Funerary Lists from Early Chinese Shaft Tombs

Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg

Vorgelegt von: Hui Sun

Datum: 30.09.2019

Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Enno Giele
Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Joachim Kurtz

This doctoral dissertation was submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy at Heidelberg University on September 30, 2019 and defended on February 7, 2020. Minor revisions have been made since the submission.

The dissertation was granted the J. P. Gumbert Dissertation Award in 2021, an honor for which I am enormously grateful.

Appendix II and part of Appendix IV have been published in the following journal article:

"Zeng Hou Yi mu chutu A, B liang lei zhujian jubu jianxu zai shangque" 曾侯乙墓出土Ａ、Ｂ兩類竹簡局部簡序再商榷, *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究, no. Autumn and Winter 2019 (2020): 58–145.

To Sebastian

Acknowledgements

I owe many thanks to a lot of persons who supported my doctoral project as well as to several institutions, which provided various resources that benefited my research. My first thanks go to my first supervisor, Professor Dr. Enno Giele, who introduced me to the fascinating topic, which is tailored to my research interest. Since the subject of my research forms part of the early Chinese manuscripts, I thank him especially for his guidance in the codicological and philological appoaches to early Chinese manuscripts. And I sincerely thank my second supervisor, Professor Joachim Kurtz, for his meticulous correction of the first version of my dissertation, including typos and grammatical errors; as well as his scrutiny of the usage of my archaeological theory in certain contexts. His suggestions inspired me to thoroughly revise the combination of the theory with my data.

My deep thanks go to the Gerda Henkel Stiftung for providing me with a generous PhD scholarship (09/2014–08/2017) as well as a platform to keep in touch with scholars of various disciplines including archaeology, art history and history. My sincere thanks go likewise to the Institute of Chinese Studies as well as the Institute of East Asian Art History at Heidelberg University, for the chance to give my first classes on Chinese art, archaeology and early manuscripts (09/2012–08/2014).

I am exceedingly grateful for the collegial advices and supports from many of my collegues. Jeanette Werning (M.A.) offered long-standing supports with her expertise in Chinese archaeolgy and ethnology and many fruitful and inspiring conversations about our projects. Dr. Thies Staack (now at Hamburg University) shared his expertise in codicology, especially in the features of bamboo as writing supports. Professor Dr. Paul Nicholas Vogt (now at Indiana University Bloomington) opened a new door for my basic skills in palaeography and introduced me to the history of the Zhou dynasty. Professor Dr. Tong Chun Fung (now at the Universty of Hong Kong) offered much help with his expertise in early Chinese history and solid insight into the Qin and Han manuscripts. Zhang Qiang 張强 (M.A.) offered many aids in providing literature that is relevant for my project. Professor Dr. Qu Jian 瞿見 (now at China Agricultural University) also provided aids in finding important literature. In addition, I sincerely thank Janika Newen (M.A.) for many interesting conversations on Chinese archaeology and for providing her aids in picture processing.

My project has profited enormously from a combination of interdisciplinary approaches. I am sincerely grateful for the supports, encouragements and open-minded attitudes of scholars from various disciplines. Professor Dr. Guo Jue 郭珏 (Barnard College) kindly offered a half-year private reading sessions and discussions (01/2013–06/2013) with me on the early funerary lists. Professor Dr. Chen Wei 陳偉 (Wuhan University 武漢大學), who always promptly answered my questions concerning Chinese manuscripts, invited me to the Centre of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts at Wuhan University for a three-months exchange (12/2014–02/2015). I was extremely lucky to have kept in touch with Dr. Suzuki Naomi 鈴木直美 (Meiji University 明治大学) and Professor Dr. Tian Tian 田天 (Capital Normal University 首都師範大學), both experts of early Chinese funerary lists among others. They kindly sent me their articles and unpublished manuscripts on this topic. Professor Dr. Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中 (Wuhan University) patiently answered various questions about the measurements of the Leigudun manuscripts (07/2016–05/2018) and kindly provided data from his original measurement. Dr. phil. habil. Ulrich Lau (Hamburg University, Germany), showing great interest for my project, invited me twice (08/2016 and 09/2018) to the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Hamburg University for workshops on early Chinese manuscripts. Professor Dr. Michael Friedrich (Hamburg University), showing intense interest for my project as well, invited me to his research colloquium (08/2015) and shared his unique insights into the political backgrounds of the occupants of the Mawangdui tombs. Professor Dr. Chen Songchang 陳松長 (Hunan University 湖南大學) generously shared his profound knowledge on the Mawangdui discoveries and invited me to an international conference on Qin manuscripts (12/2014). Dr. Margarete Prüch (Heidelberg University) did not only share her specialist knowledges on early Chinese lacquerware, but also introduced me to numerous art historians, archaeologists and archaeological institutions. Professor Dr. Cao Lüning 曹旅寧 (South China Normal University 華南師範大學), an expert of Qin and Han law, kindly shared his insights into sumptuary regulations in early Chinese funerals. Professor Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Walter Liese (1926–2023), an expert of bamboo plants, friendly provided me materials on the properties of fresh bamboo plants, which corroborate my methodology in the reconstruction of the Leigudun manuscripts. Professor em. Dr. Joost Crouwel (University of Amsterdam), an expert of ancient wheeled vehicles of various regions in Eurasia, was much helpful in lending his expertise on vehicle terminology and insights into comparative studies of ancient vehicles. Dr. Ute Luise Dietz (Academy of Sciences and Literature, Meinz), an expert of horses and horse tack among others,

informed me about issues concerning horse breeding, horse behaviours and draught capacity of horses. Dr. Claudia Wenzel (Heidelberg University), researcher of Buddhist stone inscriptions, made valuable comments in our conversations about my topic.

I am sincerely grateful for all the supports and inspiring insights provided by these scholars. However, I myself expressed all opinions in this dissertation. Hence, I am alone responsible for any mistakes.

I would particularly like to thank my parents for their deep understanding and unconditional supports for my project throughout the years. I deeply thank my brother, Sun Chao 孫超, for long conversations about our shared interests in art and archaeology, and especially for organising interviews about funerary rites in modern Ningbo 寧波 and Anji 安吉 (PRC), which offered me some ethnological insights into the modern funerary practices. I unutterably regret that I did not have the chance to personally thank my grandma, who passed away during my doctoral project, for all her company, trust and love.

Last but not least, even if no words sufice to describe my gratitude towards my dear husband, Sebastian Bock, I am more than willing to give it a try. First of all, he created the maps in this dissertation, for which I am much grateful. In the following, let me continue my expression of gratitude to him in our daily language: Lieber Sebastian, ich versuche vergeblich nach Worte zu suchen, um nur einen Bruchteil Deiner Liebe zu beschreiben. Du bist stets für mich da, mit unbeschreiblichem Verständnis und Engelsgeduld in jeder Situation. Dafür bin ich Dir zutiefst dankbar und widme Dir diese Dissertation.

Abstract

This dissertation presents a new approach to the whole corpus of funerary lists from early Chinese shaft tombs (dating from between the late 5th century BCE to the 1st century CE). While existing research almost exclusively interprets them as "tomb inventory lists" or "gift lists", I provide an alternative interpretation. Combining codicological, philological and archaeological data with archaeological and ethno-sociological theories, I argue that the lists were created as tools for short-term administration of material components (sometimes also animals and personal resources) in certain actions before the entombment.

Chapter 1 introduces the Chinese funerary lists discovered to date and offers an overview of the scholarship on the creation and usage of the lists from the early shaft tombs. Chapter 2 guides the reader through the archaeological theory of "field of action", which I apply for my analysis of the creation and usage of the early lists. The introduction of this theory is followed by the establishment of a hypothetical model of the early Chinese funerary cycle based on transmitted texts. Furthermore, a combination of this theory with the classic ethnological concept of *rites de passage* will clarify the motivation of the creation of those lists. Chapter 3 presents a detailed case study of the lists from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun, the tomb of the renowned Marquis Yi of Zeng (died ca. 433 BCE). Chapter 4 introduces the perspectives of the analytical device "field of action" for approaching the remaining lists. In addition, the two latter chapters indicate that the lists considerably complement the hypothetical model of the funerary cycle.

Finally, as a conclusion, the lists were no "tomb inventory lists". Instead, they were created and used in short-term administration in frames of various fields of action. None of them describes the final organisational pattern of the tomb goods and most of them do not even describe the final organisational pattern of the resources in the reproduction of individual pre-entombment fields of action (including gift-giving). Their creation and usage were motivated by the wishes to smoothly transform the status of the deceased and the bereaved through various *rites de passage*. Therefore, my discoveries do not only contribute to the rational understanding of the funerary practices involving those lists, but also provide the basis for a fundamental and necessary reorientation in the philological and archaeological research of those lists.

Table of Contents

List of Figures xi
Chapter 1 Introduction 1
1.1 Overview of Chinese Funerary Lists 1
1.2 Literature Review and Open Questions 19
Chapter 2 Theoretical Approaches 47
2.1 Analytical Device: Field of Action 47
2.2 Fields of Action in the Early Chinese Funerary Cycle 56
2.3 The Creation and Usage of the Funerary Lists in *Yili* 71
2.4 Transformations in a Funerary Cycle: Field of Action versus *Rites de Passage* 77
2.5 Summary 86
Chapter 3 Case Study of the Lists from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun 89
3.1 Historical Identity of the Zeng March 92
3.2 A Funerary Gift of a Chu King 100
3.3 Physical Features, Structures and General Contents of the Leigudun Lists 116
3.4 The Records on the C Strips 121
3.4.1 The Records on the C-1 Strips 122
3.4.2 The Records on the Remaining C Strips 140
3.4.3 The Provenances of the Draught Animals 152
3.4.4 The Vehicle Types and their Significance 157
3.4.5 Summary 169
3.5 The Records on the A and B Strips 172
3.5.1 The Text Structures and Contents of the Records 172
3.5.2 Transformations of the Vehicles and Draught animals Through Fields of Action 182
3.5.3 The Creation Process and the Usage of the Records 187
3.5.4 Summary 200
3.6 The Records on the D Strips 201
3.6.1 Records of Foddering Sacrificial Horses 202
3.6.2 Records of Planning manpower for Sacrificial Events 214
3.6.3 Records of Levying Taxes for Sacrificial Events 223
3.6.4 Summary 229
3.7 The Contents of the Lists versus the Buried Material Resources 230

3.7.1 Vehicle Parts and Accoutrements 234
3.7.2 Horse Tack 239
3.7.3 Weaponry 243
3.7.4 Special Loads of Several Vehicles 255
3.7.5 Summary 256
3.8 Summary 257
Chapter 4 Approach to the Further Funerary Lists 261
4.1 Absence of References in the Lists 261
4.1.1 Systematic Absence of References to Goods Deposited in Self-Contained Spaces 261
4.1.2 Occasional Absence of References to Certain Types of Tomb Goods 281
4.1.3 Systematic Absence of References to One Type of Tomb Goods 290
4.1.4 Summary 294
4.2 Transformation of Material Resources 297
4.2.1 The lists from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan 299
4.2.2 The lists from tomb nos. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui 312
4.2.3 The list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan 345
4.2.4 Summary 361
Conclusion 365
Appendix I Tables 375
Table 1 An Overview of the Chinese Funerary Lists (Last Update 30.12.2024) 375
Table 2 The Cycle of the Funeral of an Ordinary Officer (*Shi*) 393
Table 3 Overlaps of the Vehicle Records on the A-C Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts) 405
Table 4 Records of the Vehicle Parts on the A Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts) 414
Table 5 Vehicle Accoutrements on the A Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts) 417
Table 6 Vehicle Parts and Accoutrements Discovered in Tomb no. 1 at Leigudun 426
Table 7 Records of Weaponry on the A Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts) 430
Table 8 Weapon Records in the Leigudun Manuscripts versus Weapon Discovery in the Tomb 440
Table 9 Horse Tack (Leigudun Manuscripts) 443
Table 10 Horse Tack Found in Tomb no. 1 at Leigudun 451
Table 11 Special Loads (Leigudun Manuscripts) 453
Table 12 Armours and Barding (Leigudun Manuscripts) 454
Table 13 Overview of Unity S-148 (Leigudun Manuscripts) 460
Table 14 Overview of Unity S-159 (Leigudun Manuscripts) 462

Table 15 Overview of Unities S-207 and S-208 (Leigudun Manuscripts) 464
Table 16 Overview of Unity S-196 (Leigudun Manuscripts) 467
Table 17 Overview of Unity S-195 (Leigudun Manuscripts) 468
Table 18 Overview of Unity S-204 (Leigudun Manuscripts) 469
Table 19 Overview of Loose Entries on the C Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts) 470
Table 20 Overview of the Summary on Strips 120–121 (Leigudun Manuscripts) 471
Table 21 Contributions of Vehicles and Draught Animals in Marquis Yi's Funeral ... 475
Table 22 Contributions of Sacrificial Horses in Marquis Yi's Funeral 479
Table 23 Part of the Entries in the Lists from Tomb No. 1 at Mawangdui 480
Table 24 Goods Deposited in the Three Nesting Coffins in Tomb No. 1 at Mawangdui 492
Appendix II Physical Features of the Leigudun Strips 495
Appendix III Partial Translation of the Leigudun Manuscripts 505
III.1 The A Strips 505
A-1 Strips 505
A-2 Strips 524
III.2 The B Strips 533
III.3 The C Strips 538
Unity S-148 (C-1 Strips) 538
Unity S-159 (C-1 Strips) 539
Unity S-207–208 (C-1 Strips) 541
Unity S-196 (C-1 Strips) 545
Unity S-195 (Strips of Mixed Subgroups) 546
Unity S-204 (C-2/C3 Strips) 548
Loose Entries (C-2 or C-3 Strip) 549
III.4 The D Strips 551
Appendix IV Scribal Hands in the Leigudun Manuscripts 556
IV.1 The A Strips 556
IV.2 The B Strips 563
IV.3 The C Strips 564
IV.4 The D Strips 565
Bibliography 569

List of Figures

Fig. 1 A label discovered in the Western Han tomb of the Queen of Changsha at Wangchengpo (Changsha, Hunan province). From Song Shaohua and Li Equan 2010, Plate 1. E-47.

Fig. 2 Two labels discovered in the Western Han tomb of the Queen of Changsha at Wangchengpo. From Song Shaohua and Li Equan 2010, Plates 3. C:34-1 and 4. C:4.

Fig. 3 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between 5th century to 222 BCE. Map based on OpenStreetMap and created by Sebastian Bock. Geographic coordinates from site reports if provided, otherwise estimated by the author according to maps or site names in site reports. For a brief list of the archaeological data of the tombs and the codicological data of the lists see Appendix I: Table 1.

Fig. 4 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between 221 BCE and the mid-Western Han period (ca. 100 BCE). Map based on OpenStreetMap and created by Sebastian Bock. Geographic coordinates from site reports if provided, otherwise estimated by the author according to maps or site names in site reports. For a brief list of the archaeological data of the tombs and the codicological data of the lists see Appendix I: Table 1.

Fig. 5 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between the mid-Western Han period (ca. 100 BCE) and 100 CE. Map based on OpenStreetMap and created by Sebastian Bock. Geographic coordinates from site reports if provided, otherwise estimated by the author according to maps or site names in site reports. For a brief list of the archaeological data of the tombs and the codicological data of the lists see Appendix I: Table 1.

Fig. 6 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between 100 and 16th century CE. Map based on OpenStreetMap and created by Sebastian Bock. Geographic coordinates from site reports if provided, otherwise estimated by the author according to maps or site names in site reports. For a brief list of the archaeological data of the tombs and the codicological data of the lists see Appendix I: Table 1.

Fig. 7 Paragraph 1 on the A-1 strips from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. Photo of individual strip consists of several sections, which have been joined by the author. Photos of the individual sections from Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 169–231. For the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 8 The funerary list from tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan (Jingzhou, Hubei province). Images of the bamboo strips from Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 2006, Plates, p. 121–124. Sequence of the strips from Tian He 2010, 85.

Fig. 9 A unity of content in the funerary list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan (Jingzhou, Hubei province). From Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 183–185.

Fig. 10 Phantom images of *qiance* (dispatch list) and *fengfang* (*feng*-gift list) by Nie Chongyi. From Nie Chongyi 2005, *juan* 20, 22 and 24.

Fig. 11 Stages in a Mycenaean funeral. From Boyd 2002, 60.

Fig. 12 Plan view of an ancestral temple in the Zhou dynasty. Adapted from Zheng Xianren 2006, 37, Fig. 19.

Fig. 13 Plan view of the mansion of an Ordinary Officer in the Zhou dynasty. From Groot 1897, Pl. 1.

Fig. 14 Chimebell ensemble (Inv. No. C. 65) from the tomb of Marquis Yi. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 27. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 214–216 and 222.

Fig. 15 Unity S-148 (left) and Unity S-196 (right) on the C strips, Leigudun manuscripts. Photo of individual strip consists of several sections, which have been joined by the author. Photos of the individual sections from Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 214–216, 222 and 225–227. For the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 16 Part of an accompanying pit in close association with tomb no. 1 at Jiuliandun (Zaoyang, Hubei province). From Huang Wenxin 2005, 578.

Fig. 17 An accompanying pit in close association with tomb no. 9 at Xujialing (Xichuan, Henan province). From Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al. 2004, 216, Figure 203.

Fig. 18 A chariot with mounted side screens from tomb no. 21 at Majiayuan (Zhangjiachuan, Gansu province) in side view in situ. From Xie Yan et al. (2012), 19, Fig. 44.

Fig. 19 Foto and line-drawing of a chariot with dismounted side screens discovered in tomb no. 62 at Majiayuan. From Liu Bingbing et al. (2018), 10, Fig. 11; and Zhao Wucheng (2018), 49, Fig. 13.

Fig. 20 The structure of a vehicle box with side screens from the cemetery at Majiayuan. From Zhao Wucheng (2018), 49, Fig. 14.

Fig. 21 Entries A-2/P-3, A-2/P-4/E-1, A-3/P-10 and A-3/P-13 on the strips from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. Photo of individual strip consists of several sections, which have been joined by the author. Photos of the individual sections from Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 169–231. For the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 22 Axle caps with top blades (Inv. Nos. N.142:1 and N.142:2) discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no.1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 108:4.

Fig. 23 Bronze cladings on the side and back railings on a chariot excavated in the late Western Zhou accompanying pit no.1 at Beizhao (Quwo, Shanxi province). From Ji Kunzhang et al. (2010), 12.

Fig. 24 The last quarter of strip 124, from tomb no.1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 209.

Fig. 25 Entry A-3/P-2 (strips 39–41), Leigudun manuscripts. Photo of individual strip consists of several sections, which have been joined by the author. Photos of the individual sections from Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 169–231. For the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 26 Entries and subtotals on the A-2 strips (strips 70, 95, 67, 115–119), Leigudun manuscripts. Photo of individual strip consists of several sections, which have been joined by the author. Photos of the individual sections from Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 169–231. For the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 27 Entries on the B strips (strips 122–139), Leigudun manuscripts. Photo of individual strip consists of several sections, which have been joined by the author. Photos of the individual sections from Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 169–231. For the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 28 Plan view and cross section of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 9, Fig. 5.

Fig. 29 Plan view of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun and its five accompanying pits nos. K1–K5. Adapted from Zhang Changping et al. 2017, 32, Fig. 1.

Fig. 30 An axle cap (Inv. No. N.182) from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 323.

Fig. 31 A vehicle with axle cap adorments, part of the mural from an Eastern Han tomb at Daijiazhuang (Anping, Hebei province). From Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1990, Plate 8.

Fig. 32 Subtypes I-III of the *ji*-polearms (Inv. Nos. N. 139, N. 208 and N. 184) discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 90:1.

Fig. 33 Two specimens of the ordinary *shu*-polearms (1, 2) and one specimen of the shu-polearm of the Jin stype (3) discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 293, Fig. 179.

Fig. 34 A bundle of arrows (Inv. No. N. 102) discovered in tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 98:4.

Fig. 35 Fragment of the verso of a shield (Inv. No. E. 62), with embedded rings made of tin-lead alloy and covered with gold foils, from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 103:2.

Fig. 36 Three rings made of tin-lead alloy and covered with gold foils (left: Inv. No. N. 129; right: Inv. No. E. 231), from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 104:1 and 104:2.

Fig. 37 Three labels discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 231; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 38.

Fig. 38 The third layer of goods in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 72, Plate 36 (C).

Fig. 39 The second layer of goods in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 71, Plate 36 (B).

Fig. 40 Bronze nails with hemispherical heads, discovered in tomb no. 2 at Mawangdui (Changsha, Hunan province). From He Jiejun 2004, Plate 10-3.

Fig. 41 A flat figurine (Inv. No. 280, 12.5–20 / ? / 1 cm) from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan. From Chen Zhenyu 1993, Plate 8.

Fig. 42 A riding figurine (Inv. Nos. 3 and 5, 24 / ? / ? cm and 47 / 38–39 / ? cm) with plastic dimensionality from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan. From Chen Zhenyu 1993, Plate 8.

Fig. 43 Small figurines (Inv. Nos. 453–457, ca. 11–12 / 2.5 / 1 cm) made of peach branches, from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui. From Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 2, Plate 200.

Fig. 44 A dressed figurine (Inv. No. 1 or 235, 79–84,5 / 19–21 / ? cm) with plastic dimensionality from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui. From Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 2, Colour Plate 201.

Fig. 45 Sizes and notch positions of the bamboo strips forming the funerary lists located in three compartments in tomb no. 2 at Baoshan (Jingmen, Hubei province). Graphic created by the author. Data from Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991a, 9.

Fig. 46 Two entries from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan. Photo of individual strip consists of several sections, which have been joined by the author. Photos of the individual sections from Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991a, Plate 115 and 117.

Fig. 47 A unity of content in the list from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui. From Qiu Xigui 2004, vol. 2, 241.

Fig. 48 Line-drawing of a *guan*-pot (Inv. No. 133) from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui. From Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 124, Fig. 108-9.

Fig. 49 Bamboo labels attached to the guan-pots from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui. From Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 2. Plate 253.

Fig. 50 Seal case consisting of a wooden mould and impressed clay, fixed on a *guan*-pot from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui. From Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 2. Plate 252.

Fig. 51 Wooden tablets 1 and 407 from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui. From He Jiejun 2004, Plates 20 and 51.

Fig. 52 Five clusters of summaries on wooden tablets from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui. From He Jiejun 2004, Plates 23–25, 28 and 38.

Fig. 53 Six single summaries on bamboo strips from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui. From He Jiejun 2004, Plates 33, 44, 50, 42, 31 and 32.

Fig. 54 Photo and Line-drawing of the silk painting (2.12 / 0.94 m) from the western wall of the central compartment (coffin compartment) of tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui. Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 7, 327; and He Jiejun 2004, 113.

Fig. 55 Line-drawing of a fragment of the silk painting (68.7 / 34.9 cm) from the eastern wall of the central compartment (coffin compartment) of tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui. From He Jiejun 2004, 113.

Fig. 56 Line-drawing of a fragment of the silk painting from the eastern wall of the central compartment of tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui. From He Jiejun 2004, 114.

Fig. 57 Bamboo tablet (23.2 / 4.1–4.4 / 0.3 cm) and bamboo strips (24.2-24.7 / 0.7–0.9 / 0.1 cm) bearing one unity of content in the list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan. From Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 181–185.

Fig. 58 Entries concerning caps, shoes and walking staff in the list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan. From Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 195 ff.

Fig. 59 The wooden chamber with two nesting coffins (capsized) from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan. From Chen Zhenyu 1993, 460, Figure 5.

Fig. 60 Distances between notches and between traces of binding strings on the Leigudun strips. Data partly from Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 26–32; partly from data courtesy of Xiao Shengzhong (for details see Appendix III).

Fig. 61 Lengths of individual strips (cm) from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. Data partly from Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 26–32; partly from data courtesy of Xiao Shengzhong (for details see Appendix III).

Fig. 62 Length ratios of the three parts divided by the notches on individual strips from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. The red lines mark the boundaries between the A-D strips, while the

blue lines subdivide the strip groups A and C. Data partly from Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 26–32; partly from data courtesy of Xiao Shengzhong (for details see Appendix III).

Fig. 63 Infrared photo of the title and black-and-white photos of part of the first paragraph on the A-1 strips of the Leigudun manuscripts. From Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 38, Fig. 14; Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 169–171; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 64 Black-and-white photos of the eighth and the eleventh paragraphs on the A-1 strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 189–192 and 231; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 65 Black-and-white photos of the seventh, tenth and eleventh entries on the A-1 strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 183–184, 190–191 and 197; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 66 Black-and-white photos of the A-2 strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 192–193, 202, 206 and 207; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 67 Black-and-white photos of two entries on the A-3 strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 186, 195 and 198; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 68 Black-and-white photos of the first half of the first paragraph on the B strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 208 and 209; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 69 Black-and-white photos of the latter half of the second paragraph on the B strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 211–213; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 70 Black-and-white photos of the summaries on the B strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 207 and 214; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 71 Black-and-white photos of the Unity S-148. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 214–216 and 222; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 72 Black-and-white photos of part of the Unities S-159, S-207–208 and S-196. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 215, 217, 219, 221, 225, 229 and 230; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 73 Black-and-white photos of the Unities S-195 and S-204. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 226–229; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 74 Black-and-white photos of the loose entries on the C strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 196, 220 and 226; for the sources of the strip sequence see Appendix III.

Fig. 75 Black-and-white photos of the entries on the D strips. From Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 230 and 231.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview of Chinese Funerary Lists

Discoveries of manuscripts written on bamboo, wood and silk in the last century in China have opened up a new area of research, which is called *jianduxue* 簡牘學 (bamboo and wooden manuscript studies) or *jianboxue* 簡帛學 (bamboo and silk manuscript studies). The discovery sites have been mainly ancient ruins and tombs; accordingly, the manuscripts fall roughly into two domains: caches of ancient life and those of ancient death. This dissertation focuses on a category among the manuscripts pertaining to the caches of ancient death, i.e. lists that are commonly denoted as *qiance* 遣策 (bamboo strips recording those to be dispatched [to the tomb]), *fengfang* 賵方 (tablet recording *feng*-gifts), *yiwushu* 衣物疏 (list of [tomb] clothing and accessories) or the like in Chinese archaeology and palaeography.[1]

This corpus of manuscripts is relatively well presented. As observed by Enno Giele, "[i]n almost as much as 50% of all Early Chinese text-producing tombs that have been reported upon in some detail these lists of funerary items are the only texts that were found".[2] Chinese scholars frequently interpret these lists as *suizangpin qingdan* 隨葬品清單, i.e. "tomb

[1] In several comprehensive overviews of Chinese manuscripts, funerary lists are generally denoted as *qiance*. See Zheng Youguo 郑有国, *Zhongguo jianduxue zonglun* 中国简牍学综论 (Wuhan: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1989): 69 ff.; Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫 and Duan Shu'an 段書安, *Ershi shiji chutu jianbo yongshu* 二十世紀出土簡帛綜述 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006): 370 ff. Shan Yuchen distinguishes between *qiance* and *yiwushu* in his two statistics of the Chinese manuscripts discoveries since 1900. The same holds true for Li Ling's statistic of Chinese manuscripts. Shan Yuchen 單育辰, "1900 nian yilai chutu jianbo yilan" 一九〇〇年以來出土簡帛一覽, *Jianbo* 簡帛, no. 1 (2006): 481–513; Shan Yuchen, "1900 nian yilai chutu jianbo yilan (xu)" 一九〇〇年以來出土簡帛一覽（續）, *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究, no. Spring and Summer 2016 (2016): 345–365; and Li Ling 李零, *Jianbo gushu yu xueshu yuanliu* 简帛古书与学术源流 (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2004): 93–114.

[2] See Enno Giele, "Using Early Chinese Manuscripts as Historical Source Materials," *Monumenta Serica* 51, no. 1 (2003): 420.

inventory lists".[3] This interpretation has been widely accepted in Western literature.[4] I provide an alternative interpretation of the creation and usage of those manuscripts, which I call "funerary lists" (*sangzang shiwu qingdan* 喪葬事務清單, see also Section 1.2), based on a combination of codicological, philological, archaeological and ethno-sociological approaches.

[3] For a small portion of the Chinese references to the interpretation of "tomb inventory lists" (termed as *suizangpin/suizangwu qingdan* 隨葬品清單, 隨葬物清單 etc.) see Chen Zhi 陈直, "Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu de ruogan wenti kaoshu" 长沙马王堆一号汉墓的若干问题考述, *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1972): 33; Lin Jianming 林剑鸣, *Jiandu gaishu* 简牍概述 (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984): 84; Gao Dalun 高大伦, "'Qiance' Yu 'fengfang'" "遣策"与"賵方", *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古, no. 2 (1988): 106; Zheng Youguo 1989, 20 and 69; Mi Rutian 米如田, "'Qiance' kaobian" "遣策"考辨, *Huaxia kaogu* 华夏考古, no. 3 (1991): [96]; Li Junming 李均明, *Gudai jiandu* 古代简牍 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003): 122 ff. and 131; Yang Hua 楊華, "Sui, Feng, Qian: Jiandu suo jian chu di zhusang lizhi yanjiu" 襚·賵·遣：簡牘所見楚地助喪禮制研究, in *Xin chu jianbo yu lizhi yanjiu* 新出簡帛與禮制研究 (Taibei: Taiwan guji, 2007): 162; Wang Hui 王晖 and Jia Junxia 贾俊侠, *Xian Qin Qin Han shi shiliaoxue* 先秦秦汉史史料学 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2007): 253; Li Junming 李均明, *Qin Han jiandu wenshu fenlei jijie* 秦汉简牍文书分类辑解 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009): 310; Tian He 田河, "Chutu qiance yu gudai mingwu yanjiu" 出土遣策与古代名物研究, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社会科学战线, no. 10 (2018): 130; and Tian Tian 田天, "Mawangdui Han mu de qiance yu sangzangli" 馬王堆漢墓的遣策與喪葬禮, Wenshi 文史, no. 1 (2020): 60.

[4] For a number of examples in which funerary lists are called "tomb inventory lists", "lists of funerary goods" and similar see Anna Seidel, "Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs," in *Dokyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化, ed. Kan'ei Akizuki 秋月觀暎 (Tōkyō: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1987), 25; Wu Hung, "The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 726; Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006): 10; Constance A. Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006): 4, 10 ff., 46, 55, 63 ff., 95 and 144 ff.; Michael Nylan, "Towards an Archaeology of Writing: Text, Ritual, and the Culture of Public Display in the Classical Period (475 B.C.E.-220 C.E.)," in *Text and ritual in early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2007): 3 ff. and 35 ff.; Michael Friedrich, "The 'Announcement to the World Below' of Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆 3," *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter* vol.1 (2008): [6] ff.; Roel Sterckx, *Food, Sacrifice, and Sagehood in Early China* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 57 and 144 ff.; Lisa Raphals, *Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 44; Anthony J. Barbieri-Low and Robin D. S. Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015): 13; Sophia-Karin Psarras, *Han Material Culture: An Archaeological Analysis and Vessel Typology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 29; John S. Major and Constance A. Cook, *Ancient China: A History* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2016): 162; and Alain Thote, "Daybooks in Archaeological Context," in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*, ed. Donald Harper and Marc. Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 47 ff; Dou Lei, "From the Living to the Afterlife: Funerary Inventories of Ancient China," PhD Diss., (University of California, 2023): 8. For the corresponding German interpretation, "Grabinventar" or "Inventarliste", see Margarete Prüch and Annette Kieser, *Tradition und Wandel: Untersuchungen zu Gräberfeldern der Westlichen Han-Zeit (206 v. Chr. - 9 n. Chr.)*, Forschungen zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen 4 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006): 68–70; Thomas O. Höllmann, *Das Alte China: Eine Kulturgeschichte* (München. C.H.Beck, 2008): 130; Michael Friedrich, "Wer war der Grabherr von Ma-wang-tui?" in *Dem Text ein Freund: Erkundungen des chinesischen Altertums; Robert H. Gassmann gewidmet*, ed. R. Altenburger et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009): 129.

I refer to those lists dating from between the late 5th century BCE and the 1st century CE as early funerary lists. All of them were discovered in shaft tombs including one or more wooden chambers (*guo* 槨) containing one or more coffins (*guan* 棺).[5] This is an indication that the creation and usage of these early list shared a certain frame of funerary practices. The 1st century CE witnessed substantial transitions in funerary rituals. Robert L. Thorp demonstrates the transformation of the elite tombs in the Central Plains from the "vertical pit" to "hollow brick" constructions;[6] and Wu Hung 巫鴻 argues that in the latter half of the 1st century CE, the tomb replaced the ancestral temple as the focus of ancestral worship, which is manifested in tomb architecture as well.[7] Furthermore, the arrival of Buddhism in China in the 1st century CE[8] can also have brought about certain gradual transformations in the funerary practices, though visible changes date from a later period.[9]

The early lists are mostly untitled. The term *qiance* is coined from the ritual classic *Yili* 儀禮 (*Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*).[10] It refers primarily to lists that were discovered in pre-Qin tombs and early Han tombs. A *qiance* commonly itemises one to several of the following issues, i.e. servants, wheeled vehicles, draught horses, clothes, accessories, textiles, vessels, food, beverages, money etc. The term *yiwushu* commonly refers to lists that were

---

5 I will always refer to the term *guo* as "wooden tomb chamber" or "wooden chamber", and to the term *guan* as "coffin". If I use the term "outer coffin", which is the translation of some scholars for the term *guo*, it always means a coffin that is not the innermost of a set of nesting coffins. For two translations of the term *guo* as "outer coffin" see Michael Loewe, *Everyday life in early imperial China during the Han period, 202 BC-AD 220* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2005): 122; and Cook 2006, 6.

6 See Robert L. Thorp, "The Qin and Han Imperial Tombs and the Development of Mortuary Architecture," in *The Quest for Eternity: Chinese Ceramic Sculptures from the People's Republic of China*, edited by Los Angeles County Museum (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987): 17–37.

7 See Wu Hung, "From Temple to Tomb: Ancient Chinese Art and Religion in Transition," *Early China* 13 (1988): 78–115.

8 For an introduction to studies of the beginning of Buddhism in China see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 18–30.

9 For several studies of the traces of Buddhism that were discovered in tombs dating from the 2nd or the 3rd century CE see Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries AD)," *Artibus Asiae* 47, 3/4 (1986): 266–303; Wang Jinnan 王进南 and Liu Zunzhi 刘尊志, "Yuanshi Daojiao He Zaoqi Fojiao Sixiang Zai Xuzhou Han Mu Zhong De Tixian Yu Fanying" 原始道教和早期佛教思想在徐州汉墓中的体现与反映, *Xuzhou shifan daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 徐州师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版） 36, no. 2 (2010): 98–101.

10 For a closer discussion of the term *qiance* 遣策 see Section 1.2.

discovered in tombs dating from after the mid-Western Han period (Xihan 西漢, 202 BCE-9 CE). It appears literally as part of the titles in several of these lists.[11] Furthermore, the term *bu* 薄（簿） also appears literally as part of the titles of two funerary list discovered recently.[12] These later lists primarily describe clothes and accessories.

It is worth noting that the terms *qiance* and *yiwushu* have been used with a certain degree of arbitrariness. For instance, the earliest dated manuscripts that have been vastly referred to as *qiance* are ten jade tablets from tomb no. 2009 at Shangcunling 上村嶺 in Sanmenxia 三門峽, the tomb of Guo Zhong 虢仲 (fl. 9th century BCE) of the Western Zhou dynasty (Xizhou 西周, ca. 1045–771 BCE),[13] who was the ruler of Dongguo 東虢. But according to their sizes and materiality, those jade tablets do not seem to have formed an integral manuscript.[14] They bear all together 25 written characters, which have been partly published: the most comprehensive inscription is "白大夫□匹馬",[15] i.e. "… horse(s) of Bai, a Grandee"; one of

---

11 Dou Lei itemises eight list titles encompassing the term *yiwushu*, for instance, "Junxiong yiwushu" 君兄衣物疏 (List of the Clothing and Accessories of Junxiong). The further list titles include terms such as *yishu* 衣疏 (List of Clothing), *yiwushu* 衣物數 (Amount of clothing and Accessories), *suishen wushu* 隨身物疏 (List of Things to Carry with Oneself), *yibeinangshu* 衣被【囊】蔬（疏） (List of Clothes, Quilts and Bags), *zawu zhong beishu* 雜物種被疏 (List of Quilts and Miscellaneous) etc. See Dou Lei 窦磊, "Han Jin yiwushu jijiao ji xiangguan wenti kaocha" 汉晋衣物疏集校及相关问题考察 (Master's thesis, Wuhan daxue, 2016): 2, 95 and 151.

12 Two funerary lists discovered at the suburb of Huzhou, Zhejiang province, bear titles that end with *suo jichi bu* 所齎持薄（簿） (Register of Things to Take Along with Oneself) and *suo jichi zawu bu* 所齋（齎）持雜物薄（簿） (Register of Miscellaneous Things to Take Along with Oneself), respectively. See Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎 et al. eds., Wucheng Han jian 烏程漢簡 (Shanghai: Shanghai shu hua chu ban she, 2022): 352–55.

13 For several works in which the jade manuscripts are referred to as *qiance* 遣策 see Hou Junjie 侯俊杰 and Wang Jianming 王建明, "Sanmenxia Guoguo mudi 2009 hao mu huo zhongda kaogu chengguo" 三门峡虢国墓地 2009 号墓获重大考古成果, in *Guoguo mudi de faxian yu yanjiu* 虢国墓地的发现与研究, ed. Wang Bin 王斌 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000): 25; Cai Yunzhang 蔡运章, "Lun Guo Zhong qiren" 论虢仲其人, in Wang Bin 2000, 115; Yang Yubing 杨育彬 and Sun Guangqing 孙广清, *Henan kaogu tansuo* 河南考古探索 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 2002): 54 and 355; Zhao Congcang 赵丛苍 and Guo Yanli 郭妍利, *Liang Zhou kaogu* 两周考古 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004): 96.

14 The sizes of the jade tablets vary from 20×5×0.3 cm to 6×2×0.2 cm. And the jade tablets bear receptacle drillings, which demonstrate three individual styles. See Shi Anzhong 师安衷, "Zhongguo shufashi shang de zhongda faxian" 中国书法史上的重大发现, in Wang Bin 2000, 251–52. For images of several of the jade tablets see Yang Aimin 杨爱民 and Liu Shegang 刘社刚, "Guoguo mudi chutu moshu yuqi ji qi shufa jiazhi" 虢国墓地出土墨书玉器及其书法价值, *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古, no. 9 (2023): 42–43.

15 See Shi Anzhong 2000, 252.

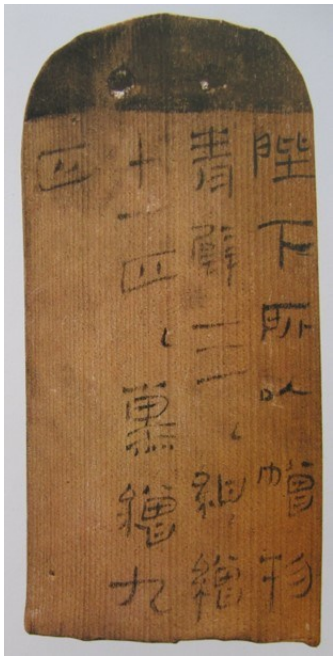


Fig. 1 A label discovered in the Western Han tomb of the Queen of Changsha at Wangchengpo (Changsha, Hunan province).

the inscriptions mentions another name, i.e. Nanzhong 南仲 (fl. 822–810 BCE),[16] a prime minister of King Xuan of Zhou (Zhou Xuanwang 周宣王, reigned 826–781 BCE). Judging by the contents and the individual materiality of these jade tablets, they may have been original labels that were attached to the gifts (e.g., to the harness of the horses) made by individual guests of the funeral. Unless there is an evidence that these labels were indeed associated with one another through binding, contents etc. as an integral document, it seems unfounded to call them a funerary list. The same holds true for the labels of individual sizes from tomb no. 3 at a breeding farm in Pingshan 平山, Jiangsu province.[17] Furthermore, the much later Tibetan manuscripts on eleven wooden supports from tomb no. 10 at Xiewaicaochang 斜外草場 (also called Xuewei 血渭) have been called *yiwushu*.[18] These wooden supports are of individual sizes.[19] Each of them bears a drilling, which is interpreted by Wang Yao 王尧 as a trace that they were bound together by a string.[20] But more likely, the driling is an indication that each wooden support used to be a lable attached to certain goods by a string.

An important criterion that makes a document a list is that it demonstrates a certain organisational pattern of the items described in it. Commonly, an individual label is merely associated with the item which it marks; it does not indicate the organisational relationship

16 See Cai Yunzhang 2000, 115.

17 For the related site report see Yin Zhihua 印志华, "Yangzhou Pingshan Yangzhichang Han mu qingli jianbao" 扬州平山养殖场汉墓清理简报, *Wenwu* 文物, no, 1 (1987): 26–36. For examples of denoting the labels as *qiance* see Wang Hui 王辉, "Yangzhou Pingshan Han mu qiance shidu shi bu" 扬州平山汉墓遣策释读试补, *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1987): 8; and Hu Xiaoye 胡晓烨, "Zhanguo zhi Xihan shiqi qiance de shi du" 战国至西汉时期遣策的解读, *Xun gen* 寻根, no. 1 (2022): 57.

18 See Wang Yao 王尧 and Chen Jian 陈践, "Qinghai Tubo jiandu kao shi" 青海吐蕃简牍考释, *Xizang Yanjiu* 西藏研究, no. 3 (1991): 133.

19 The wooden supports are 6.3-10.5 cm long, 1.8-2.3 cm wide, and 0.2-0.6 cm thick. See Wang Yao Wang Yao and Chen Jian 1991: 127–130.

20 See Wang Yao and Chen Jian 1991, 130.

between this item and further items that are attached with further labels. Nevertheless, an individual label or several labels can form a list in exceptional cases. If an individual label from a tomb bears more than one item (for an example see Fig. 1), it can be called a funerary list.[21] Furthermore, certain labels from a tomb can form an integral list if they bear interrelated numbers (for an example see Fig. 2).[22] But one must be aware that funerary lists consisting of such labels are mostly spatially dependent, because they are per se to be attached to certain objects to fulfil their indicative functions. Hence, their deposition locations may have been dependent from those objects to which they were attached. This does not hold true for funerary lists that do not consist of labels.



Fig. 2 Two labels discovered in the Western Han tomb of the Queen of Changsha at Wangchengpo. Each label bears a number at its left edge.

Except for one specimen inscribed on a stone tablet (see below), funerary lists have been commonly inscribed on organic supports such as bamboo, wood, paper and silk. The preservation of these lists is generally due to a rare combination of favourable climatic and storage conditions.[23] Therefore, the geographical distribution of the sites yielding the lists seldom indicates the historical distribution of the usage of these lists; more likely, it indicates that favourable climatic and storage conditions met in certain periods in certain regions. Table 1 in Appendix I itemises the funerary lists discovered up to date. Except for seven lists that have

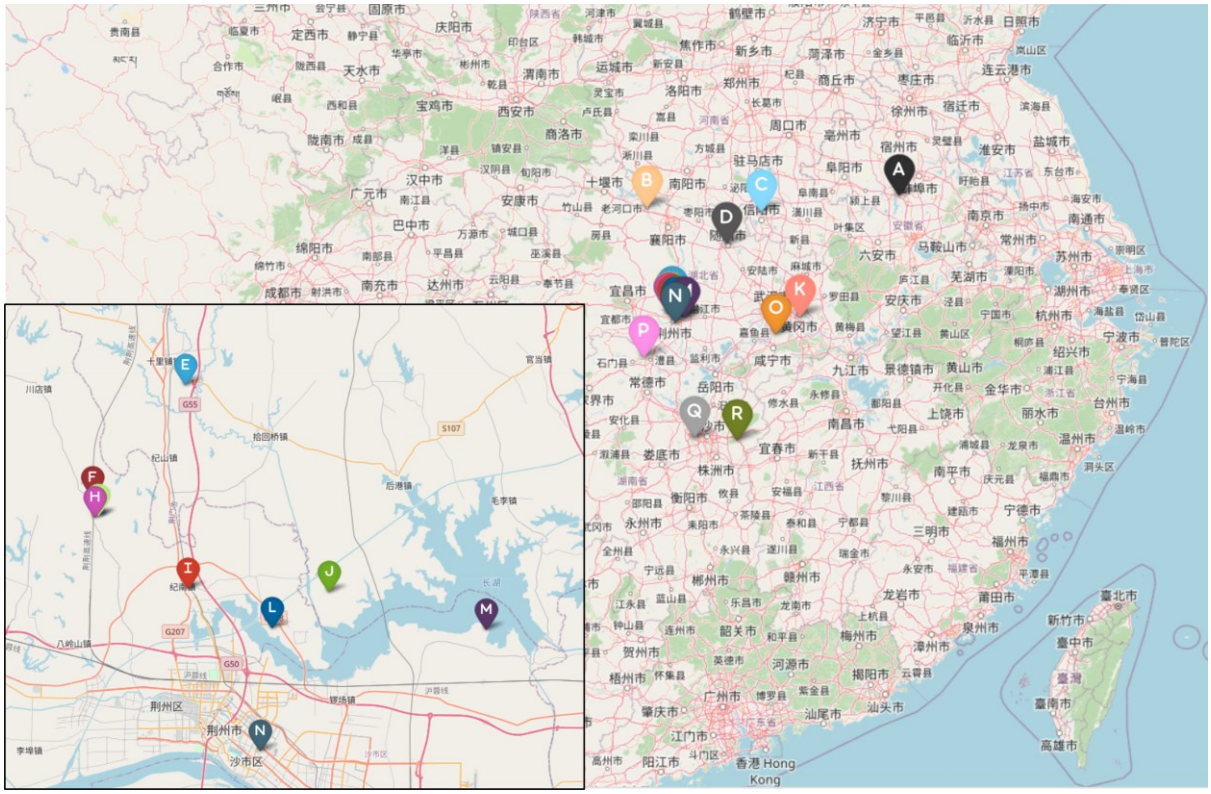
[21] Labels bearing more than one item each have been found in the tomb of a certain Queen of Changsha (Changsha hou 長沙后). See Song Shaohua 宋少华 and Li Equan 李鄂权, "Hunan Changsha Wangchengpo Xihan Yuyang Mu Fajue Jianbao" 湖南长沙望城坡西汉渔阳墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 4 (2010): 32 ff.

[22] Labels bearing interrelated numbers have been found in the tomb of the Queen of Changsha as well. Furthermore, such labels were also discovered in the Western Han tomb no. 1 at Dundunshan 墩墩山, i.e., the tomb of the Marquis of Haihun (Haihun Hou 海昏侯, 92–59 BCE). See Song Shaohua and Li Equan 2010, 32 ff.; Zhu Fenghan 朱凤瀚 et al., "Jiangxi Nanchang Xihan Haihun Hou Liu He mu chutu jiandu" 江西南昌西汉海昏侯刘贺墓出土简牍, *Wenwu*, no. 11 (2018): 94 ff.

[23] In a systematic discussion of the physical preservation of early Chinese manuscripts, Giele itemises conditions that are favourable for the preservation of manuscripts with several examples. See Giele 2003, 417–419.

lost their tomb context, these lists were discovered from at least 167 tombs dating from between 5th century BCE and 16th century CE.

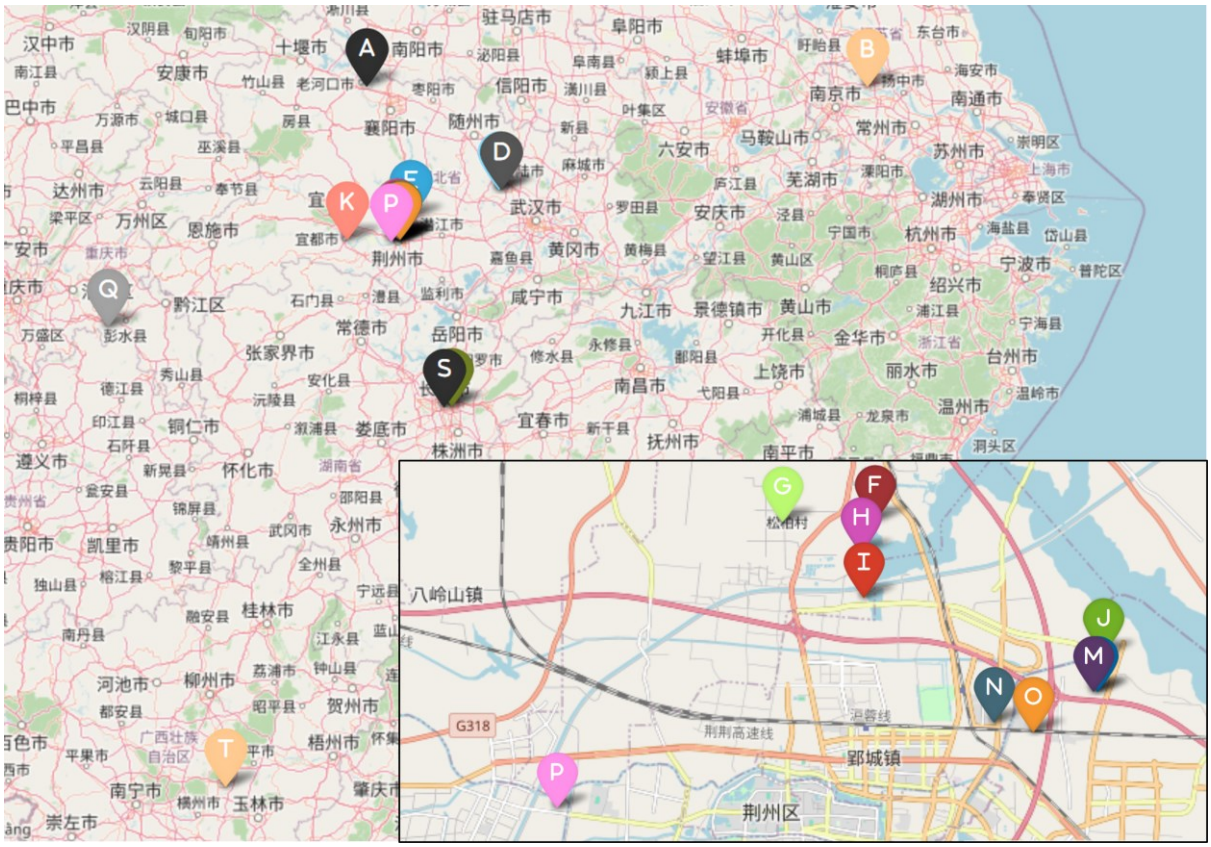
Those lists dating from the period up to the 1st century CE have been discovered in timber-structured tombs that were sealed completely or partly by clay. As will be addressed in Subsection 4.1.1, these lists underwent a substantial transition in terms of their content and deposition location around the mid-Western Han period (approximately around 100 BCE).



Label	Tomb	Label	Tomb
A	Wuwangdun M1 (238 BCE?)	**J**	Yancang M1 (307–299 BCE)
B	Angang M1 (390–305 BCE) and M2 (390–305 BCE)	**K**	Caojiagang M5 (TAQ 278 BCE)
C	Changtaiguan M1 (390–305 BCE) and M7 (390–305 BCE)	**L**	Qinjiazui M99 (340 BCE)
D	Leigudun M1 (433 BCE)	**M**	Tianxingguan M1 (TPQ 339 BCE)
E	Baoshan M2 (316 BCE)	**N**	Jigongshan M48 (475–222 BCE)
F	Tengdian M1 (TPQ 334 BCE)	**O**	Dingjiazui M1 (390–222 BCE) and M2 (390–222 BCE)
G	Wangshanqiao M1 (TAQ 340 BCE)	**P**	Jiuli 80 linjiu M1 (390–305 BCE)
H	Wangshan M2 (350–278 BCE)	**Q**	Yangtianhu M25 (305–222 BCE)
I	Zaozhichang M70 (475–222 BCE)	**R**	Wulipai M406 (390–305 BCE)

Fig. 3 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between 5th century to 222 BCE. M1 stands for tomb no. 1; TPQ: terminus post quem; TAQ: terminus ante quem.

Before this period, most of the tombs yielding funerary lists were built for a main occupant each,[24] either female or male.[25] Among these lists, the pre-Qin ones (5th century – 222 BCE) were found in 21 tombs in south central China (Fig. 3). And the lists dating from between the



Label	Tomb	Label	Tomb
A	Wuzuofen M3 (141–87 BCE)	**K**	Zhongbi M1 (202–133 BCE)
B	Yandaishan M1 (132–62 BCE)	**L**	Yintai M160 (202–133 BCE) and M? (one or more among M59-63, M83, M97, M112 and M115)
C	Dafentou M1 (202–133 BCE)	**M**	Xiaojiacaochang M26 (202–133 BCE)
D	Zhengjiahu M277 (180–172 BCE)	**N**	Hujiacaochang M12 (TPQ 163 BCE)
E	Huangshan M576 (209–167 BCE)	**O**	Xiejiaqiao M1 (184 BCE)
F	Maojiayuan M1 (168 BCE)	**P**	Zhangjiashan M247 (187–180 BCE) and M336 (also called M136, TPQ 173 BCE)
G	Songbai M1 (TPQ 133 BCE)	**Q**	Guankou M1 (193 BCE)
H	Fenghuangshan M8 (202–133 BCE), M9 (TPQ 164 BCE), M10 (153 BCE), M167 (202–133 BCE), M168 (167 BCE) and M169 (202–133 BCE)	**R**	Mawangdui M1 (shortly after 168 BCE) and M3 (168 BCE)
I	Gaotai M6 (202–167 BCE) and M18 (also called M20, 173 BCE)	**S**	Wangchengpo tomb (around 157 BCE)
J	Yangjiashan M135 (278–206 BCE)	**T**	Luobowan M1 (202–133 BCE)

Fig. 4 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between 221 BCE and the mid-Western Han period (ca. 100 BCE).

Qin to the mid-Western Han period were discovered in at least 29 tombs in south central, south-western and eastern China (Fig. 4). Furthermore, funerary lists dating from before the mid-Western Han period were discovered in diverse locations outside the coffins, primarily in various compartments of the wooden coffin chambers (see Appendix I: Table 1).

Many of these tombs were waterlogged,[26] which seems to have been advantageous for the preservation of organic materials. In general, the tombs that yielded funerary lists make up only a tiny proportion of the tombs that have been excavated. For instance, the Warring States tombs (475–222 BCE) that have been excavated amount to several tens of thousands.[27] This probably indicates that the disposal of funerary lists in tombs was no ubiquitous phenomenon.[28] And in the light of the diverse deposition locations of the lists in individual tombs, the burying of these lists was perhaps no fixed agenda in early Chinese funerals.

Funerary lists dating from between the 1st century BCE to the 1st century CE were discovered in at least 25 shaft tombs with wooden timber structures (Fig. 5). Some of these

---

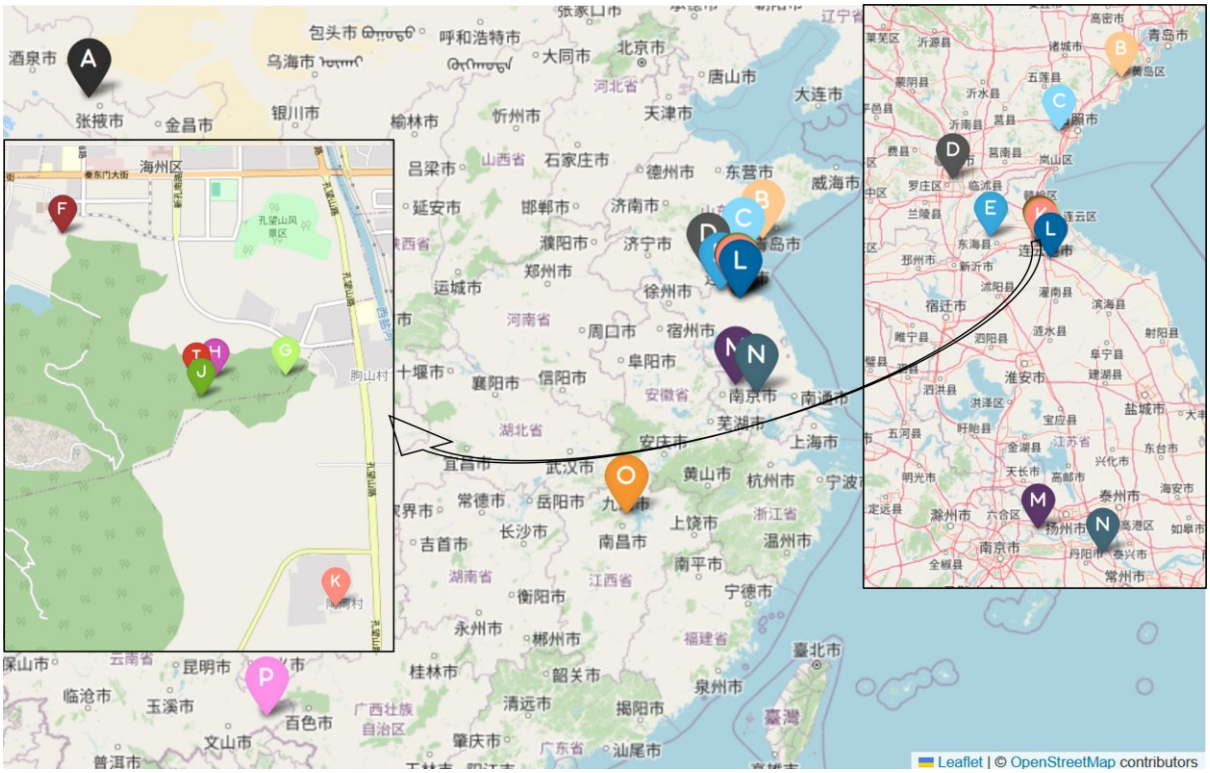
24 The main occupant of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun (Suizhou 隨州, Hubei 湖北 province), for instance, was Marquis Yi of Zeng. Besides his coffin, the tomb yielded the coffins of 21 young women who were apparently immolated as his company. See Chapter 3, Fig. 28.

25 For instance, the occupants of the Warring States tomb no. 5 at Caojiagang 曹家崗 (Huanggang 黃岡, Hubei province), the Western Han tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui 馬王堆 (Changsha 長沙, Hunan province) etc. were females; while the main occupants of the Warring States tomb no. 1 at Leigudun (see Chapter 3) and the Western Han tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui were males. See Wu Xiaosong 吴晓松 and Hong Gang 洪刚, "Hubei Huanggang liang zuo zhongxing Chu mu" 湖北黄冈两座中型楚墓, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报, no. 2 (2000): 262; Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆 and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所, *Changsha Mawangdui Yi hao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973): 156; He Jiejun 何介钧, ed., *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao han mu: (Diyi juan) Tianye kaogu fajue baogao* 长沙马王堆二、三号汉墓：（第一卷）田野考古发掘报告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004): 237 ff.

26 See Giele 2003, 418.

27 This approximate number was given by Peng Hao some 20 years ago. See Peng Hao 彭浩, "Zhanguo shiqi de qiance" 戰國時期的遣策, *Jianbo yanjiu* 2 (1996): 53.

28 Based on the tiny proportion of the tombs yielding funerary lists among the excavated tombs, Peng Hao suggests that the usage of funerary lists was no ubiquitous phenomenon. Cf. Peng Hao 1996, 53.



Label	Tomb	Label	Tomb
A	Huayin M1 (25–220 CE?)	I	Jiaoshan tomb (Huo He and his wife, 62 BCE–8 CE)
B	Tushantun M6 (62 BCE–90 CE), M8 (62 BCE–90 CE), M147 (TPQ 1 BCE), M148 (62 BCE–9 CE), M157 (62 BCE–9 CE), M177 (62 BCE–9 CE) and M?-M? (62 BCE–9 CE)	J	Jiaoshan tomb (Anonym, 62 BCE–90 CE)
C	Haiqu M129 (132 BCE–90 CE) and M130 (131 BCE–90 CE)	K	Huangshiya M1 (132 BCE–8 CE)
D	Jinqueshan M11 (132 BCE–8 CE) and M13 (132 BCE–8 CE)	L	Gaogaoding tomb (62 BCE–8 CE)
E	Yinwan M2 (9–90 CE) and M6 (TPQ 10 BCE)	M	Xupu M101 (TPQ 5 CE)
F	Shuanglongcun M1 (62 BCE-8 CE)	N	Sanyangdun M1 (62 BCE–8 CE)
G	Jiaoshan tomb (Shiqi Yao and his wife, 132 BCE–8 CE)	O	Dundunshan M1 (Marquis Haihun, 59 BCE)
H	Jiaoshan tomb (Dai Sheng, 202 BCE–8 CE)	P	Muyi tomb (202 BCB–8 CE?)

Fig. 5 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between the mid-Western Han period (ca. 100 BCE) and 100 CE.

tombs were built for couples. Sometimes, the husband's and the wife's coffins yielded a funerary list each.[29] Sometimes, merely the coffins in which the corpses were better preserved

[29] For instance, the coffins in the tombs of two couples at Wangtuanzhuang 網疃莊 (Haizhou 海州, Lianyungang 連雲港, Jiangsu 江蘇 province) yielded a funerary list each; the coffin of a male and the coffin of one of the three females in tomb no. 1 at Shuanglongcun (Haizhou, Lianyungang, Jiangsu province) yielded

yielded lists,[30] but some later example suggests exact the opposite.[31] Hence, it seems that the lack of one list from a couple's tomb was not necessarily related to the individual state of preservation of the corpses. Generally, it does not seem that the disposal of such lists in the tomb has been gender specific.

It seems that the writing supports of those early lists underwent a transformation from bamboo to wood. Pre-imperial lists have been exclusively discovered on bamboo supports. A list was typically a scroll composed of a number of narrow bamboo strips that were arrayed side by side and bound together by two or three horizontal binding strings. Sometimes, each individual bamboo strip bears notches on the right side to hold the binding strings in place. Because few organic binding strings survived the millennia, most manuscript scrolls have been discovered as piles of bamboo strips. The early Western Han period witnessed a mixed usage of materials and formats of the lists. Besides bamboo rolls, wooden supports came into use in forms of single boards or scrolls consisting of narrow wooden strips. In the late Western Han period, it seems that wooden boards replaced the bamboo supports.

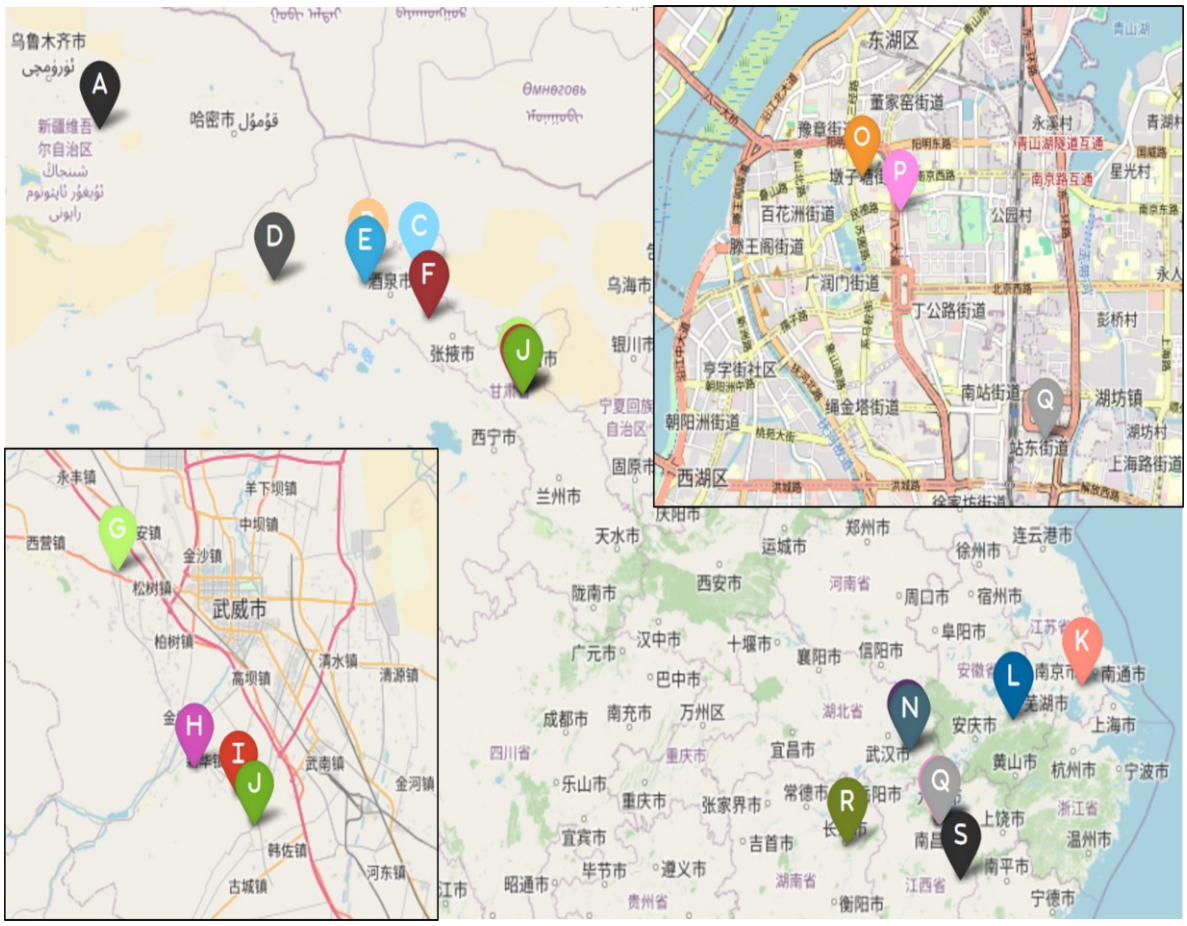
Funerary lists inscribed on wooden boards continued to exist at least until the 6th century CE. Such wooden lists, dating from between the 2nd century CE and the 4th century CE, were discovered in 32 tombs in south central China and north-western China (Fig. 6). In addition, seven more lists that have lost their tomb context exist as well. They date from between the

a funerary list each. See You Zhenyao 尤振尧 and Li Zhongyi 黎忠义, "Jiangsu Lianyungangshi Haizhou Wangtuanzhuang Han muguo mu" 江苏连云港市海州网疃庄汉木槨墓, *Kaogu*, no. 6 (1963): 287; Nan Bo 南波, "Jiangsu Lianyungangshi Haizhou Xihan Shiqi Yao mu" 江苏连云港市海州西汉侍其繇墓, *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1975): 171 and 175; Wu Kerong 武可荣 et al., "Jiangsu Lianyungang Haizhou Xihan mu fajue jianbo" 江苏连云港海州西汉墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2012): 8–9.

30 At least in two tombs, merely the better-preserved coffin of the respective couple yielded a funerary list. In one of these tombs, the coffin that did not yield any list bore traces of a secondary or even tertiary disposal (scattering of the human remains in the coffin) while the coffin yielded a list did not bear such traces. A secondary or tertiary disposal must have considerably contributed to the process of decomposition of organic materials. See Ye Wansong 叶万松, "Haozhou Xihan Huo He mu qingli jianbao" 海州西汉霍贺墓清理简报, *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1974): 180 ff. and 183 ff.; Lianyungang shi bowuguan 連雲港市博物館, *Yinwan Han mu jiandu* 尹灣漢墓簡牘 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997): 172.

31 The funerary list of tomb no. 1 at Huayin 化音 was discovered in the coffin of the female, although her corpse was much worse conserved as the corpse of the adult male in the tomb. See Wang Weidong 王卫东 et al, "Gansu Linze Huayin Han mu fajue jianbao" 甘肃临泽化音汉墓发掘简报, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 中国国家博物馆馆刊, no. 2 (2023): 6–19.

Han period and the 6th century CE (see Appendix I: Table 1, nos. 113–119). But after the 4th century CE, wood was much less frequently used as writing materials of such lists than before.



Label	Name	Label	Name
A	Turfan, 56 tombs (paper and silk, 375-673 CE)	**K**	Yejiadang M3 (paper, around 1400)
B	Bijiatan, 9 tombs (wooden tablet, 304–439 CE)	**L**	Maqiao M2 and M3 (wooden tablets, 222–280 CE)
C	Bantan tomb (wooden tablet, 9–420 CE)	**M**	Binhuxilu M1 and M2 (wooden tablets, 222–280 CE)
D	Mogao B228 (paper, 619 CE)	**N**	Guojianao Qianguo M1 (wooden tablets, 220–280 CE)
E	Jinjiliang M5 (wooden tablet, 362 CE)	**O**	Yangminglu tomb (wooden tablets, 232–238 CE)
F	Luotuocheng, 8 tombs (wooden tablets, 317–379 CE)	**P**	Yongwaizhengjie M1 (wooden tablets, 265–420 CE)
G	Hantanpo M19 (wooden tablets, 338-369 CE)	**Q**	Nanchang Huochezhan M3 (wooden tablet, 352 CE)
H	Toubazhai, 2 tombs (wooden tablets, 368-369 CE)	**R**	Guihuayuan tomb (stone tablet, 361 CE)
I	Chanshancun tomb (wooden tablet, around 236 CE)	**S**	Zhulianggongshe tomb (paper, 1593 CE)
J	Wuwei nanjiao tomb (wooden tablet, 220–420 CE)		

Fig. 6 Tomb sites which yielded funerary lists dating from between 100 and 16th century CE.

Instead, new materials, including paper, silk and stone came into use. The majority of the lists were written on paper. To date, 68 lists on paper and one list on silk were excavated from 56 tombs in Turfan 吐魯番, Xinjiang 新疆 province. They date from between 375 and 673 CE (see Fig. 6). At least one list on paper (619 CE) was found in a grotto tomb at Mogao 莫高 in Dunhuang 敦煌, Gansu 甘肅 province as well (Fig. 6, Mogao B228). Furthermore, one list inscribed on a stone tablet (361 CE) was found in a tomb in south central China (Fig. 6, Guihuayuan tomb). Merely two tombs dating from after the 7th century CE are known for yielding such lists (Fig. 6, Yejiadang M3 and Zhulianggongshe tomb). Paper lists were mostly

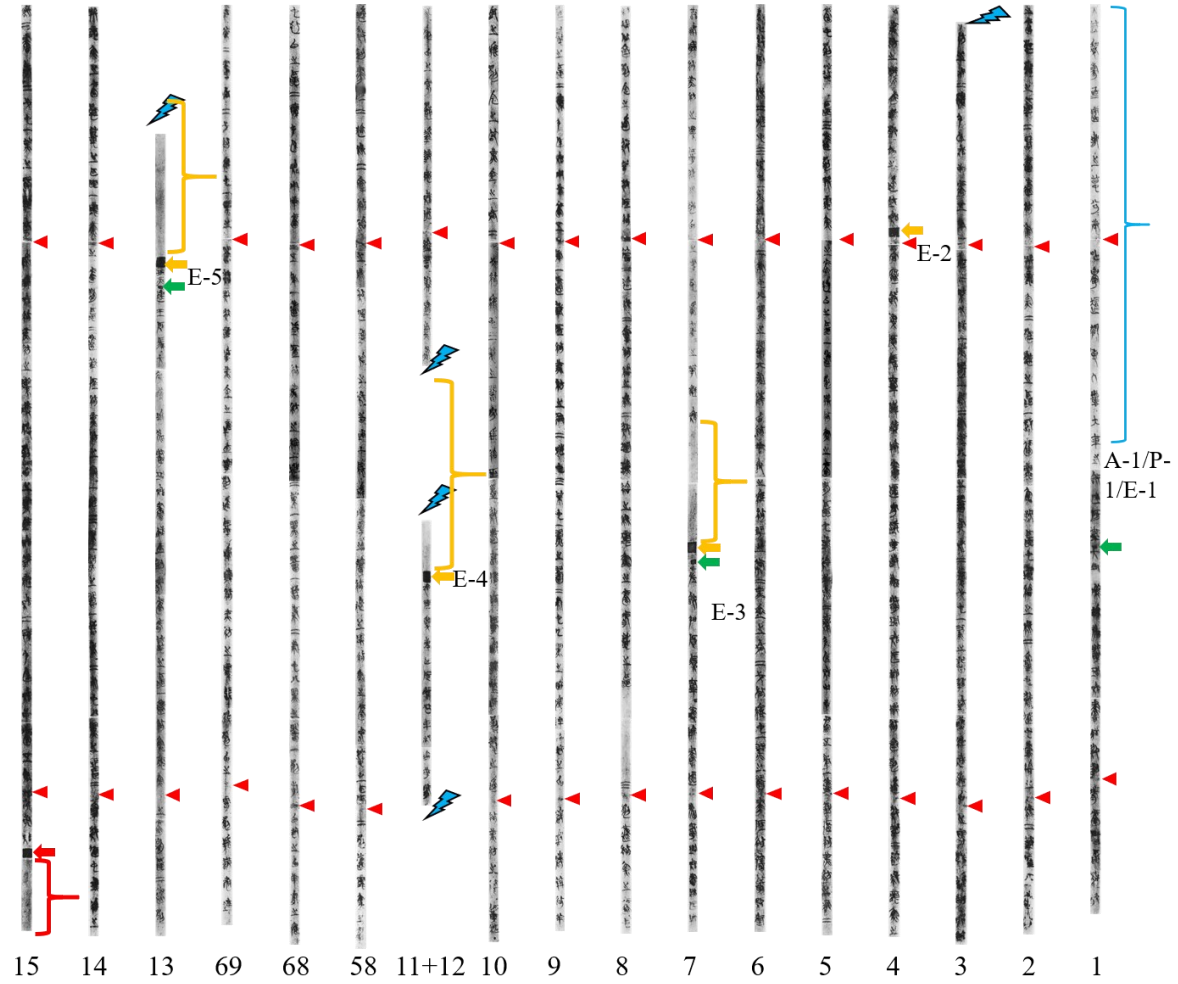


Fig. 7 Paragraph 1 on the A-1 strips from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. The meanings of the individual marks are as follows:

	A-1/P-1/E-1 – E-5…	1, 2 …					
Initial remark	Strip group no./Paragraph no./Entry no.	Strip no.	Notch position	Breaking edge	Check mark	Long gap and square blot	Square blot and line break

found in north-western China, probably due to the extreme aridity that was favourable for the preservation of paper.

It seems that south central China has produced the majority of the lists dating from before the mid-Western Han period. But the number of the lists in this region reduced drastically in tombs dating from after this period. This may have been associated with the transition in

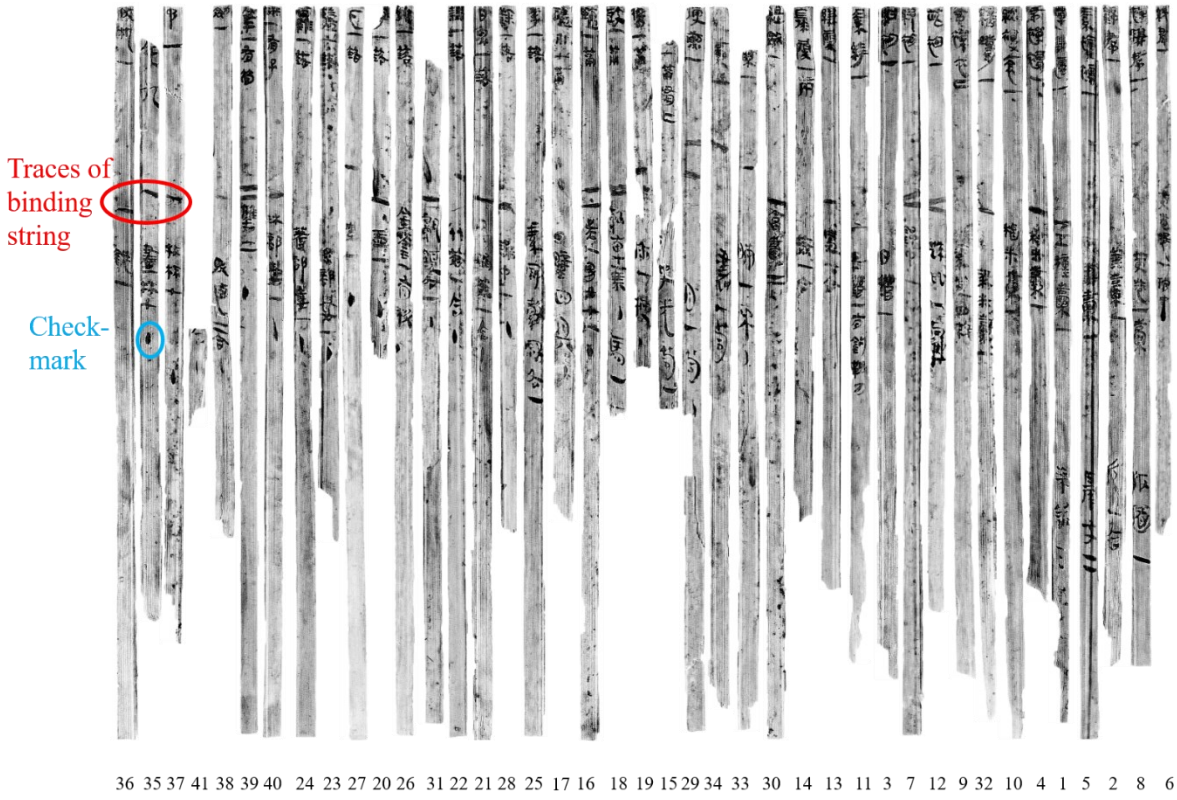


Fig. 8 The funerary list from tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan (Jingzhou, Hubei province).

architectural styles of tombs in this region. Pu Muzhou's statistics of the Han tombs indicate that organic materials such as bamboo and wood were much better preserved in timber-structured tombs than in brick tombs; furthermore, organic materials were much better preserved in Western Han tombs than in Eastern Han tombs.[32] Pu observes that since the mid-Western Han dynasty, the style of brick tomb chambers became popular in many regions and in the Eastern Han dynasty, it became the major tomb style in those regions.[33] For instance, while Pu's database includes 81 timber-structured tombs and no brick tombs dating from the

[32] See Pu Muzhou 蒲慕州, *Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi xingsi* 墓葬與生死：中国古代宗教之省思 (Taibei: Lianjing, 1993): 174 ff.

[33] See Pu Muzhou 1993, 106.

Western Han period in Hubei, which produced most of the early Chinese funerary lists, it includes one timber-structured tomb and 23 brick tombs dating from the Eastern Han period.[34]

The sizes or the format of the lists will be addressed in Section 1.2. The layout and structure of a list bestow an organisational pattern on the list items. The writing supports of the lists are typically inscribed on one side without head margin (*tiantou* 天頭) or foot margin (*dijiao* 地脚).[35] The writing direction was vertically in lines from top to bottom; and the order of the lines is from right to left. The writing surface of the early bamboo or wooden scrolls is commonly not divided into registers (e.g., Fig. 7), apart from very few exceptions (e.g., Fig. 8).

Although the lists are not always titled, many of them include one or more summaries, respectively. While list entries are commonly written without indentation and separated from each other by line breaks (e.g., Fig. 8 and Fig. 9) or long gaps (e.g., Fig. 7), summaries are sometimes emphasised by indentations or certain marks at the beginning (e.g., a thick black line that marks the upper edge of a bamboo strip, see Fig. 9, strip 10). Each summary and the list entries that pertain to it form a unity of content (e.g., Fig. 9). If one list consists of several unities of content, the division of those unities demonstrates a basic organisational pattern of the list entries. A list entry can

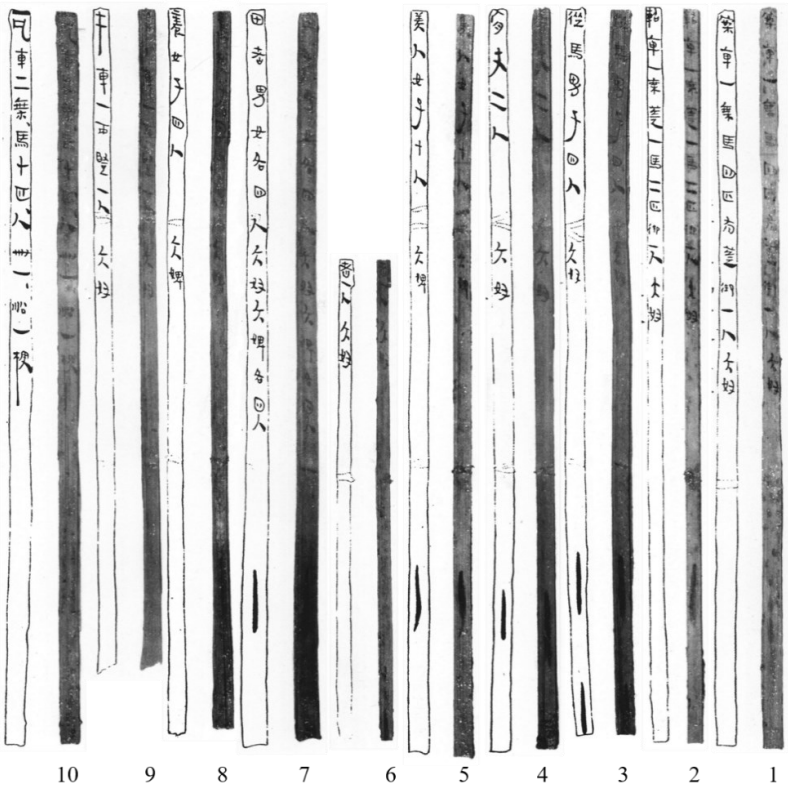


Fig. 9 A unity of content in the funerary list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan (Jingzhou, Hubei province).

[34] See Pu Muzhou 1993, 86 ff., Tables 3-3 and 3-4.

[35] The only exception known to me is part of the Baoshan lists. It demonstrates head margin as well as foot margin. See 4.2.1, Fig. 46.

comprise one list item on (a section of) one strip (e.g., Fig. 8) or a cluster of list items that occupy one to several strips (e.g., Fig. 9 and Fig. 7). In the latter case, the list entry demonstrates an intact organisational pattern of the list items. Furthermore, a list on a scroll sometimes comprises multi-entry paragraphs, i.e. long paragraphs that include several list entries each (for an example of a long paragraph see Fig. 7), and sometimes consists of single-entry paragraphs (e.g., Fig. 8 and Fig. 9). Logically, a multi-entry paragraph also bestows an organisational pattern on the list entries and list items.

The custom of burying funerary lists seems to have dwindled away after the 7th century. Hou Can 侯燦 and Wu Meiling 吳美琳 assume that the custom was replaced by the one of burying brick memorials (*zhuanzhi* 磚志) in the Tang dynasty.[36] However, the two corpora of funerary texts do not seem to have substituted each other, because part of the tombs that produced funerary lists also included brick memorials.[37] It is important to point out that the common absence of funerary lists in tombs after the 7th century merely indicates that the lists were seldom buried, but does not necessarily indicate that this corpus of texts was not used any more in funerals.

But why were funerary lists seldom buried after the 7th century? This may have been associated with one factor that has received little scholarly attention. Between the 4th and the 8th century, various goods made of paper were also buried, such as hats, shoes, belts, money, and even a coffin.[38] Scholars refer to these articles as paper *mingqi* (*zhi mingqi* 紙明器),[39] i.e.

---

[36] See Hou Can 侯燦 and Wu Meiling 吳美琳, *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu* 吐魯番出土磚志集注, vol. 2 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2003): 697.

[37] Comparing the statistics made by Hou and Wu, it is apparent that 15 tombs dating from between the 5th and the 7th century produced funerary lists on paper as well as memorials on bricks. See Hou Can and Wu Meiling 2003, vol. 2, 669–721.

[38] Aurel Stein first describes such articles made of paper. For the photos of those paper items see Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran,* vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928): Plate XCIII "Miscellaneous Articles of Sepulchral Outfit in Wood, Paper, etc., from Astāna Cemetery".

[39] Some scholars refer to these paper items as *mingqi* 明器 (commonly translated as "spirit vessel"). For examples see Lu Xixing 陆锡兴, "Tulufan gumu zhi mingqi yanjiu" 吐鲁番古墓纸明器研究, *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, no. 3 (2006): 50–55; Sun Liping 孙丽萍, "Tulufan gu muzang zhi mingqi kaolun" 吐鲁番古墓葬纸明器考论, *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐鲁番学研究, no. 2 (2014): 84–90. Others call these paper items *mingqi* 冥器 (spirit vessel). For examples see Zhao Ruicai 赵睿才 and Yang Guangcai 杨广才, "'Zhiqian' kaolüe" "纸钱"考略, *Minsu yanjiu* 民俗研究, no. 1 (2005): 115–129.

"surrogates" made of papar. While describing paper *mingqi* from more than a dozen of tombs of this period, Lu Xixing 陸錫興 points out that merely those *mingqi* that were made of inscribed paper received archaeological attention; hence, it is possible that the recorded ones form merely a small part of those that came to light.[40] Certain archaeological reports corroborate his observation.[41] Furthermore, Lu points out that most of those *mingqi* were buried between the 4th and the 7th century,[42] i.e. approximately in the same period in which paper lists were relatively frequently buried in the Turfan tombs. Interestingly, some of the *mingqi* were accompanied by funerary lists.[43]

Hence, it seems that the custom of burying paper *mingqi* flourished simultaneously with the one of burying paper lists. These two customs dwindled away more or less simultaneously as well. This must have been caused by some fundamental change in the funerary rites that reached a critical point at that time. This change has likely been the gradual conquest of the custom of burning paper *mingqi*, for instance, surrogate money made of paper, in medieval China.

Several scholars assume that the custom of burning paper *mingqi* came along with the Buddhist cremations.[44] But a few scholars argue that it was brought to China by the Zoroastrian Sogdians.[45] Nevertheless, it is apparent that the custom reached broad sections of the population at the latest at the end of the 7th century, as described by the contemporary Feng

---

40 See Lu Xixing 2006, 50.

41 For instance, a site report mentions that a part of 36 tombs dating from between the mid-7th century and the mid-8th century produced paper articles, such as papercutting figures, money, shoes, belts and hats. But the exact numbers of tombs that yielded these articles is not mentioned. See Li Zheng 李征, "Tulufan Asitana-Halahezhuo gumu qunfajuejianbao (1963–1965)" 吐鲁番县阿斯塔那——哈拉和卓古墓群发掘简报 (1963–1965), *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1973): 10 ff.

42 See Lu Xixing 2006, 50.

43 See Sun Liping 2014, 85.

44 See Gao Guofan 高国藩, *Dunhuang minsu xue* 敦煌民俗学 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1989): 249; Xu Jijun 徐吉军, *Zhongguo sangzang shi* 中国丧葬史 (Nanchang: Jiangxi gaoxiao chubanshe, 1998): 355; Lu Xixing 2006, 54 ff.; Xia Jinhua 夏金华, "Zhiqian yuanliu kao" 纸钱源流考, *Shilin* 史林, no. 1 (2013): 69–76.

45 See Shenggyan Fashi 圣严法师, *Zhengxin de fojiao* 正信的佛教 (Xi'an: Shanxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008): 43 ff.; Gu Chunjun 顾春军, "'Zhiqian' liubian kaolun" "纸钱"流变考论, *Wenhua yichan* 文化遗产, no. 3 (2015): 83 ff.

Yan 封演 (fl. 756–800): “紙乃後漢蔡倫所造，其紙錢魏、晉以來始有其事。今自王公逮于匹庶，通行之矣……古埋帛，今紙錢則燒之”,[46] i.e. “Paper was invented by Cai Lun in the Latter Han dynasty. One of its products, surrogate money, exists since the Wei and Jin dynasties. Now it circulates [within the circle] from royal aristocrats to commoners… While in ancient times, silk was buried [in tombs]; now the surrogate money is burned”.

Archaeological discoveries indicate that at the latest since 673 CE, the royal house of the Tang dynasty began to take part in this custom.[47] It is possible that certain funerary lists were also burned, as a by-product of this custom. Archaeologically, such a practice is beyond recovery; but certain modern funerary practices can perhaps be regarded as its remnants. For instance, in some regions of Zhejiang 浙江 province, people are still using a type of list that is called *baoyidan* 報衣單, i.e. “list for reporting tomb garments”.[48] It describes tomb garments and quilts that are donated by guests. A ritualist reads the list aloud while the deceased is being coffined, and burns it subsequently.[49] In some regions in Shandong 山東, Shaanxi 陝西 and Heilongjiang 黑龍江 provinces, people produce a ritualised list that is called *mapiao* 馬票, i.e “certificate for horse possession”.[50] The list describes paper models of vehicles, horses,

---

46 Feng Yan 封演 (fl. 756–800), *Feng shi wenjianji jiaozhu* 封氏聞見記校注, with the commentary of Zhao Zhenxin 趙貞信, Tang Song shiliao biji congkan 唐宋史料筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005): 60 ff.

47 In the ramp of the tomb of a Tang prince who was buried in 673 CE, remnants of burned paper were found. See An Zhengdi 安峥地, “Tang Fangling Dazhang gongzhu qingli jianbao” 唐房陵大长公主墓清理简报, *Wenbo* 文博, no. 1 (1990): 6.

48 In several regions in Yinxian 鄞縣 county or Daliangshan 大涼山 Isle in Zhejiang province, the funerary ritualist makes a list describing the provenances of garments and quilts used for the coffining beforehand and reads it aloud during the rite of coffining. See Zhejiang sheng Yinxian difangzhi bianweihui 浙江省鄞县地方志编委会, ed., *Yinxian zhi* 鄞县志 vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996): 1956; Cao Benye 曹本冶, *Sixing - xingwei: Yishi zhong yinsheng de yanjiu:* 思想——行为：仪式中音声的研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe, 2008): 235 and 268; Qi Kun 齐琨, “Yinsheng biaoshu de yuzhou: Changjiang liuyu Hanzu jujudi sangzang yishi yinsheng bijiao yanjiu” 音声表述的宇宙观：长江流域汉族聚居地丧葬仪式音声比较研究, *Yinyue yanjiu* 音乐研究, no. 4 (2014): 83.

49 See Zhejiang sheng Yinxian difangzhi bianweihui 1996, 1956; Cao Benye 2008, 235 and 268; Qi Kun 2014, 83. Furthermore, I have also observed the usage of similar lists during the rites of coffining in Anji 安吉 county in Zhejiang province.

50 It is important to note that some of the inhabitants who use the lists in Shandong are considered immigrants from Yunnan, while some of the inhabitants who use the lists in Shaanxi are considered immigrants from Shandong. See Li Fei 李飞, “Xi’anshi Yanliangqu Sanhecun Shandong yimin xisu er ti” 西安市阎良区三合村山东移民习俗三题, *Xianyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* 咸阳师范学院学报 31, no. 3 (2016): 71 ff.; Xu Xiaoqing 徐晓青, “Jiaodong Bandao shang Yunnan yu ‘Xiao Yunnan’ yimin de jiti jiyi” 胶东半岛上云南

servants, money and further utensils.[51] It is read out aloud before being burnt along with the paper models, shortly before the entombment.[52]

Part of the funerary lists were perhaps not burnt. For instance, the royal archive of the Qing 清 dynasty (1644–1912) kept a considerable number of funerary lists used in the royal funerals, including lists created and used in funerary activities before and after the respective entombment.[53]

1.2 Literature Review and Open Questions

To date, research on early Chinese funerary lists has been primarily philological, i.e. the transcription of the written characters with standard strokes, the philological interpretation of list items and the identification of the tomb goods with individual list items. In addition to many versions and critiques of transcriptions, variorum editions (*jishi* 集釋) of the available transcriptions and interpretations of individual lists or of a series of lists are sometimes also available.[54]

与“小云南”移民的集体记忆, *Minsu yanjiu* 145, no. 3 (2019): 57; Li Lei 李蕾, “Cong Dandong diqu sangzang yishi kan Zhongguo chuantong sangxiao de chuancheng yu zhuanhuan” 从丹东地区丧葬仪式看中国传统丧孝的传承与转换 (Master’s thesis, Ha’erbin gongye daxue, 2011): 15.

51 For a template of the “certificate for horse possession” see Li Fei 2016, 72.

52 See Xu Xiaoqing 2019, 57; Li Lei 2011, 15.

53 See Gao Huanting 高换婷, “Cong Qing gong dang'an kan qingdai di hou sangzang ji jisi huodong” 从清宫档案看清代帝后丧葬及祭祀活动, in *Qingdai huanggong lingqin* 清代皇宫陵寝, edited by Qingdai gongshi yanjiuhui 清代宫史研究会 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1995): 406–417.

54 For instance, concerning the funerary lists from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun, four comprehensive versions of transcriptions as well as two variorum editions are available. For the transcription versions see Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭 and Li Jiahao 李家浩, “Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi” 曾侯乙墓竹简释文与考释, in *Zeng hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓, Zhongguo tianye kaogu baogao ji: Kaoguxue zhuankan (Ding zhong 37) 中国田野考古报告：考古学专刊（丁种 37）(Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989): 487–531; Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng ji chema zhidu yanjiu* 曾侯乙墓竹簡釋文補正暨車馬制度研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011): 37–148; Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中, “Zeng Hou Yi mu jiance” 曾侯乙墓簡冊, in *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]* 楚地出土戰國簡册[十四種], edited by Chen Wei 陳偉 et al. (Beijing: Jingji kexue chubanshe, 2009): 340–373; and Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian* 曾侯乙墓竹簡, Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance heji 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2019): 3-48. For the variorum editions see Peng Yu 鵬宇, “Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian wenzi jishi jianzheng” 曾侯乙墓竹簡文字集釋箋證 (Master’s thesis, Huadong shifan daxue, 2010): 17–247; and Jiang

Compared to philological research, examination of the codicological and archaeological context is much sparser and studies on the ethno-sociological context of the lists are minimal. The lacking understanding of the ethno-sociological context can be indicated by the quest for an appropriate denotation and the controversial categorisation of the lists.

The Chinese terms *qiance* and *fengfang*, i.e. "bamboo strips recording those to be dispatched [to the tomb]" and "tablet recording *feng*-gifts", are frequently used to refer to the early funerary lists. As will be addressed below (Section 2.3), the *feng*-gifts can have included horses or vehicles, depending on the social status of the deceased and of the donor. In the following, they are called the "dispatch list" and the "*feng*-gift list" for short. They are coined from the following passages in the "Ji xi li" 既夕禮 (Literally "Rites after the Evening [Wailing]) chapter of the ritual classic *Yili*:

> 兄弟，賵、奠可也。所知，則賵而不奠。知死者贈，知生者賻。書賵於方，若九，若七，若五。書遣於策。
>
> ……
>
> 主人之史請讀賵，執算從。柩東，當前束，西面。不命毋哭，哭者相止也。唯主人主婦哭。燭在右，南面。讀書，釋算則坐。卒，命哭，滅燭，書與算執之以逆出。公史自西方，東面，命毋哭，主人、主婦皆不哭。讀遣，卒，命哭，滅燭。出。[55]
>
> Brothers of the deceased [Ordinary Officer] may give both *feng*-gifts and pre-entombment offerings;[56] acquaintances may offer the first, but not the second; those who knew the deceased may give parting gifts according to the connoisseurship of the deceased, and those

Yan 蔣艷, "Zeng Hou Yi mu jianwen zhushi" 曾侯乙墓簡文註釋 (Master's thesis, Xinan daxue, 2011): 5–79.

55 See *Yili zhushu* 儀禮注疏, with the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 AD) and the sub-commentary of Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. 7th century), Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000): 859 ff.

56 The term *dian* 奠 means literally "those laid down". It includes both the blood-offerings and none-blood offerings made between the death and the entombent. But it does not include offerings made after the entombment, which were called *ji*-offerings (*ji* 祭). See Section 3.6.

who know the bereaved may give a contribution towards the expenses.[57] The *feng*-gifts are written on a tablet. The number [of the list entries] is nine, seven, or five (?).[58] The items to be dispatched [to the tomb] are written down on bamboo strips.

…

Then the scribe of the grieving host asks leave to read the list of *feng*-gifts. [An assistant] carrying the counting rods follows him. They go to the east side of the coffin and take their stand abreast of the foremost tie-ropes, with their faces to the west. The mourners are not supposed to wail until a command is being issued. Those who nevertheless wail stop one another. Only the grieving host and his wife continue wailing. The torch is then brought to the right side, [and the bearer stands] facing south. As the scribe reads the list, [the assistant] sits and count the items with counting rods. When this is finished, [the grieving host] orders [the mourners] to resume their wailing. The torch is extinguished, and they take away the list and the counting rods, going away in the reverse order of their entrance. Then the duke's scribe, coming from the west side, faces east, and orders them to cease wailing. All of them, including the grieving host and his wife, cease wailing. Then he reads the list of the items to be dispatched, and when he has finished, orders them to resume their wailing. Then the torch is extinguished. And they go out [of the ancestral temple].[59]

The first passage describes the activities that took place one day before the entombment of a deceased Ordinary Officer (*shi* 士), in his ancestral temple. These activities include the gift-giving and the creation of two manuscripts, i.e. the "dispatch list" and the "*feng*-gift list". The activities described in the second passage, i.e. the reading of the two lists, took place immediately before the funerary procession between the ancestral temple and the tomb. These activities formed a small part of those in the whole cycle of the funeral of the Ordinary Officer (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3).

---

[57] According to Jia Gongyan, the term *zeng* 贈 means *wanhao* 玩好, i.e., "a gifts according to someone's connoisseurship"; and the term *fu* means "補主人不足，施於生者", i.e., "to compensate [the expenses] of the [grieving] host, to bestow [money] on the bereaved". See *Yili zhushu*, 864.

[58] Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 CE), one of the commentators of *Yili*, interprets "若九，若七，若五" as "每板若九行，若七行，若五行", i.e., "each tablet bears nine, seven or five lines". As indicated by archaeological discoveries, a line on a writing tablet bearing a list is generally a list entry. Cf. *Yili zhushu*, 864.

[59] The translation is adapted from John Steele, transl., Steele 1917, *or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*, vol. 2 (London: Probsthain & Co., 1917): 84 ff.

In contrast to the painstaking description of certain ritualistic procedure, the two passages merely contain sparse information about the two lists, leaving more questions than elucidation. First, nothing is specified about the content of the "dispatch list" (for an analysis of the possible content see Section 2.3). Second, while four individual types of gifts were made in the funeral, merely one of the types, i.e. the *feng*-gifts, is the subject of the list. The passage gives no reason for the choice of this gift type to be recorded. In addition, throughout the *Yili*, nothing is mentioned about whether the two manuscripts were disposed in the tomb or not.

The two manuscripts mentioned in *Yili* received the first scholarly attention no later than in the beginning of the Song dynasty, as Nie Chongyi 聶崇義 (fl. 10th century CE) denoted them as *qiance* and *fengfang* and depicted their phantom images (see Fig. 10) in his *San li tu jizhu* 三禮圖集注 (A Variorum of the Illustrated Three Ritual Classics).[60] His *qiance* illustration obviously attempts to demonstrate the shape and the nodes of bamboo strips without any indication of binding, while his *fengfang* merely indicates the possible shape of a writing support without any traces of its materiality. Nie's illustrations were accepted by later scholars such as Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631–1694 CE).[61]

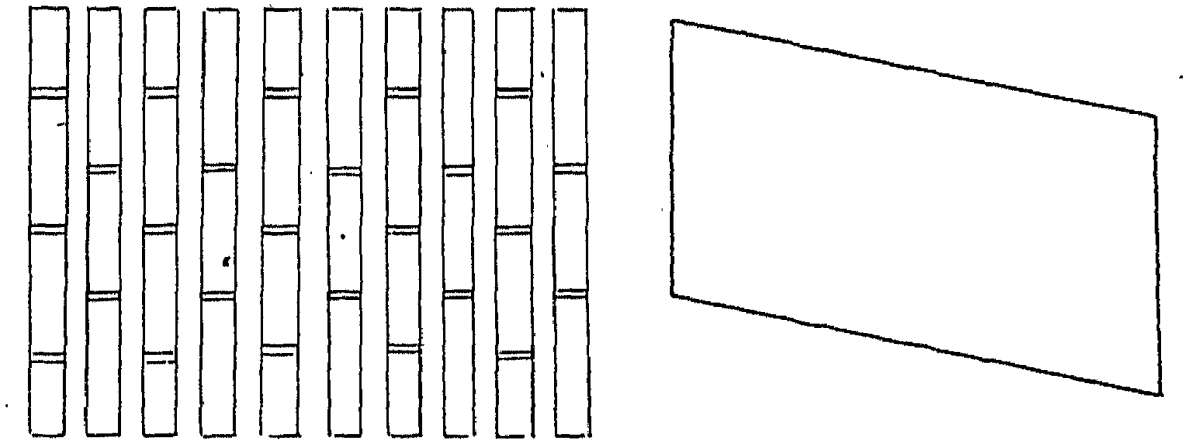


Fig. 10 Phantom images of *qiance* (dispatch list) and *fengfang* (*feng*-gift list) by Nie Chongyi.

Before addressing the modern discussion about the usage of these two terms, it is important to point out that the source of the terms, especially the ritual classics such as *Yili*, are

[60] Nie Chongyi 聶崇義, *San Li Tu Jizhu* 三禮圖集注, Qinding siku quanshu 欽定四庫全書, Classics 4 經部四, category of ritual禮類, photocopy (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005): *juan* 20, 22 and 24.

[61] Xu Qianxue 徐乾學, *Du Li Tongkao* 讀禮通考, Qinding siku quanshu 欽定四庫全書, Classics 4 經部四, category of ritual 禮類, photocopy (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005): *juan* 97, 16–17.

generally regarded texts concerning rituals of the Zhou dynasty, but the occupants of the tombs in which the early lists were discovered had been mostly inhabitants of south central China, a region independent from the Zhou dynasty. Furthermore, these tomb occupants were buried during a long period between the 5th century BCE and the 16th century CE (see Appendix I: Table 1). Hence, questions arise as to whether it is proper to use those sources to interpret funerary rites produced in a region which is not typically regarded a part of Zhou, and to which extent the funerary cycle described in those sources can still be related to funerals conducted after the Zhou period.

As argued by Yang Hua 楊華, transmitted literature indicates that at the latest since the second half of the Spring and Autumn period, a convergence towards the Zhou standard of ritual and music began its course among the Chu aristocrats in this region: besides the active quest of the Chu aristocrats for the Zhou standard,[62] the exchange of ritualists[63] and the migration of ritual texts from the Zhou cultural area to the Chu Kingdom also contributed to the convergence.[64] Consequently, the Chu aristocrats have systematically absorbed the Zhou ritual ideas and etiquettes since the end of the Spring and Autumn period.[65] Interestingly, excavated Chu manuscripts dating from the Warring States period also indicate that the Zhou standard of ritual and music was attached great importance within a vast circle of aristocrats.[66] Therefore, it is theoretically feasible to use the ritual classics in conjunction with other materials to reconstruct the funerary rites in this region.

---

62 Yang Hua argues that the crown prince of King Zhuang of Chu (Chu Zhuangwang 楚莊王, reigned 613–591) received systematic education in Zhou ritual, based on a list of his textbooks mentioned in *Guo yu* 國語 (Discources of the States), furthermore, he points out that the chancellor of King Zhuang launched a ritual reform towards the Zhou standard. See Yang Hua 杨华, "Qianyan" 前言, in Liu Yutang 刘玉堂, ed., *Chuguo liyi zhidu yanjiu* 楚国礼仪制度研究 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012): 7 ff.

63 Yang Hua points out that a number of disciples of Confucius came from Chu and served Chu after Confucius' death. See Yang Hua 2012, 9.

64 Yang Hua points out that in 516 BCE, several aristocratic clans of Zhou, lead by the defeated Zhou Prince Chao (known as Wangzi Chao 王子朝, who held regime between 519 and 516 BCE in Luoyi 洛邑), took refuge in Chu and brought a considerable number of Zhou ritual texts with them. In 505, Prince Chao was murdered in the Chu capital Ying 郢. See Yang Hua 2012, 8.

65 See Yang Hua 2012, 12.

66 For an introduction of the Zhou standard of ritual and music in the Chu manuscripts see Yang Hua 2012, 15.

Among the tombs yielding funerary lists, those dating from the period up to the 1st century CE shared one architectural feature, i.e. each of them included one or more wooden chambers (*guo*) containing one or more nesting coffins (*guan*) (see Appendix I: Table 1). As will be argued later (see Section 2.2), the usage of the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure described in the ritual classics fundamentally shaped the material flow in the funerary cycle. Furthermore, many of the funerary rites focusing on the corpse and the coffin in the Zhou funerary cycle are evidenced by material trajectories traceable in tombs including those in south central China, both in Eastern Zhou and post-Zhou tombs.[67]

Even after the 1st century CE, as funerary lists were buried in tombs of other types such as brick vault tombs (*zhuanshi mu* 磚室墓) and so forth, the Zhou funerary cycle still remained vital throughout pre-modern China, primarily among the Han Chinese.[68] But due to the Buddhist conquest of China, the competing role of the Daoist religion and the intensification of cultural exchanges between central China and its peripheries, the cycle was gradually enriched with a spectrum of rites that could not have been envisioned by the ritual classics.[69]

Nevertheless, it is essential to pay attention to the extent to which the sumptuary levels in individual rites described in the ritual classics may have been representative in early China. The sumptuary levels were manifested in the temporal and spatial aspects, and the amount and quality of material, animal and human resources engaged in the rites. The deceased Ordinary Officer in *Yili*, for instance, had the lowest rank of the Zhou aristocracy, while the occupants of the tombs in which the early lists were discovered were of various ranks within later aristocratic systems. Accordingly, the funerary cycles of those tomb occupants used to feature individual sumptuary levels, which could have been determined by sumptuary regulations that

---

67 See Chen Gongrou 陳公柔, "Shi sangli, ji xi li zhong suo jizai de sangzang zhidu" 士喪禮、既夕禮中所記載的喪葬制度, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, no. 4 (1956): 67–84; Gao Chongwen 高崇文, "Shi lun xian Qin liang Han sangzang lisu de yanbian" 试论先秦两汉丧葬礼俗的演变, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (2006): 447–472; Zhu Wei 朱蔚, "'*Yili*-Shi sangli', 'ji xi li' suo fanying de sangzang zhidu yanjiu" 《仪礼• 士丧礼》、《既夕礼》 所反映的丧葬制度研究 (Master's thesis, Xiamen daxue, 2008): 7–47; Yang Hua 杨华 and Jiang Qiyan 江奇艳, "Di san zhang: Sangli" 第三章：丧礼, in Liu Yutang 刘玉堂, ed., *Chuguo liyi zhidu yanjiu* 楚国礼仪制度研究 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012): 73–166.

68 For the vitality of the *Yili* cycle of funeral in pre-modern China, especially between the Qin dynasty and the Qing dynasty, see Xu Jijun 1998, 262–274, 307–320, 347–356, 406–415, 500–517 and 556–557.

69 See Xu Jijun 1998, 311–315, 357–373; 425–439 and 518–519.

underwent transformations themselves, by the financial abilities of the bereaved[70] and by personal or regional preferences[71] etc.

The term *qiance* was rediscovered by Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 (1881–1968 CE), who used it in 1955 to refer to several funerary lists found in a number of pre-imperial and early imperial Chinese tombs.[72] For decades since the rediscovery of the term, it was consistently used in archaeological reports to refer to various funerary lists.

From the beginning of the 1970s onwards, scholars began to discuss whether it is the appropriate term to describe funerary lists of various contents. Several scholars argue for a differentiated usage of the terms *qiance* and *fengfang*. For instance, Gao Dalun 高大倫 asserts that the funerary lists from tombs can be divided into those recording gifts and those recording items to be dispatched to the tomb; but no tomb has yielded both types of lists.[73] Furthermore, he points out that the format-and-content relation indicated in *Yili* cannot be always observed in the lists from tombs.[74] Accordingly, he suggests that those lists inscribed on multiple strips be called *qiance* and those on single tablets *fengfang*, irrespective of their contents.[75]

Irrespective of the accurateness of his assertion, his way of denoting the lists does not seem appropriate. On the one hand, if merely the format is regarded in denoting a list, it seems unnecessary to adhere to the terms *qiance* and *fengfang*, neither of which is a fixed term that can be found as such in *Yili* or in any other pre-Qin literature. On the other hand, the terms *qian*

---

70 The Eastern Zhou royal house begged twice for financial resources from the Lu 魯 Duchy (11th century-256 BCE) to bury the king properly. This means that if the Lu government had refused to help, the two Zhou kings would have been buried below the proper sumptuary level that they deserved. See Li Dongfang 黎東方, *Xian Qin shi* 先秦史, Fuxing congshu 復興叢書 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1944): 56 ff.

71 The father of Qu Jian 屈建 (?-545 BCE), a Chu chancellor (*lingyin* 令尹), wished before his death that his family would include water caltrop, his favourate food, in the offerings presented to him posthumously. Qu Jian did not follow his will because "one ought not interfere in the state's regulations due to private wishes" (不以私欲干國之典). It is possible that some sons would have chosen filial piety instead of state's regulations in a similar situation. See Yang Hua 2012, 10.

72 See Ye's preface in Shi Shuqing 史樹青, *Changsha Yangtianhu chutu Chu jian yanjiu* 長沙仰天湖出土楚簡研究 (Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955): 1–5.

73 See Gao Dalun 1988, 107.

74 See Gao Dalun 1988, 106 ff.

75 See Gao Dalun 1988, 108.

and *feng* are firmly anchored in transmitted literature. At any rate, it does seem improper to call a gift list a *qiance* or to denote a "dispatch list" as a *fengfang*. In addition, the materiality and the format of the early funerary lists have themselves undergone a transformation during the Han dynasty (see Section 1.1). But this transformation was likely preceded by the composition of the *Yili* passages concerned.[76] Hence, the discrepancy between the format-and-content relation described in *Yili* and the relation indicated by the lists from the Han tombs seems to indicate that the Han compilers of *Yili*did not contextualise the text in this vein.[77]

Mi Rutian 米如田, aware of the conventional usage of the terms *qian* and *feng* in transmitted literature, points out interestingly that the content of *qiance* may include part of the content of *fengfang* in a funeral.[78] This possibility will be further addressed (see Section 2.3). Futhermore, he assumes that the term *qiance* is not necessarily bound to any physical features of the writing supports of the lists, i.e., *qiance* could have been written on bamboo strips, wooden strips as well as wooden tablets.[79] This, again, seems to be at odds with the conventional usage of the term *ce* in transmitted literature.

Chen Wei 陳偉 suggests the usage of the term *fengshu* 賵書 instead of *fengfang*, while advocating for the usage of the term *qiance* for funerary lists. He points out that the so-called *qiance* discovered in tomb no. 2 of Baoshan 包山 (Jingmen 荊門, Hubei province) include a bamboo tablet that is not part of a *qiance*, but instead a *fengshu*, i.e. a "written record of a *feng*-gift",[80] which is in this case a record of the gift of a vehicle. He further argues that this record was created by the donor of the vehicle; and it was modified and copied on a scroll of bamboo strips as an entry of the *qiance*.[81] This interesting observation will be further addressed (see Subsection 4.2.1). The term *fengshu* is much more detached from the writing support than the

---

[76] According to Michael Loewe, the *Yili* "is in origin a part of a larger corpus of similar ceremonial and ritual texts dating from pre-Han times, perhaps as early as the time of Confucius". See Michael Loewe, *Early Chinese texts: A bibliographical guide* (University of California Inst of East, 1993): 237.

[77] For the compilation of *Yili* in the Han dynasty see Loewe 1993, 238 ff.

[78] See Mi Rutian 1991, [96].

[79] See Mi Rutian 1991, [96].

[80] See Chen Wei 陈伟, *Baoshan Chu jian chu tan* 包山楚简初探 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1996): 190–192.

[81] See Chen Wei 1996, 191.

term *fengfang*. It can indeed be used for denoting lists that record gifts of vehicles and draught horses (see Section 2.3). But sometimes, further types of gifts became the subject of a gift list, for instance, the list on a label from the Western Han tomb of a female aristocat at Wangchengpo 望城坡 (Changsha, Hunan province) itemises gifts of three *bi*-discs and silks from her emperor (see Fig. 1).[82] In this case, the term *fengshu* would be an improper denotation for the gift list. The beginning of the list, "*bixia suoyi zengwu*..." 陛下所以贈物 (gifts made by His Majesty), reveals that the list is obviously no first-hand record, but a copy on a label made by the bereaved house instead. Maybe the original gift list as well as its copy could both be denoted as *zengwushu* 贈物疏, as partly indicated by the label.

Though many further scholars are aware of the differences between the diversity of the contents and formats of the lists from tombs, they suggest to use the term *qiance* for the convenience of references.[83] But several other scholars suggest alternatives as denotations of the lists. For instance, Chen Zhi 陳直 argues in 1972 that it is not appropriate to use the term *qiance* to refer to the list from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui 馬王堆 (Changsha 長沙, Hunan province), because the term *qiance*, as a product of the Zhou ritual system, is perhaps inadequate to describe a funerary list of the Han dynasty.[84] He assumes that funerary lists of the Han dynasty may have been called similarly as those lists that were not used specifically in funeral. Accordingly, he suggests to use the term *qishu* 器疏, i.e. "register of items", which is the title of a Han list discovered in Juyan 居延.[85] Some thirty years later, Hong Shi 洪石 questions the accuracy of the term *qiance*,[86] after more funerary lists dating from the Han dynasty have been discovered. Like several other scholars, she points out that *qiance* is no

82 See Song Shaohua and Li Equan 2010, plate, Fig. E: 47.

83 Peng Hao suggests denoting all the Warring States funerary lists as *qiance*, while Mi Rutian and Zheng Shubin suggest using the term for all funerary lists. See Peng Hao 1996, 48–55; Mi Rutian 1991, 96–99; Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌, "Qiance de kaogu faxian yu wenxian quanshi" 遣策的考古发现与文献诠释, *Nanfang wenwu* 南方文物, no. 2 (2005b): 28–34.

84 See Chen Zhi 1972, 33.

85 See Chen Zhi 1972, 33.

86 See Hong Shi 洪石, "Dongzhou zhi Jindai mu suo chu wushu jiandu ji qi xiangguan wenti yanjiu" 东周至晋代墓所出物疏简牍及其相关问题研究, *Kaogu*, no. 9 (2005): 59–69.

fixed term in transmitted literature[87] and the nominalisation of *qian* as such is unique in the respective *Yili* passage. She further points out that several Han and post-Han lists from tombs bear titles such as *yiwushu*, *wushu* 物疏 (register of things) and *qizhi* 器志 (record of items). Based on these original titles, she suggests to replace the term with the terms *wushu* or *qizhi*.[88]

But as pointed out by Yang Hua, these alternatives also lack accuracy because they can be shared by funerary lists and lists itemising any things of a non-funerary context.[89] Liu Guosheng 劉國勝 suggests the terms *sangzang jiandu* 喪葬簡牘 and *sangzang wenshu* 喪葬文書, i.e. "funerary writings on bamboo and wood" and "funerary documents",[90] which are accepted by Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中.[91] Giele suggests a more specific term, "inventories of funerary items",[92] which is echoed by Olivier Venture with the term *sangzang wushu* 喪葬物疏, i.e. "funerary registers of things", instead.[93]

I agree with Hong Shi's critique about the usage of the term *qiance*. In addition, scholars seem to have overlooked a main problem with the term *qiance*, i.e. its ambiguity. As mentioned above, *Yili* does not explicitly specify the *qian*, "those to be dispatched". According to the "Ji xi li" chapter of *Yili*, the things that were brought to the tomb include the coffin that was sealed some three months ago, various material components that were displayed in the ancestral temple one day before the "dispatch" to the tomb, a part of the blood offerings that were sacrificed on the day of the "dispatch", and parting gifts received en route towards the tomb (see Appendix I: Table 2). The *qiance*, however, was created on the eve of the "dispatch" and

87 See Hong Shi 2005, 60. For similar critiques see Mi Rutian 1991, 96.

88 See Hong Shi 2005, 60.

89 See Yang Hua 杨华, "Sui, feng, qian: Jiandu suo jian Chu di zhusang lizhi yanjiu" 禭·賵·遣：简牍所见楚地助丧礼制研究, *Xueshu yuekan* 学术月刊 9 (2003): 52; Yang Hua 2007, 164 ff.

90 See Liu Guosheng 刘国胜, "Chu qiance zhidu shulüe" 楚遣策制度述略, *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 6 (2005): 229; and the preface in Liu Guosheng 劉國勝, *Chu sangzang jiandu jishi* 楚喪葬簡牘集釋 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011): v.

91 See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 3.

92 See Giele 2003, Appendix, 435.

93 See Olivier Venture, "Gudai jiandu xingshi de yanbian: Cong sangzang wushu shuoqi" 古代簡牘形式的演變：從喪葬物疏說起, *Jianbo* 4 (2009): 359 ff.

read immediately before the "dispatch" to the tomb (see Appendix I: Table 2). Hence, questions arise whether the *qiance* included the coffin and the items that had been sealed in the coffin long ago, and whether its content was revised after the sacrificial offerings were added to those goods to be dispatched.

In regard of the alternatives of the denotations, I agree with Yang Hua that a suitable alternative must demarcate the funerary context of the lists. Liu Guosheng's suggestion indeed emphasises the funerary context, but it blurred the boundary between funerary lists and further writings that were created in a funerary context.[94] I agree for the most part with Venture. But it is worth noting that the lists sometimes also describe animals and persons (for examples see Section 3.6 and Subsection 4.2.2). It is controversial whether "things" include animals and persons.[95] Similarly, Giele's term, "inventories of funerary items", does not seem to include persons, either; in addition, the term "inventory" might be misleading, because it indicates an exhaustive itemisation, which is seldom demonstrated by the lists discovered in tombs. Accordingly, I suggest the more neutral term *sangzang shiwu qingdan*, i.e. "funerary lists". To be more specific, funerary lists may include lists of things, lists of animals (both can be translated as *sangzangwu qingdan* 喪葬物清單) as well as lists of human resources (*sangzang renshi qingdan* 喪葬人事清單).

Furthermore, compared to the terms *qiance* or *fengfang*, the term *yiwushu* seems much less controversial. Scholars generally agree that they were first seen in tombs after mid-Western Han period and they itemise primarily clothing and accessories of the deceased.[96] Some

---

94 For an overview of those funerary writings see Seidel 1987, 21–57; Giele 2003, 435 ff.

95 For a recent article, which refers to a long history of the discussion of the boundary of "thing", see James Gordon Finlayson, "To the Things Themselves Again: Observations on What Things Are and Why They Matter," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World*, ed. P. Graves-Brown et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 94–104. Finlayson firmly excludes animals, persons and living beings from the category of things. Ian Hodder, while acknowledging that it is "possible to say that humans are just bundles of biochemical processes, flows of blood and nerves and cells temporarily coalesced into an entity that is thoroughly dependent on and connected to air, water, food and so on", justifies "the separation of humans as a particular type of thing". See Ian Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2012): 9 ff.

96 See Liu Guosheng 刘国胜, "Du Xihan sangzang wenshu zhaji" 读西汉丧葬文书札记, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (2011): 116; Dou Lei 2016, 1; Tian Tian 田天, "Xihan zhong wanqi qiance de bianqian ji qi yiyi" 西汉中晚期遣策的变迁及其意义, in *Wenwu, wenxian yu wenhua: Lishi kaogu qingnian lunji* 文物、文献与文化: 历史考古青年论集, edited by Wang Yu 王煜, Di 1 ji (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017): 22–23; Tian He 2018, 132; and Tian Tian, "From 'Clothing Strips' to Clothing Lists: Tomb Inventories and Western Han Funerary Ritual," translated by David Sena, *Bamboo and Silk* 2, no. 1 (2019): 53.

scholars further specify that they are commonly inscribed on wooden tablets and itemise primarily clothing worn by the deceased or deposited close to the deceased, i.e., in the coffins.[97] But there are controversial opinions on the proper denotation of the lists that describe clothing and accessories but were discovered outside the coffins: while they are called *qiance* in general, some scholars choose to denote them as *yiwushu* or *yiwuquan* 衣物券 (certificate [?] of clothing and accessories).[98] In addition, Tian Tian 田天 attempts to distinguish them from *yiwushu* by calling them *yiwujian* 衣物簡 ("clothing strips" as translated by Sena),[99] although this term seems to exclude such lists on wooden tablets since it literally prescribes the format of the writing supports. It is much adaquate to denote lists as how they refer to themselves, i.e., to use their titles if they have any. But in case that they do not, it is not necessary to adhere to any of the above-mentioned terms that are either ambiguous or are subject to certain temporal, spatial or codicological restrictions. The present work will use the term "funerary lists" in general to refer to all the lists that are called *qiance*, *fengfang*, *yiwushu*, *bu* or the like in Chinese archaeology and palaeography.

Funerary lists have been incorporated in several classification systems of the contents of early Chinese manuscripts written on bamboo, wood and silk. These categorisations indicate the roles of the lists among the whole corpus of the manuscripts. Zheng Youguo 鄭有國 divides the whole corpus into the three categories *shuji* 書籍, *wenshu* 文書 and *qita* 其他,[100] i.e. "literature", "documents" and "miscellaneous". He regards the funerary lists (*qiance* in his notion) as part of the "miscellaneous".[101] Further scholars generally agree on the division of

97 See Dou Lei 2016, 1; Tian Tian 2017, 23.

98 For instance, two lists discovered between the wooden tomb chamber and the coffin of tombs 129 and 130 at Haiqu 海曲 are called *qiance* by the excavators, but Dou Lei suggests to call them *yiwushu* according to their contents. See Liu Shaogang 劉紹剛 and Zheng Tongxiu 鄭同修, "Rizhao Haiqu Han mu chutu qiance gaishu" 日照海曲漢墓出土遣策概述, *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 出土文献研究, no. 1 (2013): 202–12; cf. Dou Lei 2016, 85 ff. Furthermore, while the lists discovered at tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui are called qiance in general, some scholar suggests to call the wooden tablet no. 407 among the lists *yiwuquan*, because it itemises clothing and accessories. See Mi Rutian 1991, 97.

99 See Tian Tian 2017, 52 ff.

100 See Zheng Youguo 1989, 45–71.

101 See Zheng Youguo 1989, 66 ff.

the whole corpus into "literature" and "documents",[102] and on the categorisation of the funerary lists (*qiance* in their notion) as part of the "documents". But while some of them order funerary lists, among other non-funerary texts, into a subcategory *buji* 簿籍,[103] i.e. "registers and rosters"; others separate them from the non-funerary *buji*.[104]

The diverse positions of the funerary lists within the above-mentioned categorisation systems indicate the wrestling between two domains to which the lists can belong, i.e. funerary texts and documents. The domain of "funerary texts" is characterised by Anna Seidel as "scripts that directly concern the burial rite and the *post-mortem* fate of the deceased".[105] This direct concern is also indicated in Giele's categorisation of the contents of the manuscripts discovered in tombs, in comparison with the parallel categories of the "other texts relating personal data", "utilitarian texts" and "literature".[106] But as part of the texts in the domain of "documents", funerary lists obviously bear general features of certain documents, or more precisely, of the "registers and rosters". These features are not only manifested in their content, but also in the format and layout, which form part of the subject of their codicological studies.

Concerning the formats of the scrolls and tablets, which were typical supports of the early funerary lists, the lengths have been a focus of scholarly discussion.[107] A few Warring States

---

[102] For examples see Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 370–375; Zhang Xiancheng 張顯成, *Jianbo wenxianxue tonglun* 簡帛文獻學通論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004): 226–264. Li Ling seems to share the same idea of the categorisation, but he denotes the literature as *gushu* 古書, i.e., "ancient literature". Li Ling 2004, 46–63.

[103] In his earlier categorisation, Li Junming uses part of the funerary list from tomb no. 8 of Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 (Jingzhou 荊州, Hubei province) as an example of the *ji* 籍 (rosters), which means that he does not distinguish between funerary lists and registers produced beyond a funerary context at all. In his later categorisation, he creates a separate group of the funerary lists, which he denotes as *suizang qiwubu* 隨葬器物簿 (inventory lists of tomb goods) and orders under the *bu* 簿 (registers). But as Li points out himself, the terms *bu* and *ji* are generally interchangeable. See Li Junming 李均明, *Jiandu wenshu xue* 简牍文书学 (Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999): 368–370; Li Junming 2009, 310–335 and 247.

[104] Pointing out that funerary lists basically belong to the subcategory *buji*, though, Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an separate them from the *buji*. Instead, they create a separate subcategory consisting of funerary lists and the manuscripts that are called *gaodice* 告地策, i.e., "letters to the underworld", due to their specific usage in a funerary context. See Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 370 ff.

[105] See Seidel 1987, 24.

[106] See Giele 2003, Appendix, 435–438.

[107] For two pioneer discussions of the format of early Chinese manuscripts see Wang Guowei 王国维, *Jiandu jianshu kao jiaozhu* 简牍检署考校注, with the commentary of Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 and Ma Yuehua 马月华 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004) 14 ff.; Chen Mengjia 陈梦家, "You shiwu suojian Han dai

tombs yielding funerary lists also produced further manuscripts. Generally, funerary lists and the records of sacrifice, divination and prayer from the same tomb shared the same format.[108] Furthermore, the funerary lists from tomb 2 of Baoshan shared the same format with most of the registers of legal cases discovered from the same tomb.[109]

The lengths of the pre-Qin bamboo scrolls, i.e. the lengths of individual strips forming the scroll, vary from 13–75 cm. Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 assumes that the length of the strips correlates with the social stratus of the tomb occupant, i.e. the length increased if the social status increased.[110] Liu Guosheng, referring to the lengths of the bamboo strips from four Warring States tombs, doubts whether the social status played any significant roles. Instead, he surmises that the format of the lists depended on the content and the layout of the lists.[111] Olivier Venture, generally in agreement with Hu, points out the relation between the dates and the sizes of those lists: the lists buried before the year 278, in which the Qin 秦 general Bai Qi 白起 (332–257 BCE) captured the Chu capital of Ying 郢, are between 64 and 75 cm long; while the lists buried after this event were between 13 and 22 cm long.[112] Accordingly, Venture surmises that the lengths of the Qin manuscripts can have played a role in the drastic change of the sizes of those lists.[113]

jiance zhidu" 由实物所见汉代简册制度, in *Han jian zhuishu* 汉简缀述 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980): 291–315; for an overview of the scholarship on the format of early Chinese manuscripts see Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, "Jiandu zhidu xintan" 简牍制度新探, *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2000): 66; Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 41 ff.

108 This can be observed in the manuscripts from tomb no. 1 of Tianxingguan 天星觀 and tomb no. 2 of Baoshan. See Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 43, Table 1.

109 See Chen Wei 陳偉, "Baoshan 2 hao mu jiance (fu qianpai)" 包山 2 號墓簡冊（附簽牌）, in *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]* 楚地出土戰國簡册[十四種], ed. Chen Wei et al. (Beijing: Jingji kexue chubanshe, 2009): 2 and 118.

110 See Hu Pingsheng 2000, 67.

111 See the preface in Liu Guosheng 2011, viii.

112 See Venture 2009, 359 ff.

113 See Venture 2009, 359 ff.

Indeed, the only funerary list discovered in a tomb dating from the Qin dynasty consists of bamboo strips that are 22.9 cm long.[114] Except for this list, tombs dating from the Qin Kingdom period or the Qin Empire period seldom yielded funerary lists, though some of the imperial tombs did yield other manuscripts. But interestingly, the length of ca. 23 cm was one of the most standard lengths of the Qin manuscripts that can be ordered into the category "documents", such as the annals (*dieshu* 葉書, literally "book consisting of [loose] strips"), almanacs (*rishu* 日書, literally "day book") and non-funerary lists.[115] Furthermore, most of the Han funerary lists made of bamboo or wooden strips and wooden tablets had the length of ca. 23 cm, i.e. ca. one Han *chi*.[116] The same holds true for the other documents, both funerary and none-funerary ones, dating from the Han period.[117] Hence, it is likely that funerary lists shared the same format with some of the contemporary "documents".

Most of the lists relate to the tomb goods to some degree. Excavation reports or annotations to the list transcriptions sometimes offer terse remarks on this topic. A typical remark on the relationship is that the content of the list is "largely in accordance with the tomb goods",[118] which is perhaps the reason why the lists have been hitherto interpreted in general as "tomb inventory lists" (see Section 1.1).

---

[114] The tomb concerned is tomb no. 135 of Yangjiashan 揚家山 (Jingzhou, Hubei Province). See Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 43, Table 2.

[115] Qin Documents that share the strip length of ca. 23 cm include an annal (*dieshu* 葉書 or *biannian ji* 編年記) and one of the almanacs from tomb no. 11 at Shuihudi 睡虎地 (Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei province); an almanac, a list of recipes etc., and a calendar from tomb no. 30 at Zhoujiatai 周家台 (Jingzhou, Hubei province); an almanac from tomb 36 at Yueshan 嶽山 (Jingzhou, Hubei province); and one of the almanacs from tomb no. 1 at Fangmatan 放馬灘 (Tianshui 天水, Gansu province). See "Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu" bianxiezu 《云梦睡虎地秦墓》编写组, *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin Mu* 云梦睡虎地秦墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981): 12; Chen Wei 陳偉, ed., *Qin Jiandu Heji* 秦簡牘合集 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2014): vol. 3, 53, 80 and 95; Chen Wei 2014, vol. 4, 3.

[116] Pian and Duan list 22 funerary lists dating from the Han period, 15 of them have a length of ca. 23 cm. See Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 43 ff., Table 2.

[117] Pian and Duan list 43 documents dating from the Han period, 22 of them have a length of ca. 23 cm. See Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 45 ff., Table 5.

[118] For instance, this remark is included in the brief excavation reports of tomb no. 5 at Caojiagang, tombs no. 8, 9 and 167 at Fenghuangshan and tomb no. 26 at Xiaojiacaochang. See Wu Xiaosong and Hong Gang 2000, 269; Changjiang liuyu dierqi wenwu kaogu gongzuo renyuan xunlianban 长江流域第二期文物考古工作人员训练班, "Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan mu fajue jianbao" 湖北江陵凤凰山西汉墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1975): 46; Jilin daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuanye fu Jinancheng kaimen banxue xiao fendui 吉林大学历史系考古专业赴纪南城开门办学小分队, "Fenghuangshan 167 hao Han mu qiance kaoshi" 凤凰山一六七号汉墓遣册考释, *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1976): 38; Hubei sheng Jingzhoushi Zhouliangyuqiao yizhi

Philologists sometimes relate individual list items with tomb goods, but they commonly do not give a whole picture of the extent of the overlap, because their comparison generally goes one way, i.e., they merely identify whether items described in the lists were found in the tomb and when yes, whether their numbers correspond with the numbers discovered; but they seldom relate to those tomb goods that are not documented in the lists.[119]

As has been pointed out by several scholars, to date no funerary list has been found that entirely matches goods in the tomb in which it was interred.[120] Either not all listed items are among the goods in the corresponding tomb, or the quantity of a particular type of item varies from the quantity found in the corresponding tomb, or some tomb goods found are not documented in the corresponding list. There are several general explanations for those discrepancies. Irrespective of the loss of tomb goods caused by looting, several scholars propose that the discrepancies may have been due to the damage or decay of the tomb goods,[121] the fragmentation of the funerary lists,[122] the change of the entombment plan,[123] the deliberate

bowuguan 湖北省荆州市周梁玉桥遗址博物馆, *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu* 关沮秦汉墓简牍 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001): 185.

[119] For examples see the annotations to the transcriptions of the lists from tomb no. 5 at Caojiagang, tomb no. 1 at Dafentou 大墳頭 (Yunmeng, Hubei province), tomb no. 26 at Xiaojiacaochang 蕭家草場 (Jingzhou, Hubei province), tombs no. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui and tombs no. 8 and 167 at Fenghuangshan, in Liu Guosheng 2011, 139–140; Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆, "Yunmeng dafentou yi hao Han mu" 云梦大坟头一号汉墓, *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 文物资料丛刊, no. 4 (1981a): 16–23; Hubei sheng Jingzhoushi Zhouliangyuqiao yizhi bowuguan 2001, 140–142; Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 130–153; He Jiejun 2004, 48–73; Jin Li 金立, "Jiangling Fenghuangshan ba hao han mu zhujian shi shi" 江陵凤凰山八号汉墓竹简试释, *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1976): 69–75; Jilin daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuanye fu Jinancheng kaimen banxue xiao fendui 1976, 38–42.

[120] See, for example, Zheng Shubin 2005b, 32; Wei Lingshui 魏灵水, "Cong Han mu qiance kan Han dai sangzang wenhua" 从汉墓遣策看汉代丧葬文化, *Talimu daxue xuebao* 塔里木大学学报 17, no. 4 (2005): 46; Yang Yi 杨怡, "Hewei 'qiance'? Yi Mawangdui sanhao mu weili" 何为"遣册"？ ——以马王堆三号墓为例, in Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆, *Jinian Mawangdui Han mu fajue sishi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 纪念马王堆汉墓发掘四十周年国际学术研讨会论文集 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2016): 328.

[121] See Zheng Shubin 2005b, 32; He Qiang 贺强, "Mawangdui Han Mu Qiance Zhengli Yanjiu" 马王堆汉墓遣策整理研究 (Master's thesis, Xinan daxue, 2006): 5.

[122] See Hu Yali 胡雅丽, "Chu jian qiance suojian zangqi zhidu kao" 楚简遣策所见葬器制度考, *Hunansheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊 5 (2008): 371.

[123] Sahara Yasuo argues that the funerary lists from tombs no. 10 and 168 at Fenghuangshan were created as preparation lists of the tomb goods; however, as certain goods were added afterwards to the collection of the tomb goods, the lists were sometimes updated and sometimes not. Zheng Shubin has the same notion of the "preparation lists"; in addition, she argues that a selection of the prepared tomb goods can have taken place at the entombment and part of the tomb goods may have been placed outside the tomb due to the lack of space

exaggeration of the amount of tomb goods[124] and the magical power of writings as substitution of the missing tomb goods.[125]

These explanations seem to imply a shared expectation that the lists ought to have described the tomb goods but certain factors interfered with the accuracy of the description or made the accuracy unnecessary. This expectation is probably due to the general overlaps between the contents of the lists and the goods in the tombs which yielded the lists. These overlaps, however, deserve a further scrutiny, which can be achieved by case studies. To date, case studies of several funerary lists are available.

Hu Yali 胡雅麗 has presented in several articles the transcription of the lists (*qiance* in her notion) from no. 2 at Baoshan and a comparison of the list contents and the tomb goods.[126] According to Hu's comparison, except for a few list items that she cannot yet interpret, most of the list items can be identified with certain tomb goods in types and numbers; but part of the tomb goods, including certain goods made of bronze, lacquered wood, jade, bone, bamboo, reed, the clothing and accessories on the corpse, are not mentioned in the lists; furthermore, certain list items such as part of the food cannot be identified in the tomb.[127] Hu assumes that the lists have originally described all the tomb goods except for the clothing and accessories on the corpse.[128] In addition, she argues that the discrepancies between the contents of the lists

inside the tomb. See Sahara Yasuo 佐原康夫, "Kōryō Hōōzan Kan kan saikō" 江陵鳳凰山漢簡再考, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 61, no. 3 (2002): 407–410; Zheng Shubin 2005b, 32.

[124] See He Qiang 2006, 5.

[125] See Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2015): 144 ff.; Yang Yi 2016, 329 ff.

[126] See Liu Binhui 刘彬徽, Hu Yali 胡雅丽 et al., "Fulu Yi: Baoshan erhao Chu mu jiandu shiwen yu jishi" 附录一：包山二号楚墓简牍释文与考释, in Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 湖北省荆沙铁路考古队, *Baoshan Chu mu* 包山楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991): 348–399; Hu Yali 胡雅丽, "Fulu yijiu: Baoshan erhao Chu mu qiance chubu yanjiu" 附录一九：包山二号楚墓遣策初步研究, in Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui, *Baoshan Chu mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991): 508–520; Hu Yali 2008, 363–375.

[127] See Hu Yali 2008, 371–372.

[128] See Hu Yali 2008, 371–372.

and the other tomb goods must be due to the fragmentation of the lists or the decay of organic materials among the tomb goods.[129]

Hu's assumption that the lists in their original lengths did not refer to the clothing and accessories on the corpse is based on her observation that the other Warring States lists do not include such records in general.[130] This is very interesting because it coincides with the results of several case studies on certain later lists, as will be introduced below. Even more interestingly, as Hu points out herself, the lists were deposited in three individual compartments of the tomb, though, they do not always describe the goods in the corresponding compartments.[131] But Hu does not explain this phenomenon sufficiently.

Xie Yayan 謝雅妍 presents a study of the funerary lists (*qiance* in her notion) from nine tomb in the frame of gift-giving in funerary contexts in the Zhou period.[132] This study includes painstaking comparisons between part of the list contents and the related tomb goods, although one of the tombs is excluded from the comparisons for no proper reason.[133] Since at least five of the tombs were looted, Xie correctly points out that the absence of some of the described goods in the related tombs was probably due to lootings.[134] After a comparison between the types of the recorded bronze, pottery and wooden wares (apart from the parts of wheeled vehicles or horse tack) and those among the tomb goods tombs, she concludes that in total, ca.

---

129 See Hu Yali 2008, 372.

130 See Hu Yali 2008, 363–372, esp. 372.

131 See Hu Yali 1991, 517; Hu Yali 2008, 371–372.

132 See Xie Yayan 謝雅妍, "Song si yu zuo sheng: Liang Zhou feng fu xianxiang zai yanjiu" 送死與佐生：兩周賵賻現象再研究, Master's thesis (Xianggang zhongwen daxue, 2019): 101–143 and 176–183. Based on her thesis, she published an article later, see Xie Yayan 谢雅妍, "Zhanguo qiance yu Chu di muzang suojian de fengfu xianxiang xintan" 战国遣策与楚地墓葬所见的賵赙现象新探, *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 15 (2021): [122]–159.

133 Xie asserts that the manuscripts from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙) describe merely vehicle parts and horse tack (*chemaqi* 車馬器) and that the related vehicles and horses were gifts for the bereaved. See Xie Yayan 2019, 110 and 134; and Xie Yayan 2021, 131 and 152. Therefore, she excludes the tomb from her comparisons between the list contents and the tomb goods. For her comparisons see Xie Yayan 2019, 110–131 and 176–183; and Xie Yayan 2021, 131–148. But the manuscripts from the marquis' tomb do describe further items, such as weapons and armours; and their contents do partly overlap the tomb goods. See Chapter 3.

134 See Xie Yayan 2019, 102; and Xie Yayan 2021, 128 ff.

40% of the types of the buried goods were described in the lists;[135] and among those recorded goods that do correspond to certain tomb goods in types, those of eight individual types outnumber the related tomb goods, those of 28 individual types are outnumbered by the related tomb goods, and those of 49 individual types are equal to the related tomb goods in numbers.[136] One factor that could be problematic in her statistics is that, she aggregates the numbers of the goods types in all lists and those in the tombs, respectively, and regards them as the total numbers of "types" of recorded or buried goods (i.e., if a vessel type appears in eight tombs or in eight lists, she calculates eight "types" in her statistics). This factor could be advantegeous for calculating the overall ratio between the types of the recorded and those of the buried wares. But it blurs the relationship between the recorded goods of each individual type and the related tomb goods. More specifically, the recorded goods of an individual type may outnumber the goods of this type in several tombs, but may be equal to or be outnumbered by the goods of this type in other tombs. Indeed, this phenomenon can be observed by almost every goods type, as indicated by Xie's statistic table.[137] In her brief analysis of the list records of wheeled vehicles and horse tack, she does admit that some vehicle parts in several tombs derived from vehicles that outnumber those recorded, while the ratios between such goods and the related records in the other tombs apear otherwise.[138] But she does not proceed to explain the significance of this phenomenon.

Based on her statistics, Xie surmises that the lists of the Warring States period are no complete tomb inventories, but instead parts of them.[139] She seems to propose that these parts merely record "goods that were status symbols of the deceased" (與墓主人等級身分相對應的隨葬品).[140] In accordance with the *Yili* account on *qiance*, she believes that they used to be read by the scribe of the lord (*gongshi* 公史 in *Yili*) of the deceased as well as by the scribe (*shi* 史 in *Yili*) of the deceased, and that the scribe of the lord played a role in the censorship of

135 See Xie Yayan 2019, 112; and Xie Yayan 2021, 133.

136 See Xie Yayan 2019, 116–123; and Xie Yayan 2021, 135–143.

137 See Xie Yayan 2019, 115 ff., Table 4.4; and Xie Yayan 2021, 136 ff., Table 5.

138 See Xie Yayan 2019, 128 ff.; and Xie Yayan 2021, 146–148.

139 See Xie Yayan 2019, 112; and Xie Yayan 2021, 155 ff.

140 See Xie Yayan 2019, 139; and Xie Yayan 2021, 156.

sumptuary regulations in funerals.[141] But as she explains the discrepancies between the recorded goods in the lists and the related tomb goods, she seems to propose that the lists were "written to cope with the noble lords' censorship in funerals" (为应对上层贵族监察下葬情况而撰写).[142] In this vein, she supposes that certain goods in the records were prohibited from being buried by the censorship, not prepared in due time, or kept by the bereaved families for themselves, which would be the reason why these recorded goods outnumber the related tomb goods or why no corresponding goods were discovered in the related tombs;[143] while certain goods were added secretly in tombs by the bereaved house, or counted casually and erroneously because they were no significant symbols of status, which would clarify why the tomb goods sometimes outnumber the related records.[144] Her statistics provide valuable data for further discussion, but it seems that her conclusions are interdependant from each other on the one hand and do contradict each other on the other hand.

The site report of tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan, dating from 167 BCE,[145] provides a comparison between the tomb goods and the content of the funerary list discovered in this tomb.[146] The wooden tomb chamber was divided into three parts, i.e. the "coffin compartment" (*guanshi* 棺室),[147] a "side compartment" (*bianxiang* 邊箱, in the north) and a "head compartment" (*touxiang* 頭箱, in the east). The list was discovered in the side compartment. The report specifies the overlap and the discrepancy, i.e. part of the perishable goods described were not found among the tomb goods; a few list items outnumber the corresponding goods

141 See Xie Yayan 2019, 139 ff.; and Xie Yayan 2021, 156 ff.

142 See Xie Yayan 2019, 140; and Xie Yayan 2021, 156 ff.

143 See Xie Yayan 2019, 141 ff.; and Xie Yayan 2021, 157.

144 See Xie Yayan 2019, 140; and Xie Yayan 2021, 157.

145 See Chen Zhenyu 陈振裕, "Jiangling Fenghuangshan 168 hao Han mu" 江陵凤凰山一六八号汉墓, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (1993): 504–507.

146 If not specified otherwise, the information about the tomb site is from Chen Zhenyu 1993, 455–513.

147 The coffin compartment differs from the coffin chamber of tomb no. 2 at Baoshan. While the latter was a space constructed by beams that were completely independent from the tomb chamber; the former, created by segmenting the space in a tomb chamber, shared one of its walls and its floor with the tomb chamber.

but more often, list items fall short of the number of the corresponding goods; some 30 kinds of tomb goods of various numbers are not described in the list.

Based on this comparison, both Sahara Yasuo 佐原康夫 and Ozawa Masahito 小澤正人 believe that the list (*kensaku* 遣策 in their notion) was created in a stage of the preliminary preparation of the tomb goods.[148] While observing the funerary lists from three further tombs at Fenghuangshan, i.e. tombs nos. 8, 10 and 167, Sahara associates the discrepancies between the lists and the goods in the respective tombs with the changes in the plan of tomb goods and assumes that the lists were edited afterwards, based on the change of writing hands and the usage of checkmarks.[149] More interestingly, he points out that the lists in tombs nos. 10 and 168 were discovered at the bottom of the wooden chamber, indicating that the lists were buried earlier than the other tomb goods.[150]

Arguing that the list was created as a "tomb goods preparation list", Ozawa probably associates the discrepancies with the changes in the plan of tomb goods as well. But he notices that the list generally does not describe certain categories of tomb goods, e.g., flat figurines of persons (in contrast to the figurines that had more plastic dimensionality) as well as the clothing and accessories worn by the tomb occupant.[151] Accordingly, he is obliged to make the following explanations: first, the funerary list merely describes the preparation of goods that the deceased brought with him to the underworld; the flat figurines can be excluded from those goods, because they were used to ward off evil in the tomb (instead of following the deceased to the netherworld?);[152] second, he argues that the clothing and accessories worn by the

[148] See Sahara 2002, 409–410; Ozawa Masahito 小澤正人, "Hōōzan irarokugō bo kara mita zenkan hatsu no sōnsei" 鳳凰山 168 号墓からみた前漢初の葬制, *Shakai inobeeshon kenkyū* 社会イノベーション研究 2, no. 1 (2006): 122.

[149] See Sahara 2002, 409–410.

[150] See Sahara 2002, 407.

[151] See Ozawa 2006, 122.

[152] Ozawa's interpretation of the function of the flat figurines is in line with the one in the site report. See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 488; Ozawa 2006, 122.

deceased were perhaps prepared during entombment and it was difficult to list the (desired?) items in advance.[153]

Ozawa's two explanations seem to contradict each other, since the clothing and accessories doubtlessly belonged to the goods that the deceased brought with him to the underworld. Hence, questions arise whether the relationships of the tomb goods to the deceased determined if certain goods were documented in the list, as indicated by Ozawa; and what are the criteria to detect their relationships. Nevertheless, his assumption that the dressing of the deceased took place in a separate temporal context than the preparation of the other goods is corroborated by transmitted literature (see Section 2.2), even if he associates the action of the dressing with an inaccurate point of time.

Referring to a *Yili* passage concerning two rites of dressing the deceased, Suzuki Naomi 鈴木直美 points out that the dressing can have taken place much earlier than in the stage of the entombment. [154] She provides case studies on three funerary lists (*kensaku* in her notion) from the Fenghuangshan cemetery including the one from tomb no. 168.[155] She points out that the list from the latter tomb does include a few items concerning the clothing.[156] But still, she generally agrees with Ozawa that the list does not mention the clothing and accessories worn by the deceased, assuming that those few items were added after the rites of dressing the deceased.[157] She also confirms that flat figurines of persons are generally not described in the Fenghuangshan lists.[158] In addition, she points out that the lists do not describe goods that were buried outside the wooden chambers (*guo*), i.e. in the fill or in niches in the tomb pits.[159] She

---

153 See Ozawa 2006, 122.

154 See Suzuki Naomi 鈴木直美, "Hōōzan Zenkan bo kandoku ni miru yasaku sakusei katei to sōrei junbi" 鳳凰山前漢墓簡牘にみる遣策作成過程と葬礼準備, in *Bunken to ibutsu no kyōkai: Chūgoku shutsudo kandoku shiryō no seitaiteki kenkyū* 文獻と遺物の境界：中国出土簡牘史料の生態的研究, ed. Momiyama Akira 籾山明 and Satō Makoto 佐藤信 (Fuchū-shi: Tōkyō gaikokugo daigaku ajia afurika gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 2014): 280. For an overview of the funerary cycle described in *Yili* see Appendix I: Table 2.

155 See Suzuki 2014, 279–308.

156 See Suzuki 2014, 283.

157 See Suzuki 2014, 283.

158 See Suzuki 2014, 283, 287, 290, 291 and 293.

159 See Suzuki 2014, 283, 288 and 293 ff.

surmises that these goods, including potteries, bamboo *si*-baskets (*zhusi* 竹笥), fruit stones and animal bones, are remnants of certain funerary offerings (*jidian* 祭奠).[160]

Suzuki analyses the usage of the checkmarks in two of the Fenghuangshan lists. She surmises that those lists must have fulfilled "extremely practical" (*kiwamete jitsuyō tekina* きわめて実用的な) purposes.[161] More concretely, she prudently formulates that those checkmarks were used for the final comparison of the listed items with the tomb goods prepared according to the list,[162] without specifying when and where this final comparison took place. The reason of her prudence is that, as she admits openly, certain list items are not marked, though corresponding goods were discovered in the tomb;[163] and sometimes list items were marked twice, using two different kinds of marks.[164] At any rate, the relationship between the list entries bearing checkmarks and the tomb goods contradicts the idea of some other scholars, that the checkmarks were used to verify the tomb goods at the time of entombment.[165]

The above-mentioned, systematic absence of reference to certain tomb goods in funerary lists indicates that the tomb goods were not prepared at one go, but most likely in several actions that took place at different times in a funeral. Furthermore, the two marking systems in the list entries are evidence that the list underwent two individual controlling processes, which can also indicate the usage of the list in two individual actions – if it was used merely for the preparation of tomb goods, one consistent controlling system would have sufficed.

Furthermore, Suzuki points out that certain types of list items seldom correspond to any tomb goods. For instance, the lists from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui describe 30 *ding*-cauldrons

160 See Suzuki 2014, 283, 288 and 293 ff.

161 See Suzuki 2014, 293.

162 See Suzuki 2014, 286.

163 See Suzuki 2014, 283.

164 See Suzuki 2014, 286.

165 For an example see Tian Tian 2019, 80.

(*ding* 鼎) holding stews (*geng* 羹),[166] the earthen models of hundreds of animals, of one million coins, of 1500 pounds of gold and of a bag of pearls; but none of those goods was discovered in the tomb.[167] Like Zheng Shubin 鄭曙斌, Suzuki supposes that those items were not buried; instead, they were merely used in certain funerary rites, such as funerary offering.[168] Accordingly, Suzuki proposes an inspiring idea about the functions of those lists, i.e. they were "funerary rites preparation lists" (*sōrei junbi risuto* 葬礼準備リスト).[169] In her opinion, such "funerary rites preparation lists" include several categories such as the "tomb goods preparation list", "funerary offering preparation list" and "funerary gift list".[170]

Tian Tian challenges Suzuki's interpretation of "funerary offering preparation list" in her recent case study of the lists (*qiance* in her notion) from tombs nos. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui. She assumes that the above-mentioned 30 *ding*-cauldrons were indeed prepared but for unkown reason not buried in the tomb, since several further *ding*-cauldrons in the same list, which were made of pottery or lacquered wood, were nevertheless buried in tomb no. 3.[171] But for the 24 *ding*-cauldrons that were described in the list from tomb 1 in the same vein but not buried in the tomb either, she proposes a completely different explanation, which appears a bit self-contradictory.[172] In general, she observes obvious inconsistancies within the lists as well as

---

166 I doubt whether the manuscripts, called *qiance* by Suzuki and Tian Tian, from tomb no. 3 indeed formed one integral list. But in this section, I refer to them as a list while citing the related scholars since they do not seem to mean the plural form.

167 Suzuki counted 31 *ding*-cauldrons among the list entries including the one on the fragmented strip 410 in the site report. But as pointed out by He Qiang, this strip is identical with one of the fragments of strip 77, i.e., the site report includes two photos of the same strip in the plates by mistake. The recent edition of the photos and transcriptions of the Mawangdui manuscripts confirms this mistake. See Suzuki Naomi 鈴木直美, "Maōtai sangō bo shutsudo kan ni miru kensaku sakusei katei to mokuteki" 馬王堆三号墓出土簡にみる遣策作成過程と目的, in *Bunken to ibutsu no kyōkai: Chūgoku shutsudo kandoku shiryō no seitaiteki kenkyū* 文獻と遺物の境界：中国出土簡牘史料の生態的研究, ed. Momiyama Akira 籾山明 and Satō Makoto 佐藤信 (Fuchū-shi: Tōkyō gaikokugo daigaku ajia afurika gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 2011): 191, 211–214; He Jiejun 2004, Plates 26 and 51; cf. He Qiang 2006, 73; Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭, ed. *Changsha Mawangdui Han mu jian bo ji cheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡牘集成, vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014): 235.

168 See Zheng Shubin 2005b, 29; and Suzuki 2014, 193 ff.

169 See Suzuki 2011, 199; Suzuki 2014, 292.

170 See Suzuki 2011, 199 ff; Suzuki 2014, 279.

171 See Tian Tian 2020, 42.

172 The list from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui describe various stews held in 24 *ding*-cauldrons (strips 1-29) and a number of further *ding*-cauldrons made of pottery or lacquered wood (strips 165 and 221). Tian confirms that the 24 *ding*-cauldrons were not discovered in the tomb, but she asserts that all the pots with wide mouths

varies discrepancies between the lists and the tomb goods. For instance, after an detailed analysis of the relationships between the entries and summaries in the list from tomb no. 3, she admits that the summaries do not always correspond to the list entries in terms of the goods types and numbers.[173] After her comparison between the lists, tomb goods and further writings from these two tombs, i.e., labels on bamboo and wooden supports, she also confirms that the list entries differ from the tomb goods in types and numbers.[174] She relates to the possible usage of checkmarks and agrees that the list items with checkmarks do not always significantly relate to the goods in tombs.[175] Furthermore, she proposes several telling conjectures, such as that the list from tomb no. 3 was probably created by several different hands at different times;[176] that the creation of this list possibly accompanied the whole process of the preparation of the tomb goods;[177] that a certain list part was added after a giftgiving;[178] that certain summaries were probably created later than the list entries and based on sources beyond the list entries;[179] and that the list from tomb no. 3 was much intensively used, due to various writing hands and checkmarks, as that from tomb no. 1.[180] However, she comes finally to the surprising conclusion that the lists were nevertheless not only inventories of tomb goods (隨葬品清單),

(*dakouguan* 大口罐) discovered in the tomb must have held such stews, which would make up ¾ of the stews described in the list, although not all the pots were attached with lables. Furthermore, she believes that the remaining stews must have been buried in certain vessels as well. And her explanation for the absense of the 24 *ding*-cauldrons on one hand and the presense of the other *ding*-cauldrons on the other hand is that "the term *ding* on strips 165 and 221 refer to *ding*-cauldrons in the proper sense of the word; but while referring to food (i.e., various stews on strips 1-29), the term *ding* (as an indication of quantity?) could mean pottery *guan*-vessels (記容器的簡 165、221 所謂之"鼎"，指通常意義上的..."鼎"。記載食物的遣策所謂"某某一鼎"之"鼎"，則可以指陶罐). See Tian Tian 2020, 41–42. Her explanation is a bit self-contradictory because the term *ding* on strips 165 and 221 ist associated with food (i.e., stews of unspecified types) as well.

173 See Tian Tian 2020, 39–51; especially her analysis of the summaries on wooden tablet no. 216/236, 45 ff.

174 See Tian Tian 2020, 56–59.

175 See Tian Tian 2020, 54.

176 See Tian Tian 2020, 48 ff.

177 See Tian Tian 2020, 60.

178 See Tian Tian 2020, 49 and 51.

179 See Tian Tian 2020, 50.

180 See Tian Tian 2020, 61–62.

but also presented overall plans of the tomb goods (對隨葬品的總體規劃).[181] Finally, she explains the above-mentioned overall inconsistencies and discrepancies with the argument that such inventories were no documents that were strongly binding (具有强約束力的文本) for the real process of preparation of tomb goods, i.e., certain deviations from the lists were allowed (實際準備隨葬品時容有出入).[182] This explanation again contradicts her assertion that while the list from tomb no. 3 was the original list that bears intensive traces of usage, the one from tomb no. 1 was a copy of the original – why did the scribe make a copy of an original document, if the original was not strongly binding anyway?

I agree with Suzuki that the Mawangdui lists served several individual purposes, including the preparation of potential tomb goods, the organisation of offering and many further funerary rites. But her division of the lists leaves the following questions open: what are the criteria to pinpoint the category of a list, if the list items partly overlap with tomb goods that seem to have been used in certain funerary rites, e.g., funerary offering? When does a list leave the category of the "tomb goods preparation lists" and head for the other categories of the "funerary rites preparation lists"? Furthermore, as will be addressed later, funerary rites did not cease with the entombment, but continued for a certain period after the entombment (see Section 2.2). When were those items that were not buried used, in funerary rites before or after the entombment? In which funerary rites were they used?

The present work will answer these questions, combining codicological and philological data provided by the early Chinese funerary lists themselves, archaeological data collected at the corresponding tomb sites and relevant data in transmitted literature. Furthermore, I will introduce a new analytical device, i.e. the archaeological concept of "field of action" (Chapter 2), to access those data.

As demonstrated above, the relationship between the content of a list and the goods from the tomb yielding the list generally allows the following conjectures: first, the goods in a tomb were prepared in several actions that took place at different times in a funeral, but the list from the same tomb commonly describes the goods prepared in part of the actions; second, the items in a list (or several lists) from a tomb sometimes describe goods concerning diverse actions,

[181] See Tian Tian 2020, 60.

[182] See Tian Tian 2020, 58 ff.

but not all the goods were buried; third, some of the above-mentioned actions seem to have shared a part of the goods. The intersection of various actions and the way they shared material resources led me to the analytical device, which will be addressed below.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Approaches

This chapter introduces the archaeological concept of "field of action" and demonstrates how I adapt it for my study of the funerary lists from early Chinese shaft tombs (Section 2.1). I will loacte the creation and usage of the lists in various fields of action that are embedded in a hypothetical model of the early Chinese funerary cycle (Sections 2.2 and 2.3). Furthermore, a combination of the concept with the classic ethnological concept of *rites de passage* will clarify the motivation of the creation of these lists (Section 2.4).

2.1 Analytical Device: Field of Action

The concept "field of action" is derived from the term "field of discourse", which is proposed by John C. Barrett,[183] a sympathiser of the post-processual school of thought in archaeological theory. Barrett proposes the "field of discourse" as an alternative to the popular concept of the "archaeological record", i.e. to treat archaeological evidence either as a fossil record or as a record encoding ideas and meanings, which were created in the past.[184] Instead of viewing archaeological evidence as a record, Barrett suggests to "move archaeological study away from the patterning of things to the structuring of relationships" by means of a "heuristic device", which he defines first as "field of discourse".[185] A field of discourse is "an area in time-space occupied by virtue of the practice of a particular discourse. Such fields 'shade off' in time-space and contain material conditions which contribute towards the structuring of practice. Archaeological evidence is the residue of these various material conditions".[186]

Barrett further proposes the following four analytical components of the field of discourse: "a). The temporal frequency within which the field is routinely occupied. This tempo is often

[183] See John C. Barrett, "Fields of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology," *Critique of Antropology* 7, no. 3 (1988): 5–16.

[184] Patrik makes some critical observations to the concept of "archaeological record" that was popular in the last century. Her observations are not out of date. The concept is still prevalent in today's archaeological works. See Linda E. Patrik, "Is there an archaeological record?" in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 8 (Orlando, FL: Academica Press, 1985), 28.

[185] See Barrett 1988, 11.

[186] See Barrett 1988, 11.

likely to conform to cycles of agricultural production, where the seasons of nature are endowed with cultural meaning;"[187] "b). The spatial extent of the field. This is the geographical space occupied by the actors involved in a particular discourse. Often of a limited scale involving face to face encounters, examples will include the residential spaces within a household, the spaces occupied by cycles of agricultural production, or the places of religious observance;"[188] "c). The cultural resources which are drawn upon to define and instigate the authoritative demands of discourse, and those resources which, in turn, are chosen to be employed in acknowledging the existence of that authority. These resources may include the architectural settings which structure the orientation of the subjects' bodies, the adornments of dress placed on those bodies, or the items exchanged. These cultural/symbolic resources may often have been stored and transmitted from one field to another;"[189] "d). The transformations which take place in the available cultural resources as the field is reproduced. These transformations themselves reproduce authority and domination in discourse whilst transforming the material conditions of future discourse (the latter may be seen as an unintended consequence of action)."[190]

These four analytical components associate individual fields of discourse with each other. As Barrett points out, "[n]o field is closed, one may encompass another. A number may crosscut at moments of their existence; the same material components may be shared by a number of fields, and the symbolic components of one field may be stored and transformed into the symbolic components of another."[191]

It is important to note that Barrett does not regard humans as one of his analytical components, but view them as part of the cultural resources. In general, he refers to all humans in discourses as "actors", "human subjects", and "agents".[192] But when the analytical device is

---

187 See Barrett 1988, 11.

188 See Barrett 1988, 11.

189 See Barrett 1988, 11.

190 See Barrett 1988, 12.

191 See Barrett 1988, 11.

192 For instance, Barrett describes the role of humans in discourses as follows: "[T]he geographical space" is "occupied by the actors involved in a particular discourse"; "The material world... is inhabited by actors whose practical understanding of their daily routines is constructed with reference to a material architecture and their temporal movement through those spaces and across their boundaries." Furthermore, he

applied for archaeological case studies, the human roles and the human resources in discourses necessitate further differentiation, as will be addressed below.

As the term "discourse" presents a certain degree of ambiguity due to its Foucauldian connotation,[193] Barret replaces it with the term "social practices" in a later paper.[194] That paper proposes "field of social practices" as one of the "fundamental issues", which are worth being investigated for "the archaeological understanding of any particular historical condition"; the further two are "material structural conditions" and the "mechanisms of systemic integration".[195] While "the *field of social practices*… inhabited and reworked the material conditions", "the *mechanisms of systemic integration*… linked different social fields".[196] Accordingly, he adapts the definition of the fields, which are now "the regions of time/space which were occupied by social actors engaged in particular tasks which were likely to have involved certain exchanges between those participants and to have effected transformations in the nature and the values of the materials involved".[197] In this adapted definition, the role of humans is stressed again.

In its archaeological application, this theoretical device is sometimes renamed. For instance, John Robb calls it "field of action", "field of activity", "field of practice" or even "genre of action" in his studies; but the term "field of action" seems much more established.[198] He points out that a field of action "in some cases… may be self-evident, in others definitions

---

acknowledges the role of humans in Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration: "'All human action is carried on by knowledgeable agents who both construct the social world through their action, but yet whose action is also conditioned or constrained by the very world of their creation' … it is knowledge which is rediscovered and reproduced by action and discourse. It is through this continual process of rediscovery that human subjects define themselves. This is achieved by the agents' ability to monitor the world they occupy, and which they contribute towards constituting as a culturally meaningful resource." See Barrett 1988, 8, 9, and 11.

193 For an encyclopaedia entry on the "Foucauldian discourse analysis" see Lisa M. Given, *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, 2008), 355 ff.

194 See John C. Barrett, "Agency, the Duality of Structure, and the Problem of the Archaeological Record," in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 157 ff.

195 See Barrett 2001, 158.

196 See Barrett 2001, 158.

197 See Barrett 2001, 158.

198 See the index of John Robb, *The early Mediterranean village: Agency, material culture, and social change in Neolithic Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 375–376; John Robb, "Beyond agency," *World Archaeology* 42, no. 4 (2010): 493–520.

may be subtle". For instance, "making pottery may be distinguished into several quite distinct fields of activity (such as studio pottery, fine art, industrial production of kitchenware, and industrial production of nonculinary ceramics)".[199]

Robb locates the concept "field of action" in the frame of the agency theory. He describes the relation between "field of action" (first referred to as "field of discourse") and "agency" as follows: "Agency is not a generalised or unspecified quality of action but rather is particular to a field of discourse within which it is constituted… Fields of action are the key to the materiality of agency. Values are immaterial abstractions; enacting a value in a particular field of action means translating it into material practices… Activities within fields of action are human projects… During their lives, people participate in many projects of different kinds, and with different kinds of agency… Moreover, if action results from a palimpsest of agencies both within and among actors, some of which have important collective dimensions, the question of how multiple agencies are organised becomes a significant one."[200]

As for the archaeological application of this concept, Robb makes an important point: "Fields of action form useful units for long-term historical analysis, as they often form material trajectories traceable through long timespans."[201] He exemplifies this point by locating archaeological discoveries in various dimensions of long-term human experience in the daily life of the Italian Neolithic.[202] Elsewhere he stresses again the role of this analytical device, presenting a case study of six artefacts (a selection from Robb 2007) of Neolithic Italy to demonstrate "how things formed parts of projects and fields of action".[203]

In his case studies, Robb seems to explain how the cultural resources in the fields of action work: "the appropriate people" act with certain "knowledge", "skill", "techniques and artefacts", and are involved in "long-term planning, maintenance, commitments, and social

[199] See Robb 2007, 15 ff.

[200] See Robb 2010, 14 ff.

[201] See Robb 2007,17.

[202] See Robb 2007,17.

[203] See Robb 2010, 509 ff.

relationships".[204] Furthermore, he proposes that a field of action has its "key symbols" or "central artefacts", "concomitant artefacts", "technology", as well as the "rules and practices for correct usage" of the "techniques and artefacts" in a field of action.[205] These symbols and symbols may form the material resources, while all the other knowledges, skills, technology, rules etc., are attached to humans who reproduce the related field.

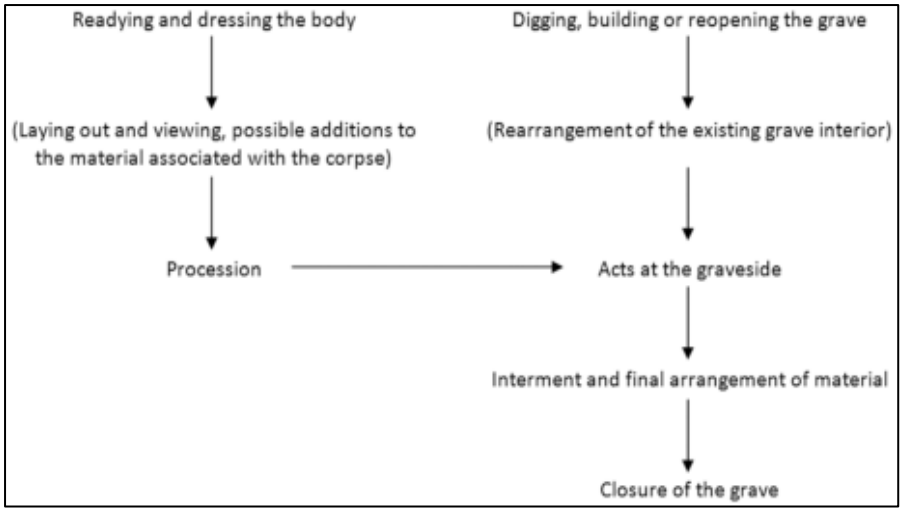


Fig. 11 Stages in a Mycenaean funeral. Stages in brackets are not evidenced in every case.

Michael J. Boyd first introduces this theoretical device into the study of long-term funerary practices. He denotes this device first as "field of practice" and later follows Robb to call it "field of action" in his reconstruction of the funerary practices in Mycenae.[206] He associates the device with the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens: "Fields of action are nonetheless created out of knowledgeable action and recursively sustained through structuration. They are created, recreated, maintained and developed through discourse and action."[207]

Boyd has a flexible notion of "field of action" as well: "[f]ields cross-cut and share components or resources (and hence their isolation as a unit of study is artificial)... one field of

[204] See Robb 2007, 15 ff.

[205] See Robb 2007, 15 ff.

[206] See Michael J. Boyd, *Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese* (British Archaeological Reports Limited, 2002): 1, 27 ff. and 33; Michael J. Boyd, "Fields of Action in Mycenaean Funerary Practices," in *Staging Death: Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean* (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016): 57–87.

[207] See Boyd 2016, [57].

action may exist only within another."[208] Accordingly, he identifies a number of stages in a Mycenaean funerary cycle (Fig. 11) and regards each of the individual stages as a "field of action" on one hand; but on the other hand, he also refers to certain individual acts within a funerary stage as individual fields, e.g., the field of "the toasting of the dead within a Mycenaean tomb" exists within the field of the "interment and final arrangement of material".[209]

Boyd points out that these stages, especially those in which the corpse played a central role, involve "at least three locales" which "death would usually imply". These are "the place of death", "the place where the body is prepared for burial" and "the place of burial", whereas the first two locales might in cases have been one and the same.[210] His graphic also indicates that sometimes there might have been a fourth locale, a locale for the public presentation of the corpse (laying out and viewing) as well. Furthermore, he analyses the roles of the participants, the temporal aspect (rhythm and regularity, frequency and cycles, but also changeability, quickening or slowing pace) and the cultural resources concerned in those individual stages. In addition, he makes the point that certain cultural resources underwent transformations in certain stages of the funeral.[211]

The stages in a Mycenaean funeral demonstrate certain parallels to those in an early Chinese funeral described in transmitted literature. Chinese ritual classics and further transmitted texts convey abundant and vivid details concerning the funerary proceedings of the social elites. The most complete account is provided by several chapters in *Yili*, which describe an idealised cycle of the funeral of an Ordinary Officer.[212] As will be addressed later (see

---

208 See Boyd 2016, [57].

209 See Boyd 2016, 58.

210 See Boyd 2016, 60.

211 See Boyd 2016, 70. Elsewhere, Boyd explains the transformation of the cultural resources in detail. See the end of this section.

212 For the description of this funerary cycle see chapters "Shi sangli" 士喪禮 (The Funeral of an Ordinary Officer) and "Ji xi li" 既夕禮 (Literally "Rites after the Evening [Wailing]). Its content can be regarded as "The Funeral of an Ordinary Officer, Part II") in *Yili*. In addition, the rites taking place in the mourning period are treated in detail in the chapters "Sangfu" 喪服 (Mourning Attire) and "Shi yuli" 士虞禮 (The Sacrifices of Repose). See *Yili zhushu*, 621–966. For a translation of these chapters see Steele 1917, vol. 2, 9–126.

Section 2.2), the funerary cycle can be regarded as a hypothetical model based on long-term funerary practices in early China.

The Mycenaean funerary cycle illustrated by Boyd (Fig. 11) ends with the closure of the tomb. Based on the material trajectories in Mycenaean tombs, Boyd states that "there was no one, tightly defined postfunerary rite, but rather a range of actions evident at different times and places", which "tended to the deconstruction of the funerary context and the dispersal of its constituent parts". As a contrast, the funerary cycle in early China did not end with the closure of the tomb. Instead, it included among others a period known as the mourning period (*sangqi* 喪期), which continues after the entombment.

Table 2 in Appendix I demonstrates the individual stages including those in the pre- and post-entombment period in the early Chinese funerary cycle. The individual stages in the funerary cycle can be regarded as individual fields of action, which incorporate smaller fields and intersect one another. Transmitted literatur provides data concerning the following four analytical components of those fields (inspired by Barrett 1988, 2001; and Robb 2007, 2010).

First, the temporal context includes the frequency, duration and pace of the reproduction of individual fields of action.[213] Some fields may be resproduced more than once in a funerary cycle, and the duration and pace of the reproductions vary, depending on the available cultural resources (see below).

Second, the spatial context of individual fields may refer to two factors, i.e., the place and the locale in which a field is reproduced.[214] The scope of the spatial context depends on the available cultural resources as well.

---

[213] It is important to note here that the analytical component "temporal frequency" proposed by Barrett will be slightly adapted. Though the funerary cycle includes fields that are repeatedly occupied in a period of time (such as the field of sacrifice), but besides this, the analytical component does not find a wide use. Therefore, the present work chooses to investigate the temporal aspect in an extended sense. As suggested by Boyd, the temporal aspect in this work includes the frequency, duration, and pace. See Boyd 2016, 58; cf. Barrett 1988, 11.

[214] In the present work, "place" refers to the "immediate vicinity in which an… observer could view the layout by looking around". And "locale" refers to "collections of visually bounded, adjacent places, like the rooms in a building or buildings in a city or town neighborhood". The definition is adapted from Rieser, John J, "The Generation and Early Development of Spatial Inferences," in *Spatial orientation: Theory, research, and application*, edited by Herbert Pick and Linda P. Acredolo (New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1983): 40.

Third, with respect to the early Chinese funerary cycle, the "cultural resources" consist of two aspects that trace back to the original definition made by Barrett:[215] first, they are "drawn upon to define and instigate the authoritative" reproduction of a field. Accordingly, they include factors such as the sumptuary regulations concerning the social strata, the financial abilities of the bereaved and the personal or regional preferences etc. (see Section 1.2). Most of these factors are associated with the bereaved family and community who instigate the reproduction of the field of funeral in the socio-political frame. Second, they are "resources" that "are chosen to be employed in acknowledging the existence of that authority". Accordingly, they include material resources in the forms of the central artefacts or key symbols and the concomitant artefacts; animal resources; and human resources, who provide knowledges, techniques, rules etc. It is important to point out that the human resources are not necessarily the bereaved themselves but to whom the bereaved have access.

More specifically, when the funerary cycle was reproduced, the bereaved who had better access to the first aspect of cultural resources were able to display the second aspect of the cultural resources in a much greater extent, i.e. they were able to reproduce a funerary cycle which had a prolonged duration, a slower pace, and a larger spatial extent; which could mobilise a larger amount of material, human and animal resources to carry out more frequent rites with more sophisticated ritual techniques and rules. As a result, the individual stages of such a funeral can have undergone a more refined division of the fields of action (see Section 2.2), which involves administration of material and human resources with more thoroughness.

Fourth, it is necessary to contextualise the analytical component of the transformations in individual fields of a funeral. Boyd addresses the "transformations brought about by the mourners", who carried out a series of actions in a type of Mycenaean chamber tomb, which is known for its repeated re-use for interments. Actions took place "at three junctures: before the interment… where a primary motivation is to prepare the tomb and its contents for the coming funerary rite; during the interment, where a primary motivation is to set the dead within the newly remade tomb interior context; and at a later point, after the dissolution of the flesh, where a primary motivation is often to undo the primary burial context and set its components among the other material in the tomb".[216] The "components" of "primary burial context" included the

[215] See Barrett 1988, 11.

[216] See Boyd 2016, 64.

bones of the newly dead; and "the other material in the tomb" included the bones of the former tomb occupants.[217] These actions led to the transformation of the deceased individual in a way "de-emphasiz[ing] the individual and his or her own singular context" and "re-incorporating the remains among the mixed ancestral materials within the tomb".[218] "The recognizable bones that recall the individual are transformed into anonymous remains of ancestors."[219]

Boyd notes that "[t]he transformation brought about by the mourners, prompted by the physical transformation in the state of the corpse, also addressed changes in kinship and community relationships that had been negotiated and effected outside the tomb. In individual and collective agency they enacted these relationships by re-arranging material referents in the tomb. The dead, no longer active among them, had to be reimagined as part of the ancestral corps".[220]

Hence, Boyd specifies three parties that were involved in the transformations within the fields concerning the funeral: the material components, the deceased individual, and the bereaved family and community. My case studies of early Chinese funerary lists indicate that the transformations may have involved even more resources, including human (not necessarily the bereaved), animal and material resources. By definition, all the cultural resources may be subject to transformations. These transformations are the reason of the ubiquitous discrepancy between the contents of the lists and the goods in the tombs that yielded those lists.

But concerning the funerary lists, it seems that the "field of action" device benefits primarily the analysis of the transformations of the resources, while it marginalises the transformations that took place in the roles of the deceased and the bereaved, which are the ultimate motivation of the creation and usage of those lists. Before addressing the latter transformations (Section 2.4), I will define the fields of action in the early Chinese funerary

[217] See Michael J. Boyd, "The Materiality of Performance in Mycenaean Funerary Practices," *World Archaeology* vol.46, no. 2 (2014): 201.

[218] See Boyd 2014, 201.

[219] See Boyd 2014, 201.

[220] See Boyd 2014, 201.

cycle (Section 2.2) and analyse the funerary lists in transmitted literature in this cycle (Section 2.3).

2.2 Fields of Action in the Early Chinese Funerary Cycle

The creation and usage of the early Chinese funerary lists can be located in various fields of action that incorporate and intersect one another during the early Chinese funerary cycle.

The funeral, as a recursive human activity which generally serves to complete "the final placement of remains" and to confirm "public recognition of the deceased person's transition from life to death",[221] can surely be recognised as a field of action as a whole. Scholars working with the device of "field of action" generally agree that intersection and hierarchy pertain to the relationships of many fields of action.[222] This also holds true for the fields of action in the early Chinese funerary cycle, which I divide into ten stages including seven before the entombment, one at the entombment and two after the entombment (see Appendix I: Table 2).

The division is based on the temporal and spatial development in the funeral as well as the transformation of the deceased. In the pre-entombment stages and the stage of the entombment, the key symbol of all the actions is the dying person, the corpse or the coffin containing the corpse. In the first stage, the dying person is purified, both in his inner and outer, and comforted. In the second stage, the death has occurred, and the corpse is cleaned and preliminarily prepared within a private circle at the place of the death. In the third stage, the corpse is successively dressed and publicly presented in the hall of the mansion. The fourth stage focuses on the coffining and provisional burial of the corpse at the hall of the mansion. After the coffining, the bereaved put on their mourning attire (*sangfu* 喪服). And the corpse remains in the provisional burial for ca. three months. After that, the fifth stage, i.e., the procession between the mansion and the ancestral temple, takes place. In this stage, the coffin is lifted from the provisional burial and transported to the ancestral temple. Upon arriving there, the sixth stage, i.e., the sojourn of the coffined corpse in the ancestral temple, begins. In the

[221] See Bert Hayslip et al., "Funerals," in *Encyclopedia of Death and the Human Experience*, edited by Clifton D. Bryant and Dennis L. Peck (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2009): 486.

[222] See Barrett 1988, 11; Boyd 2016, [57].

seventh stage, the coffin along with further cultural resources is transported via another procession to the tomb. In the eighth stage, the entombment finally takes place.

The nineth stage is the first post-entombment stage, which includes primarily a series of intermediate *ji*-sacrifices (*ji* 祭) in the ancestral temple, before the bereaved cease from wailing. Since the coffined corpse is no longer available, its role as the key symbol of the actions is replaced by a personator (*shi* 尸) of the deceased. After the wailing ends, the last stage begins. It comprises primarily the rite of enshrining the spirit tablet (*zhu* 主) of the deceased in the ancestral temple and a further series of *ji*-sacrifices. The key symbols of these rites include both the personator and the spirit tablet.[223] At the end of this stage, the bereaved put off their mourning attire, which signalises the end of the official mourning period.

Like Boyd, I regard each individual funerary stage as a "field of action". In some cases, an individual field of action can be encompassed by a larger field. The fifth and the seventh stages, for instance, are the reproductions of a larger field of action, i.e., procession, in two separate temporal-spatial frames. Similarly, the eighth stage is comprised by a larger field as well, i.e., the disposal of the dead.

Sometimes, a funerary stage as a field incorporates smaller fields. The fourth stage, for instance, consists of two smaller fields, i.e., the coffining and the provisional burial. In the funerary cycle of an Ordinary Officer, the coffining is simultaneously the beginning of the provisional burial, which lasted three months. More precisely, before the coffining, the coffin is already laid down into the pit for the provisional burial (see Appendix I: Table 2). But as will be argued in Section 3.2, in the funerals of certain social members who had better access to the first aspect of cultural resources, the coffining and the provisional burial took place in separate temporal as well as spatial frames, which may have been much larger. Hence, the coffining and the provisional burial can be regarded as two fields of action, which in some cases merge into one. The bereaved who had better access to cultural resources were able to afford a funerary cycle with more thoroughly divided fields of action, the reproductions of which involved more extensive temporal and spatial frames, larger amounts of material, animal and human resources as well as more sophisticated ritual techniques and rules.

[223] See Appendix I: Table 2; for a detailed discussion of these symbols see below.

More often, funerary stages as fields intersect other fields. For instance, the second and the third stages intersect the field of preparing the corpse, which includes a prelude focusing on the first dressing (*xi* 襲), an intermediate centred in the lesser dressing (*xiaolian* 小斂), and a climax consisting of the fuller dressing of the corpse (*dalian* 大斂). Almost each funerary stage crosscuts the field of offering, which is reproduced as *dian*-offerings (*dian* 奠) before the entombment and *ji*-offerings (*ji* 祭) after the entombment. And the third, fourth, sixth and eighth funerary stages intersect the field of exhibiting or presenting material resources, include clothing, quilts and accessories; part of the mourning attire; the mortised wooden tomb chamber (*jing guo* 井槨); vehicles; draught horses; and potential tomb goods.

Similar to the fields in the Mycenaean funerary cycle, the funerary stages as fields "share components or resources".[224] The dying person, the corpse or the coffin containing it forms a key symbol of all stages before the entombment. Besides this, many of these stages share two further key symbols, i.e., the name banner (*ming* 銘) of the deceased and the *chong*-wood (*chongmu* 重木) (see Appendix I: Table 2). These two artefacts share the common ritual significance as representatives of the deceased: the name banner represents the deceased by name, while the *chong*-wood is an anthropomorphic representative of the deceased.[225] Hence, they form a dualistic representation of the deceased. They probably also form part of the material resources in the field of the entombment.[226] Interestingly, this dualistic representation is replaced by another dualistic model, which is shared by those fields after the entombment: a

---

224 See Boyd 2016, [57].

225 For detailed arguments for the anthropomorphic characters of the *chong*-wood see Hankel 1995, 127.

226 As *Yili* mentions the name banner for the last time, it is placed on the cushions of the coffin (see Appendix I: Table 2, stage 6). Both the cushions and the coffin are to be interred in the tomb. Hence, the name banner is probably also interred. Several silk paintings, including the T-shaped paintings from the tombs at Mawangdui, as well as silk banners bearing the names of the deceased, dating from the Han period or later, have been discovered on the lids of the (innermost) coffins in central, eastern and north-western China. I agree with some scholars that they are name banners. For a selection of related studies see the report of Gu Tiefu in Tang Lan 唐兰, Gu Tiefu 顾铁符, et al., "Zuotan Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu" 座谈长沙马王堆一号汉墓, *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1972): 56; An Zhimin 安志敏, "Changsha xin faxian de Xihan bohua shitan" 长沙新发現的西汉帛画試探, *Kaogu* 考古, no. 1 (1973): 43–53; Chen Huang 陈锽, "Chu Han fuguan bohua xingzhi bianxi" 楚汉覆棺帛画性质辨析, in *Zhongguo han hua xuehui dijiu jie nianhui lunwenji: Shang* 中国汉画学会第九届年会论文集：上 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 2004): 443–445. And I agree with Gao Chongwen 高崇文 that the *chong*-wood is probably a historical denotation of the unearthed artifacts that are called *zhenmushou* 鎮墓獸 (tomb guardians) by archaeologists, see Gao Chongwen 高崇文, "Chu 'zhenmushou' wei 'zu chong' jie" 楚"镇墓兽"为"祖重"解, *Wenwu*, no. 9 (2008): 54–60.

personator, normally the grandson of the deceased,[227] is engaged to taste the sacrificial offerings;[228] and following the first *ji*-sacrifices after the entombment (i.e., *yu* 虞, "sacrifices of repose"), a spirit tablet for the deceased was enshrined in the ancestral temple for the rest of the mourning period.[229]

While sharing cultural resources, former fields of action shape the material circumstances for the fields that would come after, on the one hand.[230] On the other hand, the organisational pattern of the material circumstances in former fields will be transformed in fields that would come after. For instance, the field of exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories is reproduced twice. During its reproductions, it intersects the fields of gift-giving, the lesser dressing, and the fuller dressing of the corpse. While it absorbs material resources from the field of gift-giving, it shapes the material conditions for the two other fields: after gifts of clothing and quilts are made by various donors, they are laid out among those prepared and exhibited by the bereaved family; the organisational pattern of all the clothing and quilts shall highlight the gifts made by a lord (*jun* 君). Subsequently, part of the exhibited items is used to dress the corpse. Accordingly, the organisational pattern of the clothing and quilts in the presentation is transformed constantly.

Another prime example of the transformations of material resources takes place in the intersections between the field of the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi* and several other fields. The former field is reproduced three times in the fouth stage of the funeral of an Ordinary Officer and is then incorporated in the field of the exhibition of potential tomb goods (see

---

227 For an overview of the principles of selecting a personator in sacrifices see Zhang Hequan 張鶴泉, *Zhou dai jisi yanjiu* 周代祭祀研究 (Taibei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993): 157 ff.

228 The chapter "Shi yuli" of *Yili* describes how a personator attended the sacrifices of repose, which were the first series of sacrifices after the entombment. In all the further sacrifices performed in the ancestral temple, a personator was present as well. See Li Yujie 2015, 358 ff., 389 ff.

229 For a comprehensive study on pre-Qin spirit tablets see Yang Jiagang 杨家刚, "Xian Qin shenzhu zhidu yanjiu" 先秦神主制度研究 (Master's thesis, Xibei daxue, 2014).

230 In his explanation of mortuary sequence at Mycenae, Boyd makes an important point on how fields of action chronologically influence each other: "We need to understand the opportunities for action that certain conditions offered, and how those opportunities were taken up in order to shape future conditions of action. This means a focus on situated practice: how people used the topographic, architectural and material circumstances of locale in order to act, and in turn how those actions reshaped those circumstances for those that would come after." See M. J. Boyd, "Explaining the Mortuary Sequence at Mycenae," *Mycenaeans Up To Date: The Archaeology of the North-Eastern Peloponnese-Current Concepts and New Directions*, 2015: [433] ff.

below). The reproductions take place at the mansion and its material components include *mingqi* in their diverse production stages, i.e., as materials (*cai* 材), semi-finished products (*su* 素) and finished products (*cheng* 成). This field intersects several fields temporally and spatially, such as the exhibition of potential tomb goods, the gift-giving, the procession, the exhibition of dispatched goods and the entombment. In the intersection, the material resources are transformed. For instance, monetary gifts in forms of silk bales (*shu* 束) or other currencies (*bi* 幣) together with receptacles are laid down along with the *mingqi* in the exhibition of potential tomb goods in the ancestral temple. At the tomb, they became part of the dispatched goods including *mingqi*, which were exhibited again. *Yili* seldom reveals anything about the exhibition at the tomb, except for the brief remark "陳器於道東西，北上",[231] i.e. "The *[ming]qi* are laid down on the east and west sides of the road, and graded from the north [to the south]".[232] But as the exhibition was held in the ancestral temple, "the *[ming]qi* are laid out from the western side on, graded from the south [to the north]".[233] Obviously, there is an apparent discrepancy between the organisational patterns of the *mingqi* in the two exhibitions. This is probably due to the changed spatial conditions, for instance, compared with the space in the ancestral temple, the organisational pattern at the tomb must incorporate a road. As the field of entombment is reproduced, the organisational pattern of the *mingqi* is probably transformed again.

Since I am going to locate the archaeologically discovered funerary lists in a hypothetic model consisting of the above-mentioned fields of action, the question arises as to whether this model, which is based on the funerary cycle of an Ordinary Officer of the Zhou Dynasty, is extensible to those funerary cycles of further social strata in the regions that produced funerary lists in early China. Hence, it is necessary to address the extent in which this model may have been related with the historical realities.

First, various transmitted texts corroborate the popularity of funerary practices in line with this hypothetic model among the social elites in early China. Scattered passages in the ritual

[231] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 1209.

[232] The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 90.

[233] For an annotated translation see below.

classics refer to the funerals of higher officers, female aristocrats, or rulers.[234] These passages do not provide comparably complete pictures as the one in *Yili*, though, they fit well in the cycle in *Yili*.[235] And they indicate that the practices in the funerals of these social elites involved material resources and participants of much larger extents as well as spatial-temporal contexts that mostly vary from those of such practices in the Ordinary Officer's funerary cycle.[236] In addition to the ritual classics, further textual evidence (primarily transmitted texts) refers to even more practices in line with the hypothetic model in the funerals of the social elites in pre-Qin China, including the rite of resuscitation (*fu* 復) in the second funerary stage, the washing, the filling of the body orifices and the dressing in the second and the third stages, the coffining

---

234 The transmitted texts concerned include the two "Tan Gong" 檀弓 ([A Person Named] Tang Gong) chapters in *Liji*, which include Confucius' comments on various events associated with funerary rituals; the "Sang da ji" 喪大記 (Greater Record of Mourning Rites) chapter of *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), which is a collection of individual, short passages on topics of the ritualistic behaviors on the occasion of deadly illnesses, death, and funerals of diverse social ranks, i.e., Ordinary Officers, Grandee (*dafu* 大夫), lords (*jun* 君), and their female kin; the "Sangfu xiao ji" 喪服小記 (Shorter Record of Mourning Attire) chapter, which is comparable with the "Sangfu" chapter of *Yili* but provides a more comprehensive record of regulations concerning the mourning attire; and the "Wang zhi" 王制 (Royal Regulations) chapter of *Liji* as well as scattered passages in *Zhou li* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou), which refer to funerary rites of the Zhou royal house. For the *Liji* chapters concerned see *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, with the commentary of Zheng Xuan and the sub-commentary of Kong Yingda. Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 226–511, 1113–1161, and 1438–1505. For translations of these chapters see James Legge, transl., *The Sacred Books of China, The Texts of Confucianism (Part III): The LÎ KÎ, I-X*, The Sacred Books of the East (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885a): 120–248; James Legge, transl., *The Sacred Books of China, The Texts of Confucianism (Part IV): The LÎ KÎ, XI-XLVI,* The Sacred Books of the East (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885b): 40–59, 173–200.

235 After comparing the chapters and passages concerning the funerary rites in *Yili* and in *Liji*, Hankel concludes their relationships as follows: "Das Sang ta ki und das Shï sang li/Ki-sih gehören engstens zusammen. Die Texte zeigen nicht nur inhaltlich erhebliche Übereinstimmung, sie sind auch in vielen Formulierungen so offensichtlich verwandt, daß sie nur in gegenseitiger Bezugnahme oder Entlehnung entstanden sein können. Möglicherweise ist einer der beiden Texte der Muttertext des anderen... Vermutlich entstanden beide Texte während eines langen Kompilationsprozesses nebeneinander. Im Verlauf ihrer Entstehung dürften die Autoren dabei in beide Richtungen einen Text mit Angaben des anderen ergänzt haben… Die enge Verwandtschaft des Shï sang li/Ki-sih mit dem Sang ta ki rechtfertigt den Versuch, aus beiden Texten Informationen zu verwerten, um das geschlossene Bild eines idealen Bestattungsrituals nach den für dieses Thema entscheidenden Texten in den Ritenklassikern zu entwerfen. Auch die anderen Texte im Li-ki können zum größten Teil für diesen Zweck ausgewertet werden." (The "Sang da ji" chapter and the "Shi sang li / Ji xi li" chapter belong closely together. They are not only very similar in content, but are also associated with each other with regard of many formulations. Accordingly, they can only have come into being through cross-references or mutual borrowings from each other. Possibly one of the two chapters is the source text of the other... Presumably, both texts were created side by side during a long compilation process. In the course of their development, the authors have likely supplemented one text with information from the other and vice versa… The close affinity of the "Shi sangli / Ji xi li" chapter with the "Sang da ji" chapter justifies the attempt to exploit information from both texts in order to get a whole picture of the ideal funerary rituals according to the passages crucial for this topic in the ritual classics. A big portion of the other passages in the *Liji* can also be evaluated for this purpose.) See Bernt Hankel, *Der Weg in den Sarg: Die ersten Tage des Bestattungsrituals in den konfuzianischen Ritenklassikern* (Bad Honnef: Bock+Herchen Verlag, 1995): 3 ff.

236 For an example see the comparison of the provisional burial of a Vassal Lord and that of an Ordinary Officer in their respective funerary cycles in Subsection 3.2.

and the provisional burial in the fourth stage, the presentation or exhibition of the cultural resources in the sixth stage, the entombment in the eighth stage, the *dian*-offerings and the funerary gift giving in various pre-entombment stages, as well as the *ji*-offerings in the post-entombment stages etc.[237] In the Han Dynasty, although the funerary tradition underwent certain transitions,[238] all the above mentioned practices were still popular among various social strata.[239] Hence, the hypothetic model of the funerary cycle is to a certain extent extensible for the funerary cycles of the social elites besides the Ordinary Officer.

In general, transmitted texts seldom regard the funerary customs of commoners; but still, the separate depositions of the goods in the coffins and in the tomb chambers of some commoners also indicate certain parallels in their funerary practices with those in the hypothetic model, as will be stressed in the following.[240]

Second, certain recursive organisational patterns of the tomb goods in the early Chinese shaft tombs, including numerous tombs of commoners, indicate that they were shaped in fields of actions that are to a certain extent in line with those in the hypothetic model. According to the funerary cycle in *Yili* (see Appendix I: Table 2), the goods located in the coffin of the

---

237 For the practices of the rite of resuscitation (*fu* 復), the washing, the filling of the body orifices, the dressing, the coffining and the provisional burial among various strata of the pre-Qin social elites, primarily of those from the Ordinary Officers to the Ministers, but sometimes also of their wives and of members of the royal houses in the transmitted literature see Hankel 1995, 45–111; Li Yujie 李玉洁, *Xian Qin sangzang yu jizu yanjiu* 先秦丧葬与祭祖研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2015): 225–242. For the practices of the presentation or exhibition of the cultural resources, the funerary gift giving and the entombment among these social elites see Li Yujie 2015, 247–255. For the practices of the pre-entombment *dian*-offerings among the social elites of the Western Zhou Dynastie according to both the transmitted literature and certain bronze inscriptions see Feng Shi 冯时, "Wofangding mingwen yu Xizhou sangdianli" 我方鼎銘文與西周喪奠禮, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 3 (2013): 185–212; for such practices among various social elites of the Spring and Autumn period see Yang Ying 杨英, "'*Zuo zhuan*' sangzangli yanjiu" 《左传》丧葬礼研究 (Master's thesis, Sichuan shifan daxue, 2010): 29–30. For the practices of the post-entombment *ji*-offerings among the social elites of the pre-Qin period see Gao Chongwen 2006, 460.

238 For instance, the usage of jade suits, the emergence of the so-called horizontal-pit tombs (*hengxue mu* 横穴墓) and the establishment of the tomb instead of the ancestral temple as the centre of ancestral sacrifices are generally regarded as transitions in the funerary tradition in the Han Dynasty. For the transition concerning jade suits see Han Guohe 韩国河, *Qin Han Wei Jin sangzang zhidu* yanjiu 秦汉魏晋丧葬制度研究 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1999): 56. For the transition concerning horizontal-pit tombs see Wu Hung 2010, 20–34. For the transition of the role of the tomb see Wu Hung 1988, 78–115; Han Guohe 1999, 59 ff.

239 See Yang Shuda 楊樹達, "Han dai sangzang zhidu kao" 漢代丧葬制度考. *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 2, no. 1 (1932): [1]–149; Li Rusen 李如森, Han dai sangzang lisu 汉代丧葬礼俗 (Shenyang: Shengyang chubanshe, 2003): 1–21, 30–50 and 66–84.

240 For an example see Subsection 4.1.1, tomb no. 101 at Xupu 胥浦 (Yizheng 儀征, Jiangsu province).

Ordinary Officer are collected, shaped and reshaped by a cluster of fields of action in the first three funerary stages. This first cluster of fields include primarily the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories; the dressing of the corpse (including the first dressing, the lesser dressing and the fuller dressing); the coffining; and marginally also the gift-giving of garments and quilts (for details see above). The goods in the coffin obtain their final organisational pattern through the coffining within three days after the death of the officer. And those goods located between the coffin and the wooden tomb chamber are collected, shaped and reshaped by another cluster of fields of action. This second cluster of fields comprises primarily the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, the exhibition of potential tomb goods, the exhibition of the name banner and the *chong*-wood, the procession, the entombment, and marginally also the gift-giving (see the silk and monetary gifts mentioned above) and the pre-entombment offering (see below). The final organisational pattern of the goods between the coffin and the wooden tomb chamber is shaped by the entombment in the third month after the death of the officer.

As several scholars have pointed out, the material trajectories in early Chinese coffins are evidence that many of those actions concerning the dressing rites indeed took place in funerals in Hubei and Hunan, i.e., the regions in which most of the early lists were discovered, both in Eastern Zhou and post-Zhou period.[241] Of course, material trajectories more often than not demonstrate practices that deviated from the sumptuary regulations indicated in the ritual classics. For example, Armin Selbitschka points out that the corpse of Marchioness Dai (Dai hou furen 軑侯夫人), the occupant of tomb no. 1 of Mawangdui, was not prepared according to the ritual regulations recorded in the ritual classics: she was dressed only in 17 suits instead of 19, as would have been appropriate for her rank.[242] But as argued above, the sumptuary regulations and the social strata merely formed a part of the cultural resources that are "drawn upon to define and instigate the authoritative" reproduction of a field; further cultural resources included factors such as the financial abilities of the bereaved and the personal or regional preferences etc. In addition, even the alternative number of suits is an indication that the corpse

241 See Chen Gongrou 1956, 67–84; Gao Chongwen 2006, 447–472; Zhu Wei 2008, 7–47.

242 See Armin Selbitschka, "Bestattungssitten in den drei Ritenklassikern und die ‚Wahrheit' in den Gräbern," in *Sprache und Wirklichkeit in China*, ed. Christian Soffel, Daniel Leese and Marc Nürnberger, 1. Aufl., Jahrbuch der Deutschen Vereinigung für Chinastudien 7 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, O, 2011): 44–46.

was indeed wrapped in many layers, which is a performative technique that characterises the rites of dressing the corpse in transmitted literature.

Furthermore, the material trajectories between the coffins and the wooden chambers accommodating them in the early Chinese shaft tombs indicate that they derive from fields of action that are in line with those between the fourth and the eighth funerary stages in the hypothetic model as well. *Yili* indicates that the goods that are to be disposed between the coffin and the wooden tomb chamber used to form part of an exhibition in the sixth stage on the day before the entombment in the ancestral temple:

> 陳明器於乘車之西。折，横覆之。抗木，横三，縮二。加抗席三。加茵，用疏布，緇翦，有幅，亦縮二横三。器西南上，綪。茵。苞二。筲三，黍，稷，麥。瓮三，醯，醢，屑。冪用疏布。甒二，醴，酒。冪用功布。皆木桁，久之。用器：弓矢，耒耜，兩敦，兩杅，槃，匜。匜實於槃中，南流。無祭器。有燕樂器可也。役器，甲，胄，乾，笮。燕器，杖，笠，翣。[243]
>
> The ***mingqi*** are exhibited to the west of the wheeled vehicles. The boards for covering the tomb chamber are set out across with the underside uppermost. The boards forming the covering frame are there also, three for the breadth and two for the length. Three mats for keeping out the dust are laid on these boards. There are also cushions [of spices][244] enclosed in coarse cloth dyed black and hemmed. These, [like the boards], are in number, two for the length and three for the breadth as well. The *[ming]qi* are laid out from the western side on, graded from the south [to the north]. In the second and farther rows the order of grading is reversed.[245] Then come other cushions. And after them two parcels made of reed [for wrapping the sacrificial offerings in].[246] Then come three seed-baskets filled with glutinous

[243] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 850–855.

[244] Elsewhere in *Yili*, the materiality of the "*yin*" 茵 is described as follows: "茵著，用荼，實綏澤焉", i.e., "in making the cushions, sonchus is used, enriched with wild ginger and waterlilies". See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 911; the translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 103.

[245] Zheng Xuan renders the character 綪 als *qu* 屈, which means "不容則屈而反之", i.e., "if [the *mingqi*] cannot be placed [in a row], then bend the row (i.e., to form a further row) and reverse the direction of the placement". See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 853.

[246] Elsewhere in the chapter "Ji xi li" of *Yili*, the materiality of the "*bao*" 苞 is described as follows: "葦苞，長三尺，一編", i.e., "parcels made of reeds, three *chi* (ca. 69.3 cm) long, with one binding string". Another passage specifies the function of the parcels, i.e., to wrap a part of the pre-entombment offerings for their disposal in the tomb. The sacrificial offerings in the funeral of an Ordinary Officer, as described in the same

millet, panciled millet and wheat. Then come three jars filled with vinegar, pickled hash, and ground ginger and cinnamon, respectively. These are provided with covers of coarse cloth. Then come two jars of must and wine, with covers of *gong* cloth.[247] Each is set in a wooden crate to protect it from breakage. There are also the implements that [the deceased] used in his lifetime: his bow and arrows; his hoe and his ploughshare; two *dui*-vessels; two *yu*-vessels; a basin and an ewer, the ewer being set in the basin, with its spout to the south. No sacrificial implement is provided. If desired, the musical instruments for entertainment may be [set there also]. The instruments of war provided are the armour, the helmet, the spear and the quiver. The things that contributed to his ease [are also laid out]: a walking staff, a bamboo hat and a fan.[248]

Apart from the wheeled vehicles and the components of the wooden tomb chamber, all the goods in the exhibition are to be disposed between the coffin and the wooden tomb chamber (see Appendix I: Table 2). Indeed, in early Chinese shaft tombs, especially those dating from before the mid-Western Han period (see Subsection 4.1.1), goods types such as those described in this passage were seldom discovered in the (innermost) coffins;[249] they were generally deposited between the (innermost) coffins and the wooden tomb chambers. Hence, those tomb goods probably also used to form parts of such exhibitions.

Third, the persistence and longevity of funerary traditions, as have been observed in many cultures,[250] must have played a role in the formation of the idealised funerary cycle; and the

---

chapter, include among others the left side of a ram and the left side of a pig. See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 871 ff., 866 ff and 911; the translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 88 and 103.

247 *Gong* cloth in *Yili* means coarse cloth used for two kinds of mourning garments, i.e., *dagong* 大功 (garments for nine months' mourning) and *xiaogong* 小功 (garments for five months' mourning). For the mourning attires of the bereaved kin and their differences see *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Sangfu" 喪服 (Mourning Attire), 621 ff.

248 The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 81 ff.

249 *Yili* does not refer to the usage of nesting coffins, since the Ordinary Officer was disposed in a single-layered coffin. But as will be addressed below, the nesting coffins in early China sometimes also yielded certain tomb goods and they indicate practices that are not mentioned in transmitted literature. See Subsections 3.4.4, 4.1.1 and 4.2.3.

250 Persistence and longevity of funerary rituals have been observed in many cultures, even after critical encounters with other cultures, historical, or religious transformations. For the persistence of funeral practices behind the Christian discourse of the urban Kikuyu, see Yvan Droz, "Transformations of Death Among the Kikuyu of Kenya: From Hyenas to Tombs," in *Funerals in Africa: Explorations of a Social Phenomenon*, edited by Michael Jindra and Joël Noret (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2011): 69–87. For some observations of the persistence of some traditional burial rites of the native American Indians of New England in the contact period with European settlers see B. G. Simon, "Native American Culture Change and Persistence in Contact Period New England: Analysis of Mortuary Data from a Praying Indian Burial Ground

formation and canonisation of the idealised funerary cycle in turn consolidated the persistence and longevity of the funerary traditions. The mutual and dynamic dependences between the funerary traditions and the idealised funerary cycle are in line with Georg Jellinek's famed thesis of the "normative force of the factual" (*Normative Kraft des Faktischen*), i.e., the normative emerges "from the general psychical quality of regarding as normative something factual that always repeats itself".[251]

For instance, transmitted literature indicates that there were sumptuary regulations concerning the duration of the fourth stage, i.e., the provisional burial. According to the social status of the deceased, this stage was supposed to last between one and seven months.[252] As I will argue in Section 3.2, such regulations were probably not invented exclusively to be a symbol of prestige, even if they eventually became one. More likely, before such normative regulations came into being, generations of experiences had been made about the period of time, which was required for gathering material resources as well as participants for fields of action that came after the provisional burial. Such period of time varied since the social circle from which the material resources and the participants could be drawn varied in size as well, mostly according to the social status of the deceased.

In the hypothetic model, the coffined corpse is provisionally buried in the mansion, with the coffin lid visible from outside (Appendix I: Table 2). The long sojourn of the coffined corpse in the sphere of the living is corroborated by records of the date of death and burial of

in Massachusetts," in *Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Las Vegas* (1990). For observations of a similar persistence of funerary customs during the modernisation in Serbia see Aleksandra Pavićević, "Diving into the Silence: Death and Funeral in Serbia at the Beginning of the Third Millennium," in *Dying and Death in 18th-21st Century Europe*, ed. Marius Rotar, Adriana Teodorescu and Corina Rotar 2 (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 99; and for a similar phenomenon among modern Hakka villagers after their encounter with Catholic religion see Eriberto P. Lozada, "Catholic Ancestors," in Eriberto P. Lozada, *God aboveground: Catholic Church, postsocialist state, and transnational processes in a Chinese village* (Stanford University Press, 2001): 132 ff.

[251] See David S. Clark, ed., *Encyclopedia of Law & Society: American and Global Perspectives* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, 2007). The original passage reads: "Der Ursprung der Überzeugung von dem Dasein normaler Verhältnisse liegt in einem bestimmten psychologisch bedingten Verhalten des Menschen zu den faktischen Vorgängen. Der Mensch sieht das ihn stets Umgebende, das von ihm fortwährend Wahrgenommene, das ununterbrochen von ihm Geübte nicht nur als Tatsache, sondern auch als Beurteilungsnorm an, an der er Abweichendes prüft, mit der er Fremdes richtet." See Georg Jellinek, *Allgemeine Staatslehre* (Berlin: Verlag von O. Häring, 1914): 337.

[252] The duration of the provisional burial will be discussed in Section 3.2.

many social elites in transmitted texts apart from the ritual classics.[253] While several scholars assume that those hermetically sealed coffins that were frequently discovered in early Chinese tombs are evidence that the ancient Chinese attempted to preserve the bodies of the deceased for certain religious reason,[254] I argue that they were originally designed for much rationalised and straightforward reasons: it must have been a necessity to seal the coffin containing the corpse hermetically for its long sojourn in the sphere of the living, lest any unpleasant smells of the decomposing corpse could have escaped or any insects could have had access to the corpse.

Furthermore, even if numerous inconspicuous actions in the hypothetic model could seldom have left any material trajectories, they were probably shaped by the "normative force of the factual" as well. The proceedings of some of these actions seem highly complex and cumbersome, but also highly rationalised, indicating that they must have been experimented recursively. For instance, very soon after the death has occurred, a spoon is put between the teeth of the deceased, as a prearrangement for the forthcoming rite of filling the mouth with grains and cowries (Appendix I: Table 2). The filling of the mouth, however, takes place after a series of ritualistic actions that can take hours.[255] Retrospectively, the inserting of the spoon between the teeth likely takes place in due time before the body enters rigor mortis.[256] The long

[253] Section 3.2 gives a detailed discussion of the records of the date of death and burial of the Warring States elites in transmitted texts. Furthermore, Miranda Brown provides an overview of this issue including sources concerning the Warring States practices as well as the early imperial practices. See Miranda Brown, "Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses? A Reconsideration of Elite Conceptions of Death," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, 1–4 (2002): 210–212.

[254] For an example see Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao (xiuding ben)* 中国方术考（修订本） (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006): 244. Furthermore, Miranda Brown provides an overview of the assumption that ancient Chinese preserved the bodies of the deceased for certain religious reason, while she argues that "literate members of the ancient Chinese elite not only did not try to preserve the body in death but they accepted it as matter of course". See Brown 2002, 201–223, esp. 201 ff.

[255] These ritualistc actions include laying out the first offerings; sending death notices; receiving condolences and gifts of garments and quilts; preparing a name banner; digging a pit for burying certain material components that will be created though the preparation of the corpse; laying out materials for the washing, cleaning, mouth feeding, and the first dressing of the corpse; as well as the washing and cleaning of the corpse. See Appendix I: Table 2.

[256] "Rigor mortis is the hardening of the muscles and stiffening of the body that begins 3 to 4 hours after death… Rigor mortis peaks about 12 hours after death and then diminishes over the next 48 to 60 hours." See Kenneth S. Saladin, *Anatomy & Physiology: The Unity of Form and Function*, 7th rev. ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2015), 422.

time between the prearrangement and the rite itself is anything but redundant, because it enables the kin that are justified eyewitnesses of the mouth filling to arrive in time.

Finally, it should be born in mind that the *Yili* description of the funerary cycle focuses exclusively on the ritualised part of the cycle. The creation and usage of the various funerary texts (see Section 1.2) could be located in the field of funerary writing. As will be addressed below (see Section 2.3), *Yili* does include some ritualised part in the reproduction of this field. But it does not mention the above-mentioned funerary texts. In addition, other transmitted texts also indicate that creation and usage of certain funerary texts went beyond the ritualised part of the funerary cycle. A passage from *Hanshu* 漢書 (Book of Han), for instance, describes an initial stage of the preparation of the necessary articles in a funeral:

> 人嘗置酒請涉。涉入里門，客有道涉所知母病避疾在里宅者。涉即往候，叩門。家哭，涉因入弔，問以喪事。家無所有，涉曰：「但絜埽除沐浴，待涉。」還至主人，對賓客歎息曰：「人親臥地不收，涉何心鄉此！願徹去酒食。」賓客爭問所當得，涉乃側席而坐，削牘為疏，具記衣被棺木，下至飯含之物，分付諸客。諸客奔走市買，至日昳皆會。涉親閱視已，謂主人：「願受賜矣。」既共飲食，涉獨不飽，乃載棺物，從賓客往至喪家，為棺斂勞侠畢葬。[257]
>
> Once, someone prepared wine to invite [Yuan] She (?-ca. 24 CE). [Yuan] She had entered the gate of the host's village no sooner than one of his followers told him that the mother of someone he knew had been taken ill and, in hopes of escaping the sickness, had been moved to a house in the village where he was visiting. Thereupon, he went immediately to visit the family. As he knocked at the door, [he heard] the family wailing, [which was a sign that the mother passed over.] He entered the house and offered his condolences. Then he asked about the funeral arrangements and, [learning that] the family was without means, he said, 'Just do the cleaning: sweep [the house] and bathe the body. And wait for me.' Then he returned to the host [at whom he was being entertained] and said to his followers with a sigh, 'That man's mother is lying on the ground without a proper burial. What heart have I to face these things – please take the food and wine away!' His followers rushed forward to ask the necessity for [the proper funeral]. [Yuan] She then seated himself, in a gesture of mourning, with his mat spread apart from others. Cutting up a number of writing tablets, he made a list, with which he wrote out all the necessary items, from clothing, quilts, and coffin down to such things for

[257] See Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962): 3716.

> the mouth filling. He distributed these among his retainers, who hurried off to the market to make the purchases. By the time the sun was beginning to set, they had all reassembled and, after [Yuan] She had personally inspected the articles, he told the host that he would appreciate some refreshment. [He and his followers] then joined in eating and drinking, but [Yuan] She alone was careful not to gorge himself. Then he took the coffin and other articles and, accompanied by his followers, went to the bereaved family. He helped with the coffining, comforted and encouraged the others until the funeral was completed.[258]

The passage above describes an exceptional situation in a funeral. Yuan She did not only play the role of an ordinary donor, but also took over a great part of the role of the bereaved family in preparing certain funerary articles, e.g., the coffin, clothing, quilts, and items for the mouth filling. Apparently, these articles formed the cultural resources in the fields focused on the corpse. They were to be used primarily in the coffining of the corpse. Neither a name banner, nor a *chong*-wood, nor *mingqi*, nor further potential tomb goods that could be publicly exhibited, as those described in *Yili* were prepared; if such a public exhibition was carried out anyway (perhaps in the same spatial context as the one of the coffining), the coffin must have formed the central artefact with seldom any concomitant artefacts (such as clothing that was not used for the dressing of the corpse). If nothing except the coffin was exhibited, then the two fields merged, or in other words, the former field collapsed completely into the latter one. It is important to point out that to my knowledge, no attention has hitherto been paid to the phenomena of the merge and collapse of the fields of action.

In general, an early Chinese funeral involved the administration of certain cultural resources. Interestingly, the passage indicates that the administration was sometimes carried out in written form, i.e. in the form of a purchase list. After his followers made all the purchases, Yuan She probably compared the purchased items with the content of the list, hence the list turned into a check list. And at the point of time when the list, together with the purchased items, was brought to the bereaved and presented to them, it turned into a gift list and funerary list. Merely if all the items in the list were indeed buried (i.e. no gift was made to the bereaved), then the list would have become equivalent as an inventory list of tomb goods. The creation and usage of such a list, normally by the bereaved family, can have involved consideration,

[258] The translation is adapted from Ban Gu, *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han*, translated by Burton Watson (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1974): 242 ff.

discussion, negotiation and sometimes reconsideration, all of which have more administrative than ritualistic features. Hence, the creation and usage of such a list probably form no part of the ritualised proceedings described in *Yili*.

Furthermore, the field of funerary writing has probably tacitly overlapped with the field of archiving in early China, although there is no reference to any archived funerary writings among transmitted early Chinese literature or archaeologically discovered manuscripts.[259] The funerary writings kept in the royal archive of the Qing dynasty are inspiring since they indicate the intersection of these two fields in the late imperial era. They document flows of material and human resources in various funerary stages before and after the entombment.[260] A funeral generally involves material components that were consumed, exchanged, or disposed in a tomb permanently. In some early Chinese funerals, such consumes, exchanges and disposals involved astonishing quantities of such material resources, as many modern excavations of early Chinese tombs indicate. The archiving of the flows of these material resources may have been not only necessary for the long-term administration of material resources in a household itself, but also beneficial for the reciprocity in giving and taking in funerary activities, which enhanced the bond in the community of the living.

Therefore, in tracing a historical field of action such as the early Chinese funerary cycle, one must be aware of the missing parts of the picture provided by transmitted literature. Fortunately, this must not only remain a theoretical prudence. As the present work will demonstrate, funerary lists sometimes provide evidence for funerary acts that lay beyond the scope of rituals.

---

259 Chen Meilan 陳美蘭 proposes a a possibility that the funerary lists on two wooden tablets might have been archived in the Han Dynasty. Despite her inspiring discusion of these two funerary lists, Chen somehow mistakes these two lists as part of the discovery that was called "material remnants from the governmental office of Wucheng county during the Han Dynasty" (兩漢時烏程縣署遺留的實物) by Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎. But as stated by Cao, these two lists were no part of the so-called Wucheng Han jian 烏程漢簡 discovered at the construction site at Renminlu 人民路 in Huzhou in Zhejiang province, instead, they were allegedly discovered somewhere at the suburb of Huzhou. See Chen Meilan 陳美蘭, "'Wucheng Han jian' jian 333, 334 qiance chutan" 《烏程漢簡》简 333、334 遣冊初探, Zhongguo wenzi 中國文字 10 (2023): 97, 102-103; cf. Cao Jinyan et al. 2022: 4.

260 See Gao Huanting 1995: 406–417; "Qing dai di, hou, fei lingqin yingjian xiushan dang'an" bianxie zu 《清代帝、后、妃陵寢營建修繕檔案》編寫組, Qing dai di, hou, fei lingqin yingjian xiushan dang'an 清代帝、后、妃陵寢營建修繕檔案 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2023): 5 volumes.

2.3 The Creation and Usage of the Funerary Lists in *Yili*

According to *Yili*, the creation and usage of two types of funerary lists, i.e. the "dispatch list" and the "*feng*-gift list", are indeed fixed agendas in the funerary cycle. These two lists can be located in the field of funerary writing. *Yili* merely describes the ritualised part in the creation and usage of these two lists.

The two lists are created on the eve of the procession to the tomb.[261] The "*feng*-gift list" literally refers to silk bales and draught horses that are made gift.[262] It is probable that horses are the key symbol in the action of gift-giving, while silk bales are the concomitant artefacts. While *Yili* mainly refers to horses as *feng*-gifts, other transmitted texts also refer to vehicles.[263] Scholars have wondered whether the term *feng* merely refers to horses or whether it includes both horses and vehicles, without coming to a definitive conclusion.[264] From the point of view of the "field of action", the equivocal definition of this term is due to the disparity of the cultural resources that the bereaved were able to "draw upon to define and instigate the authoritative" reproduction of the field of gift-giving. In the funeral of the Ordinary Officer, a duke makes a *feng*-gift of silk bales and horses;[265] while in the funeral of the wife of Duke Hui of Lu (Lu Huigong 魯惠公, reigned 768–723 BCE), the Zhou king sent an envoy to present a vehicle and draught horses as a *feng*-gift.[266]

---

261 See Appendix I: Table 2; *Yili zhushu*, 864; and Steele 1917, vol. 2, 86, 2(u) and (v).

262 *Yili* states that in the ancestral temple, "公賵玄纁束，馬兩", i.e., "the duke sends black and crimson silk bales and a pair of horses". See *Yili zhushu*, 859; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 84, 1(a).

263 For an overview of the transmitted texts concerning the *feng*-gift see Yang Hua 2003, 49–59; Zhao Wei 赵威 and Tian Yu 田雨, "*Chunqiu* 'gui feng' kaoshi" 《春秋》"归賵"考释, *Zhaotong xueyan xuebao* 昭通学院学报 40, no. 2 (2018): 83 ff.

264 See Yang Hua 2003, 49–59; Zhao Wei and Tian Yu 2018, 83 ff.

265 See Appendix I: Table 2; *Yili zhushu*, 864; and Steele 1917, vol. 2, 86, 2(u) and (v).

266 See *Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 春秋公羊傳注疏, Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000): 22–25.

As has been pointed out, while four individual types of gifts were made in the funeral (see Section 1.2), merely those that belong to the type of the *feng*-gift are recorded. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 CE) comments that the *feng* in the passage concerned is *pars pro toto* for all kinds of gifts.[267] To take both the original passage of *Yili* and Zheng's comment into account, the material resources recorded in the *feng*-gift list may partly or fully overlap with the material components of the field of gift-giving.

The temporal content of the creation of the "*feng*-gift list", i.e. the eve of the procession to the tomb, indicates that the list is probably a summary of the (*feng*)-gifts that have been received in the funeral. Elsewhere, *Yili* refers to a non-funerary gift record that is made by the donor to be presented to the gift receiver.[268] In a funeral, it is likely that donors have sometimes also made such gift records, as indicated by the list made by Yuan She (see Section 2.2) and the jade labels discovered in the Western Zhou tomb no. 2009 at Shangcunling (see Section 1.1). Hence, while the "*feng*-gift list" is created and used in the final stage of the field of gift-giving, those gift records presented by the donors were created and used at an earlier stage of the field. The "*feng*-gift list" can theoretically have been based on such gift records.

Nothing is explicitly mentioned about the content of the "dispatch list". Those to be "dispatched" to the tomb are persons and the cultural resources in the field of the funerary procession to the tomb. *Yili* describes the procession as follows:

> 甸人抗重，出自道，道左倚之。薦馬，馬出自道。車各從其馬，駕於門外。西面而俟，南上。徹者入……徹巾，苞牲，取下體。不以魚臘。行器，茵、苞、器序從，車從。主人之史請讀賵，執算從。柩東，當前束，西面……公史自西方，東面……讀遣……出。商祝執功布以御柩。執披。主人袒。乃行。[269]
>
> The fieldworkers then lift the *chong*-wood, and, going out by the gateway, lean it up against the gatehouse to the left of the way. The horses are presented before they go out by the gateway, each vehicle being drawn after its draught horses [by men]. [The horses and the

[267] Zheng Xuan's comment on the character *feng* reads: "書賵奠賻贈之人名與其物於板", i.e., "to write down the name of the donors and their gifts such as horses, offerings, money, and parting gifts according to the connoisseurship of the deceased on boards". See *Yili zhushu*, 864.

[268] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Pinli" 聘禮 (The ceremony of a mission), 414–417; Steele 1917, vol. 1, 189 ff.

[269] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 871–873.

> vehicles] are then put outside the door, and set facing westward, graded from the south. When those who remove the offerings enter... They remove the napkins and wrap up the meat in parcels [made of reeds], taking the lower part of the joints for the purpose, but not making parcels of the fish or the air-dried meat. Then the implements are set to move. The pillow goes first, and then the parcels of meat, and the other implements follow in order. Then follows the carriage. Then the scribe of the grieving host asks leave to read the list of *feng*-gifts. [An assistant] carrying the counting rods follows him. They go to the east side of the coffin and take their stand abreast of the foremost tie-ropes, with their faces to the west… Then the duke's scribe, coming from the west side, faces east, … reads the list of the items to be dispatched... And they go out [of the ancestral temple]. The Shang liturgist takes the *gong* cloth and dusts the coffin with it. [Then his assistants] lay hold on the steadying-ropes. The Master of Ceremonies bares his arm and proceeds on his way.[270]

The procession is directly preceded by the exhibition of potential tomb goods (see Section 2.2). As indicated by the passage above, the field of the procession adopts all the cultural resources of the preceding field. Furthermore, it adopts part of the farewell offering made on the morning of the entombment, which has included among others the left side of a ram and the left side of a pig.[271] Apparently, merely "the lower part of the joints" of those victims are wrapped with the parcels, which have been part of the exhibition of potential tomb goods. Furthermore, while the horses have been presented separately from the vehicles besides the exhibition of potential tomb goods,[272] they are apparently brought together in the procession. Apart from these slight transformations, there is no indication that the composition of the cultural components in the exhibition of potential tomb goods has been changed.

But of course, due to the change from a framed space in the courtyard of the ancestral temple (see Fig. 12) to a space that is confined to a procession route, the pattern of the spatial organisation of those resources must have been transformed as well. Still, the field of procession and the field of the exhibition of potential tomb goods are aimed at the public display of those resources. Hence, it is still possible that they shared a part of the organisational patterns, i.e. the division of the *mingqi*, the "implements that [the deceased] used in his

---

[270] The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 88–90, 6(a)-10(c).

[271] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 866 ff; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 87 ff.

[272] This will be further discussed in Subsections 3.4.1 and 3.5.1.

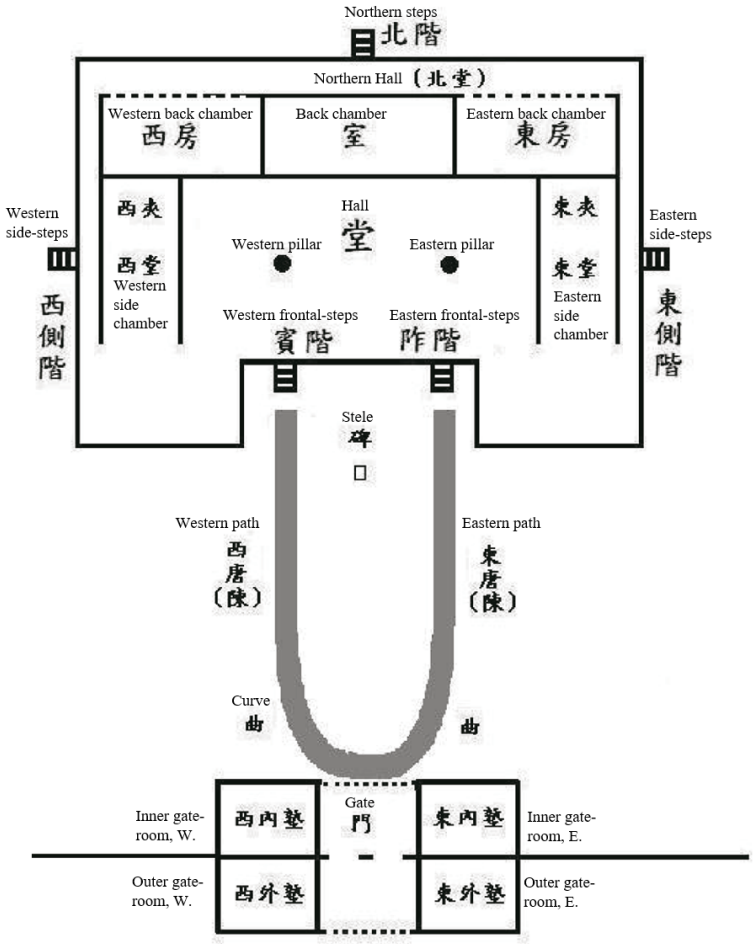


Fig. 12 Plan view of an ancestral temple in the Zhou dynasty.

lifetime", the "musical instruments for entertainment", the "things contributed to his ease", and "instruments of war" (see Section 2.2). *Yili* explicitly prohibits the funeral of the Ordinary Officer from including "sacrificial implements" (*jiqi* 祭器) in the two fields. But the funeral of a deceased who used to have access to more cultural resources can also have included certain "sacrificial implements", as indicated by the sacrificial vessels discovered in many early Chinese tombs.

Therefore, the "dispatch list" can theoretically include all the persons and cultural resources that are present in the final stage of the exhibition of potential tomb goods, as well as a part of the sacrificial offerings. The list items are probably ordered according to the organisational pattern of those that are to be "dispatched" in the procession. Immediately before the funerary procession to the tomb, the "dispatch list" and the "*feng*-gift list" are read out aloud, by the scribe of the duke and the scribe of the deceased, respectively. They are read in the ancestral temple, as all the material resources of the procession, except the coffin (on the hearse), are waiting for the dispatch outside the temple. Hence, the general assumption, that the "dispatch list" is used to compare with the goods to be dispatched, is groundless.[273] The *Yili* cycle indicates that the "dispatch list" is merely used once, i.e. in the

[273] For examples of this assumption see Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚, "Changsha Yangtianhu Zhanguo zhujian wenzi de moxie he kaoshi" 長沙仰天湖戰國竹簡文字的摹寫和考释, *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 上海博物馆集刊 3 (1986): 22; Chen Songchang 陈松长, "Mawangdui san hao Han mu mudu san lun" 马王堆三号汉墓木牍散论, *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1994): 68.

ritualised moment of the reading before the dispatch. Since it has been created merely one day before, it indeed seems that it can hardly have served any other purpose before the entombment.

Nevertheless, the "dispatch list", similar to the "*feng*-gift list", has some characters of the balance of accounts in the administration of the cultural resources in the field of the funerary procession, a field that differs from the fields in which Yuan She's list was created and used (see Section 2.2).

Furthermore, the cultural resources of the field of procession are slightly expanded en route. The duke, who has already made gifts of silk bales and two horses the day before and sent his scribe to read the "dispatch list" aloud before the procession, sends another gift of silk bales at the gate of the state (see Appendix I: Table 2). This gift is among others also disposed in the tomb (see Appendix I: Table 2). Therefore, this action simultaneously expands the cultural resources of the field of gift-giving and the field of entombment. *Yili* does not mention any update of the "*feng*-gift list" or the "dispatch list" at all. It is not known whether such a gift-making en route indeed used to be a fixed agenda in a real funeral. If yes, it can be assumed that certain standard gifts, such as silk bales, were made, so that no excessive amount of administrative task as well as logistic task were needed. Such a gift-making en route cannot have systematically expanded the cultural resources of the field of entombment.

In comparison with the painstaking description of the pre-entombment actions, *Yili* merely provides a brief description of the entombment as follows:

> 至於壙，陳器於道東西，北上。茵先入，屬引。……乃窆。主人哭，踴無算。襲，贈用制幣，玄纁束，拜稽顙，踴如初。……藏器於旁，加見。藏苞筲於旁。加折，卻之。加抗席，覆之。加抗木。實土三。[274]
>
> When [the procession] reaches the tomb enclosure, the implements[275] are exhibited on the east and west sides of the road and graded from the north. The cushions are first put in. Then lowering-cords are attached to the coffin… While the coffin is lowered into the grave, the

[274] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 877 ff.

[275] In the comtext, it seems likely that the term *qi* refers to all the categories of materials displayed in the ancestral temple of the Ordinary Officer, i.e., *yongqi* 用器, (implements that [the deceased] used in his lifetime), *yanyueqi* 燕樂器 (musical instruments for entertainment), *yanqi* 燕器 (things contributed to his ease), and *yiqi* 役器 (instruments of war). For those categories see Section 2.2.

> grieving host wails and stamps without measure. Then, drawing on his coats, he gives, as parting gift to the deceased, lengths of silk, black and crimson, in rolls. In putting this into the grave he kowtows and stamps as above… The implements are laid at the side [of the coffin], and the pall is laid [over all]. Then the parcels of [the sacrificial offerings] and the baskets of grain are placed at the sides [of the coffin]. Then the boards for covering the tomb chamber are set on after being overturned, with the mats covering it. Thereafter the boards forming the covering frame are set in place and three [spadefuls of] earth are thrown into the grave.[276]

Apparently, nothing is mentioned about whether any of the two lists are to be disposed in the tomb. Apart from vehicles and horses, the cultural resources from the field of funerary procession in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer are completely disposed in the tomb. Further transmitted texts indicate that in the funerals of some deceased who used to have access to more cultural resources, vehicles and horses were also buried.[277] In addition, vehicle and horses, similar to those "sacrificial implements", were sometimes indeed discovered in early Chinese burial compounds. Hence, the cultural resources applied in the procession overlap partly or completely with those disposed in the burial sites.

Therefore, the contextualisation of the transmitted texts in conjunction with the device of "field of action" indicates that even the "dispatch lists" in the transmitted texts are not necessarily inventory lists of tomb goods. But theoretically, they can have sometimes been equivalent to inventory lists of tomb goods. But even if a certain "dispatch list" used to be the equivalency of an inventory list of tomb goods, it is another question whether it was used as a guide for the disposal of the tomb goods. If it was used as such, then the organisational pattern of the tomb goods must have been in line with a part of those items described in the "dispatch list"; in other words, the field of entombment must then have adopted the organisational pattern of those cultural resources from the field of procession.

As analysed above, the *Yili* cycle specifies part of the organisational pattern of those cultural resources in a funerary procession; the remaining part can be merely tentatively

---

276 The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 90 ff.

277 For an overview of the transmitted texts referring to the funerals, in which vehicles were buried, see Pu Shenghua 蒲生华, "'*Zuo zhuan*' zhong Chunqiu guizu de zangli, sang zangli jiqi sangzang sixiang"《左传》中春秋贵族的葬礼, 丧祭礼及其丧葬思想, *Qinghai shifan daxue minzu shifan xueyuan xuebao* 青海师范大学民族师范学院学报 16, no. 2 (2005): 31–32.

inferred from the field of the exhibition of potential tomb goods; archaeologically, this organisational pattern might seem intangible or indeed beyond recovery. But it must be born in mind that the route in a funerary procession must have provided a completely different spatial context for those cultural resources as the one provided by an early Chinese shaft tomb. Commonly, the tomb contained a wooden chamber-and-coffin structure, i.e. one or more wooden tomb chambers containing one or more wooden coffins;[278] in addition, the space in the wooden chamber of the tomb was commonly further divided (see Chapter 4). Most importantly, the space in an early Chinese tomb was not designed for any public display.

The examples of the list produced by Yuan She and the two lists described in the *Yili* cycle indicate that the creation and usage of the early funerary lists may have intersected many individual fields of action. The following questions must be asked in the study of each individual list: was it a "dispatch list"? Was it an inventory list of tomb goods? Was it used to guide the entombment? Was is a "gift list" created by the donor or the bereaved family? If it was none of these, for what was it created and used? To answer these questions, the identification of the individual list items with individual tomb goods is of course important but it does not suffice. Agreeing with the premise that to date, no funerary list has been found that entirely matches goods in the tomb in which it was disposed, [279] I propose that it is significant to compare the organisational pattern of the list items and the tomb goods that can be identified with those list items.

2.4 Transformations in a Funerary Cycle: Field of Action versus *Rites de Passage*

In a funerary cycle, transformations involve three parties, i.e. the resources, the deceased individual, and the bereaved family and community. The transformations of the resources,

[278] Scholars argue that the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure originates in the early stage of the Liangzhu 良渚 culture in south China and in the Longshan 龍山 culture in north China. Since the Shang dynasty, this system became pervasive in the aristocratic funerals. See Zhao Huacheng 趙化成, "Zhou dai guanguo duochong zhidu yanjiu" 周代棺椁多重制度研究, *Guoxue yanjiu* 国学研究 5 (1998): 35–42; Yin Qun 印群, "Di wu zhang: Guanguo zhidu" 第五章：棺槨制度, in *Huanghe zhongxiayou diqu de Dongzhou muzang zhidu* 黄河中下游地区的东周墓葬制度 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2001): 152–180.

[279] See Zheng Shubin 2005b, 32; Wei Lingshui 2005, 46; Yang Yi 2016, 328.

which have been partly addressed above (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3), are accompanied by the transformations of the further two parties. The transformations of all three parties are in line with the agenda of funerary rites to cope with the bereavement.[280]

In my analysis of the early Chines funerary lists, the "field of action" concept is efficient in describing the transformations of the resources, including, among others, resources applied directly to the deceased and the bereaved (e.g., clothing, accessories etc.), especially in terms of their organisational patterns in a funerary context. But this concept seems less sensitive in describing the transformations of the roles of the deseased and the bereaved, which are the motivation of transforming the resources. Fortunately, I must not reinvent the wheel, because the classic ethnological concept of *rites de passage*, which is proposed by van Gennep, provides a valuable approach to investigate these transformations.

The "*rites de passage*", as defined by van Gennep, are "ceremonial patterns which accompany a passage from one situation to another or from one cosmic or social world to another".[281] He subdivides those *rites de passage* into rites of separation (*séparation*), rites of transition (*marge*), and rites of incorporation (*agrégation*), acknowledging that "[t]hese three subcategories are not developed to the same extent by all people or in every ceremonial pattern".[282]

Van Gennep identifies the funeral as "a transitional period for the survivors, and they enter it through rites of separation and emerge from it through rites of reintegration into society (rites of the lifting of mourning)".[283] Importantly, he points out that "[i]n some cases, the transitional period of the living is a counterpart of the transitional period of the deceased, and the termination of the first sometimes coincides with the termination of the second – that is, with the incorporation of the deceased into the world of the dead".[284]

---

[280] As Claude Javeau puts it, the function of funerary rites "is to secure a certain mastery of temporality: The same gestures, words, or songs give the impression that time always goes through the same common places". See Claude Javeau, "Mortuary Rites," in Bryant and Peck 2009, 753.

[281] See Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960): 10.

[282] See Gennep 1960, vii and 11.

[283] See Gennep 1960, 147.

[284] See Gennep 1960, 147.

Rites that isolate and separate the deceased individual from his community include, in van Gennep's terms, "the various procedures by which the corpse is transported outside; … washings, anointings, and rites of purification in general; and taboos of all sorts. In addition, there are physical procedures of separation: a grave, a coffin, a cemetery…; the closing of the coffin or the tomb is often a particularly solemn conclusion to the entire ceremony."[285] With regard to the funerary cycle of the early Chinese Ordinary Officer, almost all of the above-mentioned rites of separation are carried out (see Appendix I: Table 2). Rites of purification such as abstinence, cleaning the environment, and replacing soiled clothes are already carried out when death has just supervened. After death has occurred, the deceased is washed, cleaned, and dressed in an elaborate procedure; taboos include at least a gender-specific regulation, which is to be obeyed while a person is dying. All the above-mentioned physical procedures of separation are also known in the early Chinese funerary cycle.

Rites of separation also isolate the mourners from their society, because "during mourning, social life is suspended for all those affected by it".[286] In view of the early Chinese funerary cycle, there are various tokens of the isolation of the mourners in their long mourning period, including the mourning attire, the reclusion of the male mourners to provisional living quarters, and a number of taboos that further prohibit the mourners from taking part in the social life.[287] The following observations made by Van Gennep can be literally adopted to characterise the temporal aspects of the early Chinese mourning period as well: "[T]he [mourning] period increases with the closeness of social ties to the deceased (e.g. for widows, relatives), with a higher social standing of the dead person."[288]

"The transitional period in funerary rites", according to van Gennep, "is first marked physically by the more or less extended stay of the corpse or the coffin in the deceased's room,

---

285 See Gennep 1960, 164.

286 See Gennep 1960, 148. For an overview of the duration of the mourning periods for members in the mourning circle (*wufu* 五服) in early China see Miranda Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 2012): 13–15.

287 Confucius, for example, mentions two of these taboos: "三年之喪，練，不群立，不旅行", i.e., "on the completion of the first of the three years, one should neither stand with others, or go for a travel". See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Zengzi wen" 曾子問 (Master Zeng Asking), 697. The translation is adapted from *The LÎ KÎ, I-X,*, 331.

288 See Gennep 1960, 148.

in the vestibule of his house, or elsewhere."[289] Furthermore, he associates the transitional rites with the pervasive phenomenon that the bereaved equip the deceased "with all the necessary material objects – such as clothing, food, arms, and tools – as well as those of a magico-religious nature – amulets, passwords, signs, etc. – which will assure him a safe journey or crossing and a favorable reception, as they would a living traveler".[290] Elsewhere, he surmises that the practice of giving the deceased a real or miniature boat and oars in various regions in Afro-Eurasia and Australia is a result of the beliefs of the Isle of the Dead.[291] In addition to the practice of providing these tomb goods, the bereaved conduct further transitional rites that involve resources beyond tomb goods as well. In Ostyak of Salekhard in Russia, for instance, the bereaved "make a doll in the image of the deceased, … dress, wash and feed it every day", while the deceased "go[es] by a long and tortuous route towards the north, where the … land of the dead is located. The length of the journey seems to coincide with the period in which the doll is kept".[292]

The transitional period of the deceased individual in the early Chinese funerary cycle is physically marked by the gradual increase of the distance between the corpse and the sphere of the living. In the funerary cycle (Appendix I: Table 2), the corpse is moved from the back chamber (*shi qin* 適寢) to the hall of the mansion on the second day of death, coffined on the third day of death, and then preliminarily buried in a pit in the hall for approximately three months (for a plan of an official mansion see Fig. 13). Within this period of time, the corpse is still kept within the mansion. It is then transported to the ancestral temple, which is located still in the sphere of the living[293] but gives entrance to the sacral sphere of the ancestors. The coffin then stays there for one day, and departs on the second day, finally heading for the tomb in a cemetery remote from the living sphere. The gradual spatial transition of the deceased with a

289 See Gennep 1960, 148.

290 See Gennep 1960, 154.

291 See Gennep 1960, 153.

292 See Gennep 1960, 150.

293 The ancestral temple is located within the city. This is indicated by the sequence of locales described in the funerary cycle: on the day of the entombment, the cortege leaves the ancestral temple towards the city gate, receives some further parting gifts at the city gate, and then moves toward the tomb. See Appendix I: Table 2; *Yili zhushu*, 874 ff.; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 10(a)-11(c).

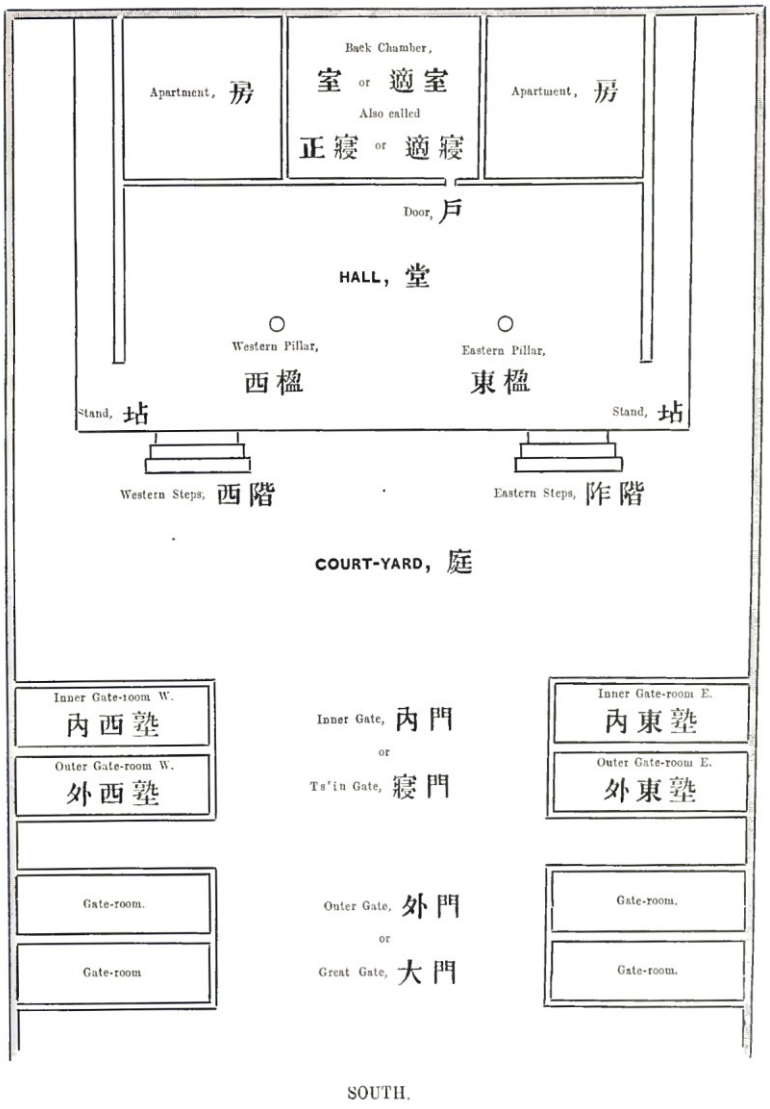


Fig. 13 Plan view of the mansion of an Ordinary Officer in the Zhou dynasty.

long sojourn in the living sphere [294] and with an intermediate station in a sacral space cushions the shattering impact caused by the crisis of losing a member in a community.

There is no single or simple answer to the question, whether tomb goods were supposed to ease the journey of the deceased into the other world. A positive answer to this question would precondition beliefs concerning an afterlife in something like a final abode of the deceased beyond his tomb. However, studies on early Chinese imagination of the afterlife in the last four decades, especially those focusing on excavated manuscripts and further archaeological artifacts, indicate that there were a number of contradicting concepts of afterlife in pre-Han China.[295]

294 The duration of the sojourn of the deceased in the world of the living depends probably on many factors of the cultural resources. For instance, the social rank of the deceased played a significant role, as indicated in transmitted literature. A higher-ranking deceased was normally kept longer than one ranked lower in the stage of preliminary burial in the world of the living. This will be further discussed in Section 3.2.

295 For an overview of studies on early Chinese imaginations of the afterlife see Guo Jue, "Concepts of Death and the Afterlife Reflected in Newly Discovered Tomb Objects and Texts from Han China," in Olberding; Ivanhoe, *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011): 87 ff.

As far as questions of the whereabouts and the nature of the final abode of the deceased are concerned, these concepts offer a multitude of answers. Guo Jue 郭珏 concludes that previous studies propose two models to address these questions, i.e. "a journey model and a tomb model".[296] The journey model "suggests that after death, though the physical body is buried in the tomb, the tomb is not the final mansion for the deceased—it is only a starting point or a transit station, depending on which of the different theories within this model one follows; the dead then take a journey beyond the tomb to an external land, whether an upper heaven, immortal paradise, or the land of the dead".[297] In this model, the tomb goods would logically have been given to the deceased to ease the journey to the other world. The tomb model "proposes that the tomb, where the dead individual is buried, is the final abode for the deceased and that the afterlife starts there".[298] In this model, of course, tomb goods are not associated with the journey to any other world at all. A third model that is not explicitly termed by Guo Jue can be the "journey-and-tomb model", based on a dualistic conception of soul: "the *hun* and the *p'o*. At death the *hun* and the *p'o* were thought to go separate ways, the former returning to heaven and the latter to earth".[299] In this model, tomb goods may have been conceived as two groups to respectively meet the individual needs of the both souls.

The early Chinese funerary cycle does not offer an explicit answer in favour of any of these afterlife concepts, though the concept of a *hun*-soul does play a role in the rite of resuscitation,[300] which sets in as soon as death has occurred. However, the rite does not serve to ease the deceased's journey into the other world; instead, as revealed by its denotation, it is a ritualised attempt of the resuscitation of the newly deceased.[301] Nevertheless, the rite is

---

296 See Guo Jue 2011, 88.

297 See Guo Jue 2011, 88.

298 See Guo Jue 2011, 93.

299 See Yü Ying-shih, "'O Soul, Come Back!' A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol.47, no. 2 (1987): 386.

300 See Yü Ying-shih 1987, 373 ff..

301 For thorough examinations of the rite of resuscitation see the chapter "Calling back the Soul. The Death-howl" in Jan Jakob Maria de Groot, *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspects, Manners, Custom and Social Institutions Connected Therewith (Book I, Disposal of the Dead)* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1892): 243 ff.; and Yü Ying-shih 1987.

exactly located on the threshold between two worlds and seeks, even if merely symbolically, for a change of the current state.

Furthermore, as has been analyzed in Section 2.2, the bereaved create two different, dualistic systems to represent the deceased throughout the whole funerary cycle. This is a kind of sympathetic, direct and positive magic that resembles the Ostyak practice with the doll as an image of the deceased.[302] One may go too far to claim that the Chinese nourished these representatives in the wish to help the deceased travel towards "the land of the dead", as is the case in Ostyak. But the practice is undoubtedly associated with the wish of a smooth transition of the deceased towards an ancestor.

In addition, Subsection 4.2.3 will analyse a manuscript addressed to an Underworld authority in conjunction with a funerary list. The manuscript doubtlessly served the ritual function of the transformation of the deceased in his liminal stage and of his integration in the world of the Dead. Therefore, the early Chinese funerary cycle as well as some of the funerary manuscripts partly pertain to van Gennep's repertoire of transitional rites and partly expand it as well.

Most of the above-mentioned rites of transition contribute to the transition of the bereaved as well, though this point is marginalised in van Gennep's investigations. For instance, during the long mourning period in Early China, regulations that isolate the mourners from social life, such as mourning attire,[303] dietary restrictions, and the provisional living area,[304] undergo successive changes that aim at a gradual normalisation of the life of the bereaved. Therefore, these changes form simultaneously the beginning of a reintegration process (incorporation) of the bereaved members into social life.

---

302 For the classification of rites see Gennep, "The classification of rites," in Gennep 1960, 1 ff.

303 The gradual changes of the mourning attire are called *soufu* 受服 or abbreviated as *sou* 受 in transmitted texts. For an overview of this phenomenon see Xu Feng 徐峰, "Jian lun sangli de yifu" 简论丧礼的易服, *Chongqing jiaotong daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 重庆交通大学学报（社会科学版） 14, no. 1 (2014): 95 ff.; and Ding Linghua, "sangfu zhidu de bianchu" 丧服制度的变除, in Ding Linghua 丁凌华, *Zhongguo sangfu zhidu shi* 中国丧服制度史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2000): 88–98.

304 For an overview of the gradual changes of the dietary restrictions and of the provisional living area during the mourning period see Ding Linghua 2000, 234 ff.; Xu Jijun 1998, 234 ff.

According to van Gennep, the rites of incorporation include "the meals shared after funerals and at commemoration celebrations".[305] In the early Chinese funerary cycle, a series of sacrifices after the entombment, such as the sacrifice of repose, include highly ritualised sharing of meals together with a personator of the deceased. Their purpose is, in van Gennep's notion on the one hand, "to reunite all the surviving members of the group with each other, and sometimes also with the deceased, in the same way that a chain which has been broken by the disappearance of one of its links must be rejoined".[306] On the other hand, these sacrifices doubtlessly served to incorporate the deceased step by step into the realm of the ancestors as well, because they are periodically performed in a manner that successively converges with that of the sacrifices to the ancestors.

In general, the sacrifices to the deceased after the entombment are offered more frequently at the beginning than later in the mourning period (see Appendix I: Table 2). The first series of sacrifices performed in the first four days after the entombment are the three "sacrifices of repose", which are still thought to be pertaining to the death rituals (*sangli* 喪禮). That the deceased needs to be "reposed" (anzhi 安之, "repose him"), indicates that people believe that the deceased must feel uneasy due to his liminal states between the living people and the ancestors.[307] In one of the following sacrifices, "sacrifice on the occasion of the enshrinement" (*fu* 祔, performed at dawn of the fourth day after entombment), the spirit tablet of the deceased is placed next to the one of his grandfather, i.e. enshrined in the ancestral temple. Thus the deceased is thought to have been accepted by one of his close ancestors.[308] The following two sacrifices, "sacrifice of the lesser auspiciousness" (*xiao xiang* 小祥 or *lian* 練, performed in the 13th month after the enshrinement) and the "sacrifice of the fuller auspiciousness" (*da xiang* 大祥 or *xiang* 祥, performed in the 25th month after the enshrinement), are thought to be more or less auspicious rituals as indicated by their denotations. These two sacrifices are therefore more closely associated with the sacrifices to the ancestors, because the latter ones

[305] See Gennep 1960, 164.

[306] See Gennep 1960, 164 ff.

[307] See *Yili zhushu*, 918.

[308] See *Yili zhushu*, 961 ff.

are all thought to be auspicious.[309] And the last sacrifice, the "sacrifice on the occasion of the end of the mourning period" (*dan* 禫, performed in the 27th month after the enshrinement), is said to be an auspicious one (*jiji* 吉祭) as well. This sacrifice is performed only with slightly difference to those sacrifices to the ancestors, in the way that the deceased, now an almost-ancestor, is "not yet matched [to a certain concubine]" (*you wei pei* 猶未配). This is only comprehensible if taken into account the practices in an ordinary sacrifice to the ancestors. In the "sacrifice of a small set of victims as offerings" (*shaolao kuishi li* 少牢饋食禮 in *Yili*), for instance, the ancestor to which the sacrifices are offered is matched with a concubine (*yi mou fei pei mou shi* 以某妃配某氏, i.e. "to match the ancestor so so with the concubine so so").[310] Interestingly, individual changes of the mourning attire always take place on the occasion of individual sacrifices;[311] and the period, in which those incorporating sacrifices take place, overlaps completely with the mourning period.[312] This exactly indicates that "the transitional period of the living is a counterpart of the transitional period of the deceased, and the termination of the first sometimes coincides with the termination of the second".[313]

In the light of the "field of acion" concept, funerary lists that have been analysed above (Sections 2.2 and 2.3) fulfilled the purpose to secure the smooth proceeding of the transformations of the resources. The list created by Yuan She, for instance, guided the reproduction of various fields of action that shaped the resources for the coffining of the corpse. The "dispatch list" itmises the resources appplied to reproduce the field of procession to the tomb, while the "*feng*-gift list" sums up the *feng*-gifts collected in the field of gift-giving. And in view of the *rites de passage* concept, the reading of the latter two lists marks the closure of one passage (the lingering of the corpse in the world of the living) and the overture of another passage (the entombment via a procession to the tomb).

309 See *Yili zhushu*, 964 ff.

310 See *Yili zhushu*, 965 ff. and 1038 ff.

311 See Xu Feng 2014, 95 ff.; and Ding Linghua 2000, 88–98.

312 See Appendix I: Table 2.

313 See Gennep 1960, 147.

Hence, these two concepts complement one another, when archaeological discoveries meet funerary studies. My case studies will showcase that the "field of action" concept, as an analytic tool, is capable of dealing with nuanced transformations of resources, including material, animal as well as human resources, especially in terms of their organisational patterns in a funerary context. Even if the concept *rites de passage* will not act as frequently as this analytic tool, it is important to keep in mind that this concept addresses the motivation of these resource transformations. Together, these two concepts can powerfully describe the entirety of the transformations that take place in a funerary context.

2.5 Summary

I apply the archaeological concept "field of action" as the analytical device for my study of the funerary lists from early Chinese shaft tombs. The concept has four analytical components, i.e. the temporal context (including frequency, duration, and pace); the spatial context; the cultural resources involved; as well as the transformations of the cultural resources, which take place as the fields is reproduced.

The temporal and spatial context depend by and large upon the cultural resources. In a funerary context, the cultural resources consist of two aspects: first, they are "drawn upon to define and instigate the authoritative" reproduction of a field. Accordingly, they include factors such as the sumptuary regulations concerning the social strata, the financial abilities of the bereaved and the personal or regional preferences etc. Most of these factors are associated with the bereaved family and community who instigate the reproduction of the field of funeral in the socio-political frame. Second, they are "resources" that "are chosen to be employed in acknowledging the existence of that authority". Accordingly, they include material resources in the forms of the central artefacts or key symbols and the concomitant artefacts; animal resources; and human resources, who provide knowledges, techniques, rules etc. It is important to point out that the human resources are not necessarily the bereaved themselves but to whom the bereaved have access.

Using transmitted texts, I have established a hypothetical model of the early Chinese funerary cycle (see Appendix I: Table 2). The funerary cycle consists of ten stages. Each of

these stages, being a field of action itself, incorporates and intersects various fields of action, which mutually intersect or incorporate each other.

In this funerary cycle, the fields of action partly incorporate each other, partly "cross-cut and share components or resources". While sharing cultural resources, former fields of action shape the material circumstances for the fields that would come after, and later fields transform the cultural resources in the former fields. The transformations involve three parties, i.e. resources including material, animal and human resources; the deceased individual; and the bereaved family and community.

It is important to point out that while the "field of action" concept is capable of dealing with nuanced transformations of resources, including, among others, resources applied directly to the deceased and the bereaved, especially in terms of their organisational patterns in a funerary context; the classic ethnological concept *rites de passage* provides a valuable approach to investigate the transformations of the roles of the deseased and the bereaved, which are the motivation of transforming the resources. Hence, even if the latter concept will not act as frequently as the former in the present work, it is worth noting that these two concepts complement one another, when archaeological discoveries meet funerary studies.

The resource-sharing and transforming characteristics in the fields are essential in the analysis of the funerary lists that were discovered in early Chinese shaft tombs. These funerary lists, which describe various resources, may have been created and used in certain fields of action in the funerary cycle. That their contents partly overlap with the tomb goods indicate that the fields in which they were produced shared material components with the field of entombment. In the light of this model, even the so-called "dispatch list" (*qiance*) and "*feng*-gift list" (*fengfang*) coined from *Yili* are not necessarily inventory lists of tomb goods or list of the entirety of funerary gifts.

Furthermore, the structural similarities between the tomb of the Ordinary Officer in *Yili* and further early Chinese shaft tombs are obvious. The flow of the material resources into the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure of the Ordinary Officer is significantly framed by two clusters of fields of action. The first cluster of fields include primarily the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories; the dressing of the corpse (including the first dressing, the lesser dressing and the fuller dressing); the coffining; and marginally also the gift-giving of garments and quilts. The goods in the coffin obtain their final organisational pattern through

the coffining in this cluster of fields within three days after the death of the officer. And the second cluster of fields comprises primarily the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, the exhibition of potential tomb goods, the exhibition of the name banner and the *chong*-wood, the procession, the entombment, and marginally also the gift-giving and the pre-entombment offering. The final organisational pattern of the goods between the coffin and the wooden tomb chamber is shaped by the entombment in this cluster of fields in the third month after the death of the officer.

In this vein, the shaping force of these two clusters of fields, probably in diverse forms of reproduction, may have left traces in the early Chinese shaft tombs as well. More precisely, certain tomb goods may be identified as the central or concormitants artefacts of certain fields of action, including those before and during the entombment. This is essential in the analysis of the funerary lists, since the list items also include certain artefacts that reveal the fields in which they were applied. And even if certain list items seem to have been applied beyond these two clusters of fields, the remaining fields in the funerary cycle may form the anchor point for the analysis. Of course, it cannot be excluded that certain list items were applied beyond the funerary cycle described in transmitted literature. In this case, the related funerary lists would enrich the picture of the hypothetical funerary cycle.

In the following Chapter 3, I will present a detailed case study of the funerary lists from the tomb of the renowned Marquis Yi of Zeng (Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙). And in Chapter 4, I will approach the whole corpus of funerary lists from early Chinese shaft tombs, among others with exemplifying, small case studies.

Chapter 3 Case Study of the Lists from Tomb No. 1 at Leigudun

In 1978, 215 loose bamboo strips came to light as tomb 1 at Leigudun 擂鼓墩 in Sui county 隨縣, Hubei 湖北 province was unearthed. The main tomb occupant was Marquis Yi (buried 433 BCE TPQ, see Sections 3.2 and 3.3) of the Zeng 曾 March. The bamboo strips bear lists that describe resources such as dozens of wheeled vehicles, horses, weapons, armours, barding, as well as persons (see Sections 3.4–3.6). They are divided into four groups, A-D, by Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭 and Li Jiahao 李家浩, according to the contents of the lists.[314] As will be addressed below (see Subsection 3.7), the list contents overlap partly with the goods discovered in the marquis' tomb, which is evidence that these lists are funerary lists.

Research on these lists has been primarily philological. There are several versions of text transcriptions as well as variorum editions (*jishi* 集釋) of the manuscripts.[315] Zhuang Shuhui 莊淑慧 introduces the lengths, binding, textual structure, punctuation and contents of the manuscripts, before she studies the phonetic loans, character variants, official titles and vehicle names in the manuscripts.[316] Ishiguro Hisako 石黒ひさ子 examines the manuscripts on strips A-C, pointing out essentially that the vehicles described on these three strip groups partly overlap each other, and analysing the relationship between the Zeng March and the Chu State reflected in the manuscripts.[317] Cao Jingjing 曹菁菁 pays special attention to the weaponry recorded in the manuscripts and points out that part of the recorded vehicles probably presented

[314] Qiu and Li classified the following four groups of strips according to their contents: the A strips, referring to strips 1–121, which record "wheeled vehicles, horses, and weapons equipped on the vehicles" (車馬和車上的兵器裝備); the B strips, including strips 122–141, which describes "armours and barding equipped on the vehicles" (車上配備的人馬兩种甲冑); the C strips, comprising strips 142–209, which record "the draught horses for the wheeled vehicles" (駕車的馬); and the D strips, encompassing strips 210–215, which describe "horses and wooden surrogates of men" (馬和木俑). For their categorisation see Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 487.

[315] See footnote 54.

[316] See Zhuang Shuhui 莊淑慧, "Zeng Hou Yi mu chutu zhujian kao" 曾侯乙墓出土竹簡考 (Master's thesis, Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue, 1994): 1-308.

[317] See Ishiguro Hisako 石黒ひさ子, "Sōkō itsu bo shutsudo chikkan ni tsuite nohitotsu kōsatsu" 曾侯乙墓出土竹簡についての一考察, *Sundai shigaku* 駿台史学 95 (1995): 34–64.

a marsh formation (*chezhen* 車陣).[318] Besides his reconstruction of the strip sequence (see Appendix II), Xiao Shengzhong studies the recorded vehicle names, horse names, combination of vehicles and horses, and the possible marsh formation of part of the vehicles.[319] Luo Xiaohua 羅小華 reviews Xiao's study in his systematic study of terms related to vehicles (parts and accoutrements, vehicle names)[320] and horses (horse tack including but not limited to harnesses) in the Warring States period, and points out that the C strips record the recombination of donated horses to individual vehicles.[321] Luke Habberstad presents an textual analysis of the lists and stresses their role "in the funeral procession and Zeng royal display".[322] Furthermore, drawing upon archaeological discoveries, Xie Yayan has studied these lists in the frame of gift-giving in funerary contexts in the Zhou period.[323] However, while comparing the weapons, armours and vehicle parts from various tombs dating from the Warring States period, she excludes the lists from the marquis' tomb,[324] although the lists do record such items among others.

Besides these studies, these lists have not yet received much scholarly attention. This is due to several practical reasons, as Luke Habberstad puts it: "[T]heir organisation is extremely complicated; the proper strip sequence remains a matter of debate; scattered transcription problems prevent smooth reading; and even successfully transcribed characters elude our

[318] See Cao Jingjing 曹菁菁, "Zeng Hou Yi mu chezai bingqi yanjiu" 曾侯乙墓遣冊車載兵器研究 (Master's thesis, Beijing daxue, 2007): 3–75.

[319] See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 174–238.

[320] I agree with Magdalena von Dewall to distinguish between "festen Bauteilen" (parts) and "zusätzlichen Ausstattungsstücken" (accoutrements) of a vehicle. Similarly, Luo Xiaohua distinguishes between *che bujian* 車部件 (parts) and *cheqi* 車器 (accoutrements). See Magdalene von Dewall, *Pferd und Wagen im frühen China* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1964), 40; and Luo Xiaohua 羅小華, *Zhanguo jiance zhong de chema qiwu ji zhidu yanjiu* 戰國簡冊中的車馬器物及制度研究 (Wu Han: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2017): [16]–289.

[321] See Luo Xiaohua 2017: 16–55.

[322] See Luke Habberstad, "Texts, Performance, and Spectacle: The Funeral Procession of Marquis Yi of Zeng, 433 B.C.E.," *Early China* 37, no. 1 (2014): 181–219.

[323] See Xie Yayan 2019, 106 ff., 129–136.

[324] For her comparisons see Xie Yayan 2019, 110–131 and 176–183; and Xie Yayan 2021, 131–148.

comprehension, since they refer to barely known or completely unknown people and places, as well as to details of early Zhanguo material culture that we can only begin to understand."[325]

Nevertheless, it is worth the effort to remedy some of the deficiencies, because the manuscripts provide rare insights into multiple fields of action during the whole cycle of the marquis' funeral. Therefore, I have provided a new basis for the present thesis, i.e. a new reconstruction of the sequence of the strips based on the physical features (notch positions) of the strips, the structure and layout of the text, the textual cohesion and the intertextual coherence.[326] This new reconstruction provides an integral picture of the further materiality of the Leigudun manuscripts, including their whole structure, editing traces and handwritings. Together, they indicate the process of the creation and usage of the manuscripts.

In addition, part of the above-mentioned deficiencies, such as those "barely known or completely unknown people and places", can be compensated or eliminated by recent archaeological discoveries concerning the historial identity of the Zeng March. As an essential part of the cultural resources of Marquis Yi, the historial identity of the Zeng March doubtlessly shaped the multiple fields of action in the cycle of his funeral.

Hence, the case study begins with the historical identity of the Zeng March (Section 3.1) and the extent to which it was inherited by Marquis Yi and his direct descendants (Section 3.2). The analysis of these cultural resources is followed by the codicological and philological analysis of the lists (Sections 3.3–3.6), which reveals the fields in which the lists have been created and used. Finally, a comparison of the organisational pattern of the listed resources and the organisational pattern of the related tomb goods clarifies the usage of part of the lists in the field of entombment.

---

325 See Luke Habberstad, 182.

326 For the concrete process of my reconstruction of the sequence of the bamboo strips from the marquis' tomb see Sun Hui 孫慧, "Zeng Hou Yi mu chutu zhujian C lei jian de fenzu zai shangque" 曾侯乙墓出土竹簡 C 類簡的分組再商榷, *Jianbo* 16 (2018): 53–67; Sun Hui, "Zeng Hou Yi mu chutu A, B liang lei zhujian jubu jianxu zai shangque" 曾侯乙墓出土Ａ、Ｂ兩類竹簡局部簡序再商榷, *Jianbo yanjiu*, no. Autumn and Winter 2019 (2020): 58–145. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2020; for an introduction to my reconstruction and the result of my reconstruction see Appendices II and III.

3.1 Historical Identity of the Zeng March

The Zeng March left a rich cultural heritage that considerably shaped the Chinese archaeology,[327] but it was never mentioned in transmitted literature. Due to certain coincidences between archaeological evidences (esp. their sites and dates) concerning the Zeng March and records in transmitted literature about a certain Sui 隨 March (esp. its territory and florishing period), Li Xueqin 李學勤 has proposed in 1978 that Zeng was another name of Sui.[328] Li's article triggered a dabate on the issue, whether the two denotations, Zeng and Sui, referred to one and the same march.[329]

Fortunately, this debate for decades seems to have been settled due to two bronze inscriptions found recently in the tomb of Marquis Yu, tomb no. 1 of Wenfengta.[330] Before addressing these inscriptions, it is important to clarify the relationship between Marquis Yu and Marquis Yi. Marquis Yi's tomb yielded several bronze inscriptions that refer to Marquis Yu (written "Zeng Hou Yu" 曾侯邘).[331] Furthermore, in one of the inscriptions, Marquis Yu's

---

327 The name of the Zeng March is known since the discoveries of bronze vessels bearing the name in the Song dynasty. Since the last decades of the 20th century, a series of archaeological sites associated with diverse periods of the march's past have been discovered, including the tomb sites and complex settlement deposits at Sujialong 蘇家壠 in Jingshan 京山, the tomb sites at Xiongjia laowan 熊家老灣, Leigudun, Yidigang 義地崗, Yejiashan 葉家山, and Wenfengta 文峰塔 in Suizhou 隨州, as well as the tomb sites at Guojiamiao-Caomenwan 郭家廟-曹門灣 in Zaoyang 棗陽. All these sites are in Hubei 湖北 province. See Cai Jingquan 蔡靖泉, "Zengguo kaogu faxian yu Zeng Sui lishi wenti" 曾国考古发现与曾随历史问题, *Hubei shehui kexue* 湖北社会科学, no. 9 (2018): 184 ff; Fang Qin 方勤, "Zengguo lishi de kaoguxue guancha" 曾国历史的考古学观察, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 109 ff.

328 See Li Xueqin 李学勤, "Zengguo zhi mi" 曾国之谜, *Guangming ribao* 光明日報, October 4, 1978.

329 Li Xueqin' newspaper article in 1978 found numerous echoes as well as disagreements. For an overview of the debate on this issue see Xu Shaohua 徐少华, "Lun Suizhou Wenfengta yihao mu de niandai jiqi xueshu jiazhi" 论随州文峰塔一号墓的年代及其学术价值, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 82; Wang Zhuo 王琢, "Zengguo lishi wenhua de kaoguxue yanjiu" 曾国历史文化的考古学研究 (Master's thesis, Henan daxue, 2015):14; Cai Jingquan 2018, 187 ff.

330 See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所 and Suizhou shi bowuguan 随州市博物馆, "Suizhou Wenfengta M1 (Zeng Hou Yu mu), M2 fajue jianbao" 随州文峰塔 M1 (曾侯与墓)，M2 发掘简报, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 3–51.

331 The inscriptions on 13 of the *ji*-polearms (*ji* 戟) as well as bronze tray (Inv. No. C.38) from Marquis Yi's tomb bear the name of Marquis Yu. See 湖北省博物馆, *Zeng Hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓, vol. 1, Zhongguo tianye kaogu baogao ji: Kaoguxue zhuankan (Ding zhong 37) 中国田野考古报告：考古学专刊（丁种 37） (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989): 284 ff., 189, and 229 ff.

name is half deleted and replaced with the name of Marquis Yi.[332] Apparently, Marquis Yi inherited Marquis Yu's bronze collection and claimed his new ownership by replacing some of the old owner's marks. This indicates that Marquis Yu was an ancestor of Marquis Yi.

The two inscriptions concerned are cast on two bronze chimebells (Inv. Nos. M1:1 and M1:2) in Marquis Yu's tomb, respectively. They are almost identical, apart from slight differences in their layout and in the choice of character variants.[333] The inscription on bell M1:1 reads as follows:[334]

(Upper part of the recto of bell M1:1):[335]
隹（惟）王正月，吉
日甲午，曾侯
 曰：白（伯）  （括）上
 （庸），  (左)  (右)文武，

(Left striking-area in the lower third of the recto face of bell M1:1):[336]
達（撻）  （殷）之命，  （撫）
 （定）天下。王  （遣）
命南公，  （營）宅
 （汭）土，君此淮
尸（夷），  （臨）有江  （湨）。
周室之既庳（卑），

(Right striking-area in the lower third of the verso face of bell M1:1):[337]
 （吾）用燮謞楚。

---

[332] On the bronze tray (Inv. No. C.38) from Marquis Yi's tomb, Marquis Yu's name was abraded and replaced by Marquis Yi. See See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 189 and 229 ff.

[333] See See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 14 ff.

[334] If not specified otherwise, the following inscription including its interpretation is based on Fan Gudong 凡国栋, "Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong mingwen jianshi" 曾侯與编钟铭文柬释, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 61–67.

[335] The excavator describes this passage's position as *zhengmian zheng bu* 正面鉦部, i.e., the "upper part of the recto of the bell", without mentioning the criterion of distinguishing the "recto" and the "verso" of the bell. See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 14; for the definition of the term *zheng* 鉦 see Falkenhausen 1994, 73.

[336] The excavator describes this passage's position as *zhengmian zuo gu* 正面左鼓, i.e., the "left striking-area in the lower third of the recto face of the bell". See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 15; for the definition of the term *gu* 鼓 see von Falkenhausen 1994, 73.

[337] The excavator describes this passage's position as *beimian you gu* 背面右鼓, i.e., the "right striking-area in the lower third of the verso face of bell". See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 15.

吴恃有衆庶，
行亂，西政（征），南
伐，乃加于楚，
䎽(荆)邦既  （殘），而
天命牆（将）誤。有
儼（嚴）曾侯，  =（業業）厥

(Upper part of the verso of bell M1:1):[338]
 （聖），親博（搏）武攻（功）。
楚命是  （靜？），  （復）
 （定）楚王。曾侯
之  =（靈。辟）穆曾侯，

(Left striking-area in the lower third of the verso face of bell M1:1):[339]
 （莊）武  （畏）  （忌），共（恭）
 （寅）齋（盟），[340]伐武
之表，懷燮四
旁（方）。余（申）（固？）楚
成，整[341]  （復）曾疆。
擇  （孱-選？）吉金，自
 （作）宗彝，穌鐘

(Right striking-area in the lower third of the recto face of bell M1:1):[342]

---

338 The excavator describes this passage's position as *beimian zheng bu* 背面鉦部, i.e., the "upper part of the verso of bell". See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 15.

339 The excavator describes this passage's position as *beimian zuo gu* 背面左鼓, i.e., the "left striking-area in the lower third of the verso face of bell". See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 15.

340 For the punctuation between "曾侯之=（靈辟）" and "共（恭）（寅）齋（盟）" see Dong Shan 董珊, "Suizhou Wenfengta chutu sanzhong Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong mingwen kaoshi" 隨州文峰塔 M1 出土三種曾侯與編鐘銘文考釋, updated October 4, 2014, accessed January 12, 2019, http://www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/Web/Show/2339.

341 I agree with Wei Houkai to transcribe the character as *zheng* 整, i.e., "completely"; while the excavators of the bells read the character as *gai* 改, i.e., "to change". Wei's transcription is corroborated by a fragmented inscription of a further bronze bell possessed by a certain collector in Beijing. The fragment bears ornaments and inscription that are almost identical with those on parts of the two bells from Marquis Yu's tomb. This means Marquis Yu made at least three of these bells with almost identical inscriptions. See Wei Houkai 尉侯凱, "Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong mingwen kaoshi" 曾侯腴編鐘銘文補議, Jianbo wang 簡帛網, updated May 27, 2016, accessed Feb. 18, 2025, http://m.bsm.org.cn/?guwenzi/6720.html; Cao Jinyan 曹锦炎, "Zeng hou can zhong mingwen kaoshi" 曾侯残钟铭文考释, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 70–73.

342 The original description of this passage's position given by the excavator reads *zhengmian you gu* 正面右鼓, i.e., "right striking-area in the lower third of the recto face of bell". See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 15.

鳴鼱（皇），用考（孝）[台（以）][343]
亯（享）于悻（辟?）皇昌（祖），
以[悤（祈）]𥘅（眉）耆（壽）大
命之長。期（其）肫（純）
譴（德）降，畬（余）萬殜（世）
是惕（尚）。

The first month of the king, the auspicious day *jiawu*, Marquis Yu of Zeng said, "Kuo the Elder was chosen[344] by the High Lord to assist King Wen (Zhou Wenwang 周文王, fl. 12th-11th century BCE) and King Wu (Zhou Wuwang 周武王, reigned ca. 1046–1043 BC) in beating the mandate of Yin (Yin 殷 or Shang 商 dynasty, ca. 16th millennium-1046 BC) as well as in pacifying and calming All under Heaven. The [Zhou] king[345] then dispatched and commanded Duke Nan to build settlements within the land of confluence.[346] Thus [Duke Nan] ruled the barbarian of the Huai River there, towards the confluence of the Yangtse and the Xia River.[347]

Yet after the Zhou's royal house grew inferior, we decided on appeasement toward the flourishing Chu. Then Wu, relying on the numerous folk that it had, created disorder. Its expeditions westwards and campaigns southwards were thereupon exerted on Chu. The Jing

[343] The character *tai* 台 is blurred. But since the inscription on the bell no. M1:2 bears an almost identical inscription, the character concerned could be complemented. See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 16.

[344] Li Xueqin renders the character 𠂤 as *yong* 庸 and further as *yong* 用, which means "to use, to appoint". See Li Xueqin 李学勤, "Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong qianban shidu" 曾侯𡭴（與）编钟铭文前半释读, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 68.

[345] Scholars argue that the king concerned here must the King Cheng of Zhou (Zhou Chengwang 周成王, reigned ca. 1042–1021 BCE). See Li Xueqin 2014, 69; Xu Shaohua 2014, 81.

[346] Li Xueqin renders the character 𡳿 as *rui* 汭, which means "confluence". Elsewhere in the inscription, the confluence is specified as the one of the Yangtse and Xia River (Jiangxia 江𣳾). See Li Xueqin 2014, 69.

[347] Li Xueqin points out that the Xia River was a tributary stream of the Han River and furthermore, the Han River was called the Xia River after it was joined by this tributary stream. The Han-Xia River meets the Yangtse in Wuhan 武漢, Hubei 湖北 province. See Li Xueqin 2014, 69; for a study of the historical course of the Xia River see Shi Quan 石泉 and Lu Xiqi 鲁西奇, "Gu Xiashui yuanliu xinzheng" 古夏水源流新证, *Hunan daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 湖北大学学报（哲学社会科学版）, no. 6 (1995): 47–55.

state (another name of the Chu state)[348] has been shattered[349] and the Mandate of Heaven was about to go astray. The holiness of [us,] the venerable Zeng marquis, is august. We fought with our own martial forces and thereafter, the mandate of Chu returned in peace. The Chu throne was re-stabilised due to the goodness[350] of [us], the Zeng marquis.

Ah! Solemn is the Zeng marquis![351] With venerable martial powers and awe, we paid reverence by abstinence before making covenants [with Chu]. As a role model in practicing expeditions and martial forces, we conciliated the Four Directions.

[Now], after we have consolidated the achievements of Chu, we completely recovered the Zeng territory. [On this occasion], we have chosen auspicious metal and made by ourselves the [following] implements for our ancestral temple: a set of tuned bells, which sound gorgeous. We use them to make offerings to our grand ancestors, in order to pray for our longevity and a long duration of the grand mandate. May that their pure virtue descends, which will be honoured by us for ten thousand generations."

The inscription presents a commemorative speech of the Marquis Yu while dedicating a set of bells to his ancestors.[352] The inscription has settled the debate triggered by Li Xueqin, because an incident described by Marquis Yu coincides with one recorded in transmitted literature. More exactly, while Marquis Yu glorified himself for saving the mandate of Chu against Wu and re-establishing the Chu throne, *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Tradition) refers to the

---

348 The Chu Kingdom was also called Jing 荊 or Ying 郢. See Huang Shengsong 黃聖松, "Xian Qin "yi guo duo ming" xianxiang chuyi: Jian lun Zeng, Sui er ming zhi guanxi" 先秦「一國多名」現象芻議——兼論曾, 隨二名之關係, *Zhongguo wenshizhe yanjiu nikan* 中國文哲研究集刊, no. 45 (2014): 121–169.

349 Dong Shan renders the character 𣪊 as *can* 残, i.e., "shattered". See Dong Shan 2014.

350 The ligature 𩵦 stands for *lingxin* 霝辛. In bronze inscriptions, the character *ling* 霝 is often a phonetic loan of *ling* 令, which means "good, kind". For instance, one set phrase that is used in bronze inscriptions throughout the Western Zhou and the Eastern Zhou period is *lingzhong* 霝冬", which stands for *lingzhong* 令終 and means "a good end of life". Dong Shan assumes that the term *ling* 霝 in the present inscription is a noun, meaning "goodness". Furthermore, Dong renders the character 辛 as *wu* 於, which forms with the three characters following it the phrase *wu mu Zeng Hou* 於穆曾侯, a parallel phrase with the phrase *wu muqingmiao* 於穆清廟 (Ah! Solemn is the ancestral temple in its pure stillness) in *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Odes). See Zhou Fagao 周法高, ed., *Jinwen gulin* 金文詁林 (Xianggang: Xianggang zhongwen daxue, 1974): 6445 ff.; Dong Shan 2014.

351 For the interpretation of the phrase *wu mu Zeng Hou* 於穆曾侯 see footnote 350.

352 As argued above, Marquis Yu made at least three of these bells with almost identical inscriptions. See footnote 341.

following incident: as the Wu army sacked the Chu capital in 506 BCE, King Zhao of Chu (Chu Zhaowang 楚昭王, reigned 515–489 BCE) went into exile and sought refuge in Sui. It was the Sui marquis who managed to turn away the Wu pursuers.[353] And while Marquis Yu emphasised the covenants made between Chu and Zeng, *Zuo zhuan* also confirms the long-term covenants made between Chu and Sui.[354] These coincidences are regarded the most crucial argument for the view that the Zeng March is identical with the one that is called Sui in transmitted literature. Furthermore, the incident recorded in *Zuo zhuan* provides a *terminus post quem* of the inscription, i.e. 506 BCE. Furthermore, as will be addressed below, the inscription refers to an exact date at the beginning.

In Marquis Yu's speech, he highlighted two persons, i.e. Kuo the Elder (Bo Kuo 伯适, or Nangong Kuo 南宮括), probably a prime father of his lineage; and himself. Kuo the Elder is profiled as a contemporary of King Wen, King Wu and King Cheng (Zhou Chengwang 周成王, reigned ca. 1042–1021 BCE) in transmitted literature.[355] On the one hand, the inscription partly corroborates his profile by confirming his duty during King Wen and King Wu's periods. On the other hand, it reveals something that is never mentioned in any transmitted texts, i.e. Kuo the Elder, who was called the Duke Nan (Nangong 南公) later,[356] was sent to build his

353 See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 48; Xu Shaohua 2014, 79 ff.

354 The passage concerned reads: "以隨之辟小，而密邇於楚，楚實存之，世有盟誓，至于今未改" (Because Sui is small and remote, yet close to Chu, it has in fact been Chu that has preserved us. For generations we have made covenants and pledges to Chu, which to this day have not been altered.) See Stephen Durrant et al., transl., *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan: Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals"*, vol. 3 (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016): 1758 ff.

355 Records about Kuo the Elder can be found in *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents), *Guo yu*, *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (Lost Book of Zhou), *Shiji* 史記 (The Grand Scribe's Records), and *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects). For an overview of those records see Huang Fengchun 黄凤春 and Hu Gang 胡刚, "Zai shuo Xizhou jinwen zhong de 'Nan gong': Er lun Yejiashan Xizhou zengguo mudi de zushu" 再说西周金文中的"南公"：二论叶家山西周曾国墓地的族属. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 5 (2014): 42.

356 The denotation Nangong 南公, "Duke of South", appear in several bronze inscriptions. Before the inscriptions from the tomb of Marquis Yu were found, several scholars have addressed this denotation and argued that it was an abbreviation of Nangong gong 南宮公, i.e., "Duke of Nangong", a title of Bo Kuo 伯适 or Nangong Kuo 南宮括. See Li Xueqin 李学勤, "Dayu ding xinlun" 大盂鼎新论, *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 郑州大学学报（哲学社会科学版）, no. 3 (1985): 51–55; Du Zhengsheng 杜正勝, "Zhou dai fengjian zhidu de shehui jiegou: Fengjian yu zongfa (xiapian)" 周代封建制度的社會結構：封建與宗法（下篇）, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, no. 50.3 (1979): 551–613; Zhu Fenghan 朱凤瀚, *Shang Zhou jiazu xingtai yanjiu* 商周家族形态研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2004): 339.

establishment “towards the confluence of the Yangtse and the Xia River”; and above all, the Zeng marquis were the direct descendants of Kuo the Elder. It has been a subject of debate, from which lineage Kuo the Elder himself derived – it seems that transmitted literature and archaeological findings give diverse hints about that.[357] Interestingly, in an inscription on another bronze chimebell from Marquis Yu, the marquis announced the origin of his lineage as follows:

> (Upper part of the recto of bell M1:3):
> 隹（惟）王十月，吉（？）
> 日庚（？）午，曾侯
>
> (Left striking-area in the lower third of the recto face of bell M1:):
> 𠬜曰：余
> 稷之玄
> 孫……[358]
>
> The tenth month of the king, the auspicious day *geng(?)wu*, Marquis Yu of Zeng said, “I am the great-grandson of Ji…”

Ji 稷, also called Hou Ji 后稷 or Qi 棄, was the earliest ancestor acknowledged in the Zhou official historiography. Hence, whether true or not, the Marquis Yu officially identified himself as a descendant of the lineage of the Zhou king – with the matriarchal name Ji 姬 – and insisted on (or perhaps failed to deny) this even after it became a deserter of the Zhou royal house, as is indicated by the inscription on the bell M1:1.

In the inscription on the bell M1:1, the glorification of Duke Nan is followed by two short lines: “Yet after the Zhou’s royal house grew inferior, we decided on appeasement toward the flourishing Chu.” As brief as they are, the two lines hint a crucial turning point in the history of the Zeng March, i.e. the appeasement toward Chu. This turning point is corroborated by transmitted literature as well. According to *Zuo zhuan*, the Sui March made covenants with the

---

357 According to diverse indications in transmitted texts and in archaeological findings (primarily inscriptions or emblems on bronze vessels), scholars give four possibilities of the lineages from which Kuo the Elder can have descended. For an overview of these possibilities see Huang Fengchun 黄凤春 and Hu Gang 胡刚, “Shuo Xizhou jinwen zhong de ‘Nangong’: Jian lun Suizhou Yejiashan Xizhou Zengguo mudi de zushu” 说西周金文中的“南公”：兼论随州叶家山西周曾国墓地的族属, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (2014): 50–56.

358 The interpunction “……” (in Chinese) or “…” (in English) both mean that a passage is omitted in the present thesis. As a contrast, the interpunction “[…]” (in English) means that a certain number of characters are missing (⍰ in Chinese) or illegible (□ in Chinese), depending on the context.

Chu Kingdom in 690 BCE,[359] ten years after the move of the Zhou capital to Luoyi 洛邑, an event marking the weakened political power of the Zhou royal house.

It seems that Sui became a vassal of Chu sometime after 690 BCE, because *Zuo zhuan* mentions that Sui turned against (*pan* 叛) Chu in 640 BCE. [360] The relationship between Zeng and Chu may have been changed back and forth after that. Anyway, by the time of Marquis Yu, something crucial must have happened, because in his eye, while the Chu Kingdom was shattered by the attack of Wu, "the Mandate of Heaven" was endangered at the same time. His recognition of the Chu king as the receiver of the Mandate of Heaven inevitably means the derecognition of the Zhou king for the same title. Hence, the Zeng March de facto claimed royal to the Chu Kingdom sometime before Marquis Yu's time.[361]

The inscriptions on the bronze bells M:1 and M1:3 both begin with a date, respectively. These are "隹（惟）王正月，吉日甲午" and "隹（惟）王十月，吉（？）日庚（？）午", i.e. "the first month of the king, the auspicious day *jiawu*" and "the tenth month of the king, the auspicious day *geng(?)wu*". According to Li Xueqin, a *jiri* 吉日 was the first day of a month.[362] The date on the bronze bell M:1 must have been one after 506 BCE; the two dates must have been within the life span of Marquis Yu. As the excavators have pointed out, according to the Zhou calendar (Zhou li 周歷), these two dates may have been in 497 BCE and 473 BCE.[363] But the question arises as to what extent it is possible that Marquis Yu, chanting

---

359 In 690 BCE, Chu "established a base for the army near Sui. The Sui leaders were afraid and went to seek an accord. Citing the king's command, the maréchal [Qu Zhong] entered Sui and swore a covenant with the Sui marquis. He also asked that they meet at the bend of the Han river" (營軍臨隨，隨人懼，行成，莫敖以王命入盟隨侯，且請為會於漢汭而還). The translation is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 144 ff.

360 See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 346 ff.

361 Wang Zhuo argues that Zeng became a vassal of Chu sometime between 640 and 525 BCE. See Wang Zhuo 2015, 29 and 84.

362 See Li Xueqin 李学勤, *Xia Shang Zhou niandai xue zhaji* 夏商周年代学札记 (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1999): 87–96.

363 Besides the reconstruction of the dates according to the Zhou calendar, the excavators have also attempted to reconstruct the dates according to the Xia calendar (Xia li 夏歷), whereupon they assume that the two dates could have been in 497 BCE and 504 BCE, respectively. But they seem to have determined the dates using two independent reckoning systems of the Xia calendar. Hence, the dates reconstructed must be discarded. See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 49; cf. Zhang Peiyu 张培瑜, *Zhongguo xian Qin shi libiao* 中国先秦史历表 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1987): 165 and 163.

the Mandate of Heaven of a Chu king, was still using the Zhou calendar – The Chu Kingdom used its own calendrical system since the Spring and Autumn period.[364] The two dates per se refer to a king, more likely a Chu king in the context. According to the Chu calendrical system, the two dates may have been November 15th, 503 BCE and August 12th, 478 BCE, respectively.[365] Hence, Marquis Yu was a close ancestor of Marquis Yi.[366]

The statement made by Marquis Yu demonstrates the ambivalent self-identity of the Zeng March. The marquis declared his multifaceted roles as Zhou descendant, appeaser toward Chu and conquered subject of Chu. He did not seem intent on giving up any of these roles. Apparently, the Zeng March in his era managed a utilitarian, down-to-earth diplomacy, which was probably the normality in its era. This ambivalent self-identity, depending on the extent to which it was inherited by Marquis Yi and his direct descendants, undoubtedly formed part of the Zeng March's cultural resources, which inevitably shaped the march's ritualistic repertoire.

3.2 A Funerary Gift of a Chu King

An inscription on a bronze *bo*-bell 鎛鍾[367] as well as its deposition location in the tomb reveal the relationship between Zeng and Chu at the time of the Marquis Yi's death, which inevitably has shaped the marquis' funeral. Furthermore, the inscription sheds some light on the marquis' funeral in terms of its temporal and spatial context as well. The inscription reads as follows:

隹（唯）王五十又六祀：返（赴）自西
旟。楚王畬章乍（作）曾侯乙宗

[364] Using transmitted literature and manuscripts that were archaeologically exploited, Wu Jiabi argues that in the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, the Chu year began with the *hai* 亥 month, the 12th month in the Zhou calendar or the Xia calendar. See Wu Jiabi 武家璧, *Guan xiang shou shi: Chuguo de tian wen li fa* 观象授时：楚国的天文历法, Chu wenhua zhishi congshu 楚文化知识丛书 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001): 140 ff.

[365] See Zhang Peiyu 1987, 85, 163, 170.

[366] The excavators assume that Marquis Yu may have been the grandfather of Marquis Yi. See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan 2014, 49.

[367] According to Falkenhausen, *bo*-bells are "mallet-struck bells of two other classes were suspended vertically from loops: *bo* 鎛, with flat rims and sculpturally elaborate suspension devices". See Falkenhausen 1994, 68 ff.

彝，窴（奠）之于西旝。其永時（持）用亯（享）。

"The 56th year of the reign of the Chu King, Xiong Zhang: after receiving the [death] notice[368] from Xiyang, the king made this lineage temple implement[369] for [the deceased][370] Marquis Yi and placed it in Xiyang. May the marquis hold it permanently for receiving offerings!"

---

368 Qian Boquan renders the character 返 as *fu* 赴 and points out that before the Han dynasty, this character meant "to send a death notice". Li Xueqin renders the character 返 as *bao* 報 and interprets it as a "death notice" (*fugao* 訃告). Huang Shengzhang complements Li's argument, pointing out that the character 返 is a phonetical loan of the character *fu* 赴, which is a writing variant of *fu* 訃, i.e., "death notice". See Qian Boquan 钱伯泉, "Guanyu Zeng Hou Yi mu Chu bo mingwen kaoshi de shangque: Jian tan Zeng Hou Yi mu de juedui niandai" 关于曾侯乙墓楚镈铭文考释的商榷：兼谈曾侯乙墓的绝对年代, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (1984): 93–94; Li Xueqin 1978; Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋, "Xin faxian de 'Yangling' jinban ji xiangguan de Yang qi, Zeng qi mingwen zhong zhu wenti de kaosuo" 新发现的"羕陵"金版及相关的羕器、曾器铭文中诸问题的考索, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu xuji* 出土文献研究续集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989): 117 ff. I agree with Qian, Li and Huang that the term means "death notice" in the context.

This interpretation is challenged by several further interpretations. As will be mentioned below, inscriptions with identical wording on two further bells have been found in the Southern Song dynasty (see footnote 371). While the Song paleograph Xue Shanggong 薛尚功 (fl. 1131–1144) renders the character concerned as *xi* 徙, i.e., "to move", Tong Shuye renders it as *qian* 遷, which also means "to move". Guo Dewei suggests that the character can be plainly understood as "to return" without being replaced. Despite of their different readings, Tong and Guo make the same point that the phrase "返自西旝" indicates that the Chu King moved his capital "from Xiyang" to a new location in that year. However, this makes little sense in the context. As the inscription goes on, the Chu king made a bronze bell to dedicate to Marquis Yi in his lineage temple in Xiyang. Accordingly, Xiyang must have been the capital of the Zeng March instead of an old capital of the Chu Kingdom. Qiu Xigui interprets the phrase "返自西旝" as "[the Chu King] returned from [the Zeng capital] Xiyang". This would mean that the Chu king cast the bell after he had returned from the Zeng capital, i.e., he did not make gift of the bell as he was visiting the Zeng capital. The question arises then, why does the inscription emphasise such an awkward event (a visit without gift)? Hence, Qiu's interpretation seems illogical as well. Cf. Xue Shanggong 薛尚功, *Lidai zhong ding yiqi kuanshi* 歷代鍾鼎彝器款識 (Liaoning: Liao Shen shushe, 1985): 105 ff.; Tong Shuye 童书业, *Tong Shuye zhuzuo ji* 童书业著作集, compiled by Tong Jiaoying 童教英 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008): 538; Guo Dewei 郭德维, *Chu du Jinancheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都纪南城复原研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999): 32 ff.; Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭, "Tan tan Suixian Zeng Hou Yi mu de wenzi ziliao" 谈谈随县曾侯乙墓的文字资料, *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1979): 25.

369 The meaning of the term *zongyi* 宗彝 has been discussed since the 19th century. Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841) goes so far as to claim that the term has 19 different meanings including the one of "lineage temple implement". Rong Geng 容庚 (1894–1983) regards it as a generic term referring to non-specific bronze vessels. Chen Mengjia 陳夢家 also argues that the term is a generic term but emphasises that it can refer to merely certain vessel types. See Gong Zizhen 龔自珍, "Shuo zongyi" 說宗彝, in *Gong Zizhen quanji* 龔自珍全集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975): 261 ff.; Rong Geng 容庚, *Shangzhou yiqi tongkao* 商周彝器通考, Yanjing xuebao zhuanhao 燕京學報專號 17 (Beijing 北京: Yanjing daxue yanjing xueshe 燕京大學燕京學社, 1941): 495; Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, "Xizhou tongqi duandai (san)" 西周銅器斷代 (三), *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (1956): 69 ff. In view of the inscription concerned, scholars generally agree on the interpretation of "lineage temple implement". See Li Xueqin 1978; Qiu Xigui 1979, 25; Wang Rencong 王人聪, "Guanyu Zeng Hou Yi mu de niandai" 关于曾侯乙墓的年代, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (1985): 4.

370 Li Xueqin and Wang Rencong both assume that if a "lineage temple implement" was dedicated to someone, then the person must have been dead, i.e., Marquis Yi was dead as the inscription was made. But Qiu Xigui argues that it must not have been the case. Zhuang Shuhui cites one of the 19 interpretations of Gong Zizhen to argue that *zongyi* in the inscription concerned means generally "gift of implement" (*zengqi* 贈器) and

Xiong Zhang is the personal name of King Hui of Chu (Chu Huiwang 楚惠王, reigned 488–432 BC). He was the Son of King Zhao, who found refuge in Zeng in 506 BCE. Interestingly, two further bells with inscriptions of the same wording and different layouts were found in Anlu 安陸 in Hubei province during the Southern Song 南宋 dynasty (1127–1279).[371] Therefore, the Chu king has cast a set of at least three bells as a funerary gift, which was likely also part of the Chu reciprocation for the refuge of the former king several decades earlier. As the inscription indicates, the bells were meant to become lineage temple implements (*zongyi* 宗彝) instead of being buried. Nevertheless, one of them ended up in the marquis tomb.

Therefore, like in the funerary cycle of the Ordinary officer in *Yili*, the field of gift-giving in the marquis's funeral also belonged to the second cluster of fields of action, which collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the entombment. The other bells were perhaps indeed kept in his lineage temple for a certain period of time. Hence, similar to Marquis Yu's tomb, Marquis Yi's was also equipped with one lineage temple implement that used to be part of a set.

The inscription indicates that the death notice of Marquis Yi reached the Chu royal house in 433 BCE, the 56th year of the reign of the king. Hence, it is probably also the year of the

agrees with Qiu Xigui that the person to whom a *zongyi* was dedicated must not have been dead. See Li Xueqin 1978; Wang Rencong 1985, 4; Cf. Qiu Xigui 1979, 25; Zhuang Shuhui 1994, 85.

Irrespective of the meaning of the term, it seems telling that the phrase structure "乍（某某）宗彝" (make a lineage temple implement for someone) is not so often used in bronze inscriptions; and frequently, the person to whom a lineage temple implement was dedicated was dead. The "Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions" of Academia Sinica provide 14 hits of such structures, if repetitions are not regarded.[370] Among these persons in the hits, twelve have been apparently certain ancestor (entries nos. 2796, 5365, 5372, 5382, 5916, 5942, 5970, 5972, 5980, 9097, NA1950, and NB1197); the remaining two have been women (5969 and 10299) who were probably indeed alive. Especially one of them (10299) who got the lineage temple implement as part of her marriage portion was of course not dead. See Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, "Yinzhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku" 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫 (Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions), accessed January 25, 2019, http://bronze.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/qry_bronze.php.

[371] The two further bells themselves are lost. Xue Shanggong (fl. 1131–1144) made line tracings of the inscriptions on them; Wang Fuzhi 王厚之 (1131–1204) made rubbings from one of the bells, which bore an inscription with completely identical wording but a different layout as the one on the *bo*-bell from Marquis Yi's tomb. The other bell bore a fragmented inscription with identical wording and yet another layout. For the rubbings of the bell see Wang Houzhi 王厚之, *Zhong ding kuanshi yi juan* 鐘鼎款識一卷, Xuxiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 901: shibu 史部, jinshilei 金石類 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002): 482 ff.; for the line tracings see Xue Shanggong, *Lidai zhong ding yiqi kuanshi*, 105 ff.

marquis' death.[372] Thereupon, the Chu king could have sent an envoy to deliver a message of condolence.[373] But in the meanwhile, he must have commissioned a certain royal bronze foundry in the Chu capital, Ying 郢, to cast the chimebell set. The location of Ying at that time is controversial. Based on traditional literature and archaeological findings, scholars suggest several possible sites, including today's Guojiagang 郭家崗, Chu huangcheng 楚皇城, Xiaohugang 小胡崗 and Jinancheng 紀南城, all of which are in today's Hubei province.[374] After the bells were cast, the king probably commissioned another envoy[375] to transport them to Xiyang 西旸, the place where the Zeng lineage temple was located, i.e. the capital of the Zeng state.[376] The location of the Zeng capital at that time corresponds approximately to today's Suizhou in Hubei province.[377]

---

372 Death notices must have been sent shortly after the death has occurred. In the funerary cycle in *Yili*, for instance, death notices are sent on the day of the death of the Ordinary Officer. See Appendix I: Table 2.

373 In *Yili*, the ruler of a deceased Ordinary Officer sends on the day of the death a message of condolence. Similarly, a Zhou king bereft of a Vassal Lord sent such a message as well. A passage in *Zuo zhuan* reads: "先王之制，諸侯之喪，士弔，大夫送葬" (According to the system of the former kings, during the funeral of a Vassal Lord, [the ruler sends] an Ordinary Officer to express condolence and [sends] a Grandee to accompany the cortege.) It is likely that the Chu king also has followed the system of the former kings to send such a message on the occasion of Marquis Yi's funeral. The translation of the passage is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 3, 1704 ff.

374 Yin Hongbin proposes the following three sites as possible Chu capitals between the Spring and Autumn period and the mid-Warring States period: Guojiagang 郭家崗 site, Chu huangcheng 楚皇城 site, and Xiaohugang 小胡崗 site in Hubei province. While Yin tends to prefer Guojiagang, Shi Quan argues for Chu huangcheng. Guo Dewei argues that the Chu capital was moved to Jinancheng before 433 BCE. See Yin Hongbin 尹弘兵, *Chuguo ducheng yu hexinqu tansuo* 楚国都城与核心区探索 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2009): 245 ff; Shi Quan 石泉, "Chu Yingdu, Qin Han zhi Qi Liang Jianglingcheng guzhi xintan" 楚郢都，秦汉至齐梁江陵城故址新探, in *Shi Quan wenji* 石泉文集 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2006a): 246–319; Guo Dewei 1999, 31–33.

375 Based on transmitted literature, scholars generally agree that Zhou kings did not attend the funerals of the Vassal Lords themselves. This can also hold true for the Chu king, as indicated by the inscription. See Zhu Keli 朱克理, "'*Chunqiu*' '*Zuo zhuan*' zhong suojian zhuhou binsang liyi kaoshu" 《春秋》《左传》中所见诸侯殡丧礼仪考述 (Master's thesis, Jilin daxue, 2015): 59.

376 Both transmitted literature and archaeological findings indicate that royal ancestral temples were built within the capital of individual princedoms or kingdoms since the western Zhou dynasty. See Yang Kuan 楊寬, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidushi yanjiu* 中國古代都城制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993); 44 ff.; Liu Qingzhu 刘庆柱, "Zhongguo gudai ducheng kaoguxue yanjiu de jige wenti" 中国古代都城考古学研究的几个问题, *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2000): 65 ff.

377 Scholars generally assume that between the late Spring and Autumn period and the mid-Warring States period, the Zeng capital was in today's Suizhou in Hubei province. See Zhang Changping 张昌平, "Zengguo tongqi de faxian yu Zengguo diyu" 曾国铜器的发现与曾国地域, *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2008): 63; Huang Fengchun 黄凤

The death notice was commonly sent directly by persons called *fuzhe* 赴者, "messenger delivering a death notice",[378] instead of being sent by a postal staff on a relay basis.[379] Nevertheless, both the messenger and the envoy transporting the bells could have used certain state infrastructure such as postal stations, because their activities were associated with a state funeral.

By the time of the Marquis Yi's funeral, the Zeng March has been a vassal of the Chu Kingdom for several hundred years (see Section 3.1). It is possible that postal stations were built between the Chu capital and the Zeng capital. The envoy dispatched by King Hui of Chu travelled with heavy loads, including the buried *bo*-bell weighing 134.8 kilos[380] and at least another two bells if not more. From the bamboo manuscripts, it is known that the Chu King also sent three vehicles as funerary gifts (see Subsection 3.4.2). Hence, it is possible that the bells were transported by those vehicles. But in order to prevent the costly vehicles from being damaged, it is also possible that they were dismantled in parts and transported – together with the bells – by other, more robust vehicles. At any rate, the envoy must have travelled with a convoy.

Among the above-mentioned sites that have possibly been the location of the Chu capital, Guojiagang is the closest one to Suizhou, i.e. ca. 140 km via the shortest modern land route;

春, "Guanyu Zengguo de zhengzhi zhongxin jiqi bianqian wenti" 关于曾国的政治中心及其变迁问题, *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 中原文化研究 4 (2018): 43.

[378] Messengers (*fuzhe* 赴者) were commissioned to deliver death notices of deceased persons of various ranks, from Ordinary Officers to Dukes, in the pre-Qin period. See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Quli shang" 曲禮上 (Summary of the Rules of Propriety, Part I), 284; *Guo yu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978): 78; *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi sangli", 514.

[379] As Giele has pointed out, a "postal system" is different from "messengers" who work for individual employers. The postal system "shall be understood as a complex, state-run mail delivery system that operates on a relay basis in the sense that the mail is forwarded from one locally based postman to the next according to written instructions specifying the addressee"; while messengers "deliver mail or oral messages from the sender directly to the addressee, while possibly making use of a relay only in the sense that they may change the means of transportation". See Enno Giele, "New Glimpses of the Early Chinese Postal System," unpublished manuscript, 2004a; for his idea in a Japanese version see Enno Giele エノ·ギーレ, "'Yu' sei ko: Shin Kan jidai wo chūshin ni" 「郵」制攷：秦漢時代を中心に, translated by Tomiya Itaru 冨谷至. *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 63, no. 2 (2004b): 204.

[380] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 96.

and Jinancheng is the farthest one, i.e. ca. 245 km via the shortest modern land route.[381] Nothing is known about the vehicle travel speed at that time in the Chu Kingdom. Transmitted texts merely provide sparse information about the travel speed in pre-Qin China.

A passage in *Guanzi* 管子 (Master Guan), compiled in the 2nd century BCE from sources of mixed origins,[382] indicates an average speed of official travelers in the Qi Duchy (11th century-221 BCE) in the 7th century BCE:

> 桓公踐位十九年……三十里置遽委焉，有司職之。從諸侯欲通，吏從行者，令一人為負以車。若宿者，令人養其馬，食其委。[383]

> When Duke Huan [of Qi] had been on the throne for nineteen years [667 B.C.]... he set up a postal station every thirty *li* (12.474 km)[384] with supplies for travelers and placed an officer in charge of it. Whenever a Vassal Lord wished to send an envoy to communicate [with Qi], a civil functionary would accompany the traveler on his way and order one man to haul the traveler's baggage in a cart. If they stopped overnight, he would have men take care of the horses and feed the traveler with the supplies of the postal station.[385]

Thirty *li* or 12.474 km seems to have been an average day's travel for an envoy with baggage hauled by cart. A passage in *Zhou li* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou), compiled in the second century BCE or earlier,[386] corroborates this average speed:

---

381 For studies of the Chu capitals between the Spring and Autumn period and the mid-Warring States period see footnote 377.

382 See Michael Loewe 1993, 246 ff.

383 See *Guanzi jiaozhu* 管子校注, with the commentary of Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳 and compiled by Liang Yunhua 梁運華, Xinbian zhuzi jicheng 新编诸子集成 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004): 368.

384 One *li* in pre-Qin China corresponds to ca. 415.8 m. This can be calculated through the relations between *chi* 尺, *bu* 步, and *li* 里 in Qiu Guangming 丘光明 et al., *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi: Du liang heng juan* 中国科学技术史：度量衡卷 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2001): 23 ff and 156.

385 For the translation of the passage see *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China*, translated by W. Allyn Rickett (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.): 309 ff.

386 See Loewe 1993, 25 ff.

凡國野之道，十里有廬，廬有飲食；三十里有宿，宿有路室，路室有委；五十里有市，市有候館，候館有積。[387]

In principle, along the roads in the open terrain of the kingdom, there is a rest-house every ten *li* (4.158 km) where food and drink may be had. Every thirty *li* (12.474 km) there is an overnight rest-house with lodgings and a [government] grain-store. Every fifty *li* (20.79 km) there is a market and a station with an abundant stock of supplies.[388]

Bearing in mind that the terrain between the Chu capital and the Zeng capital was seldom comparable with the one in the Qi Duchy and that the *Zhou li* does not provide a ubiquitous standard of the pre-Qin travel speeds, it seems that 12.474 km per day is the vehicle travel speed that is most frequently refered to in transmitted texts. If this speed was manageable for the Chu convoy, it can have spent 11–20 days between the Chu capital and the Zeng capital.[389]

The messenger delivering the death note, however, travelled with apparently less burden and was thus able to travel much faster.[390] One passage in transmitted literature indicates the speed in emergency a century earlier as the marquis' era. In 546 BCE, the Song 宋 minister Xiang Xu 向戌, while organizing a covenant meeting of the Vassal Lords, travelled as envoy

---

387 See *Zhou li zhushu* 周禮注疏, chapter "Diguan situ" 地官司徒 (Ministry of Earth or of Official Instruction), with the commentary of Zheng Xuan and the sub-commentary of Jia Gongyan, Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010): 408.

388 The translation is adapted from Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 4. Physics and Physical Technology, Part III. Civil Engineering and Nautics*, with the collaboration of Wang Ling and Lu Gwei-Djen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971): 35.

389 Of course, the vehicles can have partly taken the land route and partly been ferried by water. Shi Quan reconstructed the fleeing route of King Zhao of Chu from the pursuit of the Wu army towards the Sui capital in 506 BC. It seems that part of that route is parallel to two rivers, the Baishui 白水 and the Yunshui 涢水. But due to the uncertainty in terms of the extent of navigability of ancient rivers, the course change of the rivers, and the diverse possibilities of combination between land routes and water routes, there is no way to reckon the travelling speed then. See Shi Quan 石泉, "Cong Chunqiu Wu shi ru Ying zhi yi kan gudai Jingchu dili" 从春秋吴师入郢之役看古代荆楚地理, in *Shi Quan wenji* 石泉文集 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2006b): 245, figure 25.

390 The classic example used to highlight the delivering tempo via a postal system in pre-Qin China is a comment made by Bing Yizi 邴意兹 in 497 BCE upon the attack of Qi 齊 and Wei 魏 on Jin 晉: "If a crack force attacks on the Jin side of the Yellow River (north of the Yellow River in Henan province), relay carriages will reach Jiang (the first Jin capital, about 250 km west of where the Qi and Wei armies would have crossed the Yellow River) only after several days. The Jiang [army] will not be able to arrive at the Yellow River in less than three months, and by then we will have already crossed" (銳師伐河內，傳必數日而後及絳，絳不三月，不能出河，則我既濟水矣). The translation is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 3, 1808 ff.

from the Song capital to the Chen 陳 capital and went back within four days.[391] The Chen capital was in Wanqiu 宛丘, today's Huaiyang 淮陽 county in Henan 河南 province.[392] The Song capital at that time may have been in Suiyang 睢陽, today's Suiyang 睢陽 district of Shangqiu 商丘 city in Henan province; or in Xiang 相, today's Suzhou 宿州 city in Anhui 安徽 province.[393] Depending on the location of the Song capital, the modern land route between the two capitals is 116 km or 210 km.[394] The effective time that Xiang Xu spent on route was likely much less than four days and four nights, because he took time for his other important agenda during the four days, i.e. talking with an important person in the Chen capital and made report back in the Song capital.[395] Hence, if the Song capital was in Suiyang, Xiang Xu, who was likely shuttled by relay carriages, travelled at a speed exceeding 58 km per day and night. This seems to have been manageable, considering that a postman in the 3rd century BCE in south central China was expected to deliver official post at a speed of 67 km on foot per day and night.[396] If the Song capital was in Xiang, however, Xiang Xu's speed could have remarkably exceeded 105 km per day and night.

Regarding the speed of Xiang Xu, the messenger delivering the death note probably spent two to four days to arrive in the Chu capital. After the arrival of the messenger, time was needed

---

391 Xiang Xu left the Song capital, heading for the Chen capital on the *dingmao* day of the sixth month and came back to the Song capital on the *gengwu* day of the same month in the 27th year of the reign of Duke Xiang of Lu (Lu Xianggong 魯襄公, reigned 572–542 BCE). Hence, he spent four days at the most en route. See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 1194 ff.

392 See Qu Shangmei 翟尚美, "Wanqiu, Chencheng, Chengying: Huaiyang diming yuanliu kao" 宛丘・陈城・陈郢：淮阳地名源流考, *Zhoukou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 周口师范学院学报 13, no. 4 (1996): 77–79.

393 Yang Kuan indicates that between the Western Zhou period and ca. 400 BCE, the Song capital was in Suiyang, today's Suiyang district of Shangqiu in Henan province. Qian Mu argues that in the early 6th century BCE, Song moved its capital to Xiang, today's Suzhou city in Anhui province; and in the Warring States period (no exact date is mentioned), Song moved the capital to Pengcheng 彭城, today's Xuzhou 徐州 in Jiangsu 江蘇 province. Hence, in 546 BCE, the Song capital could have been in today's Suiyang or Suzhou. See Yang Kuan 杨宽, *Zhanguo shi* 战国史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1998): 280 ff.; Qian Mu 钱穆, *Xian Qin zhuzi xinian kaobian* 先秦诸子系年考辩, "Minguo congshu" xuanyin 《民国丛书》选印 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1992): 290 ff.

394 According to the route suggestion of googlemaps for walkers, the modern land route between Huangyang and Suiyang is ca. 116 km and the one between Huaiyang and Suzhou is ca. 210 km. Of course, the modern land routes almost certainly deviate from the one that was chosen by Xiang Xu 向戌 in 546 BCE.

395 See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 1194 ff.

396 See Giele 2004b, 217 ff.

for the preparation of the funerary gifts, especially for the production of the personalised chimebell set. Hence, it could have been months between the sending of the death notice and the arrival of the chimebell set in the Zeng capital.

The Chu king who sent those gorgeous funerary gifts was but one of the persons in the circle of obligation and reciprocity focused on Marquis Yi. As the funerary lists reveal (see Subsection 3.4.2), some of these persons in that circle dwelt much further away from the Zeng capital than the Chu king. Accordingly, the gathering of material resources and assembling of participants of the marquis' funeral must have required a considerably longer period of at least a few months, which must have been embedded in the temporal frame between the death and the entombment of the marquis. Furthermore, all the rites leading to the entombment were performed and all tomb goods including the funerary lists were prepared within this temporal frame as well.

Interestingly, the author of *Zuo zhuan* stated the following rule associated with this temporal frame:

> 天子七月而葬，同軌畢至；諸侯五月，同盟至；大夫三月，同位至；士踰月，外姻至。
>
> The Son of Heaven is buried in the seventh month (after death occurred),[397] leaders of the same axle standard attending; a Vassal Lord in the fifth month, those joined with him in covenants attending; a Grandee in the third month, those of the same rank attending; and an Ordinary Officer in the second month, his relatives by marriage attending.[398]

Hence, in an ideal case, the duration between the death and the entombment of a Vassal Lord (*zhuhou* 諸侯), i.e. the social status of Marquis Yi, was between three and five months. But indeed, this temporal frame may have varied to an even larger extent. Ca. 50% of the

[397] Durrant et al. interpret the sentence "天子七月而葬" as "the Son of Heaven is buried after seven months", and so forth. But concrete cases of funerals in *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) indicate that the seventh month after death is meant. It seems similar to the reckoning of nominal age that is still popular in today's China. Cf. Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 14 ff.; see Li Hongjun 李洪君, "Ye tan sannian sang de sangqi wenti" 也谈三年丧的丧期问题, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 1 (2002): 272; Wu Zhu 吴柱, "Chunqiu zhuhou sangli binqi wenti xintan" 春秋諸侯喪禮殯期問題新探, *Wenshi*, no. 4 (2016): 7.

[398] The translation is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 14 ff.

Vassal Lords whose funerals were recorded in *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) were buried in the fifth month after death occurred; a quarter of them in the third month; the remaining ones in irregular durations between the second and the 31st month, mostly depicted in *Zuo zhuan* as exceptions.[399] Furthermore, individual princedoms followed their own conventions in terms of this temporal frame; but still, they commonly preferred to bury their lords in the fifth or in the third month after death occurred.[400] At any rate, the period between the death and the entombment of Marquis Yi can have lasted several months, though the exact duration might never become known.

Regarding the temporal aspects concerning the gift of the chimebell set, the rule of the diverse durations between death and entombment in *Zuo zhuan* seems neither trivial nor arbitrary, even if its concrete implementation has deviated from time to time. The circle of reciprocity focused on a Vassal Lord ought to have been much larger and spatially much wider than one focused on any Ordinary Officer. Accordingly, it must have taken much longer to gather the desired material resources and, more importantly, an assemblage of significant persons or their representatives, for the funeral of the former. Hence, the rule was shaped by the "normative power of the factual" (Jellinek 1914, see Section 2.1).

Transmitted literature indicates certain spatial aspects of the Vassal Lords' funerals,[401] though it hardly provides a picture as complete as the one of an Ordinary Officer's funerary cycle in *Yili* (see Appendix I: Table 2). A Vassal Lord's funeral in the Spring and Autumn period involved three to four locales, i.e. the place of his death, his palace if it was not the place of his death, his ancestral temple and his tomb.[402] In the period between the death and the entombment, the palace and the ancestral temple were the primary locales of the funerary rites.

---

399 Shao Bei lists all together 96 Vassal Lords whose funerals were recorded in *Chunqiu*. See Shao Bei 邵蓓, "Chunqiu zhuhou de binqi" 春秋诸侯的殡期, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中国史研究, no. 4 (2005): 11 ff.

400 See Wu Zhu 2016, 8 ff.

401 *Zuo zhuan* is the primary source in which funerals of the Vassal Lords are depicted. For an overview of rites concerning Vassal Lords' funerals in *Zuo zhuan* see Qin Jiahui 秦佳慧, "Chunqiu sangzang miao xiang dianli kaolun: Yi *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan* wei zhongxin" 春秋丧葬庙享典礼考论：以《春秋左传》为中心 (PhD diss., Zhejiang daxue, 2007): 22–60; Zhu Keli 2015, 12 ff; for an overview of funerary rites in *Zuo zhuan* in general see Liu Wei 刘伟, "Zhisang yu binzang: '*Zuo zhuan*' zhong sangzang chengxu yanjiu" 治丧与殡葬：《左传》中丧葬程序研究, *Zaozhuang xueyuan xuebao* 枣庄学院学报 32, no. 1 (2015): 66–70.

402 See Qin Jiahui 2007, 22 ff.

the proper place for a ruler or his wife to demise, for instance, was the Grand Chamber within the palace.[403] It seems to have been the royal counterpart of the back chamber (*shishi* 適室) in the mansion of an Ordinary Officer (see Appendix I: Table 2).

However, within this period, while the corpse of an Ordinary Officer was for the most part presented or provisionally buried in the hall of his mansion, the corpse of a Vassal Lord was relocated to the ancestral temple much earlier. After the fuller dressing (*da lian* 大斂) and the coffining of the deceased Vassal Lord (*lian yu guan* 斂於棺) in his palace (nothing is known about the concrete place), the coffin was transported to the ancestral temple to be provisionally buried there.[404]

Therefore, while the coffining of the corpse of an Ordinary Officer means simultaneously the beginning of his provisional burial (see Appendix I: Table 2), they were two separate actions in the funeral of a Vassal Lord. *Zuo zhuan* indicates that the provisional burial of a Vassal Lord ought to have occurred within several days after death occurred.[405] This is corroborated by the following rule concerning the temporal aspects of the provisional burial in *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites), which was compiled approximately in the 1st century CE:

---

403 *Liji* stipulates that "君夫人卒於路寢", i.e., "a ruler and his wife [ought to] demise in the Great chamber". See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Sang daji" 喪大記 (The Greater Record of Mourning Rites),1440; the translation is adapted from Legge 1885b, 174.

Zuo zhuan regards the deaths of Vassal Lords in the Grand Chamber as being "proper" (*daoye* 道也), while it makes critical comments, e.g., "lost his rightful place" (*shi qi suo* 失其所), to the demises in other locations. See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 874 ff.; vol. 1, 452; and vol. 3, 1722.

404 Several scholars such as Kong Yingda regard certain ambiguous commentary to *Liji* as indications that the coffined corpse of a Vassal Lord was deposited in the Grand Chamber of his palace. But modern scholars agree that, according to many *Zuo zhuan* passages, the coffined corpse of a Vassal Lord was doubtlessly buried provisionally in his ancestral temple. See Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990): 322 ff., 489, and 934; Hu Xinsheng 胡新生, "Zhou dai binli kao" 周代殯礼考, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 3 (1992): 65–73; Zhu Keli 2015, 43 ff.

405 Marquis Wen of Jin (Jin Wengong 晉文公, reigned 636–628 BCE), who died in Jiang 絳 (in the southeast of today's Jicheng 翼城 county in Shanxi 山西), was sent to be provisionally buried in his ancestral temple in Quwo 曲沃 (today's Wenxi 聞喜 county in Shanxi) one day after his death. Jiang is some 70 km to Quwo via modern land route. The cortege could have needed several days en route (for the travelling speed in pre-Qin China see above in the present chapter). Kong Yingda assumes that the cortege set off earlier as usual in order to arrive at the ancestral temple in time for the provisional burial. See Qin Jiahui 2007, 39.

天子七日而殯，七月而葬。諸侯五日而殯，五月而葬。大夫、士、庶人，三日而殯，三月而葬。[406]

The son of Heaven was coffined on the seventh day (after his death) and entombed in the seventh month. A Vassal Lord was coffined on the fifth day and entombed in the fifth month. Grandees, Ordinary Officers and the common people were coffined on the third day and entombed in the third month.[407]

Hence, it is probable that the provisional burial of Marquis Yi took place several days after his death, i.e. the Zeng palace provided the spatial context of the funerary rites merely for the first days after his death; for all the remaining months until the entombment, the funerary rites were located within his ancestral temple. Accordingly, the envoy who transported the Chu king's gifts must have presented those gifts in the Zeng ancestral temple.

The deposition location of the Chu king's *bo*-bell in Marquis Yi's tomb does not only indicate its role among the other tomb goods, but also reveals how it was probably displayed during several funerary rites in the ancestral temple. Even in the funeral of an Ordinary Officer in *Yili* (see Appendix I: Table 2, rites during the "sojourn of the coffined corpse in the ancestral

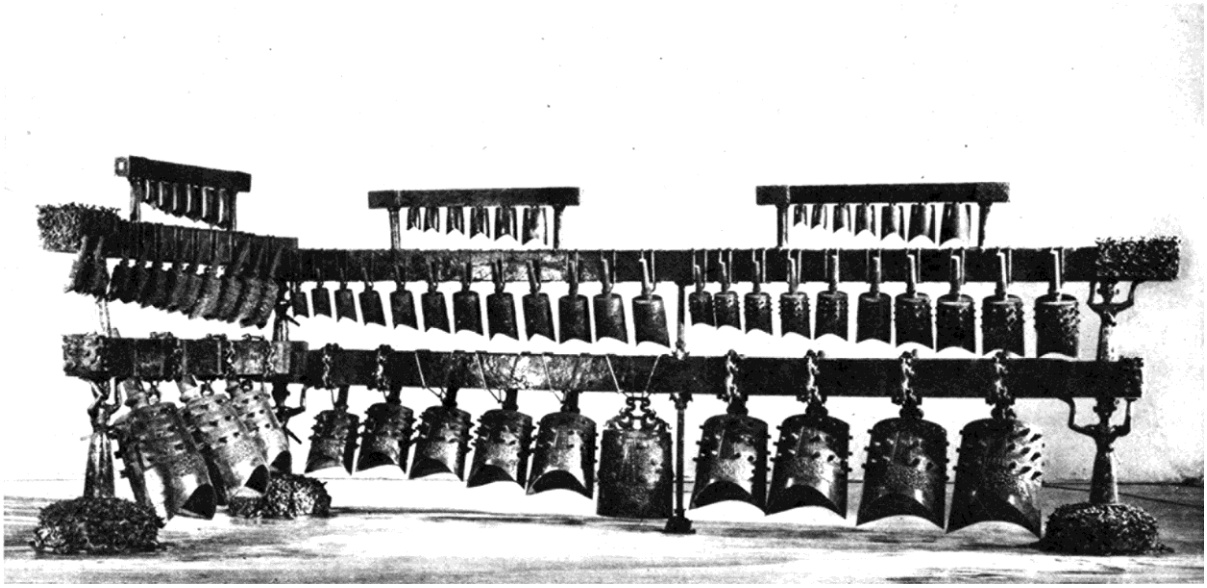


Fig. 14 Chimebell ensemble (Inv. No. C. 65) from the tomb of Marquis Yi, with a *bo*-bell (a gift from the Chu king) suspended in the lowerst tier of the longer arm of the rack.

406 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Wang zhi" 王制 (Royal Regulations), 444.

407 The translation is adapted from Legge 1885a, 222 ff.

temple"), musical instruments were exhibited among others in the ancestral temple before the entombment.

In the marquis tomb, the *bo*-bell was added to the marquis' own collection of 64 chimebells,[408] suspended on an L-shaped rack (see Fig. 14) in the central chamber. Scholars agree that the chamber symbolised the public, ceremonial part of the marquis' palace.[409] One quarter of the entire chamber floor was densely populated by a collection of ritual vessels, while the remaining three quarters of the floor provided ample space for a variety of musical instruments including the chimebells on their rack, a lithophone (*qing* 磬) on another rack, three drums (*gu* 鼓), seven *se*-zithers (*se* 瑟), four *sheng*-pipes (*sheng* 笙) and two pan flutes (*paixiao* 排簫). As von Falkenhausen has pointed out, "the bells on their L-shaped rack together with the lithophone surround the other musical instruments on three sides in an 'awning-suspension formation'".[410] This indicates that the musical instruments were deployed in a way corresponding to the marquis' rank of a Vassal Lord, according to the sumptuary regulation concerned in *Zhou li*.[411]

The *bo*-bell, suspended in the lowerst tier of the longer arm of the rack, played a significant role in the "awning-suspension formation". All the other bells bear inscriptions of tone names.[412] Interestingly, the bell-rack and the suspension hooks bear corresponding tone names, marking the original positions of the bells.[413] A comparison of these notes indicates

---

408 Except for the 13 smallest bells in the uppermost of the three tiers of the rack, all these bells bear the following inscription: "曾侯乙乍（作）時（持）", i.e., "Marquis Yi made it and holds it". See Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhongqing mingwen" 曾侯乙墓钟磬铭文释文, *Yinyue yanjiu*, no. 1 (1981b): 4–12.

409 Von Falkenhausen states that "the large chamber in the center of the tomb corresponds to the public part of the palace, the main hall and its courtyard, where the Marquis would have performed his ritual duties as ruler, offering sacrifices to his ancestors and entertaining guests"; Thorp comments that "the central chamber … may have been equivalent to the outer, ceremonial hall (chao) of a palace"; Lewis referred to the central chamber as "ceremonial court". See Falkenhausen 1994, 7; Robert L. Thorp, "The Sui Xian Tomb: Re-thinking the Fifth Century," *Artibus Asiae* 43, 1/2 (1981): 74; Lewis 2012, 119.

410 See Falkenhausen 1994, 32 ff.; for a line drawing with the musical instruments forming the "awning suspension formation" see Falkenhausen 1994, 36 ff.

411 See Falkenhausen 1994, 32 ff.

412 For the inscriptions of the tone names on the bells see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1981b, 4–13.

413 For the inscriptions of the tone names on the bell-rack and the suspension hooks see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1981b, 4–13.

that the addition of the *bo*-bell caused the move of several bells in the lower tier of the rack, the permanent removal of several bells including the largest one from the original ensemble, and the addition of several bells from the marquis' other collections[414] – all these adjustments were made to enable the *bo*-bell to take a position close to the central supporting pole. Furthermore, while all the other bells in the lower tier were ordered successively according to their sizes, the *bo*-bell obviously breaks the rhythm of the sizes. Hence, the *bo*-bell apparently outweighed the other bells in its symbolic significance.

After the adjustments, the *bo*-bell was placed as centrally as possible in the "awning-suspension formation", with the Chu king's dedication inscription facing its audience (see Fig. 14).[415] It is arguable whether this formation of musical instruments was prepared for certain otherworldly audiences. More likely, it was primarily prepared for an audience in an exhibition of potential tomb goods, a field of action in early Chinese funerals. In the funeral of the Ordinary Officer, for instance, the field is reproduced as follows in the ancestral temple of the deceased:

> The *mingqi* are exhibited to the west of the wheeled vehicles. The boards for covering the tomb chamber are set out across with the underside uppermost. The boards forming the covering frame are there also, three for the breadth and two for the length. Three mats for keeping out the dust are laid on these boards. There are also cushions [of spices] enclosed in coarse cloth dyed black and hemmed. These, [like the boards], are in number, two for the length and three for the breadth as well. The *[ming]qi* are laid out from the western side on, graded from the south [to the north]. In the second and farther rows the order of grading is reversed. Then come other cushions. And after them two parcels made of reed [for wrapping the sacrificial offerings in]. Then come three seed-baskets filled with glutinous millet, panciled millet and wheat. Then come three jars filled with vinegar, pickled hash, and ground ginger and cinnamon, respectively. These are provided with covers of coarse cloth. Then come two jars of must and wine, with covers of *gong* cloth. Each is set in a wooden crate to protect it from breakage. There are also the implements that [the deceased] used in his lifetime: his bow and arrows; his hoe and his ploughshare; two *dui*-vessels; two *yu*-vessels;

---

414 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 128; Li Chunyi 李纯一, "Zeng Hou Yi mu de bianci he yuexuan" 曾侯乙墓编钟的编次和乐悬, *Yinyue yanjiu*, no. 2 (1985): 64 ff.

415 Generally, it is assumed that the L-shaped bell-rack was placed with its longer arm as the farthest side to the audience so that the audience was able to look inside the rectangular space framed by the bell-rack. See Falkenhausen 1994, 212 and 280.

> a basin and an ewer, the ewer being set in the basin, with its spout to the south. No sacrificial implement is provided. If desired, the musical instruments for entertainment may be [set there also]. The instruments of war provided are the armour, the helmet, the spear and the quiver. The things that contributed to his ease [are also laid out]: a walking staff, a bamboo hat and a fan.[416]

Apparently, while the field of exhibition of potential tomb goods was reproduced in this case, musical instruments form part of the material resources. This field intersects several further fields, such as various rites of gift-giving (see Appendix I: Table 2). Hence, the target audience of the exhibition included not only the bereaved kin, but also the guests and donors. Interestingly, these donors have sometimes contributed to the reshaping of the exhibition, for instance, another passage in *Yili* reads: "若就器，則坐奠於陳",[417] i.e. "if [the gifts] are 'finished vessels', they are laid, by [the donor] sitting down, along with the exhibited [items]".[418]

In Marquis Yi's funeral, the field of exhibition of potential tomb goods was probably also reproduced, with the *bo*-bell as one of the central artefacts. More concretely, after the coffined corpse of the marquis had been provisionally buried in the ancestral temple, the exhibition of potential tomb goods of the resources prepared by the Zeng court set in. A collection of musical instruments belonging to the marquis, probably arranged in an "awning-suspension formation", was part of the display. During the long period of the provisional burial, various rites including those of gift-giving took place, through which the displayed resources were gradually enriched and transformed. The donation of the *bo*-bell, for instance, triggered the above-mentioned adjustments in the "awning-suspension formation". After these adjustment, the *bo*-bell had become a focus of the formation, which was targeted at an audience including at least one of the Chu envoys: if the envoy who submitted the *bo*-bell did not set eyes on the new constellation of the "awning-suspension formation", another envoy who was sent to accompany the cortege[419] and further guests from Chu (see Subsection 3.4.2) must have.

---

[416] For an annotated translation of the passage see Section 2.2. For the Chinese text see *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 850–855; the translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 81 ff.

[417] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 863.

[418] The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 86.

[419] It seems that pre-Qin lords commonly dispatched different envoys for several individual rites in a funeral, such as delivering the message of condolence, delivering funerary gifts, and accompanying the funerary cortege. In *Zuo zhuan*, the Zhou king was praised for acting "in accordance with ritual propriety" for

Obviously, it was the agenda of the marquis' heir to reaffirm the covenants between Zeng and Chu and the political subordination of Zeng to Chu in the marquis' funeral, with eyewitnesses from Chu.

Finally, those material resources that have been displayed, enriched and transformed during many funerary rites in the ancestral temple were interred in the marquis' tomb. The part of the Chu king's chimebell set that was not buried contributed to further ritual activities of the bereaved house of the marquis – after the entombment, the bereaved must have regularly carried out sacrifices and offerings (see Appendix I: Table 2, stages after the entombment), in which ritual music was perhaps part of the offering presented to the marquis, now an ancestor. The bells were meant to evoke the bond between Zeng and Chu every time they were struck. Hence, the bells from the Chu King formed a crucial part of the cultural resources that were drawn upon to shape many fields of action that were reproduced in the marquis' funeral.

It is worth noting that the bamboo manuscripts do not relate to this chimebell set at all, while they did mention some of the other funerary gifts, such as some of the hundreds of horses and dozens of vehicles recorded on the C strips (see Section 3.4). But the absence of reference of the chimebell set in the funerary lists is self-explanatory in the light of the device of "field of action". The records on the C strips arised in an intersection of several fields including that of gift-giving (see Section 3.4). In this intersection, the chimebell set did not play any role, which is the reason that it was not included in the written records. This is nevertheless an indication that the bamboo manuscripts are no tomb inventory lists.

dispatching two different envoys in 622 BCE to send the *feng*-gift and to accompany the cortege in the funeral of a duchess of Lu, respectively; while the princedom Zheng 鄭 was scorned for sending the same person for delivering the messeage of condolence and accompanying the cortege in the funeral of Duke Qing of Jin (Jin Qinggong 晉頃公, reigned 526–512 BCE) in 512 BCE. It is likely that the Chu king also sent different envoys for individual purposes associated with the funeral of Marquis Yi. See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 486 ff.; vol. 3, 1704 ff.

3.3 Physical Features, Structures and General Contents of the Leigudun Lists

The 215 strips have been divided into four groups, A-D, according to their content.[420] My study of the physical features of the A and the C groups indicates that they can be further divided into three subgroups, respectively, i.e. the A-1 – A-3 strips and the C-1 – C-3 strips (see Appendix II). It is possible that each subgroup originally used to form an individual scroll. Except for strip 1, which is inscribed both on its verso and its recto,[421] all the strips bear inscriptions merely on their recto sides. Judging by the contents, the A and B strips shared a title and an initial remark on the A strips (strip 1), as well as three summaries on the B strips (strips 120–121, 140 and 141).[422] Accordingly, these two strip groups were probably bound together at some point of time as one scroll, which is reminiscent of an extensive scroll consisting of several lists, known as "Yongyuan qiwubu" 永元器物簿 (Lists of [Military] Equipment Composed in the Yongyuan Period) discovered at Juyan, dating from 93–95 CE.[423]

The title, inscribed on the verso of strip 1, reads: "右敘（領）建駾（馭）大旆",[424] i.e. "the Director of the Right, Jian, drives a grand vanguard chariot". And the remark on the recto of the same strip reads: "大莫戳（敖）旝爲適豬之春，冄=（八月）庚申，辠（胄）趄

420 See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 487.

421 Bamboo strips as writing supports, mostly 1–1.5 mm thick, were commonly cut out of the outer layer of the bamboo culm. Apart from the removal of the protruding part of the nodes, the outermost layer of the culm was seldom eliminated. On the living culm, it presents a watertight seal to prevent any moisture loss. After being made into strips, it absorbs much less ink than the side toward the culm's inner wall does, which contains parenchyma tissue and vascular bundles that are permeable to water. Hence, it was common to inscribe on the strip side toward the culm's inner wall. This side will be referred to as the recto of a bamboo strip in the present thesis and the other side the verso. For the anatomy of the bamboo culm see Walter Liese and Thi Kim Hong Tang, "Properties of the Bamboo Culm," in *Bamboo: The Plant and Its Uses*, ed. Walter Liese and Michael Köhl, Tropical Forestry (Cham et al.: Springer, 2015): 227 ff.; for the common physical characters of bamboo strips as writing support see Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔, *Zhanguo zhushu xingzhi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu: Yi Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian wei zhongxin* 戰國竹書形制及相關問題研究：以清華大學藏戰國竹簡為中心 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2015): 74; for the layout of titles in early Chinese manuscripts (including examples of titles inscribed on the versos of bamboo scrolls) see Lin Qingyuan 林清源, *Jiandu boshu biaoti geshi yanjiu* 簡牘帛書標題格式研究 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2004): 201.

422 See Sun Hui 2020, 67, 69–70.

423 For an introduction to the Yongyuan scroll see Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 321–324.

424 For an infrared photo of the title on strip 1 see Appendix IV, Fig. 63.

（鞮）執事人書入車”, i.e. “on the *gengshen* day of the eighth month of the year [in which] the Grand Maréchal, Yangwei, went to Fu in the spring, the officials in charge of helmets and harnesses recorded the received vehicles” (for an annotated translation of the title see Appendix III.1).

The remark reveals the date, the scribes, and a brief motive of inscribing the A and B strips. The date begins with a year denotated with an event, a practice well-known in Chu manuscripts. The year concerned is denotated with an event with the protagonist Yangwei, a Grand Maréchal. This person, whose name appears several times in newly excavated manuscripts, has been identified as a Chu aristocrat and possibly also kinsman of the Chu king, though there are different opinions about his exact position in the Chu royal lineage.[425]

A *gengshen* day (57th day in the *ganzhi* cycle) in the eighth month of that year is specified as the creation day of the manuscript. Li Xueqin points out that in the Chu calendar, the year that corresponds to 433 BCE, in which the Chu king received the death notice of the marquis and made the funerary gift of a *bo*-bell, encompassed exactly a *gengshen* day; while the eighth month in the other calendrical systems including the Zhou calendar did not include such a day.[426] This discrepancy is due to the one month’s lag in the Chu calendar in comparison with most of the other calendars including the Zhou calendar, i.e. a Chu year began with a *hai* 亥

[425] The name Tangwei 旝爲 or its variant Yangwei 昜爲 appears in the divination text from a Chu tomb in Geling 葛陵, Xincai 新蔡, Henan province; in the “Xinian” 系年 (Chronologies) text of the bamboo manuscripts in the Qinghua University collection; and in the “Ming” 命 (Life) and the “Wang ju” 王居 (The King’s Abode) texts of the bamboo manuscripts in the Shanghai University collection. In the “Ming” text, Yangwei is another name of a Chu Chancelor Zichun 子春, while in the divination texts from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan 包山 (dating from around 316 BCE), Jingmen 荊門, Hubei province, Zichun 子春 was the name of an ancestor in the lineage of the tomb occupant. Li Shoukui and Huang Haobo, reconstructing the dates of the events relating to these names, argue that Yangwei and Zichun were one and the same person, who was a son of the Lord of Pingye 坪夜君, a Chu fief lord whose name appears both in the Leigudun lists and the Baoshan divination text. Su Jianzhou 蘇建洲 does not agree that Zichun in the Baoshan text was the same person as Yangwei in the other texts, but he nevertheless agrees that Yangwei in the other texts were the same person. Anyway, both Li and Su argue that Tangwei was a Chu official instead of a Zeng one. See Huang Haobo 黃浩波, “Shi shuo lingyin Zichun ji Wugong Zichun” 試說令尹子春即鄀公子春, updated Oct. 27, 2011, accessed Feb. 18, 2025, http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5762.html; Li Shoukui 李守奎, “Qinghua jian ‘Xinian’ ‘Mo’ao Yangwei’ kaolun” 清华简《系年》“莫嚣昜为”考论, *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu*, no. 2 (2014): 50–54; Su Jianzhou 苏建洲, “Ye lun Qinghua jian ‘Xinian’ ‘Mo’ao Yangwei’” 也论清华简《系年》“莫嚣昜为”, *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 2, no. 5 (2014): 115–121.

[426] See Li Xueqin 李学勤, “You jinian chujian niandai de yanjiu” 有纪年楚简年代的研究, in *Wenwu zhong de gu wenming* 文物中的古文明 (Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 2008): 431.

month (*haizheng* 亥正), which was the 12th month in the Zhou calendar.[427] Hence, the year concerned was most probably the year of the death of the marquis. This nevertheless corroborates the general assumption that the Leigudun manuscripts are funerary writings.

Hence, the Zeng calendar, in view of its year's denotation and its year's beginning, was completely adapted to the Chu calendrical conventions. The date corresponds to the June 5th, 433 BCE.[428] This date presents a *terminus ante quem* of the marquis' death and a *terminus post quem* of his entombment.

The motive of the creation of the manuscripts indicates that vehicles have been the main subject of the records on the A and B strips. In addition, the structure and content of the list entries on the A-C strips indicate that vehicles are the shared central artifacts of the records on all the A-C strips. Each entry encompasses an introducing phrase referring to, among others, one vehicle of various types or one to three road carriage. Part of these phrases also specify certain persons, such as drivers or donors associated with the vehicles. I refer to these phrases as "vehicle phrases".

Furthermore, each entry on the A-C strips itemises material resources associated with the individual vehicle. The entries on the A strips generally describe items concerning one or more of the following aspects: vehicle parts or accoutrements (see Appendix I: Table 4 and Table 5), weapons (including also weapon accessories and flags, see Appendix I: Table 7) and horse tack (including but not limited to harnesses, see Appendix I: Table 9). Merely a few entries refer to certain special loads on the vehicles (see Appendix I: Table 11). The entries on the B strips itemise suits of armours and of barding (Appendix I: Table 12).[429] And the entries on the C strips record information about the draught animals (primarily horses), e.g., the denotations and the provenances of individual animals, their positions in the draught team, or at least the number of animals in the draught team (Appendix I: Table 12–Table 19).

---

427 See Wu Jiabi 2001, 140–146.

428 In Zhang Peiyu's reference works on the pre-Qin calendars, the Chu calendar is not represented. But still, his work helps to identify a Chu date according to the Gregorian calendar, because there is one month lag in the Chu calendar compared to most of the other calendrical systems. See Zhang Peiyu 1987, 90 and 179.

429 The B strips bear 16 vehicle phrases, each referring to one certain vehicle (Appendix I: Table 3). I have argued elsewhere, in view of some remnants of entries, that at least two, but perhaps three of such vehicle phrases are missing. This means, the B strips have referred to at least 18, perhaps 19 vehicles. See Sun Hui 2020, 113.

Hence, individual entries reveal certain organisational patterns of the vehicles and those material resources associated with them. The summaries on the three strip types indicate that vehicles are the central artefacts as well, because vehicles are their primary concern. Among the other material resources, merely suits of armours and of barding are summarised.

I systematically number the list entries on the A-C strips in order to observe their organisational patterns in the manuscripts. Concretely, the number of an entry is determined by its position in the layouts of the manuscripts based on my own reconstruction.[430] The A and B strips bear long entries that formed single-entry paragraphs as well as multi-entry paragraphs (see Subsection 3.5.2). Hence, the number of each entry consists of the following factors: the strip subgroup on which it is written (A-1 – A-3 and B), the sequential number of the paragraph to which it belongs (e.g., P-1), and the sequential number of the entry within the paragraph (e.g., E-1). Apparently, the sequential numbers of the paragraphs do not necessarily correspond with the original ones. But nevertheless, the inscribing of the entries on individual strip subgroups and the grouping of certain entries into multi-entry paragraphs reveal their organisational structures.

The C strips bear several unities of content, each consisting of a summary and several list entries. The number of each entry consists of the following factors: the strip subgroup on which it is written (C-1 – C-3), the summary to which it belongs ("S-148" stands for "subtotal on strip 148", "L" for loose entries that do not belong to any unities),[431] and the sequential number of the entry within the unity (e.g., E-1). Obviously, the sequential numbers of the entries do not necessarily correspond with the original ones. But the grouping of the entries into unities and the inscribing of those unities on individual strip subgroups indicate the organisational structure of the entries and of the unities.

In addition, I give identification numbers to individual vehicles in order to observe their organisational patterns in the records (see Appendix I: Table 3). Altogether, the A-C strip types refer to at least 50, at least 18, and 69 wheeled vehicles. The identification numbers indicate

[430] See Sun Hui 2018, 53–67; Sun Hui 2020, 58–145; for the result of my reconstructions, i.e., the updated sequence of all the bamboo strips, see Appendix III.

[431] This factor is merely applied for the entries on the C strips. The entries on the A and B strips cannot be doutlessly ordered to certain summaries (see Subsection 3.5.2). Hence, their numeration does not refer to the numbers of strips bearing summaries.

that all the vehicles itemised on the B strips are also listed on the A strips, while the vehicles described on the A strips overlap to a considerabe extent with those referred to on the C strips. Furthermore, the organisational patterns of those vehicles are not identical in the records on individual strip groups. For instance, the vehicles numbered 1 and 2 are referred to in all the A-C strip groups. The entries concerned bear the numbers A-1/P-1/E-1, A-1/P-1/E-2; B/P-1/E-1, B/P-1/E-2; C-1/S-148/P-1 and C-1/S-207–208/P-9. This means, the two vehicles were recorded in the first two entries (E-1 and E-2) of the same paragraph (P-1) on the same subgroup of the A strips (A-1); on the B strips, they were similarly recorded; while on the C strips, they were recorded on the same strip subgroup (C-1) as well, but they belonged to two unities of content (S-148 and S-207–208). This indicates that the actions underlying the records followed different principles in the organisation of their material resources.

The D strips bear merely five entries without summaries. These entries do not contain vehicle phrases, but they do begin with an introducing phrase as well (see Appendix III.4). Two entries concern some two dozen horses, of various provenances, foddered by at least two officials; another entry calculates the manpower engaged primarily in preparing food; and the other two record certain tax and corvée labour. These entries refer to persons that occasionally appear in the records on the A-C strips as well (Appendix I: Table 3 and Table 22).

Obviously, there are overlapping references of resources and persons in the records of the four strip groups. The disparate patterns in which these resources and persons were combined with each other are reminiscent of how the fields of action in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer in *Yili* share, shape and reshape resources. Bearing this in mind, it is important to point out that Luke Habberstad indicates that the A-C strips were created and used in two different actions:

> [A]fter the director of the funeral procession received all of the donated chariots and horses (this must have taken some days, if not weeks), he and his organizing team combined them into chariot teams, taking time to train the horse teams as needed. Once these teams were complete, scribes recorded them on the C strips; these were the "received chariots"[432] and together constituted the first text. The armoury officer then recorded these received chariots in the desired order, carefully noting all of the important items and decorations on each

[432] The "received chariots" refer to the term *ru che* 入車 in the remark at the beginning of the A strips, before the first entry (See Appendix III). Obviously, Habberstad believes that the vehicles recorded on the C strips are totally in accordance with those recorded on the A and B strips. However, my analysis in subsection 3.5.1 indicates otherwise.

> chariot in [*sic*] the A strips and the armor on the B strips. Then the procession was executed. While it went on, a scribe (perhaps the armory officer himself or somebody else) sat to the side, with the A-B text unrolled in front of him. As each chariot passed by, he made a mark next to the appropriate entry, verifying its participation in the Marquis's cortège and by extension the accuracy of the descriptions of fittings, weaponry, and armor. When the procession was over and the chariots had arrived at the funeral procession grounds or the tomb, he counted up his marks and added the "grand total" tabulations, closing with a note that the chariots "went there."[433]

According to Habberstad, the C strips record the combination of donated horses and donated chariots into draught teams in the funeral of Marquis Yi, while the A and B strips record the planned organisational pattern of the chariots in the funerary procession; furthermore, the records of the A and B strips were used to control the participation of the chariots in the procession. His ideas on the production and the use of the A-C strips deserve a closer scrutiny in the following subsections. Nevertheless, his opinion on the sequence of the production of the A-C strips is telling. Based on the logical sequence of organizing material components, he indicates that the C strips were composed before the A and B strips, which is a point alluding to the temporal aspects of two actions. I follow this logical sequence to discuss the writings on the C, the A and B strips. Subsequently, I will address the writings on the D strips.

3.4 The Records on the C Strips

The C strips bear at least 61 list entries and seven subtotals of vehicles. The entries and summaries form at least seven unities of content, i.e. unities S-148, S-159, S-207–208,[434] S-196, S-195 and S-204 (see Appendix III.3).[435] In addition, several loose entries do not belong

[433] See Habberstad 2014, 203 ff.

[434] It is worth noting that the unities S-207 and S-208 cannot be separated with each other due to the lack of intertextual indications as to which entries belonged to which subtotals. Hence, they are bundled together as S-207–208.

[435] The sequence of the strips in unities S-159 and S-195, and S-204 remains as it is reconstructed by Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao. But the sequence of the strips in unities S-148 and S-196 has been rearranged in my reconstruction, and the unities S-207 and S-208 came into being for the first time in my reconstruction. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 497 ff.; cf. Sun Hui 2018, 65 ff.

to these unities (see Appendix III.3, Loose entries). Furthermore, the fragmentation of certain list parts cannot be excluded.[436]

The grouping of the unities of content is for the most part in line with the physical features of the bamboo strips. As far as the notch positions of the bamboo strips are detectable, the unities S-148, S-159, S-207–208 and S-196 are inscribed on the C-1 strips; the unity S-204 is inscribed on the C-2 strips; and the loose entries are inscribed on the C-3 strips. The unity S-195, however, demonstrates inconsistent physical features, as will be addressed in Subsection 3.4.2.

3.4.1 The Records on the C-1 Strips

The C-1 strips bear four unities of content, i.e. S-148, S-159, S-207–208 and S-196.[437] The layout and the structure of the unities S-148, S-159, S-207, S-208 are strictly parallel (for the layout of unity S-148 see Fig. 15). Each entry is inscribed without indentation on a separate strip; while each summary, preceded by a left indent and a thick block, is written on a separate strip as well. Each summary is a subtotal beginning with the character *fan* 凡, literally "in total". The layout of the unity S-196 is slightly different (for the layout of unity S-196 see Fig. 15), because the subtotal is not written on a separate strip but added on a strip that already bears a short entry.[438] A long gap and a thick block separate the short entry and the subtotal.

[436] For instance, strip 209 is a fragment bearing the characters "☐車十輦又五☐", i.e., "[…] wheeled vehicles: 15 pieces […]". It may have been part of a subtotal.

[437] For an annotated translation of part of the unities, including the summaries and the vehicle phrases in individual entries, see Appendix III.4; for a tabular view of the content of individual entries see Appendix I: Table 12–Table 16.

[438] The layout of and the structure of the text on strips 195 and 196 have been analyzed in detail in Sun Hui 2018, 55 ff.

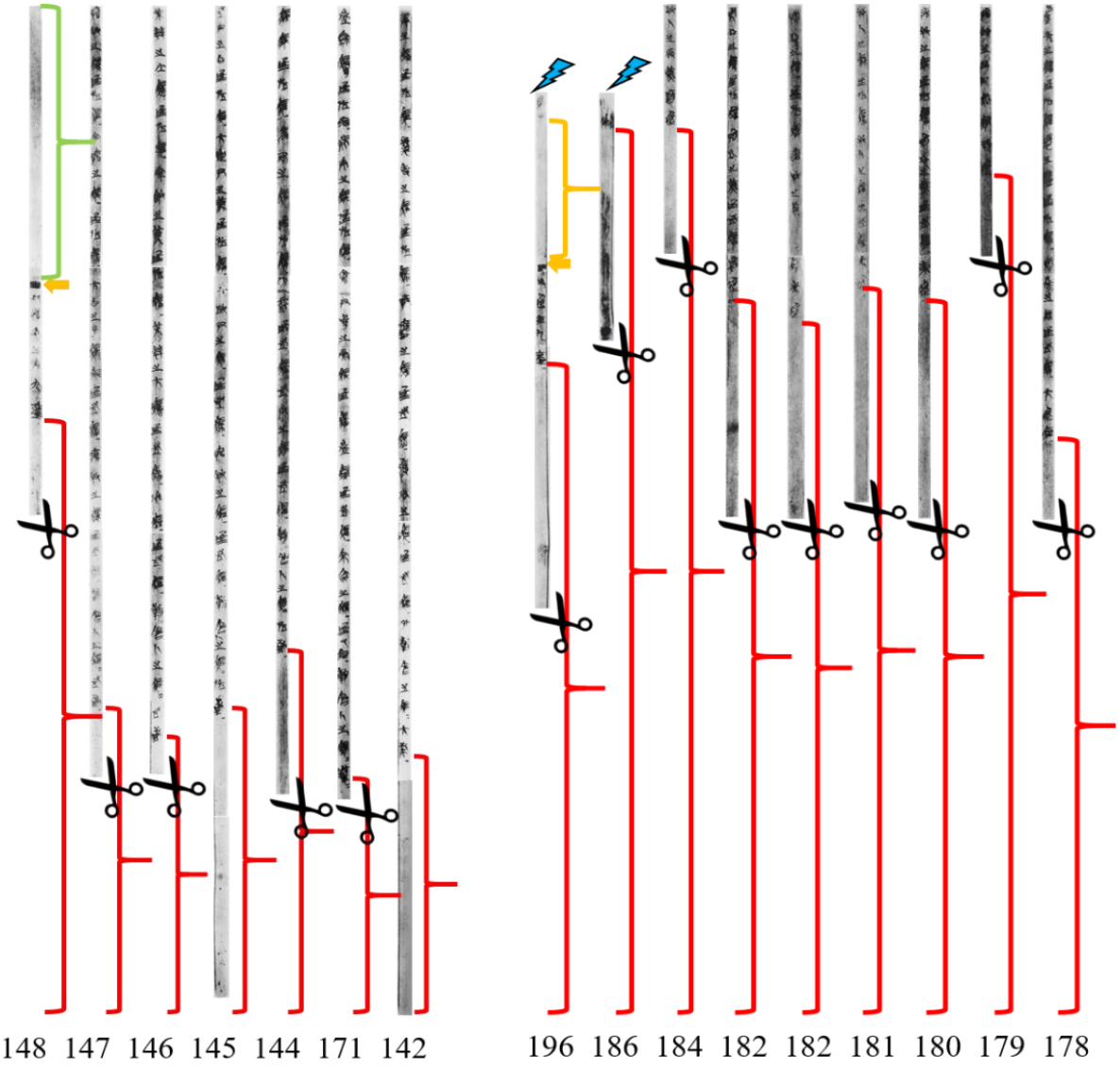


Fig. 15 Unity S-148 (left) and Unity S-196 (right) on the C strips, Leigudun manuscripts.

The meanings of the remaining individual marks are as follows:

148 etc.						
Strip no.	Square blot	Breaking edge	Indent	Long gap	Line break	Part of the photo not available

The subtotals in the unities read as follows:

Strip 148: **[Subtotal C-1/S-148]** (Indent) ■ 凡新官人之馬六輦。 (L. 65 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: the horse-[drawn chariots] of the New Officers amount to six. (Line break)

Strip 159: **[Subtotal C-1/S-159]** (Indent) ■ 凡大官之馬十輦。 (L. 65.4 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: the horse-[drawn chariots] of the Grand Officers amount to ten. (Line break)

Strip 207: **[Subtotal C-1/S-207]** (Indent) ■ 凡宮廄之馬與𩵦十輦，入於此稈官之市_。 (L. 67.7 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: ten horse-[drawn] and mule-[drawn chariots] from the Palace Stable are to inter this Office of Xue_. (Line break)

Strip 208: **[Subtotal C-1/S-208]** (Indent) ■凡宮廄之馬所入長坛之市（中）五輦（乘）。 (L. 66.4 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: five horse-[drawn chariots] from the Palace Stable are to enter the Long Gate. (Line break)

Strip 196: **[Entry C-?/S-196/P-9/E-1]** ⍁□_ (long gap) **[Subtotal C-?/S-196]** ■凡逄車九輦（乘）_。 (L. 56.5 cm)

[…] (long gap) ■ In total: nine road carriages_. (Line break)

The first four subtotals refer to 31 vehicles ascribed to three governmental agencies (the ascription is formulated in a genitive form characterised by the possesive particle *zhi* 之), i.e. *xinguan* 新官 (New Office), *taiguan* 大官 (Grand Office) and *gongjiu* 宮廄 (Palace Stable); while the last subtotal refers to nine road carriages of which the affiliation is not mentioned.

The agency *xinguan* is not known in transmitted literature. The agency *gongjiu* existed in the Chu Kingdom at least since the late Spring and Autumn period[439] and in the Qin kingdom at least since the late Warring States period.[440] It is not unlikely that *gongjiu* was a common

[439] *Zuo zhuan* mentions that in 558 BCE, Yang Youji 養由基 (fl. 597–558 BCE) was appointed *gongjiuyin* 宮廄尹 (Palace Stable's Head) in the Chu Kingdom. See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 1030 ff.

[440] The legal manuscripts from tomb no. 11 in Shuihudi, a Qin tomb, refers to the agency *gongjiu*, the Palace Stable. The passage concerned reads: "其大廄、中廄、宮廄，馬牛殹（也），以其筋、革、角及其賈（價）錢效", i.e., "when horses and oxen of the Great Stables, the Central Stable, and the Palace Stable are concerned, their sinews, hides and horns as well as their value in cash are to be handed over". See Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組, *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990): Shiwen zhushi 釋文, 24; Anthony François Paulus Hulsewé, *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd Century BC Discovered in Yün-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985): 28.

governmental agency in many pre-imperial kingdoms. At least the chief officer of the Chu *gongjiu* seems to have been part of the military staff.[441]

Taiguan is known from the Qin dynasty on as the "Grand Provisioner", one of the major subordinates of the *shaofu* 少府 (Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues), responsible for preparing meals for the palace and the court.[442] But it seems that in the pre-Qin period, *taiguan* used to have other functions as well. For instance, the following inscriptions on three bronze weapons indicate that *taiguan* was in charge of the production and storage of weapons:

卅年，塚（冢）子軌（韓）担，吏𠂤，大官上庫嗇[夫]□□□庫□□□𨟠𣪊（造）。[443]

In the 30th year (243 BCE),[444] [under surveillance of] Han Dan, the Storehouse Commissioner;[445] and Mian (?), the Subofficial Functionary: [The present spear] is produced by […], the Functionary of the Upper Arsenal of the Grand Office; and Xu, […] Storehouse […].

441 Zuo zhuan mentions three of the Palace Stable's Heads (*gongjiu yin* 宮廄尹), i.e., Yang Youji (fl. 597–558 BCE), the Chu Prince Heigong 黑肱 (546–529 BCE), and Dou Qiji 鬬棄疾 (?-536 BCE). Yang was a famous warrior before he assumed the office of Palace Stable's Head; Heigong was part of the leading force in a war in 541 BCE; and Dou died in a Chu campaign against Wu in 536 BCE. For the military career of Yang see Durrant et al. 2016, 654 ff., 836 ff., 1002 ff., and 1030 ff.; for the Prince Heigong's part in war see Durrant et al. 2016, 1332 ff.; and for the Chu campaign in which Dou died see Durrant et al. 2016, 1410 ff.

442 See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985): 479.

443 The inscription is carved on the fuller of a spear found in a Warring States site in Changge 長葛, Henan province. See Zhu Jingge 朱京葛, "Henan Changge chutu yijian Zhanguo tong pi" 河南长葛出土一件战国铜铍, *Wenwu*, no. 4 (1992): 81; Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, "Yinzhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku", accessed February 25, 2019, entry no. NA0295.

444 Zhu Jingge argues that according to the writing style, the spear must have been produced in the late Warring States period, when the site belonged to the Han Duchy 韓 (403 – 230 BCE). He further surmises that the "30th year" in the inscription was in the reign of King Huanhui of Han (Han Huanhui wang 韓桓惠王, reigned 272–239 BCE). See Zhu Jingge 1992, 81.

445 Wu Zhenwu argues that *zhongzi* 塚（冢）子 was an official title, i.e., a "Storehouse Commissioner". See Wu Zhenwu 吳振武, "Xinjian shibanian Zhongzi Han zeng ge yanjiu: Jian lun Zhanguo 'Zhongzi' yi guan de zhizhang" 新見十八年冢子韓矰戈研究：兼論戰國「冢子」一官的職掌, *Gu wenzi yu gudaishi* 古文字與古代史, no. 1 (2007): 309 ff.

十八年，塚（冢）子軌（韓）矰，下庫嗇夫樂  ，庫吏安、冶恙  （造）。 /大官[446]

In the 18th year (255 BCE),[447] [under surveillance of] Han Zeng, the Storehouse Commissioner: [The present *ge*-polearm] is produced by Le Kun, the Functionary of the Lower Arsenal, as well as An and Ye Yang, the Subofficial Functionaries of the Arsenal. / The Grand Office

廿年，冢子  諻，上庫嗇夫事進，庫吏祛，冶  （微）。 / 大官[448]

In the 20th year (253 BCE?),[449] [under surveillance of] Bi Huang, the Storehouse Commissioner: [The present *ge*-polearm] is produced by Jin, the Functionary of the Upper Arsenal; Qu, the Subofficial Functionary of the Arsenal; and Wei, the Armourer. / The Grand Office

The three inscriptions indicate that the respective *taiguan* or "Grand Office" was in charge of weapon producuction and was accordingly equipped with two arsenals. The *taiguan* or "Grand Office" on the C strips could also have had certain functions beyond those of the "Grand Provisioner".

The structures of individual entries within unities S-148, S-159 and S-207–208 are strictly parallel as well, for instance:

---

446 The inscription before "/" is carved on one side of the tang of a *ge*-polearm, which is found in a private collection; the inscription after "/" is carved on the other side of the tang. See Wu Zhenwu 2007, 310; Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, "Yinzhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku", accessed February 25, 2019, entry no. NA1695.

447 Wu Zhenwu argues that the 18th year was a year in the reign of King Huanhui of Han (reigned 272–239 BCE). See Wu Zhenwu 2007, 309 ff.

448 The inscription before "/" is carved on one side of the tang of a *ge*-polearm, which is in the collection of "Zhongguo qianbi bowuguan" 中国钱币博物馆 (China Numismatic Museum); the inscription after "/" is carved on the other side of the tang. See Huang Xiquan 黄錫全, "Jieshao yijian Han niannian Zhongzi ge" 介紹一件韓廿年冢子戈, *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究, no. 27 (2008): 318; Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, "Yinzhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku", accessed February 25, 2019, entry no. NA1696.

449 The inscription seems to be in the vein of the wording of the two above inscriptions. Accordingly, the 20th year could have been in the reign of King Huanhui of Han (reigned 272–239 BCE) as well.

Strip 142: **[Entry C-1/S-148/P-1]** 莆之騩爲左驂，慶（卿）事（士）之駉（騮）爲左驧（服），蔡齮之騍爲右驧（服），鄴君之騏爲右驂：外新官之駟=（四馬）大旆。(L. 65.8 cm)

Pu's grey horse acts as the left outrigger, the Prime Minister's bay horse acts as the left pole horse, Cai Yi's mare acts as the right pole horse, and the Lord of Ji's piebald horse acts as the right outrigger: grand vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Outside. (line break)

Each entry begins with a record of individual draught horses (except the two mules on strip 204) and ends with a phrase concerning a wheeled vehicle (double-underlined), i.e. a "vehicle phrase" (see Appendix III.3). The vehicle phrases indicate that the vehicles were ascribed to individual officials of the three above-mentioned governmental agencies (the ascription is formulated commonly in a genitive form characterised by the possessive particle *zhi* 之, in a few cases through the agglutination of two substantives). It is worth finding out the affiliation of the three governmental agencies – which is nothing that can be taken for granted, due to the intricate political habitus of the Zeng March.

Altogether, six vehicles were ascribed to individual officials of the New Office, including one "New Office[r] of the Outside" (*wai xinguan* 外新官) and five "New Officers" (*xinguanren* 新官人). Ten vehicles were ascribed to individual officials of the Grand Office. Their official titles, identical with the denotation of the governmental agency "*taiguan*", are perhaps to be read as "Grand Officers". Furthermore, another 15 vehicles are ascribed to individual officials who perhaps belonged to the Palace Stable (their official titles are not always associated literally with the "Palace Stable"). Furthermore, some of these official titles, such as the Orchardist (*changchangren* 長腸人), the Bull Fattener (*zhiren* 杙人) and the Hunting Chariot Rider (*chengtianren* 乘𩇕人), appear several times among the vehicle phrases. Hence, it seems that many of the above-mentioned official titles existed in plural.

With a few exceptions, all the above-mentioned official titles end with the term *ren* 人, which means in the context "person in charge". The style of these official titles and the plurality of certain individual titles are reminiscent of an ancient official system of the Zhou kingdom. Officials with titles ending with the term *ren* formed a considerable part of the official system

of the Eastern Zhou dynasty as well as of its vassal states.[450] In addition, a few of the official titles on the C strips bear close similarity to certain official titles in *Zhou li*,[451] which, describing an idealised bureaucracy, though, presents numerous parallels to the bureaucratic system that can be partly reconstructed by bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou dynasty.[452] By contrast, official titles ending with the term *ren* seem to have been marginal in Chu, Zeng's new liege lord. In the Chu official system throughout the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, such official titles were extremely rare.[453] The equivalent official titles ended with the term *yin* 尹 ("head" or "governor"),[454] which used to be common in the Shang and Western Zhou official system but was abandoned by the Zhou Kingdom from the Spring and Autumn period on.[455]

Therefore, official titles ending with the term *ren* did not derive from Chu; instead, they must have been part of the original Zeng official system[456] inherited from the Zhou official

---

450 See Zuo Yandong 左言东, *Xian Qin zhiguan biao* 先秦职官表 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1994): 215–320.

451 For instance, the title *changchangren* 長腸人, rendered as *zhangchangren* 掌場人 by Dong Shan, is similar to the title *changren* 場人 (Orchardist); and the title *bianyuren* 邊輿人 is reminiscent of *yuren* 輿人 (vehicle maker) in *Zhou li*. See Dong Shan 董珊, "Chu jian buji yu chuguo liangzhi yanjiu" 楚简簿记与楚国量制研究, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 2 (2010): 203.

452 Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu point out that more than a quarter of the official titles recorded in *Zhou li* are corroborated by bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou dynasty. See Zhang Yachu 張亞初 and Liu Yu 劉雨, *Xizhou jinwen guanzhi yanjiu* 西周金文官制研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua Beijing, 1986): 111–143, esp. 140.

453 Zuo Yandong lists 72 Chu official titles and 42 Chu official titles, mentioned in transmitted literature, in the Spring and Autumn period and on the Warring States period, respectively. Only four of these titles end with the character *ren*. See Zuo Yandong 1994, 321–338; 404–414. Furthermore, the manuscripts from tomb 2 of Baoshan, dating from around 316 BCE, include four such official titles out of 140. See Wen Bingchun 文炳淳, "Baoshan Chu jian suojian guanzhi yanjiu" 包山楚簡所見楚官制研究 (Master's thesis, Guoli Taiwan daxue 國立臺灣大學, 1997): 278–283.

454 For instance, the official titel *lianyin* 連尹 (Diplomat) was equivalent with the title *xingren* 行人 of the Zhou official system; the official titel *qingyin* 清尹 (Royal Janiter) was equivalent with the title *juanren* 鋗人 of the Zhou official system. See Zuo Yandong 1994, 329, 335; Tan Liming 谭黎明, "Chunqiu Zhanguo shiqi Chuguo guanzhi yanjiu" 春秋战国时期楚国官制研究 (PhD diss., Jilin daxue, 2006): 158.

455 For a study of the usage of the term *yin* 尹 in the Shang and Zhou period see Zhuang Shuhui 1994, 201–203.

456 Qiu Xigui indirectly indicates that the three agencies belonged to the Zeng official system. In his article in 1979, he assumes that the 43 vehicles summarised on strips 120–121 were prepared by the Zeng March. In Qiu and Li's transcription and annotations of the Leigudun manuscripts, they point out that the 43 vehicles summarised on strips 120–121 correspond to certain vehicles recorded on the C strips. Those vehicles recorded on the C strips belong to the unities S-148, S-159 and S-207–208 according to my reconstruction of

system – which is reasonable in regard of the self-identification of the Zeng March as Zhou descendants. *Zhou li* indicates that each individual *ren*-official has been commonly a bureaucratic organ itself. For instance, the *changren* 場人 or the "Orchardist", corresponding perhaps to the *changchangren* 長（掌）腸（場）人 in the Leigudun manuscripts, consisted of two Ordinary Officers of the third rank (*xiashi* 下士), one Storehouse Warden (*fu* 府), one Scribe (*shi* 史) and 20 Followers (*tu* 徒).[457] This means that the bureaucratic organ was led by two Ordinary Officers of the third rank. Each of the two leaders has been probably referred to as an Orchardist. *Zhou li* lists 73 bureaucratic organs ending with the term *ren*. Each organ was led by up to eight officials.[458] This probably accounted for the pluralism of individual official titles recorded on the C strips.

How were these officials exactly associated with the vehicles? The records on the C strips provide no explicit answer. They were apparently no drivers, because part of the vehicle drivers, who had other official titles, are mentioned in the vehicle phrases on the A and B strips (see Appendix I: Table 3). In view of the subtotals, the vehicles probably belonged to the three governmental agencies, instead of being private possessions of these officials. They could have been used by those officials as they were on duty.

In each vehicle phrase, the denotation of the vehicle consists of two parts. The former part is a generic vehicle name derived from the number of its draught horses, such as *li* 麗, *can* 驂, *si* 駟 and *liu* 馵, i.e. "*biga*" (vehicle drawn by two horses abreast), "*triage*" (vehicle drawn by three horses abreast), "*quadriga*" (vehicle drawn by four horses abreast) and "*seiugis*" (vehicle drawn by six horses abreast). The latter part of the denotation indicates the type of the vehicle, which will be addressed later (see Subsection 3.4.4).

The structures of individual entries within the unity S-196 are similar to those in the above-mentioned unities, beginning with information of the draught horses and ending with vehicle phrases (see Appendix III.3). The vehicle phrases in the unity refer to nine road

---

the sequence of the C strips (Appendix III.3). See Qiu Xigui 1979, 29; Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 521 ff., footnote 179.

457 See Zhou li zhushu, chapter "Diguan situ", 500.

458 See Zuo Yandong 1994, 97 ff.

carriages without specifying their affiliation. Road carriages have been widely used among diverse social ranks until the Western Han dynasty, as argued by Sun Ji 孫機.[459] But certain types of the road carriages seem to have been reserved for the use of rulers only. *Zhou li* describes five road carriages that were preserved for the Zhou king (*wang zhi wu lu* 王之五路), i.e. the jade road carriage (*yulu* 玉路), the gold road carriage (*jinlu* 金路), the ivory road carriage (*xianglu* 象路), the leather road carriage (*gelu* 革路) and the wooden road carriage (*mulu* 木路).[460] And the "Yueling" 月令 (Monthly Ordinances) chapter in *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) describes another five road carriages reserved for the Zhou king, i.e. the phoenix-bell road carriage (*luanlu* 鸞路), the cinnabar-red road carriage (*zhulu* 朱路), the grand road carriage (*dalu* 大路), the military road carriage (*ronglu* 戎路) and the deep-black road carriage (*xuanlu* 玄路).[461] Of course, neither *Zhou li* nor *Liji* is to be taken as historical records. Nevertheless, it is inspiring that three of the above-mentioned road carriages in *Liji* coincide with three of those listed in unity S-196.

In *Liji*, the five road carriages were to be ridden in turn by the Zhou king on certain days of each month, when sacrifices were performed to one of the five mythological emperors (*wudi* 五帝) and one of the five cosmic gods (wushen 五神).[462] For instance, the phoenix-bell road carriage was to be ridden on the *jia* 甲 and *yi* 乙 days in each of the three spring months, when sacrifices were made to the Emperor Dahao 大皞 and the cosmic god Goumang 句芒. Even if the description of the ritualistic activities in *Liji* can only be consulted with caution, this nevertheless indicates the possible role of the nine road carriages in unity S-196. The ritual repertoire of the Zhou royal house apparently formed part of the cultural resources of the Zeng marquis, who claimed to be descendants of the Zhou kingdom. Marquis Yi had probably ridden the nine road carriages in turn, during his lifetime, as part of his insignia in the routine sacrifices to certain deities as well. The affiliation of the carriages was not specified, probably just because they were the Nine – which was apparent for the organisers, the participants and the

---

459 See Sun Ji 孙机, "Lu" 辂, in *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001a): 80.

460 See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 838 ff.

461 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Yueling" 月令 (Monthly Ordinances), 552 ff.

462 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Yueling", 512–660. For a translation of the chapter see Legge 1885a, [249] ff.

onlookers of the funeral at first glance. Hence, they pertained to the shared memories of the bereaved as well as the ritual legacy of the marquis' house.

The remaining parts in these entries besides the vehicle phrases indicate what was done concerning these vehicles. They itemise individual draught animal teams matching the vehicles. Each individual draught animal is ascribed to a certain person (through a genitive form characterised by the possessive particle *zhi* 之; or through the agglutination of two substantives, i.e. a draught animal and a person); each vehicle was drawn by a team ascribed to one or more persons. Although several scholars assume that all the draught animals were gifts of these persons,[463] I will argue later that not all but merely part of them were gifts; the remaining part were hoarded through the reproductions of further fields of actions such as tributes by the Zeng officials and subjects (see Subsection 3.4.3).

Furthermore, it is important to point out that the entries on the C-1 strips are no first-hand records of hoarding the draught animals itself. Theoretically, each contributor of those animals could have brought a list of his contribution, specifying at least his own name, the number, the species and perhaps also the features of the contributed animals. The writing supports of such lists may have been of individual formats (e.g., labels or tablets).[464] Furthermore, based on the lists provided by the donors, a scribe of the Zeng March could have created a register of the contributions on a writing support that was conventional in the Zeng March (e.g., a bamboo scroll). Such a register could have tabulated all the contributors' own lists, with the contributions neatly grouped by the names of the contributors. But neither the contributors' own lists nor a contribution register were found in the marquis' tomb. It is probable that such documents were kept in the palace archive as memorandums of the material exchanges in the march's offical circle of obligation and reciprocity.

Unlike the contributors' own lists and the contribution register, each entry on the C-1 strips describes these animals in a sophisticated way in which they are entangled with one another: several animals of individual provenances were mixed and combined with one another to form a draught team, while the animals of the same contributors were usually separately

[463] See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 455; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 5; Luo Xiaohua 2017, 277 ff.; and Habberstad 2014, 191, 195 ff., 211 ff.

[464] For an example see the jade tablets (labels) from the Western Zhou tomb of Guo Zhong, Section 1.1.

allocated to diverse draught teams (Appendix I: Table 12 – Table 16). Accordingly, these entries obviously bestow on these animals a totally new organisational structure. Determined by the techniques required in such an entanglement of the draught horses, this organisational structure could not have been designed ad hoc during the process of the contribution of these animals; it could have taken days of testing and training to work out the constellation of so many draught animals.

The records themselves do not reveal much about the techniques used in combining draught animals into teams, except for something that contradicts transmitted texts on such practices. The draught animals were at least 148 horses (see Table 12, Table 14, Table 15 and Table 16) and two mules (*luo* 𩵦, strip 205). Each animal acted as one of the pole animals or outriggers in a team of two to six animals abreast. The horses are denoted primarily according to their coat colours, such as "bay" (*liu* 騮), "white" (*bai* 白), "black" (*hei* 黑) and "yellow" (*huang* 黃); occasionally also according to their sex, such as "mare" (*pin* 牝) and "stallion" (*mu* 牡); ages, such as "foal" (*ju* 駒); and body height, such as "Six-Feet" (*jiao* 驕).[465] As Luo Xiaohua has pointed out, unlike some later texts suggest, the homogeneity of the coat colours of the horses does not seem to have played a decisive role in the combination of horse teams.[466] Luo surmises that certain rational factors, such as the similarity of body height, physical strengths and running speed of the draught horses, may have had precedence over their coat colours.[467]

Nothing is explicitly mentioned about the spatial conditions, nor about the persons who combined those draught animals. It is possible that the Palace Stable mentioned in the two subtotals on strips 207 and 208 played a role in offering both staff and spatial conditions for the combination and training of the draught horses.[468]

---

[465] See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 185 ff.

[466] See Luo Xiaohua 羅小華, "Zeng Hou Yi mu C lei jian yanjiu" 曾侯乙墓 C 類簡研究, *Jianbo* 1 (2016): 62.

[467] See Luo Xiaohua 2016, 71 ff.

[468] Habberstad assumes that certain funeral directors with equestrian expertise were at work. Cf. Habberstad 2014, 196.

It is noteworthy that in transmitted texts, there is no indication that the gifts of horses in a funeral were combined into teams to draw the vehicles in the funeral. Therefore, the records on the C-1 strips are new sources about the usage of the material resources gained in a funeral. Furthermore, the structure of individual entries on the C-1 strips indicates that those draught animals could have been used in the reproduction of a further field of action, i.e., the presentation of draught animals, as well. During the sojourn of the coffin of an Ordinary Officer in the ancestral temple, draught horses are performatively presented in a rite, which is described as follows:

> 薦馬，纓三就，入門，北面，交轡，圉人夾牽之。御者執策立於馬後。哭成踊，右還，出。[469]

> Then the horses are brought in, each decked with three tassels. They enter the door and are set facing north, the reins being joined together and held by the groom. The driver, holding his whip, stands behind them. These two wail and stamp alternately, and then turning by the right go out.[470]

Apparently, the focus of the rite was a draught horse team together with a driver and a groom, instead of individual horses. The records on the C-1 strips ordered draught animals into teams and, as argued above, they specify the officials who were perhaps responsible for these individual draught animal teams and the matching vehicles. Hence, it seems likely that such a rite also took place in the ancestral temple of Marquis Yi. The officials were perhaps the persons who conducted the rite.

It is worth noting that in the rite, the individual animal team was apparently detached from the vehicle. And the rite was performed three times in the last two days before the entombment (Appendix I: Table 2), perhaps in accordance with the number of the vehicles exhibited in the ancestral temple:

---

469 See *Yili zhushu*, 844 ff.

470 The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 80.

薦車，直東榮，北輈。……薦乘車，鹿淺幦；干、笮、革靾；載旃，載皮弁服；纓、轡、貝勒縣於衡。道車，載朝服。稿車，載蓑笠。[471]

Then the vehicles are brought in and, set in line with the east wall, with their poles pointing north… In the travelling chariot that is exhibited, the rug is of deerskin, with the summer coat of hair on. [Besides] a shield, an arrow quiver and leather bridles, it carries a *zhan*-banner and a skin cap suit. The tassels, the reins and the bits are suspended from the yoke bar. There is also an ordinary carriage carrying a suit of court garment; and a country cart with a rain-coat and a bamboo hat.[472]

Interestingly, this rite was also performed shortly before the entombment of a Grandee, as indicated by a passage in *Liji*: "大夫之喪，既薦馬，薦馬者哭踴，出。乃包奠而讀書",[473] i.e. "at the mourning rites for a Grandee, after the [last] presentation of the draught horses, the men who have presented the horses wail, stamp, and go out. After this the pre-entombment offerings are wrapped up, and the lists (i.e. the "*feng*-gift list" and the "dispatch list") are read".[474] Generally, the wrapping of the pre-entombment offerings and the reading of the lists took place immediately before the procession to the tomb (Appendix I: Table 2). Kong Yingda also commented that the grief expressed during the presentation of the draught animals was due to the fact that "行期已至",[475] i.e. "the departure [of the deceased from the temple] is approaching".

Hence, it is probable that shortly before the procession to the tomb of Marquis Yi, the draught animal teams of the 40 vehicles recorded on the C-1 strips were also performatively presented. In accordance with the number of the draught animal teams, the rite could have been performed 40 times. It is also possible that the ritualists increased the number of draught animal teams in each performance in oder to reduce the frequence of the rite. At any rate, the much

---

471 The passage before "…" is part of the main text in the chapter "Ji xi li" in *Yili*, and the passage after "…" is part of the original notes (*ji* 記) that are transmitted with the main text together. See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 843 and 908 ff.

472 The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 102 ff.

473 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Zaji shang" 雜記上 (miscellaneous Records, Part I), 1357.

474 The translation is adapted from Legge 1885b, 135.

475 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Zaji shang", 1357.

greater number of draught animal teams and the much higher frequency of the rite required a much more rational organisation. For the purpose of this organisational rationality, the lists on the C-1 strips could have been a reasonable aid.

More precisely, the lists were not only records of the mixing and combination of draught animal teams, but perhaps also a plan and script for the rite of their presention. They seem to exactly indicate the organisational pattern of the material resources and persons in such a rite: the structure of the unities of content perhaps indicates that certain draught animal teams were presented as a unit; the original sequence of the entries within a unity could have been in accordance with the sequence of the draught animal teams that were presented; and individual entries indicate the pattern of combining draught horses with persons. The individual contributors of the horses were probably to be announced aloud in the rite, using the records as a script. Furthermore, the reader-friendly layout of the writings also corroborates their usage as script: although the entries are much shorter than those on the A and B strips, each of them occupies an individual strip and forms a single paragraph, while the long entries on the A and B strips sometimes form multi-entry paragraphs (see Subsection 3.5.3).

It is not known whether it was a common practice in the marquis' era to combine the material resources gained in a funeral in such an intriguing way in order to use them ad hoc in the funeral. At any rate, if the result of this practice was publicly announced by reading aloud a list during the rite, the funeral participants could be visually as well as auditorily impressed by the marquis' vast social network, which was mobilisable for the display of those resources.

Furthermore, part of the draught horses and vehicles recorded on the C-1 strips probably entered still another field of action, i.e. the funerary sacrifice. The summaries on strips 207 and 208 indicate that 15 vehicles of the Palace Stable, in two groups of respectively ten and five, and their 64 draught horses were to enter (*ru* 入) two locations called *xueguan* 楈官 (Office of Xue) and *changhong* 長坅 (Long Gate). Xiao Shengzhong assumes that the two terms refer to two accompanying pits (*suizangkeng* 隨葬坑), in which the 15 vehicles and the 64 associated draught horses were buried.[476] And Zhao Ping'an 趙平安 supposes that *xueguan* can be

[476] See Xiao Shengzhong 2009: 371, footnote 94.

rendered as *gunguan* 棍棺, which means "coffin made of *gun*-tree".[477] I do not agree with Zhao, because no wheeled vehicles – not even miniature models of them have been found in any pre-Qin coffins. Even if wheeled vehicles or their parts were interred in the tomb, they were never placed in coffins.[478] The "accompanying pit"-interpretation is more plausible, since the tombs of several ancestors as well as several descendants of Marquis Yi were indeed associated with separate accompanying pits containing wheeled vehicles and horses.[479]

This practice is not mentioned in the funerary cycle of the deceased Ordinary Officer in *Yili*, though, transmitted literature indicates that it was indeed familiar in the funerals of the Vassal Lords.[480] The two accompanying pits denoted on the C strips were probably built before the entombment and used simultaneously with the entombment. As will be addressed in Subsection 3.6.1, such accompanying pits had different ritual significance as those that were built after the entombment. They may be regarded as the extension of the tomb architecture, which at any rate included several further such pits as well (see Section 3.7). Even if the field related with such practice may be specified as the field concerning accompanying pits, it is likely incorporated by the field of entombment. Hence, these vehicles and draught horses formed part of the resources in the reproduction of the field of entombment.

---

[477] See Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "Shi Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian zhong de 'gun' he 'gun': Jian ji kun, min de xingti laiyuan" 釋曾侯乙墓竹簡中的"緄"和"棍"：兼及昆、黽的形體來源, *Jianbo* 1 (2006): 11–14.

[478] According to Wu Xiaoyun, vehicles or their parts have been placed in the ramp, on the wooden chamber, in certain compartment(s) of the wooden chamber, in the fill, and so forth in a tomb of the Shang and the Zhou periods. But they were never deposited in the coffin. See Wu Xiaoyun 吴晓筠, *Shang Zhou shiqi chema maizang yanjiu* 商周时期车马埋葬研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2009): 63 ff.

[479] For an overview of accompanying pits containing wheeled vehicles and horses in two cemeteries of Marquis Yi's ancestors, Caomenwan 曹門灣 and Guojiamiao 郭家廟 (dating from between the early and the middle Spring and Autumn period) see Wu Xiaoyun, *Shang Zhou shiqi chema maizang yanjiu*, 59 ff. and 68 ff; for two such accompanying pits accompanying the tombs of Marquis Yi's descendants (dating from between the middle and the late Warring States period) in the Wenfengta cemetery see Huang Fengchun 黄凤春, Hu Gang 胡刚, and Guo Changjiang 郭长江, "Hubei Suizhou shi Wenfengta Dongzhou mudi" 湖北随州市文峰塔东周墓地, *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2014): 23 ff.

[480] Master Mo (Mozi 墨子) stated that "存乎諸侯死者… 車馬藏乎壙", i.e., "de facto when Vassal Lords die, their burials are filled with vehicles and draught horses". See *Mozi jiaozhu* 墨子校注, compiled by Wu Yujiang 吴毓江, Xinbian zhuzi jicheng 新编诸子集成 6 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006): 258 ff.

Therefore, after the fields of the vehicle exhibition and the draught horse presentation were reproduced in the funerals of high aristocrats, part of the vehicles and draught horses could have become tomb goods, unlike the way how they were applied in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer. Therefore, in such cases, they may have belonged to the second cluster of fields, which collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the entombment. This means that when a field of action was reproduced by the bereaved who had accesses to different cultural resources, it could have intersected the field of the entombment or not.

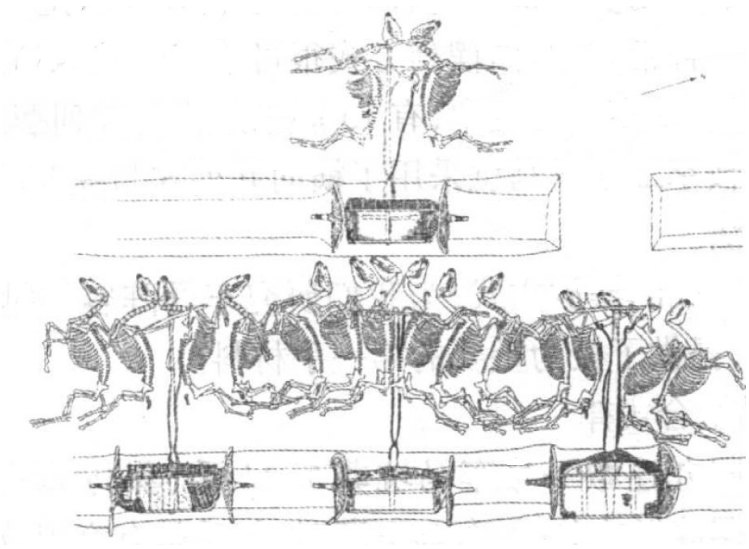


Fig. 16 Part of an accompanying pit in close association with tomb no. 1 at Jiuliandun (Zaoyang, Hubei province). Dating from the mid-Warring States period.

The combination of *bigae*, *quadrigae* and *seiuges* is reminiscent of the combination of

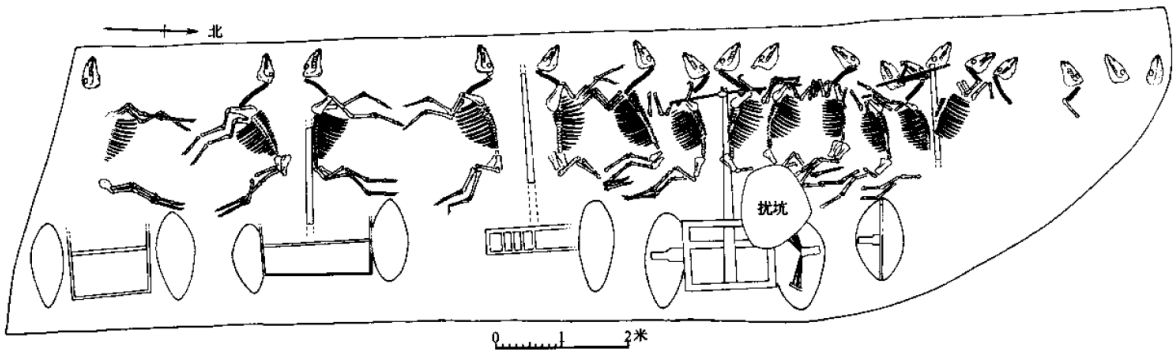


Fig. 17 An accompanying pit in close association with tomb no. 9 at Xujialing (Xichuan, Henan province). Dating from the late Spring and Autumn period.

horse-drawn vehicles in several accompanying pits associated closely with tombs dating from between the late Spring and Autumn period to the mid-Warring States period (see Fig. 16 and Fig. 17). Inofficial discoveries made before the official excavation of the marquis' tomb also indicate that there may have been further accompanying pits containing horse tack, perhaps also vehicles and horses, to the southeast of the tomb.[481] Therefore, it is possible that the 15

[481] The tomb of Marquis Yi was found during the expansion of a military-run factory in 1977 by the air force and local peasants. Tan Weisi 谭维四, the excavation team leader, mentions two inofficial discoveries made

vehicles of the Palace Stable and their draught horses were indeed buried in two accompanying pits, which have been partly if not completely ruined by modern construction works.

It is remarkable that six of the vehicles prepared by the Zeng court were *seiuges* and five of them were probably buried somewhere around the tomb. Between the Han dynasty and the Qing dynasty, scholars had diverse opinions about the question whether the *seiugis* was a privilege of the Zhou king.[482] While their discussions took place more or less within the framework of Confucian classical studies (*jingxue* 經學), modern scholars refer both to transmitted literature and archaeological findings to review this question. From Yang Yingjie 楊英傑 on, a number of scholars have come to the conclusion that neither of the two kinds of sources supports the view that the *seiugis* was a privilege of the Zhou king,[483] and it did not become the emperor's privilege until the Qin dynasty 秦 (221–207 BCE).[484] Archaeological

before the excavation. The first discovery was made around the end of October 1977. After some explosion and digging work, peasants found certain bronze boards (*tongpian* 铜片) among the debris of rocks and soil, before they sold them. These bronze boards could have been vehicle accoutrements (see Appendix I, Table 5). Several days after that (in October or November 1977), they found a bronze *ding*-cauldron 鼎 and a bronze axle cap to the southeast of the tomb during further explosion work. See Tan Weisi, *Zeng hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001): 5 ff. Elsewhere, Tan indicates that the second discovery involved a bronze *hu*-bottle 壺 as well as several small bronze items besides the *ding*-cauldron and the axle cap. See Tan Weisi, "Shenqi de Leigudun: Zeng Hou Yi mu fajue jishi" 神奇的擂鼓墩——曾侯乙墓发掘纪实, *Zongheng* 纵横, no. 2 (2004): 47. These bronze items are, however, not mentioned in the official site report. These discoveries indicates that there may have been further accompanying pits containing among others horse harnesses, perhaps also vehicles and horses, to the southeast of the tomb. In 1999, five accompanying pits, K1–K5, were found during certain renovation measures of the tomb, to the west of it (see Section 3.7). See Zhang Changping 张昌平 et al., "Hubei Suizhou shi Zeng Hou Yi mu yihao peizangkeng fajue jianbao" 湖北随州市曾侯乙墓一号陪葬坑发掘掘简报, *Kaogu*, no. 11 (2017): 31–44. Unfortunately, the site report mentions nothing about further survey to the southeast of the tomb.

[482] Zhou Xinfang lists four different scholarly opinions about this matter between the Han and the Qing dynasties: first, *seiugis* was a privilege of the Zhou King; second, the vehicles of the Zhou king, as well as the vehicles of the aristocrats ranked above *dafu* 大夫 (Grandee), used to be *quadrigae*; third, the Zhou King used both *quadriga* and *seiugis*, depending on situations; fourth, both *quadriga* and *seiugis* used to be a part of the Zhou King's convoy, i.e., his *lu* carriage (*luche* 路車) was drawn by six horses, while each of his attendant chariots were drawn by four horses. Both the last two opinions do not give an answer to the question, whether the *seiugis* was a privilege of a Zhou King. See Zhou Xinfang 周新芳, "'Tianzi jia liu' wenti kaobian" "天子驾六"问题考辨, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 1 (2007): 42 ff.

[483] For examples see Yang Yingjie 杨英杰, *Zhanche yu chezhan* 战车与车战 (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1986b): 82 ff; Yin Qun 2001, 193; Zhou Xinfang 2007, 41 ff.; and Sun Yaokui 孙尧奎, "Liang Zhou shiqi duzhou mache jiama shu wenti yanjiu shulun" 两周时期独辀马车驾马数问题研究述论, *Qilu xuekan* 齐鲁学刊 2008, no. 4 (2008): 36 ff.

[484] See Yang Yingjie 1986b, 85; Zhou Xinfang 2007, 44.

findings indicate that *seiugis* used to be buried in pits accompanying tombs of pre-imperial aristocrats, including females, of various ranks.[485]

It is important to point out that the two unities of content summarised by strips 207 and 208 could not have been the exclusive record of the disposal of the 15 of the Zeng vehicles and their draught animals. Of course, the disposal of these vehicles and draught animals must have been significant in the long-term administration of material resources at the Zeng court. But the two unities of content seem to contain too many unnecessary details for such a long-term administration: for instance, instead of briefly listing the four horses contributed by a certain Han Fu 鼾夫, the two unities mention his horses four times, each time in combination with an individual vehicle. Since combining these draught animals was a nonrecurring event, the way how they were finally combined could not have been of any significance in the administrative point of view. It is probable that another document, perhaps in the form of a concise list, was created on the basis of the records on the C-1 strips and kept in the Zeng palace archive. Such a list could have specified the number and types of the vehicles as well as the number, species and provenances of the horses, which were buried.

In contrast to the records on the remaining subgroups of the C strips, the physical features and handwriting of the records on the C-1 strips are much more consistent. This is probably due to the temporal aspects in the production of the records. More concretely, the recording process probably did not set in until all the related material resources were available, i.e., after the preparation of the vehicles by the Zeng March (see Section 3.5), the collection of draught animals in diverse forms (see Subsection 3.4.3), the combination of the draught animals into draught teams, and the training of them to draw vehicles abreast. At that point in time, the extent of the records must have been predictable as well. As a result, enough bamboo strips

[485] Zhou Xinfang lists seven pre-imperial tombs with accompanying pits, each of which accommodated at least one *seiugis*. Two of the tombs have been ascribed to a Zhou king and a Chu king, respectively. Among the other five tombs, one was ascribed to a certain *hou* 侯 (Vassal Lord) and two were ascribed to two certain *dafu* 大夫 (Grandees), respectively. One of the remaining tombs accommodated a bronze vessel, which bears an inscription indicating that the tomb occupant was a female. See Zhou Xinfang 2007, 52, Table 1; Jia Lianmin 贾连敏 et al., "Sanmenxia Guoguo mudi M2013 de fajue qingli" 三门峡虢国墓地 M2013 的发掘清理, *Wenwu*, no. 12 (2000): 23 ff. There are different opinions about the identity of the occupant of the last tomb, but scholars seem to agree that the tomb occupant was a female from the royal house. See Duan Qingbo 段清波, "Guanyu Shenheyuan da mu muzhu ji xiangguan wenti de taolun" 关于神禾原大墓墓主及相关问题的讨论, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no. 4 (2009): 53 ff.; Ding Yan 丁岩, "Chang'an Shenheyuan Zhanguo Qin lingyuan niandai shukao" 长安神禾原战国秦陵园年代述考, *Wenbo*, no. 2 (2010): 13 ff.

notched in the same format were also prepared for the records. Judging by the handwriting, one scribe did the work alone (hand [13] in Appendix IV.3).

Nevertheless, besides the entries on the C-1 strips, there is another entry on the horse team of a certain vehicle prepared by the Zeng March, i.e. a certain *chili* 時柃 cart. This entry is inscribed on a strip among the remaining subgroups of the C strips. An analysis of the creation of these subgroups will provide more insights into the temporal aspects of the creation of the records on the C strips.

3.4.2 The Records on the Remaining C Strips

Besides the C-1 strips, the C strips include two unities of content, i.e. S-195 and S-204, and five loose entries that is not (directly) associated with any unities of content. The summary of unity S-195 shares a strip with an list entry as follows:[486]

> Strip 195: **[Entry C-2/S-195/P-9/E-1]** 遊旝公之迖車三輦（乘）：屯麗。 (long gap) **[Subtotal C-2/S-195]** ■凡𠂤迖車九輦（乘）。 (L. 63 cm)
>
> **[Entry C-2/S-195/P-9/E-1]** The Lord of Lüyang's three road carriages: all are *bigae*. (long gap) ■ In total: nine donated road carriages. (line break)

In the list entry on this shared strip, the three road carriages are ascribed to the Lord of Lüyang by the possessive particle *zhi* 之. But the summary behind the entry refers to road carriages that were donated. This indicates that the ascription indeed means that the related vehicles were gifts made by the Lord of Lüyang.[487] But the unity of content includes further eight list entries itemising further 15 donated road carriages (see Appendix III.3: Unity S-195). In some of these entries, the vehicles are explicitly denoted as *feng*-gifts (*feng* 𠂤). Therefore,

---

[486] For an annotated translation of the unity see Appendix III.3: Unity S-195; for a tabular view of the content of individual entries see Appendix I: Table 17.

[487] I used to suppose that the ascription means that the related road carriages were guest vehicles owned by the Lord of Lüyang, as a contrast to the vehicles that were explicitly denoted as *feng*-gifts. Cf. Sun Hui 2018, 58–59. But the layout and content of the writings on strips 195 and 119 (analysed below) indicate that all the related vehicles were gifts. For another factor, which convinced me that the related vehicles were gifts instead of guest vehicles, see below.

the unity of content exhibits a contradictory characteristic, i.e., the vehicles in the list entries overnumber those summarised.

The entries of these vehicles demonstrate a different structure as those on the C-1 strips. The vehicle phrase is not at the end of each entry, but forms the beginning of the entry, for instance:

Strip 187: **[Entry C-2/S-195/P-1]** 王𠂤一乘逄車：三匹駉（騩）。 (L. 64.1 cm)

The King donated one road carriage, [drafted by] three bay horses. (line break)

The contents of these entries differ from those on the C-1 strips as well. They merely include the number of the draught horses in each individual team (two to four) and sometimes the denotations of individual horses, but they do not explicitly mention the provenance of individual draught horses. Apparently, the draught horse teams were part of the *feng*-gifts made by the vehicle donors.[488] These donated draught horses amount to 39.

The summary of unity S-204 is written separately on strip 204.[489] It refers to eight donated vehicles, which belonged to the types broad carriages, reserve chariots or hunting chariots. But the list entries in this unity record seven such donated chariots, each of which was drawn by two horses. One of them is as follows:

Strip 198: **[Entry C-2/S-204/P-2]** 竇旝公之一𠂤𨐈=（𨐈車），麗。 (L. 63.8 cm)

The donated reserve chariot of the Duke of Lüyang, a *biga*. (line break)

These chariots obviously kept their original draught horse teams, which were part of the *feng*-gifts as well. Accordingly, the records on these chariots (strips 197–203) have almost the same structure as those on the donated road carriages, except that two of the vehicle phrases are split into two parts, respectively, which form the beginning and the end of each entry (strips

[488] Habberstad assumes that all the original horse teams were separated with their vehicles or mixed with the horses of the others ("donors thus did not contribute intact horse teams; the procession director mixed and then matched horses to chariots."). Cf. Habberstad 2014, 195 ff.

[489] For an annotated translation of the unity see Appendix III.3: Unity S-204; for a tabular view of the content of individual entries see Appendix I: Table 18.

197 and 199). If the chariot in the missing entry was equipped with two horses, the donated draught horses would amount to 16.

Hence, the unities S-195 and S-204 seem to have formed two *feng*-gift lists. In view of the relatively identical size of the strips and the layout of the two unities, they do not seem to have been created individually by the scribes of the donors; more likely, they must have been created by the Zeng scribes as a register of the donated vehicles.

Among the five loose entries, four record vehicles that are ascribed to certain persons,[490] for instance:

> Strip 162: **[Entry C-?/L/P-3]** 邆尹之一騂一黃，以韋（乘）魯陽公之𨐈=（𨐈車）。
> (L. 21.9 cm)
>
> The Governor of Fu's piebald and tan horses are used to draw the Duke of Luyang's reserve chariot. (Line break)

The ascription through the possessive particle *zhi* probably means that this reserve chariot was a gift, similar to the road carriages mentioned above. The structure of the entry is similar to those on the C-1 strips, i.e., it begins with a record of draught horses to match the vehicle and ends with a vehicle phrase.

These four loose entries thus relate to four donated vehicles, which belonged to the types broad carriages, reserve chariots or hunting chariots. Each vehicle was drawn by two horses. But these entries did not belong to unity S-204, because they were no gift records as such, but instead records of what was done to these gifts; furthermore, as indicated by strips of which the subgroups could be determined, while unity S-204 was inscribed on C-2 strips, these four loose entries were written on C-3 strips. These donated vehicles were obviously matched with draught horses of different provenances,[491] in the style of the allocation of draught animals to the Zeng-vehicles recorded on the C-1 strips. Accordingly, these entries were also written by the hand, which inscribed the C-1 strips (hand [13] in Appendix IV.3). But obviously, as these

[490] For an annotated translation of the unity see Appendix III.3: Loose entries; for a tabular view of the content of individual entries see Appendix I: Table 19.

[491] This is another factor, which convinced me that the related vehicles were gifts instead of guest vehicles. The Zeng March would not have meddled with the guest vehicles in this way.

vehicles arrived, the C-1 strips were already used up. The scribe had to resort to C-3 strips that were available then.

Most tellingly, the reserve chariot recorded on strip 162 was likely the same as the above-mentioned one in the unity S-204, since the Duke of Luyang was probably also written as the Duke of Lüyang.[492] Is this holds true, the two entries on this reserve chariot are associated with two different assignments, i.e., the receiving of this vehicle as gift and the matching of draught horses with it. This means that this vehicle underwent a transformation of its draught horse team, as the field of gift-giving intersected the field of funeral.

But obviously, three donated vehicles recorded on the loose strips are not among those *feng*-gift records in the unity S-204. And if all four donated vehicles on the loose strips are considered, the vehicles of the related types would overnumber those recorded on the summary strip 204.

Before addressing the discrepancies between the summaries and the list entries as well as the remaining one entry on a loose strip, it is worth paying attention to the vehicle donors. The donors of the road carriages include a king, his crown prince (*taizi* 大子) , the Lord of Pingye (Pingye jun 坪夜君), the Lord of Yang (Yang jun 鄬君), the Lord of Yangcheng (Yangcheng jun 昜城君), the Lord of Li (Li jun 鄒君) and the Duke of Lüyang/Luyang; while the donors of the chariots include the Lord of Li, the Duke of Lüyang/Luyang, the Prime Minister (*qingshi* 慶事/卿士),[493] the Lord of Ming (Ming jun 郠君), the Chancellor (*lingyin* 敚尹), the Lord of Ji (Ji jun 鄅君), the Governor of Fu, the Lord of Pingye and the Lord of Li. One chariot donor's

[492] The Duke of Lüyang is written Lüyang gong 賓昜公 on strip 198 and written Lüyang gong 遊昜公 on strip 195. Furthermore, Qiu and Li assume that Luyang gong 魯昜公 on strip 162 was the same person as Lüyang gong as well, because the character *lu* 魯 is a phonetical loan character of *lü* 遊. Qiu and Li assume that the Duke of Luyang mentioned in the Leigudun manuscripts was Luyang gong 魯陽公, a person referred to in *Guo yu* and *Huainanzi.* He was the grandson of King Ping of Chu (Chu Ping wang, reigned 528–516 BCE). Wu Liangbao argues that the fief of the duke was located in today's Lushan 魯山 county, Henan province. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 529, footnote 261. Wu Liangbao 吴良寶, *Zhanguo Chu jian diming jizheng* 戰國楚簡地名輯證 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2010), 166 ff. The fief of Lüyang was ca. 250 km from the Zeng capital via the shortest modern land route.

[493] Qiu and Li assume that the *qingshi* 慶事 on the A strips is a variant of *qingshi* 卿士 on the C strips. The latter title is a common title of a Prime Minister. In *Zuo zhuan*, for instance, the *lingyin* 令尹 (Chancellor) and the *sima* 司馬 (Military Supervisor) of Chu were referred to as two *qingshi*. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 518, footnote 132; Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 3, 1948 ff.

name is missing (strip 200). But he could have been the Chancellor of the Left (*zuoyin* 左尹) according to the records on the A strips (Appendix I: Table 3, vehicle nos. 14 and the related footnote).

The king who donated three road carriages was likely the same Chu king, King Hui, who bestowed on Marquis Yi the posthumous gift of a bronze bell set (see Section 3.2). And his crown prince was King Jian (Chu Jianwang 楚簡王, reigned 431– 408 BCE). It seems that the alliance between the Zeng March and the Chu Kingdom continued during Marquis Yi's era and thereafter. Furthermore, some of the above-mentioned aristocrats, e.g., the Chancellor of the Left,[494] the Lord of Pingye,[495] the Duke of Lüyang, and the Lord of Yang,[496] are known in transmitted literature as Chu aristocrats. Furthermore, the bamboo manuscript *Xinian* 系年 (Chronologies) in the collection of the Qinghua University indicates that the Duke of Lüyang/Luyang, the Lord of Pingye and the Lord of Yangcheng were the "three lords possessing the *gui* tablets" (*san zhigui zhi jun* 三執珪之君), i.e. they had the highest rank among the fief lords, in the Chu Kingdom.[497] Further archaeological discoveries at least

494 *Lingyin* 敜(令)尹 (Chancellor) and *zuoyin* 左尹 (the Chancellor of the Left) are only known as Chu officials in the Warring States period. See Qiu Xigui 1979, 26.

495 Qiu Xigui points out that Pingye 平夜 was the Chu county Pingyu 平輿. Pingyu was a fief of the Chu Kingdom, located in the southeast of today's Runan 汝南 county and the north of the Pingyu county in Henan province. See Qiu Xigui 1979, 26; Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 519, footnote 145; Wu Liangbao 2010, 77 ff. The fief of Pingye was ca. 290 km from the Zeng capital via the shortest modern land route.

496 Qiu Xigui points out that the character *yang* 鄝 is a phonetic loan character of *yang* 養. Yang was a fief of the Chu Kingdom. See Qiu Xigui 1979, 26.

497 See strip 135 in Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (er): Shiwen zhushi* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（貳）：釋文注釋 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2011): 196; and Chen Yingfei 陈颖飞, "Chu Daowang shiqi de dazhan yu Chu fengjun: Qinghua jian 'Xinian' zhaji zhiyi" 楚悼王初期的大战与楚封君：清华简《系年》札记之一, *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知识, no. 5 (2012): 105–107. I thank Professor Yuri Pines for the references to the "three lords-possessors of the *gui* tablet".

corroborate that the fiefs of Pingye[498] and of Yang[499] were located in the Chu territory, and that the Lord of Pingye belonged to the royal lineage of the Chu Kingdom.[500]

Scholars assume that all the other vehicle donors were from the Chu Kingdom as well.[501] It is known that in the Zhou dynasty, higher-ranked agents made *feng*-gifts of vehicles to lower-ranked ones.[502] This convention was maintained in the early imperial period as well.[503] In non-funerary context, gifts of vehicles were also made between agents of equivalent ranks.[504] This may also apply for a funerary context.

On the contrary, it seems that gifts of vehicles, at least those that formed part of the official insignia, were not expected to be made by an lower-ranked agent to a higher-ranked one. There is a counterexample in a non-funerary context: in *Zuo zhuan*, King Huan of the Zhou dynasty

---

498 The tomb of another Lord of Pingye, who was likely a son of the Lord of Pingye mentioned in the Leigudun lists, was found in 1994 in Geling 葛陵, Xincai 新蔡 county in Henan province. The site used to be part of the Chu territory. See Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所, *Xincai Geling Chu mu* 新蔡葛陵楚墓 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003): 183; for the relation of the two Lords of Pingye see Song Huaqiang 宋华强, "Shi lun Pingye Jun Cheng ji Pingye Wenjun zhi zi" 试论平夜君成即平夜文君之子, updated May 17, 2006, accessed February 18, 2025, http://m.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/4561.html.

499 Based on archaeological findings and transmitted literature on the fief Yang, Huang Shengzhang argues that the fief was located in the east of today's Shenqiu 沈丘 county in Henan 河南 province. Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋, "Yang qi yu Yangguo diwang ji yu Chu zhi guanxi kaobian" 鄀器与鄀国地望及与楚之关系考辨, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 1 (1988): 49–51. Hence, the fief of Yang was ca. 370 km from the Zeng capital via the shortest modern land route.

500 A divination text from the tomb of the Lord of Ping in Geling indicates that the tomb occupant belonged to the royal lineage of the Chu Kingdom. See Song Huaqiang 宋華強, *Xincai Geling Chu jian chutan* 新蔡葛陵楚簡初探 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2010): 113 ff.

501 See Qiu Xigui 1979, 26; Zhuang Shuhui 1994, 129 ff.

502 For instance, as a grandson of the Duke Mu of Zheng 鄭穆公 (reigned 627–606 BCE) died in 554 BCE, the Zhou king bestowed on him posthumously a grand road carriage to reward his military achievement. See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 1066 ff.

503 For instance, the following persons of the Han period were rewarded by the royal house posthumously with vehicles: Zhang Anshi 張安世 (?-62 BCE), General of the Guards (*weijiangjun* 衛將軍); Kong Guang 孔光 (65 BCE-5 CE), one descendant of Confucius; Wang Feng 王鳳 (?-22 CE), the brother of a Han empress; Liang Shang 梁商 (?-141 CE), the father of a Han empress; and so forth. See Ban Gu 1962, *juan* 59, 2653; Ban Gu 1962, *juan* 89, 3364; Ban Gu 1962, *juan* 98, 4024; Fan Ye 范曄, *Houhan shu* 後漢書, *juan* 34 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965): 1177.

504 For instance, Qing Feng 慶封 (?-538 BCE), the Chancellor of the Left (*zuoxiang* 左相) of the Qi state, presented a splendid carriage to Jisun Su 季孫宿 (died 535 BCE), the Chief Minister (*zhengqing* 正卿) of the Lu state in 545 BCE. Qing and Jisun were ranked equivalently, i.e., they were the One below the reigning prince of their state, respectively. See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 1224 ff.

(Zhou Huanwang 周桓王, reigned 719–697 BCE) was criticised for dispatching an envoy to demand wheeled vehicles, probably those that would form part of the royal regalia, from Duke Huan of Lu (Lu Huangong 魯桓公, reigned 711–694 BCE) in 697 BCE. The event was judged as "not in accordance with ritual propriety" (*fei li ye* 非禮也), because "the vassals do not offer [royal regalia in forms of] wheeled vehicles or official garments, and the Son of Heaven does not privately ask for goods" (諸侯不貢車服，天子不私求財).[505] This event seems to have been so striking that it was even selected as the event of the related year in the Chronological Tables (*biao* 表) in *Shiji* 史記 (The Grand Scribe's Records).[506]

Accordingly, the vehicle donors in the marquis' funeral were likely of higher rank than him or of equivalent rank as him. Since the marquis was a vassal lord of Chu, the donors were likely all from the Chu Kingdom. Acknowledging the lordship of Chu, the scribes did not mention the state affiliation of the vehicle donors, in contrast to the way how they refer to the two horse donors from the Song Dutchy (see Appendix I: Table 21).

The relationships among the content, the physical features of the bamboo strips and the handwriting reveals certain temporal aspects in the creation of the records about the donated vehicles from Chu.

The bamboo strips bearing the unity of content of the donated road carriages demonstrate inconsistent binding features. Strips 187, 188, 193 and 195 belong to the C-2 subgroup. Strip 190 does not belong to the C group at all; instead, it is an A-2 strip. In view of the notch positions, the difference between an A-2 strip and a C-2 strip is much greater than the one between any two strips from two different C subgroups (see Appendix II). The group affiliation of the remaining strips of this unity is not known. Hence, few as they are, the nine entries on donated road carriages were inscribed on strips of at least two subgroups, which plainly differ from each other.

---

505 See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 122 ff.

506 The event of the year is formulated as follows: "The king required wheeled vehicles. This is not in accordance with ritual propriety" (*tianwang qiu che, fei li* 天王求車，非禮). See Sima Qian 司馬遷, "Shi'er zhuhou nianbiao" 十二諸侯年表 (Chronologies of the Vassal Lords of Twelve Princedoms), in *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959): 562.

The disparity of the binding positions of these strips indicates certain time lags with which the records were made. The process of receiving vehicles from Chu was likely less predictable than the preparation of vehicles by the Zeng March itself. There may have been a common sense among the circle of reciprocity about the duration of the period in which gifts of vehicles ought to be made. But still, there was perhaps a certain degree of uncertainties concerning the exact number of vehicles to be received and the time of their arrivals. Messengers delivering the death notes as well as envoys travelling with vehicles had to overcome diverse distances before the vehicles could be received in the Zeng ancestral temple: the donors belonged to the staff of the Chu central government or their envoys dwelt ca. 140–245 km away from the Zeng capital via the shortest modern land route;[507] the fief lords dwelt ca. 250–370 km away from the Zeng capital via the shortest modern land routes.[508] At any rate, they could seldom have arrived at their destinations on the same day. Instead, the period between the arrivals of the first and the last donations may have been weeks, if not months.[509]

The long duration of the donation period was prone to uncertainties, which seem to have taken a toll on the uniformity of the writing supports and the scribal hands as well as the textual integrity of the records. It seems that the original plan was to record the donated road carriages on the C-2 strips. At a certain point in time, the scribe believed that all the gifts already arrived, and made therefore a summary following the last entry on a C-2 strip (strip 195). But the envoy of the crown prince somehow arrived with the three road carriages after that, which was perhaps a move unexpected by the Zeng March – it might be significant that the old King Hui died in 532 BCE, perhaps soon after he donated the bell set and the road carriages to the Zeng March. It is even possible that Marquis Yi was not yet buried before the old king died. If this holds true, the new king would likely have made his own funerary gifts in time to declare his new kingship and establish his political capital. At any rate, none of the C-2 strips was available any more, as the envoy of the prince arrived. What was available instead was one of the A-2 strips, i.e. strip 190, because the inscribing of the A strips was in progress then. Judging by the

[507] See footnote 381.

[508] See footnotes 495, 492 and 499.

[509] In Section 3.2, I argued that an envoy with baggages hauled by cart could have travelled ca. thirty *li* or 12.474 km in average per day in the marquis' era.

relationship between the summary and the list entries, several further road carriages must also have arrived after the summary was already made.

The related unity of content S-195 was inscribed by at least two hands. While strips 190, 191 and 193 (C-2 strip) were perhaps inscribed by one hand (hand [14] in Appendix IV.3), the remaining strips were inscribed by the hand, which inscribed all the C-1 strips (hand [13] in Appendix IV.3). Hence, it seems that one of the hands ([14]) merely occasionally jumped in as the other one was not available. It participated in the inscribing process already before the C-2 strips were used up. And it was on duty as the envoy of the Chu crown prince belatedly arrived the Zeng capital.

The unity of content S-204 is incomplete. It is possible that an entry on one donated vehicle was either not buried or missing. At any rate, the above-mentioned loose strips indicate that at least further three donated vehicles were not included in the unity of content. Hence, similar to the records on the unity of content S-195, it seems that after the summary on strip 204 was created, further gifts were made.

The reception of each vehicle as an ostentatious *feng*-gift must have been framed by a ceremony, which eluded transmitted literature. It can have shared certain similarity with the reception of the modest *feng*-gift of a pair of draught horses on the funeral of an Ordinary Officer in *Yili*:

> 公賵玄纁束、馬兩。擯者出請，入告。主人釋杖，迎於廟門外，不哭。先入門右，北面。及，眾主人袒。馬入設。賓奉幣，由馬西當前輅，北面致命。主人哭，拜稽顙，成踊。賓奠幣於棧左服，出。宰由主人之北，舉幣以東。士受馬以出。主人送於外門外，拜，襲，入複位，杖。
>
> 賓賵者將命，擯者出請，入告，出告須。馬入設。賓奉幣。擯者先入，賓従，致命如初。主人拜於位，不踊。賓奠幣如初，舉幣、受馬如按。[510]
>
> The duke (the ruler of the deceased Ordinary Officer) sends *feng*-gifts including black and crimson silk bales and a pair of horses. The usher goes out [of the ancestral temple], and,

[510] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter “Ji xi li”, 859 ff.

asking [the messenger's][511] business, enters and announces it. The grieving host lays aside his staff and goes out to meet [the messenger] outside the temple gate. He does not wail but precedes the messenger in by the right of the door. He then faces north, and when he comes to the others who are assisting him in the ceremonies, they all bare the arms. Then the horses are brought in and placed [in the courtyard]. The messenger carries in the silks, and, going by the west of the horses, advances as far as the front cross-bar of the hearse. Facing the north, he delivers his message. The grieving host wails and kowtows, interspersing [the obeisances] with stampings. Then the messenger lays the silks down to the west of the body of the hearse[512] and goes out. The steward, going round by the north of the grieving host, lifts the silks and carries them off to the east side. A senior subofficial functionary[513] takes the horses and lead them away. And the grieving host accompanies [the messenger] to the outside of the outer door, and, after bowing farewell to him, draws on his coat, and, entering, goes to his place and resumes his staff.

When a guest sends *feng*-gifts, he sends a message with it. The usher goes out and asks the guest's business. Then he enters, and, announcing it, goes out again, and says: "The host awaits you." The horses are brought in and set [in the court]. The guest takes up the silks, and, preceded by the usher, goes in and delivers his message as above. The grieving host bows from his place and does not stamp. The guest then lays down the silks as above, and the lifting of the silks and the receiving of the horses are as before.[514]

Scholars generally assume that a list of the *feng*-gifts was read aloud by the scribe of the deceased immediately before the procession to the tomb,[515] based on the funerary cycle

511 As has been argued in Section 3.2, an aristocrat of a higher rank was not expected to attend the funeral of a deceased of a lower rank in pre-Qin period. Instead, messengers were sent for individual obligations.

512 According to *Zhou li*, *zhan* 棧 was the service vehicle of an Ordinary Officer. Zheng Xuan comments that it was used as the hearse in the funeral of an Ordinary Officer. The term *zuo fu* 左服 is frequently referred to on the C-1 strips. It means originally "the left pole horse". But the "Ji xi li" chapter of *Yili* indicates that the vehicles including the hearse are presented in the ancestral temple separately with the horses (see Appendix I: Table 2). The vehicles are presented with their draughtpoles facing north. Hence, the term here means perhaps "the west of the body of the hearse". See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 851; and *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 861.

513 Zheng Xuan comments that the term *shi* 士 in the context does not mean the rank of "Ordinary Officer". Instead, it means *xutu zhi zhang* 胥徒之長, i.e., "the Head of the Assistants and Attendantes". See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 861.

514 The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 84 ff.

515 See Chen Wei 1996, 191; Yang Hua 2003, 51.

discribed in *Yili* (see Appendix I: Table 2). It is indeed possible that shortly before the procession to the tomb, a list of the *feng*-gifts made in the funeral of the marquis was read aloud. But it seems almost certain that the unities of content S-195 and S-204 were not the lists that were read, since they were not updated after the subject of the records underwent transformation in numbers. These two unities of content were likely disposed exactly because they were non-final versions, which came into being in the short-term administration of material resources during the reproduction of the field of gift-giving. The updated version was not buried, because it was relevant for the long-term administration of material resources and for the maintenance of reciprocal duties.

Furthermore, two of the above-mentioned loose strips (160 and 161) belonged to the C-3 strips. The records have similar structure as those inscribed on the C-1 strips, and they were inscribed by the same hand, which inscribed the C-1 strips (hand [13] in Appendix IV.3). It seems that as the related vehicle donations arrived, no C-1 strips were available any more. The scribe resorted to C-3 strips that were available then.

In view of the content of these records alone, the entry on strip 185+77 is exceptional (Appendix III.3: Loose entries). Nothing is mentioned about the affiliation of the *chili* cart concerned in the entry. Hence, similar to the nine road carriages in the unity S-196 (Subsection 3.4.1), this cart was likely one prepared by the house of the marquis itself. As brief as it is, this entry indicates that the cart and its draught animal team were reshaped three times as follows. First, similar to what was done to the vehicles recorded on the C-1 strips, two horses donated by two Chu aristocrates were combined to match the cart. Second, similar to what was done to most of the vehicles recorded on the A strips (see Subsection 3.5.1), its horse tack was reshaped. Third, according to Xiao Shengzhong's interpretation of the last two characters,[516] the cart was to be loaded with exceptional goods, i.e. calves and ram lambs (or "a calf and a ram lamb", the original text does not indicate their numbers).

If Xiao's interpretation is accurate, the calves and ram lambs were to be transported by an exquisite cart with leather reins (*pei* 轡（轡）) with gold decoration. They perhaps formed the material resources for the reproduction of a certain field of action. On the one hand, the possible field of action may theoretically have been the pre-entombment offering or the post-

[516] See footnote 1357.

entombment *ji*-sacrifice, both of which could have been reproduced in the ancestral temple according to the early Chinese funerary cycle. Although these two field of action in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer are reproduced with the sacrifice of a Single Boar (*te shi* 特豕), they could have involved the sacrifice of cattle and rams, if they were reproduced in the funerals of higher-ranked individuals.[517] On the other hand, since the record was de facto buried, the exquisite cart was more likely planned for the procession before the entombment, i.e., the animals loaded on it were targeted for certain immediate sacrificial events, either before the entombment or at the entombment. It is important to point out that remains of sacrificial animals including bulls and rams were often discovered in association with pre-Qin tombs. For instance, rams are discovered sometimes as sacrificial animals in the "waist pits" (*yaokeng* 腰坑) of tombs dating from the pre-Qin period in south central China.[518] But such a "waist pit" was not discovered at the marquis' tomb.[519] Hence, these animals were more likely sacrificed as pre-entombment offering in the ancestral temple, after they have formed part of the funerary procession between the Zeng palace and ancestral temple.

Finally, the entry on the *chili* cart, a Zeng vehicle, was written on a C-2 or C-3 strip, i.e. the common strip format to record a Chu vehicle, by the hand that inscribed the C-1 strips (see Appendix IV.3). This indicates a temporal intersection of two fields, i.e., the funerary procession and the sacrificial offering. More precisely, as the cart loaded with the calves and ram lambs for sacrificial purpose was planned as part of the procession, none of the C-1 strips was available any more. Instead, a scribe, who was sharing the work of inscribing the C-2 and C-3 strips with another scribe (see Appendix IV.3), recorded this cart on a C-2 or C-3 strip.

---

[517] According to *Guo yu*, "國君有牛享，大夫有羊饋，士有豚犬之奠，庶人有魚炙之薦", i.e., "the lord of a state is provided with bulls as victims [in his funeral], the Grandees are provided with goats, the Ordinary Officers with boars and dogs, and the commoners with roasted fish". See *Guo yu*, 533.

[518] See Wang Zhiyou 王志友, "Dongzhou Qin Han shiqi muzang zhong de yaokeng qianyi" 东周秦汉时期墓葬中的腰坑浅议, *Qin wenhua luncong* 秦文化论丛, no. 1 (2003): 281; Wang Congli 王从礼, "Chu mu bikan yu yaokeng yanjiu" 楚墓壁龛与腰坑研究, *Hunansheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊, no. 10 (2013): 197.

[519] The marquis' tomb has not been completely excavated. The wooden chambers and the fill around the chambers are made the subject of a museum in situ.

3.4.3 The Provenances of the Draught Animals

The records on the C strips refer to a total of at leat 217 draught horses and 2 draught mules (see Appendix I: Table 21). 157 of these horses and both mules were mixed and combined into draught teams to match 41 Zeng vehicles. As mentioned above, these animal records are no first-hand records concerning the hoarding of these animals. There may have been such first-hand records that were not buried. Nevertheless, the records on the C strips refer to the contributors of each individual draught animals. Based primarily on these records, this subsection will reconstruct the fields of action, which were reproduced to hoard these horses and mules.

Before the reconstruction, it is worth noting that a passage of the records on the D strips refer to further horses contributed by individual persons (for an annotated translation of the passage see Appendix III.4, Paragraph 1). This passage consists of at least two entries referring to at least 24 horses. In this passage, if strips 52 and 211 used to be the head and the end of the same strip, a middle portion of ca. 28.8–35.9 cm is missing.[520] Hence, the original passage must have included more horses; it is also possible that it used to consist of more than two entries. Each entry begins with a passive verbal phrase indicating that the horses concerned were foddered by a certain person.

Furthermore, individual horses in each group are ascribed to certain persons, respectively (the ascription is characterised through the agglutination of three substantives, i.e. a person, a number and the term for "horse"). The ascriptions, similar to those in the records on the C strips, indicate that the horses were contributed by the persons concerned. Due to the fragmentary condition of the strips, only 14 of the 17 official titles or names of the contributors are legible. Interestingly, 12 of the legible official titles or names are mentioned on the C strips as horse contributors as well. Due to this overlap, Zhuang Shuhui assumes that this passage is the summary of the draught horses recorded on the C strips.[521]

However, one cannot overlook the new organisational structure that is bestowed to these horses by the two verbal phrases "fodder by" (*suo zou* 所𠂤), not to mention that the

[520] The lengths of intact strips of the Leigudun manuscripts vary between 62.5–70 cm. See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 26–32.

[521] See Zhuang Shuhui 1994, 207 ff.

contributors and horses in this passage are far fewer than those recorded on the C strips, i.e. 96 contributors, 191 horses and 2 mules (see Appendix I: Table 21). Therefore, this passage is not likely a summary of the horses recorded on the C strips. Similar to the records on the C strips, the passage refers to the contributions of horses as past events. The new organisational structure indicates that these horses were transformed from the material resources of the contributions into those of another field of action, i.e., funerary sacrifice (for details see Subsection 3.6.1).

Throughout the C and the D strips, the wording concerning the contributions to the hoard of horses and mules is relatively consistent (by the agglutination of the contributor and the animals or by the possessive particle *zhi* 之 between them), though, there must have been different forms of contributions, judging by the individual identities of the contributors.

The records on the C strips indicate that individual contributors contributed one to eight draught horses and some of them also donated vehicles (Appendix I: Table 21), while the passage on the D strips indicate that some of those contributors also contributed one or two sacrificial horses (Appendix I: Table 22). More than half of the contributors had aristocratic or official titles (Appendix I: Table 21, contributors nos. 1–52). 17 of these aristocrats or officials (Appendix I: Table 21, contributors nos. 1–17), including a dozen who donated vehicles, were likely from Chu. Furthermore, four persons whose titles ending with *zi* 子 may have been chieftains of small chiefdoms that belonged to the Chu Kingdom as well (see Appendix I: Table 21, contributors nos. 34–37).[522] These aristocrats, officials and chieftains likely contributed to the hoard in the form of donations. Some of these donors or their envoys travelled hundreds of kilometres to the Zeng capital, today's Suizhou.[523]

Furthermore, 15 further official titles of horse contributors end with the character *yin* 尹 (Appendix I: Table 21, contributors nos. 18–32). Based on transmitted literature, Zhuang Shuhui assumes that most of them were from the Chu Kingdom, and the others were officials

[522] Based on transmitted literature, Zhang Jun points out that certain chiefdoms (*youhao* 酋豪) existed in the periphery of the Chu Kingdom. Several chieftains called themselves "*zi*" 子. See Zhang Jun 张君, "Chuguo kuoma zhidu zonglun" 楚国括马制度综论, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 2 (1989): 116.

[523] For studies of the location of the Zeng capital between the late Spring and Autumn period and the mid-Warring States period see footnote 377.

of the Zeng March.[524] Indeed, such official titles also existed in the Zeng March. Wang Zhuo 王琢 argues that since the Zeng March yielded to the Chu Kingdom, it adopted part of the Chu official system – several bronze inscriptions refer to *yin* officials who apparently held offices in the Zeng March.[525] Therefore, the affiliations of the *yin* officials concerned are not unambiguous. If part of the officials were from Chu, they likely contributed to the hoard in the form of donations as well.

The great involvement of a considerable number of Chu aristocrats, officials and chieftains in the state funeral of Zeng cannot be regarded as an ordinary phenomenon. More likely, it was determined by the entanglement between the two polities in special historical circumstances (see Sections 3.1 and 3.2). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, as Qiu Xigui assumes, the Zeng March could seldom have maintained sovereign diplomatic relationships by then.[526] Among the other officials, merely the Minister of Works of the Song Duchy (Song sicheng 宋司城)[527] and an envoy from Song (Song ke 宋客)[528] were apparently from a third polity (Appendix I: Table 21, contributors nos. 51 and 52). The two guests from Song made a contribution to the hoard of animals in the form of donations as well.

Irrespective whether part of the *yin* officials were Zeng officials, there were other Zeng officials among the horse contributors. For instance, the Herdsman (*muren* 牧人), the Hunting Chariot Rider (*chengtianren* 乘𩦋人) and the Herdsman in She 鄀牧 must have been two of them (Appendix I: Table 21, contributors nos. 48–50). The two *ren* officials were part of the Zeng official system inherited from the ancient Zhou kingdom (see Subsection 3.4.1). The Herdsman in She, who may have been part of this official system as well, made the largest

---

524 Zhuang assumes that among the "*yin*" 尹 officials, those whose personal names are also mentioned were Zeng officials, and the other "*yin*" officials were from Chu. But this argument is not consistently applied in her judgement of the affiliations of individual officials. See Zhuang Shuhui 1994, 203 ff.

525 Wang Zhuo 2015, 53 ff. and 84.

526 See Qiu Xigui 1979, 26.

527 *Sikong* 司空 used to be the common denotation for the Minister of Works throughout the Eastern Zhou period. But in the Song Duchy 宋 (11th century-286 BCE), this title was renamed *sicheng* 司城 due to the name taboo of Duke Wu of Song (Song Wugong 宋武公, reigned 765–748 BEC). See Zuo Yandong 1994, 317.

528 *Ke* 客 is a frequently used denotation for an "envoy" in manuscripts of the Warring States period. See Wu Liangbao 2010, 27 ff.

individual contribution, i.e. nine horses. Those Herdsmen were probably part of the horse breeding institution of the marquis' house. In the term of Zhang Jun 張君, what they did was "貢獻職功",[529] i.e. "contributing their work output".

Besides the *ren* officials and some of the *yin* officials, there are several other possible Zeng officials (Appendix I: Table 21, contributors nos. 33–47) who contributed horses. Their contributions were probably their own horses. Hence, they may have contributed horses as a special kind of gifts, i.e. voluntary tributes, to their ruler, the successor of Marquis Yi. A passage in *Liji* indicates that even if a subordinate paid tributes in the form of monetary goods, he may have denotated it nominally as *mazi* 馬資, i.e. "expense for horses".[530] This indicates that one of the ordinary forms of tributes from a subordinate to a ruler used to be horse tribute. The tribute payment probably took place in a reciprocical tributary cycle that engaged the marquis' house and his subordinates.

There is no indication that the remaining contributors were officials or aristocrats. They were perhaps commoners. Generally, there were two ways to involve commoners in contributing horses to governments in pre-Qin China. Scholars commonly agree that commoners paid horse tax,[531] but some scholars argue that at least in the Chu Kingdom, they did not submit real horses as tax; instead, they paid the price of horses in agricultural products.[532] Even if the Zeng March obtained certain horses as horse tax, it is unlikely that the records on the C and the D strips would have included the names of the tax payers. The tax payers' names were relevant for a tax record, but not for the usage of the tax. Furthermore,

---

529 Zhang Jun 1989, 115.

530 The passage concerned reads: "君將適他，臣如致金玉貨貝於君，則曰：'致馬資於有司。'……臣為君喪，納貨貝於君，則曰：'納甸於有司'" (When a ruler was about to go out of his own state, if a minister were presenting to him money, pieces of jade or any other monetary goods, the language was, "I present this to the responsible agency for the expenses of the horses."… When a minister was contributing monetary goods to his ruler who had mourning rites on hand for the previous ruler, he said, "I present these products of my fields to the responsible agency.") See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Shao yi" 少儀 (Smaller Rules of Demeanor), 1183 ff.; the translation is adapted from Legge 1885b, 69.

531 See Han Lianqi 韩连琪, *Xian Qin liang Han shi luncong* 先秦两汉史论丛 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1986): 125; Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, *Xian Qin shi lungao* 先秦史论稿 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992): 111.

532 See Wu Yongzhang 吴永章, "Chu fushuizhi chutan" 楚赋税制初探, *Jianghan luntan* 江汉论坛, no. 7 (1982): 66 ff.; Liu Yutang 刘玉堂, *Chuguo jingjishi* 楚国经济史 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996): 39; Zhang Jun 1989, 113.

some scholars argue that commoners in pre-Qin China submitted horses to the government as registered debts (*jima* 籍馬), i.e., the horses remained the registered possessions of the contributors; they were made available (primarily for military purposes) for the government; afterwards, they were given back to the contributors.[533] But there are indications that the owners of these horses were no individual commoners but were communes (*li* 里 or *she* 社) in the Chu Kingdom instead.[534] This would mean that if communes indeed submitted horses as government debts to the marquis' house, it is not likely that the names of any individuals would have been registered as horse contributors. At least the records of sacrifices and prayers from Geling indicate that when communes (*she*) contributed sacrificial animals, the communes instead of individuals were recorded as contributors.[535] In addition, those horses that were perhaps buried (see Subsections 3.4.1 and 3.6.1) were partly contributed by persons without official or aristocratic titles. Hence, the horses were no registered debts.

The contributors without official or aristocratic titles may have been commoners closely associated with the marquis' house, for instance, the kin of the marquis. Some of them even contributed more horses than most of the officials. For instance, Mou Cao 某艸 and Han Fu contributed five horses each. These persons were able to possess a certain number of horses perhaps due to their relationship with the marquis' house. *Zuo zhuan*, for instance, refers to two cases in which persons without official positions (*wulu* 無祿) were able to obtain dozens of horses due to their personal relationship with aristocrats.[536]

---

533 Zhang Jun argues that government debts used to be one of the most influential methods of obtaining war horses in Warring States such as in Chu and Zhao 趙, and that this method was occasionally used in the Western Han dynasty as well. Theoretically, it is possible that this method was also used to obtain horses in the Zeng March. See Zhang Jun 1989, [109]–113; furthermore, Chen Ning also refers to this method in the Western Han dynasty, see Chen Ning 陈宁, *Qin Han mazheng yanjiu* 秦汉马政研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2015): 55.

534 Guo Rencheng 郭仁成, *Chuguo jingjishi xinlun* 楚国经济史新论 (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), 45 ff.; Zhang Jun 1989, 110 ff.

535 Song Huaqiang refers to the records concerned as "楚王命人祈福簡", i.e., "bamboo manuscripts recording the prayers commissioned by the Chu king". According to these records, the dwellers of Xiling (Xiling ren 西陵人), perhaps a certain commune, offered sacrificial animals to make a prayer commissioned by the Chu king. Song Huaqiang 2010, 86 ff.

536 See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 1100 ff.

Accordingly, the horses and mules recorded on the C and the D strips consisted of those made gifts by the Chu aristocrats, officials, chieftains as well as two guests from the Song Dutchy; those delivered by the Zeng officials who herded horses of the Zeng government; those made tributes by further Zeng officials; and those made gifts by the kin of the marquis' house. Accordingly, these animals were hoarded through the reproduction of the following fields of actions, some of which were reproduced multiple times involving diverse persons: the gift-giving, the institutionalised breeding and the tribute payment. It is probable that each individual contribution was framed by a ceremonial rite. *Yili*, for instance, describes a rite in which the ruler of the deceased Ordinary Officer makes gifts of a pair of horses in the courtyard of the officer's ancestral temple (see Subsection 3.4.2). The contributions of draught animals in the marquis' funeral probably also took place in the courtyard of the marquis' ancestral temple.

After the draught animals were led away from the temple's courtyard, it is likely that they were sent to the marquis' Palace Stable. There they were going to be groomed and foddered. After the official end of the contribution of those animals, they entered several individual fields of actions: part of them, after being combined with one another and trained into draught horse teams (see Subsection 3.4.1), formed resources in the field of presenting draught horses in the ancestral temple and the field of funerary procession (see Subsection 3.4.1). At the tomb, 15 draught horse teams, together with the vehicles matched to them, entered the field of post-entombment offering. The remaing part of the animals entered another field after the entombment, i.e., the funerary sacrifice (see Subsection 3.6.1).

3.4.4 The Vehicle Types and their Significance

The records on the C strips relate to 69 vehicles of various types (see Appendix I: Table 3). Among these types, merely the *chuangu* 椯轂 in the unities S-207–208 was exclusively used in the field of funeral; the remaining ones do not seem to have immediate associations with funarals. The symbolic significance of these vehicles must have contributed to the display of the many facets of the marquis' public image.

The *chuangu* deserves a closer look, since it indicates certain practices beyond the *Yili* description of the funerary rituals. Chen Wei renders the character *duan* 椯 as *chuan* 輲, i.e. a

hearse which is known as a large cart with lower, spokeless wheels.[537] In *Yili*, one hearse is used to carry the coffin of an Ordinary Officer during two processions, i.e. the one between the mansion and the ancestral temple, and the one between the ancestral temple and the tomb (see Appendix I: Table 2). The coffin, being single layered, has been permanently sealed after the rite of the fuller dressing (see Appendix I: Table 2), i.e., it is transported as a whole, including the corpse, the dressing, wrapping and adornment of the corpse, during the processions. The corpse of the marquis, however, was accommodated in two nesting coffins. Numerous goods made of jade, horn, bone, textiles and goods adorned with gold foils were discovered between the nesting coffins, partly on the lid of the inner coffin.[538]

When was the outer coffin sealed? If it was sealed after the fuller dressing as well, a hearse, whether it was the *chuangu* or not, must have transported the two nesting coffins and all their contents as a whole. The *chuangu* concerned was drawn by six horses abreast (strip 176). The two nesting coffins, as they were discovered in the waterlogged tomb chamber, weighed ca. nine tons.[539] The excavators estimate that their weight in a dry state was ca. six tons.[540] Pre-Qin *seiugis* was generally equipped by a single draught pole and a harness system that is much less efficient than the later harness system with two draught poles.[541] Hence, it seems a mission impossible for six horses to draw a burden of six tons plus the weight of the hearse.[542] If Chen's interpretation of the character is accurate, the *chuangu* or hearse was perhaps merely able to

---

537 Chen Wei, based on a number of transmitted texts, argues that *chuangu* 棆（輇）轂 is a hearse with lower, spokeless wheels. See Chen Wei 1996, 185.

538 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 60 and 392 ff.

539 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 26.

540 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 26.

541 See Zhou Xinfang 2007, 41–57; for the evolution of the harness systems in ancient China and their efficiencies see Sun Ji 孙机, "Zhongguo gu mache de san zhong jijiafa" 中国古马车的三种系驾法, in *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001e): 56–68.

542 Few sources indicate the transport capacity of pre-Qin horse-drawn vehicles. Various modern gazetteers indicate that until the 20th century, the horse drawn vehicle, normally referred to as *tielunche* 鐵輪車 (carts with [wooden] wheels framed with iron), used to carry a burden between 700–1500 kg in many regions of China. For several examples see Daming xian xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 大名县县志编纂委员会, *Daming xianzhi* 大名县志 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1994): 234 ff.; Yining xian difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 伊宁县地方志编纂委员会, *Yining xianzhi* 伊宁县志 (Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2003): 278. According to one source, such *tielunche* existed since the Yuan dynasty. See Zhongguo gonglu jiaotongshi bianshen weiyuanhui 中国公路交通史编审委员会, *Zhongguo gudai daolu jiaotongshi* 中国古代道路交通史 (Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe, 1994): 446.

transport one of the coffins, i.e. the inner coffin that had a size of 2.5 m × 1.27 m × 1.32 m and could have weighed under 1,3 tons,[543] from the ancestral temple to the tomb of the marquis.

Nevertheless, the records on the A strips refer to another *chuangu* (see Subsection 3.5.2), which can have transported the outer coffin with a size of 3.2 m × 2.1 m × 2.19 m[544] and a weight of some five tons. Certain factors indicate that this monumental outer coffin was probably also transported to the tomb as a whole.[545] A hearse loaded with such a burden was probably not drawn by a few animals. Possibly, its transport involved one of the following two methods, i.e. the application of multiple-wheel mechanics that were pushed by men;[546] or the participation of many persons who shared the burden of the hearse with shoulders, a transport method which was not unfamiliar in the marquis' era[547] and was applied at least for transporting hearses in the last Chinese dynasty.[548] But since the name of the hearse include

---

543 The outer coffin and the inner coffin weighed ca. seven tons and two tons, respectively, as they were discovered in the waterlogged tomb chamber. The excavators estimate that their weight in a dry state was ca. six tons. Since the wooden walls of the outer coffin were framed by a bronze framework but the inner coffin was made of wood, the shrinkage of their weight was not the same. Accordingly, the inner coffin could have weighed under 1,3 tons. For the size and weight of the inner coffin see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 26.

544 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 19.

545 Three factors concerning the conditions of the outer coffin in situ, which stood lopsided on two of its four bronze feet in water in the eastern chamber, indicate that it was transported to the tomb as a whole. First, next to the two bronze feet, on which the outer coffin stood, four dents were found on the floor. Second, a protruding bronze component at the southeastern corner of the outer coffin cut in the southern wall of the chamber. Based on the sloping cut, the excavators suppose that an accident happened as the coffin was lowered down, i.e., the device (e.g., ropes) used the lower down the coffin broke and the coffin fell from a certain height. Third, the outer coffin seems to have been lacquered as a whole, including the wooden walls and the bronze framework. The excavators had even difficulties in detecting the structure of several parts of the coffin, where the wood and the bronze joined each other. Anyway, to transport the outer coffin in parts would mean that it would have been coated with lacquer in the tomb chamber, which, in view of the high demands of the production of lacquer coatings, could never have happened. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 20 and 26.

546 Josepf Needham refers to a number of large vehicles that were equipped with multiple wheels in ancient China, including "towers on wheels for attacking city-walls" that "go back to the treatises on fortification of Mo Tzu's followers (-4th century)". See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 4. Physics and Physical Technology, Part II. Mechanical Engineering*, with the collaboration of Wang Ling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965): 253 ff.

547 Three pallanquins have been discovered in an early Warring States tomb in Gushi county, Henan province. Hence, it seems that the early Warring States people were not unfamiliar with vehicles carried by persons.

548 For instance, the hearse of the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835–1908) of the Qing 清 dynasty (1644–1912) was carried by 84 bearers. See Margareta T. J. Grießler, "The Last Dynastic Funeral: Ritual Sequence at the Demise of the Empress Dowager Cixi," *Oriens Extremus* 34, 1/2 (1991): 22.

the term *gu* 轂, i.e. "nave", it is more likely that the former method was used, which would have required broad and flattened roads. Hence, the operation of this hearse was not a concern of the persons who equipped vehicles with draught animal teams. This is why it is not mentioned on the C strips.[549]

Hence, the records on the A and the C strips as well as the material remnants discovered in the tomb reveal a new aspect that eluded the transmitted literature: the two large and heavy coffins were transported separately to the tomb; they were perhaps lowered down into the eastern chamber separately; after the inner coffin was put into the outer one, a certain rite probably took place in which numerous items were orderly placed between the two coffins.

The other vehicle types are partly referred to in several subtotals on the C strips. For instance, the subtotals of the unities of content S-195 and S-196 refer to 18 vehicles that are called *luche* 逴車, i.e. "road carriages", respectively (see Appendix I: Table 17 and Table 16). While the 18 vehicles in the former unity are literally called *luche*, which were donations of certain Chu aristocrats, the nine vehicles in the latter unity were those owned by Marquis Yi himself and they had individual names such as *dalu* 大路 (grand road carriage), *zhulu* 朱路 (cinnabar-red road carriage), and *ronglu* 戎路 (military road carriage). Hence, "road carriage" was probably regarded a generic type in the Leigudun manuscript. As has been argued above, road carriages likely played an essential role in the ritual activities of pre-Qin rulers (see Subsection 3.4.1). Marquis Yi probably rode the nine road carriages in turn, during his lifetime, as part of his insignia in the routine sacrifices to certain deities (see Subsection 3.4.1).

The subtotal of the unity of content S-204, i.e. records of vehicles made as gifts by the Chu aristocrats, refers to the following three vehicle types: *guangche* 輄=（輄車）, *queche* 䡅=（䡅車） and *tianche* 鷹=（畋車）, i.e. "broad chariot", "reserve chariot" and "hunting chariot" (see Appendix I: Table 18). The broad chariot, written *guang* 廣 or *guangche* 廣車 in transmitted literature, was generally used as a battle chariot.[550] The reserve chariot was a

[549] It can be excluded that any entry on another *chuangu* is missing from the records on the C strips, because the unity of content S-207–208, which includes one *chuangu*, is complete, as indicated by the relationship between the entries and the subtotal. See Subsection 3.4.1.

[550] As has been pointed out by several scholars, transmitted literature such as *Zuo zhuan* and *Zhou li* and *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Strategies of the Warring States) refer to *guangche* 廣車 as battle chariot. See Qiu Xigui 1979,

generic type of war chariot, which was used as reserve for replacement once a gap in a battle formation emerged (through the fall of another chariot or the like).[551]

The unities S-148, S-159 and S-207–208, i.e. records of vehicles from the Grand Office and the Palace Stable, include also more or less subtypes of broad chariots, reserve chariots as well as a hunting chariot (see Appendix I: Table 12–Table 15). Those vehicles that obviously belonged to the broad chariots include five *xingguang* 行輄, one *chengguang* 輾（乘）輄 and one *shaoguang* 少輄, i.e. five "swift broad-chariots", one "travelling broad-chariot" and one "junior broad chariot". Those vehicles that obviously belonged to the reserve chariots include one *que* 𨍏, one *chengque* 輾（乘）𨍏 and one *quexuan* 𨍏軒, i.e. one "reserve chariot", one "travelling reserve-chariot" and one "side-screen reserve-chariot". One hunting chariot is referred to in the unity S-207–208.

The remaining five vehicles in the unity S-148 had denotations that end with the term *pei* 旆 or its variant *pei* 斾 (see Appendix I: Table 12); and the remaining five vehicles in the unity S-159 had denotations that end with the term *dian* 𡐓（殿）(see Appendix I: Table 14). The term *pei* means originally a certain streamer, which can be added to a certain banner.[552] In traditional literature, the attachment and the detachment of the streamer signaled the declaration of a war and the declaration of a truce, respectively.[553] Due to such vexillological significance, the *pei*-streamers were made visible in the van of a troop. Hence, the term *pei* also refers to the van in a troop, in contrast to *dian*, which means the rear.[554] In a Han text,

25; Guo Dewei 郭德维, "Chu che kaosuo" 楚车考索, *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化, no. 5 (1993): 72; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 182; Luo Xiaohua 2017, 222 ff.

551 See Guo Dewei 1993, 73 ff.

552 For a discussion of the term *pei* see Appendix III, footnote 1235.

553 A passage in *Zuo zhuan* indicates the function of such a streamer flag: "叔向曰：‘諸侯有間矣，不可以不示眾。’八月辛未，治兵，建而不旆。壬申，復旆之，諸侯畏之" (Shu Xiang said, "There is dissension among the princes. We must make a display for the multitude." In the eighth month, on the *xinwei* day, the troops were drilled; [flags] were set up, but without *pei*-streamers. On the *renshen* day, the *pei*-streamers were reattached. The princes were intimidated). Therefore, to attach *pei*-streamers to certain banners in the Spring and Autumn period was a symbol of declaring a war, and to detach it, on the contrary, probably meant truce. The translation is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 3, 1506 ff.

554 The terms *pei* 旆 and *dian* 殿 in one passage of the *Zuo zhuan* mean the "vanguard" and the "rearguard" of a battle formation, respectively: "二十八年……秋，子元以車六百乘伐鄭，入于桔柣之門，子元，鬥御疆，鬥梧，耿之不比為旆，鬥班，王孫游，王孫喜殿" (In the 28th year [of Lord Zhuang] (666 BCE), … in Autumn, Ziyuan led six hundred chariots and attacked Zheng. They entered through the Xiedie Gate.



Fig. 18 A chariot with mounted side screens from tomb no. 21 at Majiayuan (Zhangjiachuan, Gansu province) in side view in situ, discovered in the ramp.

these two terms were also used in the context of early imperial royal processions.[555] Hence, in the context of the Leigudun manuscripts, these two terms probably refer to chariots that formed the van and the rear of the funerary procession. All these van and rear chariots were *quadrigae*.

In addition, the denotations of the van and the rear chariots indicate a division of the chariots into three units: the two *zuopei* 左轓 (left vanguard chariots) and the two *zuodian* 左𡰥 (left rearguard chariots) can be associated with the left wing, the two *youpei* 右轓 (right vanguard chariots) and the two *youdian* 右𡰥 (right rearguard chariots) with the right wing, and the *dapei* 大旆 (grand vanguard chariot) and the *dadian* 大𡰥 (grand rearguard) with a central wing. Such a division probably derived from the division of a military force in early China.[556] Scholars assume that these terms indicate how a pre-Qin military formation appeared and propose various models of such a formation.[557] But in regard of the small number of the chariots concerned, these chariots had probably been an escort

Ziyuan, Dou Yuqiang, Geng Zhibubi formed the vanguard, while Dou Ban, Wangsun You, and Wangsun Xi brought up the rear.) The translation is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 214 ff.

555 A verse in Zhang Heng's 張衡 (78–139 CE) rhapsody "Dongjing fu" 東京賦 (The Eastern Metropolis Rhapsody) indicates that the two terms also refer to the van and the rear of a procession: "殿未出乎城闕，旆已反乎郊畛" (The rear has hardly driven out of the gate-tower of the capital, the van has already returned from the suburb). This verse describes a royal procession, which was leaving the palace and heading for the suburb to perform sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. The translation is adapted from Xiao Tong, comp., *Wen Xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, Volume I: Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals*, translated into English by David. R. Knechtges (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982): 261.

556 For instance, a Shang troop was divided into a right, a middle, and a left *shi* 師 (a unit corresponding perhaps to a modern "regiment"), though the exact position of such a regiment in the hierarchy of the whole army is not known; a division between a western (corresponding to the right side) *pian* 偏 (a unit including 9–25 war chariots and 900–2500 persons, approximately between a modern battalion and a regiment) and an eastern one (corresponding to the left side) is known to have existed in the army of the Western Zhou dynasty; a division between a left *pian* and a right one is known to have existed in the army of individual states in the Spring and Autumn period. See Yuan Tingdong and Liu Zemo, *Zhongguo gudai zhanzheng* (Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1988), 10 and 298.

557 See Guo Dewei 1993, 72; Zhuang Shuhui 1994, 133; Tan Weisi, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, 189; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 238; Cao Jingjing 2007, 56 ff.; Luo Xiaohua 2017, 244–250.

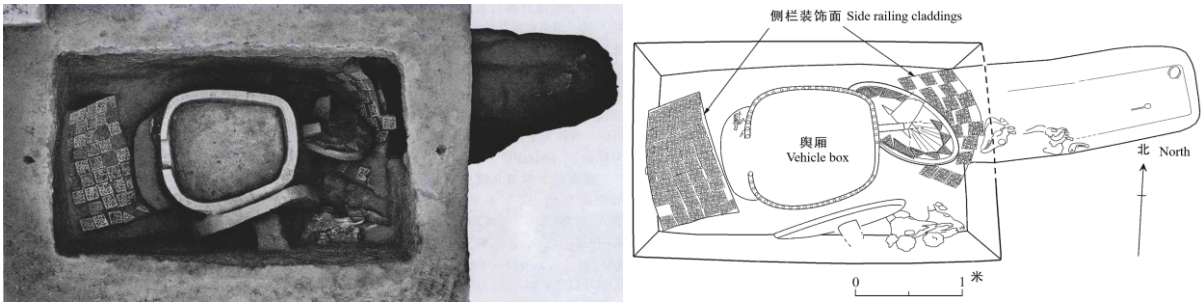


Fig. 19 Foto and line-drawing of a chariot with dismounted side screens discovered in tomb no. 62 at Majiayuan.

convoy that was used by Marquis Yi in military events. One of the Chu kings, for instance, was guarded by such an escort convoy in battlefield:

> 欒武子曰：“……其君之戎，分為二廣，廣有一卒，卒偏之兩，右廣初駕，數及日中，左則受之，以至于昏，內官序當其夜，以待不虞，不可謂無備……”
>
> Luan Wuzi (?-573 BCE) said: “… Their ruler’s (King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王, reigned 613–591 BCE) own chariots are divided into two *guang* detachments. To each of them are attached one *zu* company (100 men), and each company is divided into [four] *liang* platoons (25 men each). The *guang* detachment on the right is harnessed early, and kept on duty till mid-day, when that on the left takes its place till dusk. The officers in immediate attendance on the ruler keep watch by turns during the night. Thus provision is made against any surprise, and the army cannot be said to lack preparation…”[558]

While the escort convoy of the Chu king was divided into the left and the right detachments, the escort convoy of the marquis seems to have been divided into three. Interestingly, the detachments in the passage was called *guang* 廣, a writing variant of *guang* 輚, which stands for the vehicle type “broad chariot” in the Leigudun manuscripts. This corroborates the general assumption that all the van and the rear vehicles belonged to the vehicle type “broad chariot”.[559] Hence, besides one reserve chariot (strip 171), all the vehicles from the New Office and the Grand Office belonged to the vehicle type “broad chariot”. It is even possible that all these vehicles used to belong to the escort convoy of the marquis. The

[558] The translation is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 650 ff.

[559] The summary on strip 120 refers to 12 broad chariots. Scholars generally assume that they include the van and the rear chariots. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 521, footnote 179; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 163 ff.

reserve chariot and the five swift broad chariots were perhaps placed somewhere between the van and the rear vehicles in the convoy.

It is probable that for all the battle chariots and the hunting chariots recorded on the Leigudun manuscripts, the display functions outweighed the battle capacity. For instance, one of the above-mentioned reserve chariots, a "side-screen reserve-chariot drawn by six horses abreast" (*liuma quexuan* 駐=（六馬）闕軒, strip 172), was equipped with side screens, which were extravagant vehicle accoutrements as indicated by recent archaeological discoveries in Majiayuan 馬家塬 (see Fig. 18, Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). In *Zuo zhuan*, side-screen chariots were reserved for aristocrats ranked above the Grandee (*dafu* 大夫).[560] Such side screens seem to have been sight protection when the chariot riders were en route among curious onlookers.

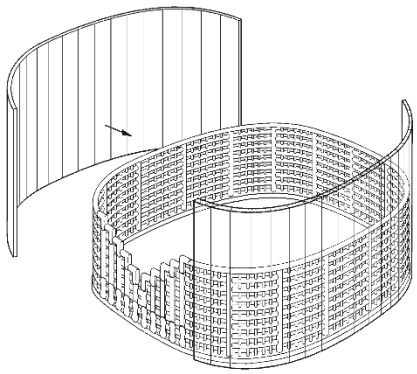


Fig. 20 The structure of a vehicle box with side screens from the cemetery at Majiayuan.

Despite the pomposity of those battle chariots, they indicate that the display of martial power was an essential message in the marquis' funeral. The hunting chariot was also an essential symbol of martial power. As observed by Mark Edward Lewis, "numerous early texts describe hunts as a form of military ritual or training, and it was not uncommon for a hunt to turn into a campaign or a campaign into a hunt".[561]

As mentioned above, the vehicles from the Palace Stable, i.e. those described in the unities S-207–208,

[560] In *Zuo zhuan*, the phrase *cheng xuan* 乘軒 or "riding a side-screen chariot" is used to refer to the state of being a Grandee (*dafu* 大夫). In addition, aristocrates (including females) ranked above Grandees enjoyed the prestige to ride side-screen chariots. See Cai Feng 蔡锋, *Chunqiu shiqi guizu shehui shenghuo yanjiu* 春秋时期贵族社会生活研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004): 22 ff.; 175; and 188, footnote 111.

Furthermore, a passage in *Zuo zhuan* stresses the role of side-screen chariots (*xuan*) as follows: "冬，十二月，狄人伐衛。衛懿公好鶴，鶴有乘軒者。將戰，國人受甲者皆曰：'使鶴！鶴實有祿位。余焉能戰？'" i.e., "in winter, in the twelfth month, the men of Di attacked Wei. Duke Yi of Wei (reigned 668–660 BCE) was fond of cranes, and there were cranes that rode side-screen chariots. When they were about to do battle, those from among the inhabitants of the capital who had been issued armour said, 'Send the cranes! If it is the cranes who hold salary and rank, then how can the likes of us go to fight?'" See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 238 ff.

[561] See Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990): 18.

include a hearse, several broad chariots, reserve chariots and one hunting chariot. The remaining vehicles in these two unities still encompass a manifold mixture of vehicles. They are one *zhengche* 政（正）車 or "principal chariot", two *anche* 安車 or "comfortable carriages", one *mocheng* 墨輧（乘） or "ink-black chariot", one *yuxuan* 魚軒 or "fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot", one *wang chuangche* 王僮（幢）車 or "royal tiered-canopy chariot", one *beiche* 輇= (卑車) or "low-built carriage", and one *luoche* 𩦋（騾）車 or "mule cart".

Most of these vehicles are known in transmitted sources, albeit in those dating from after the marquis' era. The comfortable carriage is known for providing seating accommodation, in contrast to most of the other vehicles that were to be ridden while standing; furthermore, it is known for its discretion due to its canopied superstructure.[562] Hence, it was a carriage frequently used by females or aged aristocrats. The principal chariot is not known as such, although it seems to be the counterpart of the *fuche* 副車, i.e. "auxiliary vehicles".[563] Hence, the principal chariot seems to have been the focus of a convoy. A fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot is mentioned in *Zuo zhuan* as a gift from Duke Xiang of Qi (Qi Xianggong 齊襄公, reigned 698–686 BCE) to the wife of his nephew, Lord Dai of Wei (Wei Daigong 衛戴公,

---

[562] The funerary list from tomb no. 168 of Fenghuangshan, Jiangling, Hubei province, bears the earliest (dating from 167 BCE) description of a comfortable carriage: "案（安）車一乘，馬四匹，有蓋" (One comfortable canopied carriage drawn by four horses abreast.) This is corroborated by the wooden model of a *quadriga* with a canopy found in the tomb. A later description in *Shiming* coincides with this description: "安車，蓋卑，坐乘" (A comfortable carriage has a canopy that sits low; one sits while travelling with it.) Furthermore, the bronze vehicle no. 2 excavated from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin is a model of a comfortable carriage (according to an inscription on its rein) as well; it is also equipped with a canopy. See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 504; Liu Xi 劉熙, *Shiming shu zheng bu* 釋名疏證補, with the commentary of Ruan Yuan 阮元 and revision of Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008): 252; Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇兵马俑博物馆 and Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, *Qin Shihuang ling tong chema fajue baogao* 秦始皇陵铜车马发掘报告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998): 281 ff. and 323.

[563] Transmitted literature indicates that certain auxiliary vehicles that escorted the emperor's chariot in a convoy in early imperial China were called *fuche* 副車. For instance, the First Emperor of Qin eluded an assassination attempt during his travelling in a convoy, because the assassin by mistake stroke one of these auxiliary vehicles instead of the one, which the emperor rode. Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ca. 133–192) contributed a detailed account to the emperor's convoy (denoted as *lubu* 鹵簿) in early imperial China (see the main text below). He records convoys in three different sizes. Each convoy included a certain number of auxiliary vehicles that were called *fuche* or *shuche* 屬車. The convoy of the largest size, the Grand Entourage (*dajia* 大駕), for instance, included among others 81 such auxiliary vehicles. See Sima Qian, "Liu Hou shijia" 留侯世家 (The Hereditary House of Marquis Liu), in *Shiji*: 2034; Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ascribed), *Duduan* 獨斷, Sibu congkan san bian, zibu 四部叢刊三編・子部 223 (Shanghai: Hanfen lou 涵芬樓 copy of the 1503 woodblock print in the collection of Changshu Qu shi tieqin tongjian lou 常熟瞿氏鐵琴銅劍樓): juan xia 卷下.

reigned 660 BCE).[564] The ink-black chariot, known for its plainness in decoration, used to be a common service chariot of a Grandee, according to *Yili* or *Zhou li*, respectively.[565] Four of such ink-black chariots are mentioned in *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Tale of King Mu, Song of Heaven) as well: King Mu of Zhou made them a gift to a certain lord of Chiwu 赤烏 in central Asia.[566] The low-built carriage was perhaps used in a circle of lower aristocracy.[567] The same may hold true for the mule cart.

Hence, the vehicles from the Palace Stable include diverse types, including a hearse. They were used by persons of various ranks. Interestingly, several of these vehicles were used in a royal convoy described in *Duduan* 獨斷, a work that is ascribed to Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ca. 133–192 CE) of the Eastern Han dynasty but includes sources of later times.[568] The convoy in question, which was called *fajia* 法駕, i.e. "Standard Convoy", is one of the three royal convoys described as follows:

> 天子出，車駕次第謂之鹵簿：有大駕、有小駕、有法駕。大駕，則公卿奉引，大將軍參乘，太僕御，屬車八十一乘，備千乘萬騎。在長安時，出祠天于甘泉備之……

---

564 See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 240 ff.

565 See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Jin li" 覲禮 (The Audience), 594; and *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo" 春官宗伯 (Ministry of Spring or of Rites), 851.

566 *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, Sibu congkan chu bian 四部叢刊初編 467 (Shanghai: Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 copy of a woodblock print in the collection of Tianyige 天一閣): juan 2.

567 Qiu and Li argue that *beiche* 輁= (卑車) is the same as *beiche* 庳車, i.e., "low-built carriage". A passage in *Shiji* reads: "楚民俗好庳車，王以為庳車不便馬，欲下令使高之……乘車者皆君子", i.e., "the Chu people cherished low-built carriages in daily life. King [Zhuang of Chu] (reigned 613–591 BCE), thinking that low-built carriages disadvantaged the draught horses, was about to issue an order to make the people raise the height of the carriages… Those who ride such vehicles are all gentlemen". Hence, it seems that low-built carriages were used in a circle of lower aristocracy. See Sima Qian, "Xunli liezhuan" 循吏列傳 (Biographies of Conscientious Officials), in *Shiji*, 3100.

568 It is likely that the *Duduan* text was written by "a number of different authors living and writing at different times and under different circumstances", as pointed out by Giele. But Giele's assumption that the text came into being in the first two centuries can be problematic. Various versions of the *Duduan* text refer to a post-Han date, i.e., the 7th year in the Yong'an 永安 period. There are three Yong'an periods in Chinese history. The earlierst began in 258 CE. Hence, part of the *Duduan* text was composed later than 264 BCE. See Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ascribed), *Duduan* 獨斷, Baojingtang congkan 抱經堂叢刊 (Beijing: Zhili shuju, 1923): juan xia 卷下; Cai Yong (ascribed), *Duduan*, Sibu congkan san bian, zibu 223, juan xia; Cai Yong (ascribed), *Duduan*, Zuo shi baichuan xuehai 左氏百川學海, vol. 3, jia 甲 3 (Tao shi sheyuan 陶氏涉園 copy of a 1273 woodblock print, 1927): juan xia; cf. Enno Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making and Communication in Early China: A Study of Cai Yong's Duduan*, opera sinologica 20 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006): 5 ff.

唯遭大喪，乃施之法駕。公卿不在鹵簿中，唯河南尹、執金吾、洛陽令奉引，侍中參乘，奉車郎御。屬車三十六乘。北郊明堂，則省諸副車。小駕，祠宗廟用之……法駕，上所乘曰金根車，駕六馬，有五色安車、五色立車各一，皆駕四馬，是為五時副車……又有戎立車以征伐；三蓋車名耕根車，一名芝車，親耕耤田乘之；又有蹋豬車，慢輪有畫，田獵乘之；綠車名曰皇孫車，天子孫乘之，以從。[569]

The ranks of convoys escorting the Son of Heaven when he goes out are called *lubu*, which include the Grand Convoy, the Lesser Convoy and the Standard Convoy. In a Grand Convoy, the dukes and ministers lead the way, the Grand General acts as the charioteer on the right [of the Emperor], and the Minister of the Imperial Stables acts as the driver [of the Emperor's chariot]. [To this convoy belong] 81 auxiliary vehicles; 1,000 further vehicles and 10,000 cavaliers are at disposal. As [the capital was still] in Chang'an (i.e. in the Western Han dynasty), the Grand Convoy was used when [the emperor] went out for a sacrifice to the Heaven in the Ganquan palace… When a Grand Funeral took place,[570] a Standard Convoy is applied. The dukes and ministers are not included in the convoy then. Merely the Governor of Henan, the Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia and the Director of Luoyang lead the way; the Palace Attendant acts as the charioteer on the right [of the (new) Emperor];[571] and the Court Gentleman for Chariots drives. [To this convoy belong] 36 auxiliary vehicles. [For the travel to rituals at] the northern suburb and in the *mingtang* (Bright Hall),[572] the auxiliary vehicles are eliminated. The Lesser Convoy is used when sacrifices are offered in the royal ancestral temple… In the Standard Convoy, the chariot ridden by the emperor is called the chariot with gold tips (i.e. the ends of various vehicle parts, such as the draught pole, the yoke bar and the yokes). It is drawn by six horses abreast. [Among the 36 auxiliary vehicles,] there are a five-coloured comfortable carriage and a five-coloured chariot to be ridden while standing, both drawn by four horses abreast. They are called the auxiliary vehicles of the

569 See Cai Yong (ascribed), *Duduan*, Sibu congkan san bian, zibu 223, juan xia.

570 According to Zheng Xuan, a Grand Funeral was the funeral of a king, a queen, or a crown prince. In the context, a Grand Funeral was perhaps the funeral of an emperor, his empress or his crown prince. See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Tianguan zhongzai" 天官冢宰 (Ministry of Heaven or of General Administration), 84.

571 The principle chariot was ridden by the emperor, if the deceased of the Grand Funeral was the emperor's family member; the principal chariot was ridden by the throne prince, i.e., the one who was going to become the new emperor, if the deceased was the old emperor.

572 The *mingtang* (Bright Hall) was a kind of ritual building that was used by royal houses from the Zhou dynasty on. It is known for its design that demonstrated the ancient Chinese understading of the cosmic. For an introduction to this kind of ritual building see Wu Hung, "Picturing or Diagramming the Universe," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 191–214.

> Five Seasons[573] … In addition, there are battle chariots to be ridden while standing, which can be used in wars. There is a triple-canopy chariot, also called *zhi*-fungus (a fungus that symbolises longevity) chariot, which is ridden by the emperor if he is going to plough the sacred field himself. There is a tread-on-the-boar-chariot, with paintings covering the wheels. It is ridden (by the emperor) while hunting. There is also a green chariot that is called the grand-prince chariot. It is ridden by the grand prince to follow the emperor.

It seems that emperors of later times used convoys of individual sizes in individual ritual activities. The Standard Convoy, for instance, included auxiliary vehicles of various types that coincided partly with the vehicle types from the Palace Stable of the Zeng March, such as a comfortable carriage, a hunting chariot and battle chariots. Interestingly, the Standard Convoy was to be used during royal funerals. The passage does not specify whether these vehicle types were used in the convoys during other ritual activities, most of which pertained to the field of sacrifice. But at least the five-coloured comfortable carriage and the five-coloured chariot among them were called the "auxiliary vehicles of the Five Seasons", indicating that they were perhaps also used in the convoys during other ritual activities.

Accordingly, part of the vehicles from the Zeng Palace Stable probably used to be auxiliary vehicles of the marquis' convoy in diverse rites performed by him in his lifetime, including sacrifices and funerals of his house. The principal chariot probably used to be the one ridden by the marquis himself in those rites. The records on the C-1 strips indicate that certain vehicles from the Zeng Palace Stable were reshaped for the reproduction of the field of funeral; and finally, part of them entered the field of post-entombment offering, i.e., into the "accompanying burial pits".

Furthermore, records on the A and B strips refer to several further vehicle names including *youche* 遊車 or "touring chariot", *chengche* 軰=(乘車) or "travelling chariot", *zuoxuan* 左軒 or "side-screen chariot of the left", *chuiche* 輀車 or "wooden-trunk-wheel chariot", and *piniche* 輣輗(輣輗)車 or "curved-pole-canopy carriage".

---

[573] The notion of the Five Seasons came along with the one of the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行). It made its earliest appearance probably in *Lü shi chuqiu*. The Qing scholar Li Baoquan 李寶泉 (fl. late Qing period) comments that the Five Seasons consist of the four seasons and the element of Earth. See juan 26, "Bian shi" 辯士, in Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (ascribed), *Lü shi Chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋, compiled by Xu Weiyu 許維遹, vol. 2 (Beijing: Beijing shi Zhongguo shudian, 1985): 13.

According to one summary on the B strips (strips 120–121), the "touring chariot" is a generic term refering to chariots equipped with curved side screens. This would mean that the "travelling chariot" and the "wooden-trunk-wheel chariot" belonged to the type "touring chariot" since they were equipped with curved side screens (see Appendix I, Table 5). The "side-screen chariot of the left" may also have belonged to this type. As pointed out by Xiao Shengzhong, the "curved-pole-canopy carriage", according to transmitted literature since the Western Jin dynasty, was a vehicle type that used to be gift awarded to military leaders since the Warring States period and part of the convoys of the Han emperors.[574] Therefore, these vehicle types on the A and B strips possibly also belonged to the convoys of Marquis Yi of Zeng, more specifically, his convoy when he was en route.

To sum up, the vehicles recorded on the A-C strips probably used to pertain to the marquis' convoys on individual occasions, from rigorously ritual ones to less ritualised ones, in his lifetime. The officials from the three governmental agencies probably used to be his escort retainers riding these vehicles in some of those convoys. After the marquis' death, these vehicles, together with his escort parties, formed part of the funerary procession. Apart from the vehicles directly or indirectly associated with funerary rites, the vehicles prepared by the Zeng March derived mostly from two fields of action, i.e. non-funerary sacrificial rites and warfare, which formed the two "great affairs of a state" in the marquis' era.[575] Furthermore, the vehicles that were donated by the Chu aristocrats also derived from those two fields. Undoubtedly, the display of the marquis' devotion and achievements in these two great affairs was the most significant agenda in his funeral.

3.4.5 Summary

The lists on the C strips were probably created before those on the A and B strips. A small part of the C strips, together with one A strip, bear non-final versions of two *feng*-gift lists describing 26 donated vehicles. These vehicles were donated together with at least 55 matching

[574] See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 184 ff.

[575] A speech made by the Duke Kang of Liu (Liu Kanggong 劉康公, reigned 592–ca. 544 BCE) in 578 BCE included the following famous remark: "國之大事，在祀與戎", i.e., "the great affairs of the state lie with sacrifica and warfare". See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 802 ff.

draught horses. The remaining C strips bear records of how at least 160 draught animals (158 horses and two mules) were recombined into teams to match 45 vehicles. The draught animals were hoarded in many individual fields of action, including the gift-giving, which was reproduced by aristocrats, officials, chieftains commoners from both Chu and Zeng, and two guests from the Song Dutchy; as well as institutionalised breeding and tribute payment, which were reproduced by Zeng officials. Four of these vehicles were funerary gifts, including one among the above-mentioned *feng*-gift records, while most of the remaining vehicles used to be part of the convoys on individual occasions in the lifetime of Marquis Yi. The vehicle donors were Chu aristocrats including the Chu king, his crown prince and further Chu aristocrats of at least the rank of Marquis Yi.

These lists bestowed basic organisational patterns on the vehicles, draught animals of various provenances and persons. These resources were further reshaped, as indicated by the lists on the A and B strips, for their participation in further fields of action. The Zeng vehicles and their draught animals were to participate in the funerary procession in the fifth and seventh funerary stages, the vehicle exhibition and the presentation of draught animals in the sixth stage and the entombment in the eighth stage. One of these vehicles was loaded with animals that were probably to be sacrificed in the ancestral temple before the entombment. Furthermore, two summaries indicate that 15 wheeled vehicles and their matching draught horse teams were to be buried in two accompanying pits during the entombment. And the donated vehicles and draught animal teams were probably to be received in a ceremonial ritual. These vehicles and their draught animals were likely to attend the funerary procession, the vehicle exhibition and the presentation of draught animals as well.

It is important to point out that after the fields of the vehicle exhibition and the draught horse presentation were reproduced in the funeral of the marquis, part of the vehicles and draught horses became tomb goods, unlike the way how they were applied in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer. Therefore, in this case, they belonged to the second cluster of fields, which collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the entombment.

Interestingly, one of the donated vehicles, the reserve chariot of the Duke of Luyang, is referred to both in the gift lists and the records of combining draught animals with vehicles. This indicates that this vehicle underwent a transformation of its draught horse team, as the *feng*-gifts were reshaped for their application in the above-mentioned fields of action.

The recording process probably set in after the draught animals for the Zeng vehicles were obtained, combined into draught teams and trained. Due to the predictability of the extent of the records, enough bamboo strips notched in the same format C-1 were prepared and one scribe did the inscribing work alone. As a comparison, the extent of the records on the donated vehicles was obviously less predicable. Since the donors dwelt hundreds of kilometres away from the Zeng capital, the period between the arrivals of the first and the last donations may have been weeks, if not months. The long duration of the donation period was prone to uncertainties, which seem to have taken a toll on the uniformity of the writing supports and the scribal hands as well as the textual integrity of the records. As far as the subgroups of the strips could be determined, the *feng*-gift records were inscribed with one exception on the C-2 strips, and the records of combining draught animals with the donated vehicles were written on the C-3 strips. While one scribe made the majority of all these records, another scribe occasionally jumped in and made a few *feng*-gift records. But the Chu crown prince made his funeray gift of vehicles so late, the latter scribe even fetched an A strip to create a record because all the C strips were used up.

Furthermore, the organisational pattern of the material and human resources in part of the records indicate that these records themselves probably formed part of the props in the rites de passage before the entombment, i.e. they were used as a guidance in the presentation of draught animals and as a script for a public announcement of the provenances of the individual draught horses.

There are indications that these lists were associated with certain documents that were not buried. For instance, there were possibly certain first-hand records of the contributions of draught animals. And the gift lists that were buried were obviously out-of date versions, which means that the updated version was not buried. Furthermore, another concise list was probably created to document the disposal of the 15 wheeled vehicles and their draught horses. These documents were probably kept in the Zeng palace archive for the long-term administration of material resources including the maintenance of reciprocal duties. The records on the C strips were buried because they were merely used in nonrecurring, short-term administration of material resources and were therefore not significant for the long-term administration of material resources.

It is important to point out that the buried records reveal several practices that eluded transmitted literature. For instance, donated draught animals were mixed and combined with

those from other sources for the immediate usage in the funeral. The monumental outer coffin was transported to the tomb as a whole but separately from the inner coffin. As the sealed inner coffin was placed into the outer coffin, after the latter was lowered down into the tomb chamber, various further goods were put between the two coffins. These records thus enrich the picture provided by transmitted literature about the funerary cycle of the high aristocrats in early China.

3.5 The Records on the A and B Strips

The writings on the A and B strips encompass together the following structural units: a title, an initial remark, at least 68 list entries, a series of subtotals and three grand totals.[576] Judging by their contents, the writings on the A and B strips shared the title and the initial remark on one of the A strips, as well as the grand totals.

This section begins with the analysis of the text structures and contents of the writings. Subsequently, an interconnected analysis of the physical features of the manuscripts, the layout of the writings, the scribal hands, as well as the relationship between certain list entries and the summaries will reveal the process of the creation and the usage of the manuscripts.

3.5.1 The Text Structures and Contents of the Records

The title, inscribed approximately in the middle of the verso of strip 1,[577] reads: “右攸（領）建駁（馭）大旆”, i.e. “the Director of the Right, Jian, drives a grand vanguard chariot”. All the further structural units are inscribed on the rectos of the A and B strips, beginning with the initial remark, which reads: “大莫戳（敖）旁爲適𨐈之春，𠂤=（八月）庚申，辠（胄）趕（鞮）執事人書入車”, i.e. “on the *gengshen* day of the eighth month of the year [in

[576] This observation is based on my own reconstruction of the sequence of the strips. See Sun Hui 2020, 58–145; for the result of my reconstructions, i.e., the updated sequence of all the bamboo strips, see Appendix III.1 and III.2.

[577] I thank Xiao Shengzhong for informing me about the position of the title on strip 1 via e-mail on July 21st, 2016.

which] the Grand Maréchal, Yangwei, went to Fu in the spring, the officials in charge of helmets and harnesses recorded the received vehicles".[578]

The text structures of most individual list entries on the A and B strips are relatively consistent. Exept for two entries of Chu vehicles and the entries on road carriages (see below), each entry on the A strips begins with a vehicle phrase, which sometimes refer to the vehicle driver or owner or both. The vehicle phrase is followed by items concerning one or more of the following aspects: vehicle parts or accoutrements (Appendix I: Table 4 and Table 5), weapons (including also weapon accessories and flags, see Appendix I: Table 7) and horse tack (including but not limited to harnesses for two to six draught horses, see Appendix I: Table 9). Each entry on the B strips begins with a similar vehicle phrase as well, which is followed by an itemisation of two to three suits of armours and four to six suits of barding (see Appendix I: Table 12).

It is likely that all the above-mentioned items, not only helmets and harnesses, formed the material resources that the "officials in charge of helmets and harnesses" dealt with. In the pre-Qin period, the production and administration of these items commonly involved *ku* 庫, i.e. an "armoury" on a state-run basis.[579]

My reconstruction of the strip sequence indicates that the fragments among the A strips used to bear at least one vehicle phrase, while those among the B strips used to bear at least two vehicle phrases.[580] Jugding by the extant vehicle phrases, the records on the A-C strips refer to a total of more than 80 vehicles. All 16 legible vehicle names recorded on the B strips are also recorded on the A strips, and 49 legible vehicle names recorded on the A strips overlap partly with those 69 recorded on the C strips (see Appendix I: Table 3). Furthermore, the sizes

[578] For an annotated translation of part of the lists on the A and B strips, including several complete entries, the vehicle phrase in each individual entry and the summaries, see Appendix III.1; for tables of items from individual entries see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9, Table 11 and Table 12.

[579] Jiang Lixin 江立新, based on transmitted literature and pre-Qin manuscripts, argues that the state-run armoury did not only administer items concerning chariots, horses, weapons and armours (*chema bingjia* 车马兵甲), but also produced them. Jiang Lixin, "Xian Qin wuku shitan" 先秦武库试探, *Jiangxi shifan daxue xuebao* 江西师范大学学报, no. 1 (1987): 54–60.

[580] See Sun Hui 2020, 106 ff. and 111 ff. These three missing vehicle phrases are referred to as anonymous vehicles 1-3 in the Appendices I and III.

of the individual draught horse teams, as far as they are mentioned on the A and B strips, correspond totally to those described on the C strips.

The two exceptional entries of Chu vehicles on the A strips begin each with an vehicle phrase and all the items tipical for the other A-strip-entries, but end with records of armours and barding (Appendix I, Table 12, vehicles nos. 16 and 17), which are typical for the B-strip-entries. Accordingly, their text structure is equivalent to the combination of an A-strip-entry and a B-strip-entry. This indicates that the records on the A strips were likely composed before those on the B strips.

Another exceptional entry on strip 185+77 (Apendix III.3: Loose entries), a C strip, seems to reveal further temporal aspects of the creation of the A-C strips. It begins with two draught horses followed by an vehicle phrase, which is again followed by horse tack and loads of sacrificial animals. Accordingly, its text structure is basically equivalent to the combination of a C-strip-entry, an A-strip-entry and a B-strip-entry, except that no weapons precede the horse tack and that the sacrificial animals instead of any armours or barding form the end of the entry. Accordingly, as indicated by Habberstad, the C strips were likely composed before the A and B strips.[581]

Accordigly, after 69 vehicle were matched with draught animal teams including horses and mules, part of those horse-drawn vehicles, together with a few further horse-drawn vehicles (such as vehicles nos. 13, 21, 39, 40, 47 and 50 in Appendix I: Table 3), were driven to the armoury officials.

But by assuming that the writings on the A and B strips are records of "all of the important items and decorations on each chariot",[582] Habberstad probably underrates the role that these armoury officials played in dealing with the above mentioned material resources. The following factors indicate that the records do not descibe the vehicles per se; instead, they outline how the armoury officials transformed the vehicles deriving from various fields of action (see subsections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4) for their application in the funeral.

[581] See Habberstad 2014, 203 ff.

[582] See Habberstad 2014, 203 ff.

First, it seems that the armoury officials did not consider all the 69 vehicles recorded on the C strips. Instead, they, or more likely the scribes working for them, merely wrote down the vehicles that the officials "received",[583] either in list entries or in the summaries on the A and B strips. At least five Zeng vehicles (see Appendix I: Table 3, two of the three vehicles nos. 51, 52 and 58; and vehicles nos. 59–61) and twelve Chu vehicles (see Appendix I: Table 3, vehicles nos. 71–82) recorded on the C strips are mentioned neither in the list entries nor in the summaries on the A and B strips. These Chu vehicles include even all the gifts from the Chu king and his crown prince. Besides possible fragmentation of the records, it is likely that certain vehicles were indeed not sent to the armoury officials because they were excepted from any transformations. The gifts from the Chu king and his crown prince, for instance, were probably part of the exceptions, because the Zeng ritual experts wished to keep their originality as an expression of high esteem for the donors.

Second, the scribes did not compose individual entries for each of the 44 Zeng vehicles[584] that the armoury officials received. Instead, it seems that they merely made entries concerning vehicles that indeed underwent transformations. For instance, 14 Zeng vehicles, i.e. all the five swift broad-chariots (*xingguang* 行輗) and all the nine road carriages (*luche* 迖車) of the marquis, have been merely mentioned in the summary on strips 120–121 (see Appendix III.2, Paragraph 4; and Appendix I: Table 20) but not in any entries on the A and B strips. Possible fragmentation of the records does not seem to explain the missing of all the 14 individuals of the two (sub)types of the Zeng vehicles among the entries. It might seem especially conspicuous that the marquis' road carriages, his most important insignia among the vehicles, were received by the officials but not described by their scribes. It is possible that these road carriages, due to their regular usage in ritual activities, were kept in good condition. After an examination, the officials decided not to make any transformations to them. The five swift broad-chariots were excepted from any transformations as well, because they had been "newly

[583] Habberstad believes that the "received" vehicles were those recorded on the C strips. Cf. Habberstad 2014, 203 ff.

[584] The summary on strips 120–121 refers to 43 Zeng vehicles. But as will be argued later, the armoury officials received another Zeng vehicle after they had made the summary. See Subsection 3.5.2.

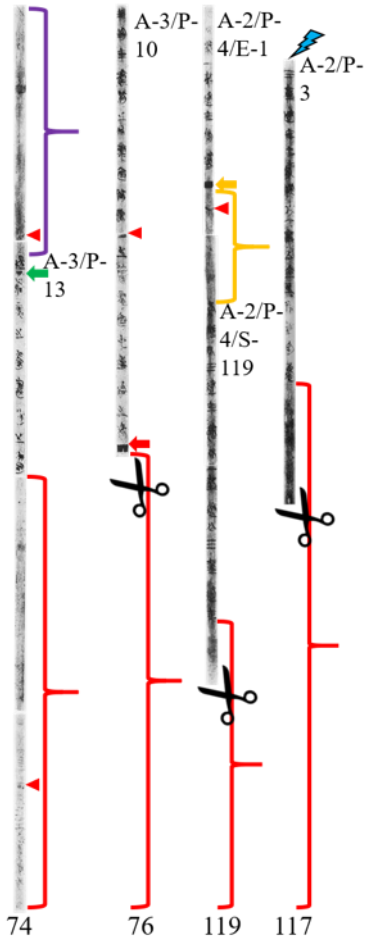


Fig. 21 Entries A-2/P-3, A-2/P-4/E-1, A-3/P-10 and A-3/P-13 on the strips from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

For the meaning of the individual marks see Figs. 7 and 15.

produced by the artisan assistant Ping" (攻差坪所賠), as indicated by the summary (see Appendix III.2, Paragraph 4). The officials merely examined these new chariots to make sure that everything was in good condition, before they were put to use.

Third, there is a striking asymmetry of the entries in view of their extensiveness. The most extensive entries on the A strips occupy 2.5–3.5 strips (for five examples see Fig. 7, entries A-1/P-1/E-1 – E-5). These entries concern vehicles that are partly also recorded on the B strips, i.e. vehicles that were also equipped with armours and barding suits. These extensive entries record various details about vehicle parts, accoutrements, weapons and horse tack. The shortest entries on the A strips occupy less than half a strip each (for four examples see Fig. 21, entries A-2/P-3, A-2/P-4/E-1, A-3/P-10 and A-3/P-13). Concerning – among others – road carriages from Chu and one of the two hearses, these short entries refer to much fewer items. If the scribes indeed intended to describe the vehicles, it would seem hard to explain the striking brevity of the records of these two types of vehicles, the outstanding significance of which is out of question (see 3.4.4). Hence, the extensiveness of the entries is probably not associated with the degree of significance of individual vehicles in the Marquis' funeral, but more likely with the extent of the transformations made to the vehicles. By and large, the officials made fewer changes to the Chu road carriages than to the Zeng vehicles.

Fourth, the types and numbers of vehicle parts and horse tack associated with individual vehicles demonstrate an apparent asymmetry as well. Though most of these items must have been indispensable for all the 50 vehicles concerned, they are not equally recorded in each list entry. For instance, the records of the vehicle parts (see Appendix I: Table 4, the completeness of individual entries is annotated) refer to the wheels (*lun* 輪) of 25 vehicles, the draught poles (*yuan* 轅) of two vehicles etc. The records of the indispensable horse tack (see Appendix I: Table 9, the completeness of individual records is annotated) include the axillary straps (*xian*

顯（韅）) of 34 draught horse teams, the throat straps (*yang* 鞅) of 33 draught horse teams, the terrets (*cai* 鎥) of 32 draught horse teams, the traces (*bei* 靼) of 27 draught horse teams, the reins of 33 draught horse teams, the yoke bars (*heng* 衡) of ten draught horse teams, the yokes (*e* 軛（軶）) of eight draught horse teams, and the bits (*le* 勒) of four draught horse teams. At least 14 vehicles are not associated with any vehicle parts at all (see Appendix I: Table 4, vehicles nos. 17–27, 31, 38 and 50) and at least six vehicles are not associated with any horse tack at all (see Appendix I: Table 9, vehicles nos. 25–27, 31, 47 and 50). Is it possible that the scribes merely described items that were most extraordinary among the likes of them? This does not seem to have been the case because the above-mentioned items are not necessarily described as extravagant pieces. Except for several items that were allegedly "newly produced" (*zao* 賵) and a small part of the yoke bars, yokes, traces and reins, which are related with various characteristics (colours, materials and patterns), these items are mentioned without any characteristics at all (see Appendix I: Table 9). Hence, it seems that the scribes were recording the material resources with which the armoury officials were working, instead of describing the highlights of certain vehicles.

Last but not least, the way how the vehicles in the overlap of the records on the A and the B (see Appendix I: Table 3, vehicles nos.1–13, 35, 36 and 37) are recorded would seem remarkably circuitous, if the scribes indeed intended to describe them. These vehicles, with items such as vehicle parts, accoutrements, horse tack and weapons, are recorded on the A strips; and again, these vehicles, with the remaining items associated with them, i.e., armours and barding, are recorded on the B strips. Interestingly, these records were not only incribed on two separate groups of strips, but also by two groups of individual hands (see Appendix IV). This obviously indicates a division of labour in the Zeng armoury: like the separate administrations of armours and various weapons in the idealised bureaucracy in *Zhou li*,[585] the Zeng armoury probably comprised at least two individual offices, i.e., the office in charge of vehicle parts, accoutrements, horse tack and weapons and the one in charge of armours. In this light, the seeming circuitousness of the records becomes reasonable: these two offices worked

[585] In *Zhou li*, *si jia* 司甲 is the office in charge of the armours. The administration of weapons involves three offices, i.e., *si bing* 司兵 (Overseer of Arms), *si gedun* 司戈盾 (Overseer of *Ge*-polearm and Shields) and *si gongshi* 司弓矢 (overseer of bows and arrows). The relationship of the latter three offices is not apparent.

with the material resources that were in their charge, respectively. Accordingly, two groups of scribes made records of these materials on two groups of strips.

The organisational patterns of these material resources in the records indicate to a certain extent how the armoury officials handled them. For instance, the horse tack and the barding are often itemised after the term *ma* 馬 (horses) that appears as possesive noun, e.g., *cheng ma zhi pei* 輦(乘)馬之轡(轡) and *liu ma hua jia* 六馬畫甲, i.e., "the draught horse team's reins" and "six horses' painted barding". Hence, it is possible that they were organised in combination with the horse teams, which were likely already equipped with basic horse tack of their own as they draught the vehicles to the armoury officials. More precisely, the armoury officials possibly replaced certain horse tack (such as reins), replaced or added certain horse tack (e.g., shabracks), and clad the horses with barding, even if merely on a trial basis. At any rate, they did not replace all the existing horse tack, as indicated by the assymetry of the types and numbers of the recorded horse tack. The items such as vehicle parts, accoutrements, and weapons are itemised directly after the vehicle phrases. These items were likely organised in direct combination with the vehicles. It might be a little complicated to figure out the way how the armours were allocated. As I have pointed out elsewhere, these armours were perhaps allocated to the persons who were to ride these vehicles.[586] The vehicle phrases on the A and B strips sometimes include the vehicle owner or driver or both (Appendix I: Table 3), and the vehicle phrases on the C-1 strips specify the individual officers who could have been one of the riders as well. Accordingly, each individual vehicles was equipped with two to three armours.

Among these material resources, the weapons probably became loads of the vehicles. The armours and the barding may have been alternately loads or costumes of the persons and the draught horses. And the remaining items were probably applied to renew the vehicles, which already comprised at least certain vehicle parts that were indispensable for the driving mechanism as they were draught to the armoury officials. More precisely, the armoury officials could have replaced or embellished certain vehicle parts and replaced or added certain vehicle accoutrements. The motivation of these treatments could have been partly the renewal of old

[586] See Sun Hui 2018, 61 ff.

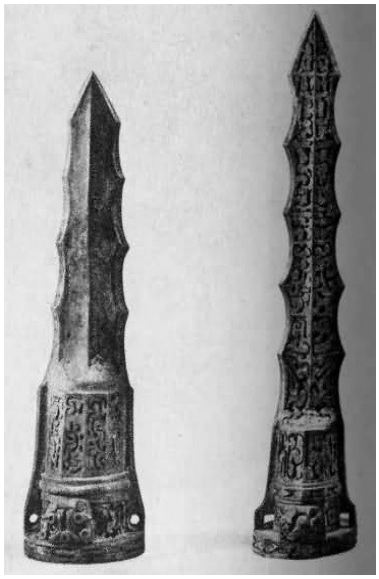


Fig. 22 Axle caps with top blades (Inv. Nos. N.142:1 and N.142:2) discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no.1 at Leigudun.

components and partly a coordinated stylisation of the vehicles in the context of the marquis' funeral.

Hence, the armoury officials probably applied all the recorded material resources to transform the vehicles and their draught horse teams. Generally, they transformed the vehicles according to their types, which are mostly indicated in the records on the C strips (see Subsection 3.4.4) and the summary on strips 120 and 121.

The van and the rear chariots (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9 and Table 12, vehicles nos. 1, 5, 6, 8–11 and 35–37), which were part of the broad chariots of the Zeng March, underwent the most identical transformations. The armoury officials equipped them with ochre wheels, axle caps with painted top-blades (e.g., Fig. 22), front and back railing claddings made of bronze (for such railing claddings found in a Western Zhou tomb see Fig. 23), and relatively identical horse tack. But still, they made a few individual transformations to these chariots. For instance, they replaced the single boarding aids on several of these chariots but not those on the others (see Appendix I: Table 8); they replaced the traces and reins of almost all of these chariots with newly produced ones but not those of the grand vangard chariot (see Appendix I: Table 9); and they decorated the draught horse teams partly with shabracks (*an* 𩊅) made of otter fur and partly with those made of stoat fur (see Appendix I: Table 9). The weaponry carried by each van or rear chariot seems to have been a full set that included three types of polearms, one bow quiver (*zhang* 韔), two bows of the Qin type (*Qin gong* 秦



Fig. 23 Bronze cladings on the side and back railings on a chariot excavated in the late Western Zhou accompanying pit no.1 at Beizhao (Quwo, Shanxi province).

（秦）弓), four arrow quivers (*fu* 箙) à 50 arrows, two weapon fixation bars (*zai jiong* 載扃（扃）), at least one shield (*dun* 戡), further weapon accessories, as well as armours and barding (see Appendix I: Table 7). Among these polearms, the *shu*-polearms (*shu* 殳) hold two *pei*-streamers each, which were commonly used in the military to convey significant signals. Hence, the van and the rear chariots were styled as massively shielded and heavily armed battle chariots.

Similarly, the armoury officials transformed the junior broad chariot, a subtype of the broad chariot of the Zeng March. They loaded it with a full set of weaponry as well (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9 and Table 12, vehicle no. 7). But they attached several items that are not mentioned in the records of the other broad chariots, such as a purple mat, which seems extraordinary for a war chariot. Furthermore, while the van and the rear chariots were equipped with two painted shields each, the junior broad chariot was equipped with two "golden shields" (*huangjin zhi dun* 黃金之戡). In view of the shields discovered in the marquis' tomb, "painted shields" seem to be those shields grounded with black lacquer and painted with red and yellow lacquer patterns (see Subsection 3.7.3). They made up the majority of the shields. Interestingly, several shields were indeed decorated with ornaments made of gold foil (see Subsection 3.7.3). Hence, the junior broad chariot was massively shielded and heavily armed on the one hand, and equipped with items that were extraordinary for battle chariots on the other hand.

The armoury officials made fewer transformations to the broad chariot of the Lord of Li, a Chu chariot (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9 and Table 12, vehicle no. 16). For instance, they neither changed the wheels nor did they equip the chariot with front and back railing claddings – there is no way to know whether the chariot was originally equipped with such railing claddings. Nevertheless, all the transformations that were done to this chariot were within the frame of the transformations done to the broad chariots of the Zeng March. For instance, merely a selection of the above-mentioned full set of weapons, including two types of polearms, one bow quiver, one bow of the Qin type, three arrow quivers, 26 arrows, one weapon fixation bar, two shields, further weapon accessories, as well as armours and barding, was loaded on the chariot.

The reserve chariots of the Zeng March (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9 and Table 12, vehicles nos. 2, 13 and 14) were loaded with a full set of weaponry each,

indicating that they were also styled as battle chariots. But they were less uniformly transformed than the broad chariots. The armoury officicials equipped these chariots with wheels of individual colours or patterns; they added bladed axle caps to some of them but not to the others; they attached a bronze back railing-cladding to one of the side-screen reserve-chariots (see Appendix I: Table 5, vehicle no. 12), but added a bronze front-railing cladding to the other one (see Appendix I: Table 5, vehicle no. 13). They equipped all the reserve chariots with certain items atypical for battle chariots, for instance, side screens (for such side screens found in another Warring States tomb see Fig. 18, Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). Furthermore, they loaded one of these chariots, which carried among others two shields with gold ornaments, with handrail coating and a purple mat (Appendix I: Table 5, vehicle no. 2). Hence, the reserve chariots belonged also to those chariots that were massively shielded and heavily armed but were equipped with items that were extraordinary for battle chariots.

The armoury officials made fewer transformations to the reserve chariots from the Chu Kingdom (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9 and Table 12, vehicles nos. 14, 17, and 19). All the transformations concerned were in the frame of the transformations made to the reserve chariots of the Zeng March. For instance, they loaded each Chu reserve chariot with a smaller set of weaponry and merely one with armours and barding.[587]

Two of the remaining vehicles, i.e. the travelling chariot and the principal chariot (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9 and Table 12, vehicles nos. 3 and 4), belonged also to those that were massively shielded and heavily armed but were equipped with items that were extraordinary for battle chariots. Furthermore, the travelling chariot was equipped uniquely with tools such as *gui*-spades 銫, *cha*-spades 斄, sickles, needles, ropes and flints (all the items might have been singular. See Appendix I: Table 11).

The armoury officials shielded none of the remaining vehicles. Accordingly, they loaded these vehicles with a much smaller assortment of weapons. More precisely, each among the royal fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot, the duke's side-screen chariot of the left side, the

[587] One entry on the A strips indicates that the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li (vehicle no. 17) was equipped with three types of polearms, one bow quiver, one bow of the Qin type, three arrow quivers, nine arrows, one weapon fixation bar, two shields, further weapon accessories, as well as armours and barding. Two further entries on the A strips indicate that two other reserve chariots from Chu (vehicles nos. 17 and 19) were equipped with similar weapons but they do not include records of armours or barding. I have argued elsewhere that the fragmented part on the B strips perhaps included the records of their armours and barding. See Sun Hui 2020, 112–113.

wooden-trunk-wheel chariot, the ink-black chariot, the chariot (denotation blurred) driven by Huang Yi 黃艩 and perhaps also the royal tiered-canopy chariot (see Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 38–43) was equipped with one type of polearm, one bow quiver with or without bow, one or two arrow quivers, 50 arrows or no arrows, and one or two shields. Each among the four hunting chariots (vehicles nos. 18, 21, 22 and 45), one comfortable carriage (vehicle no. 44), the chariot of the Lord of Ji (vehicle no. 48), and the two hearses (vehicles nos. 46 and 50) was equipped at least with a bow quiver and an arrow quiver, mostly also with one bow and 50 arrows. All the other vehicles, including the road carriages (vehicles nos. 23–34) and the curved-pole-canopy carriage (vehicle no. 47), were seldom equipped with weapons (at least not by the armoury officials).

It is worth noting that the armoury officials equipped the two hearses with a small number of weapons, which distinguishes the hearses from the one described in *Yili*.[588] Furthermore, vehicles such as the comfortable carriage, which were normally not armed,[589] also carried a small number of weapons. This corroborates that the display of martial power was one of the most significant agendas in the marquis' funeral.

3.5.2 Transformations of the Vehicles and Draught animals Through Fields of Action

The records on the A and B strips form a protocol of a systematic transformation process of the vehicles and their draught horses, including the re-equipping and re-harnessing of a part of the wheeled vehicles and draught horses involved in the marquis' funeral. These transformations reshaped these vehicles and draught horses for their participation in several fields of action, including the funerary procession, the vehicle exhibition, the presentation of draught animals, the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the post-entombment offering. As will be addressed later, part of the material resources attached to them were used to reproduce yet another field of action, i.e. the entombment.

[588] In *Yili*, the single hearse is merely used to transport the coffin from the mansion to the ancestral temple and from the ancestral temple to the tomb. There is no indication that it was weaponed. See Appendix I: Table 2.

[589] For instance, the bronze vehicle no. 2 excavated from the mausoleum of the First Emperor of Qin, a model of a comfortable carriage (according to an inscription on its rein), does not carry any weapons. See Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan and Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1998, 139–239.

Since the records are no description of the vehicles and the draught horses per se, they do not relate to all the material resources that used to be attached to them. Nevertheless, in combination with the records on the C strips, they indicate the basic organisational patterns of individual vehicles, their crew, draught horse teams and the material resources loaded on or attached to them. But these organisational patterns did not remain unchanged, as the above-mentioned fields of action were reproduced.

These organisational patterns could have been partly adopted by the funerary procession. This field was reproduced twice in the fifth and the seventh funerary stages. But while the armours in the records are not directly associated with persons, they were most likely put on the crews, including perhaps drivers, vehicle owners and further officers who are partly referred to in the vehicle phrases on the A-C strips (Appendix I: Table 3). It is impossible to reconstruct the sequence of the vehicles in the procession. As will be argued later (see Subsection 3.5.3), even if the sequence of the vehicles in the records could be partly reconstructed, it did not necessarily correspond to their sequence in the procession.[590]

Several *Yili* passages provide valuable details indicating how the organisational patterns might have been transformed in the sixth funerary stage during the vehicle exhibition and the presentation of draught animals. One of these passages reads:

> Then the vehicles are brought in and, set in line with the east wall, with their poles pointing north… In the travelling chariot that is exhibited, the rug is of deerskin, with the summer coat of hair on. [Besides] a shield, an arrow quiver and leather bridles, it carries a *zhan*-banner and a skin cap suit. The tassels, the reins and the bits are suspended from the yoke bar. There is also an ordinary carriage carrying a suit of court garment; and a country cart with a rain-coat and a bamboo hat.[591]

This passage describes the exhibition of three vehicles in the courtyard of the ancestral temple of an deceased Ordinary Officer before these vehicles participated in the funerary procession heading for the tomb. This vehicle exhibition forms part of the extensive exhibition

[590] Habberstad seems to indicate otherwise: "… if we assumed that the order in which chariots are listed in the A strips followed the order in which they were used in the funeral proces sion, we might be able to understand the logic behind the organization of the cortège. This appears to be impossible, but the evidence from the strips does at least assure us that such an organizational scheme existed." See Habberstad 2014, 197.

[591] For the Chinese text and an annotated translation see Subsection 3.4.1.

in the ancestral temple (see Appendix I: Table 2). In terms of the content, there are obvious parallels between this passage and the individual list entries on the A strips. For instance, the first vehicle is denoted as "travelling chariot", a vehicle name that appears among the vehicle names on the A and B strips as well. In addition, the loads of the vehicles (a shield, an arrow quiver and a banner), their accoutrements (a rug) and horse tack (bridles, tassels, reins, bits and a yoke bar) exhibit further parallels to those in the individual list entries.

In this passage, the loads remain in the vehicles during the vehicle exhibition. But another *Yili* passage reads:

> The *mingqi* are exhibited to the west of the wheeled vehicles… There are also the implements that [the deceased] used in his lifetime: his bow and arrows; his hoe and his ploughshare; two *dui*-vessels; two *yu*-vessels; a basin and an ewer, the ewer being set in the basin, with its spout to the south. No sacrificial implement is provided. If desired, the musical instruments for entertainment may be [set there also]. The instruments of war provided are an armour, a helmet, shields and arrow quivers. The things that contributed to his ease [are also laid out]: a walking staff, a bamboo hat and a fan.[592]

This passage describes goods that are exhibited to the west of the wheeled vehicles as potential tomb goods. Among the various assemblages of goods, an armour, a helmet, shields and arrow quivers form the "instruments of war", which are reminiscent of the weaponry described on the A and the B strips as well.

The key to the differentiated handling of the weaponry in these two passages are the "skin cap suit" and the "suit of court garment" in the first passage. Both were important parts of the official insignia of all aristocrats including the king in pre-Qin China. The "suit of court garment" was obviously worn in the court. The "skin cap suit" was worn in various important occasions including court audience but also ritual activities, e.g., the capping of an Ordinary Officer's son, the visit of an Ordinary Officer to another and the *ji*-sacrifices.[593] Hence, in the first *Yili*-passage, the weaponry remaining in the vehicles during the vehicle exhibition is also part of the official vehicles and garments (*chefu* 車服) of the Ordinary Officer, i.e. his public

[592] For the Chinese text and an annotated translation see Section 2.2.

[593] See Li Yan 李岩 and Zhao Weibin 赵玮彬, "Zhou dai de bianfu zhidu" 周代的弁服制度, *Tonghua shifan xueyuan xuebao* 通化师范学院学报, no. 11 (2015): 111–16.

insignia. In the second *Yili*-passage, the weaponry exhibited to the west of the vehicles forms the "instruments of war", which indicate his obligation to fight in a state of war; and the "implements that [the deceased] used in his lifetime", which indicate his martial activities in his daily life (presumably hunting). Hence, it seems that the weaponry represents three facets of the cultural resources that the Ordinary Officer used to possess, even if the categorisation seems arbitrary for the modern reader.

The weaponry among the material resources exhibited in the marquis' ancestral temple were probably also ordered into several parts, in accordance with the facets of the cultural resources that the marquis used to possess. As has been argued above (Subsection 3.4.1 and 3.4.4), the nine road carriages formed the most important insignia among the vehicles of the marquis. Hence, the loads of these carriages, which are not mentioned on the A and B strips, were probably exhibited within the carriages.

The weaponry loaded on the remaining vehicles described on the A and B strips probably formed the "instruments of war", which were exhibited separately from the vehicles and thus formed part of the exhibition of potential tomb goods. But there were perhaps certain variations compared with the *Yili* account: the weaponry was probably not piled together; instead, the weaponry from each vehicle formed a group, which was placed not far away from the vehicle. The reason is that the field of funerary procession was reproduced again afterwards, which probably adopted part of the organisational patterns of the material and human resources during the first reproduction of this field; therefore, it could have been efficient to not completely resolve the organisational patterns in the first procession.

In the vehicle exhibition in the *Yili* account, the horse tack is partly loaded on a vehicle box and partly suspended from a yoke bar, instead of being worn by the draught horses. As has been addressed before (see Subsection 3.4.1), the draught horse teams are presented separately in the courtyard, instead of being exhibited together with the vehicles. This is probably due to the poor feasibility to keep them in desired postures during the exhibition. Compared with the short-term presentation of the draught horse teams, the exhibition of the vehicles forms a long-term, static display. The *Yili* commentator Jia Gongyan indicates that each time when a groom and a driver are about to present a horse team, they fetch the horse tack from the vehicle.[594]

[594] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 844 ff.

This means that the two rites share part of the material resources and they intersect each other. The vehicles are apparently exhibited, beyond their own display, as the stage set for the presentation of the draught horse teams.

In the light of the *Yili* account, the vehicle exhibition and the draught animal presentation in the marquis' ancestral temple probably also took part separately. Each time when persons[595] were about to present the draught animals, they probably fetched not only certain horse tack, but also the armours and barding from the vehicles as their stage props.

As the marquis' sixth funerary stage was finalised, the cortege probably resumed part of the organisational patterns of the material and human resources in the first procession, before it headed for the tomb. At least the organisational pattern of the weaponry loads with vehicles and draught animal teams could have remained unchanged. But since the routes of the two processions probably offered much different spatial conditions, the organisational pattern of the vehicles per se likely undergone certain transformation.

At the tomb, the dispatched goods were exhibited. Hence, it is possible that the above-mentioned organisational patterns of the exhibitions in the marqui's ancestral temple were transformed again (see Section 2.2) Finally, as the field of the entombment was reproduced in the marquis' funeral, the organisational patterns of the material resources were transformed again. This will be addressed in detail in section 3.7.

[595] The persons who presented the draught animal teams included at least a driver, who is sometimes mentioned in the individual vehicle phrases on the A and B strips (see Appendix I: Table 3); and probably an official, who is recorded in the individual vehicle phrases on the C strips (see Appendix I: Table 3).

3.5.3 The Creation Process and the Usage of the Records

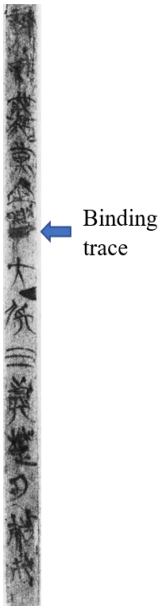


Fig. 24 The last quarter of strip 124, from tomb no.1 at Leigudun.

The initial remark refers to a date, i.e. a *gengshen* day of the eighth month of a certain year (June 5th, 433 BCE, see Section 3.3). But as indicated by the physical features of the manuscripts, the layout of the writings, the textual structure, the scribal hands, certain editing traces (checkmarks), as well as the relationship between certain list entries and the summaries, it is possible that not all the records on the A and B strips were made on that day.

Most of the intact strips in the A and B groups bear two notches and two traces of binding strings each. The written characters seem to avoid the positions of individual notches and binding strings. Part of the writings on strip 124 indicate an addition of several characters after the B strips were bound into a scroll: the characters, which were added in the long gap between two entries, are highly compressed and stop abruptly at the trace of the binding string (see Fig. 24). But there is no further indication about whether the strips were bound into scrolls before the whole inscribing process; or vice versa; or whether the two processes took place alternately, i.e. each individual strip was inscribed before it was added to a scroll. But at least it was theoretically feasible to extend a scroll at any given moment.

According to their physical features, the A strips can be further divided into three subgroups, i.e. the A-1 – A-3 strips (see Appendix II). Theoretically, each subgroup may have formed an individual scroll. And the B strips, which demonstrate relatively consistent physical features, may have formed an individual scroll as well (see Appendix II).

Except for the single-entry-paragraph on strip 74 (see Fig. 21, entry A-3/P-13), each intact strip is written without indent. Habberstad has made the following observation concerning the layout of the list entries on the A strips: “If the scribe had enough room to start a new entry on the same strip as a just completed entry, he would leave a blank space, add a blot, and then start the new entry. If not, he would end the completed entry with a blot and leave the rest of the strip blank.”[596] The “blot” mentioned by him is a black, square ink blot that extends across the width of the strip (for examples see Fig. 7). The usage of this diacritic mark has caused

[596] See Habberstad 2014, 197.



Fig. 25 Entry A-3/P-2 (strips 39–41), Leigudun manuscripts.

For the meaning of the individual marks see Fig. 7

some confusion, as Habberstad notes that "the square blots… do indeed appear to be somewhat anomalous, since the marks on the A and B strips equally denote the beginning and ending of chariot entries depending on where the entries are arranged on a given set of strips. They thus function above all to mark off the entries as discrete units (for the benefit of readers?)".[597]

First, it is important to point out that the square ink blots do not appear among the entries on the B strips. And on the A strips, the usage of the blots, combined with whitespace including long gaps and line breaks is indeed regular, if one recognises that the writings on the rectos are organised into paragraphs. The writings consists of the following structural units: a title, an initial remark, at least 68 list entries, a series of subtotals and three grand totals. My reconstruction of the sequence of the strips indicates that a paragraph sometimes comprises merely one and sometimes multiple structural units.[598] The first paragraph on the A-1 strips, i.e. paragraph A-1/P-1, for instance, is a multi-entry-paragraph (Fig. 7). It begins with the initial remark followed by five individual entries.

In this first paragraph, the first two entries are separated from one another merely by a square blot, but all the other paragraphs are separated by a long gap and a square blot (Fig. 7). It seems that the scribe changed his concept of layout after he observed that the boundary between the first two comprehensive entries did not seem apparent.

In the remaining multi-entry-paragraphs on the A-1 and A-3 strips, the new concept of the layout was enforced consistently; furthermore, the end of each individual paragraph, no matter whether a single-entry-paragraph or a multi-entry-paragraph, is commonly marked by a square

[597] See Habberstad 2014, 199.

[598] See Sun Hui 2020, 58–145; for the result of my reconstructions, i.e., the updated sequence of all the bamboo strips, see Appendix III.

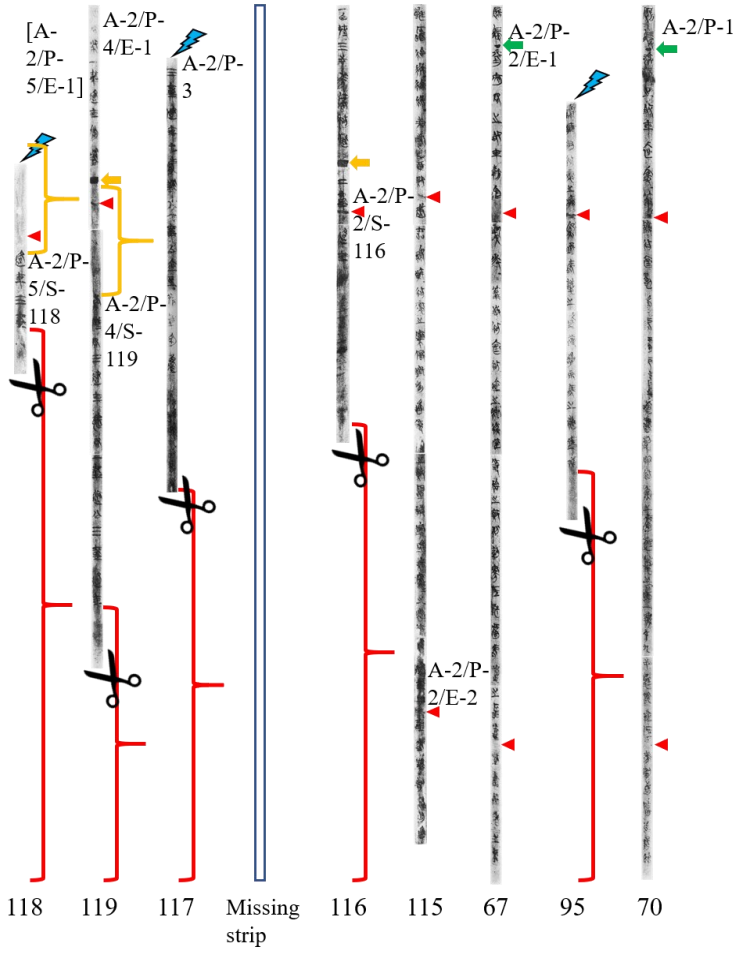


Fig. 26 Entries and subtotals on the A-2 strips (strips 70, 95, 67, 115–119), Leigudun manuscripts.

For the meaning of the individual marks see Figs. 7 and 15.

blot and a line break (see Fig. 21, entry A-3/P-13; Fig. 25, entry A-3/P-2; and Fig. 7). Merely two single-entry-paragraphs end obviously without square blots.[599]

Habberstad seems to regard the line breaks marking paragraphs as mandatory breaks due to the physical boundaries of certain bamboo strips. This can hold true for several paragraphs on the A-1 and A-3 strips. However, in ten individual paragraphs on these two strip subgroups, the last strips are spacious enough for beginning new entries.[600] Hence, the line breaks on these two strip subgroups do indicate a conscious organisation of the list entries into paragraphs.

Although it is not feasible to determine the way of the original organisation of the single-paragraph-entries, the sequence of the individual entries within the multi-entry-paragraphs can be reconstructed; it reveals part of the organisational pattern of the list entries on the A-1 and A-3 strips.

[599] Besides those entries of which the ends are missing (i.e., entries A-1/P-5/E-3 and A-1/P-8, see Appendix III.1), two single-entry paragraph obviously end without square blots on the A-1 and the A-2 strips. They are the paragraphs A-1/P-3 and A-3/P-6 (see Appendix III.1). The reason of the omission is not known. One possibility is that these two paragraphs used to be the last paragraphs of two scrolls consisting of the A-1 and the A-3 strips, respectively, so that there was no need to mark the end.

[600] The last strips of individual paragraphs that are spacious enough for beginning new entries include strips 35, 93, 44 (belonging to paragraphs 3, 4 and 7 on the A-1 strips, respectively), 41, 87, 85, 92, 74, 76 and 79 (belonging to paragraphs 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 13 on the A-3 strips, respectively).

Comparing the content of the list entries on the two strip subgroups (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5,Table 7 and Table 9), it seems apparent that the entries in the same paragraph concern vehicles that were equipped with similar weaponry. For instance, the paragraph A-1/P-1 encompasses five entries concerning the grand vanguard chariot, travelling reserve-chariot, travelling chariot, principal chariot, and grand rearguard chariot. The vehicle parts and accoutrements associated with the grand vanguard chariot are almost identical with those associated with the grand rearguard chariot, but they differ significantly from those associated with the three other vehicles (see Appendix I: Table 4 and Table 5, vehicles nos. 1–5); the horse tack of the five vehicles bears even less regularity than the vehicle parts and accoutrements (see Appendix I: Table 9, vehicles nos. 1–5); but all the five vehicles were heavily armed, i.e. each was equipped with a full set of weapons including three types of polearms, one bow quiver, two bows, two or more arrow quivers à 50 arrows, at least one weapon fixation bar, at least one shield, and further weapon accessories (see Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 1–5). Furthermore, all the five vehicles are also recorded on the B strips, which means that their riders and draught horses were specially equipped, with armours and barding.

The multi-entry-paragraphs A-1/P-2, A-3/P-1 and probably A-1/P-5 (fragmented) consist of entries of vehicles that were equipped with such a full set of weaponry as well (see Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 6–9, 12–14 and 35–36). As a contrast, paragraphs A-3/P-4 and A-3/P-3 comprise the entries of vehicles without armoured riders or barded horses. Each of these vehicles was equipped with a smaller set of weapons, including one type of polearm (*ge*-polearm), one arrow quiver and weapon accessories without weapon fixation bar, mostly also with one bow and 50 arrows (Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 38–41).

In addition, those entries that concern vehicles equipped with an even smaller set of weaponry (including at least a bow quiver and an arrow quiver, mostly also with one bow and 50 arrows) are generally inscribed as single-paragraph entries. They include the entries on the hunting chariots (Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 18, 21, 22 and 45), the comfortable carriages (vehicles nos. 44 and 49), the chariot of the Lord of Ji (vehicle no. 48) and the hearses (vehicles nos. 46 and 50).

The contents of the above-mentioned paragraphs indicates that the related vehicles were originally ordered into groups according to the range of their equipment of weaponry, i.e., vehicles equipped with a similar set of weaponry were recorded together. The sequence of the vehicles in the records, however, did not necessarily correspond to their sequence in the

reproductions of the fields of action in which they participated (the funerary procession, the vehicle exhibition, the presentation of draught animals, the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the post-entombment offering). Their sequence in the records came into being due to practical and pragmatical causes, while their sequence in those fields was based on further considerations such as the ritual and political significance of the vehicles.

Interestingly, in view of the scribal hands, this organisational concept was probably carried out effectively by one hand at the beginning of the writing process, in which a large part of the A strips came into being. But while several further scribal hands took part in the inscribing later, the organisational concept changed a bit as follows.

The majority of the A-1 and the A-3 strips (i.e. 44 of the A-1 strips and 37 of the A-3 strips, respectively) has been probably inscribed by one scribal hand,[601] hand [2] (see Appendix IV.1). These strips probably used to form two scrolls originally, which were inscribed on June 5th, 433 BCE.

The remaining A-1 and A-3 strips form a minority, i.e. merely 15 strips bearing seven entries, but they have been probably inscribed by six individual hands, [3]–[5] and [7]–[9] (see Appendix IV.1). Accordingly, each hand inscribed merely one to two entries. This indicates that after the main body of the text on the two original scrolls, A-1 and A-3, had been established by one hand, those two scrolls were physically extended and added with new entries by several individual hands. The entries that were added afterwards concern primarily Chu vehicles but also two Zeng vehicles. Judging by the many participating hands, the writing process was probably not carried out within a short time but can have lasted longer. Anyway,

[601] Matthias Richter describes the relation between writing style and scribal hand as follows: "It is a common phenomenon that a certain amount of text – be it a manuscript of some length or several manuscripts – is written in the same style but by several persons and thus in different hands… a hand is characterised by the same features as a certain style of writing, but expressions of different hands must be sought in yet more minute details than those by which we characterise a certain style of writing. Furthermore, it is important not to confuse the concept of a hand with that of a particular scribe. Different scribes, even if they were trained in the same school and acquired the same ductus there, will hardly ever write identically to such a degree that their writings are no longer discernible as different hands; there is but the faintest theoretical possibility of ever encountering such a case. On the other hand, one scribe may have written in different hands in different periods of his life." See Matthias Richter, "Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands in the Guodian Manuscripts," in *Rethinking Confucianism: Selected Papers from the Third International Conference on Excavated Chinese Manuscripts, Mount Holyoke College, April 2004* (San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University, 2006): 136.

the Chu chariots could seldom have arrived in the Zeng March at the same time (see Subsection 3.4.2).

Conspicuously, the armours and barding used to equip the broad chariot and the reserve chariot donated by the Lord of Li (Appendix I, Table 12, vehicles nos. 16 and 17) are not recorded on the B strips; instead, they are recorded, together with the other weapons, in two entries on the A-1 strips. Furthermore, these two chariots are the only ones among the donated vehicles that were equipped with armours and barding. In addition, the two entries recording these chariots are single-paragraph-entries that were inscribed bei two individual hands ([4] and [6] in Appendix IV-1), which seem to have inscribed mostly records of the Chu vehicles. Hence, these two Chu vehicles probably arived late and received separate treatments involving two scribes who were able to work for the both armoury offices, which were in charge of equipping the vehicles.

Furthermore, it seems that as all the loose strips of the A-1 and the A-3 subgroups were used up, further Chu vehicles kept on arriving. Therefore, the scribes began to write on a new scroll, i.e. the scroll made of the A-2 strips. The A-2 subgroup includes eight strips inscribed by two hands, [6] and [2] (see Appendix IV.1). On the A-2 strips, the concept of the layout changes a bit in comparison with the one on the A-1 and the A-3 strips. There are still single-entry paragraphs and multi-entry paragraphs. But each paragraph ends with a line break without square blot (see Fig. 26). One of the multi-entry paragraphs, A-2/P-2, consists of two entries that follow each other directly without any mark of separation. The vehicles concerned in these two entries are a hunting chariot of the Lord of Pingye (坪夜君之敏車) and two road carriages (迖車二輦). The equipment of the weapons of the hunting chariot and of the road carriages differs from each other greatly. Why were these vehicles recorded in one and the same paragraph? The records on the C strips reveal that the Lord of Pingye donated a hunting chariot and made gifts of two road carriages (see Appendix I: Table 3, vehicles nos. 22–24). Hence, all the three vehicles in the paragraph A-2/P-2 were probably gifts from the Lord of Pingye. They were recorded together due to their simultaneous arrival and shared provenance.

Furthermore, the records of the road carriages on the A-2 strips include paragraphs of uncommon structure and layout, compared with the remaining paragraphs on the A and B strips. Scholars seem to have been puzzled by the structure and the content of these records, because

they seem to be partly repetitive.[602] I argue that the layout of these records includes entries and summaries (see Appendix III.1), similar to those on the C strips (see Section 3.4). They could have been organised into the following three unities of content:

Unity S-116[603]

Strip 115: …… **[Entry A-2/P-2/E-2]** 迭車二輦（乘），牖（虎）鞶（褫），削敝，緺𦋐。 (L. 66.5 cm)

Strip 116: 一白發；三矢；劃筵（席），紫趯。■ **[Subtotal A-2/P-2/S-116]** 二輦（乘）迭車。 (line break) (L. 65.2 cm)

[Entry A-2/P-2/E-2] Road carriages, two: [Both equipped with] rugs made of tiger fur; reddish-black hobbles decorated with red silk ribbons; one white bow; three arrows; a painted mat decorated with purple stoat fur. ■ **[Subtotal A-2/P-2/S-116]** Two road carriages. (line break)

Unity S-118

Strip 118: **[Entry A-2/P-5/E-1]** ☒ (long gap) **[Subtotal A-2/P-5/S-118]** 迭車三輦（乘）。 (line break) (L. 56.8 cm)

[Entry A-2/P-5/E-1] […] (long gap) **[Subtotal A-2/P-5/S-118]** Road carriages, three. (line break)

Unity S-119

602 Scholars attempted to understand these records by relating them with the records on the road carriages on the C strips. Luo Xiaohua lists the passages "鄴君𠂤一輦迭車" (The Lord of Yang donated one road carriage) and "鄴君一輦" (the Lord of Yang's one road carriage) on strip 119 as two individual entries. He assumes that the road carriage in the former entry corresponds to the entry on strip 192 and the road carriage in the latter entry does not find a corresponding entry on the C strips. In Appendix III.3 and in the main text below, I argue that the former phrase is an entry and the latter phrase is part of a subtotal. Ishiguro does seem to consider that the records of the road carriages on the A strips include entries and summaries. But she assumes that the passage "迭車三輦" (Road carriages, three) on strip 118 is an entry. In Appendix III.3 and in the main text below, I argue that this phrase, regarding its layout, is a subtotal. See Ishiguro Hisako 1995, 42, Table 5; Luo Xiaohua 2017, 242 ff, Table 3-1-3.

603 Unity S-116 is entangled with entry A-2/P-2/E-1 in the layout, because it follows the entry directly and shares a strip (strip 115) with the entry. Due to such entanglement, Appendix III.1 does not demonstrate strips 116–119 as unities.

Missing strip: **[Missing entry]** […]

[…]

Strip 117: **[Entry A-2/P-3]** ☐三𨜮（乘）迭車：屯虓（虎）𩊱（褽）。丌一𨜮（乘），白金之弼。載紉褭。 (line break) (L. 60.7 cm)

Three road carriages of […]: all [equipped with] rugs made of tiger fur. [Furthermore], one of them [equipped] with a cover made of silver for the front of the vehicle box. (line break)

Strip 119: **[Entry A-2/P-4/E-1]** 鄀君𠂤一𨜮（乘）迭車，緺（蒨）𩊱（褽）。■ (long gap) **[Subtotal A-2/P-4/S-119]** 旝城君三迭車，鄀君一𨜮（乘），遜公三𨜮（乘）迭車。 (line break) (L. 67.7 cm)

The Lord of Yang donated one road carriage: [all equipped with] red rug. ■ (long gap) The Lord of Yangcheng's three road carriages, the Lord of Yang's one road carriage, the Duke of Lü's three road carriages. (line break)

Though the unities S-118 and S-119 are incomplete, it is apparent that each of these unities consists of one to several entries and a subtotal. The subtotal is separated from the last entry of the unity by a square blot (or a square blot and a long gap). Compared with the records on the C strips, the entries on the A-2 strips were more frequently summarised. There were probably six entries on 12 road chariots altogether, but the vehicles are summarised in three subtotals. In the unity S-116, for instance, the two carriages in a single entry were summarised. Furthermore, in the layout, unity S-116 was probably entangled with an entry that does not belong to the unity,[604] similar to unity S-195 on the C strips (see Subsection 3.4.2).

The frequent usage of summaries and the entanglement of the unities with further entries may have been due to the fact that the road carriages from Chu were received by the armoury officials in several temporal intervals. Each time when the officials assumed that their work of equipping the vehicles was finished, they summarised the road carriages that they received. But it seems that they kept on being surprised by the arrival of new road carriages for a long period. Accordingly, they made at least three summaries on those carriages.

[604] See footnote 603.

Furthermore, the entry on the *chili* cart on the C strips refers to “leather reins decorated with gold” (see Appendix III.3, Loose entries). This entry was inscribed by a hand which inscibed the majority of the records on the C strips (see Appendix IV.3, hand [13]), instead of being written by the scribes of the armoury. It is possible that this cart was not sent to the armoury. Anyways, the summary on strips 120–121 does not mention it. After the equestrian experts had matched it with a horse team, they probably fetched the reins from the armoury themselves and let one of their own scribes create the concerning entry.

The structural units on the rectos of the B strips seem to have been organised into paragraphs as well (see Fig. 27). The layout of these paragraphs is similar to that on the A strips; but no square blots were applied; furthermore, though the entries seem to have been organised into three paragraphs, merely the last paragraph ends with an obvious line break. Hence, it is also possible that all the entries on the B strips form one multi-entry paragraph. At any rate, all the vehicles recorded were provided with similar devices, i.e. armours and barding, likely for the charioteers and the draught horse teams. It does not seem necessary to group the

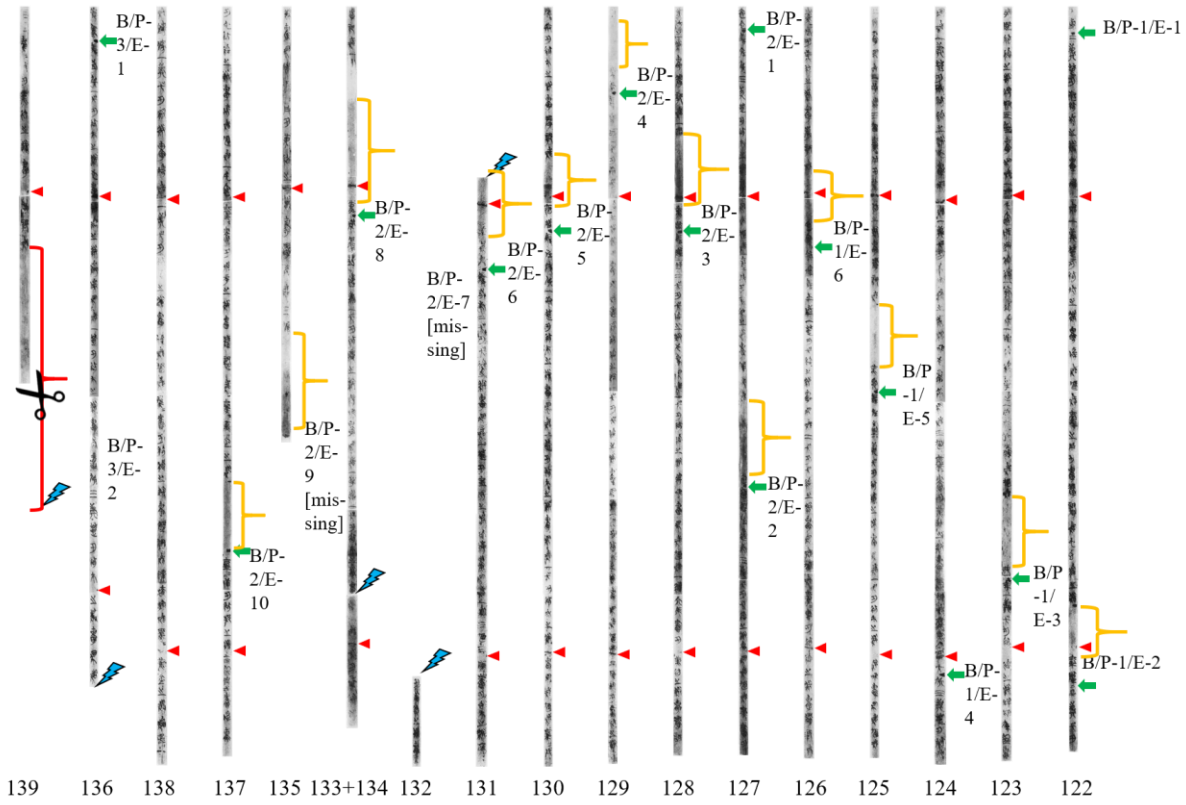


Fig. 27 Entries on the B strips (strips 122–139), Leigudun manuscripts. The meanings of the individual marks are as follows:

For the meaning of the individual marks see Figs. 7 and 15.

entries into several paragraphs. The scribes perhaps made mandatory breaks due to the physical boundaries of certain bamboo strips.[605]

The B strips were perhaps inscribed together with the majority of the A-1 and the A-3 strips, on the day stated in the initial remark. They were for the most part inscribed by one hand (hand [10]), except for one entry amid the multi-entry paragraph (see Appendix IV.2).

The many facets of the scribal hands, layout and the structure of the records on the A and B strips are testimony to the long duration of the scribing process, which obviously accompanied the long transformation process of the vehicles. It seems that within this long process, multiple scribes took part in the creation of the manuscripts depending on their availability, which obviously took a toll on the consistency of the scribal hands, layout and the structure of the records.

In addition, the relationship between the following summary and the list entries reveals several aspects in the creation and the usage of the A and B strips:

Strip 120: ■ **[Subtotals B/P-4/S-120–121]** 凡輦車十輦（乘）又二輦=（乘車）_；四𨒫車_，囝軒；攻差坪所賠（造）行輦五輦（乘）_；遊車九輦（乘），囝軒_；一敏（畋）車；一棤轂；一王僮車；一鞁輨 (68.5 cm)

Strip 121: 車；迭（路）車九▬ **[Grand total B/P-4/G-121]** 大凡四十輦（乘）又三輦（乘）_。　　至紫（此）。 ⧄ (37.6 cm)

■ In total: twelve broad chariots; four reserve chariots, each equipped with curved side screens; swift broad chariots newly produced by the artisan assistant Ping, five; nine touring chariots, each equipped with curved side screens; one hunting chariot; one hearse; one royal tiered-canopy chariot; one curved-pole canopy carriage; road carriages, nine. ▬(short gap) Grand total: forty-three [chariots]. (long gap) Until here. (line break)

[605] See Habberstad 2014, 197.

The summary consists of a series of subtotals (B/P-4/S-120–121) and a grand total (B/P-4/G-121). Apparently, the grand total results from the adding together of the vehicles in the array of subtotals before it.

Hitherto, scholars such as Qiu Xigui, Li Jiahao, Peng Yu 鵬宇 and Xiao Shengzhong have assumed that the summary used to be placed at the end of the A strips.[606] Regarding their physical features (notch positions), I argue that they were placed at the end of the B strips (see Appendix II), together with two further summaries:

Strip 140: **[Subtotals B/P-5/S-140]** ☒□所賠（造）十真叁=真 ■ **[Grand total B/P-5/G-140]** 大凡卒=真又三真。_ (line break) (L. 3.3+11+38.1 cm)

[…]15 suits [of armours newly] produced by […]: ■ Grand total: 64 suits of [body armours]. (line break)

Strip 141: **[Subtotals B/P-6/S-141]** ☒□所賠（造）廿=嗎[=]（匹馬）之甲[■] **[Grand total B/P-6/G-141]**大凡卒=馬甲叒=馬之甲。(line break) (L. 45.8 cm)

[…] 20 suits of barding newly produced by […]: ■ Grand total: 86 suits of barding. (line break)

But since all the vehicles recorded on the B strips are also recorded on the A strips, the summary on strips 120 and 121 refers to the vehicles recorded on the A strips at any rate. But still, as has been observed by several scholars, the summary does not corresponds with the vehicle records on the A strips:[607] Many vehicles in the summaries are not mentioned in the entries on the A strips (e.g., five newly produced swift broad-chariots and the marquis' nine road carriages, see Appendix I: Table 20), and some of the vehicles recorded on the A strips are not mentioned in the summary.[608]

606 See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 487; Peng Yu 2010, 183 ff.; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 141 ff.

607 See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 521 ff.; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 162 ff.

608 The number of the vehicles recorded on the A strips is 50 (see Appendix I: Table 3). This makes apparent that some of the vehicles recorded on the A strips are not mentioned in the summary, which refers to merely 43 vehicles.

Habberstad assumes that the summary is associated with entries that bear checkmarks, i.e. the oblong, ovular dots that are represented as "⬬" in Appendix III. He correctly points out that these marks have been "irregularly spaced within the text, crammed in between the characters and occasionally touching them", hence "a scribe must have applied such inconsistently rendered and applied dots after the text was already written".[609] Regarding the A and B strips generally as a description of a funerary procession, he assumes that the marks were used as follows:

> Then the procession was executed. While it went on, a scribe (perhaps the armory officer himself or somebody else) sat to the side, with the A-B text unrolled in front of him. As each chariot passed by, he made a mark next to the appropriate entry, verifying its participation in the Marquis's cortège and by extension the accuracy of the descriptions of fittings, weaponry, and armor. When the procession was over and the chariots had arrived at the funeral procession grounds or the tomb, he counted up his marks and added the "grand total" tabulations, closing with a note that the chariots "went there."[610]

However, the number of the marked vehicles does not correspond to the number of the vehicles in the grand total B/P-6/G-121. The marked vehicle phrases on the A and B strips refer to 33 vehicles and 15 vehicles, respectively (Appendix I: Table 3). Since all the vehicles on the B strips are also recorded on the A strips, some of the vehicle phrases are marked twice. In addition, certain vehicle phrases are marked on the A strips but not on the B strips, or vice versa (see Appendix I: Table 3, vehicles nos. 2 and 37). Normally, the addition of a checkmark indicates the existence of a certain condition and the absence of it indicates the non-existence of the condition, or vice versa. Hence, the checkmarks do not seem to refer to any particular condition of the vehicles because no condition can be existent and simultaneously non-existent. As a result, the grand total did not come into being by counting up the marked vehicles.

Qiu Xigui has pointed out the possibility that the summary on strips 120 and 121 concern vehicles prepared by the Zeng March.[611] Though he has denied the possibility later,[612] this

609 See Habberstad 2014, 201.

610 See Habberstad 2014, 203 ff.

611 See Qiu Xigui 1979, 29.

612 See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 521 ff.

possibility is worth considering again. Similar to the summary of the marquis' own road carriages on the C strips, the summary on strips 120 and 121 does not mention the provenances of the vehicles either. As a contrast, the summaries of the vehicles donated by the Chu aristocrats on the C strips (strips 195 and 204) always specify the provenances of the vehicles.

The possibility proposed by Qiu nevertheless requires some explanation. The summary on strips 120 and 121 does not concern all the Zeng vehicles but probably those that were received by the armoury officials at a point of time when they thought that the action of their reception and treatment of the vehicles was finished, for instance, on the day specified in the initial remark on strip 1. Until that day, 43 of the Zeng vehicles, after they had been matched with draught horse teams, had been received by those officials. As argued above (see Subsection 3.5.1), the officials examined those vehicles and made changes to part of them. They merely created entries of the part of vehicles to which individual changes were made, which is the reason why part of the vehicles in the summary are not mentioned on the A and B strips. On that day, the most entries seem to have been inscribed by one hand (see Appendix IV.1, hand [2]), but it cannot be ruled out that further hands took part in the inscribing process on that day. At the end of the day, the officials noted that 43 vehicle *zhi ci* 至紫（此）, i.e. "they were here (in the armoury)", at the end of the summary.

But still, there is one problem concerning the summary on strips 120 and 121. The summary refers merely to one *chuangu* 椯轂, i.e. "hearse". But two individual hearses are recorded in two entries on the A-3 strips (see Appendix I: Table 3, vehicles nos. 46 and 50). Both hearses were prepared by the Zeng March. This discrepancy is probably associated with the extension of the records on the A strips afterwards (see Subsection 3.5.2). As argued above, after the establishment of the main body of the text on two original scrolls, A-1 and A-3, the scrolls were physically extended and added with seven entries afterwards. Those entries primarily concern Chu vehicles, but they also include Zeng vehicles, for instance, one of the above-mentioned hearses (see Appendix IV, **Fehler! Verweisquelle konnte nicht gefunden werden.**, entry A-3/P-13). That the summary does not include this hearse indicates that the summary was created before the arrival of this vehicle.

It is inspiring that while the summary B/P-5/G-140 mentioned above refers to 64 armour suits, the number of the armour suits recorded on the A and B strips surpasses this number (see

Appendix I: Table 12). This means that the summary was likely also created before the arrival of certain vehicles, such as those two chariots of the Chu lords mentioned above.

As argued above, the "⬬" checkmarks are not directly associated with the vehicles. In view of the contents of the A and B strips, they may have referred to certain items that pertained to those vehicles. Remarkably, the checkmark were never applied in entries which do not concern any weaponry (including weapons, armours and barding).[613] As a contrast, the relationship between the usage of the checkmarks and the other items in the records is insignificant (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 9 and Table 11).

But since the checkmarks were not applied to the records of individual weapons but to the vehicle phrases, they may relate to all the weaponry in the marked records. As will be argued later, the "⬬" marks are perhaps associated with the deposition of the weaponry during and after the entombment. As will be addressed later, this plan must have been provisional and it probably provided a source text for another list that was not buried (see Subsection 3.7.3).

3.5.4 Summary

The records on the A strips itemise at least 50 vehicles as well as certain vehicle parts or accoutrements, weapons and horse tack associated with these vehicles. The records on the B strips list at least 18 vehicles as well as matching suits of armours and barding. These records of material resources are results of a systematic transformation process of the vehicles and their draught horses, including the re-equipping and re-harnessing of a part of the vehicles and draught horses involved in the marquis' funeral.

In combination with the records on the C strips, these records bestowed basic organisational patterns on individual vehicles, their crews, draught animal teams, vehicle parts, vehicle accoutrements, horse tack, weaponry and sacrificial animals. These organisational patterns were constantly subject to changes, as the related material and human resources took part in the reproductions of several fields of action, including the funerary procession, the

[613] The entries concerning vehicles nos. 25–27, 31 and 47 in Appendix I: Table 7 do not refer to any weapons. They are not marked by "⬬". It is also significant that these vehicles were not equipped with armours or barding, either (see Appendix I: Table 12).

vehicle exhibition, the presentation of draught animals, the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the pre-entombment offering. And part of the material resources, including 15 vehicles, their draught horses, their loads and the loads of several further vehicles, were used to reproduce yet another field of action, i.e. the entombment.

The sequence of the vehicles in the records could be partly reconstructed. However, this sequence did not necessarily correspond to their sequence in the reproductions of the fields of action in which they participated. Their sequence in the records came into being due to practical and pragmatical motivations of systematically reshaping the related resources, while their sequence in those fields was based on further considerations such as the ritual and political significance of the vehicles and draught horses.

The inconsistency of the scribal hands, layout and the structure of the text (including the relationship between list entries and summaries) on these two strip groups indicate long duration of the scribing process, which obviously accompanied the long transformation process of the vehicles due to the diversity of their provenances. After new entries were added to the lists, the old summary was not updated. In addition, the records on the A and B strips bear checkmarks that are probably associated with a provisional plan of the deposition of the weaponry during and after the entombment.

3.6 The Records on the D Strips

The D strips are inscribed without indentation. The line breaks indicate that the strips used to bear at least three paragraphs. The original sequence of these paragraphs is unknown. Each individual paragraph consists of one or two entries, which follow each other immediately. Each individual entry begins with an introducing phrase, commonly a passive verbal phrase (the *suo* 所 form, double-underlined in Appendix III.4). Each of these phrases is followed by multiple objects.

Judging by the writing hands, at least two scribal hands were at work (Appendix IV.4). One hand inscribed the first paragraph (strips 210 and 52+211), while the other wrote the second (strips 212 and 213) and the third paragraphs (strip 214).

3.6.1 Records of Foddering Sacrificial Horses

Strips 210 and 52+211 (or 52 and 211) bear probably together a paragraph (for an annotated translation of the paragraph see Appendix III.4). The paragragh includes at leat two entries, each of which begins with a passive verbal phrase. The first phrase, which is half blurred, reads: "□□所幣（芻）", i.e. "foddered by […]". The second one reads: "七夫=所幣（芻）", i.e. "foddered by the Seventh Grandee". Judging by the length of the strip 52+211 (9.5+24.2 cm), it cannot be excluded that there used to be another such verbal phrase on the missing part of the strip. The Seventh Grandee was one of the 20 Orders of Merit (*ershi deng jue* 二十等爵) established in the Qin kingdom and adopted and adapted in the Han dynasty.[614] It is equivalent to the order *gong dafu* 公大夫, the seventh Order of Merit.[615] Surprisingly, this Order seems to have existed in the Zeng March as well. Accordingly, the blurred part of the first phrase has likely been another Order of Merit or an official title. The objects of these two phrases are a series of horses. It is noteworthy that, while the records on the C strips almost always refer to a certain characteristic of the individual horses (the coat colour, age, sex, body height etc.), the related paragraph does not describe these characters at all.

The paragraph *per se* is a plain organisational note stating that a number of horses were foddered by two officials, respectively. Why did this act deserve recording? It is worth noting that these horses were ascribed to at least 17 contributors, most of whom were also contributors of the horses recorded on the C strips (see Appendix I: Table 22). Hence, this act was probably significant in the administration of the hoard of horses in the marquis' funeral. The two officials, in view of their assignment, are reminiscent of the officials *yuren* 圉人 (Grooms) and *chongren* 充人 (Fatteners) referred to in transmitted literature.[616] *Zhou li*, for instance, describes the functions of the *yuren* and the *chongren* as follows:

---

[614] For studies of the history and the systematic of the Orders of Merit see Michael Loewe, "The Orders of Aristocratic Rank of Han China", *T'oung Pao* 48, Livr. 1/3 (1960): 97–174; Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生, *Chūgoku Kodai Teikoku No Keisei to Kōzō: Nijūtō Shakusei No Kenkyū* 中国古代帝国の形成と構造：二十等爵制の研究 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1961).

[615] See Gong Yanming 龚延明, *Zhongguo lidai zhiguan bieming da cidian* 中国历代职官别名大辞典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2006): 9.

[616] According to *Zhou li*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Guo yu*, *Yanzi Chunqiu* 晏子春秋 (Master Yan's Spring and Autumn Annals), and *Lü shi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals), the official title "*yuren*" existed in the official system of the Zhou kingdom, in the Princedoms of Lu 魯, Qi 齊, and Song 宋 in the

圉人：掌養馬芻牧之事，以役圉師。凡賓客、喪紀，牽馬而入陳。廞馬亦如之。[617]

The Grooms are in charge of the business of brooding, foddering, herding horses, as well as offering service to the Groom Master. In general, if official visits or rites of mourning take place, the Grooms are to lead the horses [bestowed by the Zhou king on the guests][618] by their reins into [the location of the events] and present them; they do the same to horses presented on funerals.

充人：掌系祭祀之牲牷。祀五帝，則系于牢，芻之三月。享先王亦如之。[619]

The Fatteners are in charge of the business of sacrificial animals of pure colours used for *ji*-offerings. [Before] offering them to the Five Kings, [sacrificial animals] are to be tethered in [separate] pens and foddered for three months. The same is to be done [to the sacrificial animals] offered to the former kings.

Compared with the Grooms, who tended to all kinds of horses, the Fatteners were more specialised for the separate foddering of animals (perhaps including horses) for the reproductions of the field of *ji*-sacrifice in diverse ritual frames. The two officials mentioned in the records on the D strips were probably in charge of such a separate foddering as well. The at least 43 horses that they were to fodder formed merely a small part of all the horses recorded on the C and the D strips (Appendix I: Table 21 and Table 22). All the other horses were apparently not foddered with the same standards; nor were they proper for a sacrificial purpose.

Since most of the contributors of these sacrificial horses also contributed draught horses that were used in the marquis' funeral, it is probable that these sacrificial horses were also used within the frame of the marquis' funeral. *Zhou li* mentions the sacrifice of horses in royal funerals, which was overseen by the *da sima* 大司馬 (Grand Military Supervisor), as follows:

Spring and Autumn period. The official title "*chongren*" is only known in *Zhou li*. See Zuo Yandong 1994, 477 and 495.

617 See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Xiaguan sima" 夏官司馬 (Ministry of Summer or of Military Executive Power), 1020.

618 Zheng Xuan comments that the horses concerned are "賓客之馬，王所以賜之者", i.e., "horses bestowed on the guests by the king". This means perhaps that if the Zhou king bestowed horses on a guest who was visiting, the horses were officially presented before they were received by the guest. See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Xiaguan sima", 1020.

619 See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Diguan situ", 385 ff.

"大喪……喪祭，奉詔馬牲",[620] i.e. "during a Grand Funeral… when the *ji*-sacrifices of mourning are performed, [the Grand Supervisor of Military] presents the sacrificial horses and announces them". Zheng Xuan assumed that a Grand Funeral was held for a deceased king, queen, or crown prince.[621] But both transmitted literature and archaeological discoveries indicate that from the Spring and Autumn period on, it was not uncommon that the Zhou Vassal Lords claimed royal privileges that were reserved for the Zhou king.[622] Hence, it is possible that the heir of Marquis Yi performed such a *ji*-sacrifice of mourning to honor him.

It is noteworthy that the *ji*-sacrifices of mourning, which demonstrate an intersection between the *ji*-sacrifices and the funeral, took place merely in a short period within the funerary cycle. *Zhou li* mentions that they generally took place shortly after the entombment.[623] In *Yili*, it is conspicuous that the non-blood offerings and the sacrificial offerings presented in the period between the last illness and the entombment are never called *ji*-offerings; instead, they are called *dian*-offerings, i.e. "those laid down".[624] This is probably due to the liminal nature of the recipients of those sacrifices. Generally, the recipients of *ji*-offerings in the pre-Qin period include heavenly deities, earthly deities, ancestors and ghosts.[625] It seems that in the

---

620 See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Xiaguan sima", 923.

621 See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Tianguan zhongzai", 84.

622 Based on transmitted literature, Ren Xiaofeng and Lü Ling observe diverse aspects in which Vassal Lords of the Spring and Autumn period usurped the privileges in performance of rites preserved for the Zhou King. Yu Weichao and Gao Ming compare the sumptuary rules concerning the standard set of bronze vessels used by the Zhou elites in transmitted literature and archaeological discoveries of such sets in tombs of the Zhou dynasty. They point out that from the mid-Spring and Autumn period on, the Vassal Lords usurped the sumptuary privileges preserved for the Zhou king. See Ren Xiaofeng 任晓锋, "Chunqiu shiqi jianli xianxiang yanjiu" 春秋时期僭礼现象研究 (Master's thesis, Shanxi shifan daxue, 2008): 12 ff.; Lü Ling 吕玲, "Chunqiu jianli xianxiang yanjiu" 春秋僭礼现象研究 (Master's thesis, Shanxi shifan daxue, 2013): 55 ff.; Yu Weichao 俞伟超, "Zhou dai yong ding zhidu yanjiu" 周代用鼎制度研究, in *Xian Qin liang Han kaoguxue lunji* 先秦两汉考古学论集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985): 93 ff.

623 According to *Zhou li*, one of the duties of a "*xiao zongbo*" 小宗伯 (Junior Minister of Rites) during a king's funeral was as follows: "既葬，詔相喪祭之禮", i.e., "after the entombment, [the Junior Minister of Rites] announces the rites of *ji*-sacrifices of mourning and assists [the new king in the rites]". This indicates that the funerary sacrifices took place after the entombment. See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 585.

624 For a detailed explanation of the term *dian* 奠 and its relation to the offerings see Hankel 1995, 112 ff.; for the non-blood offerings and the sacrificial offerings made between the last illness and the entombment see Appendix I: Table 2.

625 Based on a variety of transmitted literature, Zhang Hequan divided the *ji*-sacrifices into three types according to the recipients of the offerings, i.e., those directed to recipients of the heavenly deities (天神系統神祇), those directed to recipients of the earthly deities (地示系統神祇), and those directed to recipients of ancestors and ghosts (人鬼系統系統). Michael Puett, studying the "Jifa" 祭法 chapter of *Liji*, conclude that the

liminal stage between the death and the entombment, the newly deceased belongs to none of these categories. He could not receive any *ji*-offerings until he enters the new, more stable stage of ancestorship – a stage that begins after the entombment (see Section 2.4).

Yili refers to the offerings presented in the sacrifices of repose after the entombment as *ji*-offerings.[626] Zheng Xuan comments that the *ji*-sacrifices of mourning include both the sacrifices of repose (*yu* 虞) and the sacrifice on the occasion of the enshrinement (*fu* 祔).[627] *Liji* seems to exclude the latter from the *ji*-sacrifices of mourning, but it corroborates Zheng's comment otherwise:

> 葬日虞，弗忍一日離也。是日也，以虞易奠。卒哭曰成事，是日也，以吉祭易喪祭。明日，祔于祖父。[628]
>
> The sacrifice of repose is offered on the day of the entombment; they cannot bear that the departed should be left a single day [without a place to rest in]. On that day the pre-entombment offering is exchanged for the sacrifice of repose. [After the period of] wailing is ended (i.e. after the sacrifices of entombment, see Appendix I: Table 2), they say, "The business is finished." On that day the *ji*-sacrifices of mourning are exchanged for one of joy. The next day, the spirit-tablet [of the deceased] is enshrined next to that of his grandfather's.[629]

Whether the *ji*-sacrifices of mourning include the sacrifice on the occasion of the enshrinement (which takes place one day after the last sacrifice of repose) or not, they include the sacrifice of repose at any rate. After the sacrifice of repose, the sacrifices within the three

---

recipients include "nature spirits and sacrifices to the ancestors". It seems that the authors of *Liji* assume that ancestors are part of the ghosts. See Zhang Hequan 1993, 28 ff., cf. Michael Puett, "The Offering of Food and the Creation of Order: The Practice of Sacrifice in Early China," in *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, ed. Roel Sterckx (New York, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 76 ff.

626 See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi yuli", 918 ff.

627 See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi yuli", 918 ff.

628 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Tan Gong xia" 檀弓下 (Tan Gong, Part II), 318 ff.

629 The translation is adapted from Legge 1885b, 171.

years' mourning period do not any more belong to the *ji*-sacrifices of "mourning" but pertain to those of "joy" instead.

Hence, the *ji*-sacrifices of mourning begin only after the entombment and ends probably after the last sacrifice of repose. Accordingly, they are referred to as post-entombment sacrifices in the following. In *Yili*, the sacrifice of repose is reproduced three times for a deceased Ordinary Officer within four days after the entombment (see Appendix I: Table 2). Further transmitted literature indicates that the rite was reproduced seven times for a deceased Vassal Lord within 12 days.[630] Hence, the post-entombment sacrifices in Marquis Yi's funeral were possibly performed within a period of around 12 days after his entombment.

Consequently, the first paragraph on the D strips came into being in the intersection between the fields in which the horses were hoarded (Subsection 3.4.3) and the field of post-entombment sacrifices. A closer look into the latter field helps to approach the questions who made the record, when the record was made, and why it was interred in the tomb.

Generally, the *ji*-sacrifices were an extremely serious matter in ancient China. Transmitted literature indicates that pre-Qin aristocrats of individual polities managed a full-flegded institution of their state *ji*-sacrifices, respectively.[631] Through the institution, individual

---

630 A passage of a lost version of Zuo's commentary (Gu Chunqiu Zuo shi 古春秋左氏), cited by Xu Shen in his Wujing yiyi 五經異義, indicates that the sacrifice of repose was reproduced in diverse frequencies and durations, depending on the social status of the deceased. The passage concerned reads: "天子九虞，九虞者以柔日，九虞十六日也；諸侯七虞，十二日也；大夫五虞，八日也；士三虞， 四日也" (For a deceased king, the sacrifice of repose is conducted nine times, beginning on a day of even number and lasting 16 days; for a deceased Vassal Lord, the sacrifice of repose is conducted seven times, lasting 12 days; for a deceased Grandee, the sacrifice of repose is conducted five times, lasting eight days; for a deceased Ordinary Officer, the sacrifice of repose is conducted three times, lasting four days.) This rule is partly repeated in *Liji*: "士三虞，大夫五，諸侯七" (For a deceased Ordinary Officer, the sacrifice of repose is conducted three times; for a Grandee, five times; and for a Vassal Lord, seven times.) See Xu Shen 許慎, *Wujing yiyi zuan* 五經異義纂, compiled by Zhuang Shuzu 莊述祖 (Yuan shi Zhenjietang chaoben 袁氏貞潔堂抄本): 16 ff.; *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Zaji xia" 雜記下 (miscellaneous Records, Part II), 148.

631 Zhang Yanyong provides a systematic study of the governmental institution that was responsible for the state sacrifices performed in the Zhou ancestral temple; Zhang Hequan, based on transmitted literature and bronze inscriptions, reconstructs the institution of state sacrifices performed by pre-Qin aristocrats of individual polities; Sterckx provides economic insights into the organisation of early Chinese (including the early imperial period) state sacrifices, using primarily transmitted literature (certain manuscripts from tomb 11 of Shuihudi 睡虎地); furthermore, Okamura Hidenori expands the source texts for the reconstruction by adding more newly excavated manuscripts. See Zhang Yanyong 张雁勇, "'*Zhou li*' tianzi zongmiao jisi yanjiu 《周礼》天子宗庙祭祀研究" (PhD diss., Jilin daxue, 2016): 210 ff.; Zhang Hequan 1993, 191 ff.; Sterckx 2011, 122–166; Roel Sterckx, "Animal to Edible: The Ritualization of Animals in Early China," in *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, ed. R. Sterckx, M. Siebert and D. Schäfer (Cambridge,

sacrificial animals of various sources[632] underwent a first selection, a separate fattening, regular inspections and a final selection.[633]

The horses recorded on the D strips derived from a hoard of horses from diverse sources (see Subsection 3.4.3). It is probable that the horses concerned were, *ab initio*, raised as sacrificial horses or as draught horses. Nevertheless, the transformation of draught horses into sacrificial horses was possible for particular cases, since a team of draught horses contributed by the Chancellor of the Left seem to have become sacrificial horses.

The first selection ensured that proper animals entered the stage of the separate fattening, which used to be the duty of the two officials recorded on the D strips. The proper animals fulfilled criteria such as the intactness of the body, the desired coat colours, sex, ages and so forth.[634] Pure-coloured, intact, young, male animals with high body fat percentages were preferred as candidates of sacrificial animals, as indicated in transmitted literature.[635] Besides these criteria, divination can also have played a role in the selection.[636] Archaeological findings

---

UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 49 ff.; Okamura Hidenori 岡村秀典, "Sen Shin jidai no kyōgi" 先秦時代の供犠, *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 75 (2003): 1–80.

632 For a thorough study of the individual sources from which the Zhou aristocrats obtained their animals including those used for sacrifices see Zhang Hequan 1993, 191 ff.

633 For several introductions to the institutional breeding of the sacrificial animals in the Zhou dynasty see Zhang Hequan 1993, 197 ff.; Zhang Yanyong 2016, 212 ff.; Okamura 2003, 4 ff.

634 See Zhang Yanyong 2016, 212 ff.; Cao Jiandun 曹建敦, "Zhou dai jisi yong sheng lizhi kaolüe" 周代祭祀用牲礼制考略, *Wenbo*, no. 3 (2008): 19 ff.

635 See Zhang Yanyong 2016, 213; Cao Jiandun 2008, *Wenbo*, no. 3 (2008): 19 ff.; and Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China.* Suny series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2002): 56 ff.

636 The following passage in *Liji* indicates that divination can also have played a role in the first selection of sacrificial animals: "古者天子、諸侯必有養獸之官，及歲時，齊戒沐浴而躬朝之。犧牲祭牲，必於是取之，敬之至也。君召牛，納而視之，擇其毛而卜之，吉，然後養之" (In ancient times, the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their officers who attended to their animals; and at the proper seasons, after vigil and fasting, they washed their heads, bathed, and visited them in person, taking from them for victims those which were spotless and perfect – it was a great expression of their reverence. The ruler ordered the bulls to be brought before him, and inspected them; he chose them by their hair, divined whether it would be fortunate to use them, and if the response was favourable, he had them cared for.) See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Ji yi" 祭義 (The Meaning of Sacrifices), 1551; the translation is adapted from Legge 1885b, 222 ff.

of sacrificial remnants in several sites dating from the Zhou period at least corroborate the criteria of the young ages and sex of the sacrificial animals.[637]

Among these criteria, the coat colour of the sacrificial animals is most frequently referred to in transmitted literature. As indicated by the *Zhou li* passage about the duty of the Fatteners above, sacrificial animals of pure colours were used for the *ji*-offerings in the Zhou dynasty. More precisely, individual coat colours were preferred for the *ji*-offerings of individual natures or on individual occasions:

> 牧人：掌牧六牲而阜蕃其物，以共祭祀之牲牷。凡陽祀，用騂牲毛之；陰祀，用黝牲毛之；望祀，各以其方之色牲毛之。凡時祀之牲，必用牷物。凡外祭毀事，用尨（駹）可也。凡祭祀，共其犧牲，以授充人系之。[638]
>
> The Herdsmen are in charge of the herding of the Six Sacrificial Animals[639] and their breeding, in order to provide sacrificial animals of pure coat colours as *ji*-offerings. In general, for the *ji*-offerings of the *yang* nature, sacrificial animals of red coats are preferred; for the *ji*-offerings of the *yin* nature, sacrificial animals of black coats are preferred; for the *ji*-offerings to the four cardinal directions, sacrificial animals of the colours of the respective directions are preferred. In general, as for sacrificial animals applied in the routine *ji*-offerings, it is obliged to used those of pure colours; but for the *ji*-offerings outside and those [carried out to balance] destructions, sacrificial animals of piebald coats[640] will serve. In

---

637 Based on skeletal tests of the remains of sacrificial animals, Lü Peng and Gong Xicheng observe that since the Shang dynasty, young animals were preferred as sacrificial animals; but it was not until the Zhou dynasty that male animals were preferred. See Lü Peng 吕鹏 and Gong Xicheng 宫希成, "Jisheng lizhihua de ge'an yanjiu: Heying yizhi dongwu kaoguxue yanjiu de xin sikao" 祭牲礼制化的个案研究：何郢遗址动物考古学研究的新思考, *Nanfang wenwu*, no. 3 (2016): 172, Table 1; Jia Yao 贾尧, "Houma Siqi yizhi Xinyue xiaoqu jisi yizhi de dongwuxue yanjiu" 侯马虒祈遗址新月小区祭祀遗存的动物考古学研究 (Master's thesis, Jilin daxue, 2012): 5 ff; and 侯彦峰 et al., "Shanxi Licheng Kai hou mudi chutu jisi dongwu guge jianding yu fenxi" 山西黎城楷侯墓地出土祭祀动物骨骼鉴定与分析, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2013): 112 ff., Table 1.

638 See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Diguan situ", 379 ff.

639 According to Zheng Xuan's commentary, the Six Sacrificial Animals include bull, horse, ram, boar, dog, and rooster. See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Diguan situ", 379.

640 The character *mang* 尨 is a variant of *mang* 駹, which is "a horse with a white forehead" (馬面顙皆白也) according to *Shuowen jiezi* and "a black horse with a white forehead" (黑馬白面) according to Yupian and Guangyun. But I agree with Du Zichun 杜子春 (ca. 30 BCE-ca. 58 CE) that the term means piebald horses in the context. See Zong Fubang 宗福邦 et al. eds., *Gu xun huizuan* 故訓匯纂 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003): 2543; for the commentary of Du Zichun see *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Diguan situ", 380.

general, [before] carrying out *ji*-sacrifices, [the herdsmen] are to provide the Fatteners with their sacrificial animals of pure coat colours to be lashed [in separate pens].

Hence, the candidates of the horses for the post-entombment sacrifices, whether of a *yang* or of a *yin* nature, were probably of a uniform coat colour as well. The same may hold true for the other criteria. This is probably the reason why the record on the D strips mentions nothing about the coat colours or any other characteristics of the individual horses.

The result of the first selection became the subject of a list, as mentioned in *Liji*: "季春之月……犧牲駒犢，舉書其數",[641] i.e. "in the last month of spring, ... they write down the number of all the animals fit for victims, including foals and calves".[642] But compared with the horse-fattening record on the D strips, the list mentioned in *Liji* indicates neither the grouping of the selected animals, nor the role of any Fatteners. Hence, the related entries on the D strips were probably not created in the stage of the first selection.

After the first selection, the Herdsmen handed over the candidate horses to the Fatteners. It is probable that each party made a list concerning their individual responsibilities, though nothing is mentioned about such lists in transmitted literature. Anyway, the Herdsmen and the Fatteners in *Zhou li* are equipped with their own scribes (*shi* 史), respectively.[643] But since the related entries on the D strips do not mention the party of the Herdsmen, they were probably not created at the transmission of the horses from the Herdsmen to the Fatteners.

The grouping of the selected animals took place then, when they were confined in pens and foddered separately from the other animals, as indicated by the *Zhou li* description of the duties of the Herdsmen and the Fatteners above. Besides certain practical benefits such as the uncomplicated supply of especially nourishing fodder,[644] the separate confinement also aimed

641 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Yueling", 57.

642 The translation is adapted from Legge 1885a, 266.

643 In *Zhou li*, the Herdsmen are equipped with two scribes (*shi* 史). The same holds true for the Fatteners. See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Diguan situ", 267.

644 Sterckx argues that sacrificial bulls were fed with hey (*gao* 藁), grass (*chu* 芻), and grain (*liang* 粱). See Sterckx 2011, 129 ff.; and Sterckx 2018, 57 ff.

at a formal distinction of the sacrificial animals from the non-sacrificial ones.[645] The horse-fattening entry on strip 210, in which the number of the horses is intact, indicates that the Fattener was in charge of ten horses, which was a group small enough to be groomed and foddered individually. With a duration of three months at the most,[646] the separate fattening enabled the animals to grow even more stately for the sake of a sacrifice. This duration was compatible with the temporal frame between the death and the entombment of the marquis (see Section 3.2).

During the separate fattening period, routine inspections of the animals took place. According to *Liji*, the ruler (the Zhou King, the Vassal Lords etc.) as well as several *zai* 宰 and *zhu* 祝, i.e. "Stewards" and "Liturgists" did the inspections on different occasions.[647] A *Liji* passage indicates the frequency and the meaning of the inspections carried out by a ruler: "君皮弁素積，朔月，月半，君巡牲，所以致力，孝之至也",[648] i.e. "in his skin cap and white skirt, on the first day and at the middle of the month, the ruler inspected the sacrificial animals. Thus did he do his utmost – it was the height of filial piety".[649]

Transmitted literature indicates that the "Stewards" and "Liturgists" involved in the inspections were equipped with scribes as well.[650] Hence, the administration of the sacrificial animals may have been accompanied by the creation and usage of certain lists. The structure of such a list could have been in line with the horse-fattening record on the D strips, with the

---

645 Master Mo emphasised the significance of the formal distinction of the sacrificial animals from the original flock: "故古聖王治天下也，故必先鬼神而後人者此也……犧牲不與昔聚群" (Hence, in the government of the ancient sage-kings, spirits and ghosts had priority over the people… the sacrificial animals must be kept apart from the original flock.) See *Mozi jiaozhu* 2006, 334.

646 Based on transmitted literature, Zhang Hequan concludes that the period of separate fattening varied from several days to three months. See Zhang Hequan 1993, 203.

647 See Zhang Yanyong 2016, 212 ff.

648 See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Ji yi", 1551.

649 The translation is adapted from Legge 1885b, 222 ff.

650 In *Zhou li*, various *zai* 宰 and *zhu* 祝, i.e., "Stewards" and "Liturgists", are equipped with their own scribes (*shi*). For the bureaucratic structure of *zai*, led by *taizai* 大宰 (Grand Steward), see *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Tianguan zhongzai", 7 ff.; for the bureaucratic structure of *zhu*, including *taizhu* 大祝 (Grand Liturgist), *sangzhu* 喪祝 (Liturgist of Mourning), *dianzhu* 甸祝 (Liturgist of Hunting), *zuzhu* 詛祝 (Liturgist of Treaty), see *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 525.

persons who foddered the animals and the animals that had been elected for a further period of foddering. I assume that the horse-fattening record on the D strips was the result of one of those midterm inspections.

Furthermore, transmitted literature indicates that shortly before the sacrifice, the animals were to be thoroughly inspected once more.[651] The sacrificial experts themselves were responsible for this final inspection. In *Zhou li*, they are the *tai zongbo* 大宗伯 and the *xiao zongbo* 小宗伯, i.e. the "Grand Minister of Rites" and the "Junior Minister of Rites";[652] and in *Yili*, they are the *zongren* 宗人, i.e. the "Ancestral Temple Keepers".[653] This final inspection, sometimes accompanied by a divination,[654] was extremely rigorous. Animals with any flaw were replaced; in the case that no proper animals were available, a scheduled sacrifice had to be cancelled.[655] The Ministers of Rites had their own scribes.[656] It is probable that the result of the inspection was the subject of a list as well, though such lists are not known in transmitted literature.

After the two Zeng Fatteners submitted the horses for the post-entombment sacrifice, a similar, final inspection must also have taken place, probably accompanied by the creation of another list. But since the final inspection most likely took place after the entombment, the list could not have been buried in the marquis' tomb. Retrospectively, the record discovered in the tomb was perhaps disposed because it was not any more significant for the long-term administration of the horses.

Finally, transmitted texts indicate that the post-entombment sacrifice may have taken place at the tomb or in the ancestral temple.[657] Hitherto, no remains of horses have been

---

651 See Zhang Hequan 1993, 203 ff.

652 See Zhang Yanyong 2016, 215.

653 See Zhang Yanyong 2016, 215.

654 See Zhang Hequan 1993, 204.

655 See Cao Jiandun 2008, 19.

656 The *tai zongbo* 大宗伯 (Grand Minister of Rites) and the *xiao zongbo* 小宗伯 (Junior Minister of Rites) were equipped with 12 scribes (*shi*). See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 511.

657 In *Zhou li*, one of the duties of the *zhongren* 冢人 (Tomb Overseer) was as follows: "凡祭墓，為尸", i.e., "Generally, if a *ji*-sacrifice at a [royal] tomb is to be performed, [the Tomb Overseer] must arrange a

discovered at the tomb site of the marquis. The site of the ancestral temple of the marquis has not yet been discovered, either. Nevertheless, discoveries of sacrificial remains at certain sites may provide some hints about the spatial context in which the animals were sacrificed. At least three sites regarded as the remnants of pre-Qin ancestral temples were surrounded with pits of sacrificial animals including horses and sometimes also cattle and rams.[658] But in the ancestral temples of the Zhou aristocrats, routine and non-routine *ji*-sacrifices were carried out throughout the year.[659] Post-entombment sacrifices were merely part of the non-routine *ji*-sacrifices. Hence, it is impossible to judge whether the animals were sacrificed in the frame of a funeral.

Pre-Qin pits with remains of horses, cattle or rams in burial sites were found more frequently.[660] But not all those remains can be regarded as the results of post-entombment sacrifices. Theoretically, the remains of animals in those pits that obviously destroyed the stratification of certain burial mounds were more likely used for such a purpose.[661]

---

personator". Hence, certain *ji*-sacrifices were performed at the tomb. Furthermore, the sacrifices of repose, which were part of the *ji*-sacrifices, took place in the ancestral temple. For the *Zhou li* passage see *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 671; for the spatial frame of the sacrifices of repose see Appendix I: Table 2.

658 The sites concerned are the building no. 1 at Majiazhuang 馬家莊, dating from the mid or the late Warring States period, in Fengxiang 鳳翔 county, Shaanxi province; the building compound at Chengwanglu 呈王路, dating from the late Spring and Autumn period, in Xintian 新田 county, Houma, Shanxi province; and a building compound in the eastern part of Zheng Han gucheng 鄭韓故城, Xinzheng 新鄭, Henan province. See Zhao Haizhou 赵海洲, *Dong Zhou Qin Han shiqi chema maizang yanjiu* 东周秦汉时期车马埋葬研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011): 149.

659 For a systematic introduction of the various routine and non-routine *ji*-sacrifices in ancestral temples of the Zhou aristocrats see Zhang Hequan, chapter "Zhou dai de zongmiao jisi huodong" 周代的宗廟祭祀活動, in *Zhou dai jisi yanjiu*, 148 ff. and 165 ff.

660 For a number of Shang burial sites with accompanying pits containing the remains of horses see Yuan Jing and Rowan Flad, "New Zooarchaeological Evidence for Changes in Shang Dynasty Animal Sacrifice," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24, no. 3 (2005): 263 and 267; for a comprehensive study of Zhou horse pits including those in burial sites see Li Zhipeng 李志鹏, "Liang Zhou shiqi zang ma yicun yanjiu" 两周时期葬马遗存研究 (Master's thesis, Zhengzhou daxue, 2013); for a big number of accompanying pits with remains of horses, cattle and goats, dating from the late Western Zhou period, see Hou Yanfeng et al. 2013, 106–110.

661 These accompanying pits include dozens of pits in the ramps of the late Western Zhou tomb no. 10 at Lihou zhen 黎侯镇, Licheng 黎城, Shanxi province; the tombs nos. 8, 62, 63, 64, and 93, dating from between the late Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn period, in a cemetery of Vassal Lords of Jin (Jin hou 晉侯) in Beizhao 北趙, Quwo 曲沃 county, Shanxi province; over 200 pits in association with the tombs nos. 1 and 2, dating from the Spring and Autumn period, in another cemetery of Vassal Lords of Jin, in Yangshe 羊舌, Quwo county, Shanxi province; and 35 pits associated with a tomb of a Qin king, dating from the late Warring States period. See Sun Hua 孙华 et al., "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di'erci fajue" 天马——曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第二次发掘, *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1994): 3 ff.; Li Xiating 李夏廷 and Zhang Kui 张奎,

Archaeologists commonly refer to such pits as "pits containing post-entombment offerings" (*jisikeng* 祭祀坑) and the animals in them as "post-entombment sacrificial animals" (*jisheng* 祭牲). Accordingly, horses sacrificed for this purpose are referred to as horses for post-entombment sacrifices. As a contrast, pits built together with the tomb are called "accompanying pits" (*suizangkeng*) and the horses buried in them, often together with wheeled vehicles, are referred to as "horses following the deceased to death" (*xunma* 殉馬). The division of these two types of sacrificial horses in concrete cases is by no means unambiguous. Scholars commonly distinguish them through their use for the deceased.[662] But the Leigudun lists perhaps provide another perspective in distinguishing the two types of sacrificial horses.

The lists indeed refer to two types of sacrificial horses. As argued above, 64 of the draught horses recorded on the C strips were probably to be buried, together with 15 vehicles, in two separate accompanying pits (see Subsection 3.4.1). The two pits bear individual names, which is an indication that they had already been constructed before the entombment, as the C strips were being inscribed. It is likely that the disposal of the vehicles and horses took place in parallel with the entombment. As a contrast, the above-mentioned entries on the D strips do not mention the pits in which the 24 horses recorded on the D strips were going to be buried. Those pits had probably not yet been constructed as the lists were being created. Hence, the lists indicate that the two types of horses were buried within different temporal contexts.

"Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi disici fajue" 天马——曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第四次发掘, *Wenwu*, no. 8 (1994): 4, 11 ff., and 15; Xu Tianjin 徐天进 et al., "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi diwuci fajue" 天马——曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第五次发掘, *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1995): 4; Ji Kunzhang 吉琨璋 et al., "Shanxi Quwo Yangshe Jin hou mudi fajue jianbao" 山西曲沃羊舌晋侯墓地发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2009): 13; and Li Boqian 李伯谦, "Cong Jin hou mudi kan Xizhou gongmu mudi zhidu de jige wenti" 从晋侯墓地看西周公墓墓地制度的几个问题, *Kaogu*, no. 11 (1997): 57.

662 The distinction between these two types of buried horses derives probably from the distinction of humans buried besides individual tomb occupants. As for buried humans, those followed a tomb occupant to death (*renxun* 人殉) used to be those from his life circle. They were normally not mutilated and their burials were often furnished according to their social status; while those used as sacrificial offerings (*rensheng* 人牲) were often mutilated through a sacrificial act and were, as Huang Zhanyue surmises, associated with archaic cannibalism. Applied to animals such as horses, it is not always easy to judge, according to archaeological traces, whether a certain animal was buried to follow the tomb occupant to death or was buried after being victim of a sacrificial act. For two general accounts distinguishing between these two types of animal or human burials see Huang Zhanyue 黄展岳, "Yin Shang muzang zhong renxun rensheng de zai kaocha: Fu lun xunsheng jisheng" 殷商墓葬中人殉人牲的再考察：附论殉牲祭牲, *Kaogu*, no. 10 (1983): 935 ff.; Liu Yiting 刘一婷, "Shang Zhou jisi dongwu yicun yanjiu" 商周祭祀动物遗存研究综述, *Nanfang wenwu*, no. 1 (2014): 58. For an account that distinguishes between these two types of horse burials see Li Zhipeng, 2013, 35 ff.

As a conclusion, the first paragraph on the D strips is probably the result of a midterm inspection of the sacrificial horses, which were being separately penned and fattened by at least two officials. The duties of those officials constituted a link of the chain in the organisation of a post-entombment sacrifice. The horses had been selected from a hoard contributed from various sources (see Subsection 3.4.3). They were going to be inspected again, before they were going to be sacrificed as post-entombment offerings. The record was buried probably because it was excluded from the long-term adminstration of the horses.

3.6.2 Records of Planning manpower for Sacrificial Events

Strips 212 and 213 may have been the beginning and the end of an integral paragraph (for an annotated translation of the paragraph see Appendix III.4). The paragraph encompasses merely one list entry beginning with one introducing phrase, i.e. *yong suo sheng* 佣所生. Depending on the reading of individual characters (*yong suo sheng* 俑所生 or *yong suo sheng* 用所牲), the phrase has been interpreted as a substantive "surrogate human figures" or a passive verbal phrase "[manpower] needed for the sacrificial animals".[663] The phrase is followed by numerous list items. The latter interpretation of the introducing phrase seems to be more plausible, judging by the following list items: "for the boar, six persons [are needed]" (*shi liu fu* 豕六夫), "for the ram lamb, four persons" (*gaofu si fu* 羔甫三夫) and "for burning the bull / roasting beef, one person" (*fan niu yi fu* 焚/燔牛一夫).

For the most cases, the manpower is called *fu* 夫 (man); while in three cases, it is called *ren* 人 (person). As addressed above (see Subsection 3.4.1), official titles ending with the term ren were part of the original Zeng official system inherited from the Zhou official system. Peng Yu assumes that a *ren* was possibly higher ranked than a *fu*.[664] This was not necessarily the case. In view of the official system in Zhou li (see Subsection 3.4.1), a *ren* was an office equipped with a certain number of persons, while a *fu* was possibly one man whose rank is not specified. And it is important to point out that the list entry seems to have been a first sketch rather than a meticulous plan of staff assignment. Although a plan of staff assignment may

[663] For the controversial interpretations of this phrase see Appendix III.4, Paragraph 2.

[664] See Peng Yu 2010, 242.

have deliberately omitted the deployment period and place because they have pertained to insider knowledge, it would never have, as the list entry concerned does, omitted the names (or official titles) of the persons who were going to be deployed.

Most of the manpower is associated with the preparation of foods. Among the foods, the bull, the lamb and the boar formed conspicuously the *tai lao* 太牢, "Greater Set of Victims".[665] According to the sumptuary rules of the Zhou dynasty, while the Son of Heaven feasted upon a Greater Set of Victims twice in a month (at new moon and full moon, respectively), a Vassal Lord was allowed to use the same set merely for sacrifices instead of in a non-sacrificial context.[666] In the related passage on the D strips, the animals are denotated as *sheng* 牲, "sacrificial animals", i.e. the marquis' house likely used the Greater Set of Victims for a certain sacrifice. Hence, they followed the sumptuary rules in this case.

In the cycle of the funeral of an Ordinary Officer, animals were sacrificed both as pre-entombment offerings and as post-entombment offerings (see Appendix I: Table 2). The two types of sacrifices differ from each other in many aspects due to the transformation of the recipient, i.e. the marquis, from a deceased to an ancestor (see Section 2.4 and Subsection 3.6.1). Interestingly, several list items refer to material components or techniques of performance that pertained merely to the field of *ji*-sacrifices.

For instance, both burned bulls or roasted beef are known to be used in early China within the context of *ji*-sacrifices. These two cooking methods highlight the odour of the food, which belongs to "a sacrificial paradigm that appears to take precedence over taste".[667] The recipients

---

665 See Cao Jiandun 2008, 18; and Sterckx 2018, 60.

666 While King Zhao of Chu (Chu Zhaowang 楚昭王, reigned 515–489 BCE) asked a certain veteran, Guan Shefu 觀射父, about the consumption and sacrificial usage of animals, the latter formulated the following sumptuary rules: "祀加于舉。天子舉以大牢，祀以會；諸侯舉以特牛，祀以太牢；卿舉以少牢，祀以特牛；大夫舉以特牲，祀以少牢；士食魚炙，祀以特牲；庶人食菜，祀以魚。" (The offerings for the *si*-sacrifices must outmatch the monthly feasts at new moon and at full moon. The Son of Heaven feats upon a Greater Set of Beasts and offers in a sacrifice an accumulation [of three Greater Sets of Beasts]; a Vassal Lord feasts upon a Single Bull and offers in a sacrifice a Greater Set of Beasts; a Minister feasts upon a Lesser Set of Beasts and offers in a sacrifice a Single Bull; a Grandee feasts upon a Single Boar and offers in a sacrifice a Lesser Set of Beasts; an Ordinary Officer eats roasted fish and offers in a sacrifice a Single Boar; and a commoner eats vegetables and offers in a sacrifice roasted fish.) Later tetxs such as *Liji* and *Yili* formulate consistent sumptuary rules but they merely refer to the sacrificial usage of animals. See *Guo yu*, 564 ff.; for a comparative study of these sumptuary rules in transmitted literature see Cao Jiandun 2008, 18.

667 See Sterckx 2011, 85.

of the *ji*-sacrifice, including ancestors, "are capable of distilling the vital energies hidden within the offerings, which they consume in the form of *qi* 氣".[668]

According to a number of oracle bone inscriptions, the Shang 商 (16th c.-1046 BC) royal house used to burn (*yao* 奠 or *liao* 燎) sacrificial animals including cattle as offerings to diverse recipients including ancestors.[669] A number of sites with remains of such offerings were found around the later Shang capital, Yinxu 殷墟.[670] In the Western Zhou dynasty, part of the sacrificial animals were burned to be offered to nature gods and cosmic deities.[671] There might still have been certain remnants of burned offerings to ancestors then,[672] but it seems that the custom was fading away.

Transmitted literature such as *Zuo zhuan*, *Guo yu* and *Zhou li* indicate that open-roasted meat (*fan* 燔) was one of the most common *ji*-offerings to ancestors during the Zhou dynasty.[673] In various occasions, when a *ji*-offering including roasted meat was presented to an ancestor, a personator was commonly appointed to act as the representative of the ancestors.[674] Offerings

668 See Sterckx 2011, 84.

669 Zhou Congjun points out that oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty mention at least 13 recipients of offerings of burned animals. The recipients include male and female ancestors; nature gods such as the (yellow) River (*he* 河, referring to the Yellow River 黃河), the Mount (*shan* 山, referring probably to the Mount Song 嵩山), and the earth (*tu* 土); and cosmic deities such as the four cardinal directions. Zhou Congjun 周聰俊, "Yansi shichai youliao kao" 禋祀實柴槱燎考, *Guoli bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊, no. 29.1 (2000): 3 ff. For examples of burned cattle as offerings to certain ancestors see records (118), (119), (127), and (137) in Zhang Bingquan 張秉權, "Jisi buci zhong de xisheng" 祭祀卜辭中的犧牲, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, no. 38 (1968): 193 ff.

670 See Shi Zhangru 石璋如, "Yindai tansi yizhi" 殷代壇祀遺址, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, no. 51 (1980): 429.

671 See Zhou Congjun 2000, 9 ff.

672 Bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou dynasty as well as *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 mention a few burning offerings in the Zhou ancestral temple, but they do not mention whether the offerings burned were sacrificial animals. See Zhou Congjun 2000, 7 ff. Furthermore, comments to *Shijing* interpret several verses to be scenic description of burning the blood and fat of sacrificial animals as offerings to ancestors. This ritual practice seems to have been confirmed by *Liji*. See Yang Ying 杨颖, "*Shijing* jizu shi yu Zhou dai zongmiao jisi wenhua yanjiu" 《诗经》祭祖诗与周代宗庙祭祀文化研究 (Master's thesis, Xibei daxue, 2011): 31; Zhou Congjun 2000, 8.

673 See Zhang Hequan 1993, 178 ff.

674 See Zhang Hequan 1993, 157 ff.

were presented to him and then distributed among the other participants of the sacrifice.[675] Apparently, while pleasing the palate of the personator with food and beverages, people did not forget the ancestors themselves – the odour of the food could reach them without the medium of their representative.

In the frame of a funeral, *ji*-sacrifices were performed as well, but merely after the entombment, as the deceased gradually transformed into a new ancestor (see Section 2.4 and Subsection 3.6.1). In the sacrifice of repose of an Ordinary Officer, for instance, the victim used was a Single Boar,[676] as it befits the rank of the officer. Part of the pork was roasted (*fan* 燔) before being served to a personator.[677]

As a contrast, neither burned nor roasted meat made any access to the pre-entombment offerings. In the stage before the entombment of the Ordinary Officer, the ritualist team performs several sacrifices,[678] from a Single Boar to a Small Set of Victims; but the meat is cooked in *ding*-cauldrons each time, instead of being burned or roasted.[679] The distinction of the cooking methods indicates that people had another conception of how a newly deceased would receive offerings. Though this conception is elusive for the most part, it seems that odour or *qi* might not reach a newly deceased (or might attract other spirits?); the cooked meat was laid down on the ground or on a mat not far away from the deceased,[680] perhaps to nourish the *po*-soul that was still lingering with the corpse.[681]

---

675 See Zhang Hequan 1993, 158, 162 ff., 178 ff.

676 See *Yili zhushu*, 918; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 106; for the sumptuary rules concerning victims in sacrifices see footnote 666.

677 See *Yili zhushu*, 935; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 114 ff.

678 The sacrifices performed at the liminal stage before the entombment of the Ordinary Officer include the sacrifices on the occasion of the lesser dressing, on the occasion of the fuller dressing, on the new moon, at harvest, on the occasion of the move to the ancestral temple, on the occasion of the forthcoming departure to the tomb, and on the occasion of the "dispatch" to the tomb. Some of them merely took place under certain conditions, for instance, the harvest sacrifice. See Appendix I: Table 2.

679 See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi sangli", 797 ff., 809 ff., and 823 ff.; chapter "Ji xi li", 835 ff. and 865 ff. For a translation of the passages concerned see Steele 1917, vol. 2, 96, 62 ff., 71 ff., 78 ff., and 87 ff.

680 See Appendix I: Table 2, "Place".

681 According to Yu Yingshi, the dualistic conception of the soul (*hun*-soul and *po*-soul) arose at the latest in the 6th century BCE in China, even if not yet widely received. See Yü Ying-shih 1987, 372.

Hence, the Greater Set of Victims in the paragraph concerned was most likely sacrificed as *ji*-offerings. Since the sketch was buried, it was probably made between the death and the entombment for a *ji*-sacrifice, which was to take place soon after the entombment, for instance, the sacrifice of repose of the marquis.

This sacrifice of repose, since it was dedicated to a Vassal Lord, was probably reproduced multiple times (e.g., seven) within a short period (e.g., 12 days) after the entombment.[682] The Greater Set of Victims is apparently the key symbol in these sacrifices. One person was going to roast the beef so that the marquis, a newly qualified ancestor, was going to receive its odour. The meat of the other victims does not seem to have been roasted; perhaps they were going to delight the palate of a personator who was going to represent the marquis. Besides the Greater Set, the list entry also mentions several concomitant foods such as dried meat, smoked meat and celeries. Their use does not seem to have been confined to the *ji*-sacrifices. At least in the cycle of the funeral entombment of an Ordinary Officer, dried meat (termed as *pu* 脯) was used both as pre-entombment offering and as *ji*-offering.[683]

Furthermore, the related paragraph on the D strips refers to a performance technique, which was reserved for *ji*-sacrifices as well. The last person mentioned in the paragraph was responsible for *dao* 禱. The *Shuowen* interpretation of the term is as follows: "告事求福也",[684] i.e. "to entrust something and beseech fortune". Hence, the term is either a verb, i.e. "to pray"; or a substantive, i.e. "prayer".

Records of prayers have been discovered in many pre-Qin tombs.[685] Almost all of them were combined with certain records of sacrifice and sometimes also with records of divination

---

682 See footnote 630.

683 See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi sangli", 764 and 806; chapter "Ji xi li", 868; and chapter "Shi yuli", 954 ff.

684 See Zong Fubang et al. 2003, 1614.

685 Manuscripts from at least nine *pre*-Qin tombs include records of prayers (all the records refer explicitly to the term *dao* 禱). Ten of these tombs are in Hubei province, i.e., tomb no. 1 at Wangshan 望山; tomb no. 2 at Baoshan 包山, tomb no. 1 at Tianxingguan 天星觀; tombs nos. 1, 13, and 99 at Qinjiazui 秦家嘴; tomb no. 27 at Fanjiapo 範家坡 27; tomb no. 2 at Dingjiazui 丁家嘴; tomb no. 1 at Huanzizhong 獾子冢; and tomb no. 1 at Wangshanqiao 望山橋. A last tomb, tomb no. 1001 at Geling, Xincai, is in Henan province. For an introduction to these manuscripts (except for those from tomb no. 1 at Wangshanqiao) with literature reviews see Li Tianhong 李天虹, *Chuguo tongqi yu zhujian wenzi yanjiu* 楚国铜器与竹简文字研究 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012a): 111 ff., 125 ff., 184 ff., 240 ff., 242 ff., 245 ff., 247, 248; for the manuscripts from tomb no. 1 at Wangshanqiao see Jiang Lujing 蒋鲁敬 and Liu Jianye 刘建业, "Jingzhou Wangshanqiao yihao

– that is why they are generally referred to as *bushi jidao jilu* 卜筮祭禱記錄 (records of divination, sacrifice and prayer). Among them, the records of sacrifice and prayer share a relatively regular formula, i.e. each record refers to the offerer and the recipient of the sacrifice and the prayer (*jisi* / daogao *zhe* 祭祀/禱告者 versus *jisi* / daogao *duixiang* 祭祀/禱告對象),[686] the motive of the sacrifice (*jisi mudi* 祭祀目的, which is normally the content of the prayer),[687] the offerings (*gongxian* 貢獻, *gongpin* 供品, or *jipin* 祭品),[688] and optionally the manner of the sacrifice (*jisi fangfa* 祭祀方法 or *jiming* 祭名).[689]

According to *Zhou li*, *dao* was one of the text genres that the *zhu* 祝, "Liturgists", had to master.[690] One of the Liturgists is called *sangzhu* 喪祝 or "Funerary Liturgist", who acted in the royal funerary rites.[691] In *Yili*, several *zhu* play essential roles in various rites, including the funerary rites.[692] Many of the recitations that these liturgists made in those rites are reminiscent of those records of sacrifice and prayer, in view of their formulae, though none of them is

---

Chu mu chutu bushi jidao jian ji muzang niandai chutan" 荆州望山桥一号楚墓出土卜筮祭祷简及墓葬年代初探, *Jianhan kaogu*, no. 1 (2017): 81–84.

686 Hu Yali makes observations about the formula of the records of sacrifice and prayer. For the term *jisi / daogao duixiang* 祭祀/禱告對象 (recipient of the sacrifice and the prayer) see Hu Yali 胡雅丽, "Chu ren jisi gouchen" 楚人祭祀勾沉, in *Zun long shang feng: Chu ren de xinyang lisu* 尊龙尚凤: 楚人的信仰礼俗 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003): 46 ff. The terms *jisi / daogao zhe* 祭祀/禱告者 (offerer of the sacrifice and the prayer) are my own notions. All the records of sacrifice and the prayer have been found in tombs. They almost always mention the offerers of the sacrifice and the prayer, many of whom have been identified as the tomb occupants.

687 See Hu Yali 2003, 49.

688 See Hu Yali 2003, 50–53.

689 See Hu Yali 2003, 49.

690 The *taizhu* 大祝 (Grand Liturgist), the *xiaozhu* 小祝 (Minor Liturgist), and the *nüzhu* 女祝 (Female Liturgist) mastered the text genre of *dao* 禱 (prayer) in the individual rites for which they were responsible. See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 777 and 792; chapter "Tianguan zhongzai", 232.

691 See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 799.

692 The liturgists in *Yili* are called *zhu* 祝 (Liturgist), *Xia zhu* 夏祝 (Xia liturgist), or *Shang zhu* 商祝 (Shang liturgist). Zheng Xuan comments that a liturgist was learned in the Zhou rituals, a Xia liturgist in the Xia rituals, and a Shang liturgist in the Shang rituals. See Qian Xuan 錢玄 and Qian Xingqi 錢興奇, *Sanli cidian* 三禮辭典 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998): 990.

explicitly called a *jidao* 祭禱 (prayer made at sacrifice). For instance, at the end of each sacrifice of repose to a deceased Ordinary Officer, one of the liturgists recites as follows:

> 始虞……曰：“哀子某，哀顯相，夙興夜處不寧。敢用絜牲剛鬣、香合、嘉薦、普淖、明齊、溲酒，哀薦祫事，適爾皇祖某甫。饗！”再虞，皆如初，曰：“哀薦虞事。”三虞、卒哭……亦如初，曰：“哀薦成事。”[693]
>
> For the first sacrifice of repose… [The words the liturgist] says are: “The sorrowing son So-and-so and his sorrowing distinguished assistants have risen early, because they could not sleep in peace in the night [while the spirit is without its abode]. They dare to use this clean Victim, ‘the hard bristles’ (pig); the ‘fragrant mass’ (glutinous millet); the ‘admirable condiments’ (pickles); ‘the great harmony’ (millers); the ‘new liquor’ (must); and the ‘settled wine’ (clear wine).[694] In sorrow they arrange the *jian*-presention[695] of these offerings on the occasion of your integration [into the pantheon of our ancestors].[696] Go, noble spirit, to join the ancestor of style So-and-so and eat [of these foods presented to you].” The second sacrifice of repose is conducted as the first, [except for an adaptation in the words concerning the motive of offerings, which] read: “In sorrow they arrange the *jian*-presention of these offerings on the occasion of your repose.” After the third sacrifice of repose they desist from wailing… The rest [of the observances] are as before, [except for an adaptation in the words concerning the motive of offerings, which] read: “They sorrowfully present these offerings on the occasion of the closure of our observances.”[697]

---

693 See *Yili zhushu*, chapter “Shi yuli”, 949 ff.

694 The euphemistic names of the offerings are explained in *Liji*. See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter “Quli xia” 曲禮下 (Summary of the Rules of Propriety, Part II), 181 ff.

695 According to Zheng Xuan’s commentary in *Liji*, *jian* 薦 is a certain manner of presenting offerings. The usage of the term in the records on oracle bones, in bronze inscriptions, as well as in Chu manuscripts indicate some similarities. It seems that in a *jian*-presentation, offerings or gifts are presented particularly stately. See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter “Zaji xia”, 1398; Chao Fulin 晁福林, “Shi shi Zhanguo zhujian zhong de ‘jian’ zi bing lun Zhou dai de jianji” 试释战国竹简中的“薦”字并论周代的薦祭, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 2 (2010): 71–88.

696 Zheng Xuan comments to the term *xiashi* 祫事 as follows: “始虞謂之祫事者，主欲其祫先祖也，以與先祖合為安” (That the first sacrifice of repose is called *xiashi* is primarily because they wish the integration of the deceased into the pantheon of their ancestors. They think it soothing if the deceased can be integrated into the pantheon of their ancestors.) See *Yili zhushu*, chapter “Shi yuli”, 951.

697 The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 120 ff.

The three recitations of the liturgist correspond perfectly to the above-mentioned formula of the records of sacrifice and prayer. Therefore, they were probably the templates of prayers used for sacrifices of repose. The prayer mentioned in the related list entry on the D strips was probably conducted by such a liturgist on the sacrifices of repose to the deceased marquis.

Conspicuously, three liturgists perform various rites in the period between the death and the entombment of an Ordinary Officer as well, but they never say any prayer. The period between the death and the entombment is a liminal stage for both the deceased and the bereaved. In this stage, the only attempt of a communication between the two parties is the rite of resuscitation (*fu* 復), a ritualised attempt of the resuscitation of the newly deceased (see Section 2.4). After this attempt, the bereaved seem to have acknowledged that the deceased is hardly addressable in this stage. Hence, they do not resume the communication until the end of this stage, after the deceased enters a new, more stable stage of ancestorship. Accordingly, the liturgist in the marquis' funeral probably did not say any prayers before the entombment.

Besides the manpower engaged in the preparation of food and the prayers, two *ren* offices were commissioned with the postal delivery of offering. This provides an interesting glimpse of the food supply of the Zeng capital. It seems that the offering used in the sacrifices of repose derived from various regions of the Zeng territory and was transported to the capital via postal stations.

Who created this sketch? In *Yili*, persons who prepare sacrificial offerings are generally called *yousi* 有司, the "Responsible Staff". The sacrifices of repose of an Ordinary Officer, for instance, begin with their preparations: "宗人告有司具，遂請",[698] i.e. "the Ancestral Temple Keeper announces that the responsible persons are ready and asks permission [for the sacrifice to proceed]". [699] During the ritual performances, the "Responsible Staff" offers further stand-by service. Those who made appearances in the chapter concerning the sacrifices of repose include the *zongren* 宗人 (Ancestral Temple Keeper), the *zhu* 祝 (Liturgist), the *zuoshi* 佐食 (Waitor) and the *zanzhe* 贊者 (Assistant Waitors) of the *zuoshi*.[700] It is arguable whether *bin*

[698] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi yuli", 923.

[699] The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 108.

[700] *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi yuli", 918–966.

zhishi zhe 賓執事者 (guests who came to assist) are part of the team.[701] The others among the *yousi* team seem to melt in the background. They prepare the offerings, set out props for the sacrifice, and clear everything away that is not anymore needed. Their faces are blurred. The Ancestral Temple Keeper seems to have been the head of the "Responsible Staff". Such a person may have produced a sketch calculating the manpower needed in the sacrifices of repose.

In the royal sacrifices of repose, the "Responsible Staff for Sacrifice" (*jisi yousi* 祭祀有司)[702] is directed by *tai zongbo*, the "Grand Minister of Rites". Either he or his assistant *xiao zongbo*, the "Junior Minister of Rites", would have commissioned such a sketch; they had a dozen scribes who would have written down such a sketch.[703] Analogously, it was perhaps a certain head of sacrificial rites in the marquis' house who commissioned the sketch on the D strips; one of his scribes wrote down the sketch.

Accordingly, the related list entry on the D strips was a first sketch calculating the manpower needed for individual tasks in the sacrifice of repose of the marquis. It counted on three offices and 53 additional persons. These offices and persons were going to be engaged in the transportation of offerings, the preparation of offerings, and the performance of prayers during sacrifices.

Since the sacrifices of repose began on the day of the entombment,[704] the head of sacrificial rites must have made a more detailed plan of staff assignment before the entombment. This means that this first sketch was apparently not needed anymore at the time of the entombment. Hence, it was disposed in the tomb because it was excluded from the long-term administration of persons.

---

701 In the "Tesheng kuishi li" chapter of *Yili*, the guests (*bin* 賓) play a similar, assisting role in the sacrifice as those guests in the sacrifices of repose. Zheng Xuan comments that the guests are part of "*yousi*". See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Tesheng kuishi li", 975.

702 The *jisi yousi* (staff) is mentioned in *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Xiaguan sima", 979.

703 The *tai zongbo* (Grand Minister of Rites) and the *xiao zongbo* (Junior Minister of Rites) were equipped with 12 scribes (*shi*) altogether. See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 511.

704 See Subsection 3.6.1.

3.6.3 Records of Levying Taxes for Sacrificial Events

Strip 214 bears a short paragraph (for an annotated translation of the paragraph see Appendix III.4). The paragraph encompasses two list entries, following each other directly. The first entry begins with the introducing phrase "所殰（發）石沙（梁）隼（津）殰（發）", i.e. "the tax levied from the Stone Dyke Ford". The second entry begins with a substantive *zhi* 杙（職）, literally "the Bull Fattening Office". Since the introducing phrases in all the other entries on the D strips are passive verbal phrases, this substantive is more likely an abbreviation of the passive verbal phrase "所殰（發）杙（職）殰（發）", i.e. "the tax levied from the Bull Fattening Office". The objects following the two phrases are taxes, which were levied in the form of salt and corvée labour, respectively.

The Stone Dyke Ford and the Bull Fattening Office are reminiscent of three of the officials recorded on the C strips, i.e. one Stone Dyke Warden on strips 177 and two Bull Fatteners on strips 164 and 169. Each of them rode a certain vehicle belonging to the Zeng March (see Appendix III.3, Unity S-207–208; and Appendix I: Table 15). The Stone Dyke Ford and the Bull Fattening Office were probably the administration units to which these officials were affiliated. Hence, these three officials participated in the reproduction of the following fields of action: the funerary procession, (perhaps) the presentation of draught horses and the taxation. It is likely that the taxes were levied in the frame of the marquis' funeral as well.

The tax levied from the Stone Dyke Warden was salt from Zha 柤 and Xintian 新田. Zha was a place in the East of the Chu Kingdom, corresponding to today's Jiakou 沙口 to the northwest of Pixian 邳縣 in Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu province.[705] Xintian, the capital of the Jin March since 585 BCE, was in the west of today's Houma 侯馬, Shanxi province.[706] Both Zha and Xintian were within the areas producing sedimentary evaporite minerals including edible salt.[707] Xintian, for instance, was located ca. 70 km to the northeast of a historical site renowned

[705] See footnote 1375.

[706] See footnote 1376.

[707] In China, halite (the mineral form of edible salt) generally occurs in beds of sedimentary evaporite minerals in three regions, i.e., the upper and the lower Yangtze Block, the North China Block, and the Tarim Block. See Wang Shuli et al., "Distribution of Cambrian Salt-Bearing Basins in China and Its Significance for Halite and Potash Finding," *Journal of Earth Science* 24, no. 2 (2013): 212–233. Jiakou and Houma, the sites of ancient Zha and Xintian, are within the North China Block.

for salt lakes that were exploited among others for trade throughout the Zhou dynasty.[708] The Stone Dyke Warden was probably in charge of the purchase of salt from these two regions through the Stone Dyke Ford, a place where the salt arrived in the Zeng March via water course.

Sterckx argues that tasteless offerings were cherished, because "the spirit world does not value flavor".[709] However, salt still seems to have been indispensable for various *ji*-sacrifices. According to *Zhou li*, one of the duties of the *yanren* 鹽人, or Salt Steward, was "祭祀，共其苦鹽、散鹽",[710] i.e. "to provide the *ji*-sacrifices with coarse salt and fine salt". In *Liji*, the following two passages mention the use of salt both for *ji*-sacrifices to the ancestors and for those to Heaven:

> 凡祭宗廟之禮，牛曰一元大武，豕曰剛鬣，豚曰腯肥，羊曰柔毛，……鹽曰鹹鹺……[711]
>
> Generally, during the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, a bull is called "the creature with the large feet"; the pig, "the hard bristles"; a sucking-pig, "the fatling"; a sheep, "the soft hair"; … salt, "the saline, briny substance"; …[712]
>
> 祭天，掃地而祭焉，於其質而已矣。醯醢之美，而煎鹽之尚，貴天產也。[713]
>
> When sacrificing to Heaven, the earth is swept before the *ji*-sacrifice is performed, from a regard to use the earth as an unartificial altar. The admiration of the vinegar and meat paste and the preference of fried and salted are due to the honor to the natural product of heaven.[714]

---

[708] The salt lakes are called Hedong yanchi 河東鹽池 or Jiechi 解池 today. For an overview of the salt industry concerning these lakes in the Zhou dynasty see Li Daming 李大鸣, "Xian Qin shiqi yanye shengchan yu maoyi yanjiu" 先秦时期盐业生产与贸易研究 (PhD diss., Jilin daxue, 2015): 95–108.

[709] See Sterckx 2011, 84–95.

[710] See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Tianguan zhongzai", 169.

[711] See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Quli xia",181 ff.

[712] The translation is adapted from Legge 1885a, 117.

[713] See *Liji zhengyi*, chapter "Jiao tesheng" 郊特牲 (The Single Victim at the Border Sacrifices), 942.

[714] The translation is adapted from Legge 1885a, 437.

Furthermore, salt was used in all the *ji*-sacrifices described in *Yili*, i.e. the sacrifices of repose and the sacrifice of a Single Victim (*tesheng kuishi li* 特牲饋食禮) in the ancestral temple of an Ordinary Officer, as well as the sacrifice of a Lesser Set of Victims (*shaolao kuishi li* 少牢饋食禮) in the ancestral temple of a Grandee.[715]

But remarkably, the pre-entombment offerings, including all the non-blood and sacrificial offerings presented to the corpse, do not include salt.[716] Hence, the levied salt was probably not used in the offerings until after the entombment of the marquis. Similar to the other offerings itemised on the D strips (see Subsections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2), the salt was most likely used in the post-entombment sacrifices. Of course, more salt may have been needed for the other *ji*-sacrifices in the three years' mourning period as well (see Appendix I: Table 2). But it is unlikely that one levy would have supplied three year's needs.

The tax levied from the Bull Fattening Office was two labourers with the personal names Xi 葬 and Zhi 邸. They were either chosen as laborers by the two Bull Fatteners recorded on the C strips, or they were themselves the two Bull Fatteners – at any rate, the C strips merely recorded two Bull Fatteners without mentioning their names (strips 164 and 169). In *Zhou li*, the duties of the Bull Fatteners are mentioned in association with the duties of two other offices:

> 牛人：掌養國之公牛，以待國之政令。凡祭祀，共其享牛。求牛以授職人而芻之……喪事，共其奠牛……凡祭祀，共其牛牲之互與其盆簝以待事。[717]
>
> The Cowherds are in charge of the state's governmental cows, in order to stand by concerning governmental orders. Generally, [before] a *ji*-sacrifice [takes place], the Cow Breeders provide sacrificial bulls. They sought out [proper] bulls (those elected through the first selection, see Subsection 3.6.1) to be submitted to the Bull Fatteners to be foddered… During mortuary rites, the Cowherds provide cows as pre-entombment offerings… During

[715] See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi yuli", 933 ff.; chapter "Tesheng kuishi li", 998, 1000, and 1004; chapter "Shaolao kuishi li", 1066 and 1070; chapter "Yousi che" 有司徹 ("The Servants Clears Away", the sequel of the chapter chapter "Shaolao kuishi li"), 1095 and 1124.

[716] The pre-entombment offerings are described in the "*Shi sangli*" and the "*Ji xi li*" chapters of *Yili*. See *Yili zhushu*, 759–917.; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 45–105; for an overview of the pre-entombment offerings see Table-1.

[717] See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Diguan situ", 382 ff.

a *ji*-sacrifice, they stand by the event by offering a scaffold [to suspend] the bull, a basin [for the blood] and bamboo baskets [for the meat].

肆師之職：掌立國祀之禮，以佐大宗伯。……大祭祀，展犧牲，系于牢，頒于職人。[718]

The Executive Masters of Sacrifice master and establish the rites of the routine *ji*-sacrifices of the state, in order to aid the Grand Minister of Rites … [Before] a grand *ji*-sacrifice [takes place], they examine the pure-coloured victims. [Then], tethering them in pens, they submit them to the Bull Fatteners.

Hence, the Bull Fatteners in *Zhou li* are exclusively engaged for the fattening of bulls for *ji*-sacrifices. There is obviously an overlap between their duties and the duties of the Fatteners in *Zhou li* (see Subsection 3.6.1). Scholars have attempted to make sense of this overlap.[719] But it is not unthinkable that even the idealised bureaucracy in *Zhou li* is prone to the problem of institutional obesity and redundancy. Nevertheless, the Bull Fatteners on the D strips do not seem to have done redundant work. Similar to the two officials who fattened sacrificial horses (see Subsection 3.6.1), they must have fattened sacrificial bulls.

Judging by the usage of all the other items listed on the D strips, the bulls that they were going to fatten were probably used in the post-entombment sacrifices as well, for instance, in the sacrifice of repose of the deceased marquis. But it is important to point out the possibility that sacrificial bulls can also have been used as pre-entombment offerings in the marquis' funeral.

Transmitted literature provides merely a fragmentary picture of the sumptuary rules concerning the pre-entombment offerings in the Zhou dynasty. The *Zhou li* entry on the Cowherds above indicates that in the Zhou royal funerals, sacrificial bulls were used as pre-

[718] See *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 587 ff.

[719] Besides the *zhiren* 職人 (Bull Fatteners) and the *congren* 充人 (Fatteners), officials called *simen* 司門 or *jianmen* 監門 (Gatekeeper) are associated with the foderring of sacrificial bulls in *Zhou li*. The passage concerned reads: "祭祀之牛牲系焉，監門養之", i.e., "if bulls used for *ji*-sacrifices are tethered [at the state's gate], the Gatekeeper must groom them". Zheng Xuan argues that *zhiren* is some generic term that can refer both to *congren* and *simen*. The Qing scholar Jiang Yong 江永 (1681–1762) argues that the three officials cooperated in the fattening of sacrificial bulls. For the *simen*-entry see *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Diguan situ", 452 ff.; for Zheng Xuan's comment see *Zhou li zhushu*, chapter "Chunguan zongbo", 589; Jiang Yong's argument is cited in Zhang Hequan 1993, 200 ff.

entombment offerings, probably as part of one or more Greater Sets of Victims (a bull, a ram and a boar). A passage in *Guo yu* also indicates that the lord of a state, who could probably also be a Vassal Lord, was also entitled to bulls as victims.[720] Theoretically, the deceased marquis, as a Vassal Lord, could have received bulls as pre-entombment offerings. Newly excavated manuscripts indicate that some 300 years later, a deceased aristocrat of a similar rank was justified by law to receive five bulls among others as pre-entombment offerings:

■葬律

徹侯：衣衾毋過盈棺，衣衾斂束。帴（荒）所用次L。其殺：小斂用一特牛，棺、開各一大牢L， 祖一特牛L，

遣一大牢……[721]

■Laws Concerning Funeral

[For a deceased] Penetrating Lord:[722] The tomb clothes and wrapping quilts, which ought not to brim over the coffin, must be bundled up. [Compared with them,] the [textiles] used for the coffin shrouds ought to be of interior qualities. Those sacrificed to him: use a Single Bull for the lesser dressing; use a Greater Set of Victims on the occasion of the coffining and the opening [of the provisional burial],[723] respectively; use a Single Bull on the occasion of the forthcoming departure; and use a Greater Set of Victims on the occasion of the "dispatch" [to the tomb] …

[720] The passage parallelly lists the victims that the deceased was entitled to receive, while specifying that what the Ordinary Officer received was *dian*-offerings. Hence, the whole passage relates to victims sacrificed before the entombment. See footnote 517.

[721] The text is written on three bamboo strips among the manuscripts from a Western Han tomb, tomb no. 77 at Shuihudi, Yunmeng, Hubei province. The *terminus post quem* for the tomb is 157 BCE. The bamboo strips have not been numbered yet. See Peng Hao 彭浩, "Du Yunmeng Shuihudi M 77 Han jian 'Zang lü'" 读云梦睡虎地 M77 汉简《 葬律》, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2009): 130.

[722] A Penetrating Lord was one holding the top rank of the 20 Orders of Merit, which were established in the Qin kingdom and adopted and adapted in the Han dynasty. For an introduction to the history and the systematic of the Orders of Merit see Loewe 1960, 97–174.

[723] Peng Hao points out that the term *kai* 開 refers to *qi bin* 啟殯, i.e., "to open the provisional burial". See Peng Hao 2009, 131.

Hence, it is likely that bulls were sacrificed to the marquis both as pre-entombment offerings and as post-entombment offerings. The pre-entombment offerings were probably made on the occasions of the "lesser dressing", the "fuller dressing", the "coffining", the "opening of the provisional burial", the "forthcoming departure" and the "dispatch" to the tomb.[724] The coffining took place commonly within five days after the death of a Vassal Lord in the pre-Qin period (see Section 3.2). This must have been too soon for selecting candidates of sacrificial bulls and for their fattening. If bulls were indeed sacrificed to the deceased marquis in the two events, the "Responsible Staff for Sacrifice" (*yousi* 有司, see Subsection 3.6.2) may have resorted to the reserve of sacrificial bulls, which were commonly prepared for regular *ji*-sacrifices. If no reserve as such was available, they may have arranged some sacrificial bulls to be fattened ad hoc for several days.[725] Anyway, it seems reasonable that the head of sacrificial rites (see Subsection 3.6.2) would have ordered a refill of the reserve of sacrificial bulls at the same time. The corvée labour may have become necessary since then.

For all the other sacrifices, bulls may have been fattened within the regular duration. The opening of the provisional burial, the forthcoming departure and the "dispatch" to the tomb took place one day before or on the day of the entombment (see Appendix I: Table 2), i.e. months after the marquis' death (see Section 3.2). Besides these pre-entombment offerings, seven proper bulls were needed for the sacrifices of repose (see Subsection 3.6.1). More bulls were needed for further *ji*-sacrifices in the three years' mourning period (see Appendix I: Table 2). But then the head of sacrificial rites may have levied further corvée labour. Therefore, the two persons from the Bull Fatteners were possibly engaged in the fattening of bulls in the period between the marquis' death to the sacrifices of repose.

Finally, it is important to point out that the two list entries do not seem to have been the record of the tax payments. The first entry mentions neither the amount of salt levied nor the date of the levy, while the second one does not specify the beginning and the duration of the corvée labour. Therefore, they were more likely a sketch about the tax levies. Judging by the hand writings, it was made by the same scribe who made the sketch calculating the manpower

[724] Interestingly, blood sacrifices took place on these occasions in the cycle of the funeral of an Ordinary Officer as well. See Appendix I: Table 2.

[725] Based on transmitted literature, Zhang Hequan concludes that the period of separate fattening varied from several days to three months. See Zhang Hequan 1993, 203.

engaged in the sacrifices of repose (Appendix IV.4). Hence, the sketch was commissioned by the head of sacrificial rites in the marquis' house as well.

The funeral of the marquis created additional demand for certain resources, including rare resources such as salt and sacrificial bulls. Accordingly, the director of rites made the sketch to organise these resources. It is possible that at the time of the entombment, the targeted taxes have been partly levied and a record of the tax payments was created. But such a record was not buried in the tomb. Merely the sketch was buried, because it was excluded from the long-term administration of material resources and persons.

3.6.4 Summary

The records on the D strips encompass three lists. They were sketches of plans concerning post-entombment offerings (*ji*-offerings). And they were created between the death and the entombment of the marquis. Post-entombment offerings certainly went beyond the two clusters of fields, which collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the entombment.

The first list is the result of a midterm inspection of at least 43 sacrificial horses, which were being fattened by at least three officials. These horses, like the draught horses, were also hoarded through gift-giving, institutionalised breeding and tribute payment. The second list is a sketch calculating the manpower (three offices and 53 additional persons) needed for individual tasks in certain post-entombment sacrifices, including the catering of the Zeng capital with offerings via a postal system, the preparation of the victims and further offerings, and the performance of prayers during sacrifices. And the third list is a sketch of taxes in the form of salt and corvée labour related to certain post-entombment sacrifices. Interestingly, these taxes were to be levied from two offices, which also provided vehicle riders in the convoys of the marquis.

They were created by scribes serving the authorities of sacrificial rites in the Zeng March. Judging by the consistent layout and textual structure, the authorities must have enforced formal guidelines in such records. Judging by the writing hands, at least two scribal hands were

at work. One of them inscribed the two sketches, which were probably commissioned by the same head of sacrificial rites.

The records on the D strips were probably buried because they merely document the short-term flow of material and human resources. There may have been further lists that concern long-term administration of material and human resources related to the post-entombment sacrifice, for instance, a list of the final examination of the sacrificial horses, a more detailed plan of staff assignment in the sacrifice of repose, and the final taxation record. But such records were not buried; instead, they were probably kept in the Zeng palace archive.

3.7 The Contents of the Lists versus the Buried Material Resources

As analysed above, the comprehensive funerary lists from the tomb of Marquis Yi arose in the intersection of various fields of action, most of which were reproduced within the funerary cycle of the marquis. The discoveries made in the marquis' tomb architecture, as will be introduced below, probably came into being as the field of entombment was reproduced. As an essential field of action in the funerary cycle, the entombment undoubtedly shared material resources with the pre-entombment fields.

The tomb pit was constructed in the sandstone bedrock of a hillock (Dongtuanpo 東團坡) at Leigudun.[726] The pit was irregularly shaped, with a cluster of four wooden chambers (length 19.7 m, width 15.72 m, depth 3.1 and 3.5m), i.e. the central, the northern, the western and the eastern chambers, at its bottom (see Fig. 28). The fill in the pit consisted of layers of rammed earth, charcoal, lime plaster and one layer of stone plates. A looters' hole led to the northeastern part of the lid of the central chamber. But the excavators assume that the looters did not succeed to get into the tomb chambers. Furthermore, five additional pits, K1–K5, were found ca. 12 meters to the west of the tomb (see Fig. 29).[727] They were also carved into the sandstone bedrock and share roughly an east-west axle with the tomb. Hence, they were likely accompanying pits built to the tomb (*suizangkeng* 隨葬坑). Last but not least, according to Tan Weisi, the excavation team leader, some discoveries of bronze items were made at several-day-

[726] If not specified otherwise, the data concerning the tomb are from Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, 7–75.

[727] See Zhang Changping et al. 2017, 43.

long explosion work before the official excavation,[728] indicating that there may have been further pits at the tomb site.

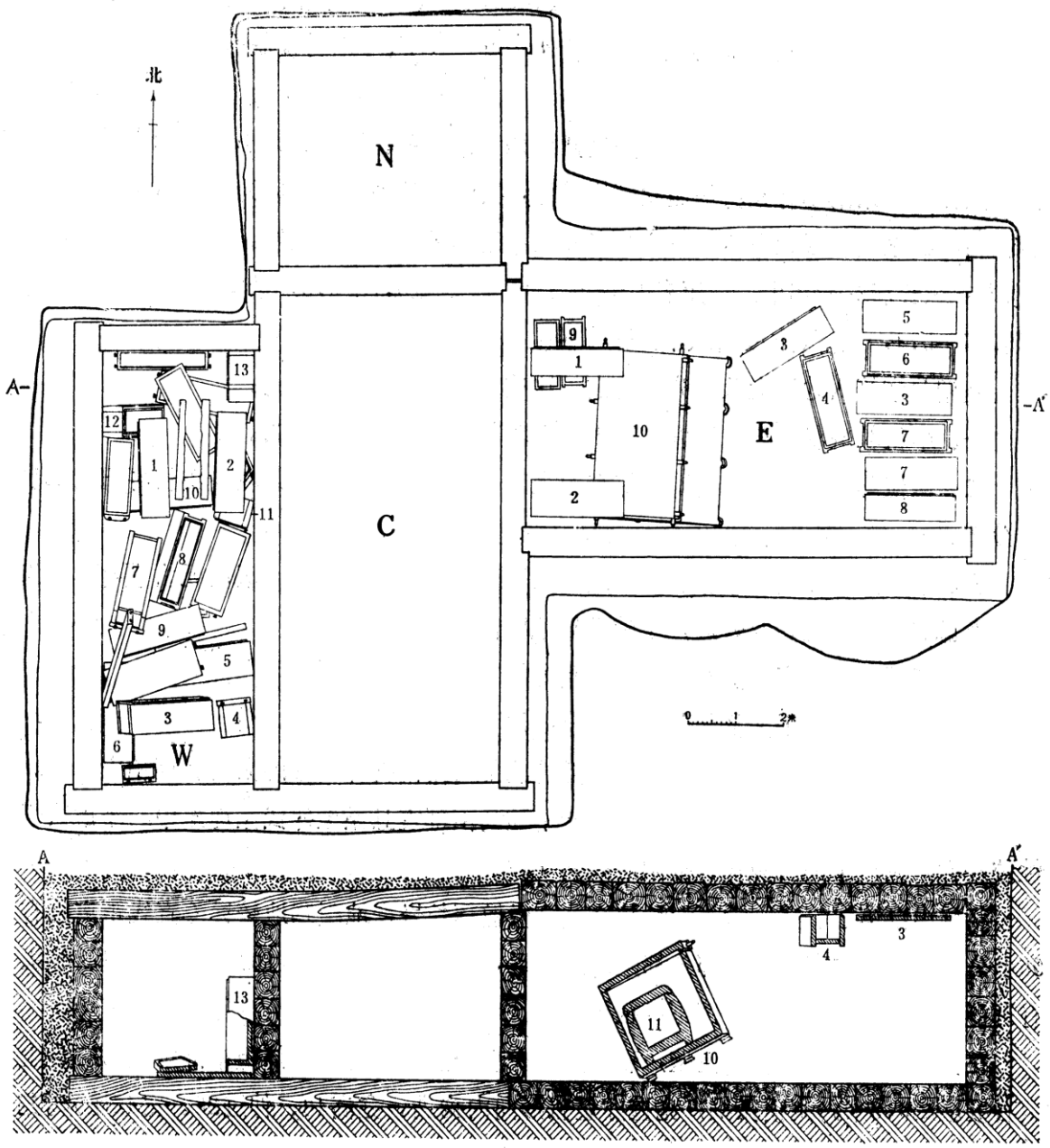


Fig. 28 Plan view and cross section of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

Inv. Nos. E.1–8. coffins of eight immolated women; E.9. coffin of a dog; E.10–11. Nesting coffins of Marquis Yi; W.1–13. coffins of thirteen further immolated women.

The four tomb chamberswere connected with each other by small, door-like openings at the bottom of their partition walls. At the excavation, the chambers were full of water. As has

[728] See footnote 481.

been observed by several scholars, the furnishing in the four chambers indicates a careful spatial division. Von Falkenhausen, for instance, argues that "in analogy with the abodes of the living, the Marquis's tomb displays the structure of an underground palace. The layout and furnishings of its four chambers recreate the principal parts of a typical ruler's residence".[729]

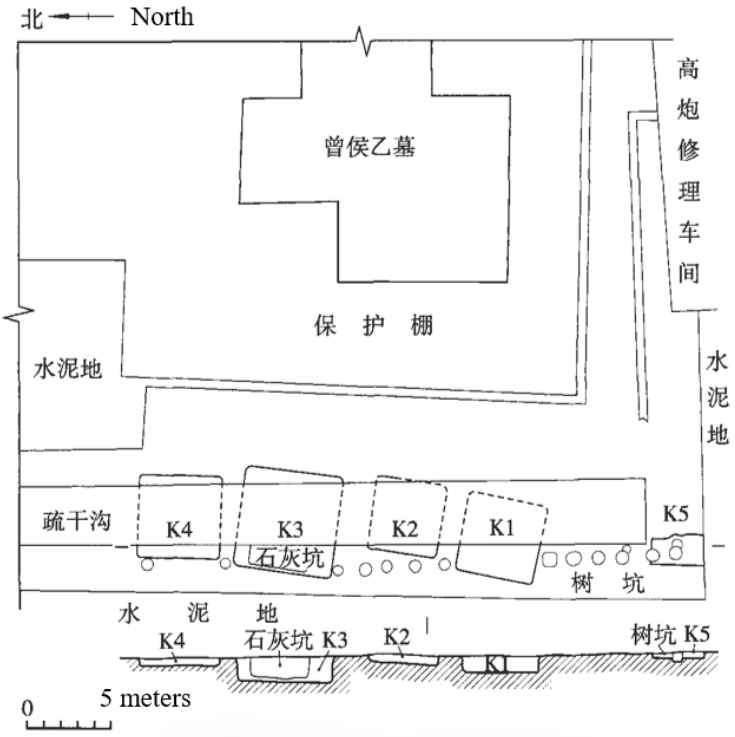


Fig. 29 Plan view of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun and its five accompanying pits nos. K1–K5.

曾侯乙墓 (tomb of Marquis Yi); 保护棚 (protective building over the tomb); 水泥地 (cemented ground); 疏干沟 (drainage canal); 石灰坑 (pit filled with chalk); 树坑 (pits created by tree roots); 高炮修理车间 (service station of anti-aircraft warfare [the marquis' tomb was discovered by a military orgnisation to which this station belonged]).

The large central chamber was furnished with ritual vessels and musical instruments including a set of chimebells (*bianzhong* 編鐘), one of which was a gift from the Chu king (see Section 3.2), and a lithophone (*bianqing* 編磬). Hence, scholars associate the chamber with the public, ritual space of a ruler's palace.[730] The eastern chamber contained the two nesting, monumental coffins of Marquis Yi, in the company of the coffins of eight young female victims. In accordance with a ruler's private living quarters,[731] the chamber was furnished with wardrobes, table wares and musical instruments. Furthermore, vehicle parts and accoutrements, horse tack, weapons (primarily arrows and bows) and a dog in this chamber indicate that hunting probably used to be part of the marquis daily life, as was common for

729 See Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994): 7.

730 See Falkenhausen 1994, 7; Thorp 1981, 76; Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2012): 119.

731 Scholars commonly use the concept *qin* 寢, "private living quarter", to describe the function of the earsten chamber. See Falkenhausen 1994, 7; Thorp 2012, 76.

rulers in pre-Qin China. The northern chamber, equivalent to an armoury,[732] contained vehicle parts and accoutrements, more weapons, armours and barding. The lists were discovered in this chamber, among the two bottom layers of the tomb goods (For the deposition location of the lists see Subsection 3.7.3, Fig. 38 and Fig. 39). The western chamber, accommodating the coffins of thirteen more female victims, is often interpreted as a "harem"[733] or "palace women's apartment".[734] Each coffin in the eastern and the weatern chambers contained items such as jades and textiles.

Pit K1 contained numerous bronze parts of a large tent and bronze shovels. Pits K2–K4 accommodated clay containers of various food. Pit K5 was empty.[735] Furthermore, the discoveries made before the official excavation include at least several bronze boards, a *ding*-cauldron, a *hu*-bottle, an axle cap and several unknown bronze items.[736]

Apparently, on the one hand, the lists neither describe the contents in the accompanying pits that have been discovered, nor do they discribe the entirety of the goods and the female victims in the tomb chambers; on the other hand, the recorded offerings, i.e. 15 vehicles and 64 draught animals (see Subsection 3.4.1) as well as at least 43 sacrificial horses (see Subsection 3.6.1), have not yet been found at the tomb. But the contents of the lists, especially the part concerning vehicle parts, accoutrements, horse tack and weaponry, overlap with part of the goods in the eastern and the northern chambers, and perhaps also with those inofficial discoveries. The exact relationships between these records and tomb goods deserve a closer investigation in the following.

[732] For the notion of the northern chamber as equivalence to an armoury or arsenal see Thorp 2012, 76; and Lewis 2012, 119.

[733] For the notion of the western chamber as equivalence to a harem see Falkenhausen 1994, 7; Lewis 2012, 119.

[734] See Thorp 2012, 76.

[735] See Zhang Changping et al. 2017, 43.

[736] See footnote 481.

3.7.1 Vehicle Parts and Accoutrements

The A strips refer to at least 50 vehicles. Except for the list entries of seven vehicle,[737] all the list entries refer to certain vehicle parts or accoutrements. The recorded vehicle parts are relatively few in view of the number of the vehicles. More precisely, the records refer to individually coloured wheels of 25 vehicles, painted draught poles of two vehicles, linchpins (*guanxia* 𨋢鎋) of two vehicles, axle caps with tooth patterns (*chi yong* 齒輮) of three vehicles, painted top blades on the axle caps (*huasha* 畫𣐈) of 13 vehicles and patterned top blades on the axle caps (*fensha* 黂𣐈) of two vehicles (see Appendix I: Table 4). The entries that are marked with "●" refer to all the above-mentioned vehicle parts except for the wheels, a draught pole and a linchpin of two vehicles (see Appendix I: Table 4, vehicle nos. 2 and 4).

Wheels and draught poles were commonly made of wood in early China. Among the tomb goods, none of them was discovered. They were probably not interred in the tomb, because otherwise they would have been preserved, as many of the preserved tomb goods were made of wood.[738] It is worth noting that several other vehicle parts made of wood, bamboo and rattan were found, including the fragments of one vehicle box with a canopy in the eastern chamber and two canopies in the northern chamber (see Appendix I: Table 6). But none of these parts is mentioned in the funerary lists.

Axle caps and linchpins were indeed found in the northern chamber. But the numbers of them, i.e. 76 axle caps equipped each with a linchpin (see Appendix I: Table 6), apparently exceed the number of those referred to in the records. The relationship between the number of these parts and the vehicles recorded on the A strips is not apparent. As the excavators point out, in view of their sizes and adornments, most of the axle caps may have been pairs but a few of them are apparently single ones.[739] At least part of the axle caps bear traces of usage.[740] If

[737] The entry on one vehicle definitively does not refer to any vehicle parts or accoutrements, see Appendix I: Table 4 and Table 5, vehicle no. 50. Furthermore, as indicated by two subtotals on strips 118 and 119, respectively, the entries on six road carriages are missing. Hence, nothing can be said about these six road carriages. See Appendix III.1, A-2 srtips, paragraphs 4 and 5.

[738] According to the site report, over 5000 wooden items were found in the marquis' tomb. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 352 ff.

[739] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 325.

[740] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 325.

each pair may be regarded as parts of one vehicle (see Appendix I: Table 6), these axle caps could be associated with 42 vehicles; if each pair may be regarded as parts of two individual vehicles then, these parts could be associated with 76 vehicles.

There is no evidence whether the recorded three pairs of axle caps with tooth patterns are among the discovered axle caps.[741] But the recorded axle caps with top blades seem to resemble the top blades on two of the excavated axle caps (see Fig. 22). Each of the two blades and the related axle cap were cast in an integral piece, hence, the denotation "top blade" perhaps refers to the whole piece (*pars pro toto*), i.e. bladed axle caps. The two blades have wavy double edges and are of two individual sizes; and the two axle caps on which they are mounted are of individual sizes as well (see Appendix I: Table 6). One of the blades (see Fig. 22, N.142:2) bears intaglio patterns, while the other is not patterned (see Fig. 22, N.142:1). Therefore, the former one corresponds likely to the type "patterned top blade of axle cap" in the records. The latter one may have corresponded to the type "painted top blade of axle cap", if it used to be painted (the excavation report does not mention whether any pigments were discernible on it). Therefore, the two excavated axle caps with top blades were perhaps the representatives of the two types that are recorded. They form no matching pair; instead, they were likely designed for two individual vehicles.

The recorded vehicle accoutrements include 15 back railing claddings (*bi* 弼), 19 front railing claddings (*hen* 轄/鞏), 14 rugs (*ming* 韔), five hand-railing coatings (*gong* 弘/弓/笰), 16 side paddings (*jian* 靾/箭/醬/繝), ten side screens (*xuan* 軒), 22 boarding aids (*sui* 綏), 19 mats (*xi* 筵), two pairs of axle cap pennants (er 珥 or *ertian* 珥填) made of *zu*-ribbon (*zu* 緇), two sitting utensils (an 安) made of brocade and so forth (Appendix I: Table 5). Some of these accoutrements were likely applied to enhance the comfort in riding the vehicles. But most of them seem to have been symbols of prestige due to their extravagant features: some were made of expensive stuffs such as silks of various types and colours, brocade, mammal furs, fish hide, jade and so forth; some bore certain patterns or had painted surfaces. Except for the back and

[741] Two pairs among the excavated axle caps demonstrate repeated, amphora-shaped patterns or a "cicada pattern" (*chanwen* 蟬紋) according to the excavation report (see Appendix I: Table 6, axle caps with polygonal cross section, type II B), while another four pairs and two singles demonstrate repeated, triangular shapes or a "triangular cloud pattern" (*sanjiaoyunwen* 三角雲紋) according to the excavation report (see Appendix I: Table 6, axle caps with polygonal cross section, type III). The patterns on these axle caps can be associated with a "tooth pattern" but there is no evidence that either of them was indeed called as such.

the front railing claddings that were made of bronze, all the accoutrements were made of organic materials. The entries that are marked with "●" refer to most of the above-mentioned accoutrements (Appendix I: Table 5).

Among the tomb goods, none of these accoutrements was present. The inofficially discovered bronze boards at the tomb site may have been part of the bronze railing claddings.[742] At any rate, part of the 15 vehicles that were to be buried in accompanying pits were equipped with such railing claddings (e.g., vehicles nos. 2 and 7 in Appendix I: Table 5). But it is impossible to judge whether any of the other accoutrements was interred, considering that organic materials were generally scarcely preserved among the tomb goods.

Nonetheless, several vehicle accoutrements found in the tomb were theoretically compatible with those that are recorded. Among the 76 axle caps that were excavated, six pairs may have been adorned with pennants. Each individual of these six pairs is equipped with a flexible device, i.e. a rectangular bronze frame with a prong jutting out at one side (see Fig. 30). As Sun Ji has pointed out, such a device was used in various contexts as a buckle fastening two loose ends.[743] Similar buckles are visible on axle caps from pre-Qin tombs.[744] On one pair of those buckles, the prongs demonstrated traces of textiles.[745] As pointed out by Guo Baojun 郭寶鈞, such buckles were used for the attachment of a pennant, which was called *feiling* 飛軨 from the Eastern Han dynasty onward (for a pictorial presentation of a vehicle with such axle cap pennants see Fig. 31).[746] In the

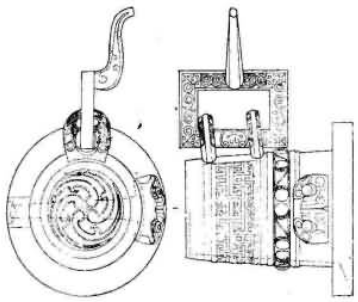


Fig. 30 An axle cap (Inv. No. N.182) from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

742 See footnote 481.

743 See Sun Ji 孙机, "Zhongguo gudai de daiju" 中国古代的带具, in *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001c): 261.

744 Dong Shan itemises three tombs in which such axle caps were found. One of them is dated to the Spring and Autumn period and the other two to the Warring States period. See Dong Shan 董珊, "Chu jian zhong cong 'da' sheng zhi zi de dufa (yi)" 楚簡中從"大"聲之字的讀法（一）, updated Jul. 8, 2007, accessed Feb. 18, 2025, http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/4806.html.

745 See Guo Baojun 郭宝钧, *Shanbiao zhen yu Liulige* 山彪镇与琉璃阁 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959): 31 ff.

746 See Guo Baojun 1959, 31 ff.; and Guo Baojun 郭宝钧, *Yin Zhou cheqi yanjiu* 殷周车器研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998): 21.

funerary lists from Marquis Yi's tomb, the pennant is denoted as *zuer* 緆（組）珥 or *zuertian* 緆（組）珥填（瑱）, literally "earrings made of *zu*-ribbons", probably due to their similar appearances with earrings. The entries of two vehicles mention such axle cap pennants (see Appendix I: Table 5).



Fig. 31 A vehicle with axle cap adorments, part of the mural from an Eastern Han tomb at Daijiazhuang (Anping, Hebei province).

Accordingly, the overlap between the recorded vehicle parts and accoutrements and the buried ones is marginal, and the discrepancy between them is obvious. Two axle caps with top blades and six pairs of axle cap pennants were interred in the tomb, while 15 pairs of those bladed axle caps and two pairs of those pennants are described in the list. Some bronze railing claddings and by extention vehicles in the records could have been buried at the tomb site. The other vehicle parts and accoutrements in the records can not be identified among the tomb goods, while most of the buried vehicle parts and accoutrements are not mentioned in the records. Even if merely the records in entries that are marked with "●" are regarded, the overlap remains marginal.

The discrepancy must be due to two different patterns of organising material resources. As has been argued (see Subsection 3.5.1), the armoury officials merely recorded the vehicle parts and accoutrements that they dealt with, i.e. vehicle parts that they used to replace existing ones or those (such as wheels and draught poles) they embellished with certain colours, and vehicle accoutrements they used either to replace existing ones, or to equip vehicles that had not born such accoutrements. It is important to reiterate that they did not record all the parts and accoutrements of the vehicles that they had received, not to mention all parts and accoutrements of the vehicles that took part in the funerary rites in the marquis' ancestral temple and in the funerary procession to his tomb.

The organisational logic underlying the selection of the parts and accoutrements for the entombment is for the most part elusive. The numbers of the parts and accoutrements found in the marquis' tomb are extremely asymmetric. For instance, the 76 axle caps found in the tomb demonstrate diverse types as well as sizes (see Appendix I: Table 6), indicating that the marquis had at least possessed as many types of axles, and by extension, of vehicles, in his life time. But the single vehicle box found in the tomb contributes little to the symbolic variety of the vehicles owned by the marquis. This asymmetry is, however, by no means an exceptional case. Chang Huaiying 常懷穎 lists the vehicles parts or accoutrements found in the tombs of eleven Zeng marquis, dating from between the early Western Zhou to the Middle Warring States period.[747] The number of the vehicle parts or accoutrements from none of these tombs are symmetric enough to form complete sets. The same holds true for the discoveries of vehicle parts or accoutrements in most of the excavated tombs of other Vassal Lords in these phases.[748] Furthermore, tombs of these Zeng marquis, even those dating from approximately the same period, seldom shared the same assemblage of vehicle parts or accoutrements.[749] Axle caps and linchpins seem to have been the most frequently buried parts, but their numbers in individual tombs of the Zeng marquis vary greatly from each other.[750]

Nevertheless, the conditions of the axle caps buried in the tomb of Marquis Yi can perhaps provide a clue for the understanding of the intricate phenomena. It is illuminating that merely part of the axle caps bear traces of usage.[751] Though the excavators did not specify the extent of the traces of usage, it is known in several other cases that axle caps bearing serious stress marks used to be buried in pre-Qin tombs.[752] In view of the overlaps mentioned above, it is possible that part of those axle caps and linchpins indeed derived from the vehicles in the funerary procession. The turbulent procession to the tomb took its toll on them, which belonged

---

747 See Chang Huaiying 常怀颖, "Zeng hou mu de zangche ji xiangguan wenti" 曾侯墓的葬车及相关问题, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 5 (2015): 55–65, Tables 1–3.

748 See Chang Huaiying 2015, 67–73, Tables 6, 10, and 14.

749 See Chang Huaiying 2015, 55–65, Tables 1–3.

750 For instance, the tomb of Marquis Yu, a tomb built merely decades earlier than Marquis Yi's tomb, produced merely two axle caps, while the tomb of Marquis Yi produced 76. See Chang Huaiying 2015, 65, Table 3.

751 See Chang Huaiying 2015, 65, Table 3.

752 See Guo Baojun 1998, 23 ff.

to the most vulnerable vehicle parts. Except for the 15 vehicles that were to be buried, the other vehicles were to return to the Zeng palace. The organiser of the procession perhaps had prepared a number of axle caps and linchpins for replacement in the case of mishaps. After the vehicles arrived at the tomb, the axle caps were examined. Those that bore stress marks were replaced and perhaps became part of the tomb goods. The new spare parts that were not used were perhaps also, at least partly, put in the tomb.

The other vehicle parts from the tomb, i.e. one vehicle box and three canopies, may have been buried with a similar motivation. These parts were perhaps damaged during the procession. At any rate, merely fragments of them were found in the tomb (see Appendix I: Table 6). In general, the disposal of vehicle parts and accoutrements instead of complete vehicles in the tomb was in line with conventional practices in central China since the Shang dynasty.[753]

3.7.2 Horse Tack

The A strips as well as strip 185+77 among the C strips record part of the tack of at least 49 draught horse teams (see Appendix I: Table 9). The horse tack include the horse frontlets (*yongdun* 鞗鞳) of 22 draught horse teams; the axillary straps of 34 draught horse teams; the throat straps of 33 draught horse teams; the shabracks of 26 draught horse teams; the terrets of 32 draught horse teams; the hobbles (*bai* 敗) of 20 draught horse teams; the traces of 27 draught horse teams; the reins of 33 draught horse teams; the yoke bars of ten draught horse teams; the yokes of eight draught horse teams; the bits of four draught horse teams (eight individual bits); and certain further pieces of horse tack, the denotations of which elude scholars' understanding today. If merely the entries that are marked with "●" are regarded, the above mentioned horse tack will be short of the following items (see Appendix I: Table 9): the hobbles of four draught horse teams; the reins of three draught horse teams; the axillary straps, throat straps and traces of two draught horse teams; and the horse frontlets, terrets, yoke bars and yokes of one draught horse team.

The horse bits in the records are significantly overnumbered by the discovered 40 ones. The terrets described may have been among the 162 strap slides and 737 strap junctions made

753 See Wu Xiaoyun 2009, 65 ff.

of bronze and adorned with gold foils (see Appendix I: Table 10). Horse frontlets, generally made of metal, were not discovered in the tomb; yoke bars and yokes, theoretically made of wood and possibly framed with metal, were not found either. The other pieces of horse tack, which were made of leather, furs or textiles (see Appendix I: Table 9), were not found as such. But part of the strap slides and strap junctions still bore remnants of leather or silk, indicating that they were buried in combination with certain pieces of horse tack. Furthermore, 47 pairs and 4 single cheekpieces were discovered as well. They are not described in the records.

The discrepancy between the recorded and the discovered pieces of horse tack is obvious. This discrepancy must be due to two different patterns of organising material resources. As has been argued (see Subsection 3.5.1), the armoury officials did not describe the entirety of the horse tack of the draught horses that they received, not to mention the horse tack of all the horses participated in the funerary rites. Instead, they recorded merely those indispensable pieces of horse tack that were used to replace existing ones, and the dispensible horse tack adornments (such as shabracks) that were either used to replace existing ones or to be added for the first time to certain horse teams.

The organisational pattern of the horse tack in the tomb might be discerned in regard of several further pre-Qin burial compounds in central China. The practice of burying horse tack in tombs began already in the Shang dynasty in this region.[754] At the latest from the early Western Zhou dynasty on, draught horses with incomplete tack or without tack were buried in accompanying pits in various parts of this region.[755] Wang Wei 王巍 and Huang Xiuchun 黄秀纯 indicate in a site report that the horse tack buried in the tomb derived from the draught horses, which were buried in the accompanying pit.[756] Several discoveries in which the tombs could be associated with their accompanying pits corroborate this argument. They include the Western Zhou tombs nos. 1052, 1810 and 2013 in the cemetery of the Guo Duchy 虢國 at Shangcunling 上村嶺 (Sanmenxia 三门峡, Henan province),[757] tomb no. 8 dating from the

[754] See Wu Xiaoyun 2009, 72 ff. and 108.

[755] See Chen Yuan 陈园, “Xizhou chemaqi maizang de quyu tedian yanjiu” 西周车马器埋葬的区域特点研究 (Master’s thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue, 2017): 8–13, 25, 28, 40–44.

[756] See Wang Wei 王巍 and Huang Xiuchun 黄秀纯, “1981-1983 nian Liulihe Xizhou Yanguo mudi fajue jianbao” 1981—1983 年琉璃河西周燕国墓地发掘简报. *Kaogu*, no. 5 (1984): 415.

[757] Tombs nos. 1052, 1810 and 2013 at Shangcunling yielded 17, ten and two horse bits, respectively; as well as ten, eight and two cheekpieces, respectively. These horse tack pieces derived probably from 17, ten and two

Spring and Autumn period in a cemetery at Xiasi 下寺 (Xichuan 淅川, Henan province)[758], and tombs nos. 1 and 2 dating from the Warring States period at Jiuliandun 九連墩 (Zaoyang 枣阳, Hubei province).[759] None of the horses in the related accompanying pits was equipped with bits or cheekpieces. Bits and cheekpieces that were found in these tombs rarely match each other in numbers, but they derived from horses that were equal in numbers to or less than those horses buried in the related accompanying pits. This means that these bits and cheekpieces were probably removed from the draught horses before they were buried in the accompanying pit. At least they formed a part of the tack required for those horses.

In a few other tombs, the horse bits and cheekpieces derived from horses that overnumber those buried in the related accompanying pits. They include the Western Zhou tombs no. 2001 at Shangcunling,[760] tomb no. 251 dating from the late Spring and Autumn period at Jinshengcun 金勝村 (Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi province),[761] the late Spring and Autumn tomb no. 9 at Xujialing 徐家嶺 (Xichuan, Henan province).[762] One of those accompanying pits was

horses, respectively. They do not completely match each other in numbers. The related accompanying pits yielded 20, ten and six draught horses, respectively. See Wu Xiaoyun 吳曉筠, "Xizhou shiqi chema maizang zhong de lizhi yihan 西周時期車馬埋葬中的禮制意涵." Gugong xueshu jikan 故宮學術季刊 22, no. 4 (2005): 15.

758 Tomb no. 8 at Xiasi yielded seven bits, twelve cheekpieces and three joined bit-and-cheekpieces, which derived probably from ten horses. These horse tack pieces do not completely match each other in numbers. The intact accompanying pit (no. M8CH) yielded three vehicles and ten horses. See Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所 et al., *Xichuan Xiasi Chunqiu mu* 淅川下寺春秋楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物, 1991): 16 ff. and 24 ff.

759 Tombs nos. 1 and 2 at Jiuliandun yielded 72 and 8 horse bits, respectively; as well as 75 and 16 cheekpieces, respectively. These horse tack pieces derived probably from 72 and 8 draught horses, respectively. But they do not completely match each other in numbers. See Wang Xianfu 王先福 et al., "Hubei Zaoyang Jiuliandun M1 fajue jianbao" 湖北枣阳九连墩 M1 发掘简报, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (2019): 61; Wang Xianfu 王先福 et al., "Hubei Zaoyang Jiuliandun M2 fajue jianbao" 湖北枣阳九连墩 M2 发掘简报, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 6 (2018): 41; and Li Dunxue 李敦学 et al., "Hubei Zaoyang Jiuliandun 2 hao chemakeng fajue jianbao" 湖北枣阳九连墩 2 号车马坑发掘简报, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 6 (2018): 74.

760 Tomb no. 2001 at Shangcunling yielded 76 horse bits and 110 cheekpieces, which derived probably from 76 horses. These horse tack pieces do not completely match each other in numbers. The related accompanying pits yielded 64 draught horses. See Wu Xiaoyun 2005, 15.

761 Tomb no. 251 at Jinshengcun yielded 68 bits and 33 cheekpieces, derived probably from 68 draught horses. These horse tack pieces do not completely match each other in numbers. The accompanying pit yielded the remains of 44 horses for at least 15 vehicles. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 et al., *Taiyuan Jin guo Zhao Qing mu* 太原晋国赵卿墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996): 118 and 195 ff.

762 Tomb no. 9 at Xujialing yielded 30 bits, while the remaining part of the accompanying pit concerned yielded the remains of 19 draught horses associated with at least six vehicles. See Henan sheng wenwu kaogu

apparently not intact at the excavation (see Fig. 17), which means that the pit probably used to contain more draught horses. Furthermore, Chang Huaiying points out that a tomb could be accompanied by several pits; if merely one of those pits was discovered, it is not surprising that the number of pieces of horse tack buried in a tomb surpasses the number required for the horses buried in the discovered accompanying pit.[763] The two notes on strips 207 and 208 in the Leigudun manuscripts apparently corroborate Chang's opinion (see Subsection 3.4.1).

Most of the tombs of the Zeng marquis between the early Western Zhou period and the mid-Warring States period yielded certain horse tack that seldom formed complete sets.[764] A number of horse pits and vehicle pits are discovered as well,[765] but the relationships between those tombs and the accompanying pits are not evident, because no comprehensive reports of the discoveries have yet been published. Chang Huaiying indicates that the horse tack from those tombs was removed from the draught horses before the horses were buried.[766]

Such a practice, if it was indeed part of the burial culture in the Zeng March, would indicate a division of the horse tack into two or three parts. One part remained on the draught horses that were buried, another part was put in the tomb; and in cases there was a third part, which was not buried at all. Interestingly, in regard of the 64 draught horses that were supposedly buried in two pits accompanying the tomb of Marquis Yi, the numbers of the pieces of horse tack discovered in his tomb indeed corroborate such a division.

The 40 snaffle bits as well as 47 pairs and 4 single cheekpieces from the marquis' tomb could theoretically have been removed from 51 draught horses, which are less than the 64

yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所 et al., *Xichuan Heshangling yu Xujialing Chu mu* 淅川和尚岭与徐家岭楚墓 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2004): 197 and 214 ff..

763 See Chang Huaiying 2015, 58 ff.

764 For an overview of the horse tack discovered in tombs of the Zeng marquis see Chang Huaiying 2015, 55 ff., Tables 1–3.

765 In the early Western Zhou cemetery of Yejiashan, seven horse pits were discovered. Close to the late or Western Zhou or early Spring and Autumn tomb no. 60 at Guojiamiao, an accompanying pit with a certain number of vehicles and horses was discovered. Close to the early Spring and Autumn tomb no. 1 at Caomenwan, two accompanying pits with 28 vehicles and at least 49 horses, respectively, were discovered. See Huang Fengchun 黄凤春 et al., "Suizhou Yejiashan Xizhou mudi di'erci kaogu fajue de zhuyao shouhuo" 随州叶家山西周墓地第二次考古发掘的主要收获, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (2013): 5; Fang Qin 方勤, "Guojiamiao Zeng guo mudi de xingzhi" 郭家庙曾国墓地的性质, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 5 (2016): 87.

766 See Chang Huaiying 2015, 58 ff. and 60.

draught horses that were supposedly buried. The bits and the cheekpieces apparently do not match each other in numbers. Together with the strap junctions and the strap slides, they may have formed part of the horse tack that was used by those 64 horses. The remaining part has hitherot not been discovered. If merely the records in entries that are marked with "●" are regarded, the relationship between the recorded and the buried horse tack seldom changes (see Appendix I: Table 9 and Table 10). Hence, the usage of the checkmarks is not significantly associated with the disposal of the horse tack.

3.7.3 Weaponry

The armoury officials recorded the weaponry in two groups, i.e., the weapons on the A strips, and the armours and on the B strips. The records of the weaponry are relatively complete.[767] Due to the regularity of the types and numbers of the weaponry associated with vehicles of the same types (see Subsection 3.5.1), the fragmentation in a few entries cannot have contributed to a significant loss in the entirety of the recorded weaponry.

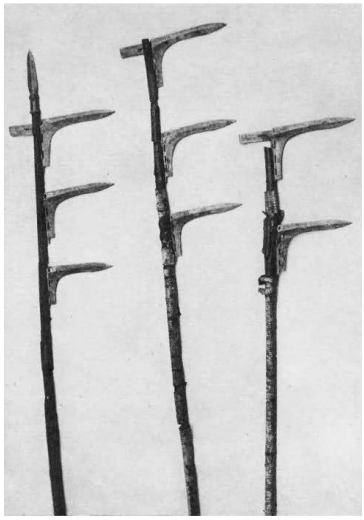


Fig. 32 Subtypes I-III of the *ji*-polearms (Inv. Nos. N. 139, N. 208 and N. 184) discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

Of the 50 vehicles recorded on the A strips, 38[768] were equipped with weapons, weapon accessories and various flags. The weapons include *ji*-polearms (*ji* 戟（戟）), *shu*-polearms, *ge*-polearms (*ge* 戈), bows of the Qin type, arrows (*shi* 矢) and shields (*dun* 戹); the weapon accessories encompass bow quivers, arrow quivers, pole-weapon receptacles (*jiong* 扃)[769]

[767] In Appendix I: Table 7, the completeness of the records concerning weapons in individual entries is specified.

[768] The other 12 vehicles include ten road carriages, a curved-pole-canopy carriage and a new comfortable carriage. The records concerning four road carriages and the curved-pole-canopy carriage (Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 25–27, 31 and 49) are intact. Hence, these five carriages were definitively not weaponed. The entry concerning the new comfortable carriage is fragmented. This carriage (vehicle no. 49), similar to the comfortable vehicle (vehicle no. 44), may have been slightly weaponed. The entries concerning the six road carriages (vehicles nos. 28–30 and 32–34) are missing. These six carriages, similar to most of the other road carriages, were either not equipped with weapons or merely equipped with a few weapons.

[769] See footnote 1250.

and an unknown accessory called *yan* 鞔. All the six weapon types recorded were indeed found in the northern and the eastern chambers of the tomb, although their numbers do not correspond to those in the records, as will be compared below. No weapon accessories were discovered in the tomb.

The records specify three subtypes of *ji*-polearms, i.e. the first subtype equipped with three side blades and one top blade, the second with three side blades without top blade and the third with two side blades without top blade (see Appendix I: Table 7 and Table 8). Interestingly, *ji*-polearms of three subtypes, i.e. I-III, were excavated from the northern chamber of the tomb (see Fig. 32). They correspond exactly to the three subtypes in the records. The records refer to three *ji*-polearms of the first subtype, nine of the second, seven of the third as well as four of which the subtype is not specified (see Appendix I: Table 8). The latter four *ji*-polearms may have belonged to any of the three subtypes. If merely the list entries marked with "●" are regarded, the numbers of the *ji*-polearms of these three subtypes amount to three, seven, and five (or six); and the *ji*-polearms of unknown subtypes amount to four. The specimens of the three subtypes I-III discovered in the tomb amount to three, nine and 18, respectively (see Appendix I: Table 8). Hence, whether the checkmarks are regarded or not, the *ji*-polearms of the first two subtypes in the records seem to be equal in numbers to or slightly outnumbered by those of the subtypes I and II. But the discrepancy between the number of the third subtype in the records and those of subtype III is apparent. In addition, the *ji*-polearms of the unspecified types apparently have an influence on the extent of the overlap between the recorded *ji*-polearms and the ones discovered in the tomb. At any rate, it seems that the *ji*-polearms that are buried outnumber those that were described in the records.

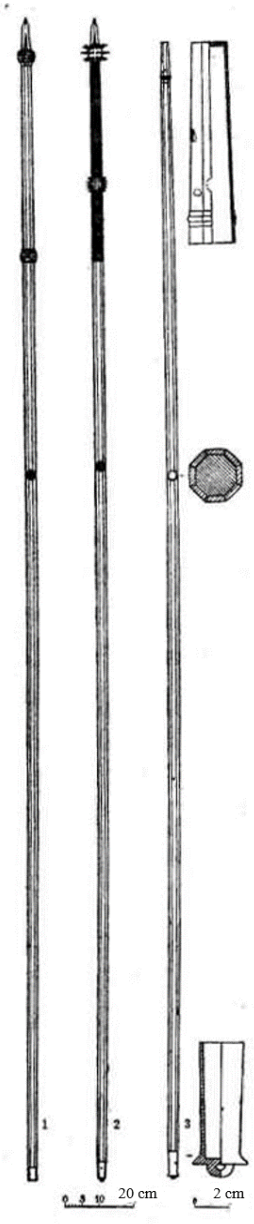


Fig. 33 Two specimens of the ordinary *shu*-polearms (1, 2) and one specimen of the *shu*-polearm of the Jin stype (3) discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

The records distinguish between two subtypes of *shu*-polearms, i.e. ordinary *shu*-polearms (*shu* 殳), which amount to seven; and *shu*-polearms of the Jin style (Jin *shu* 晉殳), which amount to nine (see Appendix I: Table 7 and Table 8). Furthermore, the records of four

shu-polearms may have been omitted, which could have been of either type.[770] For the first time, archaeologists could identify the seven long poles with short top blades in the tomb as ordinary *shu*-polearms (see Fig. 33, 1 and 2), since some of the specimens bear inscriptions with self-references.[771] The excavators assume that 14 further long poles, which are equipped with a bronze cap instead of a top blade each, may have been those called the *shu*-polearms of the Jin style (see Fig. 33, 3).[772] The *shu*-polearms of the unspecified types apparently have an influence on the extent of the overlap between the recorded *ji*-polearms and the specimens discovered in the tomb (see Appendix I: Table 8). If the checkmarks are regarded, the overlap becomes even smaller. At any rate, it seems that the *ji*-polearms that are buried slightly outnumber those that were described in the records.

The recorded *ge*-polearms amount to 45, 39 (or 41) of which are mentioned in entries bearing checkmarks (see Appendix I: Table 7 and Table 8. The vehicle phrase of vehicle no. 15 is missing). The northern and the eastern tomb chambers yielded 59 and 7 *ge*-polearms, respectively (see Appendix I: Table 8). Hence, the *ge*-polearms in the tomb outnumber those in the records. If the checkmarks are regarded, the difference in number becomes even larger.

The records refer to 42 bows of the Qin style (*Qin gong* 秦弓), 38 of which in entries bearing checkmarks (see Appendix I: Table 7 and Table 8). Each bow was equipped with a bow quiver. The tomb yielded no bow quivers, but 30 and 25 bows in the northern and the eastern tomb chambers, respectively. The excavators categorised these bows in two subtypes. To the first subtype belongs merely one bow, which is 55 cm long and made of a single wooden stick (Inv. No. N. 78). All the other bows belong to the second subtype, of which each specimen is made of three wooden strips and has a length of 117–130 cm. The "Qin style", probably referring to the local style of the Qin state (Qin 秦), was a famous style in pre-Qin literature.[773] Compared with the sizes of the bows (100–115 cm) discovered in the mausoleum of the First

[770] For details of the omission see Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 2, 3, 16 and 17; and footnote 1157.

[771] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 293 ff.

[772] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 294 ff.

[773] See Li Lin 李琳 and Bai Jiangang 白建钢, "'Qingong' yu 'Wugou'" "秦弓"与"吴钩", *Wenbo*, no. 6 (1987): 71.

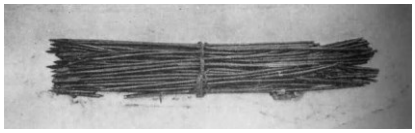


Fig. 34 A bundle of arrows (Inv. No. N. 102) discovered in tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

Emperor of the Qin dynasty,[774] the "bows of the Qin style" perhaps refer to the second subtype. Apparently, while two subtypes of bows were buried, merely one subtype is recorded; furthermore, whether the checkmarks are regarded or not, more bows were buried than those that were described in the records (see Appendix I: Table 8).

The arrows are mostly recorded in association with arrow quivers. Except for a few cases, each quiver held 50 arrows ("矢，箙五秉", i.e. "50 arrows per quiver", see Appendix I: Table 7). The recorded arrow quivers and arrows amount to 88 and 3403, respectively (see Appendix I: Table 7 and Table 8). While no arrow quivers were discovered in the tomb, 4507 arrows were found in the northern and the eastern chambers. Interestingly, most arrows were found in piles, which were partly bundled together. Each bundle consisted of 50 arrows (see Fig. 34),[775] which indicates that they derived from those arrow quivers that used to hold 50 arrows each. Whether the checkmarks are regarded or not, more arrows were buried than those that were described in the records (see Appendix I: Table 8).

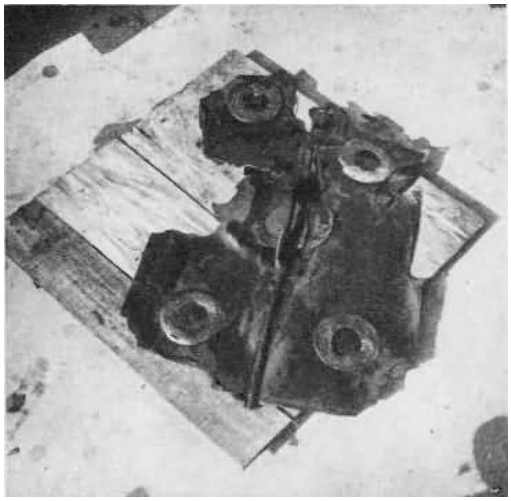


Fig. 35 Fragment of the verso of a shield (Inv. No. E. 62), with embedded rings made of tin-lead alloy and covered with gold foils, from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

The records differentiate four subtypes of shields, i.e. five "golden shields", 30 painted shields, one "leather shield" and two "shields of tiger's head". Furthermore, the subtypes of five further shields are not specified. In the northern and the eastern chambers, merely the fragmented, hollow lacquer coatings and 49 lacquered wooden grips of the shields were discovered. The excavators assume that the shields used to have leather cores.[776] Neither the "leather shield" nor any "shields of tiger's head" can be identified among the excavated ones. While 14 of the discovered shields were lacquered black overall,

774 See Li Lin 1987, 71.

775 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 296 ff.

776 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 303.

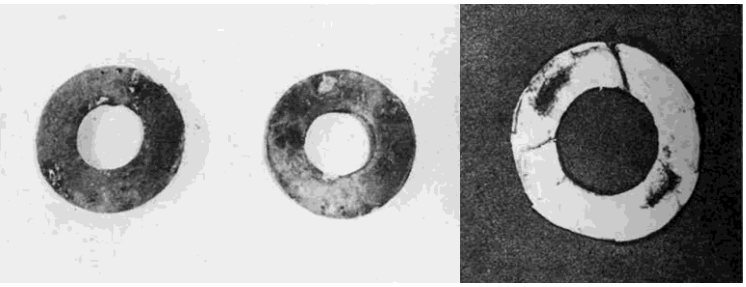


Fig. 36 Three rings made of tin-lead alloy and covered with gold foils (left: Inv. No. N. 129; right: Inv. No. E. 231), from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

35 of them were grounded with black lacquer and additionally painted with red and yellow colours on their versos and grips. These 35 shields may have been called "painted shields", but they outnumber the recorded ones, whether the checkmarks in the records are regarded or not. One shield, bearing on its verso six rings made of tin-lead alloy and coated with gold foil (see Fig. 35), may have been called a "golden shield". Six of such rings were discovered in the eastern chamber and ten more in the northern chamber (for examples see Fig. 36). They may have derived from three further shields. Hence, four "golden shields" were buried in the tomb.

The extent of the overlap between the recorded "golden shields" and the buried ones probably reveals the usage of the checkmarks. It is the only weapon type, of which the recorded ones definitively outnumber the discovered ones. This indicates that not all the recorded weapons were deposited in the tomb.

But if merely the "golden shields" in the list entries with checkmarks are regarded, then their number is reduced to three, which is less than the number of the interred ones. This means, if merely the list entries marked with "⬬" are regarded, the excavated weapons of all types and subtypes outnumber those that are recorded on the A strips.

In this vein, it is remarkable that the types of the excavated weapons outnumber those that are recorded on the A strips as well. 49 *mao*-polearms, a weapon type that is not found among the records at all, were deposited partly in the eastern chamber and partly in the northern chamber of the tomb. Since the weapons of each individual type are recorded in many individual list entries, it seems unlikely that the records of all 49 *mao*-polearms would have been fragmented. Therefore, the weapons recorded in the manuscripts were not the exclusive source of the weapons desposited in the tomb. This will be further addressed below

I surmise that the weapons recordeded in the marked entries on the A strips were buried in the tomb. They formed a great part of those that were discovered in the marquis' tomb (see Appendix I: Table 8). Part of them used to be loaded on nine vehicles that were to be buried in

two accompanying pits (see Appendix I: Table 8, vehicles nos. 7, 12, 38, 41, 43–46 and 49), i.e., these vehicles were unloaded before they were buried. At least one vehicle phrase on the A strips is completely missing, i.e., it is not known whether this entry was marked (see Appendix I: Table 7, vehicle no. 15). Those weapons recorded in the entries that are not marked, including at least the entries concerning the travelling reserve chariot and the principal chariot (see Appendix I: Table 7, vehicles nos. 2 and 4), were probably not buried in the tomb. These two vehicles were part of those that were to be buried in the accompanying pits as well (see Appendix I: Table 15, vehicles nos. 2 and 4). It is probable that the weapons were also buried in the accompanying pits. The practice to bury part of the weapons in the tomb and the remaining part together with vehicles in accompanying pits began at the latest in the Western Zhou dynasty.[777] This practice still continued in the Warring States period.[778]

The recorded weapon accessories (see Appendix I: Table 7) were not found in the tomb at all. The pole-weapon receptacles might have been fixed accoutrements on vehicles[779] and were therefore not buried together with the weapons anyway. But it is noteworthy that the *shu*-polearms discovered in the tomb probably used to be the poles of the *pei*-pennants. As has been pointed out by Qiu and Li, all the specimen of the *shu*-polearms bear holes at their tops, which were probably used to fix the *pei*-pennants.[780] At any rate, the pennants are commonly recorded immediately after either subtypes of the *shu*-polearms. Hence, at least part of the *pei*-pennants were probably buried in the tomb, but they did not survive the millennia. Most of the other accessories, i.e. bow quivers, arrow quivers and further flags, were made of organic materials, such as fish hide, various mammal furs, leather, textiles and feathers (see Appendix I: Table 7). These materials, if preserved at all, were of extremely poor condition; none of them can be

[777] The Western Zhou tomb no. 8 at Beizhao, a tomb of a marquis of the Jin March, yielded weapons such as *ge*-polearms and arrows. The accompanying pit of this tomb yielded vehicles with further arrows and long polearms. See Sun Hua et al. 1994, 13, Fig. 17; Ji Kunzhang 吉琨璋 et al., "Shanxi Beizhao Jin hou mudi yihao chemakeng fajue jianbao" 山西北赵晋侯墓地一号车马坑发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2010): 8, Fig. 7–9.

[778] The practice can be observed in the Warring States tomb 1 at Yancang and in its accompanying pit. See Song Youzhi 宋有志, "Hubei Jingmen Yancang muqun M1 fajue jianbao" 湖北荆门严仓墓群 M1 发掘情况, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 1 (2010): 132.

[779] See footnote 769.

[780] See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 505 ff., footnote 31; Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 295.

identified as weapon accessories.[781] Hence, if the organic weapon accessories used to be interred, they could hardly have survived. Therefore, no further discussion concerning the overlap between the recorded accessories and the interred ones is possible.

The records on the B strips and part of those on the A strips (entries concerning the vehicles nos. 18 and 19) list 64 suits of armours and 86 suits of barding (Appendix I: Table 12), which were associated with 20 vehicles. The armoury officials described each individual armour suit in two parts, i.e. the "body armour" (*jia* 甲) and the "helm" (*zhou* 冑); they also described each individual barding suit in two parts, i.e. the "horse's body barding" (*ma zhi… jia* 馬之甲) and the "chamfron" (*zhou* 冑).

Indeed, numerous fragments of the hollow lacquer coatings of armour suits and barding suits were found in the northern tomb chamber. A few lacquer coatings bear traces of raw hide (*shengpi* 生皮) cores.[782] Merely a fraction of the fragments has undergone a restauration, through which 13 armour suits and two barding suits were more or less reconstructed. It seems that each armour suit includes a shirt, a skirt and a helm.[783] And each barding suit includes a crinet, a peytral, two flancards and a chamfron; no crupper has yet been identified.[784] The compositions of the armour suits and barding suits discovered in the tombs seem to correspond to those that are recorded, if a human "body armour" consisted of a shirt and a skirt, and a piece of "horse's body barding" consisted of a crinet, a peytral, two flancards and a chamfron.

Due to the partial reconstruction, a stylistic comparison beween the recorded suits and the excavated ones is only partially possible. For instance, the armoury officials distinguished four different styles of the body barding, i.e. the "vermillion" (*tongjia* 彤甲), the "black-lacquered" (*qijia* 髹甲),[785] the "painted" (*huajia* 畫甲) and the "uncoloured" ones (*sujia* 索（素）甲).

---

781 In the northern, eastern and central tomb chambers, merely a few fragments of textiles (garn or textiles of silk or bast fibre) were found. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 438 ff., Table 49.

782 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 333.

783 For the reconstruction of the suits of armours see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 333–352.

784 The chamfrons, crinet, peytral, flancards, and crupper can offer protection to the horse's head, neck, breast, both flanks, and hind quarters, respectively. See Clifford J. Rogers, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, vol. 1 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010): 124.

785 Transmitted literature and funerary lists of early China indicate that the character *qi* 漆 (a variant of *qi* 髹) sometimes refers to a colour, i.e., the original, brownish-black colour of lacquer or black lacquer colour. In

Except for the uncoloured barding, all the colour styles are represented among the lacquer coatings of the excavated body barding, i.e. vermillion, black, or red patterns on black ground.[786] The "uncoloured" body barding was probably not lacquered. Judging by the condition of leather fragments discovered in the tomb, if any such barding was interred, it is likely that it left no discernable traces. Hence, at least part of the barding recorded was probably indeed buried in the tomb.



Fig. 37 Three labels discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

The partial reconstruction does not allow a numerical comparison beween the recorded suits and the excavated ones. A big part of the list entries concerning the armour and barding suits are marked with "●". It is possible that, similar to the weapons, the armour and barding suits recorded in the marked entries were to be buried in the tomb; those in the entries that are not marked (at least the entry of vehicle no. 37 in Appendix I: Table 12) were probably buried in the accompanying pits. At least two vehicle phrases on the B strips are completely missing, i.e., it is not known whether these two entries were marked (see Appendix I: Table 12, vehicles not numbered). Furthermore, labels discovered in the tomb corroborate the function of the checkmarks. At least three wooden labels with an identical inscription "𨫼軒之马甲" (see Fig. 37), i.e. "body barding of the [horses drawing the] side-screen reserve-

Huainanzi, for instance, it is said that "工人下漆而上丹則可，下丹而上漆則不可。萬事由此，所先後上下，不可不審" (If an artisan applies black lacquer first and then applies cinnabar lacquer over it, that is possible; if he applies cinnabar lacquer first and then black lacquer over it, that is not possible. Everything is like this: you cannot fail to attend to what is first and what is last, what is on top and what is underneath.) See Liu An 劉安, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, compiled by He Ning 何寧 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998): 1125; the translation is adapted from Liu An, *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*, translated by John S. Major et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010): 641.

In funerary lists, the character, written as *qi* 黹 or *qi* 𩇕, generally refers to the black lacquer colour. For instance, the list on a wooden board from tomb no. 1 of Dafentou in Yunmeng, Hubei province, contains the following entry: "𩇕（漆）隋（橢）檢（奩）二，其一小，畫", i.e., "two black-lacquered, oval *lian*-boxes, of which the smaller one is painted". Indeed, two black-lacquered, oval *lian*-boxes were found in the tomb. The smaller one of them is, in addition, painted with red and brown lacquer. Furthermore, the item on strip 181 in the list from tomb 1 of Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan province, reads: "𩇕布小卮一，容二升，有蓋，盛溫酒", i.e., "one lacquered, small *zhi*-mug with a core made of bast fibre fabric, with a capacity of two *sheng* [ca. 400 ml]); equipped with a lid; holding mulled wine". One such lidded *zhi*-mug (inv. No. 388), of which the outside is lacquered black and carved with line-drawings, is found in the tomb. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1981a, 7 and 18; Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 82.

[786] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 342.

chariot", were discovered in the northern chamber. Among the records, there are indeed two entries concerning ten barding suits associated with two side-screen reserve-chariots. Interestingly, both entries are marked (Appendix I: Table 12, vhicles nos. 12 and 13).

Accordingly, the deposition of the weaponry recorded on the A and B strips was probably planned as follows: afters the related vehicles among others arrived at the tomb, the weaponry on them was to be buried in the tomb, except for those weapons on at least two vehicles and the armours and barding on at least one vehicle; the exceptional weaponry was to be buried in the accompanying pits along with 15 vehicles and 64 horses.

The checkmarks in the manuscripts highlighted the vehicles loaded with the weaponry determined for the tomb. But they probably merely indicated the sketch of a plan to bury the weaponry. In view of the extensive size and the intricate layout of the writings on the A and B strips, with paragraphs consisting of multiple long list entries concerning various other material recources, it does seem impractical to use the lists as a plan of burying the weaponry. The disposal of such a large amount of weaponry must have been significant in the long-term organisation of material resources at the Zeng court. Hence, the lists on the A and B strips, which were buried, cannot have born the exclusive record of the disposal. It is probable that, on the basis of the lists, a more succinct plan was created with concise instructions about the disposal of the weaponry. Such a list could have been kept in the Zeng palace archive.

Apparently, there are certain discrepancies between the weaponry recorded in the marked entries and the weaponry found in the tomb. They concern primarily the numbers of individual weapons, for instance, eleven (or ten) more *ji*-polearms, 27 (or 25) more *ge*-polearms, 17 more bows, one more "golden shield" and over 1.400 more arrows were found in the tomb than those recorded in the marked entries; and the 49 *mao*-polearms found in the tomb were not recorded at all. These discrepancies can hardly be explained by the fragmentation of the manuscripts alone. Their possible cause may have been the update of the sketch. But more likely, the records did not refer to all the weapons that were to be buried.

All the weapons that were to be buried probably used to be exhibited in the marquis' ancestral temple, similar to those in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer (see Subsection 3.5.2). Those weapons exhibited in the Ordinary Officer's funeral were divided into three parts, each representing a facet of the cultural resources of the deceased (see Subsection 3.5.2). Similarly, the weapons in the marquis' ancestral temple were probably also divided into several groups,

which represented several facets of the marquis' cultural resources. As has been argued above, the weaponry loaded on the vehicles described on the A and B strips, except for the road carriages, represented probably one of these facets, i.e. the "instruments of war" (see Subsection 3.5.2).

The road carriages are not associated with any weapons in the records, though, they could have been equipped with certain weaponry as well, which was perhaps not in charge of the armoury officials. Such weaponry may have included two *ge*-polearms bearing each the inscription "曾侯乙之用戈", i.e. "*ge*-polearm for the use of Marquis Yi"; and one *ji*-polearm bearing thrice the inscription "曾侯乙之用𢦏（戟）", i.e. "*ji*-polearm for the use of Marquis Yi".[787] Such weaponry, together with the road carriages, formed part of another facet of the marquis' cultural resources, i.e. his public insignia (*chefu* 車服) (see Subsection 3.5.2).

Inscriptions on several further weapons reveal further facets of the marquis' cultural resources, e.g., his lineage continuity and his security in private spaces. For instance, seven *ge*-polearm bear inscriptions relating to Marquis Yue (Zeng Hou Yue 曾侯𫐄),[788] a close ancestor of Marquis Yi.[789] In addition, another *ge*-polearm bears the inscription "曾侯乙之寢戈" (Inv. No. E.150),[790] i.e. "*ge*-polearm of the inner chamber of Marquis Yi".

These weapons were perhaps in charge of further agencies (such as ritual experts, court's security guards) rather than the armoury officials. It seems unlikely that they had been deposited in the Zeng armoury. Accordingly, it was beyond the armoury officials' duty to arrange their funerary usage.

Although all the recorded weaponry was likely buried, it is important to point out that the organisational pattern of the weaponry in the records is totally different from that of the weaponry in the tomb. The armoury officials recorded the weaponry in sets pertaining to individual vehicles, draught horses and sometimes also persons (see Subsection 3.5.1), in order

787 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 263.

788 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 262 ff.

789 See Zhang Changping 张昌平, "Zeng Hou Yi, Zeng Hou Yu he Zeng Hou Yue" 曾侯乙、曾侯邁和曾侯𫐄, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 1 (2009): 92–99.

790 See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 260 and 263.

to display them in the ancestral temple and in the funerary procession. But in the tomb, none of such weaponry sets were found. It seems that the primary criterion in organising the weaponry was the spatial economics, i.e. to stow the weaponry of similar sizes together so that the limited space could afford it. For instance, all the long pole-arms, including the *mao*-polearms that are not recorded, were deposited orderly alongside the eastern, the northern and the western walls of the nothern chambers (see Fig. 38). Short weapons (bows, arrows and shields), part of which were found in bamboo *si*-baskets (*zhusi* 竹笥), were entangled with fragments of a wooden shelf (Inv. No. N.46) in the centre of the northern chamber (see Fig. 39). Part of the armour suits were deposited in bamboo *si*-baskets as well.[791] The excavators assume that the short weapons and the armour suits in *si*-baskets probably used to be stored on the wooden shelf.[792] After the shelf collapsed at some point in time during the millennia, all the items on it scattered around the centre of the chamber or floated in water.[793] The other suits of armour and barding formed a pile of ca. 1 meter height on the floor in the western part of the chamber (see Fig. 39).[794]

Hence, all the weaponry recorded was likely buried, partly in the marquis' tomb and partly in the accompanying pits that were either destoyed or have not yet been found. But the organisational pattern of the weaponry in the records apparently differs from that of the weaponry in the tomb, indicating that the records were originally made for fields of actions that were reproduced in completely different spaces than in the tomb. Nevertheless, the checkmarks transformed the records into the sketch of a plan of burying the recorded weaponry in two separate spaces, i.e. the tomb and the accompanying pits.

[791] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 332.

[792] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 64 and 341.

[793] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 64.

[794] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 364 and 332.

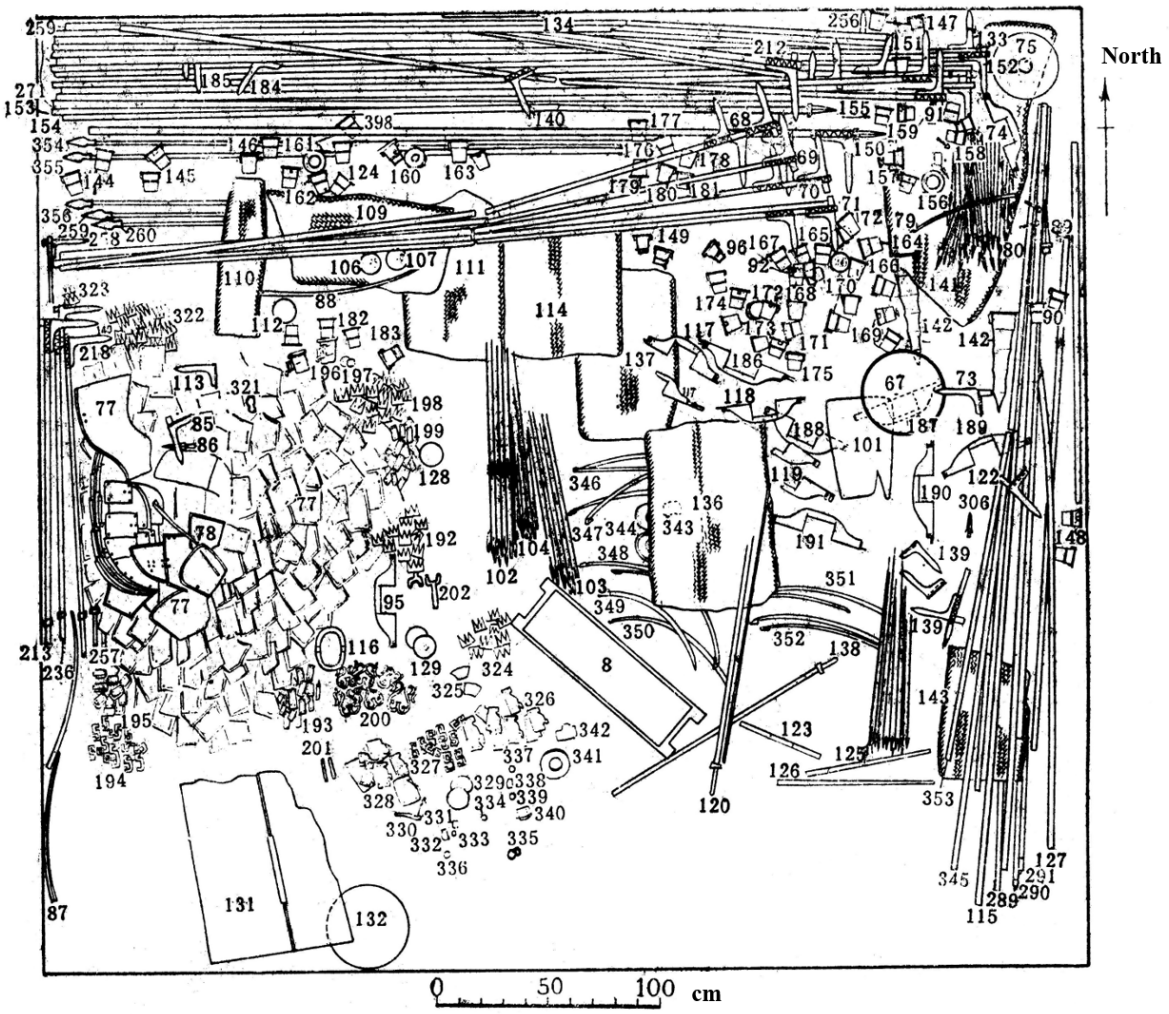


Fig. 38 The third layer of goods in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

Inv. Nos. N.68–71, 73, 113, 115, 122, 127, 133, 139, 150, 152, 184, 185 *ji*-polearms; 72, 90 (2 pieces), 91–92, 96, 112 (2), 124 (2), 144–149 (12), 156 (2), 157, 158–176 (38), 177–180 (4), 181–182 (4), 183, 398 (2) bronze axle caps; 74, 95, 116–119, 123, 186–191 shield grips (13); 75 (2), 132 carved wooden discs; 77 barding; 78, 79, 87, 88, 126, 346–352 wooden bows; 80 (296), 102 (225), 103 (271), 104 (260), 306, 307 (268), 308 (45), 309 (233), 310 (154), 311 (242), 312 (119) arrow heads [307 was found under 102]; 85, 120, 138, 140, 212–258 *ge*-polearms [230–235 and 237–255 were found under 77]; 89, 151, 153–155, 290, 291 ordinary *shu*-polearms; 106, 107, 344 stone *bi*-discs; 109–111, 114, 136–137, 141, 143 bamboo *si*-baskets; 125 (231) arrow shafts; 128–129, 329 (2) rings made of tin-lead alloy and covered with gold foils; 131 shield; 134, 399 plate-shaped items made of tin-lead alloy [399 was found under 77]; 142 (2) bronze axle caps with top blades; 192 (32), 193 (147), 194 (14), 195 (30), 196 (2), 322 (15), 323 (2), 324 (9), 325 (2), 326 (8) carved bronze ornaments; 197 (2) round, bronze knobs; 198 (56), 199 (5), 200 (9), 327 (17), 328 (2) carved ornaments made of tin-lead alloy; 201 rectangular bone ornament; 202 lacquered, double-X-shaped wooden component; 259–288, 313–320, 353–360 *mao*–polearms [272–288 and 313–320 were found under 259–271, 357 was found under 354–356]; 289, 345 poles of *mao*-polearms; 292–305 *shu*-polearms of the Jin style [292–305 were found under 259–271]; 321 flat wooden figurine; 330 L-shaped item made of bone; 331–339 (4780) wooden buttons; 340 (2) folded ornaments made of tin-lead alloy and covered with gold foils; 341 jade *bi*-disc; 342–243 jade pendants [243 was found in the bamboo *si*-basket no. 136]; 361 stone adornment [found under 77]; 362–397 gold foils [found under 77].

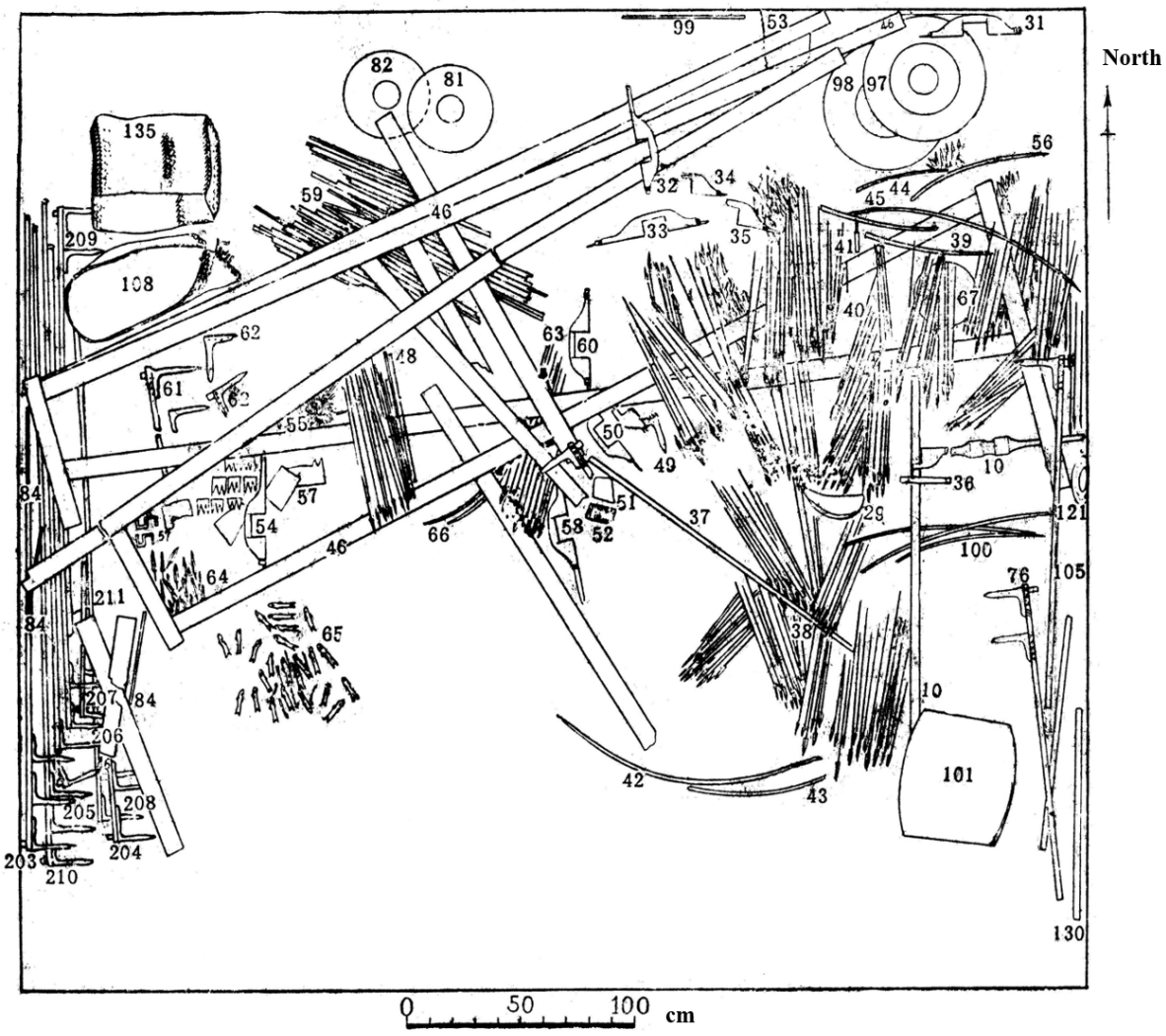


Fig. 39 The second layer of goods in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

Inv. Nos. N.31–36, 50, 54, 58 (2 pieces), 60 shield grips; 37, 49 *ge*-polearms; 38 (218), 63 (51), 64 (113) arrow heads; 39, 42–45, 56, 66 (2), 100 (2) wooden bows; 40 (259) arrows; 41 bronze chisel; 46 components of a wooden shelf; 48, 59 bamboo strips; 51 (7), 53 (12) carved ornaments made of tin-lead alloy; 52 bamboo *lou*-basket; 55 silk garn; 57 (2) carved bronze ornaments; 61–62, 76, 105, 130, 203–211 *ji*-polearms; 65 (271) fish-shaped ornaments made of tin-lead alloy; 67 wooden pail with three feet; 81–82, 121 carved wooden discs; 84 wooden nail; 97–99 plate-shaped items made of tin-lead alloy; 101 wooden pail; 108, 135 bamboo *si*-baskets.

3.7.4 Special Loads of Several Vehicles

Six vehicles in four entries on the A and B strips were loaded with special items (see Appendix I: Table 11). One of them, a *chili* cart, was perhaps loaded with calves and ram lambs. As has been addressed above, these loads were likely sacrificed as pre-entombment offering in the

ancestral temple, after they have formed part of the funerary procession between the Zeng palace and ancestral temple.

Three road carriages of a certain Chu aristocrat were perhaps loaded with certain items made of silk, while one of the hearses was loaded with a lavish purple bag. In the tomb, merely fragments of silk and textiles were discovered.[795] Therefore, no comparison between the records and the tomb goods is possible.

The remaining vehicle, a travelling chariot, was loaded with a series of tools, such as *gui*-spades 銫, *cha*-spades 臿, sickles, needles, ropes and flints (all the items might have been singular). Two spades and a rope were indeed discovered in the tomb. But as pointed out by the excavators, they were probably tools left by the looters.[796] Tools as those in the records are not explicitly mentioned in the early Chinese funerary cycle. The ropes were possibly needed as the coffins were lowered down into the tomb chamber; and the spades may have been used for, at least symbolically, shovelling the fill back into the tomb pit after the entombment. Otherwise I do not know why these tools were loaded on the vehicle. At any rate, they were probably not buried in the tomb.

3.7.5 Summary

Among the various material resources, humans and animals recorded in the Leigudun manuscripts, merely the vehicle parts and accoutrements, weaponry and horse tack recorded on the A and B strips overlap partly with the tomb goods.

But these material resources in the records demonstrate completely different organisational patterns as those of the related tomb goods. In the records, the vehicle parts, accoutrements, weaponry and horse tack form sets pertaining to individual vehicles, draught horses and sometimes persons. In the tomb, vehicle parts and accoutrements instead of complete vehicles were buried, which was in line with conventional practices in central China since the Shang dynasty. Interstingly, certain vehicle parts and accoutrements seem to have

[795] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 435–39.

[796] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 11.

been damaged or bore stress markers due to the turbulent funerary procession, while others seem to have been leftovers of new spare parts. Horse tack in the tomb seems to have derived from draught horses that were buried together with vehicles in accompanying pits. And the weaponry in the tomb was primarily organised due to the spatial economics.

The overlaps as well as the discrepancies in the organisational patterns of these material resources are testimony of the intersection of several fields of actions, i.e., the procession, the vehicle exhibition, the presentation of draught horses, the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the entombment.

The lists on the A and B strips were originally the records of reshaping dozens of vehicles and their draught horse teams into basic organisational patterns, which could be partly adopted and adapted while those pre-entombment fields of action were reproduced. Most of the list entries were added with checkmarks, as the entombment was put on the agenda. These checkmarks turned the lists into the sketch of a plan of burying the weaponry. More precisely, all the weaponry associated with the marked vehicles was to be buried in the tomb, while the remaining weaponry was to be buried in the accompanying pits along with 15 vehicles and 64 horses. Based on this sketch, a succinct plan of burying the weaponry was probably created. While the sketch was buried, the plan was possibly kept in the archive of the Zeng March.

3.8 Summary

The lists on the A-D strips from the tomb of Marquis Yi provide a picture of how a large amount of material and human resources were organised into some basic patterns for their participation in the marquis' funeral. Part of the C strips bear non-final versions of two gift lists of vehicles, which may correspond to those called *feng*-gift lists in Yili. The remaining C strips, the A and B strips as well as part of the D strips bear lists demonstrating how vehicles, draught animals, persons, vehicle parts, vehicle accoutrements, horse tack, weaponry and sacrificial animals were combined and reshaped in the funerary context.

More precisely, these lists together related to among others at least 80 vehicles, 235 horses and 2 mules. Some 50 vehicles derived from the Zeng Palace, most of which used to form the marquis' convoys on individual occasions in his lifetime. The remaining 29 ones were gifts of

Chu aristocrats including the Chu king and his crown prince. The animals were obtained through gift-giving by aristocrats, officials, chieftains, commoners from both Chu and Zeng, and two guests from the Song Dutchy; as well as institutionalised breeding and tribute payment by Zeng officials. A large part of them, including the mules, became draught animals, which were organised into teams to match 41 of the Zeng vehicles and four donated ones. The remaining horses, which were organised in three groups, underwent a fattening process. Ca. 50 vehicles, including part of the Zeng ones and part of the Chu gifts, were reshaped by certain armoury officials of the Zeng court with vehicle parts, vehicle accoutrements and horse tack. Yet part of these 50 vehicles were loaded with armours and barding or calves and ram lambs.

The lists bestowed basic patterns on these vehicles, draught animals, persons and further material recources. These patterns could be adopted and adapted in the reproductions of multiple fields of action in the funeral of the marquis. For instance, the vehicles and the draught animals took part in the procession in the fifth and seventh funerary stages, as well as the vehicle exhibition and the draught animal presentation in the sixth stage. The calves and ram lambs were likely destined as victims for certain offerings in the ancestral temple before the entombment. 15 of these Zeng vehicles and their draught horses were to be buried in two accompanying pits in the frame of the entombment. And the fattened horses were perhaps to be sacrificed in certain post-entombment offerings.

All these fields of action belonged to the second cluster of fields, which collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which likely eventually formed the resources in the entombment (even if the above-mentioned resources, such as the calves and ram lambs, were themselves not buried). It is important to point out that while two of these fields, i.e., the vehicle exhibition and the draught horse presentation, are reproduced in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer, they do not belong to the second cluster of fields. Hence, when a field of action was reproduced by the bereaved who had accesses to different cultural resources, it could have intersected the field of the entombment or not.

Part of the lists on the C strips themselves probably also played a role in the ritualised part of the funeral. They were probably used as guidelines of the presentation of draught animal teams and as a script for public announcements of the provenances of these animals.

The remaining D strips bear sketches of two further plans concerning post-entombment offerings. The first plan involved the manpower (three offices and 53 additional persons)

needed for individual tasks in certain sacrifices, including the catering of the Zeng capital with offerings via a postal system, the preparation of the victims and further offerings, and the performance of prayers during sacrifices. And the second plan outlined taxes to be levied in the form of salt and corvée labour related to certain sacrificial activities. Interestingly, these taxes were to be levied from two offices, which also provided vehicle riders in the funeral of the marquis. Of course, the field of post-entombment offering went beyond the two clusters of fields of action.

The writings on each individual strip group demonstrate several scribal hands and sometimes inconsistent layout and structure. Several strip groups consist of subgroups according to the positions of the notches on individual strips. And one of the A strips even formed part of a gift list inscribed primarily on the C strips. Possibly, the inscribing process involved several scribes. And the garnering of the related goods, e.g., vehicles and horses, occupied a long period in time. The long duration of this process, which partly intersected the temporal frame of the creation of the lists, was prone to uncertainties that left traces on the written records.

Checkmarks on the A and B strips and notes on the C strips indicate that part of the lists were edited afterwards and perhaps transformed into the source texts of some new documents. Such documents, which were not buried, may have guided the disposal of certain material resources in the tomb and the accompanying pits, respectively. In addition, the list enries on most of the C strips seem to have been based on documents that were not buried, either. These documents must have detailed the provenances of the draught animals, i.e., whether they were obtained as gifts, breeding gains, tributes etc. It is possible that the Zeng court kept such documents in its palace archive instead of burying them, because they were significant for the long-term administration of material and human resources. The lists on the A-D strips, as a contrast, were buried because they were merely used in nonrecurring, short-term administration of resources and were therefore not significant for the long-term administration of these resources.

A comparison between the lists' contents and the tomb goods indicates that on the one hand, the lists merely involve a small part of the material and human resources that participated in the funeral of the marquis. They refer neither to the goods in the officially unearthed accompanying pits, nor to the human victims, nor to most of the goods in the tomb. On the other hand, merely a small part of the recorded material resources ended up in the tomb and

perhaps its acccompanying pits that were partly inofficially discovered. These buried material resources were organised in patterns totally different from those demonstrated in the lists. Hence, none of the lists used to be a tomb inventory list.

The lists provide new insights into various practices that eluded transmitted texts, in terms of how the resources in an aristocratic funeral were garnered and utilised. For instance, donated draught animals were mixed and combined with those from other sources for the immediate usage in the funeral, which inevitably necessitated a training process and thus probably took a toll on the temporal frame. The donated vehicles took part together with the Zeng ones in the funerary display, which must have entailed some previous coordination and perhaps also rehearsal. The monumental outer coffin was transported to the tomb as a whole, separately from the inner coffin. As the sealed inner coffin was placed into the outer coffin, after the latter was lowered down into the tomb chamber, various further goods were put between the two coffins. These practices enrich the picture provided by transmitted literature about the funerary cycle of the high aristocrats in early China.

The lists indicate that the material and human resources engaged in the funerary rites derived from a vast circle of reciprocity, which was primarily formed by aristocrats of the Zeng March and the Chu Kingdom. But the lists also refer to a ritualistic repertoire (part of the cultural resources) that was essentially inherited from the Zhou royal house. These peculiar ritual behaviors are in line with the ambivalent self-identity of the Zeng March since the era of one of the close ancestors of Marquis Yi, as indicated by recent archaelogical discoveries.

Chapter 4 Approach to the Further Funerary Lists

This chapter approached the whole corpus of funerary lists from early Chinese shaft tombs in terms of the systematic absence of references to certain tomb goods. Furthermore, this chapter provides an insight into several early lists, addressing the transformation of material resources indicated by the discrepancy between the contents of individual lists and related tomb goods, in order to exemplify the creation and usage of such lists. If not specified otherwise, all the tombs concerned were unlooted.

4.1 Absence of References in the Lists

Discrepancies between the contents of funerary lists from early shaft tombs and the goods disposed in those tombs are manifold. In some cases, such discrepancies might be resolved by conventional explanations (e.g., the fragmentation of the funerary lists[797] or the changes in the plan of entombment).[798] But these explanations do not seem to provide adequate reasons for the following three phenomena: first, the lists systematically lack references to goods deposited in certain self-contained locations. Second, individual lists lack references to certain types of tomb goods, while the other lists generally include those types. Third, all the lists systematically lack references to certain types of tomb goods. These three phenomena will be analysed with the device "field of action" in the following.

4.1.1 Systematic Absence of References to Goods Deposited in Self-Contained Spaces

Since the systematic absence of records sometimes concerns certain deposition locations in tombs, it is necessary to obtain an overview of the architectural structure of early Chinese tombs that yielded funerary lists. The architectural structure of a tomb, as part of the material components of the tomb itself, significantly determines the way how the other material components can be deposited. Among the tombs yielding funerary lists, tomb no. 1 at

[797] See Hu Yali 2008, 371.

[798] Sahara 2002, 407–410; Zheng Shubin 2005b, 32.

Leigudun, tomb no. 1 at Wuwangdun 武王墩, and the tomb of Marquis of Haihun were equipped with accompanying pits or further aboveground architecture.[799] The lists from the first tomb have been studied in Chapter 3 and the lists from the latter two tombs have not yet been published (in full). Hence, the following discussion refers neither to the accompanying pits nor to the aboveground architecture in general.

The tomb architectures that yielded funerary lists dating from before the mid-Eastern Han dynasty shared a similar structure to a certain extent. Each of them was a shaft tomb that contained a wooden chamber-and-coffin structure, i.e. one or more wooden tomb chambers containing one or more wooden coffins.

Scholars normally do not ask why the tomb pits and the fill materials in them (e.g., sealing clay, charcoals or rammed earth) have never been a subject of the funerary lists. The construction of a tomb pit and the preparation of the fill materials involved different spatial contexts, techniques and human resources than those concerned in the preparation of the goods that were to be deposited in the tomb. Accordingly, the creation and usage of the tomb pit forms a field of action separate from those, which brought forth funerary lists that came to us.

Funerary lists rarely mention the wooden chamber-and-coffin structures, bei extension the devices attached to the coffins, either. These devices include textile and lacquer used to seal the coffins, textiles used to wind the coffins, ropes used to lower down a coffin into another or into a coffin chamber, reels used to tighten the ropes, wedges between the nesting coffins and chocks under the coffins.[800]

But there are two exceptional lists that do include descriptions of certain disposal containers: the list prepared by Yuan She itemised at least a coffin (see Section 2.2); while the list discovered in tomb no. 1 at Xiejiaqiao includes a description of the material and the size of

[799] For the possible existence of the accompanying pits at tomb no. 1 at Leigudun see Subsection 3.4.1; for the aboveground architecture at the tomb no. 1 at Dundunshan see Yang Jun 杨军 and Xu Changqing 徐长青, "Nanchangshi Xihan Haihun Hou mu" 南昌市西汉海昏侯墓, *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2016): 48–49; for an introduction of the cemetery at Wuwangdun see Li Rui 李瑞, "Chuguo zuigao dengji muzang yi tiqu wenwu chao qian jian : Wuwangdun mu kaogu gongzuo qude zhongyao chengguo" 楚国最高等级墓葬已提取文物超千件: 武王墩墓考古工作取得重要成果, *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中国文物报, May 19, 2024

[800] All the above-mentioned devices can be observed in tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan. Many other tombs more or less bear similar material traces as well. See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 462–465.

the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure.[801] The deceased for whom Yuan She prepared a coffin used to be a commoner, while the deceased at Xiejiaqiao had a son who was ranked *wudafu* 五大夫 (literally "Fifth Grandee"),[802] i.e. the nineth order in the Han Orders of Merit.[803] It was the lowest rank to be given to officials or nobles and could not be held by commoners.[804] It seems that, while the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure was generally administered in a separate field of action in a funeral, this field and certain other fields, in which the excavated funerary lists came into being, sometimes merged into one. Such a merging was more likely associated with practices among members of lower social strata.

A few tombs yielded remains of certain animals or other goods in deposition locations outside the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure, for instance, in small "waist pits" below the coffins, in niches above the wooden chambers or in the fill above the wooden chamber.[805] Interestingly, such goods are seldom referred to in funerary lists. This is an indication that the goods in these deposition locations were administered separately from the goods recorded in the excavated lists, i.e., these goods may have served separate fields of action than those that brought forth the lists. As argued by scholars, the animals in the "waist pits" were used in sacrificial rites of various purposes before the entombment,[806] while the goods in niches and in

---

801 See Cun Mu 寸木, "Xiao yi Xiejiaqiao yi hao Han mu qiance zhong jizai de guoshi zhi zhi" 小議謝家橋一號漢墓遣策中記載的槨室之制, updated May 16, 2009, accessed Feb. 18, 2025, http://www.bsm.org.cn/?hanjian/5255.html.

802 See Wang Mingqing 王明钦 et al., "Hubei Jingzhou Xiejiaqiao yi hao Han mu fajue jianbao" 湖北荆州谢家桥一号汉墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 4 (2009): 42.

803 For an introduction to the history and the systematic of the Orders of Merit see Loewe 1960, 97–174.

804 See Barbieri-Low and Yates 2015, 450.

805 See Wang Zhiyou 2003, 281; Wang Congli 2013, 197.

806 The practice of "waist pits" yielding animals (originally humans) can be traced back to the Shang dynasty. Common interpretations of the sacrifices in those pits include that they were 1) offered to certain deities in order to establish the tomb foundation (*dianji* 奠基), 2) guardians of the tomb occupant and 3) "psychopomps who could guide the spirits of the deceased to the ancestral realm". For arguments of interpretation 1) see Wang Zhiyou 2003, 285 ff.; Yang Hua 杨华, "Lun Zhongguo xian Qin shiqi yaokeng mu zangsu wenhua de qiyuan yu fazhan (shang)" 论中国先秦时期腰坑墓葬俗文化的起源与发展（上）, *Sanxia daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 三峡大学学报（人文社会科学版） 27, no. 6 (2005): 15 ff. For arguments of interpretation 2) see Wu Linqi 吴林栖 and Deng Hongya 邓宏亚, "Chu mu zhong de xunzang xianxiang shulüe" 楚墓中的殉葬现象述略, *Xichang xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 西昌学院学报（社会科学版） 25, no. 2 (2013): 78 ff. For arguments of interpretation 3) see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2006): 194.

the fill were used in certain rites of offering (sacrificial or non-sacrificial) after the closure of the wooden chamber.[807] In tomb no. 1 at Leigudun, several lists concerning short-term administration of post-entombment offerings were discovered (see Section 3.6). But they are documents independent from the further lists in the tomb, which record material resources that were partly buried in the tomb. In this light, the argument of some scholars, that both the "waist pits" and niches were built as extensions of the wooden chambers for the storage of goods,[808] seems inadequate.

Depending on certain cultural resources such as the sumptuary rules, the financial abilities of the bereaved, the personal or regional preferences etc., the wooden chamber-and-coffin structures provided spaces of various sizes and divisions to be filled with tomb goods. Commonly, tomb goods were deposited in the inner coffin; between the coffins if more than one coffin were used; and in individual compartments of the tomb chamber, including the coffin compartment.

Several scholars argue that, approximately in the mid-Western Han dynasty, a transition concerning the deposition locations of the funerary lists in tombs took place as follows: the lists dating from before this period were always deposited in one of the compartments except for the coffin compartment (or one of the chambers if a tomb encompassed several adjoining chambers, such as tomb no. 1 at Leigudun), and the lists dating from after this period were generally deposited in the inner coffins.[809] Accordingly, a transition in the contents of the lists

---

807 Suzuki calls the goods in niches or in the fill *jidian*-offerings. But, as has been argued above (section 3.7), merely those offerings made after the entombment were called *ji*-offerings, while those made before the entombment were called *dian*-offerings. Hence, as pointed out by Li Rusen, the goods in the fill of the Han tombs were used as *ji*-offerings. See Li Rusen 李如森, *Han dai sangzang zhidu* 汉代丧葬制度 (Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1995): 71 ff.; cf. Suzuki 2014, 293.

808 Wang Congli, for instance, assumes that according to the positions of the niches in relation to the corpse, the niches had similar functions as the "head compartment", "side compartment" and "foot compartment"; the "waist pits" had similar functions as stables or hoards. See Wang Congli 2013, 195 ff. and 198 ff. For a similar interpretation see Ding Lan 丁兰, "Shi lun Hubei diqu de dai kan Chu mu" 试论湖北地区的带龛楚墓, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (2004): 64–69. It is important to point out that both Wang Congli and Ding Lan use the term *bian kan* 邊龕, i.e., "side niche". Such side niches frequently contained wooden chambers, such that they seem to be seldom distinguishable from those chambers that are called *wai zang guo* 外藏槨, i.e., "a wooden chamber separate from the tomb chamber". There is hitherto no indication about the relationship between the contents of funerary lists and the goods deposited in so-called *wai zang guo*.

809 Both Hong Shi and Tian Tian note the transition. But they use slightly different terms about the time when the transition occurred. Hong Shi argues for the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han dynasty, while Tian Tian argues for the mid-Western Han dynasty. See Hong Shi 2005, 65; Tian Tian 2019, 75 ff.

took place as well. As pointed out by Tian Tian, most of the lists dating from before the mid-Western Han dynasty sporadically contain a limited number of list entries concerning clothing and accessories ("clothing strips" in the translation of her article), while the lists dating from after this period "mainly listed clothing and a very small amount of miscellaneous items of daily use".[810]

In accordance with the transition in terms of the deposition locations and contents of the lists, the relationships between the list contents and the tomb goods must also have undergone a certain transition. This transition has been hitherto addressed partly by scholars: Tian Tian states that the list entries concerning clothing and accessories in the Warring States lists "do not typically represent the entirety of clothing-related tomb furnishings",[811] while Hu Yali more specifically argues that they do not seem to refer to those worn by the deceased.[812] Furthermore, Hong Shi points out that the lists dating from after the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han dynasty (Han Wudi 漢武帝, reigned 141–87 BCE) merely describe goods placed in the coffins.[813]

Furthermore, Tian Tian pays special attention to the entries concerning clothing and accessories in several lists dating from the early Western Han period, including the lists from tombs no. 247 at Zhangjiashan 張家山 (Jingzhou 荊州, Hubei province), nos. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui, nos. 8 and 168 at Fenghuangshan, and no. 1 at Luobowan 羅泊灣 (Guixian 貴縣, Guangxi 廣西).[814] In conjunction with the funerary cycle described in *Yili*,[815] she argues:

> Within the funerary rituals of the early Western Han, the tomb inventory was relevant to the following steps in the ritual procedure: "compiling the inventory," "lesser dressing," "verification of the clothing strips" during the "greater dressing," and "reading out the inventory" during interment. The clothing strips served a function only in stages prior to the

[810] See Tian Tian 2019, 55 ff. and 75 ff.

[811] See Tian Tian 2019, 55.

[812] See Hu Yali 2008, 363–372, esp. 372.

[813] See Hong Shi 2005, 65.

[814] See Tian Tian 2019, 52–86.

[815] For an overview of the funerary cycle see Appendix I: Table 2.

"offerings of the great dispatch," while other sections of the tomb inventory were used in the interment rituals.[816]

Hence, Tian Tian assumes that the clothing and accessories in the list entries were used in the rites of dressing the corpse. However, a comparison between the related list entries and the goods in the coffins of the related tombs indicates that this assumption is problematic. Three of the above-mentioned tombs, i.e. tombs no. 168 at Fenghuangshan and nos. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui, were discovered in relatively good condition; the site report of tomb no. 8 at Fenghuangshan is incomplete, with no reference to discoveries of clothing or textiles;[817] tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan did not yield any clothing or textiles;[818] while tomb no. 1 at Luobowan, was looted.[819] The comparison below focuses primarily on the discoveries in the first three tombs. But the lists from no. 1 at Luobowan and tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan are worth a brief analysis as well.

In the list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan, the tomb of Zhang Yan 張偃 (died 167 BCE), the items concerning clothing and accessories are as follows:

Strip 52: 緇（緇）履一兩

Black shoes, one pair.

Strip 53 冠二枚，在棺中 |

Two caps; deposited within the coffins [checkmark].

Strip 54 杖一，在棺中 |

Walking staff, one; deposited within the coffins [checkmark].

Strip 55 絲履一兩，在棺中 |

Silk shoes, one pair; deposited within the coffins [checkmark].

816 See Tian Tian 2019, 81.

817 See Changjiang liuyu dierqi wenwu kaogu gongzuo renyuan xunlianban 1975, 53–54.

818 See Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 荆州地区博物馆, "Jiangling Zhangjiashan san zuo Han mu chutu dapi zhujian" 江陵张家山三座汉墓出土大批竹简, *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1985): 1–2.

819 See Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan 广西壮族自治区博物馆, *Guangxi Guixian Luobowan Han mu* 广西贵县罗泊湾汉墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988): 3.

Strip 56 素履二兩，在棺中 |

Undyed shoes, two pairs; deposited within the coffins [checkmark].[820]

As Tian Tian points out, while four of the list entries contain notes specifying that the items concerned were "located within inner coffin",[821] the remaining entry does not.[822] The reason given by her, that the clothing in entries without specification of their deposition locations "was added to the inventory at a later point",[823] lacks apparent indications.

The goods discovered in the inner coffin of the tomb include a bamboo hairpin (Inv. No. 295), a jade seal with the deceased's given name Sui 遂 (292), a jade *bi*-disc 璧 (293), fragments of brown brocade with red patterns, a white hemp garment (289), two white hemp skirts (290 and 291), one pair of white hemp shoes (296), one pair of white hemp stockings (294), two hemp waddings (297), black turtle beans, struvite crystal, and cinnabar (not numbered).[824] Apparently, no list entry describes exactly the shoes worn by the deceased. None of the other goods are referred to in the list.

It is worth noting that the term *guan* 棺 in the note *zai guan zhong* 在棺中 does not specifically mean "inner coffin". Since the tomb concerned yielded two nesting coffins, the term can refer to any of the two coffins or even both. Interestingly, the space between the two coffins yielded, among others, two pairs of silk shoes (not numbered) as well as two caps made

820 For the list entries see Chen Zhenyu 陳振裕, "Yiliuba hao mu" 一六八號墓, in *Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu* 江陵鳳凰山西漢簡牘, edited by Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012): 195 ff.; for the translation of these entries by David Sena cf. Tian Tian 2019, 59.

821 The term is translated by David Sena. Since Tian Tian assumes that the clothing and accessories in the list entries were used in the rites of dressing the corpse, which was finally put in the inner coffin, it seems that Tian indeed assumes that the notes mean "located within inner coffin". See Tian Tian 2019, 59 ff. and 81.

822 See Tian Tian 2019, 59 ff.

823 See Tian Tian 2019, 59.

824 See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 463–466; Jinancheng Fenghuangshan 168 hao Han mu fajue zhengli zu 纪南城凤凰山一六八号汉墓发掘整理组, "Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 168 hao Han mu fajue jianbao" 湖北江陵凤凰山一六八号汉墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1975): 2 ff.

of tulle (286 and 287); while the coffin compartment yielded among others a wooden staff (285).[825]

Comparing these goods with the list entries mentioned above, the number of the caps corresponds with the description (strip 53); while two pairs of silk shoes were discovered (colour unknown), merely one pair is explicitly described as silk shoes (strip 55); the two pairs of "undyed shoes" in the list (strip 56) may have included one of the two pairs of silk shoes from the outer coffin; the staff was not discovered in the coffins at all, but outside the outer coffin instead. At any rate, the notes in the entries concerned are inaccurate. But they relate obviously more to the goods outside the innermost coffin than those within. Their inaccuracy reveals the process of the creation and usage of part of the list entries, as will be addressed later (see Subsection 4.2.2).

According to Suzuki's painstaking case study of the lists from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui, most of the clothing described in the lists was deposited in *si*-baskets 笥 in the eastern and the western compartments of the wooden chamber.[826] But she seems confused by a summary in one of the lists, on strip 393,[827] which reads: "▌右方四牒以関在棺中", i.e. "▌To the right are four strips [describing items] to be sealed in the coffin(s)". The bamboo strips from the tomb generally bear one entry each, referring to one or two types of items and the amount of the items. It does not seem that any four among the hundreds of list entries would cover the large amount of clothing discovered in the innermost coffin.[828]

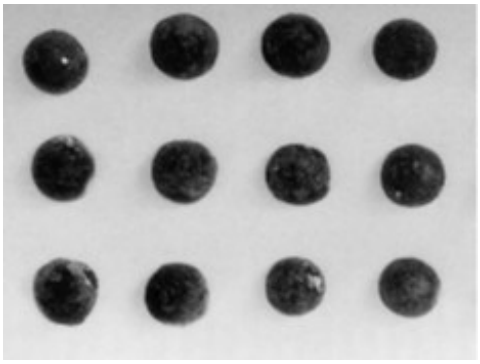


Fig. 40 Bronze nails with hemispherical heads, discovered in tomb no. 2 at Mawangdui (Changsha, Hunan province).

825 See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 464.

826 See Suzuki 2011, 196–199; 222, Table 4.

827 The writing supports (bamboo strips and wooden tablets) from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui have been numbered three times. The numbers in Suzuki's study are from He Jiejun 2004, 43–73. These writing supports have been numbered anew in Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 227–263; and a third time in Zheng Shubin 2022, 246–259. If not specified otherwise, the numbers in my work is from He Jiejun 2004, 43–73. If I cite the new numbers, I will specify the numbers of He Jiejun 2004 in brackets.

828 For the large amount of clothing discovered in the inner coffin see He Jiejun 2004, 41 ff. and 210.

But it must not be forgotten that the tomb yielded two outer coffins as well, and these coffins did not only contain the innermost coffin, but also a number of further items. According to the site report, two painted, small figurines made of peach branches (Inv. No. 棺 4-1) were found between the two outer coffin lids.[829] And between the innermost coffin and the middle coffin, the following items were discovered: 1.5 kg lead, which used to be the fill material in small cracks in the timber of the middle coffin, before it was squeezed out due to the shrinkage of the coffin; pieces of brocade and certain embroidered textiles that were used to adorn the outer surface of the innermost coffin; bronze nails with hemispherical heads (for a photo of similar nails found in tomb no. 2 at Mawangdui see Fig. 40),[830] which were used to fix the textile adornments; two silk bands (17 cm wide) used to wrap the innermost coffin tightly at its two ends; and a T-shaped silk painting, which has gained much scholarly attention.[831]

The lead was probably regarded as part of the middle coffin and the silk bands were part of the innermost coffin. Since the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure is not described in the lists, these two types of goods are accordingly not mentioned either. Apart from this, the types of items between the nesting coffins are few enough to be recorded on four bamboo strips, i.e. in four list entries. The T-shaped silk painting is probably described on strip 390 as follows: “非衣一長丈二尺”, i.e. “one flying garment,[832] 1.2 *zhang* (ca. 277.2 cm) long”. The embroidery fixed with bronze nails is perhaps referred to on strip 343 as follows: “單一繡、平桂完百”, i.e. “[textile] with simple (?) embroidery and 100 [nails in the shape of] flat longan fruits”.[833] The remaining two entries, which I cannot identify so far, could have described

829 See He Jiejun 2004, 179.

830 The site report of tomb 3 neither mentions the number of the nails, nor does it include a photo of them. But 26 such nails were found in tomb no. 2 at Mawangdui as well. Luckily, the site report includes a photo of some of these nails (see Fig. 40). In the latter tomb, they were discovered in the deposition location of the seriously decayed coffins. The excavators speculate that they were used to adorn the lacquer paintings on the inner coffin – which is apparently at odds with the discovery made in tomb no. 3. See He Jiejun 2004, 21 ff.

831 See He Jiejun 2004, 40 ff. For an overview of the studies of the T-shaped silk painting from the tomb see You Zhenqun 游振群, “T Xing bohua ji huihua yishu” T 形帛画与绘画艺术, in *Mawangdui Han mu yanjiu* 马王堆汉墓研究, edited by Chen Jianming 陈建明 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2013): 158–175.

832 I follow Shang Zhitan to render the character *fei* 非 as *fei* 飞, i.e., “to fly”. See Shang Zhitan 商志醰, “Mawangdui yi hao Han mu ‘feiyi’ shishi” 马王堆一号汉墓“非衣”试释, *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1972): 43. For an overview of further interpretation of the term cf. You Zhenqun 2013, 160–164.

833 This entry is rendered by Liu Yuhuan. I follow him to render the term *guiwan* 桂完 as *guiyuan* 桂元, i.e., “longan fruits”. But I do not agree with Liu that the “longan fruits” described in the list from tomb no. 3 are

further textile adornments, of which merely fragments were preserved (e.g., brocade). The peach-branch figurines, however, belong to the type of goods that is systematically not described (for a detailed discussion see Subsection 4.1.3).

Hence, it is likely that the summary on strip 393 refers to four entries concerning the goods to be deposited between the nesting coffins, instead of any entries on goods to be deposited in the innermost coffin.[834] Furthermore, while the summary confirms that the four entries concern goods "to be sealed in the coffins", it simultaneously indicates that the goods described in the other entries were not to be deposited in the coffins, not to mention in the innermost coffin. In other words, no entries in the lists indicate that the related items were ever deposited in the innermost coffin.

One of the lists from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui also include entries concerning clothing and accessories. Apart from five entries concerning handkerchiefs made of ramie fibre (strips 246–250) and one entry which is hitherto not interpreted (strip 273), all the entries can be identified with certain tomb goods, which were located primarily in the northern compartment and partly in the eastern and the western compartments (see Appendix I: Table 23). A large amount of clothing and accessories in relatively good condition were discovered in the innermost coffin; and a number of further goods, including a T-shaped silk painting, were discovered between the two innermost of the four nesting coffins (see Appendix I: Table 24). It seems that except for the silk painting (see Appendix I: Table 23, strips 244 and 245), nothing in the nesting coffins is mentioned in the lists.

The list from tomb no. 1 at Luobowan is the first of the two lists inscribed on a wooden tablet (Inv. No. M1:161).[835] Its entries are intact, and it bears a title "Cong qi zhi" 從器志, i.e.

made of textile. Cf. Liu Yuhuan 刘玉环, "Mawangdui Han mu qiance mingwu kao" 马王堆汉墓遣策名物考, *Xinan xuekan* 西南学刊 3 (2012): 248–249.

834 I must warn that my reconstruction of the unity containing the summary on strip 393 must be treated with reservation. Since almost all the hitherto reconstructed unities of content in the lists from the two Mawangdui tombs correspond, in ideal cases, merely partly with the tomb goods in types and numbers (see Subsection 4.2.2), this may also hold true for the unity concerned. The reason of the discrepancies will be addressed later in the present chapter. Nevertheless, due to the small size of this unity (one summary and four entries) and the indication of the location in the summary, this unity very likely presents a preliminary plan of the deposition of certain goods between the innermost and the outer coffins, instead of a plan concerning goods in the innermost coffins.

835 See Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan 1988, 78.

"Register of goods to accompany [the tomb occupant]".[836] The list includes entries concerning a large amount of clothing and accessories. Those entries indicate that the listed items were deposited in eight *si*-baskets.[837] A comparison between the list items and the tomb goods is not possible, but apparently, the organisational pattern of the listed items differs from the one in which clothing and accessories would have been worn by the deceased in the inner coffin. Those eight *si*-baskets were not likely placed in the inner coffin, since inner coffins in early Chinese tombs seldom yielded more than one *si*-basket each.[838] At any rate, clothing and accessories that used to be worn by the deceased were apparently not described in the list.

The list from tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan, a tomb containing a wooden chamber holding a single coffin, is inscribed in three registers on a bamboo scroll (see Fig. 8). It does not include a title. Several list entries describe clothing, a quilt and accessories (such as belts).[839] Conspicuously, one of these entries, "綈帬（裙）一" , i.e. "a skirt made of coarse pongee", is inscribed in the first register of strip 6, which bears in its second register another entry, which reads "黄卷□一棺中", i.e. "a… of soybeans: in the coffin".[840] The note "in the coffin" appears merely once among all the list entries. Hence, as the note came into being, a certain container holding soybeans were deposited in the coffin, while none of the other items described in the list, including the clothing, quilt and accessories, were located in the coffin. The entry on the soybeans is the only definitive exception known to me, which is part of a list discovered

836 See Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan 1988, 78.

837 For a translation of the entries see Tian Tian 2019, 60 ff.

838 For instance, the single-layered coffins of some of the women who followed Marquis Yi of Zeng to death yielded *one* si-basket each. This also holds true for some of the single-layered coffins in an Eastern Zhou tomb at Liji'ao (Jing'an county 靖安, Jiangxi province), the single-layered coffin in tomb no. 167 at Fenghuangshan and one of the two single-layered coffins in tomb no. 6 at Yinwan (Haizhou 海州, Jiangsu province). See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 386; Xu Changqing 徐长青 et al., "Jiangxi Jing'anxian Lizhou'ao Dongzhou muzang" 江西靖安县李洲坳东周墓葬, *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2008): 50 ff.; Jilin daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuanye fu Jinancheng kaimen banxue xiao fendui 1976, 35; Lianyungang shi bowuguan 1997, 172.

839 For an analysis of the content of the list see Tian He 田河, "Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu qiance buzheng" 张家山二四七号汉墓遣册补正, *Shehui kexue zhanxian*, no. 11 (2010): 85.

840 For the list entries see Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 2006, 189, strip 6. Jiang Wen indicates that the term *huangjuan* 黄卷 means soybeans. See Jiang Wen, "To Turn Soybeans into Gold: A Case Study of Mortuary Documents from Ancient China," Bamboo and Silk 2 (2019): 41.

between the coffin and the tomb chamber but refers to goods within the coffin.[841] This exception will be addressed later.

Accordingly, the records on clothing and accessories in the lists from the above-mentioned tombs normally do not describe goods deposited in the innermost coffins. Instead, if the described goods were indeed buried, they were deposited between the nesting coffins or in the tomb chambers. It is telling that in the funerary cycle of the Ordinary Officer, certain clothing and accessories are exhibited as loads of the vehicles and among the potential tomb goods in the sixth funeray stage (see Appendix I: Table 2), a stage after the coffining. It is likely that the records on clothing, accessories etc. in the above-mentioned lists were created for their exhibition after the coffining of the deceased, respectively, as part of the potential tomb goods in the sixth funeray stage.

Hence, as far as comparisons between the list items and the related tomb goods are possible, the relationships between the contents of the lists, the deposition locations of the lists as well as of the tomb goods were even more consistent than hitherto supposed. The early Chinese funerary lists demonstrate a systematic absence of references to certain goods deposited in self-contained spaces, with an apparent, radical shift around the mid-Western Han dynasty: the funerary lists dating from before this period were by and large deposited in spaces between the (innermost) coffins and the tomb chambers. Their contents overlap partly with the tomb goods in these spaces, while they seldom refer to any goods in the (innermost) coffins.[842] And the lists dating from after this period, except for those consisting of labels,[843] were deposited in the (innermost) coffins. Their contents overlap with the tomb goods in the (innermost) coffins partly, while they seldom refer to any goods outside the (innermost) coffins.

---

841 For another example of part of a list, which was discovered between the coffin and the tomb chamber but perhaps refers to goods within the coffin see 4.2.3.

842 For the deposition locations of the funerary lists in early shaft tombs see Appendix I: Table 1. The only exception known to me is the list from the early Western Han tomb no. 167 at Fenghuangshan, which was discovered in the fill, above the lid of the wooden chamber.

843 To my knowledge, the only example of lists consisting of labels dating from after the mid-Western Han period was discovered in tomb no. 1 at Dundunshan (dating from 59 BCE). The labels were discovered in certain non-coffin tomb chambers. See Zhu Fenghan et al. 2018, 94 ff.

Before addressing the cause of this shift, it is worth noting that this shift is evidence that in early Chinese funerals, the goods within the (innermost) coffins used to be administrated by and large separately from those that were disposed outside the (innermost) coffins. In the light of the early Chinese funerary cycle combined with the device of "field of action", the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure obviously yielded the final scenes of the reproduction of two clusters of fields of action, which were by and large reproduced in separate spatial and temporal frames.

The first cluster encompassed the fields of action focusing on the corpse (see Appendix I: Table 2). They included at least the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories; the dressing of the corpse (including the first dressing, the lesser dressing and the fuller dressing); the coffining; perhaps also the gift-giving of garments and quilts (*sui* 襚); etc. These fields collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the coffining. The second cluster comprised at least the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the entombment (more specifically the part concerning the filling and enclosure of the wooden tomb chamber). In certain cases it may also have included the exhibition of the name banner and the *chong*-wood,[844] the vehicle exhibition, the draught horse presentation, the gift-giving, the pre-entombment offering etc. in various funerary stages. These fields collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the entombment.

The first cluster of fields was reproduced in the second and the third funerary stages in the first few days after death occurred. The corpse was then sealed in the coffin (corresponding likely to the innermost of the nesting coffins in some tombs) and provisionally buried in the sphere of the living until its final disposal in the tomb. The coffin was never opened again, i.e. the goods in the coffin obtain their final organisational pattern at the coffining. Accordingly, the administration of these goods ended in an early stage of the funerary cycle. The second cluster of fields of action was reproduced between the fourth and the eighth funerary stages. It lasted several months (e.g., three months in the funeral of an Ordinary Officer, see Appendix I: Table 2), i.e. the administration of the related goods continued for a long period after the coffining. On the one hand, in comparison with the two clusters of fields that shape the funeral

[844] For the material trajectories of the name banners in early Chinese tombs see above and Subsection 4.2.2. For the material trajectories of the *chong*-woods see Section 2.2, especially footnote 226. Interestingly, it seems that the *chong*-woods are seldon recorded in funerary lists, while the name banners sometimes are.

of the Ordinary officer (see Section 2.2), the two clusters of fields reproduced in real funerals were not necessarily confined to those fields described in transmitted literature. Instead, they were expandable (see Subsections 4.1.3 and 4.2.3). On the other hand, when one of these fields of action was reproduced by the bereaved who had accesses to different cultural resources, it could have intersected the field of the entombment or not (see Subsection 3.4.1).

The systematic absence of references in the funerary lists to the goods deposited in self-contained spaces is evidence that these lists were no inventory lists of the entirety of tomb goods. And the way how the contents of the lists overlap with the tomb goods indicates that those lists dating from before and after the mid-Western Han period were by and large created in the second and the first cluster of fields (for an exception see Section 3.6), respectively. It is also evidence that the final boundary of these two clusters of fields in a funerary cycle was the lid of the (innermost) coffin, i.e., part of the resources in the first cluster of fields finally flowed into the (innermost) coffin, while part of the resources in the second cluster of fields were finally deposited between the (innermost) coffin and the tomb chamber.

The systematic absence of references in the lists to the goods deposited within or outside the (innermost) coffins is much telling. It indicates that the administrations of the resources in the two clusters of fields, at least the part carried out in written form, were by and large separate from one another. After all, not the reproduction of every field may have entailed administration in written form; the creation of a list was probably merely necessary, when a field involved a large amount of resources.

The possibility of the administration of the resources in written form in the first cluster of fields will be addressed below. In the second cluster of fields, the most administration-intensive fields probably included at least the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, which was likely reproduced multiple times (three times in the funeral of an Ordinary Officer) in the fourth funeray stage and was then incorporated in the exhibition of potential tomb goods; and the exhibition of potential tomb goods in the sixth stage. Judging by the goods described in the funeray lists from this period (see Section 1.1), most of these lists may have arisen in these fields of action. Depending on the cultural resources to which the bereaved had access, further fields, such as the gift-giving, the vehicle exhibition, the draught horse presentation and the pre-entobment offering, may have produced funerary lists as well.

These fields, except for the gift-giving, were generally reproduced after the coffining. But of course, the garnering of the related goods and their administration in written form may have set in much earlier. In other words, funerary lists could have been targetedly created before the entombment for the above-mentioned fields, which were reproduced after the entombment. The related goods (such as the name banner, see Section 2.2) in these lists may even have been shared by the first cluster of fields of action. The funerary lists ensured that these goods were re-collected while the targeted fields of action were reproduced. The checkmarks and notes in some of these lists may have come into being in such re-collecting processes.

In this vein, the above-mentioned entry on soybeans with a note "in the coffin" in the list from tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan is worth noting. As pointed out by Jiang Wen 蒋文, soybeans seem to have been surrogates of gold pieces at the latest since the Qin period.[845] They are recorded in several funerary lists dating from the Han period.[846] If real soybeans were buried, they did not survive the millennia. Surrogates of gold may have belonged to *mingqi*, even if they are not mentioned in the early Chinese funerary cycle. *Mingqi* were material resources that pertained to the second cluster of fields of action, i.e., if they were finally buried, they were deposited between the coffin and the tomb chamber. A case study of surrogates of gold from some 50 tombs dating from between the Warring States period and the Han dynasty corroborates this practice. Merely those surrogates of gold from one of these tombs, dating from the mid-Western Han period, were placed within the coffin; all the others, as far as their deposition locations are known, were discovered between the coffin(s) and the tomb chamber, respectively.[847] Hence, the above-mentioned entry on soybeans seems to indicate an alternative practice, in which surrogates of gold was placed in the coffin, before the mid-Western Han period. Interestingly, the list including this entry also incorporates another entry, "黄卷一囊", i.e., "a bag of soybeans", without a note. Obviously, this bag of soybeans was not deposited in the coffin, while another container of soybeans was in the coffin, as the note "in the coffin" was added after the related entry. It is possible that the list was created as the process of garnering the related goods commenced before the entombment. The soybeans among other

845 See Jiang Wen 2019: 32–51.

846 See Jiang Wen 2019: 41 ff., especially note 27.

847 See Yang Liu 杨柳, "Zhanguo Qin Han shiqi Hunan diqu ni mingbi de kaoguxue yanjiu" 战国秦汉时期湖南地区泥冥币的考古学研究 (Master's thesis, Sichuan daxue, 2021): 67–69.

goods were probably targeted to be exhibited as potential tomb goods in the sixth funerary stage.[848] But at the coffining, some unconventional organiser of the funeral decided to put one of the containers into the coffin. Eventually, at the potential tomb goods were exhibited, the note was created due to the unexpected repurposing of part of the soybeans.

Yili does not reveal anything about the temporal aspects of the disposal of goods, including name banner or the like, between nesting coffins. Hence, it is especially interesting that several lists mentioned above refer to goods placed between nesting coffins, and that the tomb goods were preserved well enough for further analysis, which uncovers funerary behaviours beyond the record in transmitted literature.

The shift mentioned above must have been caused by some substantial and systematic transition in funerary customs. Tian Tian indicates a transition as follows:

> The functionality of the tomb inventory is evident from the check marks on tomb inventories from the early Western Han, which demonstrate conclusively that the tomb furnishings were verified one-by-one against the tomb inventory at the time of interment. Even more important, such marks suggest the necessity of the "reading out the inventory" or some similar step during the funeral. The process of "reading out the inventory" was in fact a chance for the close family of the deceased to display the tomb furnishings to kith and kin. In other words, these tomb inventories, as part of funerary ritual, in fact held a greater significance for the living. With the elimination of the "reading out the contributions" and "reading out the inventory" protocols in the later part of the mid-Western Han, the tomb inventory was used only prior to the "greater dressing," playing no further role in burial procedures, and thus no longer holding any display function. The tomb inventory and these procedures were no longer relevant to the living, but their connection to the deceased had become closer. In the evolution of tomb inventories, this proved to be a crucial change. After preparation of the corpse and encoffining, the clothing list was at that point withdrawn from

[848] Even if these soybeans may be interpreted as *mingqi*, they were recorded in a way that they could not be separated from the other list items that were no *mingqi*. As reconstructed by Tian He, they are recorded at the right margin of the second cluster of the bamboo scroll, among bags containing grains and counting rods. See Tian He 2010, 85. For a photo of the bamboo scroll see Fig. 8. Therefore, the list was probably not created for the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*.

the world of the living, its functional importance to the deceased outweighing the ritual significance to the living.[849]

As will be addressed below (Subsection 4.1.2 and Section 4.2), there are numerous indications that the lists that reach us were not used to verify tomb furnishings at the time of entombment. Nor is there any indication that all those lists produced before the mid-Western Han dynasty were "read out aloud", or that those produced afterwards were not read. *Yili* does indicate that a "dispatch list" is read before the procession to the tomb (see Appendix I: Table 2). But were those lists that finally reached us "dispatch lists"? Furthermore, ethnological studies of modern funerary rituals in Zhejiang, Shandong, Shaanxi and Heilongjiang provinces indicate that even lists produced after the mid-Western Han dynasty were read out aloud in certain rites (see Section 1.1).

But Tian Tian's observation that the lists produced before the mid-Western Han dynasty "held a greater significance for the living" and those produced thereafter had a closer "connection to the deceased" is accurate. She indicates that the cause of the shifting role of the lists was a change of the "prevailing views of the afterlife",[850] without further addressing the change.

Furthermore, Hong Shi indicates that the shift mentioned above may have been caused by another transition in funerary customs around the mid-Western Han dynasty, i.e. the standardised usage of joint tombs of couples.[851] She points out that all the lists dating from before the reign of Emperor Wu (reigned 141–87 BCE) were discovered in tombs of single persons, while most of the lists dating from after his reign were discovered in joint tombs of couples;[852] and since the lists merely describe the personal goods in the respective coffins, but not the shared goods by the couple in the wooden chamber, they were deposited in the individual coffins.[853] This indeed explains why people deposited lists in the (innermost)

[849] See Tian Tian 2019, 80 ff.

[850] See Tian Tian 2019, 80.

[851] See Hong Shi 2005, 65.

[852] See Hong Shi 2005, 65.

[853] See Hong Shi 2005, 65.

coffins; but it does not explain why they stopped placing lists (I would not indicate that they did not produce any) outside the (innermost) coffins.

The above-mentioned shift was extremely radical; it changed the deposition locations of the lists (except for those consisting of labels) in all the tombs dating from after the mid-Western Han period in all regions (see Appendix 1, Table 1),[854] involving tomb occupants of a vast circle of social strata from prefects to commoners.[855] It must have been driven by a certain force that was both far-reaching and puissant. But still, a transition in funerary customs usually takes place gradually. The shift concerning the deposition locations and the contents of the funerary lists as well as their relationships to the tomb goods in the mid-Western Han dynasty was probably caused by factors that set in much earlier. One of the factors may have been a will of Emperor Wen 文帝 (reigned 180–157 BCE) of the Western Han dynasty. Part of the will, which was decreed as an edict after his death in 157 BCE, reads as follows:

> Let it be ordered that, when [this] order reaches them, the officials and people of the empire should lament for three days [and then] all take off their mourning garments. Let there be no prohibition of taking a wife or of marrying off a daughter, of making sacrifices or of drinking wine or eating meat. As to those who must themselves take part in mourning ceremonies, wear mourning garments, and lament, let none of them wear unhemmed [mourning] garments; their headbands of hemp or white linen strands and girdles should not be more than three inches [wide]. Do not make a display of chariots or soldiers' weapons, and do not send people to wail and lament in the palaces or halls. Those in the [Palace] Hall who must lament shall all raise their voices fifteen times each morning and evening. When the rites are ended, [this practise] must be stopped. Except for the morning and evening time for lamenting, let [people] be forbidden to wail without special permission. [When the coffin is] already buried, let there be worn deep mourning for fifteen days, light mourning for fourteen days, and thin [garments] for seven days; [then] take off the mourning garments. Whatever

854 For the dependent deposition location of lists consisting of labels see Section 1.1 and footnote 843.

855 For instance, the coffin of Xiguo Bao 西郭寶 (died in the middle or late Western Han period), the Prefect of Donghai 東海郡, yielded a funerary list. And the coffin of Zhu Ling 朱凌 (burial TPQ 5 CE), a commoner, also yielded a funerary list. See Lianyungang shi bowuguan 连云港市博物馆, "Lianyungangshi Taowan Huangshiyan Xihan Xiguo Bao mu" 连云港市陶湾黄石崖西汉西郭宝墓, *Dongnan wenhua*, no. 1 (1986): 17–21; Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 and Li Tianhong 李天虹, *Changjiang liuyu chutu jiandu yu yanjiu* 长江流域出土简牍与研究 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004): 474–479.

is not [mentioned] in this order, let it all be done in accordance with [the spirit of] this order, and let it be published and told to the world in order that Our will may be clearly known.[856]

This reform edict seems to indicate that the "officials and people of the empire" shall be entombed in three days after death or "in accordance with [the spirit of] this order". Indeed, the Emperor himself was entombed at Baling 霸陵 in seven days after his death.[857] And the edict literally prohibits the "display of chariots or soldiers' weapons", which used to be an essential part of the second cluster of fields of action (see Appendix 1, Table 2). At any rate, if a deceased was indeed to be entombed in three days, there would have been hardly any time left for the pre-entombment fields of action, except for the coffining and the entombment themselves.

There are controversial opinions about to what extent this edict was enforced after the death of Emperor Wen; but the focus of the debate is whether the period of the mourning attire was indeed systematically shortened.[858] As indicated in the early Chinese funerary cycle (Appendix I: Table 2), the mourning attire was exhibited before the coffining, put on after the coffining and taken off at the end of the cycle; the entombment took place during this period. Since the emperor abided by the rules himself, it is possible that people indeed shortened (or were forced to shorten) the pre-entombment period considerably. And it is plausible that such a top-down reform was able to change the funerary customs within several decades. In the mid-Western Han dynasty, the practice of burying the deceased within several days probably reached a vast circle of the population.

This transition in funerary customs considerably shorted the temporal frame of the second cluster of fields of action. The formerly most lavish part in this cluster was significantly diminished. Accordingly, the administration of the related goods was also minimised. It is even

---

856 See Ban Gu, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty: 1. Division: The Imperial Annals, (Chapt. I - V)*, translated by Homer H. Dubs (Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1938): 268–270; for the Chinese text see Ban Gu 1962, *juan* 4, 132.

857 See Ban Gu 1962, juan 4, 132.

858 For two introductions to the debate see Yang Tianyu 杨天宇, "Lüe lun Han dai de sannian sang" 略论汉代的三年丧, *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 35, no. 5 (2002): 63–69; Tang Ziwei 唐紫薇, "Han dai 'san nian zhi sang' de xingtai yanjin jiqi dongyin tanxi" 汉代"三年之丧"的形态演进及其动因探析, *Xi'an wenli xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 西安文理学院学报（社会科学版） 21, no. 6 (2018): 39–41.

possible that the goods that formerly used to be publicly inspected, exhibited or presented were then prepared merely for the entombment.

As a contrast, the coffining became the sole climax of the funerary cycle. The (innermost) coffins in tombs dating from after the mid-Western Han dynasty yielded many items (such as writing utensils, manuscripts, toilet sets and sometimes even money) that were seldom discovered in coffins dating from before this period; in some tombs, all the tomb goods were deposited in the coffins.[859] This indicates that the process of the coffining became more sophisticated: it was no longer confined to the dressing and coffining of the corpse, but also the deposition of certain further items in the (innermost) coffin, i.e., material recources that used to be components of certain fields of action in the second cluster were absorbed by those of the first cluster. The two clusters of fields of action de facto merged partly with one another, in other words, the second cluster of fields partly collapsed into the first one. This practice is not indicated in *Yili* at all.

Furthermore, the abrupt shift of the systematics of the absent reference in the funerary lists seems to reveal something about the nature of the funerary lists that reach us. Before the mid-Western Han period, the first cluster of fields of action was confined in a relatively short period. It was reproduced for the most part in private spatiality with a relatively manageable amount of material (and human) resources. Accordingly, it did not require much short-term administration that was necessarily carried out in written form. Even if funerary lists may have come into being in this cluster of fields, they were probably produced for the long-term administration of material (or human) resources, i.e., they could have finally been archived instead of buried. The second cluster of fields of action, on the contrary, was reproduced in public spaces in a much longer period. It involved a large amount of material (and human) resources in some of the administration-intensive fields mentioned above. Accordingly, lists that served exclusively the administration of the related resources in these fields may have been frequently created and used. The lists were sometimes updated when fields of action crosscut or succeeded one another. But by the time of the entombment, these lists became obsolete due

[859] For instance, the joint tomb (dating from the late Western Han period) of a husband and his three wives (one is known to be Ling Huiping 凌惠萍) did not leave space for tomb goods between the two separate tomb chambers and the coffins. Of course, this can also indicate that the tomb occupants used to possess fewer cultural resources than the occupants of tombs that provided such spaces. See Wu Kerong 武可荣 et al., "Jiangsu Lianyungang Haizhou Xihan mu fajue jianbo" 江苏连云港海州西汉墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2012): 6.

to their lack of significance for the long-term administration. I surmise that merely such lists or their parts instead of inventories of goods outside the (innermost) coffins were occasionally disposed in tombs, because the latter were determined for archives.

After the mid-Western Han dynasty, the second cluster of fields of action shrank. It involved accordingly much less material (and human) resources. People probably still produced funerary lists in this cluster of fields, but such lists no longer entered the field of entombment. They no longer described the short-term administration of the goods; instead, they concerned solely the administration of tomb goods. Therefore, they became relevant for the long-term administration of resources. On the contrary, the first cluster of fields of action expanded. This may have resulted in the creation of lists that dealt with short-term administration of resources, which derived from the first cluster of fields and sometimes also from the former second cluster of fields. Such lists or their parts eventually entered the field of coffining.

Based on the systematic absence of references in the funerary lists to goods deposited in certain self-contained spaces and the possible reason of a radical shift in the content and deposition location of funerary lists around the mid-Western Han period, I come to the hypothesis that those funerary lists that reach us are in general products of short-term administration of resources in the reproductions of the most administration-intensive fields of action in the funerary cycle. The Leigudun lists were such products (Chapter 3). And in the following, I will propose more evidence to verify this hypothesis.

4.1.2 Occasional Absence of References to Certain Types of Tomb Goods

Sometimes, individual lists lack references to certain types of tomb goods, while the other contemporary lists generally include those types. Such lack frequently occur in lists from tombs that were large and lavishly furnished. This is related to the phenomenon that the bereaved who had better access to cultural resources were able to reproduce a funerary cycle with more thoroughly divided fields of action, the reproductions of which involved more extensive temporal and spatial frames, larger amounts of human and material resources as well as more sophisticated ritual techniques and rules (see Section 2.2). As a result, the administration of material and human resources was divided more thoroughly, which may have caused separate

creations and treatments of certain funerary list parts – their treatments may have included the decision of archiving them or burying them in tombs. This subsection exemplifies this phenomenon with the lists from two tombs dating from before the mid-Western Han period and several tombs dating from after this period.

A funerary list was discovered at the bottom of the side (northern) compartment of the wooden chamber of the early Western Han tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan. It describes none of the 14 pottery vessels (Inv. Nos. 221, 252, 258, 260, 261, 263, 264, 274, 278, 281, 276, 298, 300 and 302) and the four pottery models (*mingqi*) such as a granary and a stove (259, 262, 275 and 279).[860]

But the lists from the non-coffin compartments of several further early Western Han tombs in the same cemetery, including tombs nos. 167 and 169 in the immediate neighbourhood of tomb no. 168 as well as tombs nos. 8-10, do describe these two types of tomb goods. In the list from tomb no. 167, a list consisting of 74 wooden strips with intact binding strings, the nine entries of pottery vessels and pottery models (strips 38–46) follow each other.[861] One of the two lists from tomb no. 8 on loose bamboo strips (strips 36-175) contains among others an unity including a summary "▌右方瓦器籍" (strip 125), i.e. "▌To the right are strips bearing a register of pottery wares", and nine entries of pottery vessels and pottery models (strips 116–124).[862] Even the seriously fragmented lists from tombs nos. 169 and 9 include such entries (strips 29-35 and strips 37-42, respectively).[863] The list from tomb

860 See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 503; Ozawa 2006, 122; Suzuki 2014, 283.

861 See Yao Xiaosui 姚孝遂 and Chen Yong 陈雍, "Yiliuqi hao mu" 一六七號墓, in Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 165–168.

862 As pointed out by Zhao Minmin 赵敏敏, the strips from tomb no. 8 probably used to form two individual lists (strips 1–35 and strips 36–175) according to their deposition location and content. See Zhao Minmin 赵敏敏, "Jiangling Fenghuangshan ba hao mu qiance bianlian xiaoyi" 江陵凤凰山 8 号墓遣册编联小议, *Luojia shiyuan* 珞珈史苑 (2016), 45; cf. Jin Li 1976, 69. For the summary see Chen Zhenyu 2012, 46; for the entries see Chen Zhenyu 2012, 43–45.

863 See Li Tianhong 李天虹, "Yiliujiu hao mu" 一六九號墓, in Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 214-216 and 224; Li Jiahao 李家浩. "Jiu hao mu" 九號墓, in Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 70–71.

no. 10 on a wooden tablet does not contain such list entries, but only a summary "瓦器凡十三物", i.e., "10 pieces of pottery" instead.[864]

To understand the absence of reference to the pottery wares in the list from tomb no. 168, it might be helpful to contextualise the creation and usage of the Fenghuangshan lists in the related fields of action. All these lists have likely been created in the second cluster of fields of action which among others collected, shaped and reshaped various resources, part of which were to be placed between the (innermost) coffins and the wooden tomb chambers. They cover a large spectrum of material resources, which always include several of the following types: models of vehicles and draught animals, wooden person figurines, vessels of various types, food and beverages.

In the funeral of the Ordinary Officer, real vehicles, draught horses, real persons instead of surrogates, and material resources such as vessels, food and beverages play roles during the reproductions of several fields, including the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, the vehicle exhibition, the draught horse presentation and the exhibition of potential tomb goods. But the vehicles, animals and persons are not buried. In the funeral of Marquis Yi, more such material resources, animals and persons were engaged in the reproduction of these fields, and part of the vehicles and draught horses were even buried (see Chapter 3). As a contrast, in the funerals of the occupants of the Fenghuangshan tombs, it seems that the reproduction of these fields merely involved surrogates of vehicles, draught animals and persons, which may have been categorised as *mingqi*; as well as further material resources. Hence, the fields of the vehicle exhibition and the draught horse presentation merged with one another and collapsed into the remaining fields, i.e., the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi* and the exhibition of potential tomb goods. The above-mentioned entry types in the Fenghuangshan lists were most likely created during the reproductions of these two fields. The *mingqi* and the remaining potential tomb goods were obviously substantially reshaped, as the field of entombment was reproduced, because almost no single goods group in the lists correspond totally with the related group of tomb goods in types and numbers.[865]

---

[864] See Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭, "Yiling hao mu" 一〇號墓, in Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 90.

[865] For comparisons between the lists from tombs no. 8 at Fenghuangshan and the tomb goods in the tomb see Jin Li 1976, 69–75; Suzuki 2014, 301–303. For comparisions between the lists from tombs no. 167 at Fenghuangshan and the tomb goods in the tomb see Fenghuangshan 167 hao Han mu fajue zhengli xiaozu 凤凰山一六七号汉墓发掘整理小组, "Jiangling Fenghuangshan 167 hao Han mu fajue jianbao" 江陵凤凰山

Interestingly, the 175 bamboo strips from tomb no. 8 do not only include the above-mentioned entry types, but also clothing and quilts. As pointed out by several scholars, the record of clothing and quilts on strips 1–35 likely formed an individual list.[866] The brief site report does not mention discoveries of such clothing and quilts.[867] Similar to certain list entries analysed above (see Subsection 4.1.1), this list was perhaps created for the reproduction of the field of the exhibition of potential tomb goods, which included clothing and accessories, in the sixth funerary stage. It seems that in the funeral of the tomb occupant, the clothing and quilts were administered separately from the other potential tomb goods, which is the reason that they were recorded in a separate list. If part of these clothing and quilts were buried, they were likely deposited outside the coffin in the tomb chamber.

Hence, all the Fenghuangshan lists seem to have been created for and used in the reproduction of the fields of the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi* and the exhibition of potential tomb goods. But their textual structures differ from one another. The above-mentioned list from tomb no. 8 describes merely one type of potential tomb goods. In the list from tombs nos. 10 and 167, the entries of the same type of goods follow each other without any summaries.[868] As a contrast, all the other lists include unities of content. For instance, the lists from tombs nos. 168 and 8 contain a unity of [surrogates of] "persons", "vehicles" and "animals" as well as a unity of wooden items, respectively.[869] Furthermore, the other list from

一六七号汉墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1976): 35–37; Suzuki 2014, 304–305. For comparisons between the list items and the tomb googs in tomb 168 at Fenghuangshan see Chen Zhenyu 1993, 503–507; Suzuki 2014, 299–300. For a comparision between the lists from tombs no. 169 at Fenghuangshan and the tomb goods in the tomb see Li Tianhong 2012, 223–225.

866 See Zhao Minmin 2016, 45; and Tian Tian 2019, 57.

867 The site report points out that part of the goods was not included because the examination was still in process. See Changjiang liuyu dierqi wenwu kaogu gongzuo renyuan xunlianban 1974, 54.

868 The entries in the list from tomb 10 describe successively the following types of goods: bamboo containers, [surrogates of] persons, wooden vessels for holding food, bags of grains, a curtain, pottery items, meat, and wine vessels. And the entries in the list from tomb 167 describe successively the following types of goods: [surrogates of] vehicles, draught animals and persons; wooden vessels, pottery items; ingredients in bamboo tubes; bags containing fragrance, [surrogates of] money and grains; a fan; a bamboo tube containing ladles and chopsticks; and bamboo containers containing food. For these two lists see Qiu Xigui 2012, 90–91; Yao Xiaosui and Chen Yong 2012, 161–179.

869 Strips 36–88 in the list from tomb 8 form a unity concerning [surrogates of] "persons", "vehicles" and "animals", while strips 1–10 in the list from tomb 168 form a similar unity. Strips 89–115 in the list from tomb 8 form a unity concerning wooden items, while strips 11–45 in the list from tomb 168 form a similar unity. See Peng Hao 彭浩, "Ba hao mu" 八號墓. In Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 22–43; Chen Zhenyu 2012, 183–193.

tomb no. 8 (strips 36-175) includes a unity of bags containing grains and bamboo tubes containing ingredients,[870] as well as a unity of pottery vessels, as stated above.

The varieties of the textural structures of these lists indicate that the underlying material administration may have undergone division in various extents. The unities of content in these lists indicate that the criterion of the material administration was the materiality of the goods. It is likely that the more material resources were involved in the reproduction of a field, the more division of labour in the administration was necessary.

This is nevertheless coincided by the different sizes and lavishness of the furnishing of these tombs. Tomb no. 168 had the largest of the wooden tomb chambers and the most lavish furnishing among the six Fenghuangshan tombs.[871] In addition, its tomb occupant rested in two nesting coffins while all the other tomb occupants were placed in single-layered coffins.[872] Hence, the funeral of the former among others obviously involved the most material resources that required the most thorough division of administration of material resources.

The absence of record of the pottery wares in the list from tomb no. 168 is probably the side effect of such division of administration. These pottery wares likely underwent administration in its own right. Theoretically, it is possible that this separate administration did not result in any written form. But more likely, it did produce a separate unity or list of pottery wares, which was not disposed in the tomb. This means that under the separate administration, the written records were treated individually as well.

The reason of preventing this part of list that describes a whole type of goods from entering into the stage of entombment remains elusive. Possible motives can be simply neglect, oblivion, or the intention to keep this part in the field of archiving, perhaps because it remained relevant for the long-term administration of material resources after the entombment. In other

870 See Peng Hao 2012, 46–57.

871 The outer sizes of the wooden tomb chambers of tombs nos. 168, 167, 8, 9 and 10 were 4.62 / 3.17 / 2.19 m, 4.52 / 2.76 / 2.15 m, 4.31 / 2.60 / 1.96 m, 4.1 / 2.38 / 1.68 m, and 2.9 / 1.38 / 0.92 m, respectively. The size of the wooden tomb chamber of tomb no. 169 is not published, but a line drawing of the cemetery indicates that the tomb is smaller than tomb nos. 167 and 168. See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 456 and 459; Jilin daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuanye fu Jinancheng kaimen banxue xiao fendui 1976, 31; Changjiang liuyu dierqi wenwu kaogu gongzuo renyuan xunlianban 1974, 44.

872 See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 462; Jilin daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuanye fu Jinancheng kaimen banxue xiao fendui 1976, 31 ff.; Changjiang liuyu dierqi wenwu kaogu gongzuo renyuan xunlianban 1974, 43.

words, the lists or list parts disposed in these tombs were irrelevant for the long-term administration of material resources for the bereaved households, which is the reason that they were buried.

The early Western Han tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui yielded 126 plastic figurines in three of its four non-coffin compartments,[873] but none of these figurines is mentioned in the list discovered in its eastern compartment.[874] However, as mentioned above, such plastic figurines are described in many early Western Han funerary lists.

The occupant of the tomb, Marchioness of Dai 軑, was apparently of higher rank than any of the occupants of the Fenghuangshan tombs. The fields of action reproduced in her funeral, in comparison with those in most of the early Western Han funerals, doubtlessly involved administration of much larger quantities of material and human resources, which underwent a much more thorough division. For instance, the list from her tomb comprises 55 unities of content,[875] while the most extensive list from the Fenghuangshan cemetery (i.e., the list from tomb no. 8) merely includes four, as mentioned above.

Those 126 plastic figurines in the marchioness' tomb likely used to be part of the *mingqi* that were exhibited several times. They seem to have been administered separately from the unities of content described in the list discovered in the tomb. It is likely that a separate unity of content or list was created for their administration as well, but it was not disposed in the tomb. Interestingly, among the 55 unities of content in the list discovered in the tomb, merely seven correspond completely to certain goods in the tomb.[876] In addition, goods described in individual ones of these seven unities were mostly not discovered together, but were located in different none-coffin compartments instead,[877] i.e., the organisational patterns of the goods in

873 The plastic figurines were deposited in the eastern, the southern and the northern compartments in this tomb. See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 97–101.

874 See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 130.

875 For an introduction to the unities of content in the list from tomb 1 at Mawangdui see Subsection 4.2.2.

876 These unities are formed by strips 34-37, 176-178, 172-175, 165-167, 198-200, 212-213 and 284-285, respectively. For a comparison of the list items and the tomb goods see Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 130–153.

877 For instance, the unity consisting of strips 34-37 describes three *si*-baskets of dried meat, but the related *si*-baskets in the tomb were located separated in the western and the southern compartments. The unity consisting of strips 165-167 describes seven lacquered wooden *ding*-cauldrons containing stews as well as two lacquered wooden ladles. Irrespective of the stews, which was only found in one of these *ding*-cauldrons,

these unities seldom correspond to the ones of the related goods in the tomb. Consisting of two to four strips, these seven unities are probably the tiniest ones in the list. It is possible that even when some of them did correspond to the tomb goods in terms of the types, numbers and organisational patterns, the scribe who intended to creat a new list for the long-term administration of the material resources (e.g., tomb inventory) did not bother to check all the small unities of content in the old list all over again. Sometimes, a recreation of a document is much more efficient than an revision of an old one. But a unity of content or a list that described 126 plastic figurines was an extensive text. If the scribe was sure that no transformation of these figurines took place while the fields of exhibition was succeeded by those of the procession and the entombment, he would probably be tempted to keep this unity or list as part of his new list.

The late Western Han tomb no. 101 at Xupu 胥浦 (Yizheng 儀征, Jiangsu province) was the joint tomb of a couple. It contained a wooden tomb chamber yielding two single-layered coffins of the couple.[878] Two wooden tablets bearing one list each were discovered in one coffin, the content of which is much better preserved.[879] One of the lists (Inv. No. 82), which will be analysed below, can be identified as a funerary list.[880] A will, inscribed on bamboo strips and discovered in the related coffin (TPQ 5 CE), indicates that the occupant was the wife, whose name was Zhu Ling 朱凌.[881] There is no evidence that the deceased couple used to hold any official posts. But the will as well as the other manuscripts from the coffin indicate that the female used to be a wealthy person possessing several real estates.[882]

---

five of the *ding*-cauldrons themselves were deposited in the eastern compartment and the remaining two in the southern compartment. For a comparison of the list items and the tomb goods see Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 38, 78 ff., 134, 143.

878 See Wang Qinjin 王勤金 et al, "Jiangsu Yizheng Xupu 101 hao Xihan mu" 江苏仪征胥浦 101 号西汉墓, *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1987): 1.

879 See Wang Qinjin et al. 1987, 13.

880 The other list refers to several individual actions in which a large amount of goods such as money, silk and boats were fetched from several places including Guangling 廣陵 and Jiangdu 江都. It is not known whether these actions were associated with the funeral of the tomb occupant. For the transcription of this list see Hu Pingsheng and Li Tianhong 2004, 478.

881 See Hu Pingsheng and Li Tianhong 2004, 475–477.

882 See Hu Pingsheng and Li Tianhong 2004, 475–478.

The funerary list begins with the phrase “高都里朱君衣”, i.e. “Clothing of Ms Zhu from Gaodu village”.[883] Following this phrase, the list describes 25 pieces of clothing and quilts.[884] One of these items, *xujiao* 緒（紵）絞, means “hemp cloth band”. As pointed out by Dou Lei 竇磊, the term *jiao* is referred to in *Yili* as bands with which the whole wrap of the corpse was bound.[885] The itemisation of the items ends with the following summary: “• 凡衣褝緮（複）廿五領”, i.e. “In total: 25 pieces of lined and unlined clothing”.[886]

The listed items are apparently material resources in the first cluster of fields of action. More precisely, the list was probably created for the fields of the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories; or the dressing of the corpse. If any of the described clothing and quilts were worn by the deceased or deposited in the coffin, they were not conserved.[887] At any rate, the corpse itself was completely decayed as well. As it is common for the period, the list does not mention any of the goods deposited between the coffin and the wooden chamber.[888] But interestingly, it does not mention the goods that were still preserved in the coffin, either. Those goods include several documents on bamboo and wooden supports, a wooden pillow, two wooden combs, a hairpin made of bone, two bronze mirrors, a bronze knife, a wooden sword and a set of stone items used to cover or seal the body orifices (Inv. Nos. 80–96).[889] Furthermore, a comparison of the list with some of the contemporary lists indicates that it includes neither underwear nor shoes.[890]

---

883 Dou Lei interprets the term *yi* 衣 as a verb, which means that all the 25 pieces of clothing and quilts following the term were worn by Gentleman Zhu. Cf. Dou Lei 2016, 82.

884 For an annotated transcription of the list see Dou Lei 2016, 82.

885 See Dou Lei 2016, 84.

886 See Dou Lei 2016, 82.

887 For an overview of the goods discovered in the tomb see Wang Qinjin et al. 1987, 4, Plate 5.

888 The goods deposited between the coffins and the wooden chamber include wooden figurines, furniture and vessels made of various materials, coins etc. (Inv. Nos. 1–79). See Wang Qinjin et al. 1987, 4, Plate 5.

889 See Wang Qinjin et al. 1987, 4, Fig. 5.

890 Dou Lei categorises the items described in lists dating from between the mid-Western Han period and the 4th century CE. He identifies a number of terms that refer to underwear and shoes. The list from the tomb of Zhu Ling does not include those items. See Dou Lei 2016, 185 ff.

One might speculate that the corpse did not wear any underwear or shoes. But the deposition location of the hairpin and the stone items indicate that they were worn by the deceased (the stone items used to cover or seal the body orifices including the eyes, nose, mouth, ears and the anus).[891] Except for the plug for the anus, all the items are applied on the corpse in the funerary cycle described in *Yili* on the day of the death. Together with the underwear and the shoes, they formed the material resources of the rite of the "first dressing" (*xi* 襲, see Appendix I: Table 2), which is part of the field of dressing the corpse.

The absence of record of these items indicates that material resources used in the rite of the "first dressing" were administered separately from the clothing and quilts described in the list. This also holds true for the absence of record of the other items mentioned above. Hence, the list is no inventory of the items in the coffin; instead, it merely describes the items, which were applied in the reproduction of merely a part of the fields of action in the first cluster. The listed items include 12 long robes, four short tops, three skirts, one pair of trousers, four quilts and hemp cloth bands.[892] None of them are described as gifts. The types of these items seem to be in line with those used in two of the rites in the field of dressing the corpse, i.e. the "lesser dressing" and the "fuller dressing", in the early Chinese funerary cycle.[893]

It is not known whether all the listed items were used in those dressing rites. If the list merely describes the items laid out for those rites, it is possible that they were not completely used in the rites. This is not only indicated in *Yili*,[894] but also in several contemporary lists. As addressed by Tian Tian, in some of the lists dating from after the mid-Western Han period, part

---

891 See Wang Qinjin et al. 1987, 4, Plate 5.

892 See Dou Lei 2016, 82; 197, Table 1; 198, Table 2.

893 The items prepared for the rite of the "lesser dressing" include "絞、衾、散衣、祭服", i.e., "bands, quilts, ordinary clothes and the sacrificial garments"; the number of them is "凡十有九稱", i.e., "altogether 19". Those prepared for the rite of the "fuller dressing" include "絞、紟、衾二、君襚、祭服、散衣、庶襚，凡三十稱；紟不在算", i.e., "the binder, the unlined quilt, the two lined quilts, the garments given by the ruler, the sacrificial garments, ordinary clothes, the clothes presented by the other donors; in all, thirty suits, the unlined quilt not being included in this summation". See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi sangli", 792 ff., 798 and 806; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 55, 57 and 61.

894 In *Yili*, it is said that the items prepared for the two dressing rites are "不必盡用", i.e., "not all necessarily used". See *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Shi sangli", 793 and 806; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 55 and 61.

of the entries are followed by notes that were apparently added afterwards.[895] The notes concerned include *yi* 衣 and *juyi* 具衣, i.e. "worn" and "all worn [by the deceased]",[896] which indicate that merely part of the clothing was indeed used in the dressing rites.

In contrast to the list from tomb no. 101 at Xupu, the contents of many contemporary lists, for instance, those from tomb no. 1 at Huangshiya 黃石崖 (mid or late Western Han period),[897] tomb no. 6 at Yinwan 尹灣 (TPQ 10 BCE)[898] and tomb no. 147 at Tushantun 土山屯 (TPQ 1 BCE), [899] demonstrate partial overlaps with all types of the goods in the coffins. Hence, it seems that the administration of material resources in the first cluster of fields of action also underwent divisions of individual extents, when the fields were reproduced by persons that were associated with different cultural resources.

Hence, certain parts of the early funerary lists were perhaps prevented from entering into tombs. Such parts generally described material resources that underwent separate administration or were applied in certain self-contained funerary rites in certain funerary stages. Apart from this, the types of tomb goods that escaped record seem relatively arbitrary. It is possible that they were parts that were randomly conform with the documentation for long-term administration of material resources and were therefore kept in the field of archiving.

4.1.3 Systematic Absence of References to One Type of Tomb Goods

In addition to the above-mentioned tomb goods that were confined to self-contained locations, a type of tomb goods, i.e. flat wooden figurines (*mupian yong* 木片俑; for an example see Fig.

[895] Tian Tian exemplifies this phenomenon with the lists from tomb no. 6 at Yinwan and the tomb of Shiqi Yao 侍其繇 and his wife. See Tian Tian 2019, 77–79.

[896] Tian Tian 2019, 77–79.

[897] See Lianyungang shi bowuguan 1986, 20.

[898] See Lianyungang shi bowuguan 1997, 129-132.

[899] See Peng Yu 彭峪 and Wei Songtao 衛松濤, "Qingdao Tushantun muqun 147 hao mu mudu" 青島土山屯墓群 147 號墓木牘, updated Dec. 27, 2018, accessed May 23, 2024, http://fdgwz.org.cn/Web/Show/4199.

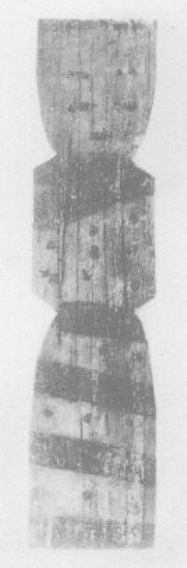


Fig. 41 A flat figurine (Inv. No. 280, 12.5–20 / ? / 1 cm) from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan.

41) has also systematically escaped record in funerary lists. Apart from their flatness, they are also characterised by their simple contours and extremely reduced details.

Such figurines were sometimes put into tombs together with figurines that have more plastic dimensionality (for an example of such figurines see Fig. 42). They were generally deposited between the (innermost) coffins and the tomb chambers before the mid-Western Han period, similar to the plastic figurines. But funerary lists do not describe such flat figurines at all, while they sometimes do refer to plastic figurines. This phenomenon can perhaps be observed in lists dating from as early as the late part of the mid-Warring States period.[900] At any rate, this can be observed in the early Western Han lists from the tombs nos. 8, 10, 167 and 168 at Fenghuangshan, no. 247 at Zhangjiashan and no. 26 at Xiaojiacaochang. Interestingly, the lists do not explicitly denote the plastic figurines as such; instead, they describe them as persons from certain regions or of certain occupations.[901]

[900] For instance, the list from tomb no. 1 at Angang 安崗 (Laohekou 老河口, Hubei province) contains the list item “三盟（明）童”, i.e., “three bright youths”. Three plastic figurines and four flat figurines are discovered in the tomb. It is probable that those “bright youths” refer to those three plastic figurines. For the list item see Li Tianhong 李天虹, ed., *Hubei chutu Chu jian wu zhong* 湖北出土楚簡五種, vol. 2 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2024): 100. For the figurines see Wang Xianfu 王先福 et al., “Hubei Laohekou Angang yihao Chu mu fajue jianbao” 湖北老河口安岗一号楚墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 7 (2017): 19–22.

[901] For a discussion of the different treatments concerning the flat figurines and plastic figurines in the lists from tombs no. 8, 167 and 168 at Fenghuangshan see Suzuki 2014, 283, 287 and 290. The list (a wooden tablet) from tomb no. 10 at Fenghuangshan contains two entries concerning persons, which read “大奴一人” and “大婢二人”, i.e., “one adult male servant” and “two adult female servants”. In this tomb, two flat figurines and three plastic figurines of persons (sex unknown) were discovered. The list from tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan (bamboo strips) contains merely an entry (strip 16) concerning persons, which reads “吳（偶）人男女七人”, i.e., “males and females from the Wu region (palaeographers render it as “male and female figurines”), seven”. In the tomb, three flat figurines and seven plastic figurines of persons (sex unknown) were discovered. The list from tomb no. 26 at Xiaojiacaochang (bamboo strips) contains the entries (strips 1–4) “車一乘”, “馬一匹”, “謁者一人” and “從者四人”, i.e., “one carriage”, “one horse”, “one internuncio” and “four followers”. In the tomb, seven flat figurines, five plastic figurines of persons (one in the pose of driving in kneeling) as well as the model of a one-horse-drawn carriage were discovered. See Changjiang liuyu dierqi wenwu kaogu gongzuo renyuan xunlianban 1974, 53, Table 2; Qiu Xigui 2012, 90; Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 1985, 2, Fig. 5; Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組, ed., *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian [ersiqi hao mu] (Shiwen xiuding ben)* 張家山漢墓竹簡[二四七號墓]（釋文修訂本） (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006): 189, strip 16; Hubei sheng Jingzhoushi Zhouliangyuqiao yizhi bowuguan 2001, 138, strips 3 and 4; 166, Table 2.



Fig. 42 A riding figurine (Inv. Nos. 3 and 5, 24 / ? / ? cm and 47 / 38–39 / ? cm) with plastic dimensionality from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan.

Transmitted literature, while referring to the term *yong* 俑 as surrogates of human sacrifices,[902] does not make a distinction between these two kinds of figurines. Several scholars argue that the flat figurines had the ritual functions of "warding off evils" (*bixie* 辟邪); while the more plastic ones were surrogates of sacrificial humans.[903] I agree that the flat figurines were probably not created as surrogates of sacrificial humans, because some of these figurines were disposed in tombs with sacrificial humans.[904] Therefore, transmitted literature merely mentions the latter type of figurines.

Furthermore, Lu Xixing, agreeing on the function of the flat figurines to be "warding off evils", asserts that their functionality derived from their materiality, i.e. they were made of peach wood (though he does not refer to any sources that indicate the wood species).[905] He thus associates them with even smaller figurines made of peach branches (see Fig. 43) from the two Mawangdui tombs. In comparison with the plastic figurines from these two tombs (for examples see Fig. 42 and Fig. 44), the peach-branch figurines were extremely roughly fabricated, with the slightest hint of facial features; some of them can hardly be identified as figurines if they were not bound together with the others; merely the few dressed ones demonstrate certain bodily features. Irrespective of their materials, the dressed peach-branch figurines do bear similarities with the flat figurines in their appearances. Transmitted literature indicates that peach wood was indeed used in excorcist practices in early Chinese funerals,

902 See Giele 2003, 433; Wu Hung 2010, 99–122.

903 See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 488; Gao Zhixi 高至喜, "Chu yong yanjiu" 楚俑研究, in *Shang Zhou qingtongqi yu Chu wenhua yanjiu* 商周青铜器与楚文化研究 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1999): 188; Ozawa 2006, 122; Lu Xixing 陆锡兴, "Kaogu faxian de taogeng zu taoren" 考古发现的桃梗与桃人, *Kaogu*, no. 12 (2013): 78–85.

904 For instance, two of the pre-Qin tombs that yielded flat figurines also contained the remains of immolated humans. They are the late Spring and Autumn tomb no. 5 at Caojiagang 曹家崗 (Dangyang 當陽, Hubei province) and tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. See Zhao Dexiang 赵德祥, "Dangyang Caojiagang 5 hao chu mu" 当阳曹家岗 5 号楚墓, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (1988): 461 ff. and 492.

905 See Lu Xixing 2013, 80 ff.

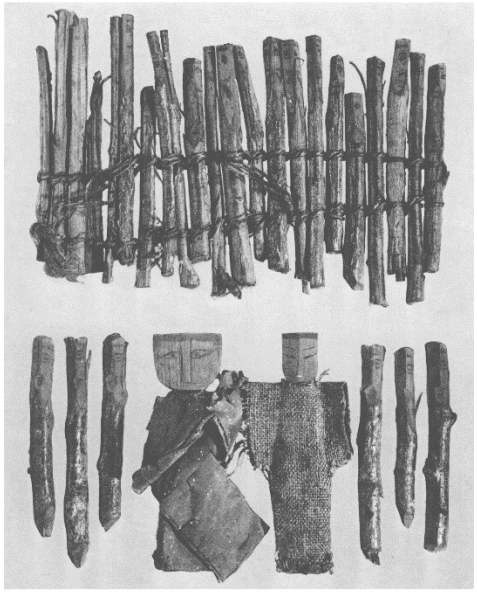


Fig. 43 Small figurines (Inv. Nos. 453–457, ca. 11–12 / 2.5 / 1 cm) made of peach branches, from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui.

occasionally even by certain liege lords of the pre-Qin period.[906] But as stated by James Legge as his suspect, "the sorcerer and exorcist were ancient superstitions, not established by the former kings, but with which they did not care to interfere by saying anything about them". [907] Accordingly, *Yili* does not mention such practices.

Similar flat figurines were also found in none-funerary contexts.[908] Some of those figurines, created in funerary or none-funerary contexts, bear writings that indicate their exorcist functions.[909] They were much smaller and visually less appealing than the plastic figurines, which were created, among others, for the purpose of public display, such as the multiple exhibitions of *mingqi* described in *Yili*. Judging by their appearances, these flat figurines and

[906] According to *Zuo zhuan*, the Chu people tried to humiliate Lord Xiang of Lu by asking him to present a gift of garment (*sui* 襚) personally, a ritual usually performed by an envoy of a ruler if the deceased used to be a subject. To return the insult, Lord Xiang followed some advice and "had shamans use peach branches and reed brooms to first exorcise the inauspiciousness of the place of the provisional burial" (使巫以桃苅先祓殯). "The Chu people did not stop this practice but afterwards they regretted it" (楚人弗禁，既而悔之). The translation of the passage is adapted from Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 2, 1232 ff. Hence, the Chu people were well aware of what such practice meant.

[907] Legge makes this comment while translating the following passage in *Liji*: "君臨臣喪，以巫祝桃苅執戈，惡之也；所以異於生也。喪有死之道焉。先王之所難言也", i.e., "when a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a sorcerer with a peachwand, an officer of prayer with his reed-(brush), and a lance-bearer, - disliking (the presence of death), and to make his appearance different from (what it was at any affair of) life. In the mourning rites it is death that is dealt with, and the ancient kings felt it difficult to speak of this". See Legge 1885a, 172.

[908] For instance, similar flat figurines made of wood have been intensively used by soldiers who served in military garrisons in the Hexi-Corridor in northwestern China. For a list of the discoveries see Li Yajun 李亚军, "Hexi Han mu chutu 'renmianxing' mupai yanjiu" 河西汉塞出土"人面形木牌"研究 (Master's thesis, Xibei shifan daxue, 2016): 60–67, Table 3-1.

[909] For a flat figurine (dating from 172 CE) bearing an exorcist text produced for a non-funerary context see Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 長沙市文物考古研究所, and Zhongguo wenwu yanjiusuo 中國文物研究所, eds., *Changsha Dongpailou Donghan jiandu* 長沙東牌樓東漢簡牘 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006) 50, Plate 117; 75. For a figurine painted on a wooden board (dating from 340 CE) that bear an exorcist, funerary text see Jiang Shoucheng 姜守誠, "Xianggang suo cang 'songren' jiechu mudu yu Han Jin muzang zhi jinji fengsu" 香港所藏「松人」解除木牘與漢晉墓葬之禁忌風俗, *Chengda lishi xuebao* 成大歷史學報 31 (2006): 1–64.



Fig. 44 A dressed figurine (Inv. No. 1 or 235, 79–84,5 / 19–21 / ? cm) with plastic dimensionality from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui.

peach-branch figurines were probably not created by skilled artisans. More likely, they were prepared by certain exorcists instead of by the bereaved families. Therefore, they were beyond the power of the material administration of the bereaved families, which must have been the reason why they were never included in the funerary lists.

The field of exorcism applying such figurines was perhaps not associated with copious amount of material resources, but it involved certain a knowledge and perhaps also certain performative techniques, if its reproduction had a performative dimension. Generally, compared with plastic figurines, flat figurines were much more rarely discovered in tombs.[910] Hence, the related excorcist ritual may have been an optional practice, which began at the latest in the late Spring and Autumn period.[911]

The field of exorcism is not mentioned in the funerary cycle described in *Yili*. But it formed a link of chain in the funerary cycle of the related tomb occupant and expanded the scope of the second cluster of fields of action.

4.1.4 Summary

The early Chinese funerary lists demonstrate a systematic absence of references to certain goods deposited in self-contained spaces, with an apparent, radical shift around the mid-Western Han dynasty: the funerary lists dating from before this period were by and large deposited in spaces between the (innermost) coffins and the tomb chambers. Their contents overlap partly with the tomb goods in these spaces, while they seldom refer to any goods in the (innermost) coffins. And the lists dating from after this period, except for those consisting of labels, were deposited in the (innermost) coffins. Their contents overlap partly with the tomb

[910] According to Zhang Yingying, merely six Chu tombs yielded flat figurines, while over 100 Chu tombs or cemeteries produced plastic figurines. See Zhang Yingying 张莹莹, “Chu Mu chutu muyong de kaoguxue yanjiu” 楚墓出土木俑的考古学研究 (Master’s thesis, Zhongnan minzu daxue, 2016): 14–18, Tables 1–2; 60, Table 5.1.

[911] The earliest flat figurine was discovered in the late Spring and Autumn tomb no. 5 at Caojiagang (Dangyang, Hubei province). See Zhao Dexiang 1988, 492.

goods in the (innermost) coffins, while they seldom refer to any goods outside the (innermost) coffins.

This shift is evidence that in early Chinese funerals, the goods within the (innermost) coffins used to be administrated by and large separately from those that were disposed outside the (innermost) coffins. In the light of the early Chinese funerary cycle combined with the device of "field of action", the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure obviously yielded the final scenes of the reproduction of two clusters of fields of action, which were by and large reproduced in separate spatial and temporal frames.

The first cluster of fields included at least the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories; the dressing of the corpse (including the first dressing, the lesser dressing and the fuller dressing); the coffining; and perhaps also the gift-giving of garments and quilts; etc. These fields collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which were finally applied for the coffining of the deceased. And the second cluster of fields comprised at least the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the entombment. In certain cases it may also have included the exhibition of the name banner and the *chong*-wood, the vehicle exhibition, the draught horse presentation, the gift-giving, the pre-entombment offering etc. These fields collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the entombment.

The first cluster of fields was reproduced primarily in private spatiality within a few days after death occurred, while the second cluster of fields was reproduced in public spaces in several months thereafter. On the one hand, in comparison with the two clusters of fields that shape the funeral of the Ordinary officer, the two clusters of fields reproduced in real funerals were not necessarily confined to those fields described in transmitted literature. Instead, they were expandable. On the other hand, when one of these fields of action was reproduced by the bereaved who had accesses to different cultural resources, it could have intersected the field of the entombment or not.

The systematic absence of references in the funerary lists to the goods deposited in self-contained spaces is evidence that these lists were no inventory lists of the entirety of tomb goods. And the way how the contents of the lists overlap with the tomb goods indicates that those lists dating from before and after the mid-Western Han period were by and large created in the second and the first cluster of fields (for an exception see Section 3.6), respectively. It is

also evidence that the final boundary of these two clusters of fields in a funerary cycle was the lid of the (innermost) coffin, i.e., part of the resources in the first cluster of fields finally flowed into the (innermost) coffin, while part of the resources in the second cluster of fields were finally deposited between the (innermost) coffin and the tomb chamber.

The shift of the contents of the funerary lists and their deposition location was extremely radical, involving tomb occupants of a vast circle of social strata from high aristocrats to commoners. It was likely triggered by a top-down reform launched by Emperor Wen in 157 BCE. This reform shortened the pre-entombment period to several days after death occurred and prohibited public exhibitions in the funerary cycles. It transformed the funerary customs in a vast circle of the population within several decades. In the mid-Western Han dynasty, the practice of burying the deceased within several days probably reached a vast circle of the population. Subsequently, the first cluster of fields of action underwent some expansion and further division due to its absorption of certain fields from the former second cluster. As a result, the two clusters of fields of action de facto merged partly with one another, in other words, the second cluster of fields partly collapsed into the first one.

It seems that the funerary lists that came to us were exclusively created and used for short-term administration of material (or human) resources, which was especially necessary when complex administration processes involving large amounts of resources took place. Accordingly, such lists were produced primarily in the most administration-intensive fields of action, which can be located in the second cluster of fields before the mid-Western Han period and in the first cluster of fields of action thereafter.

The most administration-intensive fields of the second cluster probably included at least the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, which was reproduced multiple times in the fourth funeray stage and was then incorporated in the exhibition of potential tomb goods; and the exhibition of potential tomb goods in the sixth stage. Depending on the cultural resources to which the bereaved had access, further fields, such as the gift-giving, the vehicle exhibition, the draught horse presentation and the pre-entobment offering, may have produced funerary lists as well. These fields were generally reproduced after the coffining. But the garnering of the related goods and their administration in written form may have set in before the coffining. These goods (such as the name banner) may even have been shared by the first cluster of fields of action. The funerary lists ensured that these goods were re-collected while the targeted fields of action were reproduced. The checkmarks and notes in some of these lists may have come

into being in such re-collecting processes. Some of the checkmarks indicate that relatively rarely and exceptionally, material resources in these lists could have been appropriated by the field of coffining.

The first cluster of fields before the mid-Western Han period and the second cluster of fields thereafter perhaps did not require much short-term organisation that was necessarily carried out in written form. Funerary lists that may have created in these frames anyway probably had the characteristics of inventory lists. They were products of the long-term administration of resources, i.e., they were likely archived instead of buried.

Both before and after the transition of the funerary customs, there was occasional absence of reference to certain types of tomb goods in the buried funerary lists. Such absence of reference is related to goods types that were probably administered separately from the others. Theoretically, it is possible that the administration of these items did not result in any written form. But more likely, these items were rendered in separate lists as well, which were not disposed in the tombs. In the light of the nature of the buried funerary lists, the motive of preventing these parts of funerary lists from entering into tombs may have been the intention to keep them in archives, perhaps because these parts were conform with the documentation for the long-term administration of material resources.

Furthermore, there is a type of goods that systematically escaped record, i.e. flat wooden figurines. They were probably produced and used in the field of exorcism. They were beyond the power of the material administration of the bereaved families, which must have been the reason why they were never included in the funerary lists. The field of exorcism is not mentioned in the funerary cycle described in *Yili*. But it formed a link of chain in the funerary cycle of the related tomb occupant and expanded the scope of the second cluster of fields of action.

4.2 Transformation of Material Resources

Studies focusing on the identification of the individual list items with individual tomb goods indicate partial overlaps between the contents of early Chinese funerary lists and the goods in the tombs that yielded those lists. But such partial overlaps lead only to more confusion about

the nature and function of those lists. I suggest that more attention could be paid to the organisational pattern of the list items and of the tomb goods, especially of the overlaps between them. I propose that if those two organisational patterns also overlap with one another, then it is groundless to deny the function of a list as a "tomb goods preparation list"; otherwise, the list must have been created and used for actions beyond the entombment.

As addressed in Section 1.1, a list bestows an organisational pattern on the items that it describes through its layout and structure. For instance, a list inscribed on a bamboo or wooden board demonstrates an organisational pattern of the list items in terms of whether an individual list entry (normally marked by a line break) describes multiple items; whether the entries are grouped into unities of content; and in which sequence the unities, the entries as well as the items are organised on the writing support. Many of the lists that came to light as loose bamboo strips also bear traces of how their list items were originally organised. For instance, sometimes two or more items form a list entry, indicating that these items are more closely associated with one another than with other items. Even if the sequence of certain strips bearing a long list entry may be problematic, the entry part on an individual strip demonstrates the original sequence of certain list items. Sometimes a list includes several summaries indicating that the list enries were organised into unities of content. In this case, those items that pertain to one and the same summary are more closely associated with each other than with the items referred to by another summary. Sometimes one tomb yielded more than one list, judging by the deposition location, the physical features of the writing supports and the layout of the writings. Those items described in one and the same list are more closely associated with each other than with the items in another list.

The organisational pattern of the tomb goods is determined primarily by the spatial division within the wooden tomb chamber by the compartments and coffin(s). Within a certain spatial location, it is demonstrated by the spatial relationships of the goods with one another. In addition, part of the organisational pattern is formed by the spatial relationships of the goods to the corpse.

Discrepancies between the organisational pattern of the list items and those of the tomb goods can indicate how the resources were transformed before they obtained their final organisational pattern either in the field of coffining or in the field of entombment. Generally, two types of transformation can be observed: first, while the resources themselves remained unchanged, they were recombined with one another. Second, parts of the combined resources

were abandoned and replaced by completely new ones. These two types of transformation sometimes took place simultaneously, as will be addressed below (see also the transformations of animals, vehicles and further material resources in the funeral of Marquis Yi in Subsections 3.4.1–3.4.3, 3.5.2, 3.6.1 and Section 3.7).

4.2.1 The lists from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan

The Warring States tomb no. 2 at Baoshan was a shaft tomb containing two nesting wooden chambers (*guo*) in its middle.[912] The tomb occupant was Shao Tuo 悼（劭）旣, who used to be the Chancellor of the Left (*zuoyin* 左尹) of the Chu Kingdom before his death in 316

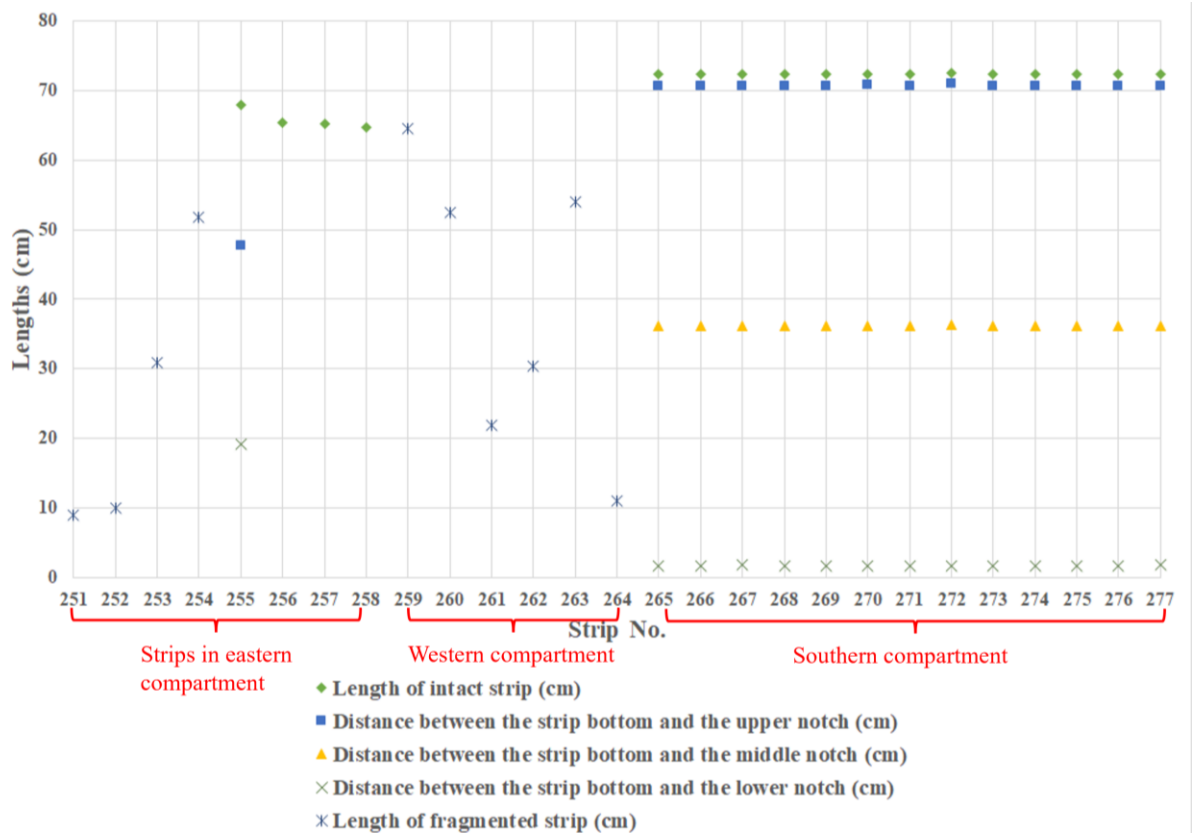


Fig. 45 Sizes and notch positions of the bamboo strips forming the funerary lists located in three compartments in tomb no. 2 at Baoshan (Jingmen, Hubei province).

[912] If not specified otherwise, the information about the architecture (including the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure) of tomb no. 2 at Baoshan is from Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 湖北省荆沙铁路考古队, *Baoshan Chu mu* 包山楚墓, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991b): 45–68.



Fig. 46 Two entries from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan.

BCE.[913] Three nesting coffins (*guan*) were deposited in the inner chamber. The tomb occupant was laid in the innermost coffin on his back, extended, with his head oriented toward the east. The space between the two chambers was divided into four compartments in the four cardinal directions.

The lists were deposited at the bottom layers of the tomb goods in the eastern, the southern and the western compartments of the wooden chamber,[914] which was water-logged at the excavation. Hence, it is unlikely that they were used as a guide of the disposal of the tomb goods. Their deposition locations indicate a rough division of the strips concerned, by extension also of the list items, into three groups. Furthermore, while the individual strips in the eastern compartment as well as those in the western compartment were located not far away from one another,[915] those in the southern compartment were discovered in three separate locations (for details see below). Hence, a further division of the strips from the southern compartment into three subgroups is possible.[916]

The lists came to light as loose bamboo strips and one bamboo tablet. Their physical features and the layout of the lists on them partly corroborate the further division. The bamboo tablet, numerated 1, is inscribed both on its recto and its verso. Its verso is worked into three vertical surfaces, each of which bears a line; and its verso seems unprocessed, bearing merely half a line. This distinct layout separates the tablet from all the other lists. All the bamboo strips are merely inscribed

913 For the identity and the date of death of the tomb occupant see Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 330–335.

914 See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 265–266.

915 For the location of the strips in the eastern compartment see Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 86, Fig. 51 (F), Inv. No. 141; 87, Fig. 51 (G), Inv. Nos. 97 and 185. For the location of the strips in the western compartment see Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, 93, Fig. 53 (B), Inv. No. 400.

916 Lai Guolong suggests that the lists "were placed in six different locations". His criterion for the division is elusive. Cf. Lai Guolong 2015, 140.

on their verso, each with one line. While each strip from the southern compartment bears three notches, one of the strips from the eastern compartment bears two notches, the other strips do not bear notches (see Fig. 45). The sizes as well as the notch positions of the intact strips from the southern compartment are identical from each other.

Furthermore, the writings on the strips from the southern compartment demonstrate a head margin (for one of the entries see Fig. 46, strips 267, 268 and 272), while the writings on the strips from the other two compartment do not (for one of the entries see Fig. 46, strips 255 and 256). Hence, the strips in the southern compartment were theoretically capable to form a scroll of consistent binding and layout. But two of those strips (Strip Nos. 265 and 266, Inv. No. 358) were discovered in the eastern section of the southern compartment, while the remaining strips were found in the south-west corner (Inv. No. 287) of the southern compartment.[917] Their separation may have been due to the difference of their contents, as will be addressed below.

Lai Guolong, regarding the lists as an inventory list of the tomb, asserts that the separate locations of the lists are in line with the organisational pattern of the tomb goods.[918] A close comparison of them, however, suggests otherwise.

One of the strips located in the south-west corner of the southern compartment bears a date as follows: “大司馬䘏（悼）戠（憚，滑）救郙戚=（之歲）𡍮=（亯月）丁亥𠂤=（之日），左尹𡏚（葬）甬（用）車” (strip 267),[919] i.e. “The year when Grand Military Supervisor Dao Hua saved Fu, Xiang month,[920] *dinghai* day: the [following] wheeled vehicles are to be used in the burial of the Chancellor of the Left”.[921] This date, together with a multi-strip entry following it, forms a paragraph marked by a line break at its end (see Fig. 46, strips

[917] For the location of the strips in the western compartment see Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 91, Fig. 52 (D), Inv. Nos. 287 and 358.

[918] Lai Guolong asserts that “parts of the list were placed in six different locations in the eastern, western, and southern compartments, along with their corresponding artifacts”. See Lai Guolong 2015, 140.

[919] If not specified otherwise, the transcription of the lists from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan is from Chen Wei 2009, 118–135. Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. present two different reconstructions of this entry. Cf. Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 370; Hu Yali 2008, 371.

[920] The Xiang month is the 6th month in the Chu calender. See Shi Quan 石泉 et al., eds., *Chuguo lishi wenhua cidian* 楚国历史文化辞典 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1997): 71.

[921] The translation is adapted from Cook 2006, 229 ff.

267, 268 and 272). The entry begins with the introducing phrase “一輦（乘）軒” (strip 267), i.e. “one side-screen chariot”, and describes items including the vehicle parts, accoutrements, weapons, a flag and horse tack associated with the vehicle.

The remaining strips from the same deposition location include another five entries, each of which forms a single paragraph. Each entry begins with an introducing phrase as well. These phrases read: “一輦（乘）正車” (strip 271), “一輦（乘）韓（韋車）” (strip 273), “一輦（乘）棧  （轂）” (strip 274), “一輦（乘）羊車” (strip 275) and “苛郙受（授）” (strip 277), i.e. “one principal chariot”, “one armoured chariot”, “one hearse”, “one ram-drawn carriage” and “gifts made by Ke Fu”.

The entry beginning with the last introducing phrase describes weapons and horse tack that were gifts made by Ke Fu. And apparently, the other four entries concern vehicles. Hence, the number of the vehicles described on the strips located in the south-west corner of the southern compartment amount to five. But the numbers of the list items belonging to individual vehicles vary greatly from each other:[922] The hearse, for instance, is merely associated with a certain item (perhaps harness) adorned by cowries (strip 274, “貝覓 □”); the ram-drawn carriage is related with three accoutrements made of certain types of silk (strip 275); while the other vehicles were associated with a much larger number of vehicle parts, accoutrements, weapons, flags and horse tack; in addition, merely the principal chariot is associated with two suits of armours and two suits of barding (strips 269 and 270). Scholars seem confused by the fact that the extents of the entries vary so greatly from each other, which cannot be explained by the fragmentation of the strips concerned;[923] they surmise that certain entries were not finished.[924]

Interestingly, in the southern compartment, many vehicle parts, accoutrements, pieces of horse tack, weapons and armours were discovered. On the one hand, some of the vehicle parts (such as canopies) and some of the weaponry (such as armours, barding suits, arrow quiver and

[922] Scholars surmise that certain entries were not finished. See Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 398, footnote 654.

[923] The entries on the “hearse” (strip 274) and the “goat-drawn carriage” (strip 275) are both one strip-entries; they occupy merely a small portion of the length of the strips, respectively. Hence, it can be excluded that part of either entry is missing.

[924] See Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 398, footnote 654.

arrows) do seem to derive from the five vehicles or from the field of gift-giving.[925] Hu Yali even asserts that the records correspond completely with those goods discovered in the compartment.[926] On the other hand, there is a certain degree of discrepancy between the records and the discoveries, for instance, the number of certain weapons in the compartment does not correspond to the number of those described.[927]

It is important to note that the discrepancy between the records and the discoveries is much greater than has been surmised. First and foremost, the organisational pattern of the vehicles, horse tack and weaponry described in the list was not reproduced at the deposition of the tomb goods. No complete vehicles were buried. Instead, merely dismounted vehicle parts and accoutrements were discovered in the southern compartment. Those parts, accoutrements along with horse tack and weaponry, were sorted according to their shapes and deposited according to the spatial economics[928] – which is much in line with the criterion of the deposition of the weaponry in the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (see Subsection 3.7.3). Furthermore, a close insight into these parts and accoutrements reveals that they form no single, complete vehicle at all: while many parts made of wood in the tomb were preserved,[929] neither wheels nor draught poles, which were commonly made of wood as well, were extant. Furthermore, the numbers of the parts do not match each other: the compartment yielded merely one yoke bar and two yokes, i.e. those for one vehicle; but it produced 12 pairs of axle

---

925 Da Haobo points out that the number of the canopies discovered in the tomb corresponds to the number of the vehicles concerned in the funerary list; and Li Jiahao indicates that the numbers of the armour suits and barding suits found in the tomb correspond to those described in the entries on the vehicles and the number of the discovered arrow quiver and arrows corresponds to the number of those described as gifts. See Da Haobo 笪浩波, "Hubei Yicheng Luogang chemakeng de jige xiangguan wenti" 湖北宜城罗岗车马坑的几个相关问题, *Huaxia kaogu*, no. 2 (1999): 185; Li Jiahao 李家浩, "Baoshan qiance kaoshi (si pian)" 包山遣册考释（四篇）, in *Anhui daxue Han yuyan wenzi yanjiu congshu: Li Jiaohao juan* 安徽大学汉语言文字研究丛书：李家浩卷 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2013): 133 ff. and 141.

926 See Hu Yali 2008, 372.

927 Li Jiahao points out that, while two *mao*-polearms with a small poke and feather adornment each were recorded, three of such *mao*-polearms were discovered in the tomb. See Li Jiahao 2013, 131.

928 For instance, parts of the vehicle boxes were deposited in the third layer of the tomb goods, at the western end of the compartment. The large leather railing claddings were located in this layer as well, at the eastern end of the compartment. The roofs and the shafts of the canopies were separated into two piles in this layer as well, in the centre of the compartment. The harnesses were deposited in the fourth layer of the tomb goods; they formed a pile in the middle of the compartment. The armours and the barding were deposited in the fourth layer of the tomb goods as well; they were piled together at the eastern end of the compartment. See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991 b, vol. 1, 90, Plate 52 (C); 91, Plate 52 (D)

929 See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991 b, vol. 1, 70–83, Table 9.

caps, i.e. those for 12 vehicles.[930] Apparently, the organisational pattern of the vehicle parts and accoutrements in the tomb deviates from that of the related items in the above-mentioned entries.

The structure and content of the records of vehicles are much in parallel with the records on the A and B strips from the tomb of Marquis Yi (see Subsection 3.5.1) as well. Similar to those records, this part of the list is no detailed description of the related vehicles, but instead a record of the reshaping of these vehicles. Except for the hearse, all these vehicles may have derived from various fields of action beyond the field of funeral. The reshaping transformed the vehicles into those that were suitable for the reproduction of funerary fields, such as the exhibition vehicles and the funerary procession in the second cluster of fields. Since the extent of reshaping individual vehicles varied and merely those items used for the reshaping were recorded, the extent of the individual entries varies accordingly. The entry on the hearse, for instance, is the shortest among all entries, much in parallel with the two entries on hearses from the tomb of Marquis Yi (see Subsection 3.5.1). This is conceivable because the hearse, deriving itself from the field of funeral, did not require extensive reshaping for being engaged in a funeral again. Furthermore, the records from Marquis Yi's tomb indicate that the material components concerned in reshaping the vehicles were divided into two parts, which were recorded separately on the A and B strips, respectively; and these material components were probably administered by two offices accordlingly (see Subsection 3.7.1). Such a division cannot be observed in the entries mentioned above. This, again, indicates that the material administration may have undergone divisions of individual extent, when persons with different cultural resources were involved in the individual reproductions of a field.

Furthermore, the manuscripts in the tomb themselves bear testimony for the transformations of material resources when fields of action intersected and succeeded one another. As analysed by Chen Wei, the bamboo tablet no. 1 mentioned above, which was discovered in the north-east part of the southern compartment, bears a record of a vehicle, a "principal chariot" that was donated by a certain Shu Yin 舒寅.[931] The gift-giving took place on a *bingxu* 丙戌 day in the Xiang month of the year when Grand Military Supervisor Dao Hua

[930] See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991 b, vol. 1, 75 and 77.

[931] See Chen Wei 1996, 188–190.

saved Fu, i.e. one day before the creation of the entry on the "principal chariot" mentioned above. A comparison between this record and the entry on the "principal chariot" indicates that they concern one and the same vehicle, but its equipment in the gift record is not completely identical with that in the entry.[932] This means that the principal chariot derived from the field of gift-giving and was transformed into the material component of the field of funeral. The transfer of the material components from one field to another is perhaps also indicated by another entry that concerns weapons and horse tack that were donated by Ke Fu. As argued by Chen Wei, some of the gifts were perhaps used on some of the vehicles mentioned above.[933]

In addition, as indicated above, some of the vehicle parts, accoutrements and weaponry were indeed deposited in the tomb, albeit in a transformed pattern of organisation and perhaps in combination with material resources that are not mentioned in the lists at all (e.g., some of the 22 axle caps mentioned above). These material resources perhaps derived from the funerary procession to the tomb, a stage between the vehicle exhibition and the entombment.

The two strips discovered in the eastern section of the southern compartment bear one paragraph consisting of two entries. The first entry begins with the phrase "大兆之金器" (strip 265),[934] i.e. "bronze items of the *dazhao*". There are controversial interpretations of the term *dazhao*, such as "Great Funeral",[935] "Great Temple of Distant Ancestors",[936] "Great Court",[937]

[932] See Chen Wei 1996, 188–190.

[933] See Chen Wei 1996, 190 ff.

[934] The transcription of this phrase is from Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 370. As will be mentioned below, the transcription of this phrase is controversial. For the convenience of discussion, I choose this version of the transcription, because most of the scholarly discussions on this phrase are based on it.

[935] The site report renders the term *dazhao* 大兆 as *dazang* 大葬, i.e., "Great Funeral". See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 276.

[936] Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. render the term *dazhao* as *datiao* 大朓（祧）, i.e., "Great Temple of Distant Ancestors". See Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 395, footnote 579.

[937] In his 1996 publication, Chen Wei renders the term *dazhao* as *dachao* 大晁（朝）, i.e., "Great Court", which was used as the denotation of one of the compartments of the tomb. See Chen Wei 1996, 192–197.

"Great Kitchen"[938] as well as "Greater Set of Victims".[939] These will be further addressed below. The second entry follows the first directly and begins with the phrase *muqi* 木器, i.e. "wooden items". In accordance with these two introducing phrases, the two entries describe various vessels and table wares. Since these two strips bear the only multi-entry paragraph, it is possible that the "wooden items" also belonged to the "*dazhao*".

The strips discovered in the eastern compartment are less well preserved than those discovered in the southern compartment. They bear at least four entries beginning with the introducing phrases "食室之金器" (strip 251), "☐之金器" (strip 252), "飤室之飤" (strip 255) and "飤室所以食笑" (strip 257), i.e. "bronze items of the dining room", "bronze items of…", "provisions from the provision room" and "*gong*-baskets containing food from the provision room", respectively. Judging by these introducing phrases, the missing characters in the second phrase probably refers to a certain room beyond the "dining room".

The strips discovered in the western compartment are less well preserved as well. They bear the following introducing phrase: "相遝之器所以行" (strip 259), i.e. "items of *xiang?*, used in travels". There are controversial interpretations of the term "*xiang?*" as well, including "the foot compartment",[940] "the side compartment and the foot compartment"[941] and "those to be taken along with" etc.[942]

---

938 In his 2009 publication, Chen Wei adopts the idea from Li Jiahao that the characters concerned can be recognised in the infrared photo as *dapao* 大卯（庖）, i.e., "Great Kitchen", instead of *dazhao*. See Chen Wei 2009, 120 and 127, footnote 111.

939 Liu Guosheng states that he renders the term *dazhao* as *tailao* 大牢, i.e., "Greater Set of Victims", in his dissertation. In the monograph based on his dissertation, however, he follows Chen Wei to transcribe the term as *dapao* and interpret it as "Great Kitchen". See Liu Guosheng 2011, 65, footnote 89.

940 Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. render the term *xiang?* as *xiangwei* 箱尾, i.e., "the foot compartment". See Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 393, footnote 537.

941 Chen Wei renders the term *xiang?* also as *xiangwei* 箱尾 but indicates that it means "the side compartment and the foot compartment". See Chen Wei 1996, 192 ff.

942 For instance, Lin Yun renders the term *xiang?* as *xiangxi* 相徙 and further explains that it means "those that are portable"; Zhou Fengwu renders it as "*xiangsui*" 相隨, i.e., "those to be taken along with". The latter interpretation is also adopted by Chen Wei. See Lin Yun 林沄, "Du Baoshan Chu jian zhaji qi ze" 读包山楚简札记七则, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (1992): 83 ff.; Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五, "Shangbo si 'Jian dawang bo han' chong tan" 上博四《柬大王泊旱》重探, *Jianbo* 1 (2006): 129; Chen Wei 2009, 124.

As indicated by the diverse interpretations of these introducing phrases, scholars commonly regard the individual *shi* 室 and "*xiang?*" as spatial entities. Some assume that they are denotations of the four non-coffin compartments of the tombs. For instance, identifying *shi* 食 and *si* 飤 on the strips from the eastern compartment as two variants of one and the same character, they assume that both the *shishi* 食室 and *sishi* 飤室 refer to the eastern compartment;[943] the *dazhao* 大兆 on the strips from the southern compartment refers to the southern compartment;[944] the "*xiang?*" on the strips from the western compartment refers to the western compartment and the northern compartment.[945] The problem arises, why a scribe would have recorded items that were to be deposited in the western compartment and the northern compartment in one and the same entry? Furthermore, in this vein, the entry beginning with the phrase "☐之金器" (strip 252) from the eastern compartment would probably refer to another spatial entity. Which compartment would have corresponded to that spatial entity? Why would the list entries that were placed in the eastern compartment refer to two different compartments?

A comparison between the items described in these entries and the tomb goods indicates substantial discrepancies of their organisational patterns. The "bronze items" described on the strips from the southern compartment, for instance, have been identified partly in the eastern compartment and partly in the western compartment;[946] some of the items described on the strips from the eastern compartment have been identified in the eastern compartment;[947] some of the items described on the strips from the western compartment have been identified in all four compartments.[948]

---

943 See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 275; Hu Yali 1991, 515; Chen Wei 1996, 192.

944 See Chen Wei 1996, 192–197.

945 See Chen Wei 1996, 192 ff.; for the interpretation that this term refers to the western compartment cf. Hu Yali 1991, 517.

946 See Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 395–396, footnotes 579–604; Hu Yali 1991, 508–515; Hu Yali 2008, 371 ff.

947 See Liu Binhui, Hu Yali et al. 1991, 391–393, footnotes 495–536; Hu Yali 1991, 515–517; Hu Yali 2008, 372.

948 See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 276.

These discrepancies of the organisational patterns indicate that the spatial entities in those introducing phrases cannot have referred to the compartments in the tomb at all. As many other tomb chambers, the one at Baoshan bore traces of prefabrication.[949] In the funerary cycle in *Yili*, the wooden tomb chamber is presented once outside the gate of the mansion of the deceased, during the three months in which the coffined corpse is provisionally buried in the mansion (Appendix I: Table 2). Whether the tomb chamber at Baoshan used to be displayed publicly or not, the persons who deposited the tomb goods had the possibility to know the spatial divisions and the sizes of those tomb chambers beforehand. They were able to provide much more exact lists concerning the deposition locations of the goods than those lists discovered in the tomb – they probably did provide such lists, which were not buried due to their significance for the long-term bookkeeping, since the recorded material components became permanently unavailable for the bereaved family.

Furthermore, those scholars who interpret the phrase "相遝之器所以行" on strip 259 as "items to be taken along with in travel" regard it as a description of the scope of application of the items. It is not known whether all the strips from the western compartment belonged to the entry that begins with this phrase, but strip 259 does. The remaining part of the strip includes items such as "二緹（鞮）婁（屨）", "一緼（巾）簠（笨），六緼（巾）", "四椑（櫛）一簠（笨）", i.e. "two pairs of leather shoes", "one *fan*-basket[950] containing six towels" and "one *fan*-basket containing four combs".[951] Corresponding goods were found in the tomb, though, they were not confined in the same deposition locations: two pair of shoes made of a mix of hemp and leather (Inv. Nos. 402 and 413),[952] a bamboo basket (Inv. No. 43) attached

[949] The wooden blocks forming individual compartments and their lids of the wooden chamber of tomb no. 2 at Baoshan bore marks that indicated the sequence in which the wooden blocks could be assembled. For several other examples see the wooden chambers in tombs no. 1 at Tianxingguan, no. 1 at Wangshanqiao and no. 1 at Mawangdui. See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 52–54; Hubei sheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 湖北省荆州地区博物馆, "Jiangling Tianxingguan 1 hao Chu mu" 江陵天星观 1 号楚墓, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (1982): 74, Fig. 4; Jia Hanqing 贾汉清 et al., "Hubei Jingzhou Wangshanqiao yihao Chu mu fajue jianbao" 湖北荆州望山桥一号楚墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2017): 7, Fig. 5; Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 8–13.

[950] *Fan*-basket is a bamboo basket of a certain shape. For the possible shape of the basket see Hu Yali 胡雅麗, "Gong, fan, gan mingwu bian" 筐、笨、簳名物辨, *Jianbo* 4 (2009): 247–264.

[951] The translation is adapted from Cook 2006, 219 ff.

[952] See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 80, 188 ff.

with a bamboo label "繾（巾）簟（笲）" (Inv. No. 43-2),[953] and a bamboo basket (Inv. No. 433) containing four combs (Inv. Nos. 433-1, -2, -3 and -4)[954] were found in the western compartment, the eastern compartment and the northern compartment, respectively. This means that, no matter whether the phrase refers to a certain compartment or to a scope of application, the organisational pattern that it bestows to the list items was not manifested by the organisational pattern of the corresponding goods in the tomb.

Hence, these spatial entities or scopes of application in the funerary lists are not in line with the organisational pattern of the tomb goods. More likely, they represent the organisational pattern of the related items when they were displayed in certain fields of action that were reproduced before the entombment, such as the exhibition of potential tomb goods. More concretely, part of the exhibited items derived from the "dining room", the "provision room",[955] and a spatial entity that served as a certain sacred space (e.g., ancestral temple) of the Chancellor of the Left in his lifetime. The exhibited items that were deemed as items to be taken along with in travel did not necessarily derive from one and the same spatial entity. Due to the fragmentation of the strips, it is likely that there used to be more spatial entities or scopes of application that elude the modern reader.[956]

Therefore, the lists disposed in the tomb demonstrate an organisational pattern in their own right. Several list entries on part of the bamboo strips from the southern compartment were probably created during the reshaping of five vehicles for their participation in the fields of vehicle exhibition and funerary procession; a further list entry on another part of the bamboo strips and a record on a bamboo tablet from this compartment testify that the exhibited vehicles derived partly from another field, i.e. the gift-giving. The remaining list entries from this compartment as well as the lists from the eastern and the western compartments describe

953 See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 151; Chen Wei 2009, 135.

954 See Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 81.

955 Although several scholars interpret the terms *shishi* 食室 and *sishi* 飤室 as one and the same spatial entity, these terms may literally refer to two separate spatial entities as well, i.e., "dining room" and "provision room". Cf. Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 1991b, vol. 1, 275; Hu Yali 1991, 515; Chen Wei 1996, 192.

956 As mentioned above, the denotation of a spatial entity in one of the list entries on the strips from the eastern compartment is missing.

further goods that were displayed publicly, including those derived from several spatial entities of the mansion of the bereaved family and certain travel accessories.

Compared with the later lists (see Subsections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3), the Baoshan lists have a layout that seldom allows any updates of the organisational pattern of the list items, since multiple items follow each other directly in an individual list entry that occupies one to several strips. Hence, each list was probably created merely for one field of action. Once the organisational pattern of the material components was changed since the field was intersected or succeeded by another one, these lists became obsolete. This indicates that they were applied merely for the short-term organisation of the goods.

The separate depositions of the lists in the tomb may be another indication that they were applied in separate fields of actions. In the southern compartment, for instance, the list of the vehicles to be applied in the funeral, the gift record of a vehicle and the list of bronze and wooden items are deposited separately from each other. The gift record derived apparently from the field of gift-giving. The other two lists derived probably both from the field of exhibition of potential tomb goods. But their separate deposition might indicate that the goods described were administered by two separate teams, although their identical layout suggests otherwise. But at any rate, it is most probable that the lists from the eastern and the western compartments describe goods that were administered by two other separate teams in charge of the exhibition of potential tomb goods, since their binding as well as layout differ from those of the lists in the southern compartment.

It seems that after the last exhibition, there was no coordination to put the lists that were created merely for the short-term organisation of the goods together. The lists were probably left besides the corresponding groups of exhibited goods before the procession to the tomb. As the goods were loaded for the transport to the tomb, these lists were probably put on top of certain piles of goods, the types, numbers and organisational pattern of which may have already transformed, as a comparison with the goods in the exhibition. This may explain that during the entombment, the lists were among the first that were put into separate compartments. No attention was paid to match the contents of the lists to the tomb goods, which was doomed to fail because the organisational pattern of the goods was transformed again.

It is important to reiterate that the records on vehicles in the Baoshan lists are much similar to part of the lists (A and B strips) from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng in terms of their

contents, creation and usage. Similar records were discovered in many further Chu tombs, including tomb no. 406 at Wulipai 五里牌 (Changshang, Hunan province), tomb no. 1 at Changtaiguan 長台關 (Xinyang, Henan province), tomb no. 2 at Wangshan 望山 (Jingzhou, Hubei province), tomb no. 1 at Tianxingguan ,[957] tomb no. 1 at Wangshanqiao 望山橋 (Jingzhou, Hubei province),[958] tomb no. 1 at Yancang 嚴倉 (Jingmen, Hubei province),[959] tomb no. 2 at Dingjiazui 丁家咀 (Wuhan, Hubei province),[960] etc. Als pointed out by Peng Hao 彭浩, all the related tomb occupant were high aristocrats ranged between lower Grandee (*xia dafu* 下大夫) and vassal lords.[961] All these lists were probably created targetedly for the vehicle exhibition and perhaps also the draught animal presentation and the exhibition of potential tomb goods, if they also refer to draught animals, weaponry or further goods.

As a comparison, those funerary lists dating from between the early imperial period to the mid-Western Han period seldom refer to real vehicles, draught animals or persons. Instead, if they include such list items, they mostly refer to surrogates of them (see Subsections 4.1.2 and 4.2.3). Such surrogates may have been categorised as *mingqi*. The application of these surrogates indicates that the fields of vehicle exhibition and draught animal presentation merged with one another, while they simultaneously collapsed into the fields of the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi* and the exhibition of potential tomb goods, for which most of the funerary lists of this period were targetedly created.

[957] Peng Hao provides an introduction to the contents of the lists from these three tombs. See Peng Hao 1996, 49 ff.

[958] For part of the transcription of the list from this tomb see Jia Hanqing et al. 2017, 35.

[959] For an introduction of the content of the list from this tomb see Li Tianhong 李天虹 et al., "Hubei Jingmen Yancang 1 hao Chu mu chutu zhujian" 湖北荆门严仓 1 号楚墓出土竹简, Wenwu, no. 3 (2020): 60 ff.

[960] For an introduction of the content of the list from this tomb see Lu Jialiang 鲁家亮 and Li Yongkang 李永康, "Hubei Wuhan Dingjiazui M1, M2 chutu Zhanguo zhujian" 湖北武汉丁家咀 M1, M2 出土战国竹简, *Wenwu*, no. 6 (2015): 49–51.

[961] See Peng Hao 1996, 53.

4.2.2 The lists from tomb nos. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui

The early Western Han tombs nos. 1–3 at Mawangdui were shaft tombs containing one wooden tomb chamber each.[962] Tomb no. 2 was occupied by Li Cang 利蒼, the first generation Marquis of Dai, who was buried in 186 BCE.[963] The occupant of tomb no. 1 was a marchioness of Dai, who was buried later than 168 BCE.[964] The identity of the occupant of tomb no. 3, who was buried in 168 BCE,[965] is controversial.[966] Some argue that he was Li Xi 利豨, the second generation Marquis of Dai;[967] some surmise that he was a bother of Li Xi;[968] yet others argue that he was a nephew of the marchioness.[969] Tombs no. 1 and 3, which were much better preserved than tomb no. 2, yielded funerary lists.

The marchioness' wooden tomb chamber yielded four nesting coffins in its centre, and the chamber of tomb no. 3 yielded three. Both tomb occupants laid on their backs, extended, with their heads oriented toward the north. In both tombs, the space between the wooden tomb chamber and the nesting coffins was divided into four compartments in the four cardinal directions. In tomb no. 1, 312 bamboo strips bearing a funerary list (Inv. Nos. 53–57) were deposited in the eastern chamber, wedged under two *ding*-cauldrons among the first layer of

962 If not specified otherwise, the information about the architecture (including the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure) of tombs no. 1 and 3 at Mawangdui is from Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 3–27; and He Jiejun 2004, 26–41. The architecture of tomb no. 2 is from He Jiejun 2004, 6–11.

963 See He Jiejun 2004, 237.

964 See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 156–158. Some scholars assume that the tomb occupant was the first generation Marchioness of Dai. For examples see Chen Zhi 1972, 30; He Jiejun 2004, 239.

965 A date in association with certain administrative tasks is mentioned in the inscription on a wooden tablet (no. 1) from the tomb. See the transcription and translation of the inscription below.

966 For an overview of the studies concerning his identity see Chen Jianming 2013, 9–27.

967 For examples see Fu Juyou 傅举有, "Guanyu Mawangdui san hao Han mu de muzhu wenti" 关于长沙马王堆三号汉墓的墓主问题, *Kaogu*, no. 2 (1983): 165–172; Chen Songchang 陈松长, "Mawangdui sanhao muzhu de zai renshi" 马王堆三号墓主的再认识, *Wenwu*, no. 8 (2003): 56–59.

968 For examples see Gao Zhixi 高至喜, "Mawangdui san hao Han mu de muzhu daodi shi shui" 马王堆三号汉墓的幕主到底是谁, *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中华文化论坛, no. 3 (2000): 124–129; He Jiejun 2004, 241 ff.

969 See Friedrich 2009, 125–143.

the tomb goods.[970] In tomb no. 3, several funerary lists were deposited in two non-coffin compartments: 403 bamboo strips and six wooden tablets (Inv. No. perhaps *xi* 西 41) were deposited in the western chamber, among the second layer of the tomb goods; while another wooden tablet (*dong* 東 64) was deposited in the eastern chamber (exact deposition location unknown).[971] Hence, though the two tombs had strictly parallel structures, the deposition locations of the funerary lists were not in line with one another, which indicates that the deposition of these lists in tombs was probably no fixed agenda in the funeral cycles.

The Mawangdui lists demonstrate organisational patterns of the items through unities of content defined by summaries. Each strip from tomb 1 either bears a single entry or a summary. The top edge of each strip that bears a summary is marked by a thick black line (e.g., Fig. 47, strip 228). Each summary begins with the term *youfang* 右方, i.e. "to the right side". This term refers to a number of strips that were originally arrayed to the right of the summary (e.g., Fig. 47, strips 225-227) and formed with it a unity of content. For instance, the shortest unity of content consists of one entry (strip 244) and one summary (strip 245) describing a "flying garment" (see Appendix I: Table 23).

The "flying garment" is a T-shaped silk-painting discovered between the lids of the two innermost coffins. This silk-painting may correspond to an artefact that is called name banner in the funerary cycle.[972] As stated above (see Subsection 4.1.1), this name banner was probably shared by the two clusters of fields. But the unity of content describing it was probably part of a list, which targetedly served the reproduction of the field of exhibition of potential tomb goods in the second cluster.

---

970 See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 36, Fig. 36.

971 The bamboo strips include several fragments. See Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆 and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所, "Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Han mu fajue jianbao" 长沙马王堆二、三号汉墓发掘简报, *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1974): 43. In later publications, different numbers (402 or 400) are stated due to the joining of the fragments. Cf. He Jiejun 2004, 43–73; Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 227–263.

972 See footnote 226.



Fig. 47 A unity of content in the list from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui.

Apparently, the unity on the "flying garment" gives no hint to any deposition location. As a contrast, five of the entries indicate certain plans of the deposition location of certain goods. They read:

Strip 195: 髹（漆）畫小具杯廿枚：其二盛醬𠂆鹽；其二郭首𠂆，十八郭足[973]

20 lacquer-painted, stackable cups: two containing sauce𠂆 and salt, respectively. [These?] two for the head compartment; 18 for the foot compartment

Strip 201: 髹（漆）畫華圩十枚：其一盛牛肩，郭左；九郭足

Ten lacquer-painted *huayu*-bowls: one containing a shoulder piece of beef for the left compartment and nine for the foot compartment

Strip 214: 髹（漆）畫卑虎，桱（徑）八寸，卅：其七盛乾肉，郭首𠂆；卅一盛瘡（膾）、載（胾）

40 painted trays, diameter eight *cun* (ca. 18.48 cm): seven loaded with dried meat for the head compartment𠂆, 31 loaded with minced meat or pieces of meat.

Strip 251: 郭（槨）中綢印𣏌（縠）帷一，繢掾（緣），素捽；袤二丈二尺，廣五尺；青綺令（紟），素裹掾（緣）

One curtain, made of silk gauze and fringed with tabby silk – for the middle compartment – with a painted fringe and undyed loops; two *zhang* and two *chi* (508.2 cm) long and five *chi* broad (115.5 cm); with sashes made of blue, patterned tabby-silk with undyed inner lining as well as an undyed silk fringe

Strip 252: 白綃乘雲繡郭（槨）中綑（茵）度（著）一赤掾（緣）

973 If not specified otherwise, the transcription of the list from tomb 1 at Mawangdui is from Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 173–220.

> One coffin cushion for the middle compartment, with [an envelop made of] white raw silk embroidered with the "riding-the-wind" pattern and fringed with red silk

In view of the body orientation of the tomb occupant, these five entries indicate that some of the related lacquer vessels were to be deposited in the northern compartment (toward the head of the marchioness), the southern compartment (toward her feet) and the eastern compartment (to her left); while the middle compartment was to be furnished with a curtain and a coffin cushion. These five entries may have belonged to four individual unities of content as follows (for a translation of these five unities and a comparison of the records with the tomb goods see Appendix I: Table 23).

Strip 195 was ordered in a unity together with strips 196 and 197 by the excavators. The unity describes the above-mentioned 20 stackable cups and two lidded cup containers. In the tomb, merely ten stackable cups and one lidded cup container, i.e., a half of the recorded items, were discovered. And they were not organised in the pattern as the one described in the unity: one of the cups (Inv. No. 390), bearing the inscription "君幸酒" (May you drink well), formed part of a banquet scene that is set out in the northern compartment;[974] another two loose cups (Inv. Nos. 96 and 106) with the same inscription were placed among a group of *ding*-cauldrons, trays, boxes and jars holding diverse food and beverages towards the northern end of the eastern compartment – it is possible that the two cups used to hold certain beverages and formed part of the food and beverage reserve for the banquet; and the remaining seven cups with the same inscription were confined in a cup container (Inv. No. 177) towards the southern end of the eastern compartment, not associated with the banquet at all. Therefore, neither the deposition locations of the lacquer vessels, nor their numbers, nor their contents were in accordance with the unity of content.

Strip 201 was placed in a unity of content together with strips 202–204. This unity describes three types of lacquer-painted wooden vessels, part of which holding foods. The recorded goods types were merely partly discovered in the tomb. Among the types that were buried, the tomb goods were overnumbered by the recorded ones. For instance, related to the

974 Wu Hung describes the northern compartment as a "stage" that provided a "spirit seat" for the "invisible Lady Dai" (the marchioness), who was "enjoying food and drink" and "watching the performance" of "several groups of figurines". See Wu Hung 2010, 64. Furthermore, the banquet scene has been related to in Christine Liu-Perkins, *At home in her tomb: Lady Dai and the ancient Chinese treasures of Mawangdui* (Watertown, MA: Charlesbridge Publishing, 2014): 36 ff.

record on strip 201, merely six empty, lacquered *yu*-bowls instead of ten were discovered in the tomb, more precisely, in the eastern compartment. Hence, the related tomb goods are at odds with the recorded ones in terms of their numbers, contents and deposition locations.

Strip 214 formed with strip 215 an mini unity of content describing 40 trays. In the tomb, merely twenty trays corresponding to the described size were discovered. Bearing the inscription "君幸食" (May you eat well), they were divided into two parts: five of them held certain food (types not futher specified in the site report) and formed part of the banquet in the northern compartment; while the remaining 15, partly holding food as well (including noodles, bones of mandarin fish, beef scapula, beef spare ribs, and pheasant bones), formed the food reserve in the eastern compartment. Hence, although part of the trays were indeed located in the compartment mentioned in the record, the number and division pattern of the trays in the tomb deviated from those in the record.

The excavators ordered the two remaining strips (strips 251 and 252) to an unity describing cloths (*jin* 巾), pillows (*zhen* 沈[枕]) and envelops (*mie* 戡 [幭]) (strips 246-258). They refer to a curtain (*wei* 帷) made of several silk types and a coffin cushion (*yinzhu* 絪[茵]度[著]) that were to be deposited in the "central compartment" (*guozhong* 郭中). While a curtain (Inv. No. 450) of another size and silk combination was discovered on the four walls in the northern compartment, no coffin cushion was found.

Among all the 312 bamboo strips forming the list from tomb no. 1, only the above-mentioned five bear information referring to individual compartments of the wooden tomb chamber. Interestingly, the other list enries or summaries belonging to the unities comprising these five strips do not refer to any deposition location, either.

Theoretically, it is possible that the five entries were once put and used together during the reproduction of a certain field of action before they were ordered to individual unities of content. It seems that in that field of action, the wooden tomb chamber formed the key symbol or central artefact, since all the concomitant artefacts, i.e., lacquered vessels, food, curtain and mat, are associated with it. In the funerary cycle, the wooden chamber plays a role in two fields of action, i.e., its exhibition and inspection after it was temporarily mortised together (*jing guo* 井槨) in the fourth funerary stage (provisional burial in the mansion), and the entombment (see Appendix I: Table 2). Both fields may be ordered into the second cluster of fields.

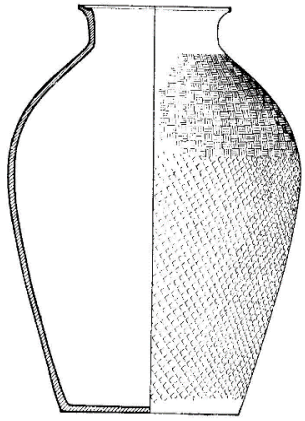


Fig. 48 Line-drawing of a *guan*-pot (Inv. No. 133) from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui.

In the funeral of the Ordinary Officer, the former field intersects temporally partly with the field of pre-entombment offering at dawn and dusk (see Appendix I: Table 2). These two fields do not intersect spatially in his funeral, though, it cannot be excluded that they did as they were reproduced by the house of the marchioness. Pre-entombment offerings may have included the above-mentioned concomitant artefacts. If the entries on these five bamboo strips were indeed created in the temporal and spatial intersection of these two fields, it seems conceivable that the organisational patterns of these concomitant artefacts was not identical with that of the related goods in the tomb. In this case, these five entries may have been re-sorted into those unities of content, after the exhibition and inspection of the mortised wooden chamber was completed. The related items became material components of another field then, for instance, the exhibition of potential tomb goods, in which the items were reordered according to their materials as indicated by the related unities of content.

Otherwise, these entries may have been created for the field of entombment, more precisely, as the entombment was planned. In this case, the plan was apparently extremely preliminary, specifying merely the deposition locations of a small part of items; and it was finally discarded. This would then be another indication that funerary lists were disposed in tombs due to their preliminary nature.

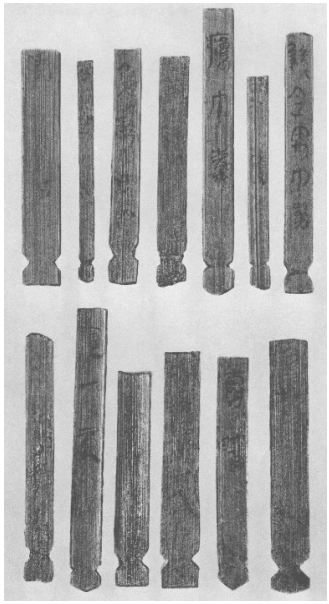


Fig. 49 Bamboo labels attached to the guan-pots from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui.

As addressed above, among the 55 unities of content in the list discovered in the tomb, merely seven of the smallest unities correspond completely to certain goods in the tomb; and the organisational patterns of the goods in these seven unities seldom correspond to the ones of the related goods in the tomb (see Subsection 4.1.2). For instance, five unities of content (strips 1–29) in the list describe various stews (*geng* 羹) in 24 *ding*-cauldrons of unspecified material (for a translation of the unities and a comparison of the records with the tomb goods see Appendix I: Table 23). In addition, another two unities of content (strips 220-

224 and 165-167) refer to among others six pottery *ding*-cauldrons coated with tin (strip 221) and seven lacquered wooden *ding*-cauldrons (strip 165), all containing stews, the types of which are not further specified in the list (for a translation of the unities and a comparison of the records with the tomb goods see Appendix I: Table 23).

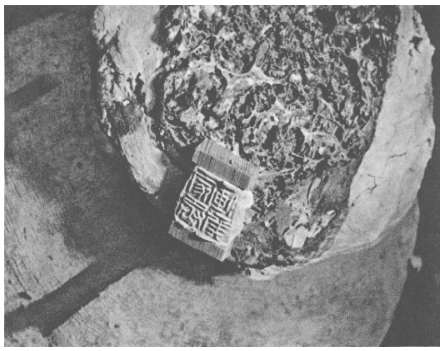


Fig. 50 Seal case consisting of a wooden mould and impressed clay, fixed on a *guan*-pot from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui.

Interestingly, while the 24 *ding*-cauldrons of unspecified material were not found in the tomb, the contents of five of them were discovered in five of the 23 pots (called *guan* 罐 by archaeologists, for the line-drawing of a *guan*-pot see Fig. 48) in the tomb chamber, as indicated by bamboo labels (see Fig. 49) partly attached them. The *guan*-pots were sealed by *Dai hou jiacheng* 軑侯家丞" (for one of the related seal cases consisting of a wooden mould and impressed clay see Fig. 50), i.e. "majordomus of the Marquis of Dai". Hence, it seems that part of the stews in these 24 *ding*-cauldrons was transferred into the pots.

Furthermore, seven lacquered wooden ones (Inv. Nos. 48, 100, 101, 102, 104, 275 and 296) were indeed found in the tomb; while six pottery *ding*-cauldrons were discovered as well, merely four were coated with tin (Inv. Nos. 49, 52, 99 and 105) and the remaining two were painted with lacquer and black pigments (Inv. Nos. 66, 67).[975] Four of those made of pottery (Inv. Nos. 52, 67, 99 and 105) and one made of lacquered wood (Inv. No. 100) contained animal bones or lotus roots in situ, which could have been remnants of certain stews.[976] Potteries coated with tin were probably created as substitutes of bronze vessels. The practice of imitating metal vessels by coating pottery vessels with tin has been evidenced in a series of tombs dating from between the Warring States period to the Han period in the region around Changsha.[977] Lacquered wooden *ding*-cauldrons likely also belong to *mingqi*, since they do not fulfil the cooking function, which would be suggested by their shapes. A wooden tablet (no.

[975] See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 95 and 127.

[976] See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 95 and 127.

[977] For an overview of the potteries coated with tin from Chu and Han tombs in Changsha see Li Jianmao 李建毛, "Changsha Chu Han mu chutu xi tu tao de kaocha" 长沙楚汉墓出土锡涂陶的考察, *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1998): 71–75.

104) of the lists from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui (see below), summarising among others *ding*-cauldrons of various materials, is much telling in revealing the relationship between these 13 *ding*-cauldrons and those 24 ones made of unspecified materials, i.e., another part of the stews in those 24 *ding*-cauldrons was likely transferred into these 13 *ding*-cauldrons.

There is a striking parallel between this transferring process and the following transformation of material resources in the early Chinese funerary cycle: in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer, part of the farewell offering, i.e. a sacrificial offering called *qiandian* 遣奠, which is presented in various vessels, is afterwards wrapped in two parcels, which used to be part of the exhibition of potential tomb goods. Subsequently, the food and the parcels form part of the material components in the proccesion to the tomb and finally part of those in the entombment, while the vessels were left in the ancestral tempel.[978]

In the marchioness' funeral, the 24 *ding*-cauldrons of unspecified material with various stews probably presented individual stews in the farewell offering. And the *ding*-cauldrons made of pottery coated with tin and lacquered wood as well as the pots may have been part of the material components in the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*. Accordingly, the related entries were probably part of two lists, respectively, which were targetedly created for the fields of the pre-entombment sacrificial offering and the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*.

After the end of the farewell offering, part of the stews were transferred into part of the 13 *ding*-cauldrons and five pots. This part of the stews, together with their new containers, formed part of the material components in the proccesion to the tomb and finally part of the tomb goods. This means that the 24 *ding*-cauldrons and the stews used to be applied in the pre-entombment offering, and the *ding*-cauldrons made of pottery or lacquered wood and the pots used to be exhibited as part of the *mingqi*. But as the entombment was put onto the agenda, the organisational patterns of these resources were dissolved and reshaped: while the *ding*-cauldrons themselves were excluded from the entombment, at least part of the stews was buried after it underwent a recombination with the other containers. This process may also have occurred to further combinations of containers and food in the list, since the remaining pots

[978] See Appendix I: Table 2; *Yili zhushu*, chapter "Ji xi li", 1191–1194, 1196–1200; Steele 1917, vol. 2, 87–88.

contained also certain other food that may have derived from other parts of the list, as indicated by the labels attached to them.[979]

A further part of the list from tomb no. 1 indicates a similar pattern of transformation of material components while fields of action succeeded one another. Strip 228 bears the summary "▌右方付簠七", i.e. "▌To the right: seven combinable boxes". This summary and three entries describing those seven combinable boxes in three groups (strips 225–227) formed a unity of content (see Fig. 47. For a translation of the unity and a comparison of the records with the tomb goods see Appendix I: Table 23). The three entries indicate that the combinable boxes contained various toilet articles such as make-up, a set of combs and a wig (see Appendix I: Table 23); for a certain reason, a seal with the personal name of the marchioness ("Qie Xin Zhui" 妾辛追, i.e. "Lady Xin Zhui") shared a box with the wig according to the record on strip 225. The contents of these seven boxes overlap partly with those of the 14 combinable, lacquered boxes comfined in two big lacquered *lian*-boxes (Inv. Nos. 441 and 443) in the northern compartment of the tomb. These two big boxes, one with two tiers holding nine combinable boxes (Inv. No. 443-8–443-16) and the other with one tier holding five (Inv. No. 441-4–441-8), are also described in two loose entries (see Appendix I: Table 23, strips 230 and 231). But these entries, which are independent from the unity of content mentioned above, do not describe the contents of the combinable boxes.

Interestingly, the seal was not found in the small box containing the wig in the two-tiered box, instead, it was placed amid the five small boxes in the other big box. The wig shared the box with a silk floss that is not described in the list. Furthermore, the two boxes contained further items like glovelettes, a mirror, a hairpin, combs and brushes. These items are recorded in other unities (Appendix I: Table 23, strips 256 and 257, belonging to the unity on strips 246–258) or loose entries of the list (see Appendix I: Table 23, strips 236, 238, 240, 242–244, 264–268, maybe also 275) or not recorded at all.[980] This indicates that the seven small boxes used to play their role independently from the two big boxes, probably in the exhibition of potential tomb goods in the sixth funerary stage. Their entries were included in the list, which was

[979] For a comparison of the inscriptions on the labels and the list from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui see Tian Tian 2020, 67 ff, Table 2.

[980] The goods without records include for instance three knives (Inv. Nos. 441-9–441-11), one hairpin (Inv. No. 441-12) and a pair of tweezers (441-13). See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 96 and 128.

targetedly created for this exhibtion. As the field of procession or at the latest as the field entombment was reproduced, they were combined with further small boxes into two groups that were confined by the two big boxes; and their contents were reorganised with each other and with further items (perhaps spatially economised) for the new spatial context.

Furthermore, the following entry in this unity of content indicates that a more nuanced re-organisation of material recources took place:

Strip 226: 員付簍二盛帶└一空

Two round, combinable boxes containing ribbons └ One is [now] empty.

The context in this entry indicates that the two characters after the "└" mark was probably added afterwards, even though the writings on the whole strip seem to derive from the same hand. It seems that the contents of the related two combinable boxes underwent a transformation while two fields, e.g., the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories, and the exhibition of potential tomb goods, succeeded each other. The list entry was likely included in the list, which was targetedly created for the field of the exhibition of potential tomb goods as well. But as stated above (see Subsection 4.1.1), it could have been created before the coffining; and the related boxes could have been applied in the fields of the first cluster, in this case in the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories, before the corpse was dressed.

While the targeted field, the exhibition of potential tomb goods, was reproduced, the boxes were re-collected according to the list. While the scribe controlled the material components of the exhibition, he discovered that the contents of the two combinable boxes did not completely correspond to the related list entry and arranged for an update of the entry. The ribbon, which disappeared from one of the boxes, could have been used in the dressing of the corpse.[981] The discoveries in the tomb indicate, however, that the update was not adopted finally. No ribbons were discovered in the small boxes. One ribbon (Inv. No. 443-5) was discovered amid nine small boxes and various other items (Appendix I: Table 23) in the two-tiered big box (Inv. No. 443). It may have been the ribbon that was once kept in one of those two small boxes. But it is also possible that between its deposition location in the small box and its final deposition

[981] At the corpse, two ribbons made of yellow tabby silk (*juan* 絹) were discovered (Inv. No. N01). See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 30.

location in the big box, this ribbon used to be placed in an intermediate deposition location, as indicated by a loose list entry (belonging to no unities), which refers to a ribbon that was not associated with any boxes (Appendix I: Table 23, strip 275). Hence, it is possible that it was taken out of the box for its separate presentation.

This indicates that funerary lists themselves were constantly subject to transformations, in accordance with the transformations of material components in certain fields. The lists from tomb no. 1, similar to many other early funerary lists, were probably designed for such transformations: each entry was written on one strip, leaving much space for editing afterward; the strips could be bound and rebound, enabling an addition or a deletion of certain list entries as well as a grouping and regrouping of unities of content.[982] But it seems that the list entries related to the ribbon as well as the unity of content related to the small boxes were not updated for the field of the entombment. It is possible that after many times of editing, the list became a palimpsest bearing the traces of too many pre-entombment actions, so that the possibility to reuse it as a final plan of the entombment was rejected. It is likely that a new list was created as a final plan of the entombment. That list was not disposed in the tomb. Due to its apparent significance for the long-term administration of material resources in the household of the marchioness' heirs, it is probable that the list was kept in the archive of their household.

In comparison with the list from tomb no. 1, the lists from tomb no. 3 were perhaps used until a much later stage in the planning of the entombment. An apparent indication is provided by one of the wooden tablets (no. 1, see Fig. 51), which bears the following inscription:

> 十二年二月乙巳朔，戊辰，家丞奮移主臧（葬）郎中，移臧（葬）物一編。書到先質。具奏主臧（葬）君。[983]

[982] Concerning the design of the Mawangdui lists, Luke Waring argued otherwise: the lists "were not produced as incidental byproducts of ritual activity but as ritual objects to be used and displayed as part of a ceremonial performance. If the intention had simply been to record lists of items related to the deceased and their funeral rites, then writing on wood (which was occasionally used to manufacture the tomb inventory texts found at other sites) would have sufficed, and multiple entries could have been written on a single slip to avoid wasting bamboo". Cf. Waring, Luke, "Writing and Materiality in the Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Mawangdui" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2019): 167 ff.

[983] I adopt the transcription made by Chen Songchang, except for his reading of *zang* 臧 as *cang* 藏. The controversy between this version and the other versions of the transcription primarily concerns the term which is *xian zhi* 先質 in Chen's version. The site report transcribes the character as *xian xuan* 先選（撰）, i.e., "to compose [an answer] without delay". And Li Jiahao transcribes the character as *kuang bin* 壙迸（垹）,

On the *wuchen* day in the second month, which began with an *yisi* day, in the 12th year:[984] Majordomus Fen forwards [a document] to the chamberlain in charge of [the present] funeral.[985] [The document] transferred is a scroll [describing] tomb goods. As soon as my letter has arrived, check [the goods according to the scroll]. I hereby prepared the memorial[986] [to present to] the chamberlain in charge of the funeral.[987]

My interpretation of the terms *zhuzang langzhong* 主𡏖（葬）郎中 and *zhuzang jun* 主𡏖（葬）君" differs from several extant ones, which regard the two terms as two netherworld authorities and the former as inferior as the latter.[988] First, I surmise that the two terms refer to one and the same authority. The latter term is a courtesy form of the former one, similar to the term *zhu* 主 in the phrase "敢告……主" (I dare to report to the one in charge so-and-so), which was used in many non-funerary, Qin documents discovered in Liye 里耶.[989] Second, I agree

i.e., "the brim of the tomb". See Chen Songchang 1994, 68–69; cf. He Jiejun 2004, 43; Li Jiahao 李家浩, "Muzun, zong ji qita" 毋尊、纵及其他, *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1996): 90.

984 The excavators of tomb no. 3 point out that the year concerned was in the reign of Emperor Wu (reigned 141–87 BCE) of the Western Han dynasty. See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1974, 46.

985 The interpretation of the term *zhuzang langzhong* 主𡏖（葬）郎中 is controversial, as will be addressed below.

986 Michael Friedrich interprets *ju zou* 具奏 as "completely report". Cf. Friedrich 2008, 8.

987 The interpretation of the term *zhuzang jun* 主𡏖（葬）君 is controversial, as will be addressed below.

988 For examples see Yü Ying-shih 1987, 82; Seidel 1987, 25; Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋, "Jiangling gaotai Han mu xinchu 'gaodice', qiance yu xiangguan zhidu fa fu" 江陵高台汉墓新出"告地策"、遣策与相关制度发复, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (1994): 44; Hermann-Josef Röllicke, "Die 'Als-ob'-Struktur der Riten: ein Beitrag zur Ritualhermeneutik der Zhanguo- und Han-Zeit," in *Han-Zeit: Festschrift für Hans Stumpfeldt aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages*, ed. Michael Friedrich (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006): 526; Yokota Kyozo 横田恭三, "Zenkan haka shutsudo 'kokujisaku' kō" 前漢墓出土「告地策」考, *Shogaku shodōshi kenkyū* 書学書道史研究, no. 23 (2013): 15.

989 Zou Shuijie provides a thorough discussion of the phrase "敢告……主" (I dare to report to the one in charge so-and-so). I agree with him that the term *zhu* 主 generally refers to the authority to whom a document was forwarded. But I do not agree with his opinion that around the time of the unification of the First Empire, the phrase was a "set phrase" (程式用语) instead of having the concrete meaning of "the one in charge" (负责人). Cf. Zou Shuijie 邹水杰, "Liye Qin jian 'Gangao mouzhu' wenshu geshi zaikao" 里耶秦简"敢告某主"文书格式再考, *Ludong daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 鲁东大学学报（哲学社会科学版） 31, no. 5 (2014): 75–83. Guo Jue, also referring to Zou Shuijie, translates the term *zhu* as "the Superior the above". Cf. Guo Jue, "Western Han Funerary Relocation Documents and the Making of the Dead in Early Imperial China," *Bamboo and Silk* 2, no. 2 (2019): 244 ff., esp. note 146.



Tablets 1 407

Fig. 51 Wooden tablets 1 and 407 from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui.

with several scholars that the authority concerned was worldly instead of otherworldly.[990] In addition to the arguments that have been presented by them,[991] the missing formula of ritual language in the document is worth noting. Scholars who argue for an otherworldly addressee assume that the document belongs to a genre that is called *gaodice* 告地策 or *gaodishu* 告地書 (for a closer discussion of this genre see Subsection 4.2.3), i.e. "letters to the Underworld", [992] which explicitly refer to a certain Underworld (*dixia* 地下). These letters refer to clothing, goods, servants, vehicles and draught animals that "follow" (*cong* 從) the deceased without any indication that they were tomb goods or that some of them were wooden models.[993] It is likely that this kind of euphemism pertained to the formula of ritual language of such letters. However, the Mawangdui document does not pay attention to any euphemism; instead, what Majordomus Fen forwarded was literally a scroll recording the "tomb goods". This is an indication that the document was used in the worldly administration.

There are controversial sources about the deposition location of this wooden tablet. Scholars have made a series of arguments based on the premise that it was discovered in the eastern

990 For examples see Chen Songchang 1994, 64–70; Friedrich 2008, 8–12.

991 Chen Songchang assumes that several terms, which can be traced back in transmitted literature, indicate a process of worldly administration. Friedrich also points out that, although both the Mawangdui document and the letters to the Underworld use formulae that were common in administrative documents, the formulae in the former document are distinct. See Chen Songchang 1994, 64–70; Friedrich 2008, 8–12.

992 For examples see Yu Weichao 俞伟超 et al., "Guanyu Fenghuangshan yiliuba hao Han mu zuotan jiyao" 关于凤凰山一六八号汉墓座谈纪要, *Wenwu*, 13; Huang Shengzhang 1994, 44; Li Jiahao 1996, 74; Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋, "Dixiashu yu gaodice: Qiance xin lunzheng" 地下书与告地策：遣策新论证, in *Xu Zhongshu xiansheng bainian danchen jinian wenji* 徐中舒先生百年诞辰纪念文集 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1998): 158–161; Lu Xiqi 鲁西奇, "Han dai maidiquan de shizhi, yuanyuan yu yiyi" 汉代买地券的实质, 渊源与意义, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 1 (2006): 61–68; Xi Wenqian 郗文倩, "Han dai gaodishu ji qi wenti yuanyuan shulun" 汉代告地书及其文体渊源述论, *Shangdu xuetan* 南都學壇 31, no. 3 (2011): 2; Yokota 2013, 15.

993 For an overview of the items mentioned in the letters to the Underworld see Yokota 2013, 12, Table 1; for an annotated translation of eight published funerary relocation documents see Guo Jue 2019, 228–262.

compartment,[994] but a closer look into the sources indicates otherwise. The earlier published, brief site report indicates that it was deposited in the western compartment, together with all the bamboo strips and five other wooden tablets; and another wooden tablet, no. 407 (see Fig. 51) bearing a separate list, was discovered in the eastern compartment.[995] The later published, extensive site report provides two inconsistent pieces of information about its deposition location, one of which is nevertheless in line with the brief site report.[996] Furthermore, the content and the physical features of the tablet probably also indicate that it was deposited in the western compartment instead of the eastern compartment: the inscription on it indicates that it was forwarded to the chamberlain together with a scroll, which may have been formed by some of the loose writing supports deposited in the western compartment; indeed, it bears at least the trace of one binding string, which indicates that it used to be bound together with further writing supports; and in comparison with tablet 407 (23 cm long),[997] its length (27.5 cm)[998] makes it more compatible with a scroll formed by any writing supports from the western compartment (27.4–28 cm long).[999] Last but not least, as argued by Suzuki, tablet no. 407 bears a separate list describing the gift of clothing that was put in a *si*-basket numbered *yi* 乙, i.e., "the second of the ten Celestial Stems".[1000] In the eastern compartment, one *si*-basket (Inv. No. 東 112) containing clothing was discovered beside the labels "乙笥" (東 111) and "衣薈乙笥" (東 78),[1001] i.e. "*si*-basket numbered *yi*" and "*si*-basket numbered *yi*, containing clothing and

994 For some arguments based on this premise see Chen Songchang 陈松长, "Gaodice de xingwen geshi yu xiangguan wenti" 告地策的行文格式与相关问题, *Hunan daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 湖南大学学报（社会科学版） 22, no. 3 (2008): 23; Friedrich 2008, 12; Yang Yi 2016, 331.

995 See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1974, 43.

996 The legend of a colour plate of the wooden tablet in the site report indicates that the tablet was given the inventory number "西 23-1", i.e., "western (compartment) 23-1". The report states elsewhere that the tablet was discovered in the eastern compartment and was given the inventory number "東 64", i.e., "eastern (compartment) 64". See He Jiejun 2004, Colour Plate 17'; vol. 1, 43.

997 For the size of the wooden tablet concerned see He Jiejun 2004, 73.

998 For the size of the wooden tablet concerned see He Jiejun 2004, 48.

999 For the sizes of these writing supports see Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1974, 43.

1000 See Suzuki 2011, 197 ff.

1001 See He Jiejun 2004, 188 and 200.

fragrances". Hence, it seems probable that tablet 407 was deposited together with this *si*-basket in the eastern compartment, instead of in the western compartment.[1002]

Accordingly, tablet 1 used to be deposited in the western compartment along with a scroll. The scroll probably did not include all the loose writing supports in this compartment, as indicated by several factors: first, the size of the scroll would have been unmanageable if all the writing supports were bound together.[1003] Second, as will be addressed below, these loose writing supports cannot form a consistent list in terms of the content and layout of the writings.

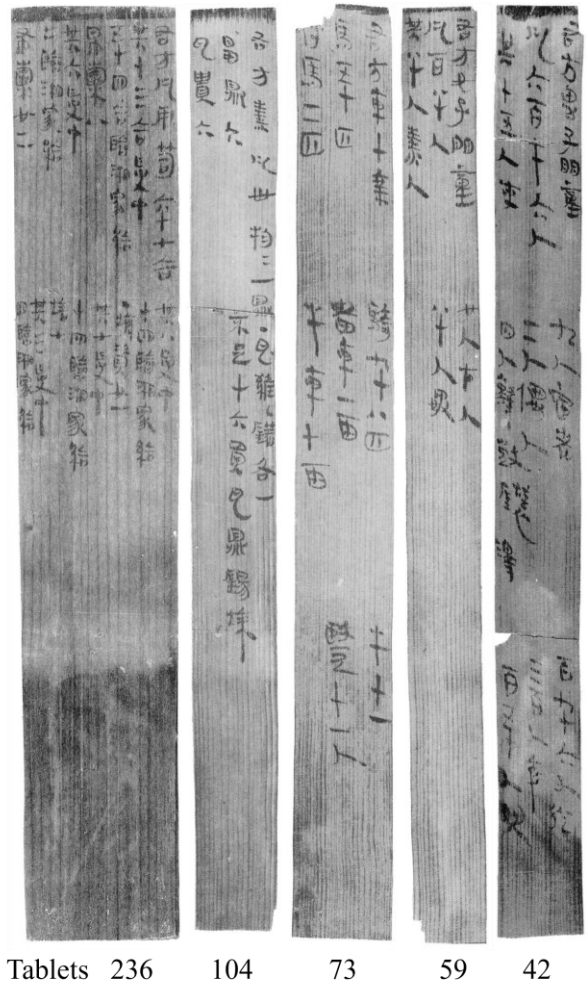


Fig. 52 Five clusters of summaries on wooden tablets from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui.

In comparison with the list from tomb no. 1, the layout of the lists from tomb no. 3 is less consistent. Except for tablet 1 addressed above, the remaining five wooden tablets (42, 59, 73, 104 and 236) in the western compartment are marked each by a thick black line at the top edge (see Fig. 52). Each of them bears a cluster of summaries. The wooden tablet no. 407 from the eastern compartment bears a separate list inscribed in three registers, with two notes marked by a black dot each at the end of the list (see Fig. 51) – but the first note may be a summary as well (see below). Six of the bamboo strips bear a single summary each (see Fig. 53).

[1002] To my delight, this conclusion is confirmed by Wang Bin 汪斌 with an extensive analyse after our talk on the deposition location of this wooden tablet in 2016. See Wang Bin, "Mawangdui san hao mu jinian mudu chutu weizhi kao : Cong duwen 'zang wu yi bian' suo zhi shiwu shuoqi" 马王堆三号墓纪年木牍出土位置考: 从牍文"藏物一编"所指实物谈起. *Hunansheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊 15 (2019): 343–53.

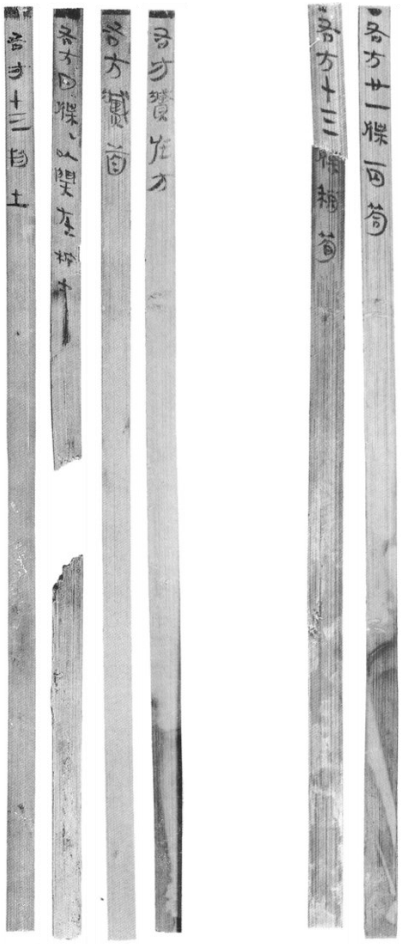
[1003] Irrespective of the wooden tablets and the space between individual bamboo strips after they would be bound together, the widths of the 400 (number after reconstruction) bamboo strips (2.5–2.6 cm wide) together measure more than 10 meters. For the sizes of them see Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1974, 43.

Four of these summary strips are marked by the thick black top lines as well (Fig. 53: strips 183, 295, 324, 393); but the remaining two are marked by a black dot each (Fig. 53: strips 154 and 168). Each of the remaining 394 bamboo strips bears a single entry. These clusters of summaries, single summaries and list entries form at least twelve unities of content, if tablet no. 407 may be viewed as a unity of content as well.

The "scroll [describing] tomb goods", which was forwarded to the chamberlain in charge of the funeral, may have included several unities concerning the deposition locations of the tomb goods. These unities, possibly made by Majordomus Fen, contain the following single summaries marked by a thick black top line each:

Strip 183: ▌右方[illegible]（葬）左方

▌[The items listed] to the right are to be buried to the left [of the deceased].



Strips 295 393 324 183 Strips 168 154

Fig. 53 Six single summaries on bamboo strips from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui.

Strip 324: ▌右方[illegible]（葬）首

▌[The items listed] to the right are to be buried at the head [of the deceased].

Strip 393: ▌右方四牒以閑在棺中

▌To the right are four strips [describing items] to be sealed in the coffins.

Hence, Majordomus Fen made a plan of the deposition locations of the tomb goods. But these summaries merely mention three spatial entities in the wooden tomb chamber, i.e. the eastern compartment (to the left [of the deceased]), the northern compartment (at the head [of the deceased]) and the coffins. The southern and the western compartments are not mentioned. Each of the summaries may have formed, along with many other strips, a unity of content. As analysed above, a part of the unity summarised by strip 393

can be reconstructed with reservation.[1004] No further strips can be ascribed for certain to these summaries.[1005]

The unity summarised by strip 393 likely included among others the entry on strip 390 describing the name banner as "one flying garment, 1.2 *zhang* (ca. 277.2 cm) long" (see Subsection 4.1.1). The entry on strip 390 may have been part of a list that was targetedly created for the exhibition of potential tomb goods. But the name banner was likely prepared before the coffining, since it was part of the material resources shared by the two clusters of fields. And the related entry may have also been created before the coffining. But the summary on strip 393 was probably created as the nesting of the three coffins was planned.

I surmise that there have been a wide range in the point of time of the nesting of coffins and their closure in a funeral. For instance, the two coffins of Marquis Yi were not nested until they were brought into the tomb (see Subsection 3.4.4). They were probably exhibited separately in the fourth and the sixth funerary stages. Accordingly, his inner coffin was decorated with sophisticated patterns for its display functions.[1006] All three coffins in tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui were painted dark brown outside and the inner two ones were painted red inside, while the surface of the innermost coffin was decorated with brocades and embroidery.[1007] Hence, the innermost coffin had a special display value. Acoordingly, these three coffins were likely exhibited separately for a period of time as well. But since they were of regular sizes in comparison with the marquis' coffins, they were perhaps nested towards the end the sixth funerary stage. Hence, the summary on strip 393 was likely created at some point in time in the sixth funerary stage.

[1004] See Subsection 4.1.1 and footnote 834.

[1005] Zheng Shubin nevertheless provides a reconstruction of the unities of contents that relate to goods "to be buried to the left [of the deceased]" or "to be buried at the head", according to the deposition location of the tomb goods that obviously do not belong to the other unities, the summaries of which do not refer to any locations. See Zheng Shubin 2022, 254–256. The problem is, as I will address below, these other unities also include items that were partly located "to the left" or "at the head [of the deceased]".

[1006] I do not deny that decorations on coffins can have been associated with certain religious functions in favour of the afterlife of the deceased. But this is not at odds with their display functions in pre-entombment actions. For studies of the religious functions of early Chinese coffins see Alain Thote, "Chinese Coffins from the First Millennium BC and Early Images of the Afterworld," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 61, no. 1 (2012): 22–40; Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," *Early China* 17 (1992): 127–134.

[1007] See He Jiejun 2004, 38–41.

The remaining unities of content do not bear apparent indications that they were used in the planning of the entombment. The single summaries on strips 154 and 168, for instance, read as follows:

Strip 154: • 右方廿一牒丙笥

• To the right are 21 strips [describing items] deposited in the *si*-basket numbered *bing* (the third of the ten Celestial Stems).

Strip 168: • 右方十三牒稍笥

• To the right are 21 strips [describing items] deposited in the *si*-basket [donated by] Shao.[1008]

These two summaries indicate that they belonged to two unities including list entries on 21 and 13 strips, respectively, which describe various clothing in two *si*-baskets. These two summary strips differ from the three location summaries by the styles of how their tops are marked (black dots versus thick black top lines). Hence, the unities including them may have theoretically been incorporated, as sub-unities, in the unities concerning the locations in the tomb. Anyway, such a two-layered organisational pattern structured by two different marks is demonstrated on one of the summary tablets from this tomb (see Fig. 52, tablet 104; for a translation of the summaries on the tablet see below).

At least the *si*-basket on the summary strip 154 can be identified with a *si*-basket (Inv. No. 西 21) marked by a label "裞衣丙笥" (西 37), i.e., "*si*-basket no. *bing*, containing gifts of clothing for the deceased", in the western compartment.[1009] But the western compartment was the compartment to the right of the deceased. Therefore, the unity concerned was either not incorporated in the unities relating to the locations in the tomb; or it indeed used to be incorporated in them, but the chamberlain in charge of the funeral changed the deposition location that was originally planned by the marjordomus.

[1008] For the interpretation of this summary see Suzuki 2011, 198 ff.

[1009] I agree with Suzuki that the third character on the label is *bing* 丙 instead of *liang* 兩. See Suzuki 2011, 198; cf. He Jiejun 2004, 201; and Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 265.

At any rate, the entries on the 21 strips summarised by strip 154 described clothing. These entries may be among those on strips 338–342 and 344–367, which describe various belts, gloves and clothing. In the *si*-basket, merely fragments of textiles were preserved. Therefore, no comparison of the list items and the textiles in terms of their types, numbers or organisational patterns is possible.

As indicated by the early Chinese funerary cycle, the gifts of clothing may have been made in the first cluster of fields of action. Then they might have been exhibited among the clothing, quilts and accessories, which were partly used to dress the corpse. But it is worth noting that, while several other entries bear notes indicating that the related goods were located "in the coffins" (see Subsection 4.1.1), none of the above-mentioned entries bear such notes. Therefore, the recorded gifts were probably not used for the coffining at all. And those clothing gifts that might have been used to dress the corpse are not among the records at all. And it is conspicuous that no clothing donor is mentioned on summary strip 154, in the related entries or on the label. Hence, these records form no gift list per se. Instead, they were created probably in an intersection of the field of gift-giving with other fields as analysed in the following.

Theoretically, if certain clothing gifts were made before the entombment, they were perhaps exhibited in the frame of the dressing rites; part of them were perhaps used to dress the corpse, the remaining ones were put (among others) into this *si*-basket for the reproduction of further fields, such as the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the entombment. The summary strip 154 and the related list entries were perhaps part of a list, which was targetedly created for the exhibition of potential tomb goods, which included among others clothing. This means that although the clothing gifts were perhaps shared by the first and second clusters of fields, the related records were made after the coffining. If the application of further clothing gifts in the first cluster of fields also brought forth a certain record, this record was not buried in the tomb. Another possibility is that these clothing gifts were made exclusively after the coffining in the second cluster of fields. This would also explain why they were not used at the coffining.

The remaining clusters of summaries or single summaries are marked in the same style as the three location summaries, i.e. by a thick black top line each. Hence, they and by extension the unities including them cannot be incorporated into the location summaries.

Among these clusters of summaries, the one on tablet 236 reads: "▌右方凡用笥六十七合，其十三合受中，五十四合臨湘家給；帛囊八，其六受中，二臨湘家給；布囊廿二，其八受中，十四臨湘家給；坑資廿一，其七受中，十四臨湘家給；垢七，其三受中，四臨湘家給", i.e. "▌To the right: 67 *si*-baskets are used, of which 13 were obtained from the '[forbidden] centre' and 54 provided by the household in Linxiang;[1010] eight silk bags, of which six were obtained from the '[forbidden] centre' and two provided by the household in Linxiang; 22 bags made of bast fibres, of which eight were obtained from the '[forbidden] centre' and 14 provided by the household in Linxiang; 21 pottery vessels of the types *keng* 坑 or *zi* 資, of which seven were obtained from the '[forbidden] centre' and 14 provided by the household in Linxiang; seven pottery vessels of the type *fou* 垢, of which three were obtained from the '[forbidden] centre' and four provided by the household in Linxiang".

List entries on certain loose strips itemise all the types but not always the corresponding numbers of the containers summarised on tablet 236. More precisely, while they indeed describe 67 *si*-baskets (strips 133-167, 169-182, 184-192, 278, 279, 325-330 and 385) and eight silk bags (strips 148 and 187-192, describing seven silk bags within *si*-baskets; and strip 304 describing one silk bag),[1011] they record less containers of all the remaining types than the ones summarised, i.e., 17 bags made of bast fibres (strips 193-204), 19 pottery vessels of the types *keng* or *zi* (strips 110-126), and six pottery vessels of the type *fou* (strips 127-132).[1012] The individual entries indicate that these containers held certain food (meat, eggs, fish, ingredients, pickles, grains, fruits, vegetables etc.), beverages (wines), silk, surrogates of presious materials or money (wooden models of rhinoceros horns, ivories and *bi*-discs; earthen models of one

[1010] I follow Fu Juyou to interpret the term *zhong* 中 as *jinzhong* 禁中, i.e., the "forbidden centre". See Fu Juyou 1983, 169.

[1011] See Suzuki 2011, 218 ff. Tian Tian, however, indicates that the two *si*-basket described in the above mentioned summary strips 154 and 168 may have belonged to the related unity. Cf. Tian Tian 2020, 46, footnote 3. But summary strip 168 mentions a donor name Shao. It is unknown whether this person belonged to the two houses mentioned on summary tablet 236. And strip 154 is itself a summary. As analysed above, this summary and the related list entries were probably created for another field of action as those for which the summary cluster of tablet 236 was created for.

[1012] This has been pointed out by Tian Tian as well, see Tian Tian 2020, 45 ff. The numbers counted by Suzuki deviate from Tian Tian's, cf. Suzuki 2011, 218 ff.

million coins and a bag pearls; 1500 *jin* 斤 of gold pieces shaped like soybeans made of unknown materials; and silk models of 2000 silk bales); etc.[1013]

But not all these containers were discovered in the tomb. Merely 52 *si*-baskets were found in the eastern, southern and western compartments of the tomb.[1014] Even if the bags made of silk and bast fibres were possibly decayed (at least an unknown amount of millet that perhaps used to be the content of a certain bag was discovered in the tomb),[1015] the pottery vessels were definitely not buried in the tomb.

At any rate, the cluster of the summaries indicates that the containers used to be organised into patterns according to their materials and shapes. But the deposition locations of the *si*-baskets in the tomb obviously demonstrate another organisational pattern: for instance, the *si*-baskets were scattered in three compartments; and the ones in each compartment were discovered amid various lacquered wooden vessels.[1016] Furthermore, the *si*-baskets located in the eastern compartment may theoretically also belong to the summaries concerning the deposition locations, more precisely, the summary on strip 183, instead of to the summary cluster on tablet 236. This is an indication that the list entries and summaries from tomb no. 3 did not form an integral list, since certain list entries may have belonged to two summaries simultaneously but these two summaries do not comprise each other.

Furthermore, the summaries also indicate a further division of the containers according to their provenances, i.e., the containers were contributed either by a certain '[forbidden] centre' or a certain household in Linxiang. There are controversial ideas about who these two contributors were.[1017] At any rate, it is probable that one of them was a donor while the other

[1013] For the content on individual entries that may have belonged to tablet 236 see Suzuki 2011, 194–195, 218–221; and Tian Tian 2020, 45–50.

[1014] See He Jiejun 2004, 186 ff.

[1015] The millet is mentioned merely in the context of the funerary lists in the site report. Its deposition location is not mentioned. See He Jiejun 2004, 61.

[1016] See He Jiejun 2004, 44-47.

[1017] The discussion about the identity of these two contributors are often associated with the identity of the tomb occupant. For instance, Gao Zhixi, assuming that the tomb occupant was the brother of a Marquis of Dai, interprets *zhong* as the court of the King of Changsha, at whose service the tomb occupant may have been; and he sumises that the "the household in Linxiang" was the household of the marquis, i.e., the brother of the occupant. Fu Juyou, who has the same idea about the identity of the tomb occupant, interprets *zhong* as the "forbidden centre" of the tomb occupant himself. Liu Xiaolu, who assumes that the tomb occupant was one

was the household of the deceased. Hence, the summary cluster was not or not only created according to the information in these list entries, but probably also on a certain document that indicate at least the provenance of the donated containers,[1018] i.e., a gift list, which was not discovered in the tomb.

An exacter comparison of the list entries and the tomb goods indicates that the discrepancy between the records and the tomb goods must be greater. Comparing these list entries with the contents of the containers (sometimes discovered beside or attached with labels) discovered in the tomb, 18 of the recorded *si*-baskets and their contents were not discovered.[1019] And the contents of some *si*-baskets may have been combined or transferred into other containers. For instance, the contents of two *si*-baskets described on strips 141 (羊昔一笥, i.e. "one *si*-basket of dried lamb meat") and 142 (昔兔一笥, "one *si*-basket of dried whole rabbits") were discovered in one and the same *si*-basket (Inv. No. 東 95), which is also corroborated by two labels attached to this *si*-basket.[1020] A further label indicates that the contents of two *si*-baskets described on strips 181 (柒一笥, i.e. "one *si*-basket of loquats") and 182 (梨一笥, , i.e. "one *si*-basket of pears") were perhaps combined into one *si*-basket.[1021] Furthermore, the content of a pottery vessel described on strip 209 (熬炙姑一器, i.e. "one pot of roast Chinese francolins") was discovered in a *si*-basket (Inv. No. 東 107), which is also corroborated by a label attached to this *si*-basket.[1022] Furthermore, the tomb yielded four *si*-baskets that are not described in the list entries at all.[1023]

---

of the Marquis Dai, assumes that *zhong* was the court of the King of Changsha. See Gao Zhixi 2000, 126 ff.; Fu Juyou 1983, 168 ff.; Liu Xiaolu 刘晓路, "Mawangdui Han mu zakao" 马王堆汉墓杂考, *Hunan sheng bowuguan wenji* 湖南省博物馆文集 4 (1998): 105.

[1018] This has been pointed out by Tian Tian as well. See Tian Tian 2020, 49.

[1019] See Suzuki 2011, 218 ff.

[1020] See Suzuki 2011, 218.

[1021] See Suzuki 2011, 219.

[1022] See Suzuki 2011, 220.

[1023] 52 *si*-baskets were discovered in the tomb. According to Suzuki, 48 of them correspond at least partly to the records in the list entries. See He Jiejun 2004, 186 ff.; and Suzuki 2011, 218–220.

All these above-mentioned discrepancies between the summary cluster and list entries as well as between the records and the tomb goods allow the following conjectures: the summary cluster on tablet 236 and the related list entries were not created at one go. The summary cluster was created while the field of gift-giving intersected further fields, which, judging by the contents of the list items, may include the none-blood offering and the exhibition of *mingqi* (the part concerning surrogates of presious materials or money). But the list entries do not mention any donors. This indicates that they did not form a gift list per se. As they were created, the material resources derived from the field of gift-giving were already mixed with those prepared by the house of the marquis, i.e., these gifts were reshaped into material components of the other fields.

It is possible that the list entries were added to two lists targeted for the none-blood offering and the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, respectively, as the scribe assumed that the whole gift-giving process was already ended. But after he finished the list entries, further gifts kept on arriving. Finally, he devoted his attention to creating a complete gift list and neglected the update of the above-mentioned list entries. Nevertheless, he made the record on tablet 236 summarising the material resources applied in the none-blood offering and the surrogates of presious materials or money as part of the exhibited and inspected *mingqi* (for the other parts of the *mingqi* see below).

Part of the material resources described in the summary cluster and list entries underwent further transformations (recombination, partial replacement etc.) as further fields, i.e., the procession to the tomb and the entombment, were reproduced. The remaining material resources did not enter these fields, while material resources (four *si*-baskets) not mentioned in the records became components of these fields.

The cluster of summaries on tablet 104 reads as follows: “▌右方羹凡卅物=（物，物）一鼎。蜀鼎六，瓦貴六，・瓦雍（甕）┗鑵（鬻）各一。不足十六：買瓦鼎錫埽（塗）”, i.e., “To the right: in total 30 types of stews, each in a *ding*-cauldron; six *ding*-cauldrons from Shu; six cupboards of pottery vessels;[1024] • one *weng*-pot and one *zeng*-pot. [Accordingly,] 16 [vessels] are still needed: purchase pottery *ding*-cauldrons coated with tin”.

[1024] As pointed out by Tian Tian, the character *gui* 貴 is probably not a loan character of *hui* 繢, which means “painted”, as suggested by several sources, because the character *hua* 畫 is constantly used in the list(s) from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui to mean “painted”. She suggests that it is a norminal classifier which means “four

These summaries can hardly be understood, if not for the observation made about the transformation of similar material resources in tomb no. 1, i.e., the 24 *ding*-cauldrons of unspecified material, the stews in them, six pottery *ding*-cauldrons coated with tin, seven lacquered wooden *ding*-cauldrons and five pots (see above). It is stunning that the cluster of summaries on tablet 104 exactly relates to the process of the material transformation. These summaries juxtapose 30 *ding*-cauldrons of unspecified material, which held individual stews, and various further vessels, exactly in an overlap of several fields of action, i.e., the fields of exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, pre-entombment offering, exhibition of potential tomb goods (including *mingqi*), procession to the tomb, and entombment.

More precisely, the 30 *ding*-cauldrons of unspecified material (presumably metal), were not intended to be buried in the tomb; instead, they probably used to present 30 types of stews in a certain pre-entombment sacrificial offering such as the farewell offering. The *ding*-cauldrons from Shu, the pottery vessels and the *ding*-cauldrons coated with tin pertained to the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, which was likely reproduced multiple times; and were then incorporated in the exhibition of potential tomb goods. The note "16 [vessels]… still needed…" indicates that there used to be a plan that all the stews in the 30 *ding*-cauldrons were to be transferred into the *mingqi* vessels, probably as the farewell offering and the exhibition of the potential tomb goods came to an end and the procession and the entombment were put onto the agenda; but at the moment when the plan was formulated, merely 14 such vessels (including those in the cupboards of pottery vessels) were available and 16 were still needed.

In parallel to the list entries on similar material resources from tomb no. 1, the list entries referred to in the summary cluster (strips 74–103, 237, and 296–298) were part of two lists targetedly created for the fields of the pre-entombment sacrificial offering and the exhibition

pieces" according to its context in the entry "瓦器三貴錫埽其六鼎盛羹 ㄴ鈁六盛米酒 ㄴ溫酒" (three *gui* of pottery vessels coated with tin, of which six *ding*-cauldrons hold stews ㄴand six *fang*-jars hold rice wine ㄴas well as mulled wine) on strip 221 from tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui. See Tian Tian 2020, 43–44. Cf. Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 237. But in the context on the present tablet, it seems more likely that "蜀鼎" (*ding*-cauldrons from Shu), "瓦貴" (*gui* of pottery vessels) and "瓦雍" (*weng*-pot) are items that are gramatically parallel, i.e., *gui* 貴 must be a noun, which probably means a cupboard (*gui* 櫃) of pottery vessels. In the list entry from tomb no. 1, "瓦器三貴" means then "three cupboards of pottery vessels". I do not surmise that such cupboards were necessarily uniform sized in general, but since the ones concerned were all from Marquis of Dai's household, they may have been.

and inspection of *mingqi*. And the summary cluster on tablet 104 was created during the above-mentioned transformation process of the material resources recorded in these entries.

The related tomb goods indicate that the plan outlined on tablet 104 was merely partly realised, i.e. it was updated at the latest by the entombment. Six lacquered wooden *ding*-cauldrons (Inv. Nos. 東 20, 38, 53, 66, 67 and 70) were discovered in the eastern compartment. They bear burn marks indicating that they were probably produced in the Shu prefecture (Shujun 蜀郡), today's Sichuan 四川 province.[1025] Hence, their type and numbers correspond to those that are described in the summaries. But they did not bear any traces of stews. No pottery vessels corresponding to the summaries were discovered in the tomb. Fortunately, it can be certain that such pottery vessels were indeed used in funerals in the clan of the tomb occupant. For instance, tomb no. 2 yielded seven pottery *ding*-cauldrons painted with black pigments; and tomb no. 1 yielded two pottery *ding*-cauldrons painted with lacquer and black pigments, four pottery *ding*-cauldrons coated with tin (see above), as well as one *zeng*-pot coated with tin (Inv. No. 297). All the pottery *ding*-cauldrons from tomb no. 2 as well as four of those from no. 1 contained animal bones or lotus roots, which may have been remnants of certain stews.[1026]

In addition, it seems that the unity of content including tablet 104 had already undergone another transformation before the entombment. In addition to the list entries of 30 *ding*-cauldrons of stews (strips 74–103), the unity may also refer to the following entries:

Strip 237: 漆（漆）畫木鼎六皆有蓋

Six lacquer-painted, wooden *ding*-cauldrons, all with lids

Strip 296: 瓦簪（鬻）甗各一

[1025] The site report points out that the *ding*-cauldrons as well as most of the other lacquer vessels from tomb no. 3 bear burn marks referring to manufacture places such as Chengshi 成市, Nanxiang 南乡 and so forth. Chengshi was located in the Shu prefecture of the Han dynasty. See He Jiejun 2004, 114; Yu Weichao 俞伟超 and Li Jiahao 李家浩, "Mawangdui Yihao Han Mu Cutu Qiqi Zhidi Zhu Wenti: Cong Chengdu shifu zuofang dao Shujun gongguan zuofang de lishi bianhua" 马王堆一号汉墓出土漆器制地诸问题——从成都市府作坊到蜀郡工官作坊的历史变化, *Kaogu*, no. 6 (1975): 344–348.

[1026] See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 78 ff. and 122.

One *zeng*-pot and one *yan*-damper

Strip 297: 瓦雍（甕）甗一具

A set consisting of one *weng*-pot and one *yan*-damper

Strip 298: 瓦器三貴

Three cupboards of pottery vessels

In comparison with the summary cluster on tablet 104, two more *yan*-dampers and three less cupboards of pottery vessels are described in these list entries. This means, if the summary cluster and list entries indeed used to form a unity of content, they were not created at one go. The list entries perhaps describe the composition of the pottery vessels in an earlier reproduction of the field of the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, while the summary cluster relates to the composition in a later reproduction, after the numbers of these pottey vessels underwent a transformation. At any rate, the unity of content as a whole was not updated accordingly.

None of the pottery vessels was buried in the tomb. If these pottery vessels were not buried in any accompanying pits that have not yet been discovered,[1027] the transformation of the composition probably took place during the multiple reproductions or the intersection of the two pre-entombment fields which included *mingqi,* i.e., the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, which may have been reproduced multiple times in the fourth funerary stage; and the exhibition of potential tomb goods (including *mingqi*) in the sixth funerary stage.

The unity of content including tablet 104 and the discoveries of material components at the Mawangdui cemetery are evidence that the related material components were shared by several fields of action. As they were shaped during the multiple reproductions of a field or moved from one field to another, transformations took place.

The summary clusters on the two tablets 42 and 59 and the entries related with them (strips 2–41 and 43–49, 50+408, and 51–58) describe 676 male *mingtong* 明童 (literally “bright

[1027] The excavators propose the possibility that the tomb may have been accompanied by pits that have not yet been discovered. See He Jiejun 2004, 66.

youths") and 180 female *mingtong*, respectively. The summary cluster on tablet 73 and the entries related with it (strips 60–72) describe 21 wheeled vehicles, their drivers, draught horses, riding horses and draught oxen. And the single summary on strip 295 and the entries related with it (strips 282–294) describe hundreds of earthen models of animals.

While scholars agree that the items described in the unity of the earthen models of animals cannot be identified with any tomb goods at all,[1028] there are controversial opinions about the relationship between the remaining unities and the tomb goods. Some scholars assume that the *mingtong*, wheeled vehicles, drivers, draught animals and riding horses correspond to the images depicted in two silk paintings (see Fig. 54, Fig. 55 and Fig. 56) that curtained the

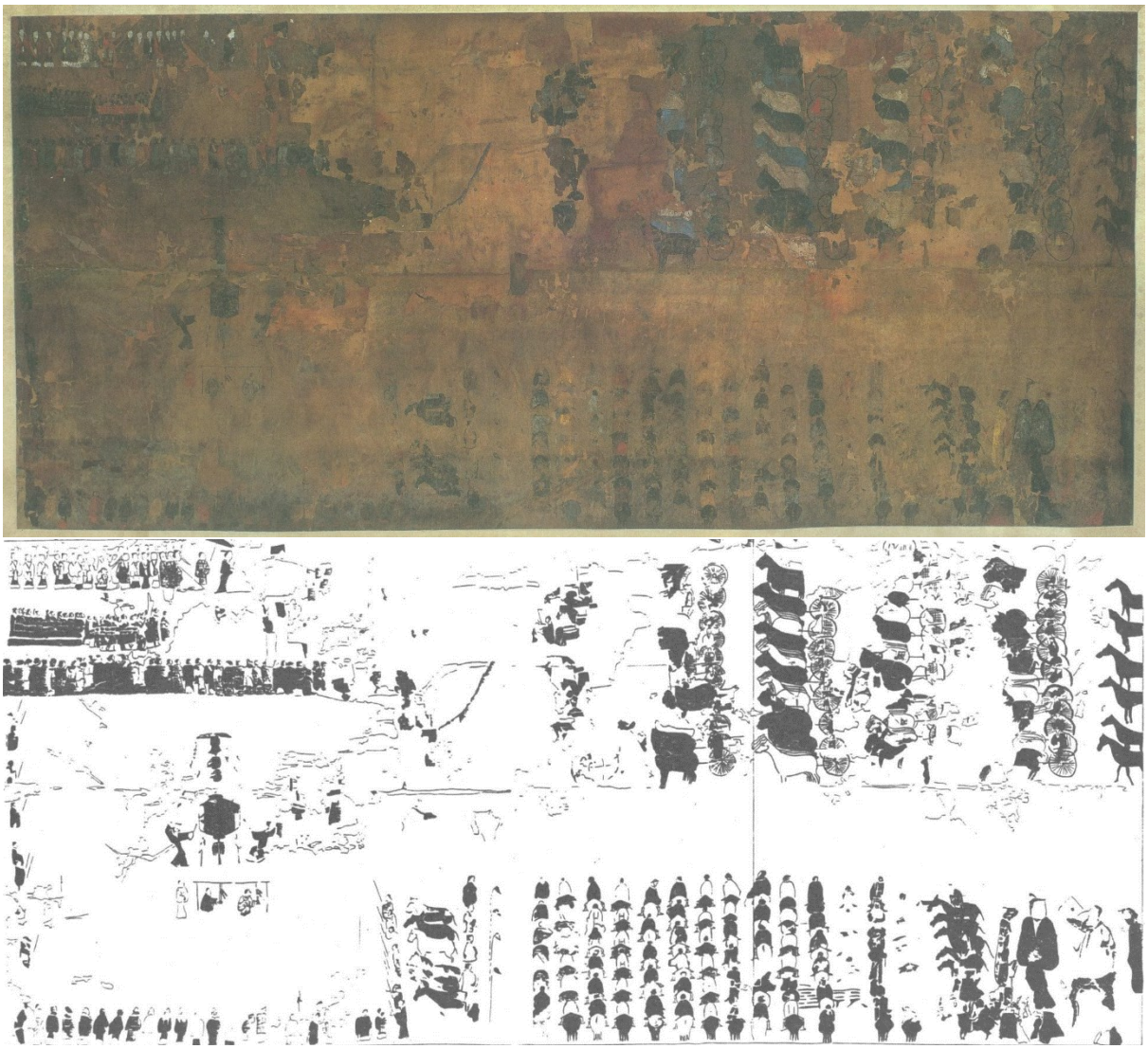


Fig. 54 Photo and Line-drawing of the silk painting (2.12 / 0.94 m) from the western wall of the central compartment (coffin compartment) of tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui.

[1028] See He Jiejun 2004, 66; Zheng Shubin 2005b, 29; Suzuki 2011, 192 ff. and 214.

western and the eastern walls of the central compartment (coffin compartment).[1029] Others surmise that parts of these unities describe the 104 plastic wooden figurines discovered in the northern and the western compartments.[1030] Yet other scholars argue that these unities describe components of certain funerary ceremonies and none of them were buried in the tomb; but while some indicate that these components consisted of real persons, vehicles and further resources,[1031] others assume that they consisted of models of them.[1032]

Suzuki provides a painstaking comparison between these unities, the plastic wooden figurines and the motifs in the silk painting, without coming to an apparent conclusion.[1033] Her comparison demonstrates great discrepancies between the unities and the wooden figurines as



Fig. 55 Line-drawing of a fragment of the silk painting (68.7 / 34.9 cm) from the eastern wall of the central compartment (coffin compartment) of tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui.

[1029] For examples see Jin Weinuo 金维诺, "Tan Changsha Mawangdui sanhao Han mu bohua" 谈长沙马王堆三号汉墓帛画, *Wenwu*, no. 11 (1974): 40 ff.; Liu Xiaolu 刘晓路, "Lun bohua yong: Mawangdui 3 hao mu dong xi bi bohua de xingzhi he zhuti" 论帛画俑: 马王堆3号墓东西壁帛画的性质和主题, *Kaogu*, no. 10 (1995): 937–941.

[1030] For examples of general identification of the list entries with the 104 plastic wooden figurines discovered in the northern and the western compartments see Fu Juyou 1983, 166 ff.; Chen Songchang 陈松长, "Mawangdui san hao Han mu 'Chema yizhang tu' bohua shishuo" 马王堆三号汉墓"车马仪仗图"帛画试说, in *Hunan bowuguan wenji* 湖南博物馆文集, edited by Hunan bowuguan 湖南博物馆 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1990): 87; He Jiejun 2004, 171–177; Li Mingxiao 李明曉, "Shi Tan Zhanguo, Xihan qiance zhong de 'wangtong' yu 'mingtong'" 試談戰國、西漢遣策中的"亡童"與"明童", updated February 19, 2010, accessed Feb. 18, 2025, http://m.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5420.html. For examples of the identification of the list entries with the 102 plastic wooden figurines discovered in the northern compartment see Tian Tian 2020, 51–54.

[1031] For an example see Zhang Ruxu 张如栩, "Changsha Mawangdui san hao Han mu qiance yanjiu" 长沙马王堆三号汉墓遣策研究 (Master's thesis, Zhengzhou daxue, 2011): 1–15.

[1032] See Zheng Shubin 2005b, 29; Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌, "Mawangdui sanhao Han mu qiance zhi 'mingtong' wenti yanjiu" 马王堆三号汉墓遣策之"明童"问题研究, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no. 1 (2005a): 38–43; and Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌, *Mawangdui Han mu qiance zhengli yu yanjiu* 马王堆汉墓遣策整理与研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2022): 232–38.

[1033] See Suzuki 2011, 189–191 and 209 ff., Table 1.

well as between the unities and the painted motifs, which is not necessarily due to the fragmentation of the list or the painting. For instance, while one of the unities itemises and summarises among others 10 horse-drawn vehicles (which is an indication that this part in the unity is intact), none is discovered in the tomb and ca. 70 are represented in the silk painting.[1034]

But the overall discrepancy in numbers is merely a minor problem compared with the discrepancies in their organisational patterns. The unities demonstrate a neat organisational pattern of the list items concerned. For instance, the *mingtong* form two large groups according to their sex; and the vehicles, drivers and animals form another large group. A further organisational pattern is bestowed on the *mingtong* according to their hierarchical positions or functions in an aristocratic household, for instance, the summaries on tablet 59 read: "▌右方女子明童：凡百𠂤(八十)人。其𠂤(八十)人美人，廿人才人，𠂤(八十)人奴", i.e. "▌To the right: female *mingtong*, altogether 180. 80 of them are Beauties,[1035] 20 are Ladies of Talents,[1036] 80 are servants".



Fig. 56 Line-drawing of a fragment of the silk painting from the eastern wall of the central compartment of tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui.

This two-layered organisational pattern is at odds with the organisational pattern of the images in the silk paintings. The most apparent organisational pattern in the silk paintings is that one group of the pictorial motifs, including persons, wheeled vehicles and horses, were confined to the western wall of the central compartment (Fig. 54); while the other group of the pictorial motifs, including persons, vehicles and horses as well, were confined to the eastern wall of this compartment (Fig. 55 and Fig. 56). The sex of the pictorial motifs in the painting is not always apparent, but both paintings apparently include motifs of wheeled vehicles and draught animals. This means that while the wheeled vehicles and draught animals form part of one unity in the lists, they are divided into two

[1034] In the summary of the horse-drawn vehicles, Suzuki mistakes "右方車十乘" (The vehicles [itemised] on the right amount to ten) for "右方車六乘" (The vehicles [itemised] on the right amount to six). See Suzuki 2011, 190; 210, Table 1.

[1035] "Beauty" was a "common designation of secondary imperial wives or consorts, rank = 2,000 bushels in Han". A pendant of the designation beyond the imperial court is not known. See Hucker 1985, 328.

[1036] "Lady of Talents" was a "designation occasionally awarded to an imperial consort". However, the usage of the designation in the Han dynasty is not known. See Hucker 1985, 515.

groups in the painting. Furthermore, the painting on the eastern wall obviously contains the motif of a boat, which is combined with several motifs of persons (Fig. 56); but the unities of content do not manifest such an organisational pattern.

Furthermore, the analyses above indicate that the descriptive style in all the other unities of content is practical and straightforward, with the administrative purpose of distinguishing the listed items with each other. In this vein, is it rarely likely that the unities concerned would describe motifs in a silk painting. In an administrative point of view, the T-shaped silk painting in the nesting coffins in the same tomb was a "flying garment that is 1.2 *zhang* (ca. 277.2 cm) long" (see above), irrespective of how many motifs it might contain. There is no reason why the same administration team would have viewed the two paintings in the central compartment otherwise. At any rate, to identify the iconographical program in the silk paintings probably goes beyond any administrative assignments.

As several scholars have pointed out, there are certain parallels between the list entries and the wooden figurines disposed in the tomb. For instance, all the musical instruments, as far as they are recorded in multi-item-entries together with the musicians, could be identified with wooden models.[1037] But the *mingtong* significantly outnumber the wooden figurines, and no models of the vehicles, draught animals etc. were discovered in the tomb. Due to the partial parallels, it is not completely impossible that the wooden figurines indeed formed part of the items described in the unities. But their organisational pattern does not correspond to the above-mentioned one demonstrated by the unities: two of the figurines were deposited in the western compartment and the remaining 102 ones in the northern compartment; while the two wooden figurines in the western compartment were perhaps males;[1038] the ones in the northern compartment apparently included males and females, which were mixed with one another.[1039] Hence, no division of the figurines according to their sex is discernible. This means that the unities describe material resources that were organised in their own right for the reproductions of another field of action than the entombment. This field was probably the exhibition and

[1037] For examples see Fu Juyou 1983, 166 ff.; Chen Songchang 1990, 87; He Jiejun 2004, 171–177; Suzuki 2011, 209–211; Li Mingxiao 2010; and Tian Tian 2020, 52–54.

[1038] See He Jiejun 2004, 177.

[1039] See He Jiejun 2004, 44–46 and 171–179.

inspection of *mingqi*. Some of these resources were disposed in the tomb, with a transformed pattern of organisation that is not indicated in the funerary lists at all.

A problem remains as to why these figurines, models of vehicles, draught animals and riding animals were not completely buried. Similarly, the earthen models described in another unity of the funerary lists (see above) were not discovered in the tomb, either. Such models typically form part of the goods in many Han tombs of occupants of diverse social milieus. In this vein, the opinion of the excavators, namely, that they may have been disposed in certain accompanying pits that have not yet been discovered,[1040] is worth considering. The remaining figurines may also have been deposited in such accompanying pits. Similar practice is evidenced in the burial compounds of several marquis and princes of the Han dynasty.[1041]

But the possibility that the unities describe real persons and further resources in the funerary ceremonies cannot be excluded, either.[1042] The Leigudun lists, for instance, describe among others the organisational patterns of real persons, vehicles and horses (see Chapter 3). If this holds true for the related unities of content, the described vehicles, animals and persons may have took part in the reproduction of the fields of the vehicle exhibition, draught animal presentation, funerary procession etc. This would simultaneously mean that the figurines in tomb 3 at Mawangdui are not at all described in the funerary lists that were discovered. But as argued above, the absence of records concerning certain types of tomb goods indicates that these goods were administered separately in the funeral (Subsection 4.1.2). Anyway, the wooden figurines in tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui are not described in the list from the tomb, either.

Several unities or loose entries bear traces of updates after the transformation of the related material components. Several scholars have already noticed such updates, including the notes

[1040] See He Jiejun 2004, 66.

[1041] For a study concerning the accompanying pits in the burial compounds of the Han marquis and princes see Liu Zunzhi 刘尊志, "Xuzhou liang Han zhuhouwang mu" 徐州两汉诸侯王墓研究. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (2011): 90 ff.

[1042] Zheng Shubin, for instance, assumes that the vehicles described in the lists were real vehicles, though she surmises that the "persons" must have been models. See Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌, "Mawangdui sanhao Han mu qiance zhong de sangzang yongche" 马王堆三号汉墓遣策中的丧葬用车, in *Jinian Mawangdui Han mu fajue sishi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 纪念马王堆汉墓发掘四十周年国际学术研讨会论文集, edited by Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2016): 108–112.

jin san 今三 (now three) and *jin si* 今四" (now four) on strips 332 and 377, respectively;[1043] a note *qiu daoci* 毬到此 (checked until here) on strip 408; as well as a few checkmarks.[1044] The former two notes were applied to entries related to items made of silk or other textiles, which can seldom be identified with the seriously decayed organic goods in the tomb. Although scholars generally assume that they were applied towards the dispatch of the goods to the tomb or even in the last check of the tomb goods,[1045] the above analysis of the note "一空" (One is [now] empty) in the list from tomb no. 1 indicates that it is not necessarily the case. Concerning the checkmarks, apart from Tian Tian's association of them with certain buried wooden figurines, [1046] scholars seem to agree that their functions remain elusive.[1047] Similar to the above-mentioned transformations indicated by the list entries and summery cluster on the pottery and wooden *mingqi* vessels, these checkmarks were perhaps added in a later reproduction of the field of the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, as the related figurines underwent certain transformation that could seldem be reconstructed any more. And I agree with Tian Tian that the note *qiu daoci* was perhaps added in the process of a check that was to be continued.[1048] But as she supposes that this note was added after all the wooden tablets and bamboo strips were bound together,[1049] I do think that these writing supports never used to form one integral scroll.

Finally, tablet 407, which was discovered separately in the eastern compartment, bears besides 15 list entries two notes as well. 14 of these list entries describe 14 pieces of clothing, while the last one records 14 fragrance bags without further specifying them. The notes,

---

[1043] For examples see Chen Songchang 1994, 68; Yang Hua 2007, 172; and Tian Tian 2020, 55.

[1044] For examples see Suzuki 2011, 190; Jiang Wen 蒋文, "Shuo Mawangdui sanhao Han mu qiance jian 408 de gouhuafu he 'qiu dao ci'" 说马王堆三号墓遣策简 408 的勾划符和"毬到此", *Wenshi*, no. 1 (2014): 279–280 and 90; Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 232; and Tian Tian 2020, 51 ff.

[1045] Both Chen Songchang and Yang Hua assume that these two notes were added while the "dispatch list" (*qiance*) was read. Both Jiang Wen and Tian Tian surmise that the notes and the checkmarks were made at the entombment. See Chen Songchang 1994, 68; Yang Hua 2007, 172; Jiang Wen 2014, 90; and Tian Tian 2020, 54 ff.

[1046] See Tian Tian 2020, 54.

[1047] For examples see Suzuki 2011, 190; and Jiang Wen 2014, 90.

[1048] See Tian Tian 2020, 54.

[1049] See Tian Tian 2020, 54.

beginning with a dot each, read: "• 乙笥凡十五物不發", i.e., "• *si*-basket no. *yi*, holding 15 [entries of] items which will not be dispatched"; and "• 召所來", the meaning of which is elusive (it is perhaps an indication of the provenance of the *si*-basket, such as "• derived from Zhao"). The first note may be a summary as well. Although some scholars suppose that it means that the related *si*-basket was not dispatched to the tomb,[1050] a *si*-basket (Inv. No. 東 112) discovered beside two labels indicates otherwise (see above). Interestingly, these 15 list entries are identical with 15 of the list entries on the bamboo strips (strips 205, 355, 395-406) from the western compartment.[1051] It is not apparent which 15 list entries were created first.[1052] The 15 ones on the bamboo strips may have been a list part or even parts in several lists – at least the excavators did not put them together in their reconstruction of the sequence of the strips, but instead located them among other entries that seem more conform in types with the individual ones of them.[1053]

At any rate, the related items on the wooden and bamboo supports were applied at least in two fields of action, in which their organisational pattern underwent a certain transformation that necessitated the recreation of the same list entries. These fields may have been the gift-giving (if the second note on the tablet can be interpreted as a note refering to the provenance of the items) and the exhibition of potential tomb goods. The first note on the wooden tablet indicates that there may have been some preliminary decision to prohibit the *si*-basket from entering the field of entombment. But since the *si*-basket was indeed buried, this decision was apparently denied; accordingly, the wooden tablet became obsolete, which is the reason that it was disposed in the tomb. The site report provides a succinct description of the content of the

[1050] For several examples see Chen Songchang 1994, 68; Chen Songchang 1997, 64; Yang Hua 2003, 51;Hu Pingsheng and Li Tianhong 2004, 388; Zheng Shubin 2022, 247.

[1051] This has been pointed out by Suzuki. Tian Tian merely identifies 14 of the identical entries on the bamboo strips (she refers to the new numbers of the strips). See Suzuki 2011, 217; cf. Tian Tian 2020, 54.

[1052] Tian Tian supposes that the 15 entries on the bamboo strips were a copy of those on the wooden tablet, i.e., the wooden tablet would be inscribed first. See Tian Tian 2020, 54. This may hold true if the note on the wooden tablet can be read as an indication of the provenance of the si-basket, such as "·derived from Zhao". But the 15 entries on the bamboo strips were probably no copy, but instead list part or list parts demonstrating an organisational pattern of the related items that differred from that on the tablet.

[1053] For instance, strip 205 has been ordered among strips bearing entries describing various bags, while strip 355 has been located among strips bearing entries describing various clothes. See He Jiejun 2004, 61 and 70.

si-basket, i.e. clothing with lining, skirts and silk textiles.[1054] It seems that the fragrance bags were taken out of the *si*-basket before the *si*-basket was buried. This means that the organisational pattern of the *si*-basket and its content was transformed, which is probably the reason why the related 15 list entries on the bamboo strips were disposed in the tomb too.

Hence, the lists from the two Mawangdui tombs bear traces of material transformations that occurred when various fields of actions, which were reproduced in the related funerals, overlapped or succeeded each other. The list entries were created targetedly for the reproduction of the following fields: the exhibition and inspection of the mortised wooden chamber; the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi* in diverse preparation stages; the pre-entombment sacrificial offering; the none-blood offering; the exhibition of potential tomb goods; and perhaps the funerary procession, the vehicle exhibition, the draught animal presentation and the gift-giving (tablet 407). Most of the summaries, all the notes and as well as checkmarks were added later as some of these fields were repeatedly reproduced, intersected one another or were succeeded by one another. And the remaining summaries from tomb no. 3 indicate that part of the lists were transformed into a preliminary plan of the entombment. However, this plan was for the most part discarded.

Accordingly, the lists from the Mawangdui tombs were no tomb inventory lists or their parts. They were created for short-term administration of resources in the reproduction of various fields of action of the second cluster. The lack of significance of these lists for the long-term administration of resources was probably the reason why they were buried in the tombs.

4.2.3 The list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan

The early Western Han tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan was a shaft tomb.[1055] It contained a wooden tomb chamber, which was divided into three parts, i.e., a coffin compartment in the south, a side compartment in the north and a head compartment in the east. Two nesting coffins laid on their sides in the waterlogged coffin compartment as they came to light. Based on an experiment, archaeologists argue that the coffins used to lay on their bottoms until they

[1054] See He Jiejun 2004, 198 and 200.

[1055] If not specified otherwise, the information about the tomb site is from Chen Zhenyu 1993, 455–513.

capsized at a certain point in time during a process in which groundwater gradually seeped into the coffin compartment. The tomb occupant was a male whose name was Sui 𨚕, as indicated by a seal discovered in his mouth as well as by a document that will be addressed below. This document also indicates that he used to be ranked *wudafu* (Fifth Grandee) in his life time. Before the coffins capsized, he used to lay on his back, extended, with the head oriented toward the east.[1056]

A funerary list on loose bamboo strips was discovered in the bottom layer of the tomb goods in the side compartment. Its location indicates that it was deposited at an early stage of the entombment.[1057] Interestingly, funerary lists from five further Western Han tombs in the Fenghuangshan cemetery were deposited in diverse locations in various phases of the entombment.[1058] Hence, there was probably no fixed agenda in terms of the temporal and spatial frame of depositing these funerary lists.

The list in tomb no. 168 was deposited next to a bamboo tablet bearing another document, which reads as follows:

> 十三年五月庚辰，江陵丞敢告地下丞：市陽里五夫=𨚕，自言與大奴良等廿八人、大婢益等十八人、軺車二乘、牛車一兩，騩馬四匹，騅馬二匹，騎馬四匹。可令吏以從事。敢告主。[1059]
>
> Day *gengchen*, fifth month, 13th year [June 10, 167 BCE],[1060] Assistant Magistrate in Jiangling dares to report to the Assistant [Magistrate] in the Underworld: Sui, Fifth Grandee in the village Shiyang, has stated personally that he [travels] together with 28 adult male

[1056] See Jinancheng Fenghuangshan 168 hao Han mu fajue zhengli zu 1975, 3.

[1057] This has been pointed out by Sahara 2002, 407; Suzuki 2014, 290.

[1058] The list from tombs nos. 8 and 9 were discovered at the bottom of the head compartments of the tomb chambers. The list from tomb no. 10 was discovered in a *si*-basket in the side compartment of the tomb chamber. The list from tomb no. 167 was discovered in the fill, above the lid of the wooden chamber. The deposition location of the lists in tomb no. 169 is not yet published. See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 9.

[1059] If not specified otherwise, the transcription of the manuscripts from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan is from Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 182–199.

[1060] The excavators of tomb no. 3 point out that the year in question was in the reign of Emperor Wen (reigned 180–157 BCE) of the Western Han dynasty.

servants including Liang, 18 adult female servants including Yi, two light carriages, one ox-drawn cart, four ? horses,[1061] two bay horses and four riding horses. The clerics shall set to work according to this document. I dare to report it to [you], the one in charge.[1062]

This document is generally called *gaodice* or *gaodishu*, i.e. a "letter to the Underworld", by scholars. Ten such documents have been hitherto discovered and nine of them have been published.[1063] Most of them, including the one above, were discovered in a region in today's Jingzhou, which was the Jiangling county in the Han dynasty.[1064] The ten documents date between 184 and 70 BCE.[1065] While the deceased concerned in the document above held the lowest rank in the aristocracy in the early Western Han period,[1066] the other deceased who were equipped with such "letters" used to be members of various strata, including some who held ranks in the aristocracy as well as some who did not.[1067] As pointed out by several scholars, this type of documents demonstrates certain parallels in terms of its structure and formula to

[1061] Chen Zhenyu does not interpret the term 騊. Guo Jue translates the phrase "騊馬四匹" as "four quadriga horses". See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 182; Guo Jue 2019, 246.

[1062] In Subsection 4.2.2, I have argued that the term *zhu* 主 refers to the same person to whom the document was forwarded, i.e., the "Assistant [Magistrate] in the Underworld". Some scholars indicate that the term refers to an authority that was ranked higher than the "Assistant [Magistrate] in the Underworld", i.e., the Lord of the Underworld. For examples see Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2012, 499; Röllicke 2006, 526; Yokota 2013, 16; Zhang Wenhan 张文瀚, "Gaodice yanjiu pingshu" 告地策研究评述, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu dongtai* 中国史研究动态, no. 1 (2013): 7. Guo Jue translates the term *zhu* as "the Superior the above". Cf. Guo Jue 2019, 244 ff., esp. note 146.

[1063] Guo Jue provides a list of the ten known *gaodishu*, which she denotes as "funerary relocation documents," and translates eight of the fully or partially published ones. See Guo Jue 2019, 147–155. Furthermore, one of the remaining documents is published in Jiang Lujing 蒋鲁敬 et al., "Hubei Jingzhou Fenghuangdi Yizhi M24 chutu Xihan gaodishu" 湖北荆州凤凰地遗址 M24 出土西汉告地书, *Wenwu* no. 1 (2024): 76–80.

[1064] See Guo Jue 2019, 148–155.

[1065] See Guo Jue 2019, 148–155, Table 1.

[1066] See Barbieri-Low and Yates 2015, 450.

[1067] For an overview of the social strata of the deceased see Yokota 2013, 12, Table 1; or Guo Jue 2019, 148–155, Table 1.

certain (copies of)[1068] administrative documents that were forwarded among worldly authorities in the Qin and the Han dynasties.[1069]

Scholars notice that "letters to the Underworld" were typically deposited together with funerary lists; sometimes they were even physically joined with funerary lists.[1070] Accordingly, several scholars assume that in many cases, the letter and the funerary list from a tomb formed an integral document.[1071] Guo Jue, for instance, denotes such a joint document as "relocation document", which includes the "itemized details" (*qiance*) and a "notification letter" (*gaodice*).[1072] This may seem apparent in view of their joint layout and structure, but the following comparison among the content of the "letter", that of the funerary list and the goods from tomb 168 at Fenghuangshan indicates a more nuanced process of the creation and usage of the two documents.

The funerary list includes among others a unity of content as follows, concerning similar motifs as those described in the "letter":

> Strip 1: 案車一乘，馬四匹，有蓋；御一人，大奴
>
> One comfortable carriage, four draught horses and a canopy; one driver who is an adult male servant

[1068] Giele indicates that some of the early imperial documents that reach us may have been archival copies of the originals (for the reason given by him see below); they were probably not forwarded. See Enno Giele, "Signatures of 'Scribes' in Early Imperial China," *Asiatische Studien* 59, no. 1 (2005): 371, footnote 42.

[1069] For examples see Chen Songchang 2008, 21–25; Friedrich 2008, 10–12; Ma Yuanyuan 马媛媛, "Dai wang yinjian de tongguan wenshu: Lun gaodishu zai sangzang wenshu fazhan zhong de diwei" 带往阴间的通关文书：论告地书在丧葬文书发展历程中的地位, *Guizhou wenshi congkan* 贵州文史丛刊, no. 3 (2014): 74 ff.

[1070] For examples see Huang Shengzhang 1994, 43; Huang Shengzhang 1998, 161; Yokota 2013, 23, note (3); Ma Yuanyuan 2014, 74.

[1071] For instance, Yokota states that *gaodice* and *qiance* are "integral" (一体). Hou Xudong indicates that the *gaodice* and the *qiance* from tomb no. 10 at Fenghaungshan formed a joint document, after demonstrating the parallel between their joint layout and the layout of several joint documents to be forwarded among the worldly authorities. See Yokota 2013, 23, note (3); Hou Xudong 侯旭东, "Xibei suochu Han dai buji ceshu jian de pailie yu fuyuan: Cong Donghan Yongyuan bingwu bu shuoqi" 西北所出汉代簿籍册书简的排列与复原：从东汉永元兵物簿说起, *Shixue jikan* 史学集刊, no. 1 (2014): 72; Guo Jue 2019, 168 and 178.

[1072] See Guo Jue 2019, 168 and 178.

Strip 2: 軺車一乘，蓋一，馬二匹；御一人，大奴

One light carriage, one canopy and two draught horses; one driver who is an adult male servant

Strip 3: 從馬男子四人，大奴

Four men who are adult male servants following [four] horses

Strip 4: □□二人，大奴

Two… who are adult male servants

Strip 5: ☒（謁）者一人，大奴

One… [internuncio] who is an adult male servant

Strip 6: 美人女子十人，大婢

Ten female beauties who are adult servants

Strip 7: 養女子四人，大婢

Four cooks who are adult female servants

Strip 8: 田者男女各四人，大奴大婢各四人

Four male and four female farm hands who are adult male and female servants[1073]

Strip 9: 牛車一兩（輛）；豎一人，大奴

One ox-drawn cart; one ox herder who is an adult male servant

[1073] Guo Jue reads the list enry on strip 8 as “farming [attendants]: male and female, each four persons; adult male and female slaves: each four persons”. Cf. Guo Jue 2019, 247. Her reading may be traced back to Chen Zhenyu’s comparison of the entry with the 17 wooden figurines holding farming tools in the tomb (he comments that there was one figurine more than the persons described in the entry). See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 484 ff. But all the records on persons on the nine strips (1–9) in the related unity of content have a parallel structure, which may be translated as a noun plus a noun clause, for instance, “ten female Beauties who are adult slaves” (strip 6). Therefore, it seems unfounded to view the record on strip 8 exceptionally as the juxtaposition of two parallel nouns. Suzuki corroborates my reading of this entry, since she counts 14 males and 18 females in total in the entries. See Suzuki 2014, 281–291.

Strip 10: ▌凡車二乘 ㄴ馬十匹 ㄴ人卌一 ㄴ船一梭（艘）

▌Together: two carriages ㄴ, ten horses ㄴ, 41 persons ㄴ and one boat".

These entries in this unity itemise 18 females, ten horses and one ox-drawn cart, which correspond to those in the above-mentioned "letter". But they describe two horse-drawn carriages of individual types, which are at odds with the type of the carriages in the "letter" (light carriage); as well as 14 males, which are doubled by those itemised in the "letter". And the summary includes a boat that is not mentioned in the "letter". These discrepancies indicate that the list and the "letter" were not composed on the basis of each other, but most likely created independently from each other.

Furthermore, the formats of the writing supports (see Fig. 57) and the writing hands in the "letter" also indicate that these two documents were created separately: the bamboo tablet bearing the "letter" (23.2 cm) is shorter than the bamboo strips bearing the list (24.2–24.7 cm); and the repeated stroke "一" on the tablet is executed more or less horizontally with an angularly pronounced head, while the same stoke on the bamboo strips slants apparently downwards with a pointed head. The "letters" and the funerary lists from the other tombs were commonly written by different hands as well.[1074] Interestingly, many joint documents that served the communications among worldly authorities and that were discovered in non-funerary contexts seem to have been written by the same hands.[1075] Based on an analysis of the writing hand in one of these joint documents, Giele indicates that the document may have been an "archival copy of the original" and that it was not forwarded.[1076] In this vein, the surrogate discovered in the tomb seems to bear traces of the production process of these originals, i.e.

[1074] An exception is the "letter" from tomb no. 18 at Gaotai 高臺 (Jingzhou, Hubei province). This "letter" and the funerary list in the tomb do seem to have been written by the same hand. But it is a subject of debate, whether the "letter" belongs to those addressed to the Underworld authorities. For an introduction to the debate see Guo Jue 2019, 240 ff., footnote 137.

[1075] This has been pointed out by Giele in his study of the process of forwarding documents among worldly authorities in early imperial China. Sumiya Tsuneko 角谷常子 relates to the same phenomenon in an analysis of several combined documents discovered in Liye. Xing Yitian has provided a thorough discussion of this phenomenon. See Giele 2005, 353–387; Sumiya Tsuneko, "Riya Shin kan niokeru tandokukan ni tsuite" 里耶秦簡における単独簡について, *Nara shigaku* 奈良史学, 30 (2013): 111; Xing Yitian 邢義田, "Han dai jiandu gongwenshu de zhengben, fuben, caogao he qianshu wenti" 漢代簡牘公文書的正本，副本，草稿和簽署問題, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 82, no. 4 (2011): 601–678.

[1076] See Giele 2005, 370 ff., esp. 371, footnote 42.

the "letter" and the list were written by two hands on different supports, probably with a temporal interval between their creations.

A comparison between the related tomb goods and the contents of the two documents corroborate this temporal interval. In the tomb, the wooden surrogates of 46 persons, two horse-drawn carriages of individual types, one ox-drawn cart, one boat, ten horses and one ox were discovered.[1077] Apparently, the total numbers of these surrogates correspond more to those mentioned in the "letter" than those in the list.[1078] As pointed out by Sahara, this may indicate

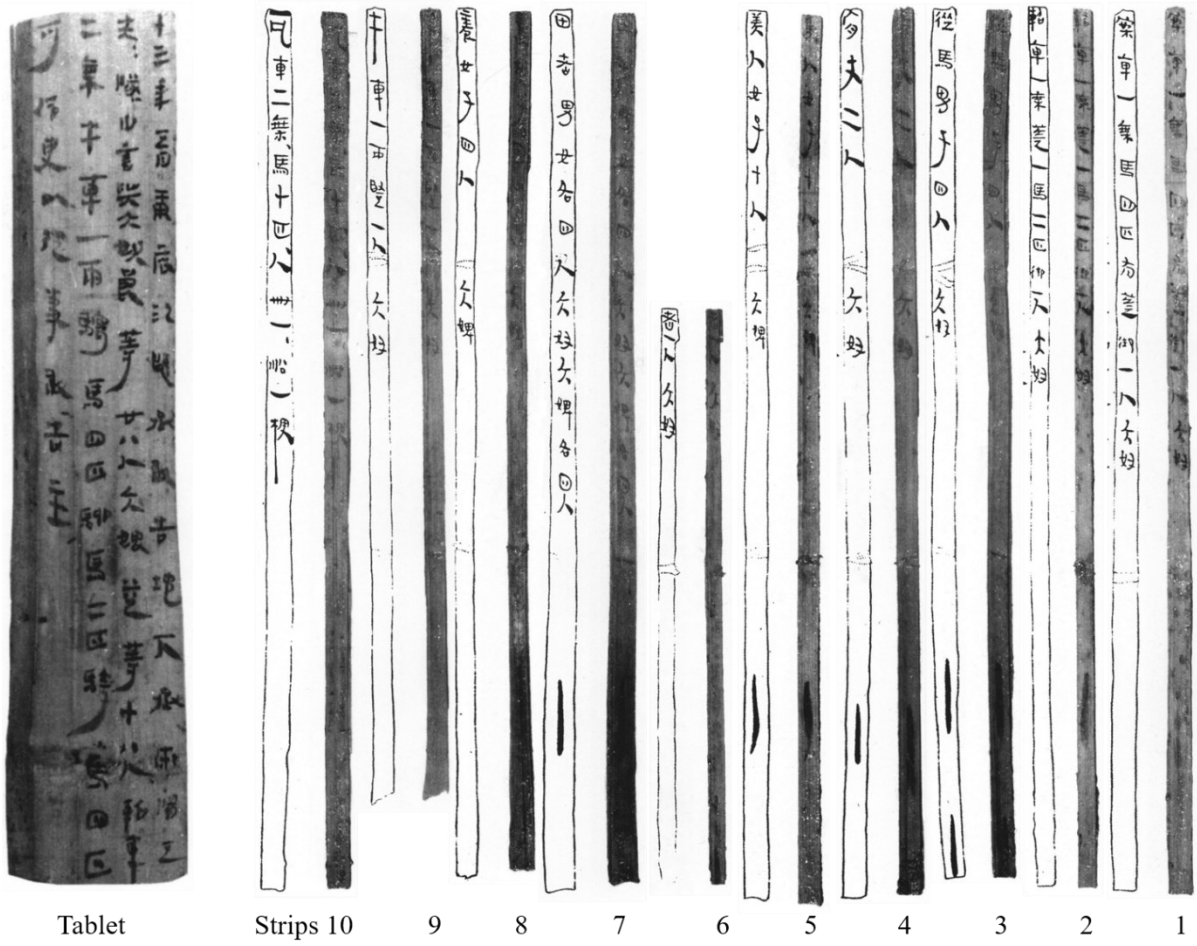


Fig. 57 Bamboo tablet (23.2 / 4.1–4.4 / 0.3 cm) and bamboo strips (24.2-24.7 / 0.7–0.9 / 0.1 cm) bearing one unity of content in the list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan.

[1077] See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 484–488.

[1078] The sex of the "persons" described in the "letter" seems to be partly at odds with the sex of those discovered in the tomb. But this can be due to an inaccurate judgement of the sex of those figurines by the excavators. The site report identifies 24 female and 22 male figurines of eight types, i.e., types A-H. However, the criteria for judging the sex of the figures of type C seem inconsistent. For instance, the excavators generally identify barefoot figurines wearing long robes and chignons as females while they take those wearing shorter, open hair and shoes for males; but they identify figurines wearing beards and chignons (Inv. Nos. 53 and 54) as males. It appears to me that those figurines wearing chignons long robes and can include further males. But

that the "letter" was created at a point in time close to the entombment and later than the creation of the list.[1079]

Compared with the funerary lists, the "letters" had generally less administrative than religious features. The "letters" seem to have been inspired by their worldly counterparts that may be called "forwarder's words",[1080] though, they did not strictly adhere to the worldly bureaucratic procedures and formulae. First of all, as several scholars have pointed out, the bureaucratic procedures indicated by the "letters" are notably inconsistent: for instance, some of the messages were "forwarded" by one official, some by two, some by a commoner, while some were directly addressed by the deceased to a certain Underworld authority without any intermediate official or person.[1081] As pointed out by Chen Songchang, the latter case would possibly mean a contravention of the administrative norm.[1082] Furthermore, the formulae in the "letters" were not up-to-date. For instance, as indicated by Giele, the formulation *gan gao* 敢告 (I dare to report) was likely an archaic expression in the Han times,[1083] i.e., at the time of the burial of the tomb occupant. As a contrast, the usage of archaic formulations in ritual context is relatively normal, since "such formulations may suggest that timeless truths are being uttered or may otherwise enhance the authority of the speech".[1084] In addition, the "forwarder's words", if not inscribed on the same supports of the documents that were to be forwarded,

---

the few published pictures do not suffice for an exacter judgement. For the description of the figurines and the line-drawing of a few of them see Chen Zhenyu 1993, 484–488.

[1079] See Sahara 2002, 411.

[1080] The worldly counterparts of the "letters to the Underworld" are called *chengwen* 呈文, *okuri·jō* 送り状 or *chengbao* 呈报 by scholars. See Hou Xudong 2014, 59.

[1081] Guo Jue provides a table with the "key structural components of eight funerary relocation documents" ("letters to the Underworld" and "funerary list" in my word) and a "template for a typical funerary relocation document". The table and the template exactly indicate the inconsistency concerning the process of addressing or forwarding those "letters". Furthermore, as indicated by one of her case studies, the person who forwarded the document did not seem to hold any official titles. See Guo Jue 2019, 177, Table 2; 178 and 244 ff., note 146. For several further studies referring to the inconsistent formulae used in those "letters to the Underworld" see Chen Songchang 2008, 25; Friedrich 2008, 9–13.

[1082] See Chen Songchang 2008, 24.

[1083] See Enno Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making and Communication in Early China: a Study of Cai Yong's Duduan*. opera sinologica 20 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006): 113.

[1084] See Lewis R. Rambo and Charles E. Farhadian, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): [117].

always include explict reference to the types of the documents, such as *mingji* 名籍 (name register) and *churubu* 出入簿 (entrance and exit register).[1085] But such reference in these "letters" is not always explict. The letter from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan, for instance, does not refer to the funerary list as a document per se at all.

Hence, the creation of these "letters" obviously did not require administrative virtuosity. The author of the "letter" who may have been the scribe himself could not distinguish the model of a comfortable carriage from the one of a light carriage. But he must have been one of the specialists who were trained in techniques of the ritual communication with the "Underworld", i.e., the supernatural world of the Dead.[1086] Several scholars indicate various ritual functions of these "letters to the Underworld" when the deceased were to travel beyond the boundary of the living world or to "relocate to the Underworld".[1087] Irrespective of which concrete ritual functions the "letters" fulfilled, they were apparently products of certain *rites de passage* that were aimed at the transformation of the deceased in their liminal stages and their integration in the world of the Dead. More specifically, they formed a link of a chain in the communication with the Underworld authorities,[1088] which is a field of action that is not verbalised in the early Chinese funerary cycle. As a contrast, for whatever fields of action the funerary list was created (see below), the creation of the list had solely an administration purpose.

[1085] For an extensive itamisation of the "forwarder's words" see Hou Xudong 2014, 60–69.

[1086] Guo Jue has explored the "possibility of professional ritual specialists who may be responsible for the production of these… funerary relocation documents". See Guo Jue 2019, 215.

[1087] Several scholars argue that these "letters" had a ritual function that resembles the worldly passports, i.e., to enable travel across a certain boundary. For examples see Xi Wenqian 2011, 3 ff.; and Ma Yuanyuan 2014, 73 ff. Chen Songchang assumes that they had the ritual function to declare (*shenbao* 申報) the wealth of the deceased to the Underworld authority. Huang Shengzhang surmises that they fulfilled a ritual function to integrate the deceased in the administration of the Underworld population. Guo Jue argues that the joint documents including these "letters" fulfilled a "ritual function as to present and/or produce a desirable afterlife status for the deceased when they relocate to the Underworld". See Chen Songchang 2008, 23; Huang Shengzhang 1998, 155–157; Guo Jue 2019, 141 and 226 ff.

[1088] As argued by several scholars, the "letters to the Underworld" as well as the documents that are denoted *maidiquan* 買地券 (contract for the purchase of a graveyard) and *zhenmuwen* 鎮墓文 (tomb-quelling text) pertain to the communication with the Underworld authorities. For examples see Wang Guihai 汪桂海, "Han dai jiandu zhong de gaodice ziliao" 漢代簡牘中的告地策資料, *Jianbo Yanjiu* (2006): 242–248; and Xi Wenqian 2011, 4 ff.

Hence, the above-mentioned inconsistencies in content and format between this unity of content and the "letter to the Underworld" indicate that the funerary list and the "letter", if once put together, formed nothing more than a patchwork. They were created in separate fields of action and do not refer to each other. The ritual specialist who inscribed the "letter" probably did not set eyes on the list; and the scribe of the list was probably not informed about this specific usage of the list – otherwise, he may have updated the list according to the new constellation of the material components. It seems more likely that a third person (e.g., someone supervised the funeral), who was not directly engaged in the two above-mentioned fields, decided to put the two documents together (e.g., join them or at least place them next to each other). This later action reshaped the material components from the above-mentioned separate fields and bestowed on the list, which was created solely for administrative purposes, a new significance for the afterlife.

Besides the transformation of the relationship between the two documents and of the funerary list's significance for the afterlife, further transformations took place during the reproduction of several fields of action, as indicated by the list itself. The creation of the list did not take place at one go, as indicated by the inconsistency within the above-mentioned unity of content: the nine entries describe two horse-drawn carriages and ten horses, which correspond to those in the summary. But they include one ox-drawn cart that is not mentioned in the summary; they itemise 14 males and 18 females that are outnumbered by the persons in the summary; and they do not mention the boat, which is among the summary. These discrepancies can hardly be explained completely by possible fragmentation of the list entries. More likely, they are traces of the transformations of the material components in the repeated reproduction of the field of the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, or of the intersection of this field with the exhibition of potential tomb goods. Such transformations may have occurred in various ways, for instance as follows: the summary may refer to a bunch of entries including some of those on strips 1-9 at one of the reproductions of the former field; but as this field was reproduced again or as it was succeeded by the latter field, this bunch of entries were updated according to the transformation of the material components (increased or eliminated), while the summary was abandoned.

A similarly transformation process is indicated by the other summary in this list. The summary on strip 45 reads: "▌右方器籍卅四牒", i.e., "▌To the right: a register of *qi*-items on 34 strips". The excavaters seem to interpret *qi*-items as lacquer vessels. But the lacquer

vessels are recorded merely on 31 strips (strips 11–39 and 41). Therefore, they add several wooden items (strips 40, 42–44) to the related unity of content to meet the number of strips in the summary. The problem is that, irrespective of one list entry that is partly illegible and includes a music instrument and a brocade mat (strip 44), one of these items is a wooden comb (strip 43). If a comb belongs to the unity of content, it seems unfounded why further items such as two bamboo fans (strip 57), one walking staff (strip 54) and one mat (strip 58) do not. All these itmes seem to have been comparable to the category "things that contributed to his ease" in the funeral of the Ordinary Officer in *Yili*. Possibly, all the items except for those in the unity of content of the wooden surrogates belong to the related unity of content. Then the related strips would amount to 55 (strips 11–44 and 46–66) and overnumber those mentioned in the summary. Hence, the summary was perhaps created in an early stage of the funeral, maybe even before the coffining, as indicated by the analysis of the list entries on shoes below.

Part of this unity of content may have been targeted created for the exhibition of potential tomb goods as well. This part may include over hundred pieces of lacquerware, several pieces of wooden furniture, a matt, two fans, four pairs of shoes, two caps, a walking staff, a *si*-basket containing a weight scale, and four strings of cash coins. Of course, several of these list entries maybe added afterwards. The remaining part of the unity of content was probably targetedly created for the field of the none-blood offering, which was reproduced multiple times in the pre-entombment period. It includes various foods contained in bags, *si*-baskets and *luo*-baskets (*luo* 笿); dried meat skewers; etc. Similarly, several of these list entries maybe added afterwards.

Furthermore, a comparison between the organisational patterns of the list items and of the tomb goods reveals certain transformations, which took place at the latest in the reproduction of the field of entombment. In the unity of content mentioned above, the entries indicate that the "persons" were grouped according to their roles in a fictive household, for instance, "ten female beauties who are adult slaves" (strip 6) and "four male and four female farm hands who are adult male and female slaves" (strip 8). In the tomb, ten figurines (figurines type A) who wear low chignons and whose hands are hiding within long sleeves in front of their stomachs were identified as the Beauties. But they were deposited in two separate locations, i.e. three in the side compartment and seven in the head compartment.[1089] Furthermore, 17 instead of eight

[1089] See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 484.



Fig. 58 Entries concerning caps, shoes and walking staff in the list from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan.

figurines holding agricultural tools were identified as "farm hands". Six of them, wearing short haircuts or mustaches, were identified as males; while the remaining eleven, wearing low chignons, were identified as females.[1090] One of these 17 figurines was discovered in the side compartment (Inv. No. 107, sex unknown), while the others were deposited in the head compartment. [1091] Hence, the organisational pattern of the "persons" in the entries does not correspond with that of the figurines in the tomb: even if the number of the "Beauties" was not transformed, the related figurines obtained a final organisational pattern that does not correspond to the one of the list items; and as far the "farm hand" figurines are concerned, transfomations took place in terms of both their numbers and their organisational pattern.

In addition, checkmarks and notes bestow further organisational patterns on the list entries. Most of the list entries are followed by checkmarks in the shape of a slightly curved, downward stroke towards the lower end of each strip (for examples see Fig. 58, strips 53–56). Furthermore, four of the entries with checkmarks are followed by a note each, which reads: *zai guan zhong* 在棺中, i.e., "in the coffins" (see Fig. 58, strips 53–56. For this reading see analysis in Subsection 4.1.1). As pointed out by Suzuki and Tian Tian, the layout (the translation of Tian's article uses the term "format") of the writings indicates that these notes were added afterwards.[1092]

[1090] See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 484 ff.

[1091] See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 464 ff. and 484 ff.

[1092] See Suzuki 2014, 283; Tian Tian 2019, 59 ff.

The unmarked and marked entries as well as the notes reveal the repeated usage of the list, as the related material resources were shared and reshaped in the reproduction of several fields. The checkmarks are traces of a control with a binary mechanism, i.e. those marked items were available or permitted in the reproduction of a field and those unmarked were not. The notes stress the exceptional spatial context of the related items at a certain point in time.

The above-mentioned entries on the "persons", "vehicles" and "animals", i.e., the surrogates, are followed by checkmarks. Interestingly, these checkmarks were added at a similar position as those checkmarks after the entries on shoes, caps and the walking staff (Fig. 57 and Fig. 58); while all the remaining checkmarks were applied at a lower position, i.e., directly at the lower edge of each strip. The checkmarks after the entries of the surrogates may have theoretically been added in one of the reproductions of the field of the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*. But more likely, they were added by one and the same person while the surrogates, together with the shoes, caps and the walking staff (further addressed below), were re-collected as part of the potential tomb goods in the exhibition. The goods described in the remaining list part were perhaps re-collected by another person who added further checkmarks as the fields of exhibition of potential tomb goods and the none-blood offering were reproduced. The latter field was possibly reproduced mutiple times, as it is in the funeral of the ordinary officer in *Yili*.

The above-mentioned notes indicate that at a certain point in time, two caps, two pairs of undyed shoes, one pair of silk shoes and a walking staff, which are recorded on strips 53–56, were located in the coffins. All the related entries are followed by checkmarks as well, as mentioned above. Besides them, a pair of black shoes is recorded on strip 52 with neither a checkmark nor a note. In regard to the final deposition locations of the related goods, these notes appear "inaccurate", because while the caps and two pairs of silk shoes were deposited between the two nesting coffins, one pair of undyed hemp shoes were worn by the tomb occupant and the walking staff was deposited between the outer coffin and the coffin compartment.[1093]

It is probaby that all the related list entries were targeted for the exhibition of potential tomb goods. But the list was already created and the described goods were partly prepared

[1093] See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 497–498.

before the entombment. Then two possible scenaries may have taken place. The first one ist that during the rites of dressing the corpse, the bereaved family decided ad hoc to use one pair of undyed shoes recorded on strip 56 to dress the corpse. And as the related items were re-collected for the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the entries of the available goods were added with checkmarks, the checker neglected that the shoes recorded on strip 56 were no more complete and added a checkmark on the strip. Then at some point in time, the sealed inner coffin was put into the outer coffin. And the family removed the pair of shoes recorded on strip 55 and the remaining pair recorded on strip 56,[1094] the staff (strip 54) and the two caps (strip 53) from the exhibited goods and placed them between the coffins. The second possible scenary is that the shoes worn by the tomb occupant was from another source than the recorded one. The three pairs of shoes recorded on strips 55 and 66 indeed used to be put between the coffins. But before the closing of the outer coffin, one of these pairs of shoes finally removed from there. In both scenarios, one pair of shoes (strip 52) was either not obtained or was excluded

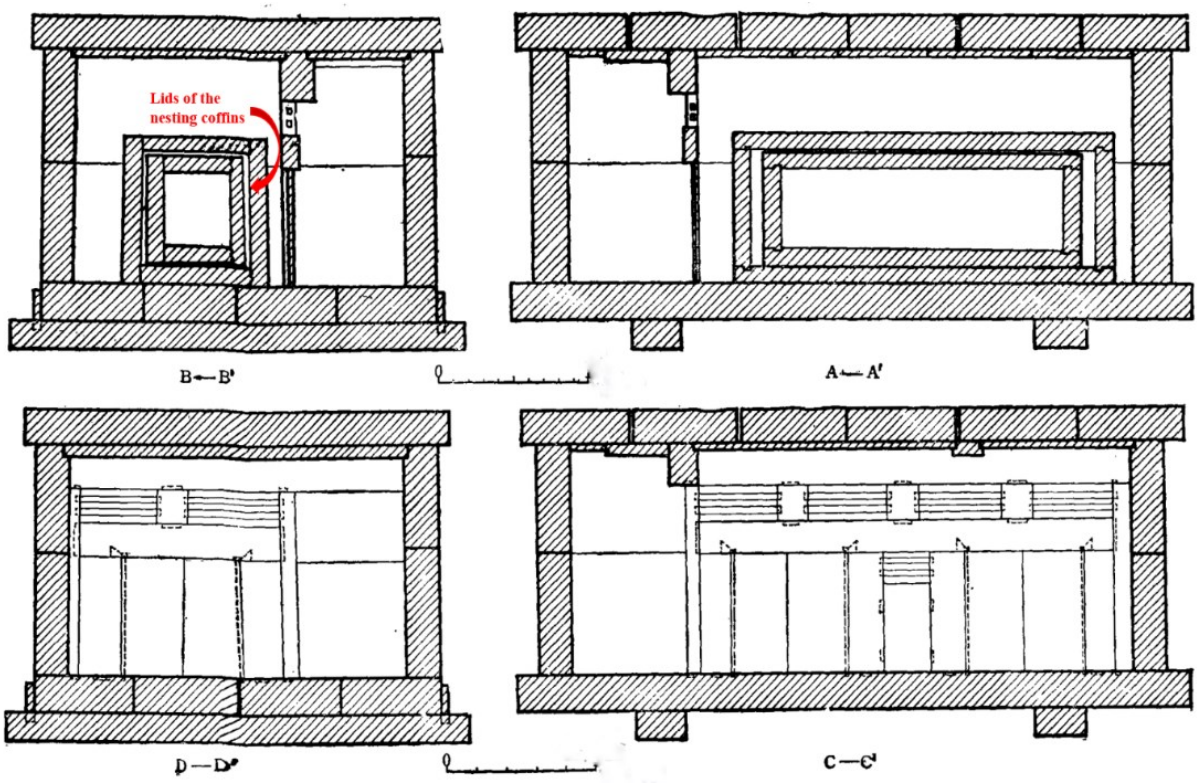


Fig. 59 The wooden chamber with two nesting coffins (capsized) from tomb no. 168 at Fenghuangshan.

[1094] The excavator specify that the two pairs of shoes discovered between the nesting coffins were made of silk, but they do not mention the colour of them. See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 497. Perhaps one of the two pairs of undyed shoes recorded on strip 56 was made of silk, and the other pair was made of hemp (worn by the tomb occupant).

from the exhibition of potential tomb goods for a certain reason, since the related entry was without a checkmark.

Interestingly, the structure and the sizes of the nesting coffins (Fig. 59) indicate that if the staff indeed used to be located in the coffins, it may only have been placed either in the outer coffin without the inner coffin; or on the lid of the inner coffin, which was already nested by the outer coffin, of which the lid was not yet closed.[1095] At any rate, the person who was in charge of putting goods between the coffins had probably overestimated the space between the two coffin lids. Plainly, three hemp bands winding the inner coffin several times occupied some space between the bottoms as well as between the lids of the two coffins. It is probable that at an attempting closure of the outer coffin, the staff prohibited the lid from snapping in the rim. To enable the closure, the walking staff was finally taken out of the outer coffin again. After that, the staff was perhaps placed (or fixed) on the lid of the outer coffin.[1096] Anyway, staffs have been sometimes discovered on the lids of the single coffins in several Han tombs.[1097] Finally, only two pairs of shoes and two caps were left between the two coffins.

Hence, the notes must have been added between the closures of the two coffins. In that period of time, the notes were accurate, since all the related items were indeed in the coffins. The closure of the outer coffin in tomb 168 at Fenghuangshan may have taken place soon after the closure of the inner coffin, but it is also possible that the both coffins were exhibited for a certain period separately after the inner coffin was sealed, while the caps, the shoes and the staff were being exhibited in the outer coffin. At any rate, both coffins were equally lacquered black in their interior and exterior, i.e. they had similar display values; and the number of the

[1095] Obviously, the coffins were interlocked tightly lengthwise, leaving no space in between. At either end of the inner coffin there was a space of ca. 5 / 76 / 71 cm, which was not able to accommodate the staff with a length of 133.5 cm. Hence, the staff could only have been placed on the lid of the inner coffin. For the size of the coffins see Chen Zhenyu 1993, 462.

[1096] The excavators assume that the staff used to be placed on the lid of the outer coffin, before the coffins capsized. Furthermore, the staff in tomb no. 26 at Xiaojiacaochang was fixed together with a pair of shoes by a hemp band on the coffin lid. See Chen Zhenyu 1993, 467; Hubei sheng Jingzhoushi Zhouliangyuqiao yizhi bowuguan 2001, 206.

[1097] For examples see the discoveries of staffs in tombs no. 247 at Zhangjiashan, no. 26 at Xiaojiacaochang and nos. 3 and 18 at Moyuizi (Wuwei, Gansu). See Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 1985, 2, Plate 5; Hubei sheng Jingzhoushi Zhouliangyuqiao yizhi bowuguan 2001, 206; Chen Xianru 陈贤儒, “Gansu Wuwei Mozuizi Han mu fajue” 甘肃武威磨咀子汉墓发掘, *Kaogu*, no. 9 (1960): 19.

coffins was itself a symbol of status and a part of the cultural resources that could be displayed. The two coffins were nested and the outer coffin was sealed at the latest before the procession to the tomb, as indicated by the wedges that were used to fix the relative positions of the coffins – this mechanism was merely necessary if the coffins were already nested before the procession.

Apparently, after the walking staff and maybe also a pair of shoes were taken out of the outer coffin, which was subsequently sealed, the related list entries were not updated again. The information on these strips, with the notes and checkmarks, became a palimpsest that was irrelevant not only for the long-term administration of material resources, but also for the further short-term organisation of material resources in the reproduction of the forthcoming fields. This is exactly the reason that the list was finally disposed in the tomb.

The notes "in the coffins" in the related list are no isolated case. A unity of content in one of the lists from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui refer to a few goods deposited in the nesting coffins (see Subsections 4.1.1 and 4.2.2). The list from tomb no. 247 at Zhangjiashan also includes a note indicating that one of the list items was "in the coffin" (see Subsections 4.1.1). Such unities or notes indicate that occasionally, the sharing of material resources by the two clusters of fields may have caused certain administrational expenditure as well as transformations of the funerary lists themselves.

To sum up, the funerary list from the Fenghuangshan tombs was no tomb inventory list or its parts. Instead, it was targetedly created for the reproduