, yet there are still many cases where the gaps in the data make accurate dating impossible.

It is vital that the dating of individual burials should be based on a combination of all the visible attributes of that burial -- the stratigraphy, structural features, and the entire assemblage of grave goods. Over-reliance on one particular attribute may result in error. A case in point is the tendency apparent in some excavation reports to use bronze items found within a grave as the sole criterion for establishing the date of burial. The focus on bronze artefacts within a grave is understandable, for these items are usually the most durable of the excavated remains, and dating techniques and typologies of Chou bronzes have reached sophisticated levels. However, it is their very durability
which detracts from their value for estimating the date of the archaeological situation in which they are found, be it a grave, a waste pit, or a settlement site. Bronzes may be buried many generations after their casting date, and this is not always evident from the condition of the artefact itself.\(^2\) In the case of ming-ch’i, \(^2\) that is, poorly-made items such as crudely cast bronze vessels or non-functional weapons which were made specifically for funerary purposes, one can be fairly sure that they were made only shortly before burial. However, their styles and decorations may not necessarily have been based on contemporaneous bronzes but may instead have been modelled on more ancient artefacts. Similar caution should, therefore, be exercised when dating a burial in which they are found.

Because of their poorer durability and the likelihood of discovering similar wares in settlement sites, pottery items are probably more reliable dating criteria for burials.\(^3\) Due attention must, however, be paid to factors such as regional variations in style and materials (e.g. Hui-hsien:39) and whether or not the artefacts are functional or are

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\(^2\)Fairly clear material evidence of a time lag between casting and burial may be seen in cases where there are signs of considerable wear and tear on an artefact or cases where repairs have been made to a vessel. Examples of the former include vessels found in two Spring and Autumn graves in Lin-ch’i-hsien, Shantung (KW 1983.11:1-6) and those found in Western Chou graves in Ch’ang-an-hsien, Shensi (KK 1965.9:447-450). An example of the latter is the ting-cauldron in M2729 excavated in Lo-yang, Honan (Lo-yang:92).

\(^3\)There are cases, however, of pottery vessels from an earlier period cropping up in later graves, such as the Shang vessels found in Warring States graves in An-yang, Honan (KKHP 1955.9:77).
ming-ch'i. It has become increasingly clear in the course of this research that there remains an enormous amount of work to be done on the pottery of the Chou period, something which can only be done by those with access to the primary data.

There are many other attributes of burials which can be highly significant for the purposes of dating, such as the personal ornaments around the skeleton, the coffin decorations and its style of construction, the posture of the skeleton and so on. It is essential that dating be based on an integrated approach, incorporating all such factors. As will be seen from the discussions of dating problems particular to the sites under examination in this study, this ideal approach may not always be applied since there are inevitable limitations of data available in published reports.

A related problem is that of assessing typological sequences without the raw data to hand. An example of this may be seen in the classification of pottery from two sites which are the subject of detailed investigation in this study. These are the cemetery areas of Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan, and Lu-ch'eng, Shantung. If one compares the classifications established by the report writers, it appears that graves in the latter site contain a far wider range of

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4Pottery ming-ch'i may often be identified by crude forms and low firing times (e.g. Shang-ts'un-ling:6; Lo-yang:63; KKHP 1954.8:136).
pottery styles. This may be attributed to a longer duration of use of the Lu-ch'eng cemeteries or to the possibility that Lu-ch'eng potters worked to less rigid patterns in the production of mortuary goods. Alternatively it may be a function of the classification methods adopted by the archaeologists -- those who sorted the Shang-ts'un-ling finds may have allowed a far wider range of pots within one type than was allowed by the Lu-ch'eng archaeologists. In order to come to any definite conclusion about this, one would need to know the dimensions, shape, and decoration of every individual pot, rather than just those of the sample pots given in the reports.

Sorting and classifying of archaeological evidence is the hurdle which must be crossed before one may embark on the task of interpretation. Once the data have been assessed, patterns in the placement of the dead may be identified, and questions then asked about...

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5 For example, in the case of li-cauldrons, the 35 from the graves designated as the yi group in Lu-ch'eng were divided into twelve different styles and those 25 from the chia group graves into ten different styles (Ch'ih-fu:95-96:133-135). In contrast, 61 li-cauldrons from Shang-ts'un-ling were classified into only five styles (Shang-ts'un-ling:6-8). Comparable ratios are found in the classification of the other kinds of pottery vessels, such as kuan-jars and tou-pedestal-bowls.

6 One thing which suggests that it was the classification methods which gave rise to these anomalies is the fact that there were large numbers of pots from the Shang-ts'un-ling graves left out of the classification (Shang-ts'un-ling:6-12). This may be because they were too damaged to allow accurate reconstruction, or it may be that they represent variant forms outside the typological groups and would significantly increase the number of styles present in the site should they be included. Alternatively, the variety in the kinds of clay in the Lu-ch'eng site, as opposed to the almost uniform use of grey ware in the Shang-ts'un-ling graves, would seem to support an hypothesis about differences in manufacturing process.
the meaning of these patterns. In each section of this study, the specific questions of interpretation relevant to the theme under consideration are discussed. In Section 1, in which the choice of cemetery locations in relation to settlement sites is the subject of enquiry, the most significant patterns to emerge concern the placement of burials inside or outside centres of settlement. Interpretations of these patterns are considered in the context of the nature of settlement in the Chou period. In Section 2, the questions posed relate to which groups of people were placed in the same burial area and whether distinctive patterns of grave arrangements may be perceived which would suggest adherence to certain formulae of grave arrangements. The issue of interpretation examined in this section is, in particular, the extent to which observed patterns of cemetery layout and composition can be taken to reflect patterns of social organization. In other words, what can the groupings of the dead tell us about the groupings of the living?

Before looking at these specific issues, it is first necessary to establish whether the placement of the dead was a significant process in the Chou period and what general factors may have been involved in the choice of location. If no attention was paid to the siting of graves by the people actually burying their dead, and if choice of location was entirely random, then an examination of the archaeological data would be a fairly meaningless exercise.

To answer this question, we can turn to the somewhat fragmentary written evidence from that period about burial placement, but first a brief examination of this aspect of burial in later periods is in order. As has been remarked above, concern for the physical location of a tomb was an important feature of burial in traditional China. Its most.
well-known manifestation was in the principles of feng-shui, most commonly translated as 'geomancy'. These principles of harmony with the environment were applied (and continue to be applied in Chinese communities outside the People's Republic) to the choice of location of buildings, the planning of gardens and of cities, and even the arrangement of furniture in a room (Rossbach 1983). When applied to the choice of location for graves, the aim was to find an auspicious site to ensure both the well-being of the soul of the deceased and the prosperity of his or her descendants.

The method of finding such sites was through divinatory means and observation of the environment. Much of this geomantic theory was based on fanciful and often self-contradictory notions about the landscape, changing to suit the whim, or pocket, of the individual practitioner. Some of the principles, however, had their origin in fairly sound environmental considerations, such as avoidance of contamination of a settlement's water supply (Hugo-Brunt n.d.:444) or shelter from the onslaught of winds (Lip 1979:3).

Feuchtwang points out that 'topomancy' may be a more appropriate translation, since 'geomancy' is a term applied to a method of divination using patterns in soil or sand, rather than features in the landscape (1974:4).

For a description of the application of feng-shui to burial in the late Ch'ing period, see DeGroot (1897:935-1056). For more recent evidence of the practice in Chinese communities outside the People's Republic of China, see Freedman (1979) and Ahern (1973:162-190).

Most towns and villages of the Ch'ing period could boast at least one professional geomancer. Those wealthy enough to employ the services of such a person would then purchase a small parcel of auspicious land for burial (DeGroot 1897:1018). One imagines that the possibilities for graft between geomancers and land-owners were considerable.
Other principles of placement of graves in traditional China include those of separating the dead from the living by placing burials outside settlements and of uniting in death members of a kin-group. These will be discussed below in the relevant sections of this study (see pp. 21-23; 106-110). For the moment, the question is, why was there this concern for the physical location of burials?

Behind this concern lies a complex set of religious beliefs about the nature of death and the realm of the spirits, the minutiae of which inevitably varied from historical period to historical period and from region to region. An underlying theme, however, which can be traced back to philosophical and religious texts of the Han period, is a belief in the continued animate existence of the physical body after death. A human being was considered to have two souls, the hun and the p'o. The hun was believed to be the spiritual or intellectual soul which left the body at death, while the p'o was the animus of the physical body, the force which caused the limbs to move and the body to function. The p'o remained with the body after death and was provided with material objects to ensure its comfort in the tomb and to discourage it from wandering and causing harm to the living (Loewe 1982:26-27). The choice of site for the placing of the physical remains was, therefore, an integral part of providing for the well-being of the p'o soul.

This well-being could be assured by placing the burial in a situation where the grave would not be disturbed, either by natural causes (such as flooding or subsidence) or by human agency (such as construction, agriculture, or deliberate damage). The p'o soul would also be more content if it was in its native environment and surrounded by other deceased members of its kin-group. Ideally, the natal place
(or, in the case of a married woman, the marital home) would be the locality where future generations of the kin-group continued to dwell and these descendants would be able to tend and protect their ancestors' graves (DeGroot 1897:834-840). It was also in the interests of the future generations that a favourable site be chosen, since the deceased could influence the fortunes of the living. This is where the issue of favourable or unfavourable forces comes into play, for an auspicious site ensured benevolent influences, whereas an inauspicious site unleashed malevolent ones (Freedman 1979:195-200).

It is to be expected that behind a given society's shared set of eschatological beliefs, there always exists a wide range of different levels of understanding and different perceptions of the afterlife. The relationship between the choice of location and the continued existence of the dead was, no doubt, conceived of differently by different groups of people. This is underlined in Ahern's ethnographic work in rural Taiwan which compares the mechanistic approach of feng-shui manuals with the more mundane attitudes of her local informants. The former tend to concentrate on nebulous geomantic forces, while the villagers saw grave sites in terms of being pleasant or unpleasant places for the ancestors to inhabit, remarking on such aspects as the view or the quality of the air (Ahern 1973:183-185).

Understanding of the concept of death in pre-Han times is inevitably far from complete. We must rely on occasional anecdotes from historical texts and discussions of the subject by exponents of the many philosophical schools of the Eastern Chou period. The surviving books in this latter category are concerned predominantly with the affairs of the living, and the subject of what happens to a person after death is dealt
with peripherally. Responses to the question range from Confucius' refusal to be drawn on the issue, combined with his stress on the symbolic value of mortuary ritual (Feng Yu-lan 1952:344-350), to the Taoist perception of death being just another transition in the ever-changing cycle of existence (ibid:236-239).

It is impossible to estimate how far back, historically, the concept of the double soul stretches. It is discussed in the Li-chi, a work compiled in the first century BC from Chou, Ch'in and Han sources (Watson 1962:140) where Confucius is reported to have explained to one of his disciples the splitting in death of a spiritual soul, shen 神, and the animus of the physical body, kuei 魂 (Couvreur [1950] Vol. 2:289-290). In the earlier text, the Tso-chuan, probably compiled in the third century BC (Creel 1970:476), there is a reference to the double soul in the response of Tzu-ch'an to a question about the existence of ghosts. In this case, however, there is no explicit mention of what happens to each soul after a normal death; the case discussed is that of violent death when both souls linger in the world of the living in the form of fearful apparitions (Duke Chao, 7th year; Legge Vol. 5:613;618).

As in the case of the imperial period, we must expect that there existed differences, sometimes subtle, sometimes major, between the way people of the first millennium BC conceived of the afterlife. These differences may include chronological developments or regional variations, or they may be a result of membership of certain strata or groups of society. It is not the object of this study to delve into the complexities of religious beliefs in the Chou period. The question to be answered is whether there is evidence of a general concern for the physical remains of the dead which was likely to be translated into attentiveness to the placement of burials.
There is substantial proof, both from textual and archaeological sources, that the answer to this question is in the affirmative. The most obvious archaeological proof lies in the expenditure of resources which went into the housing of the physical remains and the provision of grave goods. These finds merely confirm the impression to be gained from textual sources, where numerous anecdotes reveal a concern with the fate of the earthly body.

For example, the issue of protecting the dead from one's enemies or the carrying out of acts of revenge on a corpse are common themes in the saga of interstate and intrastate struggles. In the Tso-chuan record of the siege of the capital of Ts'ao by troops of Chin, we learn that, after a bloody skirmish, many of Chin's soldiers lay dead by the city gates. The besieged inhabitants of the city took these corpses and left them exposed on the city walls. In retaliation, Chin moved its troops to camp on a burial ground. The people of Ts'ao, terrified by this, immediately made coffins for the dead combatants and returned them to the Chin army. However, the panic that descended on the inhabitants of Ts'ao because of this violation of their cemetery broke their resistance and the city soon fell (Duke Hsi, 28th year; Legge Vol. 5:203:206).

The same work refers to the exhumation and burning of the body of Ting-tzu by the Marquis of Wei in an act of revenge (Duke Ai, 26th year; Legge Vol. 5:857;859). In the Kuo-yü we find that the destruction by fire of his coffin was considered a just punishment for Hsia-fu-fu-chi of Lu, who, despite an unprincipled life, had been fortunate to live to a ripe old age (Lu-yü[a] SPTK 4:12a).

In the process of conquering the various states and establishing the
Ch'in empire, Ch'in Shih-huang let loose his wrath on the graves of his enemies. The Shih-chi tells of his desecration of the hill beneath which the daughters of Yao were believed to be buried, since he held their spirits responsible for causing a storm while he was travelling by boat (SKK Vol. 2:6:41; Chavannes Vol. 2:154-156). He also dispatched troops to destroy the royal graves of Ch'u when the Ch'in reached that state's capital of Ying in 278 BC (SKK Vol. 5:4:40:78; Chavannes Vol. 4:414).

These incidents are just a few of the many in the textual sources which underline both a concern for the physical remains of the dead and the symbolic importance of their calculated destruction. The interests of the dead themselves and of their living descendants were clearly at stake.

The texts are less explicit about the way in which this concern was translated into choice of location for a grave, but they are not altogether silent on the matter. For example, the Tso-chuan, which systematically records the date of death and date of burial of the dukes of the various states, generally omits information on the place of burial. However, the occasions when it does specify the place of burial are those when a ruler has died an ignominious death, usually in the wake of a palace coup. The conclusion which can be drawn from this is that the location of the ducal cemetery was known and this required no record in the event of a regular state funeral. The overthrow of a ruler and his burial outside the area where his forebears lay was, on the other hand, of import and so the location was specified (see below, pp.110-111).

Other fragments of information to be gleaned from textual sources about the placing of the dead will be discussed in the course of this
study as the various themes are considered. As noted above, such references are rare and often enigmatic. In some cases they can add a little flesh to the bare bones of archaeology. In other cases, especially when the historical reliability of a text is in doubt, they appear to have unjustifiably influenced archaeological interpretation and may even have clouded the picture.

Examples of the latter problem will be found in the discussion of individual excavation sites (see for example, pp.122-123; 188-139). In this introduction, however, it is necessary to emphasise the need for scepticism with regard to the many references to the location of Chou tombs found in works of later periods. These include, in particular, the identification of graves of kings, dukes, and historical personages. Local gazetteers and other geographical treatises tend to include in their record of historical sites numerous tomb sites believed to be those of people from the Chou period historically associated with the area. A number of localities often lay claim to the grave of the same person. Generally these sites are identified by a tumulus, a feature which is to be found over some graves from the Eastern Chou period (Wang Shih-min 1981), but which was a widespread practice in tomb construction from Han times on. Sometimes archaeology reveals that the site is, indeed, that of a Chou grave. More often than not, however, the site is found to be

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10 To cite just one example, there are numerous sites in Hopeh believed to be the grave of the famous general of Yen, Yuheh-yi (Yen-Ch'u yu-ts'an-lu Vol. 2:636-637).
that of a grave from the imperial period or even a natural hill.\textsuperscript{11}

The basis for the association of a site with a particular person’s grave is likely, in many cases, to be a local myth which becomes accepted as historical fact by dint of being recorded in a succession of geographical treatises. The rarity of reliable Chou historical records on the location of graves and the fact that even when such records exist they seldom specify a location which can be identified by archaeology\textsuperscript{12} increases the likelihood of confusion and error. There is some evidence that a record of burial sites known as the \textit{Shih-chi chung-mu-chi} once existed, but it is not known when this was compiled and what its sources were (Shih Chih-mien 1977:1). For this reason, I exclude from this study burial sites which have not been conclusively dated to the Chou period, or I mention these historical traditions only when they are particularly relevant to the sites under examination.

Finally, I should like to draw attention in this introduction to several factors in the choice of location of burials which are difficult

\textsuperscript{11}An example, again from Hopeh, is the supposed site of the tomb of a king of Yen in an area of hills 5 km north of the Eastern Chou city of Yen-hsia-tu. Following local gazetteers, early archaeological reports of the area mark this site on maps of the area (KK 1955.4:19, Fig. 1; VW 1957.9:61). A regional survey carried out by railway authorities in the early part of this century remarks that no tumulus was in evidence, suggesting that a natural hill may have been taken to be a grave mound (Yen-Ch’u yu-ts’an-lu Vol. 2:997).

\textsuperscript{12}The records of the burial places of deposed dukes in the \textit{Tso-chuan} generally specify a site by the name it was known by at that time, such as Shih-sun-li (Duke Hsiang, 28th year; Legge Vol. 5:511;515) or Tou-ch’eng (Duke Hsiang, 30th year; Legge Vol. 5:553-554;557). These are harder to identify archaeologically than a site specified, for example, in terms of a geographical feature which might still be readily identified.
to identify in the archaeological record and about which no definitive picture can yet be drawn. The first of these is the use of divination to determine a burial site. There is evidence in the early Chou text, the Shih-ching 禪經, of divination being used to find an auspicious site for a city and in late Eastern Chou texts there are references to divining for the sites of graves (e.g. Hsün-tzu SPTK 13:12b; Watson 1963:99, and, Yi-li, Couvreur[1951]:474-475). We cannot tell, however, just how widespread this practice was, or what kind of factors were taken into account. The concept of geomantic forces in the environment which formed the basis of feng-shui methods of site divination were systematized in the Three Kingdoms period, but it is likely that the origins of these beliefs extend back into pre-Han times (Needham 1956:359-360). Whether these forces were taken into account by the people of the Chou when planning grave sites is a question which is unlikely to be answered by excavation of burials -- 'dragon lines' are even more invisible to the archaeologist than they are to the duped clients of geomancers!

Secondly, there is the question of transportation of a corpse to another locality prior to burial. As has been remarked above, the return of the deceased to be buried in the locality where they had been born or into which they had married was an important factor in the burial practices of the imperial period. Isolated remarks in the textual sources suggest that this may have been a practice in pre-Han times, at

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12 The Ta-ya 大雅 section of this work describes how the ancestors of the Chou consulted the tortoise shell to decide the site for their capital (Legge Vol. 4:438) and how King Wen used the same method before building Hao 亳 (ibid:463).
least for people with the means to do so. Returning the coffin of a person who had died outside their marital or natal state is mentioned several times in the Tso-chuan.\textsuperscript{14} and there is a passage in the Shih-chi which tells of the burial of the Duke of Chou with his ancestors in the royal cemetery of the Chou capital, despite his request to be buried in Ch’eng-chou (near present-day Lo-yang) (SKK Vol. 5:33:15; Chavannes Vol. 4:99). No doubt the placing of a ruler’s grave in the correct location was also a significant symbolic factor in many of these cases, but a passage in the Mo-tzu condemning extravagant burial practices suggests that, at least in the Eastern Chou period, the transportation of coffins was not an infrequent occurrence. This text specifically draws attention to the fact that the sage kings died away from home, yet did not waste resources by having their bodies taken back there for burial (SPTK 6:12b-13a; Mei Y.P.:130). The extent to which this was a practice, and whether it was a feature of burial throughout the Chou period, are both questions which the archaeological record is unlikely to answer. It is only in the rare cases where a tomb occupant can be known and where there exists an historical record of the place of his or her death, that we could possibly identify this phenomenon.

The same section of the Mo-tzu also draws attention to the choice of site for a grave in terms of the economic value of the land on which it was placed. The implication is that, in the Eastern Chou period, factors that may be considered purely economic did not necessarily win out when burial sites were being chosen. In commending the fact that cattle were

\textsuperscript{14}e.g. Duke Huan, 18th year; Legge Vol. 5:69-70; Duke Min, 2nd year; Legge Vol. 5:126;129; Duke Ch’eng, 8th year; Legge Vol. 5:368;370.
still able to roam over the tomb of Yao and traders still able to ply their wares on the tomb of Shun (SPTK 6:12b-13a; Mei Y.P.:130), the text gives the impression that wastage of potential agricultural or commercial land on burial sites was a problem in Eastern Chou China as it has been in more recent times. To try to assess the extent of this problem or identify occasions when this factor was taken into consideration in the siting or expansion of cemetery areas would, however, require an extremely detailed archaeological understanding of the ecological and demographic pattern of Chou settlements. We are still a long way from acquiring such a comprehensive picture.

These aspects of burial placement remain particularly elusive in the archaeological record. In the study which follows, it will be made apparent that there are also many others which defy conclusive identification. In some cases this is because the available archaeological data are insufficient. In others, the ambiguity of the evidence and the methodological problems inherent in their interpretation severely restrict the conclusions which may be drawn. It is only through critical analysis both of the data and of their interpretation, that we may determine what questions can or cannot be asked of the material evidence. Such is the approach taken in this study. It is hoped, therefore, that the investigation may contribute not only to our understanding of the Chou period, but also to the continuing debate about the interpretive potential of the archaeology of death.

15It has been estimated that in the early part of this century one-sixth of China's best agricultural land was unused because of burial sites (Hugo-Brunt n.d.:443).
1 CITY AND CEMETERY

Introduction

Of all the traditions and practices involved in choosing a site for a tomb, there was one specification which applied throughout China's imperial period\(^{16}\) -- that the dead should not be buried within an area of settlement. Western observers have remarked on this, contrasting it to the practices of their own ancestors whose bones lie clustered around the church, the centre of a village or town (Gray 1972 [1878] Vol. 1:324).

For the Chinese, it was not simply a matter of the practicalities of land usage or sanitation -- to have the dead in the same place as the living was to court inauspicious influences and the potential malevolence of ghosts.

Testimony to this concern are stories such as that from the Three Kingdoms period included in the biography of a certain fang-shih diviner \(\text{方士}\). He was called in to investigate the spate of illnesses plaguing a household and located the problem in two ancient burials lying beneath the house. The skeletons were exhumed and buried outside the city. The illnesses abated (DeWoskin 1983:99). We find in the \(\text{ Pai-hu-t'ung}\) \(\text{派通}\) \(^{17}\) an explanation of the practice of burial outside a settlement in terms of the necessary separation of the living and the dead. The relevant passages from the early books cited in the \(\text{ Pai-hu-t'ung}\) include

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\(^{16}\) By imperial period, I mean from Western Han to Ch'ing.

\(^{17}\) There is considerable debate about the date of this text. Some scholars maintain that it is an accurate reflection of Eastern Han interpretations of the Classics, while others hold it to be a later work, possibly from Wei times (Tjan 1949:1-63).
a quotation from the Yi-ching 易經 which states that burial in uninhabited areas assuages the grief of the deceased's offspring, and a quotation from an unidentified source to the effect that the distance between the grave and the ancestral temple should be such that ceremonies performed in either place cannot be heard in the other (Pai-hu-t'ung HCCC 267:40b; Tjan 1952:650). DeGroot recorded the strict legal sanctions against bringing a corpse inside the enceinte of a walled town (1897:842) and similar taboos have been found to operate in parts of the Chinese world today, for example in Hong Kong's New Territories (Watson 1982:167).

Since Chinese settlements have, for the most part, been enclosed by walls, the demarcation between where it is proper to bury the dead and where it is not, is defined by the tangible boundary of a wall. That this notion has influenced the assessment of Chou city sites can be seen in the writings of past observers as well as in more recent archaeological treatises. It has sometimes even been the criterion whereby archaeologists have deduced the possible perimeters of city sites in cases where a cemetery has been located but where no city wall has

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18 For example, the opinion expressed in the Shui-ching-chu, that the tumuli within the walls of Yen-hsia-tu, Hopeh, could not have been the tombs of Yen but must have pre-dated the building of the city (SPTK 11:3b).

19 For example, Kuo Mo-jo's explanation of the presence of burials within Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng (see below, p.35).
been found.\textsuperscript{20}

It has become increasingly evident from the ever-growing body of archaeological data on Chou settlement patterns that this demarcation between settlement and cemetery did not operate in the same way in pre-Han times. There are many cases where cemeteries are found within the walled enceintes of ancient cities or within areas of settlement\textsuperscript{21} and there is an observable change over time in the nature of such cemeteries. The pattern which emerges is of great significance for the understanding of the nature of settlement in the Chou period, and so the framework of this study of the relationship between settlement and cemetery is structured around this particular question.

The archaeological sample which may be drawn on for an enquiry into the pattern of settlements and cemeteries comprises those cases where a locality has yielded at least one settlement site, as well as burial areas used by its inhabitants. Inevitably it is the case that the larger centres of population are the most likely to offer this kind of information, for they are the more visible in the archaeological record.

\textsuperscript{20}This has been the case in the search for the perimeters of the Yen city of Chi \textsuperscript{5} in modern Peking (SSN:5) and for those of the Ch'in city of Hsien-yang in Shensi (WW 1976.11:26).

\textsuperscript{21}In most of the cases outlined below, the walls enclosing the settlement have been traced. In others, for example Ch'i-chou and Hsin-t'ien, there may not have been walls completely enclosing the area. In such cases, the fact that there are burials interspersed with settlement sites shows that these cemeteries did not lie on the periphery of the city. I shall use the word 'city' for both walled and non-walled settlements as all those described here were political centres with large populations and significant industrial and, possibly, commercial functions.
and are often the focus of extensive excavation. The sites discussed in this section, are, therefore, those of the ancient cities which were the political centres of the various states of the period.

The cities may be divided into two types according to the kind of cemeteries found within them, and the following discussion of the archaeological evidence is arranged accordingly. Section 1.1 examines those sites where cemeteries within the city contain graves of a wide variety of wealth and size. Such cemeteries appear to be inclusive areas where members of the same kin group were buried, and so will be termed 'kin-group cemeteries'. Section 1.2 describes those cases where burial areas within the city are of exclusively high-status burials, generally containing the graves of rulers of the states and possibly members of their immediate family and other high-ranking persons, such as ministers. In Section 1.3 the three city sites of Yung, Hsien-yang, and Han-tan are considered. These three sites display patterns of cemetery arrangement which do not fall into either of the first two categories.

There are subsidiary questions which will also be asked in this section. One relates to the specification contained in the *Li-chi* that burial areas should properly be placed to the north of a city, since the north is the region of darkness, and, by extension, death. The text states that this was a practice of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou periods (Couvreur [1950] Vol. 1:204), and we can use the evidence from the city sites to be surveyed to see if this was, indeed, a Chou custom.

Secondly, the pattern of settlement and cemeteries in the various

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22 This form of cemetery will be discussed in detail in Section 2.1 which looks at the composition of burial areas.
locations under examination may be used to examine the placement of burials in relation to the physical environment. This is necessarily restricted to fairly general observations about the landscape -- it is possible, for example, to identify cases where the foothills of mountains near a settlement appear to be a favoured site for burial. More subtle geographical features may, however, be indiscernible from the available topographic maps, and changes in the river courses or the terrain over the ensuing centuries are only occasionally identified in the published reports.

Descriptions of the individual city sites are to be found in Appendix A and the reader interested in further details should find it convenient to consult this when reading the relevant parts of Sections 1.2-1.4. Those city sites which have been comprehensively described in published works are briefly outlined in this appendix, with additional information included from subsequent digs. Those city sites for which information must be pieced together from a number of excavation reports or other documents are described in detail.
FIGURE 1
CITY SITES DISCUSSED IN SECTION 1
KIN-GROUP CEMETERIES WITHIN CITY SITES

Ch'i-chou (Western Chou)

The pattern of settlement of this early capital of the Kings of Chou appears to be one of dispersed nuclei of prestigious buildings with low-status habitations and industrial areas clustering with these nuclei (see Appendix A, pp.269-274, Figure 44). Western Chou burials have been found in ten localities. Some of these (such as Chao-li and Shang-k'ang-ts'un) may have been on the peripheries of the site, but many others were found in areas of habitations and prestigious buildings, sometimes adjacent to these and sometimes above or below them. Unfortunately, only a tiny proportion of the many Western Chou tombs in the area have not been ransacked and there are published reports on only sixteen Western Chou graves in this area which are undisturbed by robbers or other intrusions. It is likely that when the city fell into the hands of invaders from the west, at the time of the fall of Western Chou, many of the tombs would have been plundered and, in the ensuing

23 For example, two digs just east of Ch'i-chia-ts'un yielded areas of both burials and habitations. In the first instance (1962 excavation), Late Western Chou graves were found to lie above Middle Western Chou buildings, which, judging from the pounded earth foundations and pillar holes, would have been large (KK 1960.1:51). In the second instance (1979 excavation), Late Western Chou habitations were found above Middle Western Chou burials (WW 1981.9:2).

24 These are M1 at Li-chia-ts'un (WW 1976.6:61-65), ten graves at Yun-t'ang-ts'un (WW 1980.1:39-53), and five at Chuang-pai (WW 1990.1:654-658, 682) although in the case of the latter the report does not make clear whether they were all undisturbed.
centuries, the area, renowned for its bronze finds, would have been a prime target for tomb robbers.

This means that it is virtually impossible to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the relative wealth of the individual tombs or of the periods in which each cemetery area was in use. It is evident, however, from the data on the size and structures of the graves in areas such as Ch'i-chia-ts'un (KK 1980.1:45-51) that graves of both large and small proportions were in areas adjacent to or within the settlement nuclei.

Lo-yang (Western Chou) 華陽

Western Chou graves in the area of Lo-yang have also been severely depleted by robbery, and published data is available on barely one-sixth of the total reported found. The fact that the pattern of Western Chou settlement at Lo-yang is still poorly understood also precludes any detailed study of the relationship between burials and settlement.

What is noticeable, however, is the proximity of cemetery areas containing graves of a variety of sizes and complexity of structure to the apparent ceremonial centre around Pei-yao-ts'un. The debris from the bronze working area here reveals that it was a site mainly for the production of ritual items, with some casting of chariot pieces and weapons, but the latter also included ming-ch'i ko-dagger-axes (KK

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25This total assessment does not include the forty or fifty graves found near the bronze working area at Pei-yao-ts'un 北宮 (KK 1983.5:432-434) which appear to be largely the burials of sacrificial victims, nor the more than sixteen hundred graves reported found on the west bank of the Chien River 興江 (KK 1956.6:62-63) as it is not clear what proportion of these, if any, are Western Chou.
Bronzes from the cemetery area have been found to match pottery casting moulds from here (WW 1981.7:64). The remains of sacrificed humans and animals suggest the enactment of religious ceremonies, possibly in connection with casting of bronzes (KK 1983.5:441), and the pillar supports and drainage pipes suggest the presence of imposing buildings, themselves evidently 'consecrated' by the interment of sacrificial victims in their foundations (WW 1981.7:53).

Should this site prove to have been the ritual and political centre of the Chou settlement, then it is interesting that a large cemetery area should lie only several hundred metres away. Alternatively, it may be the remains of a peripheral industrial area for the manufacture of ritual goods to be used in the adjacent cemetery. Ceremonies conducted here may have been concerned with the rituals of burial or worship of the dead as well as casting of bronzes. Clearly no conclusion may be drawn about the relationship of these cemetery areas and the Chou city until subsequent excavation has revealed more about the pattern of Western Chou settlement and the place of the Pei-yao-ts'un area within it.

Excavations at the site of the Eastern Chou city at Lo-yang, Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng, have yielded low and medium status burials both outside and inside the compass of the city walls. Those inside the city include isolated burials found in the course of excavating the walls of the Han city of Ho-nan hsien-ch'eng, as well as those in the Chung-chou-lu excavation site (see
FIGURE 2:
EASTERN CHOU BURIALS INSIDE CHIEN-PIN TUNG-CHOU-CH'ENG
Chung-chou-lu was a site of great significance for Chou archaeology for the artefact finds were the basis on which scholars were able to establish typological sequences for dating other graves from this period. Since the publication of the major report on this excavation (Lo-yang) there have been several individual finds of burials which were clearly part of the same cemetery areas.

The Eastern Chou graves in this 2 km stretch of road date from Early Spring and Autumn to Late Warring States. Figure 3, overpage, plots the location of the individual graves and their estimated dates. The highest concentration of graves lies in the western end of the site, in Sections

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This excavation site comprises a narrow strip of about 2 km in length in which salvage archaeology was undertaken before construction of a major road. I shall use the term Chung-chou-lu to refer to the excavation site, and Chung-chou Road to refer to the road itself.

These finds are as follows:

**KKHP 1956.2:27:** One grave located 100 m north of the Chung-chou-lu graves. The tomb, WSM2, was dated in the report as Warring States but an examination of its bronze artefacts shows that they more closely resemble those from Chung-chou-lu dated to the Middle Spring and Autumn period. It would seem feasible therefore to revise the dating of WSM2 to the Spring and Autumn period.

**KK 1957.6:40:** Twelve graves found east of the Han town, Ho-nan hsien-ch'eng, 150 m south of Chung-chou Road. Only details of M2, dated as Late Warring States, were published.

**WW 1981.7:65-66:** More than ten graves were found in the south-eastern grounds of the Lo-yang glass factory, 100 m north of Chung-chou Road, 1 km east of the wall of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng. Details were only published of M439, dated as Late Spring and Autumn.

**CYWW 1983.4:17-18:** Two graves were reported found: CIM124 in the glass factory, 120 m north of Chung-chou Road and 1.5 km east of the wall of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng, and CIM4, 50 m south of Chung-chou Road, 3 km east of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng wall (1.2 km SE of CIM124). Both were dated as Middle Spring and Autumn.
A SPRING AND AUTUMN GRAVES

KEY

/ Period 1 Early Spring and Autumn
* Period 2 Middle Spring and Autumn
* Period 3 Late Spring and Autumn

B WARRING STATES GRAVES

KEY

/ Period 4 Early Warring States
* Period 5 and 6 Middle Warring States
* Period 7 Late Warring States

C UNDATED EASTERN CHOU GRAVES

FIGURE 3: CHUNG-CHOU-LU: SITE PLAN SHOWING DATES OF BURIALS

from: Lévy, P., 190-93
1-6 of Chung-chou-lu, and they date from all periods of Eastern Chou. The Spring and Autumn graves here seem to vary in size and wealth of artefacts while the Warring States burials are more homogeneous. However, it must be noted that Sections 1-6 also contain a great many of those Eastern Chou graves whose dearth of artefacts prevents accurate dating (Figure 3,C). These are small in dimension as well as poor in artefacts and might substantially alter the patterns of relative wealth were their dates to be known.

Burials in Sections 7-14 are far sparser, being mainly those too poor to date accurately. Further east, there are three noticeable clusters of burials: a Warring States group in Sections 17-19, a cluster of graves from all Eastern Chou periods in Sections 22-24 and another Warring States cluster in Sections 26-27. These last sections, 26-27, clearly served as a high-status burial ground in the Early Warring States period, but the Late Warring States burials here are no richer than others of the same period elsewhere in the site, and are relatively small in dimension.

For example, the Middle Spring and Autumn graves M212, M213, M216 and M219 lie close together in a group, yet they include both the large M216 and the much smaller M219. These four graves have the following dimensions of pit mouths and grave goods:

- **M212**: 4.4 m², Ten pottery vessels; jade chüeh-ear-decorations; possibly also a kuei-sceptre.
- **M213**: 5.6 m², Six pottery vessels; lead weapons and chariot pieces; stone sceptres; whetstone; shells.
- **M216**: 5.6 m², Three bronze vessels; bronze weapons and chariot pieces; two pottery vessels; shells.
- **M219**: 1.0 m², One pottery vessel

None of these burials has been robbed. (M213 was intruded on by a later grave, M214, but the report does not indicate that any artefacts were removed.)
While bearing in mind the longitudinal nature of the sample, and the fact that one cannot estimate the real extent of any of these burial areas, a few observations may, nevertheless, be made of the spatial patterning. There was clearly an area within the city, by the central section of the west wall, used as a burial ground throughout the period of the city's existence. Spring and Autumn cultural debris suggesting the presence of dwellings was also found in this area (Lo-yang:146) but no detailed investigation of the interrelationship between these and the burials was undertaken.

The scattered burials in Sections 7-14 may represent the fringes of this burial area. These burials are almost exclusively Spring and Autumn or are too poor to date accurately. Sections 11-14, in particular, yielded Warring States cultural debris, such as tiles, suggesting that prestigious buildings stood on this spot in Late Eastern Chou and that the area had then ceased to function as a cemetery. Such a picture is confused slightly by the presence of two isolated Warring States burials, M1107 and M1316.

Sections 22-24 seem to have been part of a cemetery area in continuous use during the Eastern Chou period, and, like Sections 1-7, may again coincide with Spring and Autumn dwellings (ibid:146). This area would have lain east of the centre of the city, just over 1 km north-east of the cemetery area by the west wall. It would suggest discrete contemporaneous burial areas within the city.

The high-status Early Warring States burials clustered in Section 27 lie only 200 m north-east of these and may have been part of the same burial area. They, in turn, lie only 500 m south-east of the possible ducal burial area discussed below (see p.66). Again, there is no data to
suggest whether the cemetery areas were contiguous.\(^\text{29}\)

Despite the limitations to obtaining an overall picture of the burial areas within Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng, it is clear that fairly extensive areas of the city functioned as burial grounds. When this first became evident, scholars considered it an anomaly. Kuo Mo-jo, for example, sought to explain it by suggesting that, in the period from the reign of King Ching to that of King Nan (i.e. the period in which the royal residence was supposedly moved to the eastern site), there was nothing to stop the use of the abandoned city as a cemetery (Kuo Mo-jo 1955:19). The data on the burials outlined above and the more recent excavation of industrial areas contemporaneous with them show that most burials would have coincided with the active occupation of the city.

Burial finds in areas outside the city walls reveal that at least two other areas were used as cemeteries by the Eastern Chou inhabitants of the city. One lies several kilometres north-east of the city, the

\(^{29}\)Another high-status Warring States burial was found close to this spot. This is M2, one of twelve graves found in an area east of the Han city wall and 150 m south of Chung-chou Road (KK 1957.6:40). Although ransacked by robbers, its structure (including a tomb ramp opening south and filler of ash and stones) and its dimensions resemble those of the possible ducal burials further north. The published details on M2 are insufficient to determine its exact location relative to Section 27 of the Chung-chou-lu site, nor is there any indication as to whether the other eleven graves found at the same time were of similar size and structure.
KEY

- Eastern Chou city wall
- Burial areas

(i) Chung-chou-chü
(ii) Shao-kou
(iii) T'ai-shan-miao
(iv) Chien-hsi-ch'ü
(v) Lao-ch'eng (1 burial)
(vi) Chin-ts'un

FIGURE 4:
EASTERN CHOU BURIALS OUTSIDE OF CHIEN-PIN TUNG-CHOU-CH'ENG
other, several kilometres west, across the Chien River (see Figure 4).  

The published information on the graves west of the Chien River is extremely limited, although there are reports of over 1,600 Chou graves having been found in the area (KK 1956.6:62). Those few for which information is available date from both the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods and closely resemble contemporaneous, relatively sparsely furnished burials in the Chung-chou-lu site. The burial areas to the east of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng include the Shao-kou cemetery area where 59 Warring States tombs were excavated. The burials here contain pottery groupings identical to a large number of Middle to Late Warring States graves from Chung-chou-lu, with the only difference being the presence of greater numbers of small hu-vases in the Shao-kou

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30 There have been no published details on the burial area at Chung-chou-chü 中洲 , but its situation in the foothills of Mang-shan just north of the Chin-ts'un graves would seem to offer further clues to the presence of an Eastern Chou settlement in that area. It is unlikely that this area would have served the inhabitants of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng, over 20 km south-west.

31 These are: M7:10:5 (WW 1955.10:128), M74, M75, M81, M35 (KK 1957.3:47-48), and M12, M13 (KK 1957.3:66-68).
The graves in Shao-kou differ very little from each other in size and quantities of artefacts, generally containing a set of pottery vessels and a stone spatula, with the occasional item of personal decoration such as belt-hooks and jade pieces. The artefact assemblages, their arrangement in the graves and the flexed posture of the occupants also parallel those found in modestly furnished graves in Chung-chou-lu. Other isolated burial finds in the vicinity of Shao-kou include three Warring States graves excavated at T'ai-shan-miao (KKHP 1955.9:91-116) and one grave found in the district known as Lao-ch'eng (WW 1956.9:76-77), which, according to the typologies established for the Chung-chou-lu site, may be dated to the Early or Middle Warring States. It would seem that the only observable difference between the cemeteries outside and those inside the city is that no high-status graves have yet

The vessel referred to as a p'en-bowl in the Shao-kou site report is the same kind as that referred to as a p'an-basin in the Chung-chou-lu site report, just as the wan-bowl in Shao-kou is the same as the yi-ewer and pei-cup in Chung-chou-lu. Although the shapes are very similar, it is impossible to undertake a detailed comparison of the patterning on the Shao-kou pottery with that from the contemporaneous graves in Chung-chou-lu because the illustrated examples from each site are limited and the an patterns which feature on many of the vessels do not tend to be visible in photographs. This is unfortunate since such an exercise could reveal similar combinations of design units, suggesting manufacture in the same workshops. We only know that the design units such as hsien-wen bow-string, chih-ch'ih comb-tooth, wang-hsing net, chhu-ch'ih saw-tooth, shan-hsing mountain, and lo-hsüan spiral occur in both sites.

The area of burials at Chin-ts'un marked on the map (Figure 4) will be discussed below in relation to the possible site of an Eastern Chou city in this area (pp.67-70). The area of Eastern Chou burials found at Chung-chou-ch'ü (WW 1960.4:87) are likely to have been those of the inhabitants of that city.
been found outside the city, but the sample of reported graves is still too small to make a definitive statement on the matter.

Hsin-t'ien (Eastern Chou)

It appears that an area of burials lay within the principle residential and industrial areas of the Chin capital of Hsin-t'ien during the Spring and Autumn period and possibly also the Early Warring States period. This section of the city lay south of the walled palace/temple area but was probably not itself surrounded by a wall (see Figure 5).

Eight modestly furnished Spring and Autumn burials containing pottery vessels and small items of stone and jade were found to lie beneath a thick layer of Spring and Autumn cultural deposit, suggesting an early use of the area as a burial ground and a subsequent change in its function (WW 1959.6:47). However, stylistic similarities between the pottery in these graves and that found in the areas of settlement nearby (WW 1962.4/5:48), suggest that for at least some time of the area's occupation, a cemetery area was adjacent to, if not surrounded by, residential and industrial areas.34

The cemetery area was clearly in use at the same time as one further south on the other side of the K'uai River at Shang-ma-ts'un.

34Although there has been a detailed study published of the pottery sequences of Hsin-t'ien (WW 1962.4/5:43-51), the published details of the graves themselves are insufficient to allow a more precise estimate of which periods of the city's occupancy they coincide with. Two graves dated as Early Warring States were also found in the vicinity (WW 1959.6:47) and appear to have been contemporaneous with the surrounding city site. The relationship of these graves to the eight Spring and Autumn burials was not specified in the report, but one may infer from their notation (58.H4.M5 and 57.H4.M2) that they came from the same excavation trenches as some of the Spring and Autumn graves which have notations such as 58.H4.M3 and 57.H4.M1.
FIGURE 5:
HSIN-T'IEH

from: *WW* 1972.4:27, Fig. 1
although the latter area appears to have served as a cemetery over a longer span of time, from the Western Chou to the Warring States (KK 1963.5:229-245). The contemporaneity of graves from the two sites may be seen in similarities in the pottery assemblages but the data are too sparse to allow a detailed comparison of total artefact assemblages from individual graves in the two sites.

**Lu-ch'eng (Western Chou - Eastern Chou)**

Several cemetery areas were found within the walls of the city of Lu-ch'eng, occupying a large section of the north-west of the city. A few other isolated finds have led archaeologists to believe that there may well be more burial areas in the south-west, beneath the present-day town of Ch'ü-fu (Ch'ü-fu:23-24). There are four distinct areas of burials, namely Wang-fu-t'ai, Tou-chi-t'ai, Hsi-pei-chiao, and Yao-p'u. The cemetery area at Wang-fu-t'ai appears to have had two phases of use. The second phase, one in which the burials are exclusively high-status, will be discussed below as a possible ducal cemetery (see pp.61-64). The earlier phase includes

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**Notes:**

35 For example, the long-necked, angular hu-vase found in M9 at Shang-ma-ts'ŭn (KK 1963.5:232, Fig. 4, item 2) is similar to that found in 58.H4.M5 at Niu-ta's'un (WW 1959.6:49, Fig. 3), and the lidded tou-pedestal-bowl in M9 (KK 1963.5:232, Fig. 4, item 4) is similar to that found in 58.H4.M4 (WW 1959.6:49 Fig. 4).

36 The site report also mentions a Warring States grave intruding on the site of a bronze-smelting works in the north of Lu-ch'eng (ibid:17) No details about this grave are given. It is clearly not part of any of these other cemetery areas.

37 The Yao-p'u area is almost adjacent to the Wang-fu-t'ai area, but the ancient roadway between them suggests that they were discrete areas.
KEY

Eastern Chou wall
--- Eastern Chou roadways
...... Eastern Chou waterway
Areas of pounded earth
Areas of habitations
Industrial areas
Eastern Chou city gates
Burial areas

( i ) Wang-fu-t'ai
( ii ) Yao-p'u
( iii ) Hsi-pe-i-chiao
( iv ) Tou-chi-t'ai

FIGURE 6:
LU-CH'ENG

from: Ch'u-fu, Fig. 3
graves of a variety of sizes and wealth, some containing just a few pots, others containing bronze vessels and chariot fittings.

The earlier phase of this area's use was interpreted as having spanned the whole Western Chou period, with three graves dated as Early Western Chou, twelve as Middle Western Chou, eleven as Late Western Chou, and three as being from the final years of that historical period (Ch'ü-fu:181-184). However, there are several reasons to doubt the accuracy of this chronology. There was no stratigraphical relationship to aid the archaeologists and so their estimates are based primarily on bronze vessels. These were present in only nine graves, a small proportion of the total number. In addition, the pottery assemblages seem to remain consistent throughout the four periods, generally comprising a li-cauldron and two or more kuan-vases. In contrast, burial sites in other places which contain graves from the three centuries of the Western Chou period, show a more obvious change in style and kind of artefact over that period.  

As for the form of the pottery vessels in the Wang-fu-t'ai graves, there is very little stylistic variation between the li-cauldrons from graves assigned to Periods 1 and 2 and those assigned to Periods 3 and 4. There is quite a variety in the shape of the kuan-vases and the kind of pottery used in their manufacture, but there is little overlap between the styles present in different graves. This suggests the individual production of these vessels, each set being made for one burial, rather

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38 For example, the cemetery area excavated in the 1950s at Feng-hsi Shansi (Feng-hsi:191), and that excavated in Fu-feng in 1976 (WW 1980.4:39-55).
FIGURE 7
EXAMPLES OF BEAD STRINGS FROM LU-CH'ENG AND SHANG-TS'UN-LING
than the mass production of a standard funerary kuan-vase, and makes a chronological typology difficult to establish.\(^{39}\)

The range of wealth of the graves means that the presence or absence of certain items may be a function of different statuses of the occupants, rather than a reflection of chronological change. For this reason, the miscellaneous items, such as personal ornaments and coffin decorations, can, as yet, offer no reliable basis for placing the individual graves in chronological sequence.

In the light of these dating problems, the chronology proposed in the report for the first phase of the Wang-fu-t'ai burial area would appear to be based on very shaky ground, especially as regards the isolating on either end of a chronological continuum the three graves M44, M57, and M35 as Early Western Chou and the three graves M10, M14, and M50 as Late Western Chou.

While it remains impossible to determine the chronological sequence of the graves, comparison with burial data from other sites in the central plain does offer sufficient information to determine at least the approximate date of this phase of the cemetery's use.

There are close parallels between some of the bronze vessels found in M48 of this site and some of those found in M1 in T'eng-hsien, some 60 km south-east of Lu-ch'eng (NW 1981.9:25-29).\(^{40}\) The writer of the

\(^{39}\)In very general terms, a squat, often rimless, style of kuan-vase can be distinguished from a taller, more elegant style with incised ring decorations, but this may not necessarily represent a chronological development.

\(^{40}\)In particular, the bronze p'an-basin, yi-ewer, kuei-tureen, fu-tray and ting-cauldron in M48 have close parallels in M1.
report on the T'eng-hsien finds believes that the tomb dated from Early Spring and Autumn, although some of the bronze vessels were cast slightly earlier, in Late Western Chou (ibid:28).

Further afield, in Honan, the cemetery area of Shang-ts’un-ling yielded several styles of bronzes similar to those found in Wang-fu-t’ai (Shang-ts’un-ling). These include ting-cauldrons, kuei-tureens, fu-trays and yi-ewers. The most obvious similarities are shown in Table 1.
TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shang-ts'un-ling</th>
<th>Wang-fu-t'ai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ting-cauldron</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style I: M1689;M1612;M1819;</td>
<td>Style I: M23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style IV: present in 47 graves</td>
<td>Styles II-VI: M11;M46;M20; M49;M30;M48; M14;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(The site report (ibid:146) states that four examples of Style IV ting were found, however the chart (ibid:222-227) only accounts for three of these.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuei-tureen</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style I: M1052;M1810;M1602; M1706;M1705;M1820;</td>
<td>Style I: M46;M48;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style II: M1640;M1689</td>
<td>Style II: M49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fu-tray</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1820</td>
<td>M48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yi-ewer</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1601;M1820</td>
<td>M48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides bronze vessels, other sundry bronze goods within the Shang-ts'un-ling cemetery which have close parallels in Wang-fu-t'ai graves include *ko-dagger-axes* and chariot fittings.

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41 Shang-ts'un-ling Style I ko-dagger-axes resemble those excavated from M30 and M3 in Lu-ch'eng.

42 In particular the wei-axle pieces , the t'ao-t'ieh-mask fittings , and the hsien-bits in M1617 from Shang-ts'un-ling and M48 from Lu-ch'eng.
The most interesting similarities between the Shang-ts'un-ling site and the Lu-ch'eng site lie in the personal ornaments and coffin decorations within the tombs. A great many of the skeletons have jade chüeh-ear-decorations by their ears. Judging from the shape of these jades, a closed 'C' shape, they were probably worn on the ear-lobes or on part of the upper ear. They are found in pairs, one by each ear, with a few exceptions which may be simply a result of the displacement of one of a pair at the time of burial or of excavation.

Similarly, bead strings are found around many of the skeletons' necks in both burial sites. The distinctive style of bead string comprising a double string of beads interspersed at intervals by single jade pieces appears in M30 and M48 in the Lu-ch'eng site and in M1720, M1624, M1662, and M1634 in the Shang-ts'un-ling site. A bead decoration made of several bead chains converging on a central bead string was found on the chest of the occupant of M1820 in Shang-ts'un-ling and is remarkably similar to that found in M49 at Wang-fu-t'ai (see Figure 8).

Almost identical bronze belt decorations consisting of one triangular piece of bronze with six circular pieces were found in M1715 of Shang-ts'un-ling and in M30 at Lu-ch'eng (see Figure 9).

Other similarities between the two sites include the small pillar-shaped objects of stone, yüan-chu-hsing-shih-shih which were often found clutched in the skeletons' hands, the stone ko-dagger-axes placed on the lids of the kuo-vaults and the ling-jingles, shell and bronze fish, and beads which all appear to have adorned the kuan-inner-coffins. Unfortunately, the Shang-ts'un-ling report does not specify which skeletons had k'ou-han-mouth-pieces in their mouths, although it is apparent that several did have pieces of jade or stone...
Personal decorations found by neck and chest of occupant in Shang-ts'un-ling M1820
from: Shang-ts'un-ling :40, Fig. 37

Bead strings found on chest of occupant in Lu-ch'eng M49
from: Ch'ê-ju Pl. 117

FIGURE 8
BEAD DECORATIONS FOUND IN LU-CH'ENG AND SHANG-TS'UN-LING
(i) Bronze belt decoration from Shang-ts’un-ling M1715
(ii) Triangular piece from bronze belt decoration M1715
   from: *Shang-ts’un-ling* :23, Figs 16,17
(iii) Pieces from bronze belt decoration, Lu-ch’eng M30
     from: *Ch’u-fu* Pl. 91

FIGURE 9
EXAMPLES OF BELT DECORATIONS FROM LU-CH’ENG AND SHANG-TS’UN-LING
similar to the Wang-fu-t'ai examples.

The Shang-ts'un-ling burials were not dated individually, but the report writers proposed that the cemetery was used from Late Western Chou until the early part of the Eastern Chou period, from 900 BC until the annihilation of Kuo state in 655 BC (Shang-ts'un-ling:49).

The above comparisons with other burial sites would indicate that the first phase of the Wang-fu-t'ai cemetery's use was more likely to have been during the Late Western Chou and Early Spring and Autumn periods, rather than spanning the whole Western Chou and Early Spring and Autumn periods. The close similarities with burials in the Shang-ts'un-ling site are also significant for the question of who the likely occupants of the Wang-fu-t'ai graves were (see below, pp.52).

The burial data from graves in the other three areas of Yao-p'u, Tou-chi-t'ai, and Hsi-pei-chiao compare unfavourably with those from Wang-fu-t'ai. Of the 73 graves excavated, 42 were robbed or damaged and 19 of the undisturbed graves contained no artefacts. The published information on these graves is also less detailed; many small items such as bead strings, fishes made from shells (pang-yü 蝌魚) and chüeh-ear-decorations are not described in the report, their presence being merely noted in the charts of grave goods (Ch'ü-fu:217-228).

In the description of the grave M1820 (Shang-ts'un-ling:41) it is mentioned that two stone cowries, shih-pei 石貝, and some broken pieces of jade, sui-yü-shih-p'ien 索玉石片, were probably in the skeleton's mouth. The report states that this opinion was based on the evidence from other graves. The captions to Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6 and 7, in the same report, describe broken pieces of stone as having been in the skeletons' mouths. This may indicate that all cases of broken jade or stone pieces can be taken to be examples of k'ou-han. The same cannot be said for all stone cowries as only a few were found within coffins (ibid:22).
Like the earlier phase graves in Wang-fu-t'ai, there was no stratigraphical relationship between the graves to aid dating and the difficulty is compounded by the fact that the artefact assemblages are even more diverse than those in Wang-fu-t'ai. This is exaggerated by the inevitably random depletion which results from robbery.

Clearly the data are far too sparse to determine a valid chronology and the report writers were probably overly optimistic in assigning dates to as many as 33 graves, just 42% of the total.

Of these three areas, that of Tou-chi-t'ai presents the most problems for dating, since, although only eight of the twenty graves have been robbed, the burials are sparse in terms of artefacts. Interestingly, despite this paucity of grave goods, the structures are relatively elaborate, many having kuan-inner-coffins, kuo-vaults, and waist pits.

The Hsi-pei-chiao burials, just to the east of these, differ from those in Wang-fu-t'ai in their pottery assemblages and in the absence of many of the status goods, such as bronzes, although this may be as a result of robbery. The many similarities with the Wang-fu-t'ai graves in terms of structure, orientation, and personal decorations does, however, suggest that the two areas were roughly contemporaneous.

Finally, the group of tombs in the Yao-p'u area which contain lidded tou-pedestal-bowls and hu-vases with painted decorations are likely to date from a later period than those in Wang-fu-t'ai and Hsi-pei-chiao, that is, from Late Spring and Autumn to Early Warring States (ibid:113). Some of the other graves in this area may be earlier, but the data are too inconsistent to be very meaningful.

The report writers divided the burial areas found within Lu-ch'eng
into two groups, chia 偺 and yi 上, distinguished from one another in terms of both structure and contents. The graves designated as chia came from three areas, Yao-p'u, Tou-chi-t'ai, and Hsi-pei-chiao, and were interpreted to be those of the descendants of the pre-Conquest Yin aristocracy. The yi group were those found in the Wang-fu-t'ai area (Ch'ü-fu:90-190).

As I have outlined above (pp. 45-50), there is a striking resemblance between the artefact assemblages in the earlier phase graves at Wang-fu-t'ai and those found in the Shang-ts'un-ling cemetery in Honan. In the latter case, the evidence from bronze inscriptions reveals that the likely occupants of the graves were the ruling families of the state of Kuo 周 (Shang-ts'un-ling:51). The similarity in burial practices and the presence of Lu state bronzes in the Wang-fu-t'ai graves (Ch'ü-fu:145-151), endorses the theory that the Wang-fu-t'ai graves were also those of members of the Chou hsing 𤂃 of Chi 𤂃. However, the case for lumping the burials in the three areas of Yao-p'u, Tou-chi-t'ai, and Hsi-pei-chiao into the one category of chia and interpreting them as burials of Yin people is not strong. Variables isolated by the report writers to distinguish the chia graves from the yi graves include the presence of waist pits, the predominantly head-south orientation of the skeletons, the occurrence of parallel grave alignment, different pottery assemblages (in particular the presence of tou-pedestal bowls), and the placement of the artefacts between the kuo-vault and kuan-inner-coffin (Ch'ü-fu:188-190). Matters are complicated by the fact that many of these variables are placed in a chronological sequence, some appearing only in earlier graves and others in later ones, but an examination of the published data suggests that any alleged continuity is probably overstated.
The graves in each area have assemblages or structural features particular to that area; for example, the distinctive long-stemmed pottery *kuei*-tureens of the Hsi-pei-chiao graves, the lidded *hu*-vases and *tou*-pedestal-bowls with painted decoration in the Yao-p'u area and the predominance of graves with waist pits and devoid of artefacts in the Tou-chi-t'ai area. The alleged factors of continuity among the *chia* graves are far less pervasive than the factors of discontinuity and it could be argued just as convincingly that the three areas of *chia* graves are as different from one another as they are from the *yi* group.

The variables isolated in the *chia* graves which were taken to be indicators of post-Conquest Yin graves were the early use of *ming-ch'i* pottery *li*-cauldrons followed by use of functional ones in the middle and later periods, the absence of pottery imitations of bronze *li*-tripods, and the presence of ring-footed *tou*-pedestal bowls and *kuei*-tureens, and waist pits with dogs (ibid:214).

The drawbacks due to the deficiencies of data from these graves apply to the question of the ethnic or cultural group represented just as much as to that of the chronology of the burials. It is only possible, therefore, to make a few observations. Waist pits with dogs were not exclusive to the Shang and are even found in pre-Conquest Chou graves (see, for example, Tsou Heng 1980:310-311). Fourteen of the Kuo state burials in Shang-ts'un-ling contain waist pits with dogs and yet do not differ in other observable features from the surrounding graves. In the same way, there is no evidence for a Shang monopoly on the use of such pottery goods as *kuei*-tureens or *tou*-pedestal-bowls, and since pottery assemblages tend to display many regional traits they are unreliable criteria when used alone. Finally, there is an absence of the coffin
trappings or personal ornaments common to pre-Conquest Shang graves, such as cowrie shells, small jade carvings and so on. This question of distinguishing Chou and Yin graves will be discussed below (pp.179-180).

Besides cemetery areas within the city, three other cemetery sites have been located in the vicinity of Lu-ch'eng, but no detailed excavation of them appears to have taken place (WW 1955.6:119). Two of these, Fu-ts'un 處村 and Wang-chuang-ts'un 王莊村, are some distance from the city, 15 km south and 9 km north-east respectively. The former is probably a Shang period burial area (ibid). The burials found in the third of these places, Ta-chuang 太莊, just 1 km west of the modern town of Ch'ü-fu, is likely to have been a burial area in the Warring States period since it yielded Warring States pottery as well as Han artefacts. There is also the famous K'ung-lin 孔林, the burial ground of the descendants of Confucius, which stands just north of the ancient city wall. Whether this cemetery area actually contains the grave of Confucius himself and thus dates back to the Spring and Autumn period is open to question -- it certainly seems a very vulnerable spot for a burial ground, lying just outside the city wall with plain stretching to the north. Until the date of the cemetery is verified archaeologically, it would seem unwise to include it in a survey of Eastern Chou burial
areas at Lu-ch'eng.

Lin-tzu (Western Chou - Eastern Chou)

Excavation in and around the site of the Ch'i capital at Lin-tzu-hsien, Shantung, has located Chou burials in seven areas (see

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45 The Shih-chi records the burial of Confucius to the north of Lu-ch'eng, beside the Ssu River (SKK Vol. 6:17:87; Chavannes Vol. 5:426) and the tumulus still marked as his grave lies several hundred metres north of the ancient city wall, although the course of the Ssu River is now some 2 km further north. If Ssu-ma Ch'ien's record is correct that the spot became a focus of rituals and the dwellings of many followers of Confucius (ibid:88), then it is quite plausible that the location of the grave should still be known at the time of the compilation of the Shih-chi, albeit over 300 years after the death of the sage. On the other hand, most of the stories of Confucius' life are apocryphal. He probably never held any particularly significant political post in Lu (Creel 1951:12-13) and is unlikely to have warranted the eulogies reportedly made on his death by the duke of that state (Shih-chi SKK Vol. 6:17:87; Chavannes Vol. 5:425-426) It is just as likely that the site of his tomb only gained significance in the centuries after his death when the legends about the sage's life began to multiply. By this time the actual location may have been forgotten. It is interesting to compare the supposed location of the grave of Confucius with that of the earth platforms found in similar situations to the north of other Eastern Chou cities, for example Lao-mu-t'ai, north of Yen-hsia-tu (KKHP 1965:1:89), and the mound north of Chao-wang-ch'eng at Han-tan (Sekino 1963:356-357). These platforms may have been the focus of certain religious rituals. The chiao sacrifice (eg. Tso-chuan, Duke Hsiang, 7th year; Legge Vol. 5:430) is believed to have been performed on altars outside cities and commentators from Han times on have generally held these altars to be to the south of the city (eg. Shih-chi SKK Vol. 4:28:7). There is a platform 1.5 km south of Lu-ch'eng which the excavators consider to have been the focus of rites to summon rainfall (Ch'Ü-fu:213). The recent archaeological evidence from the Yen-hsia-tu and Han-tan indicates that altars may not have been exclusively to the south of the cities. It may well be that the site known today as Confucius' tomb was originally one such ritual centre, appropriated by the cult of Confucius and eventually shedding its original connotations.
five of which are within the ancient city walls (KK 1958.6:50-52; WW 1972.5:3:45-54; KKHP 1977.1:73-104). Published information on burials at Lin-tzu is extremely scant, there being details of only one burial within the city and two outside. The former of these, that at Ho-ya-t'ou, will be discussed below with other cases of ducal burials within cities (see pp.64-66), apparently being part of a high-status burial area in the north-east corner of the city.

The only thing we know of the other burial areas inside the city is that they included medium-sized Spring and Autumn graves and that some contained a bronze assemblage of a ting-cauldron, tui-cauldron, and chou-cup (WW 1972.5:52). What may eventually be revealed is a burial pattern along the lines of Lu-ch'eng, where several cemetery areas, perhaps related to centres of habitation, lie inside the city walls.

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46 This figure does not include the find of a skeleton in the Spring and Autumn cultural level to the west of the site which is thought to be that of a victim of the yi'e punishment of amputating the feet. There were apparently no other burials around this coffinless skeleton and so it would not seem to have been a burial area (WW 1972.5:53).

47 The burial inside the city is one in Ho-ya-t'ou (WW 1972.5:52), those outside the city are one in Lang-chia-chuang (KKHP 1977.1:73-104) 500 m south of the walls, and one in Yao-wang-ts'un (KK 1958.5:50-52) 3.5 km south.

48 The chances of finding many undisturbed graves may not be great — when the Japanese archaeologist Sekino Takeshi visited this site in 1941 he was offered many cowrie shells by the locals. Apparently, the shells were generally found several metres below the surface and many had green stains which suggests contact with bronze objects (Sekino 1963:268). All this points to a local 'industry' of grave robbing which, understandably, the locals were keen to keep a secret.
KEY

Estimated outline of Eastern Chou walls
Main areas of finds of Eastern Chou cultural deposit
ننBurial areas
(i) Lang-chia-chuang (1 burial)
(ii) Ho-ya-t'ou
(iii) Liu-chia-chai
(iv) By east gate of south wall
(v) Between Fu-chia-miao and K'an-chia-chai
(vi) Ko-chia-chuang
(vii) Yao-wang-ts'un (1 burial)

FIGURE 10:
LIN-TZU

city outline from: KKHP 1977.1:73, Fig. 1
Two of the six Eastern Chou cemetery areas found at the site of Cheng-Han ku-ch'eng lie within the walls of the city. Unfortunately there is published information on only a handful of individual tombs, one excavated in the 1920s (Anon. 1923), another in 1963 (KK 1964.7:368), and a third in 1979 (KK 1983.8:703-706). Aside from these, there are only general descriptions of the cemetery areas in published reports (WWTLTK Vol. 3:63-64). This makes it impossible to examine the data from which archaeologists drew their conclusion that the Spring and Autumn burials within the city were those of aristocrats, whereas the graves outside the city, dating from both the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, were those of the common people (ibid:65).

However, since some of the Spring and Autumn burials outside the city contain bronze vessels and chariot pieces and consist of both kuo-vaults and kuan-inner-coffins (ibid:63; KK 1983.8:703-706), they would also seem to be burials of individuals of a relatively high status.

One of the cemeteries inside the city lies within the annex where the palaces and temples are likely to have stood (see Figure 11). This area around Li-chia-lou is where the large tomb which yielded the famous Hsin-cheng bronzes was found in 1923 (Anon. 1923). Not only did this tomb contain a large array of bronze vessels, chariot pieces, and the skeleton of horses and a hsün-jen but it was also of a scale and structure suggesting a very high-status occupant. It is reasonable to suggest that this was the burial of a duke of Cheng in the Spring and

FIGURE 11:
CHENG-HAN KU-CH'ENG

from: WWTLTK 1980.3:57, Fig. 1
Autumn period. Several other Spring and Autumn period graves were found in the vicinity but they would not appear to be as large or as rich as the earlier find (WWTLTK 1980.3:63), suggesting that this was not a ducal cemetery of exclusively high-status graves. It is unlikely that much excavation will be possible around Li-chia-lou to establish the extent of the cemetery since this is the area occupied by the later town of Hsin-cheng hsien-ch'eng. No Warring States burials have been found within the city and the two areas outside seem to be graves of modest dimensions and furnishings (WWTLTK 1980.3:63-64).  

The location of the burial ground of the Dukes of Han who ruled in this city from 375-230 BC remains a mystery. A gazetteer of Honan refers to the traditional location of the grave of one ruler of Han, Marquis Chao 趙懷侯 (reigned 358-333 BC). This grave is supposed to be near Yi-yang 益陽, over 150 km to the west of Hsin-cheng (Ho-nan t'ung-chih 49:17a). This is unlikely to be so, especially if the Shih-chi record of the capture of Yi-yang by Ch'in in 355 BC is correct (SKK Vol. 6:45:8; Chavannes Vol. 5:205). (The Ch'in-pen-chi 楚本紀 section of the Shih-chi gives the later date of 307 BC for the capture of Yi-yang (SKK Vol. 1:5:63; Chavannes Vol. 2:76)) The tomb of Marquis Ai of Han 趙哀侯 (reigned 376-371 BC) is traditionally thought to be south-west of Yu-hsien 郧縣, (Shih Chih-mien 1977:141) but there is no evidence to suggest that this is more than local myth. Mountains rise steeply to the west of Cheng-Han ku-ch'eng and it is on one of the peaks 15 km south-west where tradition places the tomb of Tzu-ch'an 齊相, the political reformer of sixth century BC Cheng (Ma Shih-chih 1981:25). While this in itself may be spurious, it suggests that these mountains offered a suitable site for graves, a relatively invulnerable area compared to the city's more exposed eastern flank and a possible site for the Warring States rulers of the city if it is found that their graves do not lie in the same part of the city as those of the Spring and Autumn dukes.
BURIAL AREAS OF EXCLUSIVELY HIGH-STATUS GRAVES WITHIN CITIES

Lu-ch'eng (Eastern Chou)

The burial area at Wang-fu-t'ai, within the walls of Lu-ch'eng, had two distinct phases of use. The first has been described above (pp.41-50) and contains graves of a variety of sizes and wealths. Graves of the second phase are clearly distinguishable from those of the earlier phase particularly in terms of structure and size. (Tomb robbery has left these later graves in a far worse condition than the earlier ones, so a detailed comparison of artefact assemblages is impossible.)

The excavators classified twelve graves as belonging to this later phase (M1, M2, M3, M4, M18, M28, M43, M47, M51, M52, M54, and M58) which they dated as Late Spring and Autumn to Late Warring States. The grave chambers of this group are of far greater dimensions than those of the earlier ones, averaging 158 m³. This is with the exception of five graves M4, M18, M43, M54, and M47. There is good reason to suspect that at least three of these smaller graves should not be included in this group and that, rather than being Eastern Chou burials, they are in fact part of the Han cemetery area to the south of Wang-fu-t'ai. M18 and M4 were dated as Late Spring and Autumn only on the basis of their pottery goods (Ch'ü-fu:185), an unreliable criterion in view of this site's wide variety of pottery styles, yet both graves have several features in common with the Han graves excavated nearby. In the case of M18, the points of similarity are the pottery assemblage, the niche, and the cowrie shells, all of which are present in the Han grave M5 (ibid:205). M4 is an example of joint burial similar to M5, and like the Han grave M6
it contains a bead string with rock crystal beads, shui-ching. M54 was dated as Late Warring States on the basis of its fu-boilers and hu-vases, the former have decorations similar to those found in the Warring States level of other areas of the Lu-ch'eng city site, and the latter appear to be a development of the hu-vase style found in M3 (ibid:185). However, the cicada-shaped mouth-piece in M3 is a feature common in the nearby Han tombs which may indicate a later date for this tomb. Finally, M43 had been robbed and only an agate bead chain remained. This means that this grave (which is not marked on the site plan) is virtually impossible to date. Agate beads were found both in graves from the early phase of the cemetery's use and in M4, which is likely to be a Han grave.

This revised dating of the smaller tombs reveals that, in the second phase of its use, the Wang-fu-t'ai cemetery was exclusively a burial area for high-status people. The one remaining earthen mound from which the area gets its name (ibid:21-22) suggests that these large graves would also have had mounds rising above them. This exclusive area of large tombs, arranged in rows and possibly with mounds above them suggests a ducal cemetery along the lines of Yen-hsia-tu (see below, pp.70-72).

In 1970, four large, chambered Han tombs were found in the Chiu-lung-shan range in Ch'ü-fu-hsien. They had been decimated by robbers but the inscriptions on the doors indicated that they were the

51 M47 is the only one of the smaller tombs which is unlikely to be a Han burial. However, although it is substantially smaller than the six large Eastern Chou graves, it is a relatively large tomb for a single burial (35.2 m³) and it lies on what may be the northern periphery of this cemetery area.
Tombs of the Early Western Han Kings of Lu (WW 1972.5:39-44:54). The few remaining items included a jade pi-disc and an elaborate belt hook with agate and turquoise inlay, both of which have close parallels in the later phase Wang-fu-t'ai tombs. If such were the burial attributes of the rulers of Lu in Early Han, it may be a further indication that the large graves in Wang-fu-t'ai were those of the dukes of Lu prior to the fall of this Eastern Chou state in 249 BC.]

The identity of the occupants of graves from the earlier phase of Wang-fu-t'ai also bear on this question of a possible ducal cemetery. The very close similarities between burials from the earlier phase and those burials excavated at Shang-ts'un-ling in Honan have been outlined above (pp. 45-50). The latter site is known to be the burial ground of Chou clans enfeoffed in that area, and in particular the ducal house of Kuo (Shang-ts'un-ling:51), suggesting that the dead in the early phase Wang-fu-t'ai burials were also Chou clans. It may be that the Wang-fu-t'ai area was the burial place of the rulers of Lu from the time when Chou clans were enfeoffed in the area after the Conquest until the

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52 There are conflicting traditions about the location of the graves of the Dukes of Lu, although it was apparently taken for granted that they would have been buried outside of the city. For example, a Ming gazetteer records two possible locations, one some 4 km to the east of Ch'ü-fu and one 41 km to the south-west of Wen-shang (Shan-tung-t'ung-chih 19:7). Interestingly, part of the Huang-lan 蒼山 (probably written in Three Kingdoms period) included in the commentaries of the Hou-Han-shu refers to a folk belief of a burial within the walls of Yen-li 雲里, a Shang city believed to be at or near the site of Lu-ch'eng (Hou-Han-shu-chih, Chun-kuo-chih ESSS 30:6a).

53 See above, pp.51-54, for discussion of the classification of Lu-ch'eng graves as chia or yi graves, the former being attributed to Shang clans, the latter to Chou.
final years of the Warring States period. The graves would have stood just under a kilometre north-west of the main palace/temple complex, the closest cemetery area to this central core of the city.

Lin-tzu (Eastern Chou)

One of the few graves within the Ch'i capital of Lin-tzu for which there is published information is M1 at Ho-ya-t'ou 河尾頭. The scale of the grave and the pit of over two hundred slain horses flanking it indicate that this was very probably the burial of one of the dukes of Ch'i (SSV:191), although the paucity of data from other burials means it is impossible to assess how exclusive a burial area this may have been, or whether there was a change between a heterogeneous earlier phase to an exclusive later phase like that at Wang-fu-t'ai, Lu-ch'eng. If the Ho-ya-t'ou area proves to have served as a ducal cemetery, then its position in relation to the south-western annex where the palace and temple complexes are thought to have been is in striking contrast to other Eastern Chou cities such as Lu-ch'eng and Yen-hsia-tu where the

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54 Disturbance of earlier phase graves by later ones probably indicates that the site of individual graves would have been forgotten.

55 The possible location of the ducal cemetery in the north of this city is interesting in the light of an historical record of the burial of one of the Dukes of Ch'i. This is the passage in the Tso-chuan which tells of the ignominious burial of the slain Duke Chuang 廣侯. Ts'ui-shih 便命 is reported to have placed the duke's coffin in the northern suburbs of Ch'i's capital and then buried it with a paltry procession in the 大裘 of Shih-sun 世孫. (Duke Hsiang, 25th year; Legge Vol. 5:511;515). However, the passage is ambiguous as to whether the last resting place of the duke was also in northern part of the city near where the coffin had been laid. It is, of course, also possible that Duke Chuang was not buried in the area normally used by the ducal house because of the circumstances of his death (see below, pp.109-111).
ducal cemetery area is near, if not adjacent to, the palace and temple area (see Figure 10). An arrangement such as Lin-tzu's would certainly have presented the inhabitants of that city with imposing symbols of ducal power in both extremities of the city, and, presumably, ducal funeral processions would have passed through the most densely populated north-eastern corner of the city to reach the cemetery. However, the evidence for the development of the city points to its occupation in the earliest phases being concentrated in the north-east of the city (WW 1972.5:52) and to the annex in the south-west being constructed in the Warring States period (KK 1961.6:289). It is possible that an earlier palace and temple complex was situated in the older, north-east section of the city, nearer the ducal cemetery. There are historical records of large scale construction projects undertaken by rulers of Ch'i (Sekino 1963:279), in particular the palaces reportedly built by King Hsüan (reigned 331-312 BC) (Lù-shih-ch’un-ch’iu, Chiao-tzu SPTK 20:18b; Wilhelm 1928:368). Although these records do not indicate the sites of the buildings, one could imagine that factors such as the swelling population, the increasing economic role of the city, and the rising autocratic power of Ch'i's rulers in the Late Eastern Chou period might favour the construction of a fortified annex in a hitherto sparsely populated area of the city's south-west corner.

It may prove, too, that the dukes and, later, the kings of Ch'i in the Late Eastern Chou period were not buried in the north-eastern corner. The cemetery there has been dated to the Western Chou and Spring and Autumn periods (WW 1972.5:52), although it is not clear how extensively the graves in this area were excavated. The graves of the later rulers of this state may well be among the many tumuli which stand south of the
city, nearer the southern annex.  

Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng (Lo-yang) (Warring States) 漢陽東周城

Four large tombs were found within the compass of the walls of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng in the north-eastern corner of that city (KK 1959.12:653-657). A chariot and horse pit was found in 1972 just south of these graves (KK 1974.3:171-178). The graves had been severely robbed in the Han period, but from the remaining fragments of pottery they were dated to the Warring States period (KK 1959.12:637). The horse and chariot pit was in far better condition and so a more accurate date of Middle Warring States could be suggested (KK 1974.3:177).

The relationship between this high-status burial area and other parts of that city area is hard to establish since no overall plan of the city's layout can yet be drawn up. (This is inevitable in an area such as Lo-yang where not only is there an abundance of cultural deposit representing the many centuries of occupation, but there is also a large modern town on the site.) Figure 2 shows the outline of the Eastern Chou city and those areas of known Eastern Chou deposit.

It appears from yields of tiles and pottery drainage pipes that

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56. The land to the south of the ancient city was once dotted with hundreds of tumuli (Sekino 1963:354) and although most of these are likely to date from later periods of the city's occupation, especially the Han, the fact that the Late Spring and Autumn burial excavated in this area, Lang-chia-chuang M1, had a tumulus above it (KKHP 1977.1:74) suggests that other tumuli here may prove to be of Eastern Chou date.

57. The present day course of the Chien River is unlikely to have coincided with the earlier course, but archaeologists have yet to establish which sections of the western wall of the city have been either intruded on or washed away.
prestigious buildings stood in the southern and central southern ends of the city (KKHP 1959.2:32-33). Published information is insufficient to establish the date of all these buildings, but those in Sections 11-14 of the Chung-chou-lu site have been dated to the Warring States period (Lo-yang:4). These may represent the temple and palace complex in that period, in which case the high status graves were not adjacent to such buildings but lay over a kilometre away to the north-east.

A second area of high-status graves found in the area of Lo-yang is that of Chin-ts‘un 齊村, some 18 km east of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch‘eng. These tombs were opened in 1923 and the prime concern of the excavators was profit rather than historical investigation. The artefacts retrieved were soon scattered through antiquarian markets and only impressionistic records of the structure and layout of the tombs exist (White 1934:16-17). Their location, however, makes them particularly significant in the debate about the existence of two Eastern Chou cities in the Lo-yang area for they stand within the outline of the old Han and Wei city of Lo-yang, the city which Pan Ku alleged lay on the site of Ch‘eng-chou (see below, p.252). A Chou tomb, M1, in this area, is referred to in the more recent archaeological investigation of the Han and Wei city. No details are given, except for an outline of its shape (KK 1973.4:207). The chamber and passage way suggest that it was one of those recorded by White (1934).
apparently exclusive burial area. Although no tumuli were visible each had tomb ramps and some had accompanying horse and chariot pits.

Considerable controversy was excited about which state these tombs may be from, for although found in an area historically associated with Chou, they yielded a set of bronze bells with inscriptions indicating they were cast in Han (61). In the light of subsequent excavation, it is clear that the presence of bronzes from one state in the tombs of another is not an unknown occurrence, be they the result of capture, gift, or exchange. Also, even if Han virtually surrounded the declining Chou during the Warring States period, they were unlikely to have had a ducal cemetery so distant from their own capital at Hsin-cheng (61). Thus the evidence suggests that the Chin-ts'un cemetery was that of kings or dukes of Chou.

The chances of accurately dating these tombs were lost when they were so carelessly opened and emptied, but the artefact styles point to Late Eastern Chou. One set of silver boxes bears a casting date which T'ang Lan reckoned as 278 BC, suggesting burial only shortly before the Ch'in conquest (T'ang Lan 1946[a]).

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60 Both White and Umehara specifically remark on the absence of tumuli (White 1934:16; Umehara 1946:3). In an area where locals have undoubtedly been aware for centuries of the association of tumuli and riches buried below the earth, this is probably the reason the Chin-ts'un tombs survived undisturbed for so long. Subsidence due to heavy rain was what finally gave their presence away. Cheng is likely to be mistaken, therefore, when he asserts that these tombs had tumuli (Cheng Te-k'un 1963:102).

61 See White (1934:2) and the exchange between T'ang Lan and Yang K'uan (T'ang Lan 1946[a],[b]; Yang K'uan 1946, 1947). For a discussion of problems attending the date of the inscription on these bells see Barnard (1965:386-395)
Although there exists no pre-Ch'in record of where the kings of Chou in the Eastern Chou period were buried, there are one or two remarks in later textual sources which are of particular interest in the light of the Chin-ts'ün burials. One refers to King Ching of Chou's tomb being near the Great Granary of Lo-yang and having been incorporated within the compass of that city's walls when Lu Pu-wei extended them after the Ch'in conquest. Another refers to King Wei-lieh's tomb being in the north-east corner of Lo-yang. The sources of these statements are unknown and most scholars have followed Li Tao-yüan's lead in taking King Ching and King Wei-lieh's tombs to be in the same cemetery area somewhere in the north-east of the Han and Wei city (Shui-ching-chu SPTK 16:12b). There is no suggestion that King Wei-lieh's tomb was originally outside the city perimeters but since it has long been taken as axiomatic that tombs were not within cities, scholars have suggested that it would have been encompassed by

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62 See the Huang-lan commentary to the Shih-chi (SKK Vol. 1:4:75), and the Shui-ching-chu (SPTK 16:12b).

63 See, Shih-chi commentary (SKK Vol. 1:4:81) and Shui-ching-chu (SPTK 16:12b).

64 This area has been taken to be that of Ti-ch'üan, written as either 秋 or 翟, and presumed to be the cemetery area of the Chou kings. Ti-ch'üan was the place where King Ching was apparently forced to reside during his brother's usurpation (see below p.257) and also where the feudal lords met before walling Ch'eng-chou (Tso-chuan, Duke Ting, 1st year; Legge Vol. 5:742;744). This passage in the Tso-chuan has been read by most to mean the Ti-ch'üan was actually incorporated into the city area when the walls were re-fortified (see for example the geographical treatise in the Han-shu, the Ti-li-chih (ESSS 20[a]:19a). No pre-Ch'in texts refer to burials at Ti-ch'üan.
It is interesting that the four large tombs found within the compass of the walls of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng were also in the north-eastern corner of that city (KK 1959.12:633-657). These tombs bore many structural similarities to the Chin-ts'ün tombs: they were vertical pits with tomb ramps opening to the south, the filler included layers of gravel and of ashes, and there were traces of paintings on the pit walls.

It seems, therefore, that there may indeed have been two cities in the areas defined by Pan Ku (see Appendix A, pp.252-253) and that the dukes of the rival houses of Chou during the Warring States had burial areas which mirrored each other, lying in the north-eastern corner of their cities.

Yen-hsia-tu (Warring States)

It came as a surprise to archaeologists to find that the 23 tumuli standing in the north-west corner of the main section of Yen-hsia-tu were not the sites of terraces or building foundations but were, in fact, markers above large Warring States tombs. This was the first archaeological confirmation of a pre-Han ducal or royal burial area lying

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63 See, for example, T'ang Lan (1946[a]).

66 The burial chamber depicted by White in his sketch of Chin-ts'ün Tomb V is a very pronounced octagonal shape, unlike any other found in Chou tombs to date. His written description of the base of the pit where the virgin soil apparently sloped up to the square chamber makes a roughly octagonal base suggests that the sketch may have exaggerated that shape (White 1934:16). What appears to be a unique structural feature may therefore be only the result of an impressionistic sketch.
within the outlines of a walled city, prompting the investigators to seek an explanation for it in geographical constraints, defence, or cultural traits of the Yen (KKHP 1965.1:99). Since then, excavations of other Eastern Chou cities have revealed that this placement of tombs is by no means an anomaly.

The tombs stand in two sections in an extensive area of the city's north-east corner. The northern section, Hsü-liang-chung containing thirteen tumuli, lies within the northern annex of the city, divided from palace/temple and industrial areas, which are also in this annex, by an ancient waterway. The southern section, Chiu-nü-t'ai contains ten tumuli and lies immediately south of Hsü-liang-t'ai but on the other side of the northern annex wall (see Figure 12).

Trial digging of the tombs has revealed their dimensions and structure (KKHP 1965.1:103-104) but only two, M8 and M16, have been excavated. Of these, excavation data have been published only for M16 (KKHP 1965.2:79-102) which was found to have been robbed severely. It was dated as Early Warring States and M8 was dated as Middle to Late Warring States (WW 1982.8:87). Although the development and time span of the two areas cannot yet be assessed (see below, pp.164-167) it is clear that the rulers of Yen in the Warring States period and perhaps their consorts or immediate family were buried in exclusive areas within the city.

Besides these tumuli, there have been a few isolated finds of Eastern Chou burials within the city walls. Six were found in various locations in the western section of the city and detailed information is only available for one of these, M29 (KK 1965.11:550-553). This grave
Figure 12:
Yen-hsia-tu

from: KKHP 1965.1:84-85, Fig. 1
yielded several artefacts of a style resembling those found in M16 in the Chiu-nü-t'ai area, but M29 is smaller and has a less elaborate structure. It may well be that the relatively uninhabited western section of the city sometimes served as a burial place for privileged individuals, high officials, or royal kin, whose status gave them a place near to, but not within, the royal cemetery. However, any such conclusions would be premature until more information about these tombs is available.67

The majority of the inhabitants of Yen-hsia-tu must have been buried outside the city walls. So far, one cemetery find in the surrounding land has been reported, that of an area on the south bank of the Central Yi River (WW 1965.9:60). Little information has been published concerning this site, merely the general observation that many of the graves, including relatively small ones, contained bronze artefacts (KK 1965.11:598), and the details of two graves which contained pottery imitations of bronze ritual vessels (WW 1965.9:60). With no information available about other graves, it is impossible to ascertain the range of social groups represented in this cemetery.

67 Two Warring States graves were unearthed in 1973 to the east of Hsü-liang-chung and separated from this cemetery area by an ancient water-way (WW 1982.8:42-50). These may have been fortuitous burials connected with the nearby cache of bronze swords possibly hidden when the city was threatened by invading armies (ibid:49), although the lack of artefacts makes accurate dating of these two graves difficult. This particular area has hitherto yielded only industrial sites (KKHP 1965.1:95-96) and no graves, so it is unlikely to have been a cemetery area. A third case of an Eastern Chou burial within the eastern section of the city is M31 which stands in isolation in the south-east (KK 1965.11:548-550). Available data is insufficient to explain its position, although it may pre-date slightly the establishment of the city.
FIGURE 13:
LING-SHOU

from: WW 1979.1:1, Fig. 1
The points of similarity between Yen-hsia-tu and Ling-shou, capital of the state of Chung-shan (see Appendix A, pp.246-247), include the presence of a high-status burial ground in the north-west corner of the city (Li Hsiao-tung 1982:84). Three large graves in this section of Ling-shou are apparently those of the kings of Chung-shan and the smaller surrounding graves are possibly those of royal wives (see below, pp.210-212). However, it does not seem that all the kings of Chung-shan were buried within the city. There is a very similar group of graves 2 km west of the city of which two are of very large dimensions. M1 in this group has been excavated and identified as that of King Hsi and M2 is believed to be that of a consort of the king (NW 1979.1:10). There is insufficient evidence to attempt to explain why the royal cemetery should be thus divided.

A total of thirty Eastern Chou graves have been excavated in the area of Ling-shou since 1971 (NW 1979.1:1) but only details of the royal burials have been published. From the map accompanying this report (reproduced as Figure 13) it appears that other cemetery areas, presumably of lower status inhabitants of Ling-shou, lay outside the city's north-west in an area between these two high-status burial areas.

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68 The map accompanying the site report (NW 1979.1:1, Fig.1, reproduced as Figure 13) shows one of these to be outside the wall to the north. The text describes all three graves as within the city (ibid:1).

69 A fairly large Warring States tomb was partly excavated in 1956 north-west of San-chi-ts'un (KK 1958.6:49-50). It is unclear where this tomb stands in relation to the later finds.
The sites described in this section include those others in the geographical area surveyed in this thesis which have yielded sufficient data to reveal something of the settlement and cemetery pattern but where the cemetery locations do not fit into the types described in Sections 1.1 and 1.2.

Yung (Eastern Chou)

Large numbers of burials have been found to the south of the city of Yung on the other side of the Yung River (see Figure 14). They include numerous small and medium size burials around Pa-ch'i-t'un 八旗屯 (WWTLTK 1980.3:67-79) and Kao-chuang 高莊 (WW 1980.9:10-14; 31; KKYWW 1981.1:12-35) and high-status burials around Nan-chih-hui 南池湖 (KKYWW 1981.1:83-93; WW 1983.7:30-37). The burial areas are contiguous with one another (WWTLTK 1980.3:67) and so it looks as if this area of plain constituted one vast cemetery, serving most, if not all, of the inhabitants of Yung.⁷⁰ Even what is evidently the ducal burial ground forms a section of

-⁷⁰An isolated burial was found below the Han wall at Nan-ku-ch'eng (KKYWW 1980.4:50). Although it was empty as a result of robbery, the structural features of prepared earth erh-ts'eng-t'ai, kuan-inner-coffin, and kuo-vault suggest a Chou burial. With no additional information and no other such finds in the vicinity it is impossible to estimate if the burial was contemporaneous with the Eastern Chou city.
the cemetery, although it may have been separated from the other sections by a trench.\footnote{Stretches of a trench have been traced in the west of Nan-chih-hui (see Figure 14) which the excavators believe may have surrounded the area of high-status graves (WW 1983.7:35-36). However, until the northern and eastern extremities of this trench are traced, it cannot be certain that it did not, in fact, extend around the entire cemetery area.}

It is still too early to establish clearly any functional or temporal divisions within the other parts of the cemetery. A total of 88 graves has been excavated and details published, but disparities in the information available preclude detailed comparison.\footnote{The report covering the forty graves excavated in Pa-ch'i-t'un in 1976 (WWTLK 1980.3:67-79) gives only general information on most of the graves, whereas the reports covering the 46 graves excavated at Kao-chuang in 1977 (KKYWW 1981.1:12-35) and the two graves excavated there in 1979 (WW 1980.9:10-14:31) provide details of the contents, structure, orientation and occupant's posture of each individual grave.}

A few preliminary observations may, however, be advanced. The area around Pa-ch'i-t'un seems to have been in use before that of Kao-chuang, the earliest burials there dating back to the Early Spring and Autumn, as opposed to the Late Spring and Autumn in the case of the earliest burials in Kao-chuang. It would appear that the areas were then in simultaneous use for the rest of the Eastern Chou, although the extent of this overlap is impossible to assess because there is no data on how many Pa-ch'i-t'un graves date from each period.

It is also unclear what proportion of the Pa-ch'i-t'un burials were high status or low status, although the presence of \textit{hsûn-jen} in eight Spring and Autumn graves and the nine accompanying horse and chariot pits indicate that aristocrats were among those buried in the area in the
KEY

- Eastern Chou city wall
- Major areas of Eastern Chou deposit
- Ditch
  - a Yao-chia-kang palace/temple area
  - b Han walled town
- Burial areas
  - (i) Pa-ch'i-t'un
  - (ii) Kao-chuang
  - (iii) Nan-chih-hui

FIGURE 14:
YUNG
The only cave-chamber grave in Pa-ch'i-t'un (dated to Late Warring States) is sparsely furnished.

The Kao-chuang graves were divided by the report writers into five periods and dated as Late Spring and Autumn (Period 1, two graves), Early Warring States (Period 2, sixteen graves), Middle Warring States (Period 3, fifteen graves), Late Warring States (Period 4, three graves) and the Ch'in period (Period 5, ten graves) (KKYW 1981.1:34-35). According to this dating, it may be observed that Periods 1 and 2 include both richly and sparsely furnished graves, whereas Period 3 has almost exclusively sparsely furnished graves. In Periods 4 and 5 there is a return to more richly furnished graves, but, unlike Periods 1 and 2, there is no wide disparity between grave wealths.

Furthermore, Period 3 graves would appear to indicate that, in the Middle Warring States period, the cemetery area was used for burials of people of lower status than those buried there in earlier periods. A return to higher status burials is again observable for the Late Warring States and Ch'in periods.

A close examination of the criteria used for establishing this periodization reveals, however, that such an observation may be mistaken. In particular, the paucity of goods in those graves assigned to Period 3 makes it hard to confirm that they represent a discreet phase of the cemetery's use. Many contain nothing more than a belt-hook, while those which contain other items do not share sufficient similarities in their artefact assemblages to warrant lumping them together in one group. There is no indication in the report of any other criteria, such as stratigraphy, being applied to distinguish these fifteen graves from the
others. It may be that individual graves from this group could be more correctly assigned to other periods of the cemetery's use, in which case the pattern of the cemetery's development might be significantly altered. For example, if the five cave-chamber graves from this group containing only a belt-hook are, in fact, contemporaneous with graves from Periods 4 and 5, then would there not have been wide disparities in relative tomb wealth in these later phases of the cemetery's use as well as in the earlier ones?

The report of the Pa-ch'i-t'un area states that the graves were in three clusters. These clusters were designated as A, B and C. A comprised nine graves and two horse and chariot pits, B comprised 22 graves and seven horse and chariot pits and C comprised nine graves and one horse and chariot pit (WWTLTK 1980.3:67;75), an arrangement suggesting kin-group burial areas (see p.113).

It came as a surprise to archaeologists to find that what are evidently the graves of the dukes of Ch'in are in an area immediately adjacent to these smaller graves. The geography of the site suggests that the dukes should have been buried north of the city where the

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73 In terms of structure, the Period 3 graves include both vertical pit graves and cave-chamber graves, the former being more current in the earlier phases of the cemetery's use.
foothills rise towards a backdrop of mountain peaks. Instead they were found to be on the plain to the south of the city. The proportions and layout of these graves have been established by trial probings (WW 1983.7:30-37) but as yet no excavation has been reported. (It is assumed from the number of robbers' holes that most of the tombs have already been ransacked). These preliminary investigations have revealed that the area contains some of the largest pre-Han tombs yet found, most having tomb ramps and accompanying horse and chariot pits.

Hsien-yang (Warring States - Ch'in)

Two main areas of burials have been located which are clearly those of inhabitants of the Late Warring States Ch'in capital of Hsien-yang:

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74 Following the lead of a quotation from the T'ang geography K'uo-ti-chih cited as a commentary in the Shih-chi, archaeologists began their search around Mount Ling to the north-west of Feng-hsiang hsien-ch'eng, before being alerted to the Nan-chih-hui area (WW 1983.7:30). There are also mounds just south of Feng-hsiang hsien-ch'eng bearing a Ch'ien-lung stela declaring them to be the graves of Duke Mu of Ch'in and the three worthies who accompanied him in death (Segalen n.d.:73). These lie in the north of the Eastern Chou city area (KK 1963.8:419, Fig. 1) but there is no archaeological evidence to establish whether or not they are Eastern Chou burials.

75 When archaeologists were investigating the vicinity of M23, which, with M29, M30, and M24, lies to the far west of this section of the ducal burial ground, they came across an area of tightly packed graves, the majority of which dated to the Western Chou (KKWW 1982.4:15); 37 Warring States graves were also among those found, but details of these have yet to be published (ibid). There is no indication of the scale of these graves nor of their relationship to the ducal graves. If they should prove to be of modest or small size, their presence within the ducal burial ground would significantly alter the perceived exclusiveness of this burial ground. Until details of these graves are published and the dating criteria examined it is not possible to assess their dates relative to the ducal graves. They may, in fact, post-date the ducal cemetery.
one around Huang-chia-kou on the north bank of the Wei River, and the other, the ducal cemetery in Lin-t'ung-hsien (see Figure 15).

The ridges of high land around Huang-chia-kou adjacent to the main areas of Warring States deposit appear to have served as a low-status burial area. Urn burials of children, one of which was clearly datable to the Ch'in period, as well as many coffin-less burials, have been found here (KK 1973.3:167-170). This is also the site of many medium-sized and small-sized burials dating from the Late Warring States to the Ch'in period (WW 1976.11:25). Unfortunately the report of their excavation has not yet been published, and finds from here have only been mentioned in discussions of typological sequences for pottery from other Ch'in sites (for example, KKWW 1981.1:35; WWTLTK 1980.3:78). Without data on such finds other burials in the area not included in this discussion include a group of modestly furnished Warring States graves found in the neighbouring county of Hsing-p'ing (WW 1955.10:121). The report does not give the exact location of this find and so it is impossible to assess whether the graves may be associated with the city of Hsien-yang. The eastern border of Hsing-p'ing-hsien lies approximately 20 km west of the major areas of Warring States deposit. The graves may be connected with a possible Ch'in site at Nien-lu-chai some 5 km south-east of the county town of Hsing-p'ing (WW 1964.7:35). Two finds for which we have no more details on exact location other than that they were north of the county town of Lin-t'ung were those of a grave (KK 1965.5:257) and bronzes possibly from a grave (WW 1965.7:54-55). Both were dated to the Ch'in period. An isolated burial find at T'a-erh-p'o also dated to the Ch'in period yielded more than twenty bronzes, many of which came from states other than Ch'in but which bore markings of Ch'in measurements (WW 1975.6:69-72). No information is available about the structure of the grave nor about any other artefacts. The quantity of bronzes suggest a high status burial but there have been no other finds reported in the area to suggest a cemetery. One would assume that some of the aristocrats from other states who were moved into the city after the unification (Shih-chi SKK Vol. 2:6:30; Chavannes Vol. 2:137) would have been buried there, perhaps with vessels brought from their home states. Alternatively, vessels plundered from other states may have found their way into tombs of high-ranking people of Ch'in.
FIGURE 15:
HSIEN-YANG

KEY

= Palace/temple areas
= Industrial and habitation areas
= Outline of Han city of Ch’ang-an
= Burial areas

(i) Ta-erh-p’o (1 burial)
(ii) Huang-chia-kou
(iii) Pan-p’o
(iv) Shih-pu-ts’un
(v) Lin-t’ung
(vi) Chao-pe-hu-ts’un/Yao-ch’ih-t’ou
things as stratigraphy, coffin-less burials are very hard to date and it is unclear where these examples stand in relation to each other and in relation to the medium-sized and small-sized burials. It is certainly unusual in Warring States sites to find a low-status cemetery area in the vicinity of palace and temple complexes.

The densely packed cemetery excavated near Pan-p'o-ts'un 条uggested, east of the modern city of Hsi-an 西安 (KKHP 1957.3:63-92) is likely to be the burial ground of inhabitants of one of the satellite settlements around Hsien-yang, probably the Ch'in hsien 匯陽 of Chih-yang 白陽 (ibid:88). The graves, which were dated from Late Spring and Autumn to Late Warring States, are uniformly sparse in furnishing and one would not expect the expenditure of labour required to bury individuals of this status over 20 km away from the city. It is interesting to note, however, that the pottery marking 成里 found on one of the kuan-jars in this site (ibid:80-81) coincides with some found in the main Warring States deposit at Hsien-yang, suggesting that the artefact may have originated from workshops there (KK 1962.6:289).

The only known burial site of a Ch'in ruler near Hsien-yang is that of Shih-huang, whose burial mound stands more than 20 km east of the main areas of Ch'in deposit. However, the Shih-chi records of the burials of rulers of Ch'in indicate that Shih-huang had his tomb constructed in an area which already served as the burial ground of the royal house of Warring States graves were also found near Shih-li-p'u 里頭, several kilometres north-west of Pan-p'o on the other side of the Ch'an River 漣河. (Han Wei 1980:205, fn. 10).
Ch'in. The area lies in the foothills of the Li-shan range，the peaks rising to the south of the area. Although this setting accords more with that expected for royal graves than does the Yung cemetery (see above p.81), it is interesting that the potential sites north of the city of Hsien-yang, where the land rises to highland and where the majority of Western Han imperial tombs stand (KKYWW 1980.1:29-33).

Besides the tomb of Shih-huang, there has only been one other find in the Lin-t'ung area which may be a Ch'in royal grave. This is a large tomb of some 300 m² in area which was found just north of the terracotta army pits. It is mentioned in Ch'en Ching-ydan's recent controversial paper on the terracotta army (1984:128), but to date there has been no

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78Shih-huang's burial place is referred to as Li-shan (SKK Vol. 2:6:68; Chavannes Vol. 2:193) or Li-yi (SKK Vol. 2:6:109; Chavannes Vol. 2:241). Queen Hsüan (died 265 BC) was buried in Chih-yang Li-shan (SKK Vol. 1:5:75; Chavannes Vol. 2:100) which implies that Chih-yang and Li-shan were in the same area. The crown prince of Ch'in (died 267 BC) was buried in Chih-yang (SKK Vol. 1:5:75) as were both King Chao-hsiang (died 251 BC) and King Chuang-hsiang (died 247 BC) (SKK Vol. 2:6:108; Chavannes Vol. 2:240) (In the latter two cases, the text gives Chih-yang, 亖 being a variant of 諧.) Ch'en Ching-ydan has recently published a paper in which he asserts that the terracotta army which stands over a kilometre east of Shih-huang's tomb, is in fact guarding Queen Hsüan's tomb. He bases his argument on such features of the terracotta army as the bronze weapons and the chariot formations which would have been obsolete by Shih-huang's time, and the hairstyles and pottery inscriptions on the figures which bear the hallmarks of Queen Hsüan's home state of Ch'u (Ch'en Ching-ydan 1984).

79Yen Wen-ju argues that the tomb mounds 7 km north of the present day county town of Hsien-yang which bear stele asserting that they are the tombs of Kings Wu and Wen of Chou and the Duke of Chou are, in fact, Ch'in royal burials (KKYWW 1980.2:93-97). While his argument for them not being Chou royal graves is quite valid, the assertion that they are Ch'in graves is based only on post-Han geographical texts. Archaeological excavation is necessary before it may be confirmed that Ch'in royal graves also stood to the north of the Wei River.
archaeological report published of this find. The Shih-chi records on Ch'in royal tombs in the Lin-t'ung area proffer no details on how these stood in relation to one another and so it is impossible to tell whether the area, like that south of the capital of Yung, constituted an extensive royal cemetery. Similarly, it is impossible to assess as yet whether burials in the area were exclusively of the royal house. 

Finally, two other groups of Ch'in burials have been found in this area, which, just 1.5 km west of Shih-huang's tomb, are likely to have been placed there out of expediency. These are the pits of bodies with an assortment of small artefacts such as bronze tools, coins, and pottery shards found near Chao-pei-hu and Yao-ch'i-t'ou (WW 1982.3:1-11). They are likely to be the burials of those who died during the course of constructing Shih-huang's tomb (WW 1982.10:73-74).

Han-tan (Warring States)

Archaeological investigations in the vicinity of the Chao capital of Han-tan has yielded two areas of burials for which excavation reports have been published (see Figure 16). One, at Pai-chia-ts' un lies on a stretch of highland on the north bank of the Ch'in River, some 5 km west of the city sites. Of the 81 burials reported found in the area, there is detailed information published on 49 (KK

80 The 17 graves found immediately east of Shih-huang's tomb are high-status burials. They contain dismembered skeletons and were constructed at the same time. It is thought that they are the graves of the princes, princesses, and ministers slaughtered shortly after the accession of Ch'in Erh-shih (KKTW 1980.2:42-50;27). Because of the exceptional nature of their death and inhumation, they cannot be taken as indicators of the kind of burials which may have been in other parts of the Li-shan area.
1962.12:613-634). These were the burials excavated by a team from the Hopeh Cultural Bureau in 1957 and 1959.

Although information available on the other excavated burials is limited (KK 1959.10:535-536), judging from the brief description of their structure and contents, they are similar to those 49, which may therefore be taken as a representative sample. The 49 graves included high-status burials with large pits, bronze goods, and hsün-jen, as well as graves of far more modest dimensions containing a few pottery items and belt-hooks.

The second find of Eastern Chou burials is only in the early stages of investigation, but the work promises to have significant results as it is likely that this is the site of the tombs of the rulers of Chao. Five areas of pounded earth platforms with tumuli rising above them were found in the foothills of the mountains between 12 and 15 km north-west of the ancient city. These platforms were on the summits of hills more than a

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81 The 32 graves excavated by a team from Peking University were classified into a chronological sequence of three periods, ranging from the middle of the fifth century BC to the first half of the third century BC (KK 1959.10:536). There is a gap in this sequence between the fourth and third centuries BC reflected in a substantial change in style. The pottery artefacts excavated by the Hopeh provincial team, on the other hand, were dated to one period -- that of the Middle Warring States (KK 1962.12:634), which would correspond with the 'gap' in the Peking University sequence. This could be taken as evidence that the areas dug by each archaeological team represented different stages in the cemetery's use. However, an examination of published descriptions of the pottery artefacts from both groups reveals that they are in fact very similar. All three categories in the Peking University schema are represented in the pottery artefacts found by the Hopeh provincial team. Thus the difference in the dating of the two sets of graves would appear to be a result of inconsistency in the typologies. Insufficient published data prevents any attempt to resolve this problem of typology or to suggest dates for the individual burials. It is enough for our purposes to note that the burials from the two groups are from roughly the same time span, that is, from some part of the hundred or so years of the Warring States period, and that they coincide with Chao's occupation of the site.
Outline of Eastern Chou city walls

Estimated wall outline

Burial areas

(i) Pai-chia-ts’un

(ii) Wen-yao (royal burials)

(iii) Ch’en-san-ling/Chou-yao (royal burials)

(There are discrepancies in the river courses marked in maps accompanying site reports (e.g. Komai 1954:11, Fig. 1; KK 1980:2:142, Fig. 1). I have followed the China Land Survey (Map No. J50S).

FIGURE 16:
HAN-TAN
kilometre apart. Surface investigations revealed that two of these areas had double tumuli on the pounded earth platform which may suggest parallel large burials beneath them. Access roadways run eastward from the platforms.

Only one area was excavated, that of Ch' en-san- ling No. 3 陈三陵三陵陵陵, and this yielded one large grave with pit base dimensions of 116 m² and tomb ramps stretching east and west. It was severely robbed, but a horse and chariot pit and a burial of hsün-jen were found in the tomb ramps and also sufficient sundry items to date the tomb as Warring States. Two smaller adjacent burials were not excavated and the report suggest that M1 itself may not have been the principle grave within the area of Ch' en-san- ling No. 3 since it lies adjacent to the central platform rather than below it (KK 1982.6:597–605; 564). Hopefully future excavation will reveal the number of tombs beneath each platform and, perhaps, sufficient data to establish which rulers were buried there.
SECTION 1.4

CITY AND CEMETERY; CONCLUSION

The changing form of cemeteries within cities evident from the above archaeological data can be broadly placed in historical terms as a change from the situation obtaining in the Late Western Chou and the Spring and Autumn periods to that obtaining in the Warring States (particularly the Late Warring States). This does not mean that the change is clear cut. Each city had a different pattern of development, dependent on such factors as political functions and geographical location, and these different development patterns are important for the interpretation of the archaeological evidence. Before discussing the sites individually, however, it is first necessary to outline the broad changes in urban forms over the Chou period.

The spread of urban centres across the North China Plain had its roots in the Chou conquest of the Shang. Those kin and allies of the Chou who were enfeoffed in the conquered territories established walled fortresses — Eberhard's Chou islands in 'a sea of natives' (1965:33). As the Conquest was consolidated, the industrial and commercial functions of these settlements (called yi 李 in traditional sources) developed, and their populations grew. In accord with the tsung-fa system, political control of the yi was handed down by primogeniture to the

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82 The data from Early Western Chou are clearly insufficient to include in this schema, as Ch'i-chou is the only site from that period for which we have anything like a clear pattern of settlement layout. I have included Ch'i-chou and the Western Chou settlement at Lo-yang in Section 1.1) because of their relevance to the discussion of the Spring and Autumn period sites.
descendants of those originally enfeoffed, and this process was generally confirmed by investiture ceremonies conducted in the royal presence and recorded on inscribed bronze vessels (Wong Yin-wai 1978; Yeung Ching-kong 1983). These descendants, in turn, established their collateral lineages in yi in the surrounding territories. Some yi may have been no larger than villages of a hundred or so households, others, particularly the yi of the main-stem lineages, grew into substantial population centres, with walls enclosing residential areas as well as the palaces and temples of the ruling lineage. These were the cities which, as the ties with the Chou royal house declined, became the capitals of the many states of the Spring and Autumn period.

The cities were therefore political creations, rather than settlements which arose first as industrial or commercial centres, and their existence was intimately bound up with the lineage groups resident within them. In the words of K.C. Chang, the city was 'the administrative, ceremonial and defensive locus of the politically prominent lineages and their wealth' (1976:68-69).

The great social changes of the Eastern Chou period have been variously described in terms of the development from city states 都市國家 to territorial states 領土國家 (Miyazaki 1950), from a lineage slave system 宗族奴隶制 to an emergent feng-chien system 封建制 (T'ien Ch'ang-wu 1982), or from a society based on familialistic relationships to one based on contractual relationships (Hsu Cho-yun 1965). It is not within the scope of this thesis to enter the debate about how the changing social forms are best classified. What is of importance, however, is the way in which these changes were manifested in the changing nature of cities.
The *tsung-fa* system may have been an ideal strategy for the process of conquest and consolidation, but it was not conducive to the maintenance of a strong, centralized state. Just as the splitting off of sub-lineages of the Chou royal house led to the fragmentation of the kingdom into virtually independent states, the main stem lineages of these states also had to contend with the rising power of their own sub-lineages. The political struggles documented in the *Tso-chuan*, such as that of the three Huan lineages in Lu, bear witness to this kind of intrastate conflict. In addition, the *tsung-fa* system of establishing sub-lineages in their own *yi* inevitably reached a stage which the limits of available territory could no longer support. Warfare over territory increased, the more powerful states swallowing the weaker ones.

The demise of the *tsung-fa* system and the emergence of large, centralized states in which the ruler wielded despotic control, supported by officials who were not his kinsmen, has been skillfully described by Hsu Cho-yun (1965) in the context of the social and technological developments of the period. The large walled cities of the Warring States were the capitals of these states. Like those of the Spring and Autumn period they were essentially political and military creations (Miyazaki 1962:343), but the fundamental difference was that they were not the centres of lineage power. The ruling groups in the Warring States were those whose power depended upon the sovereignty of the ruler and the restriction of the influence of his kin groups.

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83 The picture of this process of enfeoffment and subinfeudation drawn from traditional sources may now be supplemented by examination of bronze inscriptions on vessels cast to record investiture ceremonies. For a detailed study of such inscriptions, see Yeung Ching-kong (1983).
Returning to the burial data, the presence of the cemetery of the ruling lineage within the cities of the Spring and Autumn period can be understood in the light of the close link between that lineage and the city. Just as the ancestral temple was an integral part of the city (K.C. Chang 1976:69-70), so too may the bones of the ancestors have rightfully belonged within the city’s confines. The factor of defence may have been an initial incentive for this arrangement, stemming back to a time when the nascent cities were the outposts of the Chou conquerors.

However, in four of the five Spring and Autumn cities discussed in Section 1.1, there was apparently more than one burial area within the city. (In the case of the exception, Hsin-t’ien, the data are insufficient to judge whether this may also have been so.) These other burial areas may have been those of collateral lineages or lineages of different hsing 蛍, for example, the descendants of pre-Conquest aristocracy co-opted by the Chou.

Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to link cemetery areas within the cities to any historically known lineages or sub-lineages other than the ruling lineages of some of the states. As can be seen from the data in Sections 1.1 - 1.3, it is only in rare cases that there is comparable information available for two or more cemeteries in the same city. Also, tomb robbery means that the most likely source of information on lineage membership, the bronzes buried with the dead, have all too often been
removed from the graves. \(^{34}\)

The coexistence of several discrete cemeteries inside a city may be linked with a kind of settlement plan in which the powerful lineages occupied different areas of the city, their temple, dwellings, and cemetery areas lying in close proximity to one another. There are several incidents recorded in the *Tso-chuan* which suggest that their settlements within the walled cities were formidable power bases for lineage groups. One such incident is the abortive attempt by Duke Chao of Lu 卜昭公 to curb the power of the Chi 祁 lineage of that state. The duke led his soldiers in an attack on the gates of the residence of this lineage within Lu-ch'eng and then occupied the area until finally being driven out by supporters of the Shu-sun 李 lineage (Duke Chao, 25th year; Legge Vol. 5:705-706;710). Four years previously, in 520 BC, the Hua 韩 lineage in Sung had taken possession of part of the capital of that state, an area adjacent to where they dwelt, and held it in revolt against the duke (Duke Chao, 21st year; Legge Vol. 5:686:688).

For archaeological evidence of such an arrangement, the site of Ch'i-chou in the Chou homeland offers an interesting clue. That the

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\(^{34}\)One of the rare cases in the city sites under examination where inscriptive evidence may possibly indicate the identity of a grave occupant is that of M439 found in 1966 in Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng (WW 1981.7:65-66). This grave, dated to the Spring and Autumn period, contained a bronze *ting*-cauldron with an inscription indicating that it was cast by a descendant of the dukes of Cheng 聶, members of the same surname group as the Chou, this person being resident in the Chou capital following the fall of Cheng (ibid:68-69). The bronze appears to have been cast only shortly before burial (ibid:65) and suggests that the occupant of the tomb is the same Ai Ch'eng Shu 艾城叔 on the inscription. Did his relationship to the Chou entitle him not only to asylum in the city but also burial in areas used by the Chou lineages? To extrapolate from the evidence of only one tomb is, however, hazardous.
various nuclei of prestigious buildings, dwellings, workshops and cemeteries described in Appendix A may have been lineage centres is a picture which is slowly emerging from the study of the bronze caches repeatedly being found in the area. Many of these caches, evidently hidden on the eve of the fall of Ch'i-chou, have been found to contain an array of bronzes cast at different times but bearing the same clan signs or lineage names; for example, those with the clan sign 亻 found near Chuang-pai (WW 1978.3:1-16) or the bronzes found in different caches near Yun-t'ang (WW 1978.11:6-10; WW 1982.6:87). As Ting Yi points out, it would be expected that, on the eve of their flight, the various powerful lineage groups would hide their bronzes in convenient locations near their temples or dwellings and so the locations of these caches are a clue to the location of the lineage centres (KK 1982.4:400).

The site at Lu-ch'eng has also yielded evidence of a similar kind of dispersed settlement. The archaeological survey of the ancient city revealed that the denser areas of habitations lay in the north-eastern and eastern parts. However, there are two areas of habitation in the west of the city where occupation appears to have dated back to the Western Chou and continued into the Han. These are the areas

85 An analogous pattern of settlement has been documented for Late Pre-Hispanic Mexico, whereby corporate clan groups lived and engaged in craft production in localized centres within an urban area (Adams 1966:87-90)

86 Other areas of habitation in the western section of the city are slightly later (Warring States to Han), suggesting an expansion of the settlement areas due to population pressure.
immediately adjacent to the burial areas of Yao-p'u and Tou-chi-t'ai. The report is more ambiguous about the finds at Yao-p'u, remarking on the identification of pillar holes, but not indicating whether these might be from large buildings or simpler structures with one pillar supporting the roof (ibid:19-20). The two areas would therefore seem to be centres of settlement, perhaps of high-status people, whose inhabitants buried their dead in adjacent cemetery areas.

In sum, the pattern of burial within cities of the Late Western Chou and Spring and Autumn periods may be related to two features of the urban forms of that time. The first is the role of the city as political, economic, and ritual base of the ruling lineage. The second is the dispersed settlement pattern within the city, where powerful lineage groups lived in different sections of the city, with their temples, palaces, and industrial areas forming various nuclei.

To examine the pattern of cemetery and settlement in the Warring States cities it is important to draw a distinction between those cities which developed out of earlier centres of political power and those which were established as capitals in the Warring States period itself. In the case of the former type (Lu-ch'eng, Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng, and Cheng-Han ku-ch'eng), it would be expected that older patterns of settlement would influence the newer patterns. Although the latter type (Yen-hsia-tu, Ling-shou, Han-tan, and Hsien-yang) were probably

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87 The report indicates that in some places the graves and habitations may overlap, although there are no specific details of this relationship (Ch'ü-fu:19-20;37-41).
established on the site of former settlements, these settlements would have been comparatively minor and the influence not so strong. 88

Yen-hsia-tu is the example of the latter type for which we have a relatively good idea of the overall layout, and it can serve as a model of the new style of urban centre. Prestigious buildings are concentrated in one area of the city and foundry areas lie within the same annex as some of these. There are no areas which would indicate the centres of powerful groups other than that of the ruling house. Besides a number of large graves in the subsidiary eastern annex, the only burials inside the walled area of the city were those in the royal cemetery adjacent to where the high-status buildings and bronze working areas were concentrated. This new form of urban centre reflects the changed structure of the state, with the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the duke or king and his ministers, and the demise of the powerful lineages.

In terms of burials, the absence of lineage cemeteries within the city can be understood in terms of the disappearance of the centres of powerful lineage groups as component parts of the city layout. The trend towards a form of ducal or royal cemetery in which the graves are exclusively high-status burials will be discussed in Section 2.1. The discussion here will be limited to the question of the placing of the tombs of the ruling house within the city.

88 A modern analogy would be the capitals of today’s nation states. The ‘new’ capitals, such as Canberra and Washington, reflect in their planned layout the secular and democratic nature of the modern state, focusing on parliamentary buildings. Patterns of older capitals are influenced by past urban forms, for example the prominent positions of palaces or cathedrals, symbols of an earlier political structure.
In those Warring States cities where excavation has pin-pointed the location of ducal or royal graves, these graves have been found to be large tombs standing in exclusive areas of high-status burials. In most cases these burial areas lie within the walls of the city. In the case of Han-tan and Hsien-yang, their location resembles the pattern of the imperial era, when the rulers' graves would lie some way from the capital, in mountainous areas where the natural surroundings offered both symbolic grandeur and some measure of protection.

By dividing the sites into the two categories of 'old' and 'new' cities, it can be seen that in the case of the 'old' cities (Lu-ch'eng and Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng) the ducal and royal burial areas were within the city walls. Those of the latter category include one (Yen-hsia-tu) where the kings were buried inside the city, two (Hsien-yang and Han-tan) where they were outside the city and one (Ling-shou) where it seems that some stood outside, others inside.

Explanations for these differences must, necessarily, be tentative. In the case of the 'old' capitals, the presence of long-established burial areas may have influenced the location of the later burials. Certainly, the evidence for the Wang-fu-t'ai area in Lu-ch'eng being the cemetery of the ruling Chou lineage in the earlier phase of its use and that of the Warring States Dukes of Lu in its later phase, suggests continuity in the location of the rulers' graves. The factor of defence may also have been important since both Lu-ch'eng and Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng were the capitals of relatively weak states in the Late

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89The only two cities in which such graves have not been clearly located are Cheng-Han ku-ch'eng and Lin-tzu.
Eastern Chou. Lu lay between the two mighty states of Ch’i and Ch’u and Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch’eng occupied an extremely vulnerable position in this period of interstate conflict.

The more intriguing question, however, is why the 'new' cities display a difference among themselves in the choice of location for the royal cemetery. In particular, the contrast between Han-tan and Yen-hsia-tu is the most striking, since these two cities were both established as the capitals of centralized states in the fourth century BC in areas of similar geographical terrain, near the foothills of the T’ai-hang-shan range.

There appear to have been no geographical constraints to prevent Yen exploiting the foothills for the burial places of the kings in the same manner as the Chao royal burials, for there are many later tombs dotted around the areas of highland north of the ancient city (Yen-ch’u yu-tsan-lu Vol. 2:997-1011). Nor would defence of the royal tombs appear to be the overriding factor in choosing to place them within the walls of the city. Of the two sites, Han-tan may even have been the more strategically vulnerable. Although flanked by mountains to the west, it was open to attack from the north and south (Shih Nien-hai 1942:14) and was victim to serious attacks by Wei and Ch’in in 386 BC and 353 BC (Shih-chi SKK Vol. 3:15:31:64). Yen, too, experienced invasions, most notably when Ch’i took advantage of the internal chaos following the

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90 The ambiguity of textual references to the capitals of Yen led to much debate about the date of the establishment of Yen-hsia-tu (Ch’en P’an 1969:70b-80b). The archaeological evidence has now convincingly demonstrated that the city was constructed sometime in the fourth century BC (KKHP 1963.1:102).
The difference between the location of the rulers' tombs of Chao and of Yen may, instead, be a result of cultural factors. Besides Han-tan, the other two cities included in Section 1.4 where the rulers' tombs lie outside the settlement are Yung and Hsien-yang. These were both capitals of the state of Ch'in, a state which displays many distinctive features in its burial practices, particularly in terms of artefact assemblages, skeletal posture, and orientation of graves (Yeh Hsiao-yen 1982). This suggests that Ch'in rituals and beliefs concerned with the disposal of the dead were different to those of the Chou states east of Kuan-chung.

The ruling house of Chao shared the same ancestry as that of Ch'in (Shih-chi SKK Vol. 6:43:3) and may well have shared some of these distinctive beliefs. It is noticeable, for example, that the graves of the Chao rulers appear to lie on a west/east axis, the common orientation of Ch'in graves (see below, pp.233-236). The separation of the rulers' cemetery from the city evident in Han-tan, may, therefore, be a function of cultural traditions which it had in common with Ch'in.

Turning now to the other questions which may be asked of the data on patterns of settlements and cemeteries, the first of these is whether the...
statement in the *Li-chi* about burial to the north of a settlement was a practice of the Chou period (see above, p.24). It is immediately clear from the archaeological sample that this was not a consistent rule. Cemeteries are not found exclusively to the north of cities, nor for that matter is any other favoured direction apparent. It is not uncommon, however, for the ducal or royal burial areas to be found in the north: the cities of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng, Lin-tzu, Yen-hsia-tu, Cheng-Han-ku-ch'eng, and Han-tan all have cemeteries of high-status burials to the north of the city, either inside or outside of the walls. Whether this was a result of adherence to a formula which was applied to the planning of these symbolically important cemeteries or whether it was a chance arrangement is difficult to assess, and there are certain contradictory factors, such as the possibility that later royal graves in Lin-tzu lay south of the city.

As for the question of a possible relationship between features of the landscape and the siting of cemeteries, we are faced with the problem of reliance on topographical maps and the occasional relevant remark in reports, and so only a few general observations are possible.

There are several instances where cemeteries outside of cities lie in areas of highland, such as the foothills of mountains, and one imagines that such an environment would offer an imposing backdrop and some measure of protection, particularly in the case of royal burials. A striking example of deviation from this are the Ch'in burials at Yung which lie on the plain south of the city rather than in the mountainous areas to the north, however, the position of Ch'in Shih-huang's burial in the foothills of the Li-shan range near Hsien-yang makes one wary of drawing conclusions about this aspect of the Yung burials in terms of cultural differences.
Burial on high land is a practice which was very common in later periods, the tombs of emperors were invariably sited in mountainous areas, and hillsides dotted with graves are still a common sight in areas of Chinese culture today. Besides the symbolic and defence factors mentioned above, there may also have been religious reasons. Hills and mountains were sacred places to the early Chinese, the dwelling place of spirits (Loewe 1982:20), and the focus of sacrifices (Bilsky 1971:195-200). It may have been that burial in such a spot was conceived of as tantamount to placing a deceased person nearer to the world of the spirits to which he or she now belonged. Alternatively, the association of spirits with mountains may have been a result of such areas being used as the resting place of the ancestors. It is impossible to determine which belief is the cause and which the effect.

It is possible that the construction of a mound over a tomb was related to the symbolic association of hills or mountains with burial, and the development of this practice in the Eastern Chou period (Wang Shih-min 1981) may support the inference that high land was a favoured area for burials in this period.

In later times proximity to water became one of the prerequisites for a site having good feng-shui properties, and DeGroot has suggested that this may have had its origins in the vital importance of water to an agricultural people (1897:943-947). Changes in water courses over the centuries can sometimes obscure the relationship between a cemetery and a river, although it is noticeable in many of the sites discussed above that burial areas are situated close to a waterway. Just as in the case of mountains, rivers were thought to have been the abodes of spirits in Chou times (Bilsky 1971:195-196), and this may have influenced the choice of cemetery site.
Religious beliefs about a particular locality or a geographical feature and the significance of such beliefs in the placing of graves are difficult to establish archaeologically. There is also the related issue of whether grave sites were the focus of rituals or sacrifices other than ceremonies performed at the time of interment, for this might have had some bearing on the choice of site. The issue is one which has been debated for centuries, and recent discoveries of surface constructions or platforms above or near some graves have sparked the debate afresh (e.g. Wang Shih-min 1981; Yang K'uan 1982; Yang Hung-hsün 1983). The unresolved issues include whether these were the focus of tombside rites, the remains of storehouses for offerings, or the dwellings of tomb guardians. If they were the focus of ceremonies, who were these ceremonies addressed to and how frequently were they performed? As more attention is paid to the cultural debris above grave sites as well as inside them, we may be able to answer some of these questions, but the question of tombside rituals and the placement of graves may have to remain a 'chicken and egg' one: might the proximity of a cemetery to a settlement be a result of such a practice, and the regional or

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92Two particularly significant finds are the copperplate map found in the Chung-shan royal burial at P'ing-shan-hsien, Hopeh, depicting temples above the graves of the king and his consorts (see below, pp.210-211), and the sacrifice pits found near the Chin capital of Hsin-t'ien in Hou-ma, Shansi. The latter contained the famous meng-shu 墨書 oaths of allegiance written on pieces of jade and stone, as well as the bones of cattle. Decipherment of the meng-shu has revealed that many were addressed to the spirits, including the ancestors of the dukes of Chin (WW 1975.5:20;23). The area where the pits were found is on high land on the north bank of the K'uai River, within sight of the Shang-ma-ts'un burial area on the south bank (WW 1975.5:7) (see Figure 5), suggesting that proximity to the bones of the ancestors was significant in the performance of these awesome ceremonies.
chronological variations tell us when or where such rituals were the norm? For example, were tombside rituals a practice of those states where the tombs of the rulers lay within or close to a settlement, and not in those states where such graves lay in less accessible areas? Or were tombside rituals performed because of the accessibility of the tombs, their proximity to a settlement being a result of the other factors discussed in this section?
SECTION 2

THE LAYOUT OF CEMETERIES

Introduction

In this section the location of burials in terms of the pattern of graves within cemeteries will be examined. It has been remarked that Western archaeologists have until recently tended to overlook the spatial component in mortuary practices. Attention has been focused on the structure and contents of burials rather than on the placing of these burials in relation to others within the same area (Goldstein 1981:57). This is not the case in Chinese archaeology. Ever since the first scientific excavations of cemetery areas, considerable attention has been paid to the internal layout of cemetery sites.

Such attention is understandable in the context of the traditional concern for the physical location of burials, articulated in the practice of feng-shui and in the corpus of rules related to the placement of graves in accordance with kin relationships. In addition, Chinese scholars from the People’s Republic have been influenced by the writings of Lewis Henry Morgan, whose theories of social evolution were taken up by Engels and incorporated into the Marxist canon. Morgan drew attention to a relationship between cemetery organization and social organization (1964[1877]:78;247) and his approach is frequently applied, especially to neolithic cemetery data (e.g. Hsia Chih-kan 1980).

The spatial patterning of burials can be examined from several perspectives. First, one may take a cemetery as a whole and investigate the kinds of burials found within it, their distribution over the area, and the pattern of the cemetery’s development. Secondly, one may focus
on individual graves or clusters of graves and observe their orientations and their relationship to one another. I have divided this section according to these perspectives. Section 2.1 examines the composition of cemeteries, while Sections 2.3 to 2.5 examine patterns of grave arrangement within cemeteries. In each case I examine the way in which scholars have drawn on textual sources and archaeological theory to interpret data from excavations, and I survey the sites for which published data allow a study of cemetery arrangements.

SECTION 2.1
CEMETERY LAYOUT AND COMPOSITION: INTRODUCTION

The traditional source most often cited in studies of the overall composition of Chou cemeteries is the Chou-li 周禮. This text was for a long time believed to have been a description of the administrative system operative in the Western Chou and written by the Duke of Chou himself. It is now widely accepted that it was compiled in the Warring States period, possibly the Late Warring States (Shih Ching-ch'eng 1966), although it is not known to what extent the government structure described is a record of actual practice or an idealized charter of administration.

The Chou-li draws a distinction between two different types of cemetery: a kung-mu-chih-ti 公墓地 , administered by an official known as a chung-jen 聞人 (Vol. 2:41:80-88; Biot Vol. 2:20-24), and a pang-mu-chih-ti 郡墓地 , administered by an official known as a mu-ta-fu 基土父 (Vol. 2:41:83-89; Biot Vol. 2:24-25). The former is described as the burial place of kings, marquises (chu-hou 諸侯 ), ministers (ch'ing 邑 , ta-fu 太夫 ) and knights (shih 士 ). According
to the tsung-fa system these would have been members of the ruling lineage. The graves are organized according to the chao-mu system of uniting alternate generations (see below, pp.186-187) and according to their tsu 諸. The pang-mu-chih-ti is described as the burial place of kuo-min 國民, whose graves are also placed according to their tsu.

These passages have been interpreted in an variety of ways. The commentator Sun Yi-jang believed that the kung-mu-chih-ti refers only to the cemetery of the Chou royal house itself, near the royal capitals of Feng-Hao and Lo-yang (Chou-li Vol. 2:41:80) and this has been followed by some archaeologists (eg Chang Yung-k'ang 1982:159-192). Others believe the various states had their own kung-mu-chih-ti where members of the ruling lineage of the state were buried (Anon. 1979:195-196). As for the category of persons who were buried in the pang-mu-chih-ti, the meaning of the term kuo-min or kuo-jen 國人 is a matter of debate, and is likely to have changed over the course of the Chou period. It is believed by some to have referred initially to the descendants of Chou aristocracy who moved into the central plain after the Conquest and to the descendants of local aristocracies co-opted by the Chou. These would have been city dwellers, as opposed to the yeh-jen 衙人 who dwelt outside the cities (Jen Ch'ang-t'ai et al. 1982; Miyagawa 1965:40). By the time of the Eastern Chou, kuo-min or kuo-jen may have been more inclusive terms referring to the lower ranks of the aristocracy, free peasants, merchants, and artisans (Hsü Fu-kuan 1972:84).

It is unlikely that archaeology can reveal what was really meant in the Chou-li by these two classifications of cemetery and the problem is exacerbated because we cannot ascertain to what extent the system is idealized or real. Although various forms of cemetery have been
discovered from the Chou period, it seems fruitless to try to slot these different forms into the two categories, while the actual use of these categories remains in doubt.

On the other hand, the remarks in these passages regarding groupings of graves according to kinship relations are supported by other textual sources and have been an important avenue of archaeological enquiry. On occasions, epigraphic data from excavated burial goods have shown possible kinship relations between grave occupants, but, for the most part archaeologists have based their conclusions about kinship groupings on the pattern of cemetery layout, the clustering of graves, and the homogeneity or heterogeneity of graves within clusters. These criteria will be discussed below (p.113).

When it comes to terminology, scholars writing on the subject of kinship groupings have not generally offered clear definitions of the kind of kin group they are referring to. The generic term most often used to describe this form of cemetery arrangement is that taken from the Chou-li — tsu-tsang, but there are a variety of terms used for different kinds of grave clusters. For example, the Peking University text book on Shang and Chou archaeology refers to extensive cemetery areas in which there are several clusters of graves as the burial grounds of chia-tsu, and the clusters of graves themselves as the burial areas of chih-tsu. Among chih-tsu groupings the text includes the small clusters of between two and ten graves found at Liu-li-ho-chen.

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92 For example, a study of clan signs on bronzes found in the extensive Shang cemetery in the western section of the Yin-hsü, site in An-yang has demonstrated a relationship between certain clan signs and clusters of graves (Barnard 1984).
as well as much larger clusters of fifty or more graves in the Shang-ts’un-ling cemetery (Anon. 1979:192-194). Yü Wei-ch’ao describes the same clusters of graves at Shang-ts’un-ling as groups of shih-tsu 氏族, and the small clusters of graves in Han burial areas as chia-ting 家庭 or chia-tsu 家族 (1981:36-37).

The selection of appropriate terms in English to describe the kinds of kinship groupings is also difficult. It is vital that terms such as 'clan', 'lineage', and 'family' are used carefully in studies of ancient China just as in studies of imperial China (Watson 1982) and, as the understanding of the structure and function of the various groupings increases, precise anthropological terms may be applied with more confidence, albeit with due caution. However, even in the case of the Eastern Chou period where traditional textual data on kinship organization are quite plentiful, it is difficult to determine to what extent the kinship groupings of the living are mirrored in the kinship groupings of the dead (see below, pp.119-120). The appropriateness of these terms for describing archaeological data must therefore remain in doubt.

When it comes to translating the term tsu 为抓手 as it is used in the Chou-li reference to tsu-tsang we once again encounter the problem of the historical reliability of this source. Did the compilers of the Chou-li use the term in a precise manner to refer to a particular kin group or did they use it in a more general sense? Did they use it anachronistically? Elsewhere in the text, the tsu is defined as a residential unit of one hundred families (chia 家) (Vol. 1:19:99; Biot Vol. 1:211). The obligation of mutual assistance in funerary rites may
suggest ties of kinship as well as residence, but it is not possible to assess whether the use of the term tsu is consistent in the various passages. Biot translates the term tsu in the expression tsu-tsang as 'famille' (Vol. 2:25) and DeGroot translates it as 'clan' (1897:830). The term as it appears in Eastern Chou sources as a whole has been defined by K.C. Chang as a minimal segment of the lineage (tsung 産) (the tsung comprises patrilineally related kin within five generations descending from a particular ancestor) (1976:73-74).

In the light of these problems of definition, I use the non-specific term 'kin-group burial' to refer to the practice of tsu-tsang. Where evidence supports a more precise usage of terms, I use 'lineage' in the standard anthropological sense of a corporate kin group of known genealogical descent from a common ancestor and as the most appropriate translation of the Chinese term tsung (産). (c.f. K.C.Chang 1976:74-75). I use the term 'family' to mean the nuclear family of two generations, parents and children.

In addition to the Chou-li record of kin group burial, there is one other specification concerning the criteria for admittance into a burial area. The text stipulates that those who were slain in combat, ssu-yū-ping-che 胜勇兵 , were not admitted into the kung-mu-chih-ti, a prohibition which commentators have considered to be due to the ignominy of defeat by an enemy (Vol. 2:41:82; Biot Vol. 2:21). The significance of exclusion from a certain burial area is apparent in several incidents recorded in the Tso-chuan. Normally, the Tso-chuan records the date of death and the date of burial of each duke of Lu and of a number of the rulers of other states. However, the only occasions on which the place of a ruler's burial is recorded is when that person
has died under extraordinary circumstances, such as in a rebellion or a coup. For example, Earl Yu of Cheng 郇伯有, notorious for his debauchery, was killed in a rebellion in 382 BC, and the Tso-chuan records his burial in Tou-ch'eng 平城 (Duke Hsiang, 30th year; Legge Vol. 5:553-554;557). Another example is when Duke Chao of Lu 鲁昭公 was expelled from his capital by members of the Chi lineage 季 and died in K'an 關. Chi-sun 季孫 wished to dispatch workers to K'an to bury the Duke there, but Jung Chia-e 蘇家聲 argued that this was a despicable act of hatred for his vanquished enemy and so Chi-sun desisted. However, he did not accord the Duke the full privilege of burial in the ducal area, placing his grave south of the road to the tombs. Confucius apparently rectified this at a later date by uniting Duke Chao's graves with those of his forebears (Duke Ting, 1st year; Legge Vol. 5:743;745). A third example is the burial of the slain Duke Chuang of Ch'i 齊莊公 in the li 里 of Shih-sun 史孫 (Duke Hsiang, 25th year; Legge Vol. 5:511;515). These three incidents suggest that exclusion from a burial area was a sign of humiliation in death.

It is not known in traditional sources whether there were similar

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94The text reads 而被殺如聞，公子時厲馬。 The commentator Tu Yü interprets kou 劫 to mean 'to separate by a ditch', and so takes the passage to mean that Duke Chao was buried in the same place as his forebears but in a tomb separated from the other ducal graves by a ditch (SPTK 27:2b) There is no evidence to suggest that K'an was the site of Lu's ducal burials. It is likely to have been a settlement outside the capital, for it is recorded earlier that Duke Chao captured K'an after being expelled from his own city (Duke Chao, 32nd year; Legge Vol. 5:738;740) and, as the archaeological evidence from Lu-ch'eng suggests, the dukes of Lu were probably buried inside the city (see above, Section 1.3, pp.61-63). The verb kou may have been used here in the sense of 'to construct a burial ditch', a meaning which would seem to be more consistent with the rest of the passage.
constraints against burial in a regular cemetery of lower-status people who had died violent or humiliating deaths, and there is insufficient archaeological evidence to determine whether this was the practice. There have been occasional finds which suggest violent deaths, such as the two Warring States burials within the cemetery at Pan-p’o near Hsi-an and one in the cemetery at Pai-sha-chen in Yü-hsien, Honan, where arrows embedded in the skeletons may have been the cause of death (KKHP 1937.3:71; KKHP 1954.7:91). A pit containing the burials of soldiers probably killed in battle has been found at the site of the city of Yen-hsia-tu in Yi-hsien, Hopeh (KK 1975.4:228-240; 243), but this is likely to have been a case of wartime expediency.

One final observation on the organizing principles of cemeteries set out in the Chou-li concerns the employment of officials to regulate the placing of graves. Considering the rarity of cases in which graves disturb other graves dating from similar periods, it is likely that some kind of functionary did oversee the construction of the pits, possibly using a site plan. Whether there were any visible signs above graves, besides the tumuli which overlay large graves in the Eastern Chou period, is a question which archaeology has not yet been able to answer. There may well have been small earth mounds in the manner of contemporary Chinese burials, or other indicators which are not visible in the archaeological record.

Before turning to the archaeological data from Chou cemetery sites, it is first necessary to examine some of the methodological problems in

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95 For a discussion of the historical and archaeological evidence of tumuli, see Wang Shih-min (1981).
interpreting the results of excavation. The interpretation of the archaeological data can be carried out on two levels. The first of these is the more straightforward and involves the examination of the organizational principles behind the placing of graves within a certain burial area. The second level of interpretation seeks reflections of social forms in the pattern of cemeteries. Although most archaeologists would agree that the ultimate objective of their labours is to enhance the understanding of a given society, I believe that the current state of the data from Chou burials outlined below forces one to conclude that this second level of interpretation is extremely hazardous and premature.

The first level of interpretation, that of the organization of a cemetery, may be examined archaeologically by establishing how the cemetery developed over time and what kinds of graves were placed within it. Where a cemetery is found not to have developed lineally and the graves are found to cluster in groups, it may be taken to indicate that the dead were not placed according to the availability of space, but that their position was determined by membership of a certain group. The evidence from traditional textual sources supports the conclusion that in cemeteries from the Chou period, the organizational principles behind these clusters were in most cases likely to be those of kinship.

A further indication of kin-group burial is the clustering of graves of a variety of sizes and wealth. Such a pattern suggests that members of a particular kin group were placed in an area regardless of the disparities between their access to rank and wealth during life. Smaller groups within these clusters are sometimes of uniformly high-status burials and these may be the graves of prominent segments of a wider kin group.
The demographic pattern of cemeteries in terms of the age and sex of the occupants is, in the majority of cases, impossible to establish from Chou burial data. It is rare for skeletal analysis to be included in published reports, sometimes on account of the extremely dilapidated condition of the bones and in other cases because this kind of analysis was not conducted at the time of excavation. It appears to be a practice in Chinese excavations for skeletal materials to be collected and stored for future research, with a significant time lag between this and the publication of the initial site report (Wang Shih-min, pers. comm., August, 1981). To date, the only Chou cemetery for which data on the sex of grave occupants are available is at Shang-meng-ts'un in Ch'ang-wu-hsien, Shensi, (see below, pp.146-148). The excavation was a recent one (1979-1980) which may indicate that more attention is now being paid to such factors.

The presence of children and infants within an adult burial ground is a phenomenon which seems to be limited to a few Western Chou sites.96 The standard mode of child burial in the Chou was to place the dead child inside a pottery vessel or the shards of several broken vessels, a form of burial known as weng-kuan-tsang 舀棺葬, translated as 'urn

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96 These are Chang-chia-p'o in Ch'ang-an-hsien, Hsi-ts'un in Feng-hsiang-hsien and Ho-chia-ts'un in Ch'i-shan-hsien. All of these are in Shensi. The first two are discussed in detail below (pp.125-127; 129-130). The third, Ho-chia-ts'un is a tightly packed area of 54 graves for which only a general description of grave attributes has been published. Two children's graves were reported (KKYWV 1980.1:7-12).
burial'. Urn burials present particular problems for dating in cases where no stratigraphical relationship has been established. Excavators must rely on accurate pottery typologies, since other artefacts are rarely found in these burials, and often no date is offered in excavation reports (e.g. KK 1962.6:285).

Chou urn burials are sometimes found within settlements (e.g. KK 1959.7:355-356; WW 1959.5:73) and there have been some finds of Chou urn burials cemeteries, for example that at Chia-ko-chuang 閦合莊 in T'ang-shan-hsien 唐山縣, Hopeh. Here an area of child urn burials dating to the Late Spring and Autumn and Early Warring States periods was found close to a later adult cemetery from the Warring States (KKHP 1953.6:112).

So far, the data on child burials suggest that, with the exception of the few Western Chou cases found in Shensi, children were not buried in the same area as adults, and this may have been related to beliefs about the inauspicious nature of untimely death (Hu Ch'ien-ying 197)

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97 The T'an-kung 蝨京 section of the Li-chi stipulates two types of pottery coffin according to the age at death. The term shang 皆 meaning 'premature death' is divided into three grades, ch'ang-shang 長皆, chung-shang 中皆, and hsia-shang 小皆. (These are clarified in the Sang-fu 養服 section of the Yi-li according to age at death, ch'ang-shang for death between the ages of 16 and 19, chung-shang for death between the ages of 12 and 15, and hsia-shang for death between the ages of 8 and 11 (Couvreur [1951]:412).) Chung-shang and hsia-shang burials were to be placed in pottery coffins with a brick encasement. A child who died below the age of eight (wu-fu-chih-tsang 武服之葬) was to be placed in a pottery coffin (Couvreur [1950] Vol. 1:118). There are no data on skeletal material from urn burial finds to confirm these types of age-related urn burial. Urn burial of children was also common in the neolithic (e.g. Hsi-an Pan-p'o:211-217; KK 1976.6:356-360; KKYWW 1982.1:2) and in the Han (e.g. KK 1955.2:33; KK 1965.2:62-69).
However, the data on child burial is far too fragmentary to draw any conclusions about whether the Shensi examples represent chronological or regional variation in the placement of those who died prematurely. It should be noted that the child burials at Hsi-ts'un are not urn burials, but are structurally similar to adult burials in the same cemetery, except for their slightly smaller dimensions (see below, p.130). The report does not specify the possible age of these burials, so we do not know if they were children or infants.

The second level of interpretation is that of seeking reflections of social forms in the patterning of cemeteries, in other words, the use of evidence of the organizational principles of cemeteries as an indication of the structure of the society of the living. As Wu Wei-ch'ao has pointed out, Chinese archaeologists have frequently used data from cemetery arrangements from pre-Chou sites as evidence of kinship systems or social stratification, but rarely have data from Chou sites been used in this manner (1981:35). This is particularly striking when one considers how other aspects of Chou burial practices have routinely been taken as evidence of the society's structure. For example, the practice of *hsiin-tsang* (殺喪), whereby people were slain and placed in a grave alongside the main occupant, has featured prominently in debates about

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98 In a discussion of the practice of urn burial, Komai cites a passage from the Eastern Han text of the *Feng-su-t'ing* 風俗通 preserved in the Ch'ing reference book *Yiian-chien-lei-han* 義兩類漢 specifying that the burials of children should be placed by the roadside. The explanation for this is based on the word tao 道 meaning both 'road' and the metaphysical concept of 'the way'. Since those dying a premature death do not achieve *jen-tao* 善道, they are buried by the wayside to allow them to observe the 'way' (Komai 1974:282-283).
the classification of Chou society as a 'slave society'.

The reason for this may lie in the difficulties of reconciling archaeological data which apparently suggest inclusive kinship groups with the orthodoxy of Chou China being hierarchical and class-based. A cemetery in which large, richly furnished graves lie in the same area as small, poorly furnished ones, if taken as an accurate reflection of a society, could suggest that ties of kinship blurred class stratification. It is also hard to reconcile the continued presence of kin-group cemeteries in the Eastern Chou period with the postulated changes in the mode of production and patterns of land tenure which are central to the debate about the transition from 'slave' to 'feudal' society. Those archaeologists who have touched on the question have tended to explain the phenomenon of kin-group burial in the Eastern Chou as the survival of an earlier tradition of communal burial and as a mechanism used by the ruling classes to mask class antagonisms (Anon. 1979:196; Chang Yung-k'ang 1982:159-163).

The issue of land tenure and whether kin-group cemeteries may be taken as evidence of corporate ownership of land by the kin group was raised by Yu Wei-ch'ao. He argued that cemetery organization bore a relationship to systems of land tenure, but that the relationship was a delayed one. Private ownership and transactions in land were current by the Late Spring and Autumn period and kinship ties were weakening, yet

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99See, for example, the scholarly exchange published in the Kuang-ming jih-pao in 1950 (Kuo Pao-chun 1950; Kuo Mo-jo 1950; Li Ching-ch'En 1950; Lu Mao-te 1950; Yang Shao-hsuan 1950[a],[b]; Yang Hsiang-k'uei 1950) and more recent articles from the 1970s (Pai Ch'ing 1974; Hu Hou-hsuan 1974[a],[b]; T'ien Chü-chien 1978).
cemeteries continued to be on communal land and were kin-based. To explain this, he turned to remarks by Marx on the progressive stages of private land ownership, whereby agricultural land and dwellings were the first kinds of land to be privately owned, followed by hunting land, rivers, and forests. Yü postulated that cemetery land, which was communally owned and was an embodiment of blood ties, would be one of the last kinds of land to become the object of private transactions. There was a time lag of some three to four hundred years between the emergence of private ownership of productive land and private ownership of burial areas. The latter may be seen in the archaeological record by the appearance in the Han of cemeteries where graves are relatively homogeneous in terms of wealth and size. People of high status would purchase areas of land for their own interment and for the burial of their immediate family, and sometimes several of these exclusive areas, ying-ti, would lie close to one another even though they were the ying-ti of unrelated families. The large, heterogeneous kin-group burial areas of the Chou period cannot be taken, therefore, as evidence of the strength of kinship ties or the economic function of the kin group as the owner of corporate land and resources (Yü Wei-ch'ao 1981:34-37).

The way in which cemetery organization may reflect changes in Chou society has been discussed from one further angle. This concerns the burial places of the rulers of the Eastern Chou states. As will be seen from the archaeological data outlined below, there is a marked trend

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100 Yü cites textual and epigraphic evidence from the Han period to show that by the second century BC there were private transactions in cemetery land.
towards burial of rulers (and possibly of their spouses and immediate family) in exclusively high-status burial areas. This has been taken as a reflection of the increasingly autocratic power of these rulers which accompanied the collapse of the tsung-fa system and the centralization of the state (Wang Shih-min 1981:464-465).

The issues raised by this level of interpretation are many and complex. There is the question of anachronism: how can it be judged whether a cemetery reflects a form of social organization or a system of land tenure that existed previously, and how can the time lag between changes in the social forms and changes in cemetery arrangement be estimated? There is the question of symbolism: can it be known whether a cemetery pattern is no more than a symbolic representation of an ideal of kin unity or corporate resources? Such symbols may be manipulated to mask social divisions. Alternatively, they may be manipulated to underline such divisions, for example, by placing the grave of the rulers away from other graves in order to enhance the prestige of the royal line.

These problems of archaeological interpretation have been highlighted in recent studies based on ethnographic and material evidence. For example, Maurice Bloch's research into the burial practices of the Merina of Madagascar revealed that the principles behind the placing of the dead in family tombs are based on an idealized system of descent which has little relevance to the realities of Merina social and economic life (1971). Another people of Madagascar, the Sakalava, buried their kings in graves that were paltry in comparison to the graves of the middle ranks of society. The kings' graves, however, were important ritual centres with villages of spirit mediums above them, but
this aspect would be lost in the archaeological record (Bloch 1981). Hodder's study of the Nuba of Sudan has shown a similar pattern to that of the Merina, the burial of the dead in clan cemeteries being a reflection of an ideal rather than the reality (1982:195-201). In all these cases, if there were no ethnographic records and only material evidence from the burials, conclusions about the structure of these societies are very likely to be inaccurate.

In the case of Chou China, there are textual and epigraphic data to support a certain level of interpretation of the organizational principles of cemeteries. This would include, for example, the identification of kin-group burial areas or those of the dukes or kings of various states. In some cases a relationship between trends in patterns of cemetery arrangement and known historical developments may be postulated. However, it is untenable to extrapolate from patterns of cemetery arrangement about aspects of Chou society for which other data are scant or which are still a matter of considerable historical debate.

This section is an assessment of the archaeological data presently available for the study of Chou cemetery layout and composition. The examples discussed are those for which excavation reports include a site plan showing the location of individual graves within a burial area and sufficient details to allow the assessment of the kind of graves found therein. Even where published reports meet these criteria there remain many limitations of the data, some of which are inherent in the nature of the evidence itself, and some which are pertinent to the scholar relying on published sources.

First, there is the possible distortion due to selective excavation. It is rare for a cemetery to be excavated in its entirety: there are
obviously limitations of time and resources which prevent the excavation of extensive burial areas and, especially in heavily populated areas, there are also likely to be limitations of space. For the most part, therefore, the available data are from segments of a burial area and one is dependent on details being included in the site report about how the dig was conducted, whether the boundaries of the cemetery were established and whether all the graves were excavated.

The dating of the graves in relation to others within the same area is vital for assessing how the cemetery developed. However, problems of dating are often formidable. Reports seldom carry details of stratigraphical relationships between the graves and dating is dependent on artefacts and grave structure. Where a cemetery contains graves of a wide variety of sizes and wealth, it is hard to establish which graves are contemporaneous because the larger, richer graves have few or no artefacts in common with the smaller, poorer ones. This is particularly true where some graves are completely devoid of artefacts or where the structure is markedly different, such as child urn burials. This may blur the picture of how the cemetery developed and also the relative heterogeneity of the burials within it.

Geographical constraints may significantly influence the pattern of a cemetery's development, but it is only possible to assess these constraints where maps of a sufficiently large scale and details of historical changes in the terrain are available. These constraints might include topographical features, such as rivers, which imposed boundaries on a cemetery, and geological features, such as the nature of the soil, which dictated what areas may be used for graves and how close together the graves could be.
There are several cases where, although large numbers of graves have been excavated and site plans and detailed information on the graves have been published, the limitations outweigh the usefulness of the data. For example, the excavations north of the village of K'o-sheng-chuang in Ch'ang-an-hsien, Shensi, yielded 51 graves but the majority cannot be dated with accuracy. The area appears to have served as a cemetery for a long period of time (probably from Early Spring and Autumn to Han), and the excavation site was a long narrow strip running north to south which further distorts the picture. Similar problems obtain for the Chung-chou-lu site described in detail in Section 1.2 (pp. 31-34).

The cemetery excavated in 1932-1933 in Hsin-ts'un, Hsün-hsien, Honan, is another burial area which is not included in this survey of sites because of the many gaps in the data. The dig took place in the early days of modern Chinese archaeology and many of the field notes and artefacts were subsequently lost in the war years. The report was published several decades after excavation, based on the limited data remaining (Hsün-hsien: 2). Many of the graves had been robbed in recent times as well as in the more distant past, and the position of the testing trenches marked on the site map (ibid: 4, Fig. 2) suggests that many areas which might have yielded graves were not surveyed. The question of the cemetery's development is discussed in the report and a lineal progression from north to south with a subsequent shift eastwards because of a river course is postulated (ibid: 22-23). However, this seems to be a case where formulae for the arrangement of graves seem to have been foremost in the minds of those interpreting the data and the
excavation results fail to support their conclusion.\textsuperscript{101}

This section is divided into four subsections, 2.1.1 to 2.1.4. Section 2.1.1 includes cemetery data from the Western Chou and the Early and Middle Spring and Autumn periods. As will be seen from the data, the information presently available on cemeteries from this period does not permit further classification into types. This first subsection is therefore arranged chronologically. Data from the Late Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, on the other hand, do permit classification: Section 2.1.2 describes those cemeteries where graves in the same area are of a variety of sizes and wealth, Section 2.1.3 describes exclusively high-status burial areas, and Section 2.1.4 describes cemeteries in which the graves are all of similarly small dimensions with modest or poor furnishings.

\textsuperscript{101}For example, the graves believed to be Early Western Chou and designated as group \textit{chia} include 45 small graves. Of these, 22 contain none of the attributes specified as indicating Early Western Chou graves (ibid:72-74). Many had been completely ransacked and so their dates are impossible to estimate, and others contain items such as jade \textit{pi}-discs and \textit{chheh}-ear-decorations which appear in Late Western Chou burials, such as in Shang-ts'un-ling.
FIGURE 17
CEMETERY SITES DISCUSSED IN SECTION 2.1.1
2.1.1 Western Chou and Early - Middle Spring and Autumn Cemeteries

Chang-chia-p'o 張家坡

An extensive Western Chou cemetery area was excavated around the village of Chang-chia-p'o in Ch'ang-an-hsien 長安縣, Shensi, near the site of the Chou capital of Feng-hao (see Appendix A, pp.275-276). There are published reports of nearly three hundred excavated graves, mainly from the high ridge of land east of the village.\textsuperscript{102} Excavations were carried out in five areas (see Figure 13) but it is not clear whether these are discrete burial areas or whether there were also graves between the excavated segments.

Extensive tomb robbery makes it impossible to date more than a small proportion of the graves and no clear picture of how the cemetery developed may be obtained. However, it is evident that it was not a lineal development since there are both Early and Late Western Chou graves in all the excavated segments, although earlier graves predominate in the north-east of the site and later graves in the south and west.

In terms of size and contents, the graves range from small pits averaging 2 \,m² at the pit base with one or two pottery items, to larger pits averaging 3.5 \,m² at the pit base with several bronze vessels and hsün-jen. There is no apparent change in this range of tomb size or wealth over the time span of the cemetery's use.

\textsuperscript{102} Data on graves in this area are to be found in the following reports: WW 1956.3:53; KK 1960.1:20-22; Feng-hsi; KK 1964.9:441-447; 474; KKHP 1980.4:487-502.
FIGURE 18:
CHANG-CHIA-PO: DISTRIBUTION OF WESTERN CHOU GRAVES

from: KKHP 1980.4: 458, Fig. 1; Feng-hsi: 11, Fig. 3;
ibid: 112–113, Fig. 71; ibid: 114, Fig. 72
### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>period (p)</th>
<th>base (m)</th>
<th>head (m)</th>
<th>feet (m)</th>
<th>Other goods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M172</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M194</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M175</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M196</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M198</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M192</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M184</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M151</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M162</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M153</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M156</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M153</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M154</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Other goods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* period according to site report (Feng-hsi)

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**FIGURE 19:**
CHANG-CHIA-P'O: CLUSTERS OF GRAVES

from Feng-hsi, Fig. 71
Disparities in the density of graves within each segment may be observed. For example, the graves in the north-eastern section of the cemetery are widely distributed, in contrast to the tightly packed clusters of graves in Area 1 and in the most westerly section.

Within each excavated segment, there are groups of two, three, or four burials which lie close together (generally 2-3 m apart). The burials within these groups have similar dimensions and artefact assemblages. The axes, however, vary; in some cases the graves lie at right angles to each other, in others they are parallel. Examples of such groupings have been identified in the site reports (Feng-hsi:115-116; KKHP 1980.4:487-492), and others which are not recorded in the reports may also be observed. Figure 19 with the accompanying table, Table 2, shows examples of such groupings from Area 1.

Eighteen urn burials of children dated by the archaeologists to the Western Chou period were found in the burial areas excavated in 1955-1957 (Feng-hsi:117). The distribution of those in Area 1 may be seen in Figure 21. No urn burials were reported found in the 1967 excavation. However, two graves from this excavation, M158 and M162, were joint burials of an adult and child (KKHP 1980.4:500-501).

Horse and chariot pits were among the graves, their distribution reflecting the relative density of the graves in each area. For example, four horse and chariot pits in the more dispersed north-eastern area lie 7-12 m from the nearest graves, while the three horse pits in the west area lie immediately adjacent to burials.
The Western Chou cemetery area excavated in 1979-1980 at Hsi-ts'un in Feng-hsiang-hsien, Shensi, is on the whole a less wealthy cemetery than that at Chang-chia-p'o. Many of the graves are contemporaneous with the Chang-chia-p'o graves, but the Hsi-ts'un cemetery is likely to have been in use slightly earlier and no Late Western Chou graves have been identified (KKYWW 1982:4:15-38). The cemetery is tightly packed, the 210 excavated graves occupying an area of some 8,000 m², many graves lying only a few metres from their neighbours. With the exception of four graves, 80M80, 80M112, 79M42, and 79M62, which are of slightly larger dimensions (4.5-7.4 m² at the pit base) and which contain bronze vessels, the graves display considerable uniformity in size and in wealth. Most measure 2-3.5 m² at the base and contain one or two pottery vessels and, occasionally, a bronze Ao-dagger-axe, cowrie shell, or other such miscellaneous items.

The graves were placed in a chronological sequence of four principle phases, and, by correlating these phases with the cemetery plan, it may be observed that graves from each phase are scattered around the cemetery.

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103 The report writers date the Hsi-ts'un cemetery to a time span of more than two hundred years, from Middle Pre-Conquest Chou (早商中期) to Middle Western Chou. They do not define the historical dates of the period referred to as Middle Pre-Conquest Chou. The styles of li-cauldron and kuan-vase which they assign to Period 2, that is, Late Pre-Conquest Chou (晚商晚期), are comparable to artefacts dated by Tsou Heng to the period between the reign of the Shang king, Lin-Hsin (魯宣王) and the Conquest (1980:314). Since Tsou Heng's typologies are used by the report writers to establish the dates of the Hsi-ts'un graves, it would seem reasonable to assume that by Early Pre-Conquest Chou, they mean a period earlier than Lin-Hsin. The reign of Lin-Hsin is believed to have been in the latter half of the 12th century BC (Keightley 1978:226-228, Tab.37,38).
(see Figure 20). This shows that the pattern of the cemetery's development was not lineal.

The breakdown of graves according to period reveals that there are many cases where roughly contemporaneous graves occur in groups of two or three. Noticeable, too, in Period II (Late Pre-Conquest Chou) and Period III (Early Western Chou) are clusters of graves which resemble those described above in Chang-chia-p'o, where some graves lie on the predominant axis (of head-north) and others lie at approximate right angles to these. The graves in the groups in Hsi-ts'un do not display the close similarities in artefact styles apparent in graves in similar clusters in Chang-chia-p'o. Most contain a single pottery Ji-cauldron, and these are of a wide variety of styles. (It must be remembered, however, that the more pottery vessels in a grave, the more chance of observing similarities with assemblages in neighbouring graves). Figure 21 and the accompanying table, Table 3, show these groups and the features of the individual graves.

The site contains sixteen burials of children which are distributed throughout the cemetery. These child burials contain one or two pottery vessels and sometimes also shells -- an artefact assemblage similar to many adult burials. The only discernable difference between child burials and adult burials is the slightly smaller pit and coffin size of the former.

Wang-fu-t'ai

The burial area of Wang-fu-t'ai in Ch'o-fu-hsien has been discussed in Section 1 (pp.41-50) in the context of its position within the walls of the capital of Lu. A total of 39 graves and six horse pits were
FIGURE 20:
HSI -TS'UN: CEMETERY PLAN SHOWING LOCATION OF GRAVES ACCORDING TO PERIOD
from: KKYWW 1982.4:16, Fig. 1
### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave No.</th>
<th>Pit base (sq m)</th>
<th>Li cauldron</th>
<th>Kuan vase</th>
<th>Other goods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80M2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>B II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80M3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>E III</td>
<td>B II</td>
<td>jade ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79M85</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>E III</td>
<td>A I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79M77</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>F, I, E II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80M157</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>E III</td>
<td>A II</td>
<td>kuan-outer-coffin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80M63</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>E III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79M76</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>E II</td>
<td></td>
<td>course shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79M50</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>C II</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>stone beads, spindles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79M50</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80M83</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>A III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FIGURE 21:

**HSI-TS’UN: CLUSTERS OF CONTEMPORANEOUS GRAVES**

from: *KYYWV* 1982.4:16, Fig. 1
KEY

- graves
- graves with bronze vessels
- horse pits

FIGURE 22:
WANG-FU-T'AI: CEMETERY PLAN (EARLY PHASE)

from: Ch'u-fu: 21, Fig. 11
excavated which are likely to date from Late Western Chou and Early Spring and Autumn, representing the early phase of this cemetery's use. The site plan (Figure 22) reveals that the graves lie in two main clusters, one north and one south. The graves range from the smallest pit, M7, which measures 2.4 m² at the pit base and contains three pottery vessels, to the largest, M48, which measures 9.8 m² at the pit base and in which the artefact assemblage includes bronze and pottery vessels, chariot fittings, weapons, and items of jade, bone, and stone. The larger, richer graves are not confined to any particular area, but are distributed among the smaller graves.

The area around Wang-fu-t'ai is just one section of a much larger cemetery area, extending over an area of nearly 2 km², and it may be that the heterogeneity of the Wang-fu-t'ai graves is not replicated in other areas of the cemetery. Seventeen graves found near Yü-pei-ting 楊碑亭 and dated to the same period as the Wang-fu-t'ai burials were all reported to have pit mouth measurements equivalent to the larger pits in the Wang-fu-t'ai area (5-7 m²) (Ch'ü-fu:21-22). (No report of the excavation of these graves has yet been published.) This may prove to be an exclusively high-status area within the cemetery.

The pattern of development of the Wang-fu-t'ai area is impossible to ascertain since the graves cannot be placed in clear chronological order, but the distribution of pottery and bronze styles throughout the site suggests that the two clusters were contemporaneous.

Liu-li-ho-chen 琉璃河鎮

The Western Chou burials at Liu-li-ho-chen in Fang-shan-hsien 房山縣 near Peking are potentially of great interest for the study of
cemetery layout. At present, however, the published data are insufficient to allow more than a fragmentary picture to be drawn. Two sections of the cemetery have been excavated, one to the west of the Peking-Canton railway line and one to the east. The western section was excavated in 1973-1974 and the published report carries a site plan and details of seven of the 29 Chou graves excavated (KK 1974.5:309-321). With the exception of M51 which may be slightly later, these graves were estimated to date from the time of King Ch'eng 王 and King K'ang 王, that is, Early Western Chou (ibid:320). The eastern section was excavated in 1981-1983, and the report carries detailed information on only six of the 121 graves found. It is believed that the cemetery contains both Early and Late Western Chou graves. There is no published site plan, but the general layout of the cemetery is described (KK 1984.5:405-416;404).

A paper by Kuo Jen (1982) on the practice of hsün-tsang refers to unpublished data on excavations at Liu-li-ho-chen and reveals the potential of this site. Kuo refers to an apparent division of the cemetery into two sections which he designates as Sections I and II. He notes that the smaller graves in Section I often contained hsün-jen, and that the predominant pottery assemblage consisted of a li-cauldron, kuei-tureen and kuan-vase. In contrast, there were no cases of hsün-jen in smaller graves in Section II, and with the exception of M264, no grave contained pottery kuei-tureens. Kuo postulates that graves in Section I were those of descendants of pre-Conquest inhabitants of the area, whose burial practices were influenced by Yin traditions, while graves in Section II were of Chou people. Among the graves in Section I, he included those excavated in 1973-1974, however the Section II graves he
described are not in any published report. Since no hsün-jen were found in the 1981-1983 excavations, i.e., in the eastern section (KK 1984.5:405) and pottery kuei-tureens were uncommon (ibid:413) it suggests that the western and eastern sections may correspond with Kuo Jen's Sections I and II, but this cannot be verified until more data are published.

The paucity of data on individual graves means that no estimation of the range of grave sizes and wealth is yet possible. The seven graves from the western section described in the site report were all fairly high-status burials, with artefact assemblages of bronze and pottery vessels, as well as jade and shell sundries. More significantly, six contained hsün-jen. The report was published in 1974, when, for ideological reasons, emphasis was being placed on archaeological finds which supported the orthodoxy of Chou 'slave society'. It is apparent from the emphasis placed on the presence of victims of hsün-tsang (KK 1974.5:310), that this was the motivation behind the selection of these graves for detailed description, rather than the fact of their being in any way a representative sample of the graves in the cemetery. The report of the eastern section suggests that graves of a variety of sizes and wealth lay close to one another. For example, two of the graves described which lie close together are M1022 which measured 2.9 m² at the pit base and contained three pottery vessels and seven cowrie shells, and M1046 which measured 11.7 m² at the pit base with a passage way 11.3 m in length, and which, though robbed, still had fragments of jade and bronze suggesting a once-opulent artefact assemblage (KK 1984.5:416).

Judging from the site map of the western section (Figures 23 and 24) and the description of the eastern section (KK 1984.5:426), both share a pattern of graves clustered in groups. In the western section, it may be
KEY

☐ unexcavated graves
■ excavated graves

FIGURE 23:
LIU-LI-HO-CHEN: CEMETERY PLAN (PART OF WESTERN SECTION)

from: KK 1974. 5: 309, Fig. 1
FIGURE 24: LIU-LI-HO-CHEN: CEMETERY PLAN (PART OF WESTERN SECTION)

from: KK 1974. 5: 310, Fig. 2
seen from the site plan that clusters often consist of four or five graves. The density of graves within each cluster and the distance between clusters varies widely. The individual graves in the part of the western section depicted in Figure 24 are far more widely dispersed. The three horse pits found in the western section lie among this group of graves, as do four of the six graves with hsūn-jen, which suggests that this group may have been slightly higher status burials than the others in the western section.

**Shang-ts'un-ling**

The cemetery at Shang-ts'un-ling in San-men-hsia-shih 三門峽市 , Honan, remains the largest and most thoroughly excavated Chou cemetery to date. It is the example most often cited in discussions of kin-group burial.

A total of 234 graves was excavated and the perimeters of the cemetery were established for all but the north side. The majority of graves were small, averaging 3 m² at the base and containing artefact assemblages of several pottery vessels and sundry items such as ko-dagger-axes and chūeh-ear-decorations. The cemetery also contained significantly larger graves with assemblages of bronze vessels, the largest, M1052, measuring 15.7 m² at the pit base (Shang-ts'un-ling).

The graves were divided almost evenly into three clusters (See Figure 25) and each cluster contained both large and small graves. It is not possible to reconstruct the pattern of development of the cemetery because no typological sequence of artefacts has been established and many graves contained too few items to serve as dating criteria. However, there are sufficient data to establish that the three sections
KEY

horse pit
horse and chariot pit

FIGURE 25:
SHANG-TS'UN-LING: CEMETERY PLAN

from: Shang-ts'un-ling Fig. 1, yi 乙
| A | Group | Li-cauldron Style II | Li-cauldron Style III | high-vase Style II | high-vase Style III | Clay bowl Style I | stone bowl-style I | stone bowl-style II | jade-marrow | jade-pendant | stone counter | stone counter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| M1607 (ii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | |
| M1617 (ii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | (1+2) | 2 | 1 | | | | | |
| M1653 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | |
| M1645 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | (1+1) | (1+2) | 1 | | | | | |
| M1606 (ii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | (1+2) | 2 | 1 | | | | | |

* unclassified vessel

| B | Group | Li-cauldron Style II | Li-cauldron Style III | high-vase Style II | high-vase Style III | Clay bowl Style I | stone bowl-style I | stone bowl-style II | jade-marrow | jade-pendant | stone counter | stone counter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| M1034 (ii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | |
| M1016 (127-1117) | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| M1742 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| M1643 (iiii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |

* unclassified vessel

| C | Group | Li-cauldron Style III | high-vase Style II | high-vase Style III | Clay bowl Style II | stone bowl-style II | stone bowl-style III | jade-marrow | jade-pendant | stone counter | stone counter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1696 (iii) | 1 | 2 (+1*) | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1636 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | |
| 1629 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | |

* unclassified vessel

| D | Group | Li-cauldron Style I | high-vase Style II | high-vase Style III | Clay bowl Style I | stone bowl-style I | stone bowl-style III | jade-marrow | jade-pendant | stone counter | stone counter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1654 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1606 (ii) | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1730 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1751 (iii) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1630 (ii) | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1642 (iii) | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | |

* unclassified vessel

| E | Group | Li-cauldron Style I | high-vase Style II | high-vase Style III | Clay bowl Style I | stone bowl-style I | stone bowl-style III | jade-marrow | jade-pendant | stone counter | stone counter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1654 (iiii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1606 (ii) | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1730 (iii) | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1751 (iii) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1630 (ii) | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1642 (iii) | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | |

* unclassified vessel
do not represent different phases of the cemetery’s use, but were likely
to have functioned simultaneously. This is demonstrated in Figure 25 and
the accompanying table, Table 4, which show how three particular pottery
assemblages are evident in graves in each area. The cemetery has been
dated to a period of about two hundred and fifty years from the beginning
of the ninth century BC to the middle of the seventh (ibid:49).

The graves within each cluster were densely packed, yet there was
only one example of disturbance, where M1848 intruded on M1849
(ibid:48).104

Some of the larger, wealthier graves may be seen to lie on the
peripheries of each cluster, but there are also some scattered among the
smaller graves. M1032, the largest grave, contained two bronze
ko-dagger-axes bearing the inscription 烏大子允侯戈 (ibid:31), and
scholars believe it to be the grave of a crown prince of the state of Kuo
who did not live to become ruler and so was not buried in an area for
ducal graves. The three clusters of burials are taken to be those of
sub-branches of the ducal house, or of aristocratic lineages, with the
larger burials being those of lineage heads (Yu Wei-ch’ao 1981:36; Anon.
1979:194). No other cemeteries have been excavated in the vicinity which
could have been that of the rulers of the state.

Hou-kang

In 1971, excavations at Hou-kang in An-yang-hsien, Honan,
yielded graves from both Shang and Eastern Chou times (KK 1972.3:14-25).

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104 The text reads M1949, but, as can be seen from the chart (ibid:79)
and the site plan (ibid, Fig. 1, yi Z.), this is doubtless a typographic
error for M1849.
The published report carries a site plan which reveals that twelve of the fourteen Eastern Chou graves lie in a cluster to the east of the site, although there is no indication in the report as to whether these comprise a discrete burial area or part of a more extensive cemetery. The graves date to Early and Middle Spring and Autumn and are relatively homogeneous in terms of structure, size, and artefact assemblages.\textsuperscript{105}

Pit measurements\textsuperscript{106} range between 3-8 m\textsuperscript{2}, and with the exception of three graves which contain one pot per occupant,\textsuperscript{107} all contain between three and five pottery vessels. Eight graves also contain miscellaneous items such as stone kuei-spatulas and shells. The report writers remark on the homogeneity of the graves suggesting that they are the burials of a chia-tsu 家族 (ibid:24).

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{105}The caption on the published site map (ibid:18, Fig. 5) refers to the graves as Warring States graves. This must be an error since the date of Early and Middle Spring and Autumn is the conclusion drawn by the report writers (ibid:23-24).

\textsuperscript{106}The report does not indicate if these measurements are of pit mouth or pit base.

\textsuperscript{107}Of these three graves, M26 contains two skeletons each with one p'en-bowl.
\end{quote}
FIGURE 26
CEMETERY SITES DISCUSSED IN SECTION 2.1.2–2.1.4
2.1.2 Late Spring and Autumn and Warring States cemeteries (Heterogeneous)

Tung-yüeh-shih-ts'un 東嶽石村

In the course of excavating a neolithic site at Tung-yüeh-shih-ts'un in P'ing-tu-hsien, Shantung, twenty Warring States graves were found (AK 1962.10:509-513). It is unclear whether the graves formed a segment of a larger cemetery.

The graves display a fairly wide variety of sizes and wealth, ranging from M14 which contained bronze vessels, pottery goods, and chariot pieces and which measured 15.6 m² at the pit base, to considerably smaller graves such as M11 which contained a few pottery vessels and a belt-hook and which measured 4.8 m² at the base.

The graves were dated as Early and Late Warring States. The distinction between these two phases was specified as the presence of chou-cups in Early Warring States graves and the change from removable handles and knobs on pottery vessels in Early Warring States to fixed ones in Late Warring States. Fluted handles on ting-cauldrons are taken as features of the Late Warring States graves. M16 was cited as representative of the earlier phase and M1 and M14 as representative of the later phase (ibid:517). If these criteria are applied to the available data from the other graves, it is possible to classify six others as Early Warring States (M3, M4, M8, M13, M17, M18) and one other as Late Warring States (M9). This reveals that the disparities in wealth and size were not a chronological change and that each phase included small and large graves. It also reveals no apparent lineal development of the cemetery area.
A burial area containing 23 graves and one horse and chariot pit was excavated in 1978-1979 in Shang-meng-ts' un, Ch'ang-wu-hsien 長武縣, Shensi (KKW 1984:3:8-17). The site has been dated to Late Spring and Autumn or Early Warring States, and the graves are believed to have been constructed over a relatively short span of time (ibid:17). The Ch'in features of the graves, such as the predominant west-east orientation (in this case tending north-west), the flexed posture of the skeletons, and the pottery styles, confirm that this area was a part of the state of Ch'in in that period.

The graves range from the largest, M27, which had a pit mouth of 10.05 m² and an artefact assemblage which included two bronze vessels, to the smallest, M21, which had a pit mouth of 1.1 m² and contained no grave goods. Within these perimeters, the other graves display considerable diversity of pit sizes and artefact assemblages.

The burial area appears to comprise two clusters of graves, with eleven graves in the southern cluster and sixteen graves in the northern cluster, but there are no apparent features of structure or artefacts to distinguish graves in one cluster from those in the other (See Figure 27). The chronological development of the cemetery is impossible to assess because of the apparently short space of time between construction of the graves (ibid:17), but it may be observed that there are three

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108 The report does not specify whether the published dimensions are of the pit mouth or base, but remarks in the text about the structure suggest that they are of the pit mouth (ibid:8).
FIGURE 27:
SHANG-MENG-TS'UN: CEMETERY PLAN SHOWING SEX OF GRAVE OCCUPANTS

from: *KKYWW* 1984. 3: 8, Fig. 2
cases of graves intruding on others.109

This is the only cemetery from the Chou period for which the report carries assessments of the sex of the grave occupants. Fifteen were determined to be male and nine female. No relationship between sex and the placing of the graves can be observed. The largest tomb, M27, is that of a male, and this is the only burial in the site where the skeleton is extended rather than flexed.110

Liu-li-ko 琉璃閣

Excavations of the Warring States burial area at Liu-li-ko, in Hui-hsien 慧縣, Honan, were conducted both before 1949 and in the early 1950s, and two reports have been published. The first to appear, Hui-hsien fa-chîeh pao-kao (1956), covers the excavations conducted in the early 1950s. It contains details on the structure and contents of 27 excavated Warring States graves (ibid:32-52) as well as a site plan of the cemetery (ibid, Pl. 116). An unspecified number of graves were found to have been severely robbed or damaged and details of these were not included in the report (ibid:32). The second report to be published was Shan-piao-chen yâ Liu-li-ko (1959) and it covered excavations conducted before 1949. Many of the artefacts and excavators' notes were lost or damaged in the war years and so, although the report carries a site plan

109M28, a sparsely furnished grave, intrudes on M27, the largest grave, M24 intrudes on M23, and M22 intrudes on M21.

110The text of the report says that two burials were extended (ibid:8) but there is no indication of a second extended burial on the chart of individual grave attributes (ibid:16).
(ibid, Fig. 24) and details of some of the larger, richer graves (ibid:55-69), there is very little information about many of the smaller graves.

On the basis of these two reports it can be seen that the cemetery contained the graves of some relatively high status persons, probably members of the aristocracy of Wei (Shan-piao-chen:73). The largest tombs contained numerous bronze vessels and had measurements of more than 30 m² at the base. Near these tombs were smaller burials, although data are not available on the pit dimensions and artefacts assemblages of many of these. Those excavated before 1949 were classified only as 'large' or 'small', and, although some of the small graves contained bronze vessels (ibid:55), the total artefact assemblages are unknown. The more complete data available from the excavations in the 1950s reveal that the smaller graves generally contained a pottery assemblage of an average of six vessels, as well as sundry small items such as shells and hairpins. They measured 2-10 m² at the pit base. Figure 23 charts the distribution of Warring States graves at Liu-li-ko, showing the position of the largest, most richly furnished graves (i.e. those with large numbers of bronze vessels and/or pit dimensions of more than 30 m² at the base) in relation to smaller ones. (The deficiencies in the data mean that it is unclear just how wide a disparity exists between the size and wealth of the largest and smallest graves.)

The distribution of the graves according to the site plans is likely to be a fairly accurate picture of the cemetery's layout, as excavation and surveying was thorough (Hui-hsien:32). It may be observed in Figure 28 that there is a cluster of large graves in the west of the cemetery, but otherwise the large graves occur in groups of two or three. The
FIGURE 28:
LIU-LI-KO: CEMETERY PLAN SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF LARGE, RICH GRAVES

from: Hui-hsien (Pl. 116)
Shan-piao-chen (Fig. 24)
report writers judged that the pattern of the cemetery's development was lineal, expanding from east to west. This is apparently based on the archaeological evidence, but also on the assumption that the formula of each generation being placed at the feet of the generation above was in operation in the Warring States period (Shan-piao-chen:54).\textsuperscript{111} The pattern is broken in the Late Warring States period, and the report writers attribute this to social and political disruption prior to the Ch'in conquest (ibid:73).

This pattern may be seen in Figure 29 which shows all the Warring States graves for which the location is given in the two site reports. The graves on the map are distinguished according to the five phases specified in the reports.\textsuperscript{112} However, the picture is blurred by the quantity of graves which were not assigned to any of the five periods, the report writers merely stating that the more easterly ones were earlier (ibid:54). The sparsity of data on these means that it is impossible to examine the basis of this statement.

\textbf{Fen-shui-ling 分水嶺}

There have been four seasons of excavation at Fen-shui-ling, near Ch'ang-chih-shih 長治市, Shansi, and these have yielded a total of 31 graves from the state of Han 漢 dating from Late Spring and Autumn to

\textsuperscript{111}This formula, \textit{fu-teng-tzu-chien} 古墳展, will be discussed below. (Section 2.2, p.189).

\textsuperscript{112}I have allocated five graves, which the report writers did not date, to Period 5 on the basis of pottery assemblages: M101, M113, M122 have similar pottery goods to M104, M121 has a similar assemblage to M120, and M138 has a similar assemblage to M127.
FIGURE 29:
LIU-LI-KO: CEMETERY PLAN SHOWING LOCATION AND DATE OF GRAVES
from: Hui-hsien (Pl. 116)
Shan-piao-chen (Fig. 24)
FIGURE 30:
PLAN OF CEMETERY AT FEN-SHUI-LING

from: KK 1964.3: 121, Fig. 1
(location of M126 estimated from WW 1972.4: 43
location of M269, M270 estimated from KKHP 1974.2: 83
location of M127 estimated from KKHP 1974.2: 84 (report does not specify which side of M126))
Late Warring States. The graves included large rich tombs with pit base areas of 10-50 m² and assemblages of bronze vessels, and smaller graves with pit base areas of 4-10 m² with assemblages of between ten and fifteen pottery vessels. There are also two graves of small dimensions (3.4 m² at the pit base), one of which contained no artefacts and one which contained only an iron belt-hook and an agate ring. The report writers suggest that the larger graves were concentrated in the western end of the cemetery where the land was slightly higher and that this was a more exclusive area of the cemetery until towards the end of the cemetery's time span of use, when a few lower-status burials were also placed there (KK 1964.3:136). Figure 30 plots the layout of the graves from all four seasons of excavation, showing the position of the richest, largest graves in relation to the smaller ones.

Similar problems to those in the Liu-li-ko site apply to the estimation of the pattern of this cemetery's development. Although the largest graves can be placed in approximate sequence, the sparsity of data on the smaller burials precludes accurate dating. The large graves appear to have spread from the west to the east. M270 and M269 are believed to be earlier than the others in the cemetery (KKHP 1974.2:83) and those in the east, M21 and M35, to be the latest of the large graves (KK 1964.3:136). In the case of the smaller graves, there is

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insufficient data to establish their relative dates.\textsuperscript{114} One of the most striking features of this cemetery is the occurrence of parallel pairs of graves. The significance of this will be discussed in Section 2.3 (pp.209-210).

Fu-lin-pao 福臨塚

The burial area excavated between 1959 and 1960 at Fu-lin-pao, 5 km west of Pao-chi-shih 魚池市, Shensi, yielded eleven graves and one horse and chariot pit (KK 1963.10:536-543). No other contemporaneous graves were found in the immediate vicinity and so it does not seem that these graves were a section of a larger cemetery area (ibid:543). The excavators remarked on the apparent arrangement of this cluster of burials, in two parallel lines of five graves each, with one grave, M1, standing alone north of these, and also parallel (ibid:536)(see Figure 31). The site was in good condition and details of the complete artefact assemblages are available for almost all the graves.\textsuperscript{115}

Besides M1, which contained bronze goods, the graves vary from those with ten or eleven pottery vessels and miscellaneous goods, such as stone \textit{kuei}-spatulas and bronze \textit{ling}-jingles, to those devoid of goods (M3, M9, M10). At the time of this excavation no clear typological sequence for

\textsuperscript{114} M41 and M40 from the 1959-1960 excavation and M10 from the 1954-1955 excavation are the only smaller graves for which a more precise date may be estimated. These have features which, based on the criteria used to date the larger graves (KK 1964.3:136), suggest that they are Late Warring States burials. They all lie to the east of the site.

\textsuperscript{115} No details of the horse and chariot pit were published. A twelfth burial, X12, which stands north of M1, was not excavated.
KEY

- graves
- horse and chariot pit

FIGURE 31:
FU-LIN-PAO: CEMETERY PLAN
from: KK 1963. 10: 536, Fig. 1
dating Eastern Chou burials from Shensi had been established, and so the archaeologists were only able to suggest the non-specific date of early Eastern Chou (ibid:543). Subsequent archaeological research has improved the situation a little, confirming that these tombs were from the state of Ch'in, and allowing a more precise estimation of the date of at least some of the tombs. M1 has been dated to the early years of the Middle Spring and Autumn period, that is, the first half of the seventh century BC, the time of Dukes Hsuan and Ch'eng, and possibly Duke Mu of Ch'in (Ch'en P'ing 1984:66). Five of the other graves, M4, M6, M7, M11, and M13, contained pottery artefacts which would place them in the Middle and Late Spring and Autumn periods according to the pottery sequence for Ch'in established by Han Wei (1981:91). The distinctively decorated tou-pedestal-bowl in M5 resembles those excavated in the Ch'in cemetery at Shang-meng-ts'un, Shensi, which were dated to the Late Spring and Autumn and Early Warring States periods (KKG 1984:3:17) (see Figure 34). The remaining three graves with no artefacts (M3, M9, and M10) cannot be accurately dated, but they share features of the other graves, notably structure and occupant's posture.

The estimate of the time span of the cemetery's use is thus a loose one: the two hundred years between the beginning of the seventh century BC and the beginning of the fifth. The disparate nature of the pottery assemblages, no two graves share a similar range of vessel type or style, enhances the view that there was a significant time gap between each burial. However, the present understanding of changes in pottery assemblages within this two hundred year period is still insufficient to establish the precise order in which the graves were constructed, so the pattern of the cemetery's development cannot as yet be established.
(i) Hu-vase from Shang-meng-ts'un
(ii) Tou-pedestal-bowl from Shang-meng-ts'un
   from: KKYWW 1984.3:12, Fig. 9

(iii) Fang-hu-vase from Fu-lin-pao
(iv) Tou-pedestal-bowl from Fu-lin-pao
    from: KK 1963.10:539, Fig. 4

FIGURE 32
POTTERY VESSELS FROM SHANG-MENG-TS'UN AND FU-LIN-PAO
The burial area is unusual in that it is a discrete area containing a variety of sizes and wealth of graves, a feature which suggests a kin-group burial area. Yet the time span of its use is very long for so few burials. A possible hypothesis is that it was the burial place of a particular status of person -- a lineage head, for example, or a person with a particular function in the community, such as a shaman. However, the lack of continuity in the wealth and type of artefacts in the graves does not seem to accord with this, unless it could be attributed to the waxing and waning of the resources of the kin-group or community or of the significance of that person's function.
2.1.3 Late Spring and Autumn and Warring States Cemeteries

(Nan-chih-hui)  

Nan-chih-hui 南指揮

Trial digging of a site that appears to be a duca] burial area of the state of Ch'in in Nan-chih-hui, Feng-hsiang-hsien 交輝縣, Shensi, has established the arrangement of this extensive burial area. A total of 32 pits were found and they were arranged in thirteen groups of between one and seven pits per group (WW 1983.7:36). It is thought that the pits described in the report as shaped like the characters chung 中 and chia 衆 are graves, the round pit, K1, is a burial of hsün-jen, and the other pits are horse and chariot pits (ibid:31). It may therefore be assumed that each group contains between one and three burials. Figure 33 plots the layout of this area.

The area is apparently an exclusively high-status cemetery, although this cannot be confirmed until data on the location and dates of other Eastern Chou burials reportedly found in the area have been published (see above, p.81, fn.75). In an initial report on the site, assessments of surface pottery shards led the excavators to believe that those graves with no niches in the tomb passage way were earlier than those with one niche, and that, in turn, these were earlier than those with two niches (KKYWW 1981.1:84). This suggests that the pattern of the cemetery's development was from east to west, a reversal of the fu-teng-tzu-chien

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116 For a discussion of this area and its relationship to the Ch'in capital of Yung, see above, Section 1.4)(pp.76-81).
No scale was given on the published site plan. This scale is my estimate based on scales in plans of M25 and M9 (WW 1983. 7: 32-33, Figs. 2, 3).

**KEY**
- grave outlines
- horse pit outlines
- pit of hsün-jen
- trench

**FIGURE 33:**
LARGE GRAVES AT NAN-CHIH-HUI

from: WW 1983. 7: 30, Fig. 1
formula (see p.189). However, this cannot be verified until thorough excavation of the graves has been undertaken.

Wang-fu-t'ai 阜父台

As I have argued in Section 1.2 (pp.61-62), the group of graves dating from the Late Spring and Autumn to the Late Warring States at Wang-fu-t'ai near Ch'ü-fu, Shantung, form an area of exclusively large graves. The layout of these graves is shown in Figure 34. With the exception of the slightly smaller pit, M47, the graves lie in two parallel rows, and two graves, M52 and M58, are immediately adjacent to one another.

Severe robbery means that establishing the relative dates of the graves is difficult. However, on the basis of some residue pottery and of the different style of instrument used for pounding the earth in construction of the tombs, it was estimated that the two graves M1 and M2 were earlier than M3, M52, M58, and M47 (ibid:185). This suggests that the southern row of tombs may have been earlier than the northern row. M1 is believed to have been constructed slightly earlier than M2.

117 M51, a grave of similarly large proportions, with a pit base measuring 150 m² is not marked on the published site plan. The site plan shows M28 as a small grave (Ch'ü-fu:21, Fig. 11). However, on the chart of individual grave attributes (ibid:223) its dimensions are given as almost the same as those of M58, its pit base measuring some 120 m². I have drawn its approximate position on the map according to these dimensions.

118 Another area of large tombs, probably dating to the Warring States period, lies north of this area and is probably another segment of the same cemetery. The dimensions of these graves were ascertained, but they were not excavated. One has a pit mouth measuring 15 m x 40 m, and it is thought that it comprises two graves intruding slightly on one another (Ch'ü-fu:22). This may be a similar case to the pair, M52 and M53.
FIGURE 34:
PLAN OF GRAVES AT WANG-FU-T'AI

from: Ch'ü-fu (p. 21, Fig. 11)
(ibid:185) and, since M58 intrudes on M52, it is likely to have been constructed later than M52. This may indicate a west to east progression in the construction of the two rows.

Chin-ts'un

The find in the 1920s of an area of large, richly furnished Warring States tombs at Chin-ts'un near Lo-yang has been described above in Section 1.2 (pp.67-68). Included in White's (1934) description of these tombs is a site plan of their layout which reveals that the eight major tombs lay in two parallel rows, one of six tombs and one of two tombs. One smaller, unvaulted tomb lay in each of these rows and a third lay alone to the north (see Figure 35). The area appears to be an exclusively high-status burial area. Unfortunately no data remain to estimate the chronological sequence of these burials.

Hsü-liang-chung/Chiu-nü-t'ai

The 23 large graves at the site of Yen-hsia-tu, Yi-hsien Hopeh, (see above, Section 1.2 pp.70-73) were found to lie in two sections; a northern section known as Hsü-liang-chung and a southern section known as Chiu-nü-t'ai, which are divided by a section of city wall and a waterway. Figure 36 plots the arrangement of the graves in these two sections. The Chiu-nü-t'ai section graves are in two parallel rows with a smaller tomb to the south, while in the Hsü-liang-chung area the rows are less regular.

Until further excavation reports on these graves are published, it is not possible to assess the pattern of the cemetery's development. All that has been published on the dates of these graves is the estimation that M8 from Hsü-liang-chung was probably Middle or Late Warring States
FIGURE 35:
PLAN OF LARGE GRAVES AT CHIN-TS'UN

from White (1934)
FIGURE 36:
HSÜ-LIANG-CHUNG / CHIU-NÜ-T'AI: CEMETERY PLAN

(main map, reproduction of site map, 2 subsidiary maps showing details of each area)
(main map:) from KKHP 1965. 1, Fig. 1
and that M16 at Chiu-nü-t'ai was probably Early Warring States (WW 1982.8:87). This is not necessarily an indication that the Chiu-nü-t'ai section was constructed earlier, the two areas may well contain graves from a similar range of dates.
2.1.4 Late Spring and Autumn and Warring States Cemeteries (Medium and Low status)

Shao-kou

One of the earliest reports of an excavation of a Warring States cemetery is that of the burials found at Shao-kou near Lo-yang (KKHP 1954.8:127-162). The report covers 57 Warring States graves excavated in 1953 and two others found earlier. The three clusters of graves shown on the site plan (See Figure 37) do not necessarily represent real clusters of graves, since the excavators did not have time to establish where the boundaries of the cemetery were and how graves were distributed in the areas between the excavated segments (ibid:130). The cemetery is, therefore, of little use for the study of overall spatial patterning.

The excavated segments reveal that although the graves are densely packed (for example, graves in the southern area are less than 5 m from their nearest neighbour), no grave intrudes on another. There is a noticeable homogeneity in terms of grave size and wealth. The graves have average pit mouth measurements of 2.8-6 m² (ibid:130) and the assemblages generally consist of between six and eight pottery vessels and miscellaneous items such as stone kuei-spatulas and bronze belt-hooks. The cemetery was dated to the Late Warring States period and, possibly, Early Western Han (ibid:160) but no typological sequence could be established because of the relative homogeneity of the artefact assemblages in the graves.
FIGURE 37:
SHAO-KOU: CEMETERY PLAN

from: KKHP 1954, 8: 129, Fig. 1
Like the Shao-kou cemetery, the Warring States cemetery found at Pan-p'o near Hsi-an, Shensi, was only partially excavated (KKHP 1957.3:63-92). In this case, however, investigation between the excavated segments revealed that many other graves lay in these interjacent areas (ibid:63). The 112 excavated graves were generally poorly furnished: 45 had no grave goods and four had only bones from sacrificed meat (ie 44% of the total). A further 23 had only one or two belt-hooks (of bronze or iron) and the remaining graves had one or two pottery vessels and the occasional sundry item such as a bronze mirror or a bead. No grave contained bronze vessels.

Because so many graves had no grave goods it is difficult to date them and to establish the chronological development of the cemetery. It was suggested that the three styles of cave-chamber structure specified in the report represent a chronological development (ibid:68-70) and a typology of pottery styles has also been formulated (Yeh Hsiao-yen 1982:69). It may be observed that cave-chamber graves of Style III, i.e. the latest style, are concentrated in the far east of the eastern group and the far north of the northern group (See Figure 38). However, one would have to know whether these were in fact the peripheries of the whole cemetery area before one could take this as evidence of centrifugal expansion. The high proportion of graves with no artefacts means that the pottery typology cannot reveal the pattern of the cemetery's development.

The graves are densely packed, generally lying 5-7 m from their nearest neighbour, and, in the densest areas, less than 1 m away (KKHP 1957.3:63), yet no grave intrudes on another (ibid:67).
FIGURE 38:
PAN-P'O: CEMETERY SITE PLAN

from: KKHP 1957. 3: 64, Fig. 1
The graves, which were from the state of Ch'in, have been dated to the Middle and Late Warring States (Yeh Hsiao-yen 1982:69).

A very large Warring States cemetery area was found at Ch'ao-yi, in Ta-li-hsien, Shensi (1978.2:75-91). 676 graves were located and their distribution charted on the published site plan (ibid:76, Fig. 2), but so far only 26 have actually been excavated. This sample is too small to serve as an indication of the cemetery's pattern of development or the range of grave wealth and sizes. It is noted in the report that the graves were densely packed and systematically ordered (ibid:75). Although further excavation in the area will have to be awaited before the full potential of this site may be revealed, it is worth noting that, while the majority of excavated graves contain fairly homogeneous artefact assemblages of between three and five pottery vessels, there are three graves with several bronze vessels and one with an iron ting-cauldron. Four graves contain no artefacts. This may suggest a greater variety of wealth than that encountered in contemporaneous Ch'in cemeteries, such as Pan-p'o.

The graves were dated by the report writers as Early Warring States to Late Warring States and this was based principally on their structure. The rectangular, vertical-pit graves were believed to be Early Warring States, those with a niche to be Middle Warring States, and those of the cave-chamber style to be Late Warring States (ibid:89). However, data from more recent Ch'in graves and reassessments of earlier excavation data suggest that all the excavated graves from Ch'ao-yi are likely to be Late Warring States. For example, there are no Ii-cauldrons which
feature in Early and Middle Warring States graves, such as those found at Feng-hsiang (KKWW 1981.1:12-35). The fu-boiler (fu- or 豔) and tseng-steamer-bowls present in 22 Ch'ao-yi graves are items which distinguish Late Warring States Ch'in graves from earlier ones (Yeh Hsiao-yen 1982.1:69).

Erh-li-kang 二里崗

A large cemetery which contained graves dating from Early Warring States to Early Western Han was excavated south of the Erh-li-kang road in Cheng-chou 鄭州, Honan (Cheng-chou:44-94). The pattern of the cemetery is somewhat obscured by the presence of three roads which cut southwards into the excavation area, and by the fact that the central southern section (Group B) was excavated by a different archaeological team and there is no published record as to whether this area forms a discrete group of graves as the site plan suggests (see Figure 39).

The graves are relatively homogeneous, measuring 2-6 m² at the pit base and containing an assemblage of an average of five pottery vessels with miscellaneous personal ornaments such as iron belt-hooks, bronze huang-crescents, shells, and boneware.

The report writers remark on the lineal expansion of the cemetery southwards following the incline of the land, later graves being generally on the lower land (ibid:44-46). This is borne out by Figure 39 which plots the graves according to the chronology of three periods outlined in the report (ibid:79-80). However, it may be observed that the cluster to the west of the cemetery (Figure 39, Group A) appears to

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119 No details of the individual graves in Group B have been published.
**KEY**

- ▲ Period I (Early - Middle Warring States)
- ■ Period II (Middle - Late Warring States)
- △ Period III (Late Warring States - Early Western Han)
- ● date unknown
- □ graves excavated by Honan Cultural Bureau, Team No. 2
- □ unexcavated graves
- \→ roads

**FIGURE 39**:
ERH-LI-KANG: CEMETERY PLAN SHOWING LOCATION AND DATES OF GRAVES

from: *Cheng-chou*: 45, Fig. 20
have developed centrifugally. These graves are also less densely packed than the main body of graves, but do not differ in other respects, such as structure or grave goods. This cluster may represent a discrete section in the cemetery used by a certain social group, or the layout may be merely a function of the terrain -- for example a separate area of high land where graves spread down the slopes in all directions. The earlier terrain of the area is hard to establish and the report writers draw attention to changes due to a post-Warring States build-up and recent soil removal (ibid:44).

Pai-sha-chen 白沙鎮

An area of Late Spring and Autumn and Early Warring States burials was excavated in 1951-1952 at Pai-sha-chen, in Yü-hsien 裳縣, Honan, (KKHP 1954.7:87-101). The overall layout of the cemetery and its extent cannot be estimated, because the excavation was restricted to areas where dam construction was in progress. This means that the two clusters of graves in the site plan do not represent actual clusters within the cemetery (KKHP 1955.7:87-89).

The 43 excavated graves are of similar proportions (2.5-5.0 m²) and

Another Eastern Chou cemetery near Cheng-chou is that at Pi-sha-kang 黄沙崗, just west of the city (WW 1956.3:27-34). The data on the 145 graves are limited, with the only published details indicating that the graves range between modestly furnished ones with pottery vessels and small items of bronze, bone, shell and jade, to those with no goods at all. One third of the total fall into the latter category. The site is possibly slightly earlier than the Erh-li-kang cemetery (WW 1955.6:123) but more data would be needed to estimate the cemetery's time span. The graves are arranged in three clusters, two of which are more densely packed. Although a site map is included in the report, no assessment of the cemetery's time span or pattern of development is possible without more data on the burials.
there is little disparity in wealth of grave goods. Most contain four and five pottery vessels. The greatest number of pottery vessels is eight, and four graves have no grave goods (ibid, Tab. 1).

The report writers distinguished four groupings of pottery artefacts which they believed to represent a chronological sequence of four phases, although the time span of these phases was considered to be relatively short (ibid:100-101). Figure 40 charts the individual graves according to this chronology and reveals no apparent lineal pattern of development for these segments of the cemetery.
KEY

- Pottery assemblage, Style 1
- Pottery assemblage, Style 2
- Pottery assemblage, Style 3
- Pottery assemblage, Style 4
- empty grave

FIGURE 40:
PAI-SHA-CHEN: CEMETERY PLAN SHOWING POTTERY ASSEMBLAGES
from: *KKHP* 1954, 7: 88, Fig. 1
2.1.5 Cemetery Layout and Composition: Conclusion

It is apparent from the above discussion that archaeological data relating to patterns of cemetery layout and composition in the Chou period are very fragmentary. This is particularly so for the period from Western Chou until Middle Spring and Autumn. There are only six examples from this five-hundred-year time span and few of these offer satisfactory data. Sites from the Late Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods are more plentiful, there being fourteen examples from a period of four centuries.

The six examples from the Western Chou and Early and Middle Spring and Autumn periods examined in Section 2.1.1 are all cases of burial areas containing graves of a variety of sizes and wealth, but there are differences in their patterns and composition. The cemeteries at Chang-chia-p'o and Hsi-ts'un have some features in common, such as the occurrence of small clusters of two or three graves, often at right angles to one another, which may represent burials of members of the same family. Although Hsi-ts'un contains some larger, wealthier graves, the graves in the cemetery are generally more homogeneous than those at Chang-chia-p'o. This may be a result of a similar practice of kin-group burial, but wealth disparities within the kin-groups may have been wider in the Chou capital where large aristocratic lineages dwelt.

Cemeteries at Wang-fu-t'ai and Shang-ts'un-ling display a similar pattern of a burial area which is divided into two or three clusters of almost equal numbers of graves in each cluster. These may have been the burial areas of lineages or sub-lineages of powerful kin groups of the states of Lu and Kuo.
The area of relatively homogeneous graves from the Spring and Autumn period at Hou-kang reveals little information about cemetery composition because it is not known whether they are an isolated cluster of burials or part of a wider cemetery area.

The Liu-li-ho-chen area raises the question of whether separate burial areas were used by different ethnic or cultural groups, in this case those of the Chou and the local aristocracy who may have been influenced by Yin burial practices. The present state of the published data from this site does not allow an examination of this question but it is potentially an important avenue of enquiry.

There are several other cases from the Western Chou where ethnic divisions of cemetery areas have been suggested. One such is the case of burial sites at Lu-ch'eng which has been discussed above in relation to the cemeteries' locations within the capital of Lu (see pp.52-54). Other examples are from Western Chou sites at Lo-yang: 32 burials found close to the bronze foundry at Pei-yao-ts'un were differentiated from the group of more than three hundred burials which stood just 200 m north. The writers of the excavation report postulated that the group of 32 are burials of a Yin lineage managing the bronze foundry after the Conquest, while the larger burial area to the north contain the members of Chou lineages. This conclusion was based partly on the bronze inscriptions of Chou ranks and names found on artefacts in the latter group, but since both burial areas suffered severe depredation by robbers, the primary considerations were structural features, such as the presence or absence of waist pits, dog skeletons, and tomb ramps, and the orientation of the graves. Insufficient data have been published to allow a detailed examination of this hypothesis.
A similar case involves the burials excavated near Lo-yang in the early 1950s which were attributed to post-Conquest Yin people (KKHP 1955.9:103). The evidence at the time was not strong and the conclusion was criticized for being based on fragmentary data from a tiny sample of graves (Hu Ch’ien-ying 1936). Hu also argued that the structural features were not exclusive to the Yin and that even if the graves were of Yin people, the dating criteria were inadequate to determine whether the graves dated from before or after the Conquest, since the area would have been under Shang influence before the arrival of the Chou (ibid:72). The later find of the 32 graves close to the bronze works may have been more accurately dated on account of their stratigraphical relationship with the other features of the site, but there are still problems of depletion by robbery.

These examples reveal that it is not yet possible to make conclusive statements about ethnic divisions of cemeteries in the centuries following the Chou conquest.

The burial areas examined in Section 2.1.2 are examples of heterogeneous burial areas from the Late Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods and differences in the composition of these may also be observed. Shang-meng-ts’un and Tung-ydeh-shih-ts’un are both sites where large and small graves lie interspersed but the disparities between the largest, wealthiest graves and the smallest, poorest graves are not great. The burial area at Shang-meng-ts’un appears to be divided into two clusters of graves, rather like the clusters found in the Western Chou and Spring and Autumn cemetery at Wang-fu-t’ai. In contrast, the wealth and size disparities between graves in Liu-li-ko and Fen-shui-ling are far more pronounced, and there is also an apparent segregation between large and small graves within the one burial area.
It may be observed that Shang-meng-ts’un and Tung-ydieh-shih-ts’un are in areas on the peripheries of the powerful states of the Eastern Chou. On the other hand Fen-shui-ling and Liu-li-ko were cemeteries of significant yi settlements of powerful states. Fen-shui-ling is likely to have been the burial area of aristocracy from a settlement in the Shang-tang region of Han (KKHP 1974.2:84), while Liu-li-ko was probably the burial area of aristocracy from the yi of Chi in the state of Wei (Shan-piao-chen:2).

A further example of a heterogeneous cemetery from the Eastern Chou is Fu-lin-pao. This site presents a unique case of an isolated burial area of a small number of graves, possibly spanning two centuries of use.

The two kinds of burial areas described in Sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 of exclusively large or exclusively small graves have only been found in Late Spring and Autumn and Warring States sites. The question is, do these kinds of burial areas represent a new development?

In the case of the exclusively high-status burial areas, it is clear that these contain the burials of the rulers of the various states. Graves of the rulers' immediate family, of their spouses, and, perhaps, also of very high-status individuals, such as ministers, may also have been in these burial areas. The absence of such burial areas from the Western Chou and Early Spring and Autumn may, of course, be a result of a gap in the archaeological record. However, there are cases described in Section 1 and in Section 2.1.1 which suggest that rulers' graves have been unearthed but not recognised as such. These include burials within heterogeneous cemeteries in Wang-fu-t'ai in Lu-ch'eng and Liu-li-ho-chen in Tang-shan-hsien. The former may have been graves of the ruling house of Lu in the Western Chou and Early Spring and Autumn periods and the
latter of the Chou rulers enfeoffed in Yen. The conclusion that the Shang-ts'un-ling burial area did not contain the Dukes of Kuo, but only the crown prince of that state and his kin groups is based only on the inscriptions on two ko-dagger-axes and on the assumption that the Dukes of Kuo would be buried in a more exclusive area (see above, p.142). There remains the possibility that the cemetery contains the graves of the rulers themselves as well as members of their lineages.

It is probable, therefore, that the phenomenon of exclusive burial areas for the rulers of the various states does indeed represent a new development in the Late Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods.

In the case of homogeneous burial areas of modestly or poorly furnished graves, the problem of assessing whether this form of cemetery emerged in the later centuries of the Chou period is exacerbated by the increased likelihood of invisibility in the archaeological record. It may have been that large sectors of the population of the Western Chou and Spring and Autumn periods were also buried in such cemeteries, but that they were buried with no artefacts or only with perishable grave goods. A large cemetery area which only yields skeletal materials is, in the first place, unlikely to become the object of archaeological

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121Considerable debate continues about the location of the capital or capitals of Yen in the Western Chou and Spring and Autumn periods because the historical sources are scarce and ambiguous (Ch'en P'an 1969:78b-80b). Fang-shan-hsien is one of the two areas which has yielded archaeological clues with the discovery of an extensive area of Western Chou deposit in the locality (KK 1974.5:220). Further excavation reports of this area are necessary before it can be conclusively identified as the centre of Yen. (The second area which may have been the site of an early capital of Yen is near Hsüan-wu-men near the centre of the modern city of Peking (WW 1957.7:74-75).)
investigation, and even were it to be excavated, it would present formidable problems for dating. It may be that the occurrence of such cemeteries in the later Eastern Chou is not a reflection of a different pattern of cemetery composition, but is a reflection of the more extensive use of pottery vessels and miscellaneous burial goods in the graves of people other than the social elite.

The results of this examination of the data on Chou cemeteries can be summarized as follows: First, it is evident that throughout the Chou period certain segments of the population were buried in cemetery areas according to principles other than access to wealth and resources, and these principles were most likely to have been those of kinship. However, questions relating to the proportion of the population that was buried in this manner and how inclusive or exclusive these kin-group cemeteries may have been must at present remain unanswered. The observable differences between these cemeteries raise various issues for future research, such as the possibility of ethnic divisions of cemeteries or of regional variations in cemetery patterns, but chronological change in the form of these cemeteries is at the moment impossible to determine because of the smallness of the sample. When one considers this lack of data and also the problems of interpretation discussed in the introduction to this section (pp.119-120), it is even more apparent how this kind of cemetery data cannot be applied effectively to historical debates about such things as the structure and function of kin groups or systems of land tenure.

However, a chronological development may be observed in the nature of the cemeteries in which the dukes or kings of the various states were buried, for there is a fairly clear trend towards exclusive burial areas
for the rulers and possibly their immediate family in the Late Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. This trend coincides with the documented process of political centralization of these states in traditional sources, fundamental to which was the demise of the tsung-fa lineage system and the decline in the influence of the wider kin group of the ruler (Hsu Cho-yun 1965; Hsü Fu-kuan 1972:63-147). Recognition of an interrelationship between the emergent form of cemetery organization and the political developments is justified. However, to go beyond the simple observation of this interrelationship and to attempt to use this data as the basis for conclusions about the complexities of the power structure of that time is to fall into the trap of taking the burial evidence as an accurate reflection of reality. The location of a ruler's grave is a powerful political symbol which may be manipulated in various ways. For example, it may be manipulated by the ruler's successors in a bid to enhance the declining prestige of the royal line, or by other social groups to mask the locus of real power. For this reason, the archaeological evidence cannot support conclusions about, for example, the relative autocracy of the rulers of the different states or the exact timing of the political developments.

The same reservations must be made with regard to the potential use of this kind of data to resolve debates about the autocracy of the Western Chou kings should their graves ever be discovered. Although traditional records of the locations of their burials are plentiful (Hsieh Min-ts'ung 1979:34-42), there have been no archaeological investigations to verify these sources and so we do not know if these rulers were buried in exclusively high-status areas. It cannot be presumed that just because the Shang kings' graves lay in a discrete area
of high-status burials, that this pattern was followed in the Chou. Keightley has suggested in a recent paper that the enormous expenditure involved in the burial of Shang kings may have been a function of the circulating succession system of the Late Shang. The expenditure of vast resources may have operated to reduce the power of the immediate descendants of a king and permit a smoother transition for the next lineage to inherit the royal position. This expenditure would no longer have been necessary in the system of father-son succession of the Chou (Keightley, unpub. 1985:85). One could postulate a similar relationship between the choice of location and this change in succession patterns. Isolation of the Shang kings' graves in an area away from their kin group could have functioned to reinforce the principle that the immediate descendants of a dead king had no claim on the royal prestige and power. In contrast, there was not this contradiction between royal power and lineage membership in the succession system of the Chou.
SECTION 2.2

THE CHAO-MU SYSTEM OF GRAVE ARRANGEMENT

The chao-mu 立 立 system is an institution of the Chou which for centuries has been the object of research and speculation. The terms chao and mu appear in Chou texts such as the Shih-ching and the Tso-chuan as signifiers of kinship relations, but it is in the later Chou text, the Li-chi, where the system is more fully explained. Alternate generations are categorized as chao or mu, thus in a patrilineal descent line of four generations, if ego's father is chao, ego will be mu, ego's son will be chao and ego's grandson will be mu. The system is applied in the Li-chi to the groupings of lineage members in the conduct of ceremonies (Couvreur [1950] Vol. 2:337) and in the arrangement of ancestral temples (ibid. Vol. 1:237-288).

It is not within the scope of this study to enter the debate about the origins and function of the chao-mu system. What is of interest is whether the it was applied to the placing of graves. As we have seen, (p.107), the Chou-li description of the duties of the chung-jen in charge of the kung-mu-chih-ti includes the specification that graves be placed in accordance with this system. The graves of the former kings hsien-wang 王 王 should be in the centre of the burial area with those of the chao descendants to the left and those of the mu descendants to

122 e.g. Shih-ching, SPTK 19:11a; Legge Vol. 4:591, and Tso-chuan, Duke Hsi, 5th year, SPTK 5:7a; Legge Vol. 5:143;145.

123 For discussions of the chao-mu system and its function within the kinship system of the Chou, see, for example Li Tsung-t'ung (1954, Vol. 1:52-55) and Vandermeersch (1977:107-123).
the right (*Chou-li* Vol. 2:41:80; Biot Vol. 2:20). In imperial times, manuals written on the subject of cemetery arrangement incorporated the *chao-mu* pattern in their conceptions of an ideal layout (*Su Pai* 1957:81-83; *DeGroot* 1997:832-833) and it is believed that the graves of the early emperors of the Western Han conformed to the system (*KKWW* 1980.1:32-33). Is there any archaeological evidence to suggest that this was, indeed, a practice of the Chou period?

The archaeological examples discussed below are all areas of high status burials, in most cases ducal or royal cemetery areas. It would seem unlikely that graves of people other than high-status individuals would comply with such an arrangement, for it presumes the availability of space and resources to permit the planned siting of graves over many generations. The *Chou-li* refers to the system only in the context of the *kung-mu-chih-ti*, not of the *pang-mu-chih-ti*, which may support this assumption. However, the larger and more prominent the grave, the greater the likelihood of it having been robbed. As we have seen in the preceding section, this means that graves in almost all the high-status cemeteries so far excavated, are very hard to date. It is therefore virtually impossible to establish the chronological development of such burial areas, an aspect which is central to any speculation about sequential placing of graves according to the *chao-mu* system.

One of the first observations of an apparently formal arrangement of a group of graves from a Chou site, was that regarding graves excavated at Chang-chia-p’o in Ch’ang-an. The report writers isolated five graves (M173, M174, M175, M166, and M186) which all date from Early Western Chou and which lay in a formation resembling three sides of a rectangle
The correlation between this pattern and the \textit{chao-mu} arrangement, with a founding ancestor at one end and two rows on either side, has led to the suggestion that this may be an example of the \textit{chao-mu} system in operation (Chang Yung-k'ang 1982:162). Although the original report writers remark that this pattern may be observed in other groups of Early Western Chou graves from the site (Feng-hsi:115-116), a close examination of the published evidence reveals no other similar examples. As has been demonstrated above, (pp.125-130), there are several cases both from this site and from the Western Chou site at Hsi-ts'un where groups of three, four, or five contemporaneous graves lie clustered together. These groups contain graves which lie on a variety of axes, often at right angles to one another, but none display exactly the same layout as the group M173, M174, M175, M166, and M186. It is likely, therefore, that the pattern of these five graves is no more than a chance arrangement. As I have suggested above, (p.178), the clustering of small groups of graves within the Western Chou cemeteries at Chang-chia-p'o and Hsi-ts'un may represent family groupings.

A second area of burials which has been mentioned in the discussion of the \textit{chao-mu} system is located at Hsin-ts'un in Hsin-hsien, Honan. The limitations of the data from this area of Western Chou burials has been discussed above (p.122). It appears that an assumed formula for the arrangement of graves rather than concrete archaeological evidence was the basis for conclusions about the chronological development of the

\footnote{124 These graves are shown in the figure accompanying the discussion of this site in Section 2.1.1, p.127, Figure 19.}
cemetery. The formula referred to by the report writers is that of _fu-teng-tzu-chien_ 夫登孝 , and thus they postulated a progressive development of the cemetery, assuming that subsequent generations were buried at the feet of their forebears. The severe disturbance of the graves by robbery and apparent inconsistencies in dating the burials (see above, pp.122-123) suggest that this conclusion is unwarranted.

The same reservations must necessarily apply to the hypothesis that the larger graves in this burial area are the _chao_ side of a _chao-mu_ arrangement (Ye Wei-ch’ao 1981:35). Although M21 in the north-west of the site is likely to be earliest and M24 in the south-east the latest, a fact which might indicate the lineal progression of these large graves, there are no available data on other large tombs found, but not excavated, in the area (Hsün-hsien:75). This kind of data, plus proof that there was a western branch, or _mu_ side, of the cemetery would be needed before this hypothesis could be supported.

Finally, it has been suggested that the graves around M1820 in the cemetery at Shang-ts’un-ling may be an example of a _chao-mu_ arrangement (Chang Yung-k’ang 1932:162). This burial is a large grave lying in the centre of the central group of graves in the cemetery. The difficulties

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125 The report writers remark that this formula was traditionally applied to Chinese cemetery layout (ibid:73). I have been unable to trace the origins of this term. It is not included in the supplement of the _Chia-li_ 殿, by the Sung scholar Chao Li-ming 趙李明, which outlines the correct placing of graves according to kin relationships (_Ch’iu-ch’ing-chia-li-yi-chieh_ 1770 6:26b-27b), nor is it found in any Chou textual sources.

126 Only three of the medium-sized and small-sized graves in the burial area were recorded as undisturbed and of these many of the artefacts from one (M60) were lost after excavation (Hsün-hsien:19).
in placing the graves from Shang-ts'un-ling in chronological sequence have been discussed above (p.139) and there seems to be no justification in isolating M1820 and interpreting its neighbouring graves as conforming to any regular pattern.

The three royal or ducal burial areas of Wang-fu-t'ai, Chin-ts'un, and Yen-hsia-tu discussed in Section 2.1.3 are all cases where the graves are laid out in a regular fashion, apparently in parallel rows. Yet in all cases the progressive accumulation of these rows may only be guessed at. In no case is there evidence to point to a grave of the earliest ancestor around which others are grouped according to the chao-mu arrangement.

It must be concluded that there is, as yet, no clear archaeological evidence of a chao-mu arrangement of graves reflecting the chao-mu arrangement of temples set out in the Li-chi. This does not mean, however, that this system of uniting alternate generations was never apparent in the placing of graves. It may have been that, rather than following the pattern of a central grave with the chao and mu generations lying to the left and right, graves were simply grouped in areas or in rows according to whether the occupant was a chao or mu generation. This may well be the reason why the royal burial area at Yen-hsia-tu is divided into the two sections of Hstí-liang-chung and Chiu-ná-t'ai and the high-status graves at Wang-fu-t'ai in Lu-ch'eng lie in two rows.\(^\text{127}\)

However, such an hypothesis must remain speculative until there is

\(^{127}\)The division of the Shang royal burial area at Hsi-peí-kang, An-yang, into two sections is cited by K.C. Chang as possible evidence for the existence of a prototype of the chao-mu system in the Shang period (K.C. Chang 1930:187-188).
conclusive data on the relative dates of individual graves in these cemetery areas.
HUSBAND/WIFE BURIAL

One formula regularly applied to the arrangement of graves in China's imperial period is that of burying a man together with his wife and concubines (DeGroot 1894:802). The terms used to denote this arrangement were usually ho-tsang 合葬 or fu-tsang 衔葬, and these terms applied both to burial within the same grave and burial in adjacent graves, sometimes under the same tumulus. In the case of imperial consorts, the terms also applied to burial within an emperor's mausoleum ground (ibid:443). It is evident from archaeological investigations that burial of husband and wife in adjacent graves was an established practice in the Western Han period, and that in the Late Western Han and the Eastern Han, it was the practice to place husband and wife together within the same grave pit (Wang Zhongshu [Wang Chung-shu] 1982:210).

In this section, I examine the question of whether burials of a conjugal pair, or of a wider conjugal group (i.e. of husband, wife, and concubines) were placed in a particular relationship to one another in cemeteries of the Chou period. I shall use the term husband/wife burial to denote this practice, although I include under this term cases where the wives or concubines in a polygynous marriage are buried close to their husband.

Certain remarks from the Li-chi have traditionally been accepted as evidence that husband/wife burial was a custom of the Chou period. The work refers to the Duke of Chou as the instigator of this convention (Couvreur [1930] Vol. 1:132) and, in another passage, it relates how Confucius was concerned that his mother should be buried in the same
grave as his father. Confucius left her coffin unburied until he found where his father's remains lay (ibid:117). The Li-chi also attributes a comment to Confucius about different regional forms of the practice: apparently the people of Wei 寶 buried husband and wife together with a space in between, whereas in his own state of Lu, they were buried right beside each other. The latter, he added, was the better way (ibid:262).

The Li-chi is believed to have been compiled in the first century BC from Chou, Ch'in, and Han sources (Watson 1962:140) and it cannot be used confidently as a primary source (Creel 1970:486). References to the two historical figures of the Duke of Chou and Confucius are more likely to have been a way of underlining the ritual correctness of the practice, rather than being based on any historical documents available to the compilers of the work.

The Shih-ching, which contains works of Western Chou and possibly Eastern Chou date (Creel 1970:463), includes two poems which have often been cited as evidence of the early establishment of the practice. In Ta-ch'e 大車, the poet sings

While living, we may have to occupy different apartments;  
But when dead, we shall share the same grave.

(SPTK 4:6b; Legge, Vol. 4:121)

The problem of assuming that this is a reference to husband/wife burial lies in the ambiguity of the text. Is it a song addressed to a husband from whom a woman is separated? Is the reference to separate chambers an allusion to a practice of husband and wife inhabiting different apartments? Or is it the song of a woman addressing a lover, not a husband (ibid:121-122)? If the latter is the case, then it may not necessarily be evidence of husband/wife burial.
The second poem is that entitled Ko-sheng and it is interpreted as the song of a widow, grieving for her husband's death and for her own loneliness. She ends her song with the words

Till the lapse of a hundred years,  
When I shall go home to his chamber.

(SPTK 6:8a; Legge Vol. 4:186-187)

The chamber, shih, is taken to be the grave of her husband.

With the exception of these ambiguous passages from the Shih-ching which might suggest that husband and wife shared the same grave pit, references to the burial of husband and wife in texts earlier than the Han do not tell us anything about the placement of the graves of a conjugal pair in relation to one another. For example, there is a passage in the Tso-chuan which tells of the burial of the wife of the Earl of Ch'i. The woman was a daughter of the Duke of Lu who married into Ch'i but subsequently returned to Lu (Duke Ch'eng, 5th year; Legge Vol. 5:355-356). Three years later the woman died (Duke Ch'eng, 8th year; Legge Vol. 5:364;366) and the Earl of Ch'i then went to Lu to take her coffin back to Ch'i for burial (Duke Ch'eng, 9th year; Legge Vol. 5:368;370). Whether her return to Lu was a result of divorce is hard to establish, for she is still referred to as Ch'i-shu-chi after her return to Lu. Whatever the case, the anecdote suggests that a married woman was buried in her husband's state rather than her natal state. It does not, however, tell us whether her grave was placed alongside that of her husband, or even whether it was placed in her husband's kin-group burial ground.

A passage in the Chou-li which has been taken by commentators to be a reference to husband/wife burial is to be found in the section
describing the duties of the mei-shih 媒氏. This official was to ensure that graves of those who died before marriage were not moved in order to unite them posthumously with an intended partner (Chou-li Vol. 2:26:74; Biot Vol. 1:307). The text does not specify, however, that this movement would involve reburial alongside the intended partner. It may merely be referring to the removal of a woman's grave from her natal kin-group's burial area to that of her intended husband's kin group.

It is only with reference to the burial of concubines who were to be the victims of hsün-tsang 祭葬 that the texts are more specific about the position of the woman's burial. The Tso-chuan tells of an incident in the sixth century BC when a certain Wei Wu-tzu 惠武子 requested that his favourite concubine be slain and buried alongside him after his demise. The main thrust of the passage is a criticism of the practice of hsün-tsang, for Wei Wu-tzu's son refused to comply with his request, arguing that his father's mind was clouded by sickness (Duke Hsuan, 15th year; Legge Vol. 5:326;328). A tale with a similarly fortunate outcome for the potential victims is to be found in the T' an-kung 猶弓 section of the Li-chi. Ch'en Kan-hsi 陳軼曾 asked that his kuan-inner-coffin be made large enough to accommodate himself and two concubines. His son protested that not only was the practice of hsün-tsang wrongful, but the sharing of a kuan-inner-coffin was, in itself, a serious breach of propriety (Couvreur [1950] Vol. 1:229-230).

The issue of hsün-tsang and the use of wives or concubines as victims of this practice is an important one to raise in the discussion of husband/wife burial. It must be emphasised that the practice of hsün-tsang was certainly not confined to cases where males were the main tomb occupant and women were the accompanying burials. Besides the cases
of Wei Wu-tzu and Ch'en Kan-hsi's concubines, and those women slain on
the death of Ch'in Shih-huang (Shih-chi SKK Vol. 2:6:69; Chavannes Vol.
2:195), there is just one other textual reference to the potential use of
a conjugal partner as a hsün-jen and that is from the comparatively late
source, the Li-chi. The wife and the steward of a certain Ch'en Tzu-ch'è
wished to bury a hsün-jen with him. The brother of the deceased
put a stop to their plans by arguing that the best people to serve him in
the after-life were, in fact, his wife and steward, so they should be the

Other victims, or potential victims, of hsün-tsang mentioned in the
textual sources include servants (Tso-chuan, Duke Ch'ing, 10th year;
Legge Vol. 5:373-374), the lover of Queen Hsüan of Ch'in (Chan-kuo-ts'e
3:52b; Crump:111-112), and, in the case
of the 'three good men of Ch'in', possibly officials or high-ranking
persons (Shih-ching, Legge Vol. 4:198-200; Tso-chuan, Duke Wen, 6th year;
Legge Vol. 5:242;244).

The picture of the practice of hsün-tsang which can be drawn from
archaeology is still fragmentary, because skeletal analysis is rare.
However, examples from Shang and Western Chou graves where the age and
sex of hsün-jen have been established suggest that the majority of
victims were young, often under twenty years old, and they were
predominantly males (e.g. KKHP 1979.1:27-120; KK 1974.5:309-321). It is
in the Eastern Chou, when cases of hsün-tsang are far rarer,¹²⁸ that

¹²⁸ Recent excavations in areas of Ch'in state have yielded
significantly more cases of hsün-tsang from the Eastern Chou period (e.g.
WWTLTK 1980.3:67-85; KKYWW 1981.1:12-33) which may suggest that the
practice was more prevalent in Ch'in in this later period.
several cases have been found of a male burial with a dozen or so young female hsün-jen, buried in coffins with sundry burial goods, such as items of personal adornment (e.g. KKHP 1977.1:73-87; WW 1979.7:1-32). It may be that the burial of hsün-jen in this later period was confined to a few extraordinary cases and that a conjugal relationship with the main tomb occupant was the basis for their inclusion.

Turning now to the archaeological data on husband/wife burial, it is first necessary to outline some of the problems in identifying cases of this practice. When two or more burials lie in the same pit or in pits with a close relationship to one another, it is important to establish whether the burials are formal burials or cases of hsün-tsang, and whether the burials are of a male and a female (or females).

It is not always unambiguous when a burial is of a hsün-jen. Sometimes accompanying burials show signs of violent death or of having been bound with ropes. Sometimes they may be coffinless or placed on the erh-ts'eng-t'ai. However, when an accompanying burial is also in a coffin or has a significant array of personal goods, the question of whether it is a case of hsün-tsang becomes harder to answer. It need not be presumed that simultaneous burial is a sign of simultaneous death, for people may have been left unburied or may have been buried in temporary graves before being placed in a shared grave. Secondary burial might sometimes be apparent from skeletal materials, for example, when the skeleton is found to be disarticulated, but the time between first and secondary burial might not have been long enough for the body to have decomposed sufficiently to result in disarticulation during exhumation and reburial.

As for establishing the sex of grave occupants, it has been observed
above that it is rare for anatomical assessments of human remains to be included in published reports of Chou burials (see p.114). The only cemetery area where the site report includes a sex assessment of most of the grave occupants based on anatomical methods is that of the Late Spring and Autumn or Early Warring States Ch'in cemetery at Shang-meng-ts'un (see above pp.146-148). Apart from that, there are only a few isolated examples of anatomically assessed skeletons from the area under study in this thesis. These are shown on Tables 5 and 6.129

Grave furnishings may potentially be of use for sex determination. However, an association between a certain artefact and the sex of a grave occupant can only be premised on a sufficient sample of anatomically assessed graves. It may be presumed that an extensive cemetery is likely to contain almost equal numbers of male and female graves,130 and a certain artefact may be found in approximately 50% of the graves. However, if no skeletons have been anatomically assessed, there is no

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129 Tables 5 and 6 include only cases where the sex of the main occupant of a grave has been assessed. Sites where the sex of hsün-jen have been assessed are as follows: Fang-shan-hsien, Peking (Western Chou) (KK 1974.5:309-321); Hu-hsien, Shensi (Spring and Autumn) (NW 1975.10:55-67); Lin-tzu-hsien, Shantung (Spring and Autumn) (KKHP 1977.1:73-87); Feng-hsiang-hsien, Shensi, (Warring States) (KKYWW 1981.1:83-93); Hou-ma-shih, Shansi (Warring States) (NW 1972.1:63-67). The sex of the skeletons in the Ch'in convict pits found in Lin-t'ung-hsien, Shensi, were also assessed anatomically (NW 1982.3:1-11), as were 16 of the 17 burials found adjacent to the tomb of Ch'in Shih-huang (KKYWW 1980.2:42-50;27).

130 Even this can be no more than an assumption. Although there is no evidence from the Chou period to suggest that male and female graves were ever placed in separate cemeteries, the possibility remains that some burial areas might be unusual in the sex ratio. As Weiss points out in the context of European archaeology, cemeteries such as monastery burial grounds could contain burials of only one sex (Weiss 1972:240)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>REPORT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>GRAVE NO.</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pai-fu-ts'un</td>
<td>Ch'ang-p'ing-hsien</td>
<td>KK 1976.4:246-258;228 Early Western Chou</td>
<td>M1</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>bronze and pottery vessels; chariot fittings; bronze and jade sundry items; jade jade-dagger-xue, oracle bone; whetstone; dog skeleton; ivory comb; agate ring.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>M3</td>
<td>bronze and pottery vessels; chariot fittings; weapons; whetstone, jade fish and cicada; cowrie-shells; oracle bones; agate ring.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ML</td>
<td>jade pi-disc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shih-chia-yiian</td>
<td>Ch'un-hua-hsien</td>
<td>KKYWW 1980.2:17-20 Early Western Chou</td>
<td>CHSM1</td>
<td>M (robbed)</td>
<td>bronze vessels; bronze mirror; shell decorations; cowrie shells; gold leaf pieces; dog skeletons.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>pottery vessels; bone arrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'i-chia-ts'un</td>
<td>Fu-feng-hsien</td>
<td>KK 1963.12:654-658;682 Early Western Chou</td>
<td>M11</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>pottery vessels; jade k'ou-ham-mouth-piece, jade fish; dog skeleton.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsi-an</td>
<td>Chiao-hsien</td>
<td>WW 1977.4:63-70 Early Western Chou</td>
<td>M1</td>
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<tr>
<td>SITE</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>REPORT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Li-yü-ts'un</td>
<td>Hun-yüan-hsien</td>
<td>KK 1983.8:695-700</td>
<td>Spring and Autumn</td>
<td>M1</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>bone hairpin; bronze knife; two hsün-jen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-tien-chen</td>
<td>Chu-nan-hsien</td>
<td>KKHP 1978.3:317-3</td>
<td>Spring and Autumn M2</td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>(robbed) pottery vessels; bronze vessels; chung-bells; chime-stones;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chariot fittings; arrows; agate and turquoise beads; jade decorations;</td>
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<td>ten hsün-jen; dog skeleton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fen-shiu-ling</td>
<td>Ch'ang-chih-shih</td>
<td>KKHP 1974.2:63-85</td>
<td>Late Spring and Autumn or Early Warring States</td>
<td>M269</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>bronze vessels; chung-bells; chime-stones; weapons; chariot fittings;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Shansi)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jade pi-disc; jade chüeh-ear-decorations; sundry jade items; bronze fish;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stone kuei-spatula; cowrie shells; fragments of lacquerware.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M270</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>bronze vessels; chung-bells; chime-stones; chariot fittings; stone pi-disc; jade chüeh-ear-decorations; sundry jade items; cowrie shells; agate, water crystal, and turquoise beads; stone kuei-spatula; lacquer box (?) containing comb, jade hairpin, and bamboo slips.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
basis to conclude that the presence or absence of the artefact is due to the sex of the occupant and not another factor, such as status.

It is also dangerous to assume that certain objects might be exclusive to one sex or the other because of a presumed association of that object with a particular social role or function. Weapons are a case in point. Even if warfare was a male preserve in the Chou period, weapons may have been symbols of status and power as well as functional items. Besides, it can be seen in Table 5 that the female burial M2 at Pai-fu-ts'’un contains weapons. Similarly, the presence of spindles in male as well as female graves in Shang-meng-ts'’un seems to give the lie to automatically taking these as indicative of female graves (KKYWW 1984.3:16).

Sometimes items of personal decoration have been cited as objects exclusive to one sex. For example, in a discussion of the Spring and Autumn burials found at Huang-hsien, Shantung, Wang Hsien-t'ang remarks that a bead shaped pendant, chu-hsing p'e-i-shih, was normally a female ornament (1960:141). Wang Hsien-t'ang offers no explanation of this statement, and I can find no evidence from contemporary sites to support it. In the report on the excavation of the extensive Warring States cemetery in Erh-li-kang, Cheng-chou, it is stated that belt-hooks were part of male attire (Cheng-chou:81). However, the burial M11 near Ch'in Shih-huang's tomb in Lin-t'ung-hsien, Shensi, which is of a female, contains belt-hooks (KKYWW 1980.2:45-47).\(^{131}\)

\(^{131}\)This is complicated by the reference to M11 in a subsequent report as being male (KKYWW 1981.1:80). There is no indication of why this should contradict the original report, and it may, of course, be just a printer's error.
Even were it to be found that a certain item only appears in the grave of one sex, it cannot be assumed that the occupant of a grave without that item is of the opposite sex. Regional variations must also be taken account of; what may have been an item worn only by one sex in one area may have been worn by the other sex in another area.

Finally, there is the question of epigraphic data from bronze items buried with an individual. Names recorded on bronzes cannot automatically be taken to indicate the name of a tomb occupant, since bronzes may have swapped hands through inheritance, exchange or capture. Nor has it been confirmed that bronzes cast for a woman in marriage (ying 嫔) are necessarily indicative of a female burial.132

The present state of affairs with regard to assessing the sex of occupants of Chou graves is, therefore, very unsatisfactory. In most cases the estimation of possible husband/wife burials can be no more than informed guesses based on other information from the site and from contemporary graves in the same area.

The following discussion of archaeological evidence for husband/wife burial is arranged chronologically, according to the estimated dates of the burials. Section 2.3.1 examines possible cases of husband/wife burial from the Western Chou period, and Section 2.3.2 examines those from the Eastern Chou period.

132 For example, the burial judged to be that of a marquis of Ts'ai 塩 in Shou-hsien 首軒, Anhwei, contains such bronzes (Shou-hsien:19).
FIGURE 41
LOCATIONS OF POSSIBLE CASES OF HUSBAND/WIFE BURIAL
2.3.1 Western Chou husband/wife burials

There are just three Western Chou burial sites where arrangements of graves have led excavators to believe they are examples of husband/wife burial. The earliest of these are the Early to Middle Western Chou graves in Ju-chia-chuang, Pao-chi-shih, Shensi. In 1974-1975, two graves, M1 and M2, were excavated (WW 1976.4:34-46). These large, richly furnished graves lay almost parallel, with M2 intruding slightly on M1. On the basis of inscriptions on bronze vessels in the graves, the excavators suggested that M1 was the burial of the Earl of Kung [?], and M2 that of his consort, Ching-chi (ibid:44). The skeletons of the principle burials were completely disintegrated, although those of accompanying hsûn-jen lying on the erh-ts'eng-t'ai were in good condition. Besides these hsûn-jen, there was a coffined burial beside that of the main occupant of M1 which was a simultaneous burial. The skeleton was found to have its legs and arms bound. This was interpreted to be the burial of a concubine accompanying her master in death (ibid:45), although the there is no indication of whether the skeleton was anatomically assessed. In 1980-1981, excavations in Chu-yûn-kou, several kilometres south-west of this site, yielded an area of contemporaneous burials with close similarities in terms of structure and artefacts to M1 and M2, as well as

133 I shall use the romanization Kung [?] to designate the graph 疔, the pronunciation of which is unknown.

134 This is a commonly found phenomenon in Shang and Chou tombs, and may be a result of more rapid deterioration of coffined bodies.
a bronze vessel bearing the graph Kung [?] MM 1983.2:1-11;90). Scholars believe that the area was that of the state of Kung [?] and that its people were of a different cultural group to that of the Chou people (MM 1983.2:12-19). Three of the burials at Chu-ydan-kou contain two coffins like those in M1, but there is no evidence of other cases of paired graves such as M1 and M2.

The second example of possible husband/wife burial from the Western Chou period is from the Hsin-ts'un excavation site in Hsin-hsien. This site has been referred to above in terms of the poor quality of the published data (see pp.122-123). The pairs of graves isolated in the report as husband/wife burials are M1 and M6, and M17 and M5 (Hsin-hsien:13-18). The former pair were dated to Middle Western Chou and the latter to Late Western Chou. It is clear that in three out of the four graves, the skeletal materials were far too dilapidated to allow an anatomical assessment of sex. In the case of M5, the report is ambiguous about whether the estimation of it being a female burial was based on skeletal or other criteria (ibid:18). All four graves had been plundered by robbers, and in the case of M17, the excavation notes had been lost (ibid:17). The graves within each pair lie parallel at a distance of about 10 m apart and in each case the grave judged to be a female burial lies to the east of that judged to be male. The report writers draw attention to the fact that the burials are from the state of Wei [?] , the state allegedly referred to by Confucius as one where husband and wife were buried together with a space in between (ibid:18).

Finally, it is suggested in the report on excavations of the Western Chou cemetery at Chang-chia-p'o, Ch'ang-an-hsien, Shensi, that the small clusters of graves evident in the cemetery may include cases of
husband/wife burial (KKHP 1960.4:488). It has been observed above (see pp.125-130), that within this cemetery and in the contemporaneous cemetery at Hsi-ts'un, Feng-hsiang-hsien, there are several instances of groups of two or three graves which may be of members of the same family, but no skeletal data are available and there are no clues of sexual differentiation in the artefact assemblages.
2.3.2 Eastern Chou husband/wife burial

An unusual find of a low-status burial containing two parallel kuan-inner-coffins within the same kuo-vault was excavated in an Early to Middle Spring and Autumn burial area at Hou-kang in An-yang 安陽, Henan (KK 1972.3:14-25). The only grave goods in the burial are two pottery p'en-bowls, one in each kuan-inner-coffin. The burials were apparently simultaneous, and the published illustration of the grave (ibid:22, Fig.13) suggests that both skeletons were in a reasonable condition, although no analysis of sex or age was included in the report.

The two graves designated M 甲 and M 乙 found at Ch't'an-t'ou-ts'un 泉頭村, Lin-ch'd-hsien 蘭店鎮, Shantung, in 1977 and 1981 are believed to be the burials of Ch'i-ch'iao-fu 蓍楚父 and his consort Meng-ch'i 盡姬 (WW 1983.12:1-3; 13-17). They date from Early Spring and Autumn or, possibly, Late Western Chou. The graves are not parallel but are both on a north/south axis, M 乙, the female burial lying 3 m south-east of M 甲. The two graves display a striking similarity in terms of structure and artefact assemblage, but the main reason for them being interpreted as the graves of husband and wife was the inscriptive evidence from bronze vessels (ibid:15).

Of eight modestly furnished Spring and Autumn burials excavated between 1956 and 1958 near Hou-ma-shih 侯馬市, Shansi, four were found to lie in parallel pairs. Graves in each pair lay 1 m apart and shared similar dimensions and artefact assemblages (WW 1959.6:47). A similar case of two Warring States parallel burials was found in the same site (ibid:48). These burials also lay 1 m apart and two round tunnels were found to connect the two pits. No explanation was offered as to why one of these was believed to be a female burial (KK 1959.5:227).
These finds were from the same area which yielded examples of a unique form of double burial, consisting of two parallel pits surrounded by a trench containing victims of hsün-tsang (see Figure 42). Sixteen of these burials have been reported found, but there are published details of only two (WW 1960.8/9:15-18; WW 1972.1:63-67). In both cases the two central pits are of different dimensions, with the smaller pit to the right. (In one case, both occupants lie with their heads north, and in the other both lie with their heads east). The larger pits contain more grave goods than the smaller pits, and in both instances the goods in the smaller pit consist only of an agate ring and a belt-hook. It is suggested in one report that the burials are of a man and his wife or concubine, although no anatomical assessments were made of the skeletons. It is impossible to judge from the presently available information whether this style of burial comprises two formal burials or whether the smaller of the two pits is that of another hsün-jen. These burials have been dated to the Warring States period.

In the case of the only Chou period cemetery for which the published report carries anatomical assessments of the sex of the occupants, that of Shang-meng-ts'un in Ch'ang-wu-hsien, Shensi, there is only one case of an apparent alignment of a male burial and a female burial. M16 and X5 lie parallel, the former, which is the male burial, being slightly larger

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135 The skeletons of the hsün-jen in the surrounding ditch were anatomically assessed. In the case of the grave excavated in 1959 it was found that the four hsün-jen were all young people (sex unknown) (WW 1960.8/9:15), while those in the grave excavated in 1969 included eleven males and six females of various ages (WW 1972.1:65-66).
and containing several more grave goods than the former.136

There are several sites of high-status burials from the Late Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods which offer very persuasive evidence of husband/wife burial. The prime example is the Fen-shui-ling site at Ch'ang-chih-shih, Shansi. The plan of this burial area reveals a very clear pattern of the largest graves lying in six groups of parallel pairs (see above, p.153, Figure 30). This site is one of the few where some of the skeletal materials have been in an adequate state to allow anatomical assessments of sex, and it was found that the pair M269 and M270 contain male and female burials respectively. It is noticeable that while both graves contain artefacts such as bronze vessels, musical instruments, and chariot fittings, the male burial contains weapons and the female burial contains a lacquer box with items presumably for hair adornment, such as a comb and a hairpin (see above, p.200, Table 6). None of the skeletons in the other pairs have been anatomically assessed, but the pattern of only one burial in each pair having weapons in its artefact assemblage is repeated in all the pairs. This might indicate that by the Late Spring and Autumn period, in this area at least, women were not buried with weapons, in contrast to the Western Chou example cited in Table 5 (p.199), although this conclusion can only be confirmed when we have a wider sample of sexed graves.

The burials within each pair lie several metres apart, and the

similarities in structure and artefact style within the pairs suggest that each burial was constructed within a fairly short space of time of its partner grave. All are on a north/south axis (with a slight eastward deviation), in three cases the male burial lies to the east and in two cases to the west. The graves span the period from Late Spring and Autumn to Late Warring States (KK1964.3:136).  

Excavation of the tombs of the kings of the state of Chung-shan in P’ing-shan-hsien, Hopeh, has yielded a particularly significant find for the question of husband/wife burials. This is the engraved piece of copperplate found in M1 which carries an architectural plan of a graveyard. The plan depicts the position of tumuli and temples above the graves (WW1979.1:5), with a structure called Wang-t’ang in the centre, one called the Ai-hou-t’ang and one called the Wang-hou-t’ang to the left and right, and two smaller t’ang to the left and right of these, the first named fu-jen-t’ang and the second with an indecipherable inscription (ibid:24, Fig. 26). This would suggest that consorts of the king of varying degrees of rank were buried alongside him with temples above their graves. Excavation around

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137There is no published information as to which side of M126 its partner grave, M127, lies.

138Besides the six pairs of large graves, there are a couple of cases where a similar parallelism is evident among the smaller graves. These are M8 and M9, and M10 and M11. In each case only one burial contains weapons. The axes of M10 and M11 are only different by 1°, while these of M8 and M9 are different by 14° (KKHP1957.1:105-106).

139For a discussion of the significance of this find in the history of Chinese map making, see Sun Chung-ming (1982).
M1 has yielded another large tomb, M2, parallel to the king's tomb, and to its east, which is believed to be the grave of the Ai-hou referred to on the map. The absence of any large tomb to the west of M1 is explained by the possibility that the state of Chung-shan fell prior to the death of the Wang-hou and so she was not buried in the designated spot (ibid:46). To the left and right of M1 are a total of six smaller tombs in which the skeletons were all placed with their heads towards the king's grave. Two satellite tombs were found near M2, but no excavation of these was undertaken.

Unfortunately the value of the data from the tombs around M1 and from other royal tombs to the north-east does not match that of the copperplate map. Extensive robbery and the fact that not all the graves in the area were excavated means that we cannot estimate whether the smaller tombs may have been those of lesser grades of wives or concubines or whether there are equivalent pairs to M1 and M2 in the north-western cemetery area. Thus the extent to which the map is a stylized plan rather than an accurate description of the planned layout cannot be ascertained.

There are two other areas of royal or ducal burials in which the layout of the graves might be evidence of consorts being buried alongside the rulers' graves. In both cases, archaeological investigations are

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\(^{140}\) Li Hsüeh-ch'in has drawn attention to the similarity of the layout of graves found at Ku-wei-ts'un in Hui-hsien, Honan to the plan of graves on the P'ing-shan copperplate map (1979). Excavations at Ku-wei-ts'un yielded three large tombs in an east-west row, with two smaller tombs to the west of this row (Hui-hsien:69-109). All had been plundered and so we have no evidence from which to judge whether these may have been a case of husband/wife burial, with two consort tombs either side of the central one, as the P'ing-shan map depicts.
still in the preliminary stages and the published reports concern studies of surface features, and trial borings to establish the location and structure of the graves. The double tumuli above two of the royal burials of the state of Chao, found north-west of the site of the ancient city of Han-tan (see above pp.87-89), and the likelihood that each of the five areas of tumuli consist of more than one grave, might be evidence that consorts were buried alongside their royal spouses (KK 1982.6:597-603; 564). Similarly, trial probing in Xan-chih-hui, Feng-hsiang-hsien, has revealed a pattern of between one and three large burials grouped in distinctive areas (see Figure 33, p.161) and it has been suggested that some of these may be the burials of dukes of Ch'in and their spouses (KKYW 1981.1:34). The graves which are likely to be consort burials lie to the north-east of the largest burials in each group, except in the case of M27 and M31 where the smaller grave of the two lies to the south-east.141

The Warring States cemetery area excavated at Liu-li-ko, Hui-hsien, Honan, reveals a pattern of clusters of large graves, sometimes in groups

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141 There are two cases in what might be the ducal burial area of Lu, in Wang-fu-t'ai, Ch'ü-fu-hsien, Shantung, where two graves are immediately adjacent to one another (see above, pp.162-164). Of the two, one pair (M58 and M52) has been excavated, but the artefact assemblages within them give no suggestion that they were husband/wife burials. There may also have been a significant time gap between the burials, which reduces the likelihood of them being of husband and wife (Ch'ü-fu:128-132). (M52 is dated to the Early Warring States period and M58 to the Middle Warring States period (ibid:185). In the description of M58, it is referred to as an Early Warring States grave (ibid:128) but this is, in all probability, a misprint as it contradicts other statements in the excavation report (e.g. ibid:185, 227). The interesting thing about these two examples, however, is their arrangement immediately adjacent to one another, in the light of Confucius' alleged remark about Lu's practice of husband/wife burial quoted above (p.193).
of two and three (see above, Figure 28, p.150). Of these groups, two pairs of graves were singled out by the report writers as possible examples of husband/wife burial. These were M80 and M55 and M 及 M 子 (Shan-piao-chen:50): Gravestones in both pairs lie parallel to each other on an east/west axis. No explanation is offered as to why M80 and M 及 were considered to be male burials or M55 and M 子 to be female burials, although it was presumably based on the presence of large quantities of weapons accompanying the burials designated as male (ibid:55-58:69-72).

Finally, two of the modestly furnished graves in the extensive Warring States cemetery at Erh-li-kang, Cheng-chou, Honan, were found to be double burials. Of these, the structure of M421 consisted of two parallel kuo-vaults separated by a ledge of earth, with two similar sets of pottery vessels placed on the erh-ts'eng-t'ai by each skeleton's head. Each skeleton has a k'ou-han-mouth-piece of a fragment of jade, and one has an iron belt-hook and a bronze ring, and the other a bone t'ung-tube 骨筒. The second burial, M271, is of a different structure, both skeletons sharing the same kuo-vault with two niches, each containing three pottery vessels, by the heads of the burials. In this case, one skeleton has a k'ou-han-mouth-piece of stone, an iron belt hook, and a bronze ring. The other has a bronze ring, a bone ring, and a number of bronze huang-crescents (Cheng-chou:53-55) (see Figure 42). By applying the dating criteria outlined in the report (ibid:79-80) it may be estimated that M421 is an Early or Middle Warring States burial and M271 a burial from the end of the Warring States period or possibly the beginning of Western Han. In both cases it was apparent that the burials were placed in the pit at the same time. Because each grave contains
only one burial with a belt-hook, and belt-hooks were believed by the report writers to be items of male attire, the graves are taken as examples of husband/wife burial (ibid:81).

FIGURE 42
(i) Erh-li-kang, M421 and M271 from: *Cheng-chou* : 54, Fig.25
(ii) Example of double pit grave with surrounding trench, Hou-ma-shih. from: *WW* 1960.8/9:16
2.3.3 Husband/wife burial: Conclusion

It may be seen from the above archaeological data that the incidence of grave arrangements in Chou cemetery sites which suggest husband/wife burial is not great. This is particularly so among poorly and modestly furnished graves. I shall discuss these first and then examine the question of husband/wife burial of high-status persons.

With the possible exception of Eastern Chou finds in the area of Hou-ma-shih, Shansi, where three sets of paired burials were found among a small sample of excavated graves, the other cases of possible husband/wife burial among poorly or modestly furnished graves stand out as exceptions to the norm. The majority of graves in the same burial areas display no equivalent pattern. It may be, therefore, that these isolated examples were the result of extraordinary circumstances. For example, two burials within the same pit in a cemetery area where all other pits are single burials may well have been an expedient mode of burial in the event of almost simultaneous death.

It must be emphasised that in most of these cases of possible husband/wife burial, the evidence that they were husband or wife, or even that they were male and female, is not very concrete. It may be that future excavations of cemetery areas will yield sufficient skeletal materials to observe patterns in the placing of male and female burials. At the moment, however, one is forced to conclude that there is no

142 Until more evidence is available from the Hou-ma-shih region, we cannot tell whether these cases of paired burials represent a regional variation. In conversations with archaeologists in China, it was revealed to me that much excavation has been undertaken in this area, detailed reports of which will hopefully be forthcoming.
pervasive pattern of husband/wife burial observable in any of the Chou
cemetery areas of low and medium status burials.

Of the high-status burial sites discussed above, Fen-shui-ling
stands out as a site where not only is the parallel alignment of paired
graves a pervasive pattern, but also the evidence that each pair contains
a male and a female burial is very convincing. The burials are likely to
have been those of the Warring States aristocracy of an yi-settlement in
the Shang-tang region of the state of Han (KKHP 1974.2:84).

Although the quality of archaeological data from the contemporaneous
cemetery at Liu-li-ko is far inferior, it is noticeable that this site
displays a couple of similar examples of paired burials. Attention has
been drawn to other similarities between the composition of the
Fen-shui-ling and Liu-li-ko burial areas (see above, p.180) and, like
Fen-shui-ling, Liu-li-ko was probably the burial area of the aristocracy
of a powerful yi-settlement, in this case, that of Chi in the state
of Wei (Shan-piao-chen:2). This may indicate that husband/wife
burial in parallel tombs was the practice of high-status groups in this
region during the Warring States period.

Leaving aside the royal or ducal cemetery areas of the states of
Chung-shan, Ch'in, and Chao, the other high-status burials which may have
been of husband and wife are all either isolated cases or cases where the
presently available data are highly unsatisfactory. It would be
tempting, for example, to attribute the pairing of the Early Western Chou
burials M1 and M2 in Ju-chia-chuang to a practice specific to the state
of Kung [?], since no other equivalent examples have been found from the
same period in other areas. However, the lack of any other apparent
pairs in the Kung [?] cemetery at Chu-ydan-kou militates against this
conclusion. Whereas the mode of burial supports the interpretation that the occupant of the parallel coffin in M1 was a hsün-jen, we do not know the sex of this burial. In the case of the burials within the unique style of tomb structure (i.e. of two parallel pits surrounded by a trench) found in the vicinity of Hou-ma-shih, the question is not only what sex the parallel burials were, but also whether the smaller of each paired pit contained a hsün-jen or a formal burial.

With regard to ducal or royal burial areas, the P'ing-shan copperplate map provides us with concrete evidence of the principle of burying royal wives in the vicinity of the King of Chung-shan's grave. The question of whether this was also a practice in the other states cannot be answered by the presently available archaeological data. We can only suggest that the four clusters of two or three large tombs in the Ch'in cemetery at Nan-chih-hui and the possibility that the Chao royal burial areas comprised similar groupings, may be evidence that this was so in these two states. Archaeological investigations of other ducal or royal cemetery areas have not revealed any pervasive patterns of tomb groups to suggest comparable arrangements, but it must be emphasised that the present understanding of these areas is still very fragmentary, either because of extensive robbery or because only preliminary investigations have been undertaken.

The question of husband/wife burial in the Chou period has attracted the attention of historians and archaeologists for a number of reasons. One is the textual references to the practice from late Chou and Han sources which, as we have seen above, remark on the ritual correctness and the historical origins of the practice. Another is the very concrete archaeological evidence of husband/wife burial in the Han period.
tendency has been to take the isolated incidences of parallel pits or shared grave chambers from the Chou period as signs of a gradual development towards the situation obtaining in the Han. The timing of this process and the interpretations placed on it differ widely. For example, Chang Yung-k’ang believes the practice of husband/wife burial to have emerged in the late primitive commune stage of history, reflecting the establishment of independent patriarchal household units. The practice then declined in the Western Chou period when the important kinship unit was the lineage, rather than the family, only to re-emerge in the Eastern Chou with the breakdown of the tsung-fa system (1982:164). Cheng Hui-sheng, on the other hand, sees the emergence of husband/wife burial as a Middle to Late Western Chou phenomenon reflecting the increasing patriarchal authority of the husband in contrast to the independence enjoyed by Shang women (1981:30).

There are several problems with these theories. For a start, the examples of husband/wife burial are still too rare to show any meaningful process of chronological development. They tend to be taken out of context, ignoring the possibility of regional variations or the difference in status of grave occupants. For example, the placing of the grave of a ruler and his spouse, or spouses, may be related to systems of succession and marriage alliance, and have a very different basis from that underlying the placement of burials of conjugal pairs from
lower-status groups.¹⁴³

Until a comprehensive picture of the extent and development of the practice in the Chou period can be drawn, any attempt to relate it to social forms is premature. The prerequisite to obtaining such a picture is the establishment of criteria to distinguish male and female burials and these criteria must, in turn, must be based on a wide sample of reliable anatomical assessments. Only when we have a fairly clear idea of the distribution of male and female burials in any given cemetery area can we observe whether there was a change in the principle of husband/wife burial over time. For example, it may be found that there is a consistent pattern of male and female burials being placed in close proximity to one another but that the pattern is masked because the form it takes is invisible without sex assessment. The parallel burials or shared pits of the Han period, on the other hand, are far more readily identifiable modes of husband/wife burial.

If archaeological excavation does yield a convincing picture of the practice of husband/wife burial in the Chou period, then the same reservations must be made to questions of interpretation as apply to the interpretation of cemetery composition (see above, pp.119-120;183-184). That is, extrapolation about poorly understood historical processes (for

¹⁴³The significance of the placement of royal consorts' graves in the state of Ch'in is suggested by the passage from the Shih-chi which relates how King Hsiao-wen 荀文王, on becoming King of Ch'in in 251 BC, honoured his mother posthumously by declaring her 't'ai-hou' 太后 and uniting her grave (ho ch'i tsang 合葬) with that of his father (SKK Vol. 1:3:80; Chavannes Vol. 2:95-96). This may suggest that not all consorts of the king were buried in the same area (or same grave?) as the king, but that it was related to status and the pattern of succession.
example, a possible change in the status of women) from the burial data alone would be hazardous. It is worth noting, however, a few potentially fruitful areas of enquiry which a clearer understanding of the layout of consort graves, particularly in high-status burial areas, might permit. One of these is the incidence of polygyny and the relative status of the grades of wife. Another concerns the apparent qualitative change in the nature of the victims of hsün-tsang (see above, pp.196-197). Rather than seeing the occasional Spring and Autumn and Warring States examples of this practice as aberrations or the fleeting reappearance of a custom of the Shang and Chou, it may be that these late examples of the practice were related to a changed concept of the unity of conjugal partners in death.
SECTION 2.4

STATUS AND GRAVE ALIGNMENT

One question which bears directly on the placement of burials of husband and wife is that of a possible correlation between the position of aligned graves and the relative status of the occupants. In other words, can we identify any patterns of grave arrangement which suggest a relationship between status and a particular compass direction or side? The archaeological sample relevant to such an investigation includes the possible husband/wife burials discussed above, as well as cases where discrepancies in size and wealth of aligned tombs suggest a status difference between the occupants.

Looking first at examples from the discussion of husband/wife burial, it may be observed that there is no uniform correlation between any particular compass direction and the position of male and female graves. In the Hsin-ts’un area, for example, the graves likely to be male burials in the two pairs lie to the west of their partner graves, whereas in Liu-li-ko they lie to the north. In Ch’uan-t’ou-ts’un the grave thought to be that of Ch’i-ch’iao-fu stands north-west of his consort’s grave, while in the Ch’in ducal cemetery at Nan-chih-hui the principle graves stand south-west of what appear to be the accompanying burials in each group. In Fen-shui-ling the male burial lies to the east in three cases of paired graves and to the west in two cases.

When the axis on which the graves lie is taken into account, we find that in three cases (Hsin-ts’un, Nan-chih-hui, and Ch’uan-t’ou-ts’un) the male burial lies to the right-hand side of the female burial. In Liu-li-ko it is the inverse, and in Fen-shui-ling there are cases of male burials both on the left-hand and the right-hand sides.
Looking at the instances of shared grave chambers in Pao-chi-hsien and in Hou-ma-shih, it may be seen that in the former area the formal burial in the published examples lies to the right of the hsün-jen, whereas in the latter area the higher-status occupant lies to the left of its partner.

With the exception of the Warring States burials at Fen-shui-ling, Liu-li-ko and Hou-ma-shih, the tendency appears to be for the lower-status burial to be placed on the left-hand side of the higher-status burial. If we look at other examples of hsün-tsang or of groupings of burials of obviously different sizes and wealths from the Western Chou and the Spring and Autumn periods, then it appears that the association of the right-hand side with status is a fairly pervasive principle from these periods. For example, in the cases of Western Chou hsün-jen, the victims are often found to have been placed on the erh-ts'eng-t'ai. Sometimes they are found on the erh-ts'eng-t'ai by the feet of the main grave occupant, and sometimes, when there is more than one hsün-jen, they are found on either side of the main occupant. However, the majority of Western Chou cases of single hsün-jen for which we have data on their placement, can be seen to lie to the left-hand side of the main grave occupant.144

In terms of the placement of formal burials, it may be observed that many graves in the burial areas of Yao-p'u and Tou-chi-t'ai in Lu-ch'eng.

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144Nine of the twelve single hsün-jen in the 1960 and 1967 excavations at Chang-chia-p'o, Ch'ang-an-hsien, Shensi, lie to the left of the main occupant (KK 1962.1:21; KKHP 1980.4:495-501). In the graves excavated at Liu-li-ho-chen, Peking, in 1964 and 1974, six graves have hsbn-jen. In three cases they lie to the left of the main occupant, in one case on either side, and in two cases by the feet.
Ch'ê-fu-hsien, Shantung, appear to be in groups of two or three. Tomb robbery in these areas reduces the usefulness of the sample in terms of estimating who the occupants of these groupings were, but the evidence of pit structure and size, and, in the less damaged examples, of the artefact assemblages, shows disparities between the graves within each group (Ch'ê-fu:90-114). There is a consistent pattern of the larger, richer graves lying to the right of smaller, less richly furnished ones.145

The sample of graves which can be used to examine this question of a relationship between the status and the right-hand or left-hand side is small, and the observations are preliminary. However, the consistency of the higher-status burials lying to the right-hand side in the Western Chou and Spring and Autumn periods may be an indication of the primacy of the right-hand side in burial practices in those periods. In contrast, the few Warring States examples include cases where the left-hand side grave is the higher status or, as in the case of Fen-shui-ling, where there is no consistency within a burial area. Scholars examining the question of laterality and the significance of right and left from textual sources generally agree that, although there are variations according to context, the pre-eminent side in the Hsia, Shang, and Chou periods was the left-hand side, and that there was a change to the right-hand side in the Warring States period (Demieville 1973:524). What is particularly significant in the light of the burial data, is that

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145 The grave groups in question are as follows: M121, M122, and M123; M204, M205, and M206; M113 and M114; M132 and M133; M102, M103, and M128; M104, M105, and M106; M115, M116, and M117.
there was believed to be a reversal of these sides in unpropitious matters, such as warfare or funerary rites (ibid:528). The burial data may, therefore, support this proposition, with the pre-eminence of the right-hand side in burials of the Western Chou and Spring and Autumn periods being a result of the reversal of the pre-eminence of the left-hand side pertaining to auspicious matters such as court rituals and sacrifices. The Warring States examples may be a reflection of the transition to the pre-eminence of the right-hand side.
SECTION 2.5

THE ORIENTATION OF GRAVES

Having looked at the placing of graves in relation to other graves or groups of graves, we now turn to the question of the alignment of individual graves. Is there any regularity in the orientation of burials from Chou period cemeteries which suggest the deliberate placing of graves on a particular axis? The Li-chi remarks that the ritually correct alignment of a grave is for the corpse to be placed with his or her head to the north.¹⁴⁶ This alignment, as well as the placement of burials to the north of the city (see above, p.24), is described as a practice of the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties, and it is explained by the fact that the north is the region of darkness (yu) (Couvreur [1950] Vol. 1:201). Another passage of the same work contrasts the placing of the dead with their heads to the north to the position of the living who face south (ibid:503). The placing of a corpse with its head to the north might also be implied in the symbolism of a dream recorded in the Tso-chuan. The brothers Te and Ch'i were both potential successors to Duke Ching of Sung. In the succession struggle which followed the Duke's death, Ch'i was first declared ruler. However, his brother announced a strange dream which he interpreted as an omen that he would succeed Ch'i. In the dream Ch'i was lying outside the city gate with his head to the north and Te, himself, was a bird which stood on Ch'i's body with its beak to the south (Duke Ai, 26th year; Legge Vol.

¹⁴⁶ I shall use the term head-north to denote the placing of corpses with their heads towards the north, head-south to denote the placing of corpses with their heads towards the south, and so on.
Ch'i's position with his head to the north appears to be symbolic of death, while Te, facing south, is in the ritual position of a ruler, a position well attested in bronze inscriptions of investiture ceremonies (Wong Ying-wai 1978; Yeung Ching-kong 1933). When it comes to the archaeological sample, we are fortunate that most excavation reports of burial sites include information on the axes of the burials. Sometimes the exact axes of individual burials are given, and sometimes just the predominant axis in a cemetery area. Where a site plan of the cemetery is included in the report we can calculate this (although in a few such cases the direction of the corpses' heads are ambiguous.) With this information, a fairly comprehensive picture of the orientation of burials from the Chou period can be obtained.

The head-north orientation referred to in the textual sources does appear to be a very common one, but it is not a universal rule and there are patterns of deviation which suggest chronological or regional variations. Before looking at these, I shall first examine the occurrence of head-north orientation. The cemetery sites for which data on a large sample of graves are available and in which head-north is the predominant axis include Western Chou and Eastern Chou sites, and they have all been discussed in detail in other parts of this study. They are Liu-li-ho-chen, Peking (Western Chou), Hsin-ts'un, Honan (Western Chou), Shang-ts'un-ling, Honan (Western Chou - Spring and Autumn), Wang-fu-t'ai, Shantung (Western Chou - Warring States), Chung-chou-lu, Honan (Western

147 It may be that Ch'i's position outside the gates was also symbolic. As we have seen above, in Section 1, many states buried their rulers inside a city, but rulers dying in a coup were not interred in the ducal burial area.
Chou - Warring States), Hou-kang, Honan (Spring and Autumn), Erh-li-kang and Pi-sha-kang, Cheng-chou, Honan (Spring and Autumn - Warring States), Fen-shui-ling, Shansi (Spring and Autumn - Warring States), Tung-ytieh-shih-ts'un, Shantung (Warring States), Chin-ts'un, Honan (Warring States), Hsü-liang-chung/Chiu-nü-t'ai, Hopeh (Warring States) and Pai-sha-chen, Honan (Warring States). It may first be noted that these sites are all in the central and eastern regions of the area under study.

Very few graves are on an exact north/south alignment. An examination of the deviation from true north in the three largest samples reveals that in Shang-ts'un-ling and Erh-li-kang, the principle deviation is between 0° and 10°, whereas in Chung-chou-lu, the majority of graves are 5° either side of true north. The easterly deviation in Shang-ts'un-ling and Erh-li-kang is interesting in the light of the easterly deviation evident in the axis of many Chou cities. Wheatley has suggested that the eastward deviation of some cities was likely to be a result of orientation according to the pole stars which were a few degrees distant from the celestial pole, while those cities which lay on a true north/south axis were planned by a different procedure, calculations being based on the bisection of the angle between the directions of the rising and setting of the sun (1971:426). There is some measure of correlation evident between the axis of the various

148 In Shang-ts'un-ling 52% of the graves lie between 0° and 10°, 17% lie between 11° and 20°, and 11% lie between 330° and 339°.

149 64% lie between 355° and 5°, 6% lie between 6° and 15°, and 12% lie between 345° and 354°.
cities and the predominant axis of the burials of their inhabitants. The Chung-chou-lu cemetery area lies within the city referred to above as Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng, a city whose walls have been incompletely excavated. The south and west stretches of wall suggest a true north/south orientation, although the stretches of wall to the north and east suggest a slight deviation to the west (see above, Figure 2, p.30). The Eastern Chou burials at Erh-li-kang are those of the inhabitants of a city probably called Kuan 閬. 150 The city is likely to have occupied almost the same site as the Shang city, for there is evidence of Spring and Autumn and Warring States repairs overlying most sections of the Shang wall (WW 1961.4/5:74). The outline of the Shang city reveals a slight eastward deviation of the city's north/south axis (CYWW 1984.1:1, Fig. 1), which correlates with the eastward deviation of the graves. (There is no published information of the orientation of Eastern Chou building foundations within the city and archaeological investigation has concentrated on the Shang remains.) The eastward deviation of the graves may have been a result of the technique for determining the north/south axis according to the pole stars. Alternatively, the Eastern Chou inhabitants of the city may have been influenced by the established orientation of the Shang city outline.

Of the other areas of predominantly head-north burials which have been found in or near a city site, the Hsü-liang-chung/Chiu-nü-t'ai

150 A graph found on Warring States pottery from this site has led some scholars to believe the Chou name of this city to have been Po 阮 (WW 1978.2:69-71), but this graph has been found on pottery from other areas and may not signify the name of one area, but be a generic term for areas inhabited by the descendents of the Shang (CYWW 1984.1:13).
Graves appear to share the slight eastward deviation of the city of Yen-hsia-tu, although the exact axes of individual graves have not been published ([KKHP 1965.1:99, Fig. 12; KKHP 1965.2:80, Fig. 1]). Graves from the first phase of the Wang-fu-t'ai burials (i.e. Late Western Chou - Spring and Autumn) lie on axes ranging 15° either side of 15° north-east, and those of the second phase (Late Spring and Autumn - Warring States) range 4° either side of 14° north-east ([Ch'ii-fu 222-227]). The walls of the city of Lu-ch'eng are not very regular, but a very slight north-west deviation of the axis of the rectangular enciente is apparent ([ibid, Fig. 3]).\(^{151}\)

Turning now to cemetery areas where there are significant deviations from the head-north rule, certain patterns of orientation become apparent. The Western Chou cemetery areas around the Chou capital of Feng-Hao contain graves on a variety of axes. Examination of these reveals that in the two principle burial areas of Chang-chia-p'o and Ko-sheng-chuang, the occupants' heads appear to be placed in accordance with the four cardinal points. In Chang-chia-p'o, 75% of the burials lie within a 10° deviation either side of the cardinal points.\(^{152}\) In

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\(^{151}\) The burial areas of Yao-p'u and Tou-chi-t'ai, also within Lu-ch'eng, contain graves on a north/south axis, but the occupants' heads are oriented south. The deviation from true south in Yao-p'u is predominantly 10° eastwards. In Tou-chi-t'ai, the graves point between 158° and 172° (i.e. south-east) and 190° and 210° (i.e. south-east).

\(^{152}\) This figure remains approximately the same for all periods of the cemetery's use, but there are some differences between the various excavated segments. For example, 31% of the graves in Area 1 fall within this margin ([Feng-hsi:168-172]), compared to 57% in the south-west area excavated in 1967 ([KKHP 1980.4:457-562]). Interestingly, none of the 42 graves in this south-west section has the occupant's head pointing in an easterly or south-easterly direction, i.e. between 45° and 130°.
Xo-sheng-chuang, the predominant deviation is 20° anti-clockwise from the cardinal points.153

As we have seen above (pp.129-132), certain clusters of graves in the contemporaneous Hsi-ts'un cemetery share this pattern, however, a larger proportion of these graves (60%) are head-north. Similarly, approximately 66% of the Western Chou graves in the Ho-chia-ts'un burial area near the Chou city of Ch'i-chou were on a north/south axis, but we have no exact orientations for all the individual graves in this site (KKYW 1980.1:7). This may suggest that in areas of the Chou homeland during the Western Chou period, the orientations of graves were based on the cardinal directions, but other factors determined the direction of the occupants' heads. One may only speculate what these factors were: head orientations may have been related to social status or to kin relationships, or they may have been calculated on a divinatory or other mystic basis. The latter was certainly the case in the imperial period, when geomancers would take into account an individual's horoscope as well as the auspicious axis for the year of the burial when determining the orientation of a grave (DeGroot 1397:976).

Other burial areas which reveal deviations from the head-north orientation include the Western Chou burials found in Pao-chi-shih which are likely to have been those of the aristocracy of the state of Kung [?](see above, pp.204-205). Graves in the cemetery area at Chu-ydan-kou lie

15382% of the graves conform with this. As far as the deviations are concerned, we have insufficient information on the pounded-earth platforms found in the Chou capital to estimate whether the axes of prestigious buildings in Feng-Hao shared similar deviations from the cardinal points.
on a head-south-east orientation, while the two burials found at Ju-chia-chuang lie on a head-south-west orientation (WW 1983.2:1; WW 1976.4:36). The distinctive traits observable in these burials have led scholars to believe the people of Kung (?) to have been of a different cultural group from that of the Chou people (WW 1983.2:12-19) and so it is highly likely that the difference in patterns of grave orientation between these and other contemporaneous Chou cemeteries may be explained by cultural factors.

Two areas of burials within the city of Lu-ch'eng present a puzzling case of grave orientation. The Western Chou and Spring and Autumn burials in Tou-chi-t'ai and Yao-p'u are on a north/south axis like other contemporaneous cemetery areas in the locality, but the occupants' heads are predominantly pointing southwards. These two areas are among the three classified by the report writers as chia ^ style and believed to be the graves of descendants of pre-Conquest Yin aristocracy. As I have argued above (p.53), the case for these areas being categorized as all being of one cultural group is not strong, but the various cemetery areas may have been those of different aristocratic lineages or sub-lineages resident within the city, some of whom may have been of a different cultural group from the descendants of the Chou conquerors. Differences in burial practices of these groups may explain the head-south
orientations in Yao-p'u and Tou-ch'i-t'ai.  

One site in which the deviation from a predominant head-north axis may be explained by geographical factors is that of Liu-li-ko in Hui-hsien, Honan. This Warring States cemetery, which has been discussed above in relation to its layout and composition (pp.148-151), contains graves on a head-north orientation, conforming to the pattern of contemporaneous cemeteries in the area, but in one segment of the cemetery the orientation of graves is head-east. A prominent physical feature of the local terrain is a vein of rock which passes through the cemetery on an east/west axis, and which is known by the locals as the 'stone dragon' shih-lung 石龍. The graves with a head-east orientation are in the immediate vicinity of this vein of rock, and it is possible that they were placed thus because of some mystical significance of this feature (Shan-piao:32).

Orientations of certain graves within the royal cemetery of Chung-shan in P'ing-shan-hsien, Hopeh, are evidently based on the relationship between these graves and the king's tomb. The largest graves, presumably of the king, and, maybe, senior spouses, were on a head-north orientation, however there are smaller satellite tombs around

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154 The report writers do not include the orientations of these graves among the variables taken as indicative of Yin cultural traits (Ch'ü-fu:214) and there is no evidence that head-south was a predominant orientation of Yin graves either in Shantung or Honan. Structural features, such as the tomb ramps, in high-status Shang graves suggest that these were on a head-north alignment (e.g. at Hou-kang, An-yang (Kao Ch'u-hsün 1959) and at Yi-tu-hsien, Shantung (IAW 1972.8:17-30) and the orientations of lower-status Shang graves in the extensive cemetery at Yin-hsü hsi-ch'ü, include head-north (399 examples), head-south (328 examples), head-east (104 examples) and head-west (107 examples) (RRHP 1979.1:121-146).
these burials and those which have been excavated were found to be oriented towards the principle grave, that is, the corpses were placed with their heads towards the main burial in the group (WW 1979.1:3). The Chung-shan site is so far the only recognised case of this phenomenon.

Finally, we turn to an example of deviation from the head-north orientation which is clearly a case of different cultural traditions. This is the head-west orientation which is a feature of Ch'in burials. Eastern Chou burials in areas of Shensi and Kansu have been found to be orientated with the occupants' heads to the west or north-west, and this is true of graves ranging from low-status burials to those of the Dukes of Ch'in. It also appears likely that the grave of Ch'in Shih-huang will prove to be on this orientation. Although the axis of the surface rectangular enclosure around the tomb mound might suggest a north/south axis for the tomb chamber itself, it has been found that tomb ramps extended west and east of the burial (Hsu P'ing-fang 1981:521). In addition, the pits of terracotta kneeling figures with slain horses and the accompanying burials (KaTWW 1980.2:42-50; 27) all lie on the eastern flank of the tomb and are on a west/east axis.

For example, in the Warring States cemetery at Pan-p'o, Hsi-an, 79 out of 109 graves (ie. 72%) are placed thus (KKHP 1957.3:63-92). Of twelve Spring and Autumn burials found at Fu-lin-pao, Pao-chi-shih, eleven are on a west/east axis, and of the six in which there remains skeletal evidence, all have heads to the west (KK 1963.10:536-543). The number of graves with heads to the west in other Ch'in sites in the area are: Chao-yi, Ta-li-hsien, 21 out of 26 graves (ie. 80%) (WWTTLK No.2:75-91); Ko-sheng-chuang, Ch'ang-an-hsien, 42 out of 71 late Spring and Autumn and early Warring States graves (ie. 59%) (Feng-hsi:191-140). The ducal tombs in Nan-chih-hui have not yet been excavated, but the head-west orientation may be deduced from the structure of the tombs, with the main ramp stretching eastwards, and the position of the horse and chariot pits to the east (WW 1983.7:30-37).
The famous terracotta army apparently guarding the tomb is also 'marching' towards the east.

It has been suggested that the Ch'in people placed their dead with their heads to the west because it was from the west that they originally came (KK 1982.1:65), although one could equally well argue that they 'faced' east to signify their connection with the central states. Alternatively, the graves may be oriented towards the east because of some religious significance of that direction, just as Christian graves face east to the rising sun, symbol of the resurrection. The Feng-shan-shu section of the Shih-chi records the many rituals carried out by dukes and kings of Ch'in to sacred sites, chih, or spirits of the cardinal directions (SKK Vol. 4:28:1-35; Chavannes Vol. 3:413-413), but it offers no clues to any of these being especially significant to the eschatology of the Ch'in people. It is well known that Ch'in Shih-huang, obsessed with the quest for immortality, sent boats of young men and women eastwards across the Gulf of Po-hai to seek the P'eng-lai isles of immortality, but the textual records of this suggest that the myths of these islands to the east were not a Ch'in tradition but originated in the seaboard states of Ch'i and Yen (Shih-chi SKK Vol.4:28:24; Chavannes Vol.3:436-437).

156 The debate about whether the Ch'in came from the west or the east is still unresolved, although the evidence seems to favour the former. Recent contributions to this debate include Hsiung T'ieh-chi who uses textual data to support the 'barbarian' origins theory (1980) and Huang Cho-yao who argues that the Ch'in and Shang had shared roots in the east (1980). Lin Chien-ming's treatment of the question reveals the emotiveness of the issue, since the argument for western origins was often tied up with the diffusion theories which held that Chinese civilization was an offshoot of Middle Eastern and Central Asian civilization (1982:20).
One way to establish whether Ch'in graves were constructed on this axis so as to face a particular geographical location such as the area east of the Han-ku Pass, or to face the general direction of east, would be to compare the orientations of graves of Ch'in people in other regions besides that of Kuan-chung. Graves exhibiting Ch'in traits in their structure, occupants' posture, and artefact assemblages have been found as far north as Inner Mongolia and as far south as Canton, areas conquered by the Ch'in in the unification of the empire (KK 1982.1:65). In most cases it is impossible to establish whether the occupants of the graves were Ch'in people, or were local people who had adopted certain Ch'in burial practices. The only examples which are fairly certain to be the graves of Ch'in people are those in Chun-ko-erh in Inner Mongolia, Shui-hu-ti in Hupeh, and Pi-yang in Honan (ibid:70).

The Chun-ko-erh graves are likely to be those of low status Ch'in people, probably soldiers stationed there. Eleven of the thirteen grave occupants have their heads towards the east (WW 1977.5:25-34). Excavations of a cemetery area at Shui-hu-ti have yielded over 50 graves, mainly dating from the Late Warring States to the Early Han period (WW 1976.6:1-10; WW 1976.9:51-61; KK 1981.1:27-47). The graves display traits associated both with Ch'u and Ch'in, the area having been captured by Ch'in in 277 BC (WW 1976.9:60). Of the 22 excavated graves for which data have been published, twelve are on a west/east axis and ten are on a north/south axis. The direction of the occupant's head is only known for one, M11, and that is to the west. Again, the mixture of Ch'u and Ch'in traits make it impossible to judge whether the occupants were from Ch'in, except in the case of the two graves M11 and M4 where bamboo slips with
writing are evidence that the burials were of Ch'in people, probably officials, stationed in the area. In the former case these documents are mainly legal tracts (WWW 1976.6:6-9) and in the latter there was a letter home (WWW 1976.9:53). Both graves are on a west/east axis. Finally, in Pi-yang, the two coffins within the tomb M3 containing high-status burials, probably of a husband and wife from Ch'in, are on a west/east axis, but there are no clues as to which direction their heads are pointing (WWW 1980.9:15-22).

It has been noted above that the graves of the Kings of Chao near Han-tan are on a west/east orientation (p.100) and, significantly, the Shih-chi records that the ruling house of Chao shared the same ancestry as the Ch'in (SKK Vol. 6;43:3).

The data thus suggest that, in the case of high-status burials, the Ch'in outside of Kuan-chung may have continued to favour an east/west axis with the head pointing west, whereas low-status burials, where one could expect less ritual attention to be paid to the siting of a grave, did not conform to this practice.

From the information discussed above we may therefore conclude that the orientation of burials was not a random matter but was a significant factor in the placing of graves. Head-north was the predominant orientation in the central states throughout the Chou period, but in the early part of this period and in their homeland, the Chou people did not use this orientation exclusively, placing their dead with their heads towards any one of the four cardinal directions. In the western areas under Ch'in rule, the predominant orientation was head-west. Within each cemetery area there are exceptions to these rules, sometimes, as in the cases of the satellite graves at P'ing-shan and the head-east graves in
Liu-li-ko, possible reasons for the deviation may be identified. However, we cannot tell why some individual graves in other cemetery areas deviate from the predominant axis. It may be a result of accident. For example, when a grave pit is on the predominant axis of surrounding burials but the occupant's head is pointing in the opposite direction, it may be that the pit was constructed correctly but that an error was made when the coffin was put into the pit. Where the pit itself is on a deviant axis, however, we can only speculate about the possible social or religious significance. It may be that the occupant came from a cultural group or a region which practiced distinctive burial methods, or it may have been related to the nature of that person's death.
In China in the first millennium BC, the choice of location for graves was not a random act, but an integral part of the funerary process. Traditional sources can tell us very little about this feature of the mortuary practices of that time. As a direct result of the last sixty years of scientific archaeology, however, they may now be the object of enquiry. This study has sought to draw together the findings from the excavation of Chou tombs and to place them in their geographical and spatial context, and thereby to examine the questions about the placing of graves which may be answered by the material evidence.

The approach taken has been to look first at burial sites in the wider context of their relationship to physical and human features of the landscape, and then to narrow down the focus to the patterns of placing graves within cemeteries and finally to the placement of individual burials. At each stage of the investigation, the archaeological data have been evaluated and their interpretative potential appraised. In those cases where the issues raised have been investigated by other scholars, their conclusions have been assessed in terms of the quality of the archaeological evidence and in the light of new data.

The first part of this study has concentrated on the relationship between burial sites and settlement sites. To the extent that the data allow, attention has also been drawn to the location of cemeteries in relation to the physical environment. These issues have not, hitherto, been the focus of a comprehensive study. The findings from archaeological work in areas where extensive excavation has been conducted are drawn together in order to compose a picture of the pattern
of human occupation of those areas. The most significant result to emerge concerns the placement of some cemetery areas within areas of settlement, a feature not found in settlement sites of the imperial period.

It has been possible to identify a chronological change over the course of the Chou period in the kind of cemetery sites thus located and to relate this to changes in urban forms. It may be observed that in Late Western Chou and Spring and Autumn city sites, a number of cemetery areas may be found within or immediately adjacent to areas of settlement. These cemeteries contained graves which varied in size and in the wealth of their contents, suggesting that they were inclusive burial grounds where members of a kin group were buried regardless of disparities in status and access to resources during life. By comparing the archaeological data on the pattern of settlement in such cities with this pattern of cemetery arrangement, and by drawing on Chou textual sources, it is suggested that these cities were composed of several discrete areas where powerful lineages had their habitations, temples, industrial areas, and burial grounds. In contrast, cities constructed in the later part of the Chou period display a more centralized pattern, with a single area of prestigious buildings. Graves found within such cities tend to be almost exclusively high-status burials, concentrated in one location. The evidence suggests that these burials were those of the rulers of the various states and possibly of members of the royal family and high-ranking functionaries.

We may see in these changing patterns a reflection of the shifting locus of political power over the Chou period. In Late Western Chou and Spring and Autumn, cities were the power bases of their ruling lineages
and also of other prominent lineage groups. The pattern of nucleated settlement was a result of this diffuse political structure. By Warring States, power was concentrated in the hands of the ruler and his appointed state functionaries, and the new form of cities reflected this centralized leadership. It was in the interests of the new ruling group to curtail the influence of other lineages and maintain the pre-eminence of the ruling house. Burial of the ruler and his immediate family in exclusive cemetery areas would have served as a striking symbol of the ruler's position at the apex of the political structure.

The second aspect of the placement of burials considered in this study is that of the type of graves placed in the same cemetery areas. This has been the focus of scholarly attention in the past, and conclusions have been drawn relating changes in the composition of cemeteries to the decline of clan-based society. In particular it has been suggested that this may be reflected in a change from heterogeneous kin-group cemeteries to cemeteries where the graves are fairly uniform in terms of size and wealth. By examining all those Chou cemetery sites for which published information gives us some picture of their arrangement and composition, this study forces us to conclude that no pervasive pattern of change over the Chou period is discernable in cemeteries of low-status and medium-status burials. Attention has been drawn to factors of regional variation and the imbalances in the available sample from the Western Chou and Eastern Chou periods. Methodological problems posed by the possible invisibility of low-status burials have been underlined, as well as the difficulties of establishing the pattern of a cemetery's development where tomb robbery or inadequate typologies impair the dating of the finds.
The chronological change in the composition of high-status burial areas which became apparent from the study of the relationship between cemeteries and settlements, is further underlined by this study of cemetery composition. Other issues raised by this approach to burial data include, in particular, the possibility that some cemeteries may have been divided along ethnic lines, especially in the centuries following the Chou Conquest. The data remain too sparse to allow any conclusions to be drawn on this question, but it is clearly a potentially interesting avenue for future archaeological investigation.

The study of the composition of cemeteries also brings into question the broader issue of the level of interpretation possible from archaeological data. To what extent can we use the evidence from the organization of burials to try to understand the social organization of the living? For example, where the data suggest that cemeteries were kin-group burial areas, can we then draw conclusions about the structure or function of kin groups in that historical period? By taking account of the symbolic importance of burial placement and the possibility of manipulation of such symbols, this study stresses the limitations of the interpretative potential of such data. Cemetery organization may reflect an ideal of social organization rather than the reality and unless there are reliable historical data to support inferences about social forms, interpretation from burial evidence is a hazardous process.

These limitations apply to the interpretation of the observed trend towards exclusive royal burial areas. The increasing centralization of state power is a well attested historical process and the changes in cemetery patterns may fairly confidently be taken as reflections of this. However, we cannot then go on to extrapolate from the placement of royal
burials to make statements about the finer points of these historical developments. Thus, even were archaeological excavation to reveal that, for example, this trend occurred at different times in different states, we cannot expect that reliable conclusions can be then be drawn about the rate of political change in the various states or the relative degree of autocracy of their ruling houses.

Finally, this study has been concerned with the pattern of placing individual burials. In particular, it has tested whether certain formulae stipulated in traditional textual sources were applied to the arrangement of graves. These formulae include the chao-mu system of uniting alternate generations, the practice of husband/wife burial, and specifications about grave orientation. Awareness of these formulae can be seen to have influenced conclusions drawn about tomb placement, even where the formulae are found only in later texts and not in reliable Chou sources. Examination of the available data suggests that, in the case of the chao-mu formula, there may have been a division of some high-status burial areas into two groups which might correspond to the chao and mu generational division. However, there is no clear archaeological evidence that this division took the form specified in the Chou-li of graves being ranked to the left and the right of a principal ancestor’s grave.

The issue of husband/wife burial remains clouded because of the difficulties of distinguishing male and female burials. Skeletal analysis is rarely included in site reports, and there is a high incidence of completely decomposed skeletal material. Only a handful of possible cases of husband/wife burial may be identified, and factors such as cultural and regional variations prevent any composite picture being
drawn of the practice. A related issue is that of hsün-tsang, which is the interment of slain victims alongside formal burials. More skeletal data are available from such burials, and a chronological change in the nature of the victims is discernable. In Western Chou, when the practice was more common, the victims were predominantly young males, and their function may have been as guards or servants accompanying the dead in the afterlife. In Eastern Chou tombs, hsün-jen are found only in a few high-status burials, and the victims are often young women. These women may have been the concubines or lesser wives of the main tomb occupant. This qualitative change in the practice of hsün-tsang may indicate a trend towards the principle of uniting conjugal partners in death, and it may be that a corresponding trend in the pairing of males and females in formal burials of Eastern Chou will become apparent when more skeletal data become available.

The cases of possible husband-wife burial and of hsün-jen have been used to answer the question of whether a particular side or compass direction was associated with status. Also relevant to this issue are cases of paired or grouped graves of markedly different size or wealth of artefacts. The sample which may be drawn on remains small and so conclusions are necessarily tentative. It may be observed that in Western Chou and Spring and Autumn there is a discernable pattern of higher-status burials lying to the right-hand side of lower-status burials. In Warring States there are cases where this pattern is reversed and others where there is no consistent pattern within the same cemetery area. If these findings are compared to conclusions on the issue of laterality which scholars have drawn from traditional sources, we find an interesting correlation. It is believed that in the Early
Chou period, the left-hand side was associated with status, and that in Warring States this changed to the right-hand side. The side associated with status was reversed, however, in inauspicious matters such as mortuary practices. The data from burial sites would therefore seem to reflect this reversal of the pre-eminent side.

Examination of the orientation of individual graves reveals that this was not a random aspect of the placement of burials. Head-north was the predominant orientation of burials within the central states, but during the Western Chou, in the area of the Chou homeland, graves oriented according to the four cardinal directions are found within the same area. We can only speculate whether these variant orientations were determined by divinatory means or were related to the grave occupant's social status or kin relationship with occupants of neighbouring burials. A pervasive deviation from the head-north rule is found among the burials of the state of Ch'in, particularly within the Kuan-chung area, but also among some high-status Ch'in burials found in other areas of north China. This is one of several features distinguishing Ch'in burials from those of the central states which suggest that the Ch'in may have practiced different mortuary customs and had a different set of eschatological beliefs.

The conclusions drawn in this study are, in most cases, tentative, and it is to be expected that, if the present rate of archaeological publications from China continues, it will not be long before these may be confirmed or revised. It is hoped that this study of burial placement has highlighted some of the important issues raised by this kind of material evidence and indicated areas of potentially fruitful investigation. Only by critical evaluation of archaeological data and
attentiveness to their possible interpretative worth, can we make good
use of this ever-growing source of information and so continue to unravel
the mysteries of China's ancient past.
Appendix A
City Sites

This appendix contains descriptions of the various cities under consideration in this study. Those sites which have been comprehensively discussed in site reports and other works are described briefly. More detail is added where subsequent excavation has supplemented such published surveys. Those sites for which the information must be pieced together from a number of archaeological reports or other documents are described in detail.

Yen-hsia-tu (Warring States) 燕下都

The ancient city site known as Yen-hsia-tu, the 'lower capital of Yen', stands several kilometres south-east of present day Yi-hsien 易縣, Hopeh, between the Northern Yi River 北易水 and Central Yi River 中易水. Detailed excavations of the site over the past couple of decades have produced a fairly comprehensive picture of the city's layout, including the outline of walls, waterways, and roads, and the identification of industrial, palace, and residential areas (KKHP 1965.1:83-106). The city is divided into two main sections, of which the eastern section contains the most archaeological deposit.\footnote{It has been suggested that the various annexes of the city were built on at different times (Wheatley 1971:144) but no archaeological survey of the dates of each stretch of wall has yet been published.} The western...
section may have been either an extra layer of defence (*KK* 1982.8:35) or possibly an agricultural and market area. The city itself has been dated as Warring States (*KK* 1962.1:19), although Western Chou deposits suggest that the site was occupied long before the construction of the city (*KKHP* 1965.1:97).

**Ling-shou (Warring States)**

The site of Ling-shou, capital of the small state of Chung-shan from the end of the fifth century BC, stands in present day P'ing-shan-hsien, Hopeh. Although much has been published regarding the bronze finds in this area, the available data on the city site itself are sparse. This is especially unfortunate since, judging from the very general description published (Li Hsiao-tung 1982:84), the city bears a striking resemblance to Yen-hsia-tu. Walls divide Ling-shou into four areas: a palace area in the north-east, a residential and industrial area in the south-east, an area of high-status burials in the north-west and a market, residential, and agricultural area in the south-west.

**Han-tan**

The Warring States city of Han-tan, capital of the state of Chao, was for a long time believed to be confined to the archaeological site known as Chao-wang-ch'eng (Komai 1954). However, excavations since 1970 have revealed that this was but one part of the city complex.

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Such is the explanation offered by the excavators for a similar enclosed area of little cultural deposit in the city of Ling-shou, capital of Chung-shan state, although they offer no indication of whether any finds in that area led them to reach such a conclusion (Li Hsiao-tung 1982:84).
a more extensive walled site having been found to its north-east. This second city site, known as Ta-pei-ch'eng (大北城), includes the area of present-day Han-tan (邯郸), Hopeh (KK 1980.2:142-146). The outline of the city walls has been traced and a few trial digs have yielded iron, pottery, bone, and stone working areas. Inevitably the presence of a modern town on this spot impedes any detailed investigation of the plan of the Warring States city, but from what information is available, it is likely that Ta-pei-ch'eng was an industrial and residential area, and Chao-wang-ch'eng a palace and ceremonial area (KK 1982.6:597).

This unusual arrangement of discrete walled areas is hard to account for. There is a record of a city of the state of Chin (郟) at Han-tan in the sixth century BC (Tso-chuan, Duke Ting, 10th year; Legge Vol. 5:775), and it may be that Chao occupied a smaller existing city and added a further area to accommodate the large population and industrial and market areas integral to a Warring States city, but so far there is no archaeological evidence to verify this.

Whatever the reason, such an arrangement would not be easily defended from military attack and suggests confidence in the geographical location of the site and the rising power of the Chao state at the beginning of the Warring States period.

Lu-ch'eng (Western Chou-Warring States)

The present-day county town of Ch'U-fu (曲阜) in Shantung occupies the south-west corner of an older and far larger city site, that of Lu-ch'eng, the capital of the state of Lu from the Western Chou to the Warring States period. Preliminary investigations of the site were carried out by Japanese archaeologists in the early 1940s (Komai 1951).
and there were a few isolated excavations of pre-Han remains in the 1950s and 1960s (RW 1954.10:139; WW 1955.6:119; KK 1964.12:633; KK 1965.6:313-315). It was comparatively recently, between 1971 and 1973, that an extensive survey of the city site was undertaken and that the layout of the ancient city became clear (Ch'u-fu).

Lu-ch'eng comprises an irregular rectangle, surrounded by both wall and moat, and gridded by roadways running north to south and east to west. A canal cuts across the north of the city, flowing from east to west. Pounded earth foundations on an outcrop of rock in the approximate centre of the site suggest that this was the location of a palace and temple complex. Traces of wall surrounding this area have also been found. Although preliminary digging has revealed only Eastern Chou deposit for this central area, the excavators believe that the Western Chou palace area is likely to have coincided with the later one (ibid:212).

Thus the arrangement of the two concentric walled areas conforms to the idealized image of the centre of power being both the symbolic and actual centre of the city. Passages in early texts had hinted that this symbolism may have been a feature of Chou cities, but in the past no
excavated sites had reflected this ideal (Wheatley 1971:429-430).

Lin-tzu 靈池

The state of Ch'i was not only one of the most powerful states throughout the Eastern Chou period, but today it is also, perhaps, the most well documented and researched in terms of its economic and social organization (see, for example, Yang Hsiang-kuei 1954; Egashira 1966; Uehara 1965). The capital, Lin-tzu, built on the west bank of the Tzu River 濃河 in Shantung, was a thriving, heavily-populated urban centre which owes its historical reputation to such evocative descriptions as that by Su-ch'in 魏之窽 recorded in the Chan-kuo-ts'e: "Lin-tzu is so wealthy and well supplied that all of its inhabitants play the yû-flute or strum the se-harp, pluck the zither or strike the lyre. They match gamecocks, race their hounds, gamble, and play ball. Its streets are so crammed that the carriages rub rims, its populace so great that the people rub shoulders. If all held their hems up they would block out the sunlight and their sleeves would shield the town. When they shake the sweat from themselves a rain falls."

(trans. Crump 1979:157-158; SPTK 4:9a-b)

Archaeological investigation of this city site has revealed

The pattern of three gateways found on the north, the west and the east walls, with their grid of connecting roads roughly resembles the plan described in the K'ao-kung-chi 龜自河, section of the Chou-li 亜侯 for the layout of the ideal capital (Chou-li Vol. 4:33:1-3; Biot Vol. 2:555-556). (So far only two gates have been located in the south wall of Lu-ch'eng but this may well be because the southern section of the Ming wall disturbs this older wall and the gateway is not traceable.) Although it is likely that much of the Chou-li's schema of Western Chou institutions is the fabrication of Warring States scholars (Shih Ching-ch'eng 1966), it is interesting that the nearest thing we have to an archaeological record of an early Chou city plan should appear to coincide with this ideal type. On the other hand, it may be that, just as many generalizations about Eastern Chou political and social structures have been based on that pertaining in Lu (Blakeley 1977:4), so too was this idealized city form based on Lu-ch'eng.
substantial layers of cultural debris, including industrial areas and
caches of money, which bear witness to the historical records of its
prosperity (WW 1972.5:45-54; KKYWW 1980.3:25-31).

The city was established as the capital in 859 BC following
succession struggles within the state of Ch'i (SKK Vol. 5:32:11;
Chavannes Vol. 4:40-41) and the excavation has shown that the earliest
phases of the city's occupation were concentrated in the north-east of
the walled area (WW 1972.5:52). The annex in the south-west is likely to
have been constructed in the Warring States period (KK 1961.6:239).160

Lo-yang (Western Chou) and Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng (Eastern Chou)

Lo-yang lies in a narrow fertile valley surrounded by mountains, a
nodal point for routes linking the central plain with the high plateaux
of north-west China. It has been a significant centre of settlement from
at least the Shang period on, and has served as capital in nine different
dynastic periods (Wu Ko et al. 1983).161 The centre of settlement
shifted slightly from one historical period to another, the outlines of
city walls sometimes overlapping, sometimes discrete. One must expect
that the confusion of settlement patterns has been compounded in
historical records by the mistaken attribution of surface remains, such
as crumbling walls, to the wrong periods of the area's past. It is only

160 Liu Tun-yüan (1981) believes this annex to have been a feature of
the city in the Spring and Autumn period, but he presents no
archaeological evidence to support this assertion.

161 That is, the Eastern Chou, the Han, the Wei, the Chin, the
Northern Wei, the Sui, the T'ang, the Hou-T'ang, and the Hou-Chin.
through careful archaeological excavation that a picture of how the site developed may be gradually pieced together.

In the Chou period, the area of Lo-yang served first as a vital power base from which the Chou could control their conquered territory to the east and, subsequently, from the time of King P'ing (reigned 770-719 BC), as the Chou capital itself.\(^\text{162}\)

The pattern of Western Chou settlement in the Lo-yang area has been a question debated by scholars for centuries. One interpretation has been that two walled cities were simultaneously established after the conquest of Yin. One, Wang-ch'eng 王城, lay to the west of the Ch'an River 漣河, and the other, Ch'eng-chou 成周, to the east. The former served as the residence and ceremonial centre of the Chou people while the latter was constructed to house the aristocratic clans of the defeated Yin. Such was the description offered by Pan Ku 班固 in his geographical section of the *Han-shu* (ESSS 28[a]:19a) where he names the Han city of 陝南 for 西南 and the site of Wang-ch'eng

\(^{162}\text{The decipherment of the 122 graph inscription on the Ho-ts'un-beaker 玉爵, unearthed in 1965 at Pao-chi 蒲 dévelop in Shensi, has led scholars such as T'ang Lan to believe that the settlement at Lo-yang became the actual capital of the Chou for a period during and possibly after the reign of King Ch'eng 成王 (T'ang Lan 1976:61). However this hinges on the interpretation of the graph 玉 as 'to move the capital'. Other scholars have interpreted this graph to mean 'to build earthen ramparts' (Ma Ch'eng-yüan 1976) or 'to inspect the locality' (Chang Cheng-lang 1976). Whatever the status of the settlement at Lo-yang, it was clearly of considerable strategic importance in the Western Chou period.}
and that of Lo-yang as the site of Ch'eng-chou.\textsuperscript{163} Contradictory evidence from the *Yi-chou-shu* 遷周書, however, implies that Wang-ch'eng was not a discrete walled area, but the name of the inner city within Ch'eng-chou (*Yi-chou-shu*, Tso-lo-chieh 作維解 SPTK 5:75-9a). Archaeological evidence and epigraphic studies have as yet failed to resolve this debate but in the light of strategic considerations, it would seem unlikely that two walled areas were constructed so soon after the conquest.\textsuperscript{164} To date, no Western Chou city walls have been found and, although there are two main areas of Western Chou deposit (see Figure 43), there is as yet nothing to suggest that they represent these two separate cities. Besides, unless there has been quite dramatic changes in the river courses, they do not conform to the description which places them on opposite sides of the Ch'an River.

The search for early Chou remains was first concentrated on the banks of the Chien River 顓河 (KK 1955.1:9-21) but the area has yielded little of significance. The focus has now shifted east with the discovery of a bronze foundry, pillar supports, and indications of a Western Chou ceremonial centre at Pei-yao-ts'un 北陽村 (WW 1981.7:52-64; KK 1983.5:420-441; 338).

\textsuperscript{163} This in turn was probably based on the *Shu-ching* record of the Duke of Chou's divination in two areas when seeking a site for an eastern base for the Chou (*Shu-ching*, Lo-k'ao 洛誥; Legge Vol. 3:436-437) and the removal of the Yin clans to this settlement (*Shu-ching* To-shih 伋土; Legge Vol. 3:462-463).

\textsuperscript{164} For a discussion of the controversy, see Goto Kimpei (1960). More recently, Li Min has discussed the textual issues involved (1982). He concludes that the areas both east and west of the Ch'an River were all part of the same Western Chou settlement, called both Lo-yi 洛邑 and Ch'eng-chou 成周 (ibid:16).
FIGURE 43: LO-YANG: WESTERN CHOU SITES

(See accompanying Table)
## WESTERN CHOU CULTURAL REMAINS FOUND IN LO-YANG AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE NAME</th>
<th>REPORTS</th>
<th>FINDS</th>
<th>PERIOD (EARLY/MIDDLE/LATE WESTERN CHOU)</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
<th>KEY (on map)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pei-yao-ts'un</td>
<td>KK 1972.2:35-6, WW 1981.7:52-64, KK 1983.5:430-41; 388</td>
<td>burials; dwellings; sacrifice pits; bronze foundry; pillar supports; miscellaneous artefacts.</td>
<td>Early; Middle; Late</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No overall site plan yet published so there is insufficient data to establish the spatial relationship between the various finds.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'ang-chia-kou</td>
<td>WW 1964.9:54-5, WW 1972.10:20-8</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td>Early; Middle; (some unspecified)</td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-p'o-ts'un¹</td>
<td>C. White 1934:6, WW 1962.1:56-7</td>
<td>burials; bronze fang-yi vessel</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsia-yao-ts'un</td>
<td>KKHP 1955.9:91-116</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td>Early; Late</td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pai-chia-lu-k'ou</td>
<td>KKHP 1955.9:91-116</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td>Early</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung-ta-ssu</td>
<td>KKHP 1955.9:91-116</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td>Early</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ai-shan-miao</td>
<td>KKHP 1955.9:91-116</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Exact location unclear.³</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kang-t'ieh-ch'ang</td>
<td>KK 1959.4:187-8</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kung-ti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Ma-p'o-ts'un is mentioned as an unspecified site.

² Confusion in description of location.

³ Exact location unclear.
## Western Chou Cultural Remains Found in Lo-Yang Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Name</th>
<th>Reports</th>
<th>Finds</th>
<th>Period (Early/Middle/Late Western Chou)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>Key (on map)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chien-ho-hsi-an</td>
<td>KK 1956.6:62-3</td>
<td>burials?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1,600+ Chou graves found, but report does not specify whether they are Western or Eastern Chou burials.</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KKHP 1959.2:16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chien-ho-tung-an</td>
<td>Lo-yang: 3-4, 23-4, 53-60</td>
<td>burials, ash pits; pottery shards</td>
<td>(burials)</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KK 1960.10:10-3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Early; Late</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KKHP 1959.2:16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsi-kan-kou-ts'un</td>
<td>CYWW 1983.4:64</td>
<td>animal bone pits; storage pits; weapons; tools</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ü-chia-t'un</td>
<td>CYWW 1983.4:64</td>
<td>dwelling; ash pit; weapons; tools; burials</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KKHP 1959.2:29;31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsi-kao-ya</td>
<td>WW 1981.7:39-51</td>
<td>ash pit; pottery; bronze needle</td>
<td>Late</td>
<td>Other Western Chou deposit found near neighbouring villages of Kao-ya-chai and Tung-kao-ya. No data published.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For notes to Table 7, see overpage.
NOTES TO TABLE 7

1 Ma-p'o-ts'un is not indicated on any of the detailed maps of Lo-yang I have been able to consult. I have tentatively suggested the location just north of Pei-yao-ts'un as this is approximately 2 miles north-east of the town (White 1934:6) and lies between Tung-ma-p'o-ts'un and Hsi-ma-p'o-ts'un.

2 There is some ambiguity in the specifications of the site of grave M6:01 in this report. If the station referred to as Lo-yang ch'e-chan 洛陽車站 is the central Lo yang train station, the old city referred to as chiu-ch'eng 洛陽城 must be the Han site of Lo-yang Hsien-ch'eng. The burial would therefore be about 1 km north-east of the western end of the Chung-chou-lu site where other western Chou graves were found (Lo-yang). However, later in the report there is the suggestion that the grave is near the Ch'an River (KK 1956.1:28) which would indicate that the station referred to is the eastern Lo yang station (Lo-yang Tung-chan 洛陽東站) and the old city is the section of the present city normally referred to as Lao-ch'eng 洛城. In this case the grave is near the early Western Chou find in the Pei-yao-ts'un area. There are no details of the location of the second Western Chou grave in this report (M3:01).

3 The report gives no more details on the location of this steel works than to say that it lies between the Pai-ma-ssu and Lo-yang stations (presumably the eastern Lo-yang station). Cheng Te-k'un includes this find with the two graves found near the station (KK 1956.1:27-3) but offers no explanation for this (Cheng Te-k'un 1963:93-5).
Table 7 sets out all published finds of Western Chou cultural debris in the area, with an accompanying map (Figure 43).

In the reign of King P'ing (770-719 BC) pressure from tribes to the west forced the Chou to abandon their traditional power base in the area of present day Hsi-an 西安, and move their capital to the Lo-yang area. There they remained until the Ch'in conquest five centuries later. Over this period the Chou royal house experienced several succession struggles and other fragmentation which bear directly on the question of the pattern of settlement in the area.

First there was the struggle following the death of King Ching 景王 in 325 BC when the dead king's favourite son, Prince Ch'ao 朝子, established himself in the royal capital, compelling his brother, King Ching 景王, the rightful heir, to reside in a neighbouring area. King Ching was eventually reinstated with the help of the various states who then rallied together to fortify the Chou capital (Tso-chuan, Duke Ting, 1st year; Legge Vol. 3:742;744). The city which the restoration and fortification work was carried out on is referred to in the Ch'un-ch'iu and in the Tso-chuan commentary as Ch'eng-chou, leading scholars to believe that King Ching took up residence in the site to the east of the Ch'an River, abandoning the city of Wang-ch'eng where the kings had resided from the time of King P'ing.

Nearly a century later King K'ao考王 enfeoffed his younger brother

165 The Ch'un-ch'iu says King Ching resided in Ti-ch'an 犀泉, (Duke Chao, 23rd year; Legge Vol. 5:695;697), whereas the Shih-chi says he resided in Tse (SKK Vol. 1:4:78; Chavannes Vol. 1:208).

166 See for example the commentary to the Shih-chi (SKK Vol. 1:4:78).
as Duke Huan of Ho-nan (殤公) (SNK Vol. 1; 4:70; Chavannes Vol. 1; 300), probably in a bid to avert a repeat of the fratricide which had marked his own and his predecessor's accession. The commentators generally hold that Wang-ch'eng became Duke Huan's residence, resulting in a situation whereby the Chou were split into two camps, occupying the cities either side of the Ch'an River (ibid) and referred to as West Chou and East Chou. What may have begun as a peaceful co-existence degenerated into conflict several generations later, probably with the intervention of the states Han and Chao in the succession struggles within Duke Huan's branch of the Chou.

Finally, the Shih-chi records the last king of Chou, King Nan 秦王, moving his capital to Hsi-chou. This has been interpreted to mean that

167 I have translated the terms Hsi-Chou 西周 and Tung-Chou 東周 in the context of the split in the royal house during the Warring States period as West Chou and East Chou respectively. This is to distinguish them from the same terms, Hsi-Chou and Tung-Chou, used to designate historical periods. These I translate according to standard practice as Western Chou and Eastern Chou.

168 There is debate about the sequence of events which lead to the split in the Chou house. The Han-fei-tzu attributes the split to a succession struggle (Nei-ch' u-shuo-hsia 等子述事, SPTK 10:7a; W.K. Liao 1939 Vol. 2:19), whereas the Chao-shih-chia 趙史氏 section of the Shih-chi stresses the role of Han and Chao in the conflict (SNK Vol. 6; 43:40; Chavannes Vol. 5; 39). The Chou-pen-chi 趙本紀 section of the Shih-chi implies that the split was a case of amicable enfeoffment (SNK Vol. 1; 4:78; Chavannes Vol. 1; 301), a version some scholars consider to be a deliberate cover up of the disharmony within the royal house (Yang K'uan 1981:275). The Chou-pen-chi also dates the formal splitting of East and West Chou to the reign of King Nan, the final Chou king (SNK Vol. 1; 4:83; Chavannes Vol. 1; 305). Such disparities in the historical sources are further obfuscated by the inconsistencies in the use of the terms Hsi-chou and Tung-chou by commentators and the reoccurrence of names associated with previous events (for example, in the Han-fei-tzu version the heir apparent in the succession struggle bears the name Ch'ao , the same name as the usurper in the struggles of King Ching's time).
King Nan moved back to the site of Wang-ch'eng (SKK Vol. 1:4:83-84; Chavannes Vol. 1:303).

Thus the interpretations of the pattern of Eastern Chou settlement in Lo-yang are for the most part premised on the assumption that a dual city arrangement existed from at least before the time of King Ching's re-fortification of the capital. This in turn is based on the belief that the terms Wang-ch'eng and Ch'eng-chou were the names of discrete city areas. Yet, just as for the Western Chou period, there is no hard textual proof of this being the case in the Spring and Autumn period. To the contrary, the use of the terms Wang-ch'eng and Ch'eng-chou in the Tso-chuan suggest they were interchangeable names for the same area.¹⁶⁹ The establishment of a walled site on the east of the Ch'an River may well have been later than the time of King Ching's re-fortification work.

So far, archaeologists have traced a large part of the outline of a city wall on the banks of the Chien River (KKHP 1959.2:15-36). The walls were dated to the Spring and Autumn period, with some sections dating to the early part of that period. Major restoration appears to have been carried out in the Warring States period (ibid:32). The walled area surrounds the much smaller Han town of Ho-nan hsien-ch'eng, thus

¹⁶⁹ For example, the Tso-chuan's treatment of the events surrounding Prince Ch'ao's bid for the throne: when, in 525 BC, King Ching returned to the capital, he is described as entering Ch'eng-chou and subsequently, in the twelfth month, entering the Chuang palace 蒙 宫 (Duke Chao, 26th year; Legge Vol. 5:714:717). A similar reference to Prince Ch'ao's usurpation just three years before had him entering Wang-ch'eng and subsequently being placed in the Chuang palace (Duke Chao, 23rd year; Legge Vol. 5:696:699). A third example, from the seventh year of Duke Ting, has the king entering Wang-ch'eng before holding court in the Chuang palace (Legge Vol. 5:764:763). These three passages suggest that Wang-ch'eng and Ch'eng-chou were the same, or parts of the same, city area at that time.
conforming to Pan Ku's assertion that the site of the Han town coincided with the site of a Chou city. The Eastern Chou finds within the city include a large granary (WW 1981.11:55-65; WW 1981.11:55-65; 50), industrial areas (ibid:64; KKHP 1956.4:38-52; KKHP 1959.2:33; 1983.3:12-19;11), dwellings (KKHP 1959.2:16), evidence of prestigious buildings (ibid:32), and cemetery areas (Lo-yang; KKHP 1959.12:653-657). I refer to this city site as Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng 濮陽東周城, as the report writers did (KKHP 1959.2:15), in order to distinguish the archaeological site from the various textual nomenclatures.

Nearly 20 km east of Chien-pin Tung-Chou-ch'eng is the site of the Han and Wei city of Lo-yang, the city which Pan Ku alleged lay on the site of Ch'eng-chou. This city site has been examined by archaeologists (KK 1973.4:193-208) but it seems from the published data that they concentrated on tracing the outline of the walls and the position of the buildings rather than investigating their cultural levels. Until it is established when the walls were constructed and what deposits underlie the Han and Wei levels, it is impossible to confirm or deny the existence of an Eastern Chou city on this spot. As I have argued above, however, the site of large Eastern Chou tombs within this area may well indicate that an Eastern Chou city did in fact stand on this site (see above, pp.68-70).

Cheng-Han ku-ch'eng (Eastern Chou) 鄭韓故城

The site of Cheng-Han ku-ch'eng lies in the confluence of the Shuang-chi River 雙淇河 and Huang-shui River 黃水河, which appear to have formed natural moats around the west, south, and east walls of the city. Except for those stretches which must have been washed away,
the outline of the city walls has been traced, revealing an irregular shaped area with an annex in the north-west where prestigious buildings stood (WWTLTK 1980.3:56-66). The cultural debris includes both Spring and Autumn and Warring States deposits, conforming to the historical record of the site's occupation first by Cheng 鄭 and then by Han 韓. Duke Huan of Cheng 鄭公桓 moved his people and capital to this spot in 773 BC, apparently to escape the troubles plaguing the Chou house in the west (Shih-chi SKK Vol. 5:42:3-5; Chavannes Vol. 4:450-452). The city served as the capital until the annihilation of Cheng by Marquis Ai of Han 韓哀侯 in 375 BC who then made the city Han's capital (ibid, SKK Vol. 6:45:6; Chavannes Vol. 5:203). It remained so until that state's defeat by Ch'in in 230 BC, the rulers of Han often being referred to as Kings of Cheng (e.g. Chan-kuo-ts'e SPTK 3:34b; Crump 1979:494).

Hsin-t'ien (Eastern Chou) 新田

The area of south-western Shansi near the confluence of the Fen River 般江 and K'uai River 慶河 forms a fertile plain flanked on the north, east and south sides by imposing mountains and with the Fen River to the west. The discovery here of extensive areas of Eastern Chou archaeological deposit has confirmed the historical association of the area with the powerful Spring and Autumn state of Chin 齊. An Eastern Chou wall encompassing an area of about 1.5 km² was found in 1957 around the village of Xiu-ts'un 訡村 (WW 1957.10:55-56). The subsequent discovery of further stretches of wall adjacent to its north and west sections revealed that another walled area was added later (WW 1958.12:32-33). The full outline of this second wall, called by the archaeologists P'ing-wang ku-ch'eng 賽望古城 after a village in the
vicinity, has not yet been traced and it is impossible to say if the enclosed area would have been larger or smaller than that of Niu-ts'\'un ku-ch'eng. Both walled areas appear to have contained prestigious buildings (ibid), most likely palaces and temples, but the most significant areas of cultural deposit were found outside the walls to the south and east, between Niu-ts'\'un ku-ch'eng and the K'uai River. Finds here include dwellings, storage pits, industrial areas, burials, and sacrifice sites. These deposits date from the Spring and Autumn period to the Early Warring States. The Warring States deposit in some places overlies the wall of Niu-ts'\'un ku-ch'eng suggesting that by this period it no longer functioned as a rampart. (KK 1959.5:223). P'ing-wang ku-ch'eng may have replaced Niu-ts'\'un ku-ch'eng as an enclosed area of palaces and temples. There have been no finds to date to suggest that an outer wall enclosed the industrial and residential areas and it seems likely that the only walled areas were the palace, temple complexes. Such a settlement pattern is quite plausible in view of the favourable natural defences of the area and the power enjoyed by the state of Chin in the Spring and Autumn period. It was forces inside rather than outside which

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170 Other isolated finds of wall have been made in the locality, near Ma-chuang, near Hou-ma Station, and to the west of Niu-ts'\'un ku-ch'eng, but the relationship of these sections has yet to be established(KK 1966.2:62). Almost all the sections of wall here are no longer visible above the surface and have had to be traced by excavation.

were to lead to the fall of Chin, a state with a territory of extraordinary strategic advantages.

Just 10 km east of this site is another Eastern Chou city site. Although the southern sections of wall have been washed away by the K'uai River, the dimensions and the arrangement of inner and outer city walls are of a pattern typical of large Warring States cities.\(^{172}\) Archaeological excavation at this site has not been extensive. Reports only record that there were finds of shards contemporaneous with those from the neighbouring city site and that the greatest quantity of artefacts dates from the Warring States and Han periods (ibid; \(WW\ 1937.1:66\)).

Long before any archaeological work was undertaken here, there was controversy about the location of Eastern Chou cities historically associated with the area.\(^{173}\) It is now clear that the site at Niu-wang ku-ch'eng and P'ing-wang ku-ch'eng was the Chin capital of Hsin-t'ien to

\(^{172}\) The north wall is 3.1 km in length and the remaining section of west wall is 2.6 km (\(KK\ 1959.5:222\)). The outer city would therefore have had an area greater than 7.5 km\(^2\). The inner city is approximately 1 km\(^2\). The sections of wall which have escaped the encroachment of the K'uai River are, like Niu-ts'un ku-ch'eng and P'ing-wang ku-ch'eng, largely below the surface, or have been damaged in the expansion of the modern city of Ch'ü-wo (ibid).

\(^{173}\) See, for example, the various opinions outlined in the Ch'ing gazetteer about the site of the city Ch'ü-wo with which the Marquis Chao of Chin enfeoffed his uncle in 745 BC(\(Shan-hsi t'ung-chih\ 51:26a-27b\)) and about the site of the Chin capital of Hsin-t'ien (ibid Vol. 51:32b-39a).
which the Chin moved in 335 BC (SSN:59).\textsuperscript{174} The city served as capital until the three houses of Chao, Wei and Han split the state of Chin and, in 390 BC, forced Duke Hsiao 孝公 to move to T'un-liu 秦 (Tschepe 1910:436).

The identification of the city site to the east poses more problems. It has been tentatively associated with the Ch'ü-wo enfeoffed to Ch'eng-shih 成師 by his nephew, Marquis Chao of Chin (KK 1959.5:220), but there is evidence suggesting that this Ch'ü-wo and the present town of the same name are not on the same site (Shan-hsi t'un-chih 51:26a-27b). Clearly, the period of occupation of this eastern site will have to be established archaeologically before it can be positively identified with an historical city.

Yung (Eastern Chou)

To the south of present day Feng-hsiang hsien-ch'eng 阮翔縣城 in Shensi lies the site of Yung, capital of the state of Ch'in from 677 to 350 BC (see below, p.266, fn.173). Excavations in this area have already yielded some of the most important Eastern Chou finds of recent years, and the ideal excavating conditions of a low population and straightforward stratigraphy mean that the site offers exciting potential for further investigation (KKYW 1981.1:93).

\textsuperscript{174} The Tso-chuan records the choice of this site for its advantages of good soil, deep waters, proximity to the Fen and K'uai Rivers, and its docile people (Duke Ch'eng, 5th year: Legge Vol. 5:353-360). There is no record about what prompted this shift of capital and historians have suggested religious reasons, namely, the portent of a landslide at Liang-shan 嶰山 the previous year, or economic factors (Hung An-ch'\textquotesingle Dan 1960:46).
The area is plateau, 25 km north of the Wei River. Mountains rise sharply 15 km north and west of the site and the Yung River and Chih-fang River flow east and south-west, their confluence being just south-east of the ancient city. The walls of a Han town have been traced in the south-west of the site, but the distribution of Eastern Chou deposit suggest that the earlier city was far more extensive (KK 1963.8:419), although its exact perimeters are still unknown. 

Excavation of the Ch'in capital has been concentrated on the ridge known as Yao-chia-kang, where the palaces and temples stood, in an area apparently in the west of the city. Detailed reports have been published on the excavation of the foundations of one of the palaces (KKWW 1982.5:12-20) and of an ice-storage chamber (WW 1973.3:43-45). The scale of these, and the elaborate structural features, such as the bronze fittings (KK 1976.2:121-128) reflect the grandeur for which the Ch'in

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175 Two stretches of wall have been found between Hsi-ku-ch'eng and Nan-kuan, which, judging from their scale and location, would seem to be part of the earlier city's defences (KK 1963.8:419, Fig. 1). However, no estimate of the date of these stretches of wall has yet been published. There is no reason to assume that Yung was completely surrounded by a wall, since it lies in an area of favourable natural defences (Lin Chien-ming 1981:43).

176 Seven graves were found at the site of this palace, but these are apparently not regular burials but those of victims of sacrifices performed after the palace had been abandoned (KKWW 1982.5:15-16).
palaces were renowned.177

Hsien-yang (Eastern Chou-Ch’in) 咸陽

With the gradual expansion of Ch’in’s territory during the Warring States period, the strategic value of an isolated capital at Yung declined. A new site further east was chosen which could serve as a centre for the administration and consolidation of the new lands and as a base from which further conquests could be launched. The site adopted, that of Hsien-yang, lies in a fertile area of the Wei River valley, well protected by natural barriers but offering access to the east through river valleys and to the south through mountain passes. It is the vantage point from which many conquests of north China have been effected, from the Chou subjugation of the Shang to the victory of the People’s Liberation Army in our own century.

The capital was transferred from Yung in 350 BC.178 a move

177 The Shih-chi records the impression these palaces made on an envoy from the Jung when he visited Ch’in in 626 BC. He allegedly said to Duke Mu.

"If it was the spirits who constructed these for you, then it must have exhausted them. If it was the people who built them for you, then it must have caused them much suffering."

(SKK Vol. 1:5:32; Chavannes Vol. 2:41)(My translation)

178 Some historians have held that there was an intermediary capital at Li-yang 樂陽 for 35 years before the establishment of Hsien-yang. This has been based largely on the Shih-chi record of Duke Hsien walling Li-yang (SKK Vol. 1:5:47; Chavannes Vol. 2:53), but none of the reliable sources support the inference that this duke actually made it the capital (KKTW 1982:5:70). The archaeological site believed to have been that of this temporary capital (WW 1966.1:10-16) bears the hallmarks of a Han town rather than a Warring States city (ibid:72).
coinciding with the implementation of Shang Yang's economic and administrative reforms (*SKK* Vol. 1:5:51-52; *Chavannes* Vol. 2:65-66).

Besides strategic considerations, the move can also be seen as a way of effecting these reforms by moving the capital away from the power base of the aristocratic clans in Yung (*Yang K'uan* 1981:190).

The new site may have been favourable for the expansionist aims of the Ch'in, but it is not so favourable for the modern archaeologist seeking to understand the layout and development of the city. Unlike the site at Yung, the areas around Hsien-yang have been densely populated over the centuries, with the concomitant build up of cultural deposit above the Ch'in layers. The incursion of the Wei River is also likely to have eaten away at much of the site. Added to this is the fact that excavation of some areas of Ch'in deposit was carried out in the early 1970s when Chinese archaeology was in the doldrums. Many errors and inconsistencies in the reports published at that time have subsequently been pointed out (*WW* 1979.2:05-86; *KRYWW* 1982.2:67-71).

Excavations of the Ch'in capital have yielded palace and temple deposits from the Ch'in period (221 - 206 BC) as well as the Warring States period. It is, of course, impossible to isolate the cultural deposit from the few decades of the Ch'in period itself, except in cases where historical records specifically refer to the date of the construction of particular buildings, such as the Ah-fang palace begun in 212 BC (*Shih-chi SKK* Vol. 2:6:53; *Chavannes* Vol. 2:174).
foundations, industrial areas and burials, but, so far, detailed published reports have concentrated on temple and palace sites.

The finds of Warring States deposit, largely confined to the north bank of the Wei River, can give us very little picture of the layout of the Ch'in capital which is likely to have extended to the south bank of the river even before Shih-huang's dramatic expansion of the city (KKYW 1982.2:70). Similarly, although historical texts, in particular the Ch'in-shih-huang pen-chi section of the Shih-chi, offer more information about Hsien-yang than about any other Warring States city, attention was inevitably focused on the palaces and temples rather than the industrial or settlement areas. Miyazaki argues that the implementation of Shang-yang's policies towards commerce, farming, and military structure meant that Ch'in was a highly decentralized state in the Late Warring States period. Consequently Hsien-yang was unique among capitals of that

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The published reports of excavation and the principle finds reported are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Finds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>1936.5:72</td>
<td>pottery mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>1962.6:201-209</td>
<td>palace, temple foundations and structural fittings; kilns; burials; currency; burial; metal and lacquer artefacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>1973.3:167-170</td>
<td>currency; burials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>1974.1:16-26</td>
<td>kilns; storage pits; pounded earth platforms; pottery and metal artefacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>1975.6:69-72</td>
<td>burial; metal and lacquer artefacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>1976.11:12-24:41</td>
<td>palace/temple complexes and structural fittings; assorted artefacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>1976.11:25-30</td>
<td>burials; palace/temple complexes; industrial areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>1976.11:42-44</td>
<td>tiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWTC</td>
<td>1980.6:85-89</td>
<td>murals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Figure 15, p.83
time in its small size and low population, something which was only rectified by the forced immigration of aristocratic families after the unification (1962:333). In the light of the disadvantages of the site for an extensive archaeological survey, however, it is doubtful whether excavation will yield sufficient data to endorse this theory.

Ch'i-chou (Western Chou)

The area in present day Ch'i-shan-hsien 岐山縣 and Fu-feng-hsien 扶風縣 which lies on the well-watered plain below the Ch'i-shan range 岐山, has, since the Han dynasty, yielded many hundreds of Western Chou bronzes. It is only in the last twenty years, however, that this area has been definitely identified as the site of Ch'i-chou, the capital of Chou for three generations of rulers, from Duke Tan-fu 古公亶父 to King Wen. Even after King Wen moved the capital to Feng 堊, this city remained an important Chou settlement, as evidenced by the excavation of impressive building foundations and high-status graves dating to all periods of the Western Chou.

The archaeological potential of the two Western Chou capitals at Ch'i-chou and of Feng-Hao 禁雹 parallels that of the two Ch'in capitals of Yung and Hsien-yang. In both cases the earlier capital lies in a region which has subsequently been sparsely populated, in contrast to the

181In archaeological reports this site is referred to variously as Ch'i-yi 岐邑 (KW 1979.10:14-49), Chou-y'an 周原 (KK 1982.4:393-401:424), and Ch'i-chou 岐周 (SSY:126). The city was likely to have been called Chou 周 (or 周) by the Chou themselves (Li Hsüeh-ch' i in 1981) and is most commonly referred to as Chou-ch'eng 周城 in later historical sources. I have opted for the site name Ch'i-chou since this incorporates the historical name of the site but avoids confusion with Chou as the name of the state and with Chou-y'an as the name of the broader area in which this site stands.
second capital which lies below a complicated build-up of later cultural debris. Both early capitals continued to function as important cities even after they were no longer the capital of the state, but whereas Yung is likely to have sunk into abandon and ruin in the course of the Han dynasty, the end of Ch'i-chou was swift and decisive. Most of the excavated buildings show signs of destruction by fire and the enormous caches of bronzes found in the area are testimony to the flight of Ch'i-chou's inhabitants before the nomadic invasions marking the end of the historical period of Western Chou.

Table 8 below, and the accompanying map, Figure 44, outline the principle areas of finds.\footnote{I do not include isolated finds of bronzes or bronze caches where no information is available on other finds in the vicinity. Archaeological reports treating these are as follows: }
(The position of these symbols around the various locations does not reflect the exact location of the habitations, industrial areas, and burials in relation to each other, since such information is not available in the site reports)

FIGURE 44:
CH'I-CHOU

from: WW 1979.10:46, Fig. 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. (on map)</th>
<th>site name</th>
<th>reports</th>
<th>principle finds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Chao-ch'en</td>
<td>KK 1958.9:73</td>
<td>tiles; pounded earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KK 1960.8:8-11</td>
<td>foundations;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KK 1963.12:634-638:682</td>
<td>ash-pits;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1979.10:44-49</td>
<td>pillar-holes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KKYWW 1980.4:6-22</td>
<td>bronzes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1980.4:27-35</td>
<td>pottery-working area; paved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1981.3:10-22</td>
<td>roadway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Ch'i-chia-ts'un</td>
<td>WW 1959.11:72-73</td>
<td>oracle bones;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KK 1960.8:8-11</td>
<td>bronze caches;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1961.7:59-60</td>
<td>paved roadway;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XX 1962.2:98-91</td>
<td>pillar holes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XX 1963.3:413-415</td>
<td>ash pits;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1963.9:65-66</td>
<td>pounded earth foundations;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KK 1963.10:371-576</td>
<td>burials;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1963.12:634-633:632</td>
<td>tiles; bronze and bone working areas; low-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1979.10:44-49</td>
<td>status habitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1979.11:1-11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KK 1980.1:45-51</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1980.4:27-35</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1981.9:1-7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KKYWW 1982.2:10-12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Chuang-pai</td>
<td>WW 1963.9:65-66</td>
<td>bronze caches;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1972.6:33-35</td>
<td>ash-pits; jade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1978.3:1-16</td>
<td>and bone working areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WW 1978.11:6-10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KKYWW 1980.4:6-22</td>
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<td>WW 1980.4:27-35</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KKYWW 1982.2:10-12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KKYWW 1983.3:45-50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Wang-chia-tsui-tzu</td>
<td>WW 1954.10:39-90</td>
<td>burials;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KK 1960.8:3-11</td>
<td>pillar holes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(possibly pre-Chou)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jen-chia-ts'un</td>
<td>WW 1951.2(10):</td>
<td>bronze caches;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'iang-chia-ts'un</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>pottery working area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li-chia-ts'un</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>bronze caches: paved roadway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feng-ch'u</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>pounded earth walls and foundations:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yun-t'ang-ts'un</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>bone working area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsia-wu-tzu-ts'un</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>bronze cache: pounded earth platform:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shang-k'ang-ts'un</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu-chia-ts'un</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>burials; bronze cache</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chao-li-ts'un</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>burials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The investigations at Ch'i-chou and the publications of the finds are still in the early stages and in most cases the relationship between the individual excavation areas cannot be deduced from the reports. It is therefore impossible at this stage to draw up an overall site plan of the city’s layout. The most comprehensive discussion so far of the city’s layout (WW 1979.10:44-49) estimates that the site covered an area of some 15 km². Prestigious buildings, linked to each other by paved roadways, were concentrated between Chao-ch’en to the south-east and Feng-ch’u to the north-west, with industrial and low-status residential areas to the south and south-west (ibid:46-47). But, as can be seen from the map (Figure 44), prestigious buildings were found in other areas besides those of apparent concentration. It seems that the settlement pattern was therefore one of dispersed nuclei of prestigious buildings with adjacent industrial, burial, and habitation areas.
Feng-Hao (Western Chou)

The capital of the Chou was transferred from Ch'i-chou to Feng on the west bank of the Feng River in the year prior to the death of King Wen, in the course of the Chou expansion eastwards and the subjugation of the Shang (SKK Vol. 1;4:15; Chavannes Vol. 1:221). King Wu moved the royal residence to the east bank of the river and constructed Hao (Shih-ching, Ta-ya; Legge Vol. 4:462-463) which remained the capital of Chou until the end of the Western Chou period (771 BC). The move to the east bank may have been motivated by geographical considerations, the site being more suitable for the expansion of the city, in contrast to the land around Feng which was restricted by waterways and was more prone to flooding (Ma Cheng-lin 1970:13).

The site of Feng also continued to be an important political and ritual centre throughout the Western Chou period (Huang Sheng-chang 1956:74), and there has been considerable debate over the centuries about the different functions of these 'twin' cities. Debate has also raged about their exact locations and this has only been resolved by the archaeological discovery of two concentrated areas of Western Chou deposit on either side of the Feng River in present-day Ch'ang-an-hsien. The site of Feng is likely to have centred on the area of the villages of Chang-chia-p'o, Ma-wang-ts'un, and K'o-sheng-chuang, while that of Hao across the river approximately 5 km north-east of Feng. Hao may have centered around the north-west of the K'un-ming Lake, constructed in the first century BC and drained after the T'ang dynasty (KK 1963.4:189;195), part of the Chou settlement being submerged beneath its waters.
GLOSSARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Included in this glossary are the names of archaeological sites discussed in this study, with their MRAC Site Number according to the system of numbering sites by province, hsien, and village (Barnard and Sato 1975).

An-yang 安陽 3:1
Chang-chia-p'o 張家坡 16:2-4
Ch'ang-an-hsien 長安縣 16:2
Ch'ang-chih-shih 長治市 13:5
Ch'ang-p'ing-hsien 昌平縣 4:14a
Ch'ang-wu-hsien 長武縣 16:32
Chao-li-ts'un 召里村 16:5-8
Chao-pei-hu 趙背戶 16:21-7
Chao-wang-ch'eng 趙王城 4:11
Ch'ao-yi 朝邑 16:22-2
Ch'en-chia-ts'un 陳家村 16:5-10
Ch'en-san-ling 陳三陵 4:11-7
Cheng-chou-shih 鄭州市 3:2
Ch'eng-chia-ts'un 程家村 16:5-9
Cheng-Han ku-ch'eng 鄭韓故城 3:22
Ch'i-chen 齊鎮 16:5-12
Ch'i-chia-ts'un 齊家村 16:5-3 to 5-6
Ch'i-chou 岐周 16:5 16:8
Ch'i-shan-hsien 岐山縣 16:8
Chia-ko-chuang 賣客莊 4:1-1.2
Ch'iang-chia-ts'un 強家村 16:5-13
Chiao-hsien 賽縣 16:33
Chien-hsi-ch'êd 潦西區 3:3-23 to 3-25
Chin-ts'ên 金村 3:3-61
Chiu-nü-t'ai 九女臺 4:8-7 to 8-11
Chu-yüan-kou 竹園溝 16:4-15
Chê-nan-hsien 菏南縣 12:46
Chê-fu-hsien 曲阜縣 12:21
Chê-wo-hsien 曲沃縣 13:28
Chê-t'ou-ts'un 泉頭村 12:47-1
Chuang-pai 蒲白 16:5-14
Ch'un-hua-hsien 鄭化縣 16:34
Chun-ko-erh 准格尔 19:20
Chung-chou-chü 中州渠 3:3-62
Chung-chou-lu 中州路 3:30-9 to 3-39
Erh-li-kang 二里崗 3:2-1 to 2-3
Fang-shan-hsien 坪山縣 4:14e
Fen-shui-ling 分水嶺 13:5-1,2
Feng 豐 16:2
Feng-ch'u 鳳雉 16:8-4
Feng-hao 豐鎗 16:2
Feng-hsi 瀏西 16:2-4 to 2-8
Feng-hsiang-hsien 鳳翔縣 16:18
Fu-chia-miao 付家廟 12:4-5
Fu-feng-hsien 抚鳳縣 16:5
Fu-lin-pao 福臨堡 16:4-11
Fu-ts'un 飛村 12:21-5
Han-tan 邯鄲 4:11
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Hou-ma-shih 侯馬市
Hou-tuan-wan 後瑞灣
Hsi-an 西安
Hsia-wu-tzu-ts'un 下務子村
Hsien-yang 咸陽
Hsin-cheng hsien 新鄭縣
Hsin-t'ien 新田
Hsin-t's'un  申村
Hsü-liang-chung 虚梁莊
Hsüan-wu-men 宣武門
Hsün-hsien 溪縣
Huang-chia-kou 黃家口
Huang-hsien 黃縣
Hui-hsien 輝縣
Jen-chia-ts'un  任家村
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Niu-ts'un ku-ch'eng 牛村古城
Pa-ch'i-t'un 八旗屯
Pa-chia-chuang 白家莊
Pa-chia-ts'un 百家村
Pa-fu-ts'un 白浮村
Pa-sha-chen 白沙鎮
Pan-p'o-ts'un 年坡村
Pao-ch'i-shih 資難市
Pei-yao-ts'un 北窑村
Pi-sha-kang 碧沙崗
Pi-yang 滁陽
P'ing-shan-hsien 平山縣
P'ing-tu-hsien 平盧縣
P'ing-wang ku-ch'eng 平王古城
San-chi-ts'un 三池村
San-men-hsia-shih 三門峽市
Shang-k'ang-ts'un 上梁村
Shang-ma-ts'un 上馬村
Shang-meng-hsien 上孟縣
Shang-ts'un-ling 上村嶺
Shao-kou 焦溝
Shih-chia-yüan 史家塬
Shih-li-p'u 十里鋪
Shou-hsien 壽縣
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GLOSSARY OF GENERAL TERMS

chao-mu 昭穆
chia-t'ing 家庭
chia-tsu 家族
chih-tsu 支族
chou-cup 舟
chu-hsing p'ei-shih 珠形佩饰
chüeh-ear-decorations 琥耳
chung-jen 族人
erh-ts'eng-t'ai 二等臺
fu-boiler 焚
fu-teng-tzu-chien 父替子肩
fu-tray 置
fu-tsang 貓葬
ho-tsang 合葬
hsien-bit 衅
hsing 妃
hsün-jen 猟人
hsün-tsang 妻葬
hu-vase 珑
huang-crescent 璟
ko-dagger-axe 戈
k'ou-han-mouth-piece 口合
kuan-inner-coffin 棺
kuan-jar 蘊
kuei-sceptre 王
kuei-tureen 湯
wan-bowl 碗
wei-axle-piece 軸
yi-ewer 瓦
yi-settlement 鬻
ying-ti 營地
yuan-chu-hsing-shih-shih 圓柱形石飾
ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNALS AND SITE REPORTS

ABBREVIATION

Cheng-chou  
Cheng-chou Erh-li-kang
K'o-hsueh-ch'u-pan-shu
(Peking, 1939)

CHKK  
Chiang-Han K'ao-ku
(Journal)

Ch'ü-fu  
Ch'ü-fu Lu-ch'eng ku-ch'eng
Ch'i-lu shu-shu
(Peking, 1932)

CYWW  
Chung-yuan wen-wu
(Journal)

Feng-hsi  
Feng-hsi fa-chüeh pao-kao
Wen-wu ch'u-pan-shu
(Peking, 1962)

Hsi-an  
Hsi-an Pan-p'o
Wen-wu ch'u-pan-shu
(Peking, 1963)

Hsün-hsien  
K'o-hsueh ch'u-pan-shu
(Peking, 1964)

Hui-hsien  
K'o-hsueh ch'u-pan-shu
(Peking, 1956)

JWTC  
Jen-wen ts'a-chih
(Journal)

KK  
K'ao-ku
(Journal)

KKHP  
K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao
(Journal)

KKJN  
K'ao-ku yen-wen
(Journal)

Lo-yang  
Lo-yang Chung-chou-lu (Hsi kung-tuan)
K'o-hsueh ch'u-pan-shu
(Peking, 1959)

Shan-piao-chen  
Shan-piao-chen yü Liu-li-ko
K'o-hsueh ch'u-pan-shu
(Peking, 1959)
Shang-ts'un-ling
Shang-ts'un-ling Kuo-kuo mu-ti 上村領親墓地
X'o-hsheh ch'u-pan-she, Peking, 1930

Shou-hsien
Shou-hsien Ts'ai Hou mu ch'u-t'u yi-wu 香餘蔡侯墓 出土地
X'o-hsheh ch'u-pan-she, Peking, 1936

SSN
Wen-wu k'ao-ku kung-tso san-shih-nien 文物考古工作三十年
Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, Peking, 1979

WW
Wen-wu 文物
(Journal)

WWTLTK
Wen-wu tsu-liao ts'ung-k'an 文物資料集
(Journal)
TRADITIONAL SOURCES

Traditional sources are cited with references to the Chinese text and, where such exists, the translation into a European language. Where the European translation also carries the Chinese text, this alone is cited (e.g. Legge, Couvreur etc.), except where special reference is made to commentaries or the interpretation of the text.

Abbreviations

ESSS Erh-shih-su-su-shih, 二十四史
Shanghai, 1903

HCCC Huang-ch'ing ching-chi shih hsü-p'ien 皇清經解續編
Shanghai, 1889

S KK Shiki kaichu kosho 史記會注考釋
Tokyo 1956-1961

SPTK Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊
Shanghai 1920-1922

References give volume number (where appropriate), chapter number, and page number thus: SKK Vol. 3:15:51, i.e., Shiki kaichu kosho, Volume 3, chapter 15, page 51.

Chan-kuo-ts'e 戰國策
SPTK Vol. 257-264

Chou-li 周禮
Chou-li cheng-yi 周禮正義
Kuo-hsieh chi-pen ts'ung-shu 通典纂頌
Ch'ang-sha, 1933

Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan 春秋左傳
SPTK Vol. 23-20

Han-fei-tzu 漢書
SPTK Vol. 330-352

Han-shu 漢書
ESSS

Hou-Han-shu 後漢書
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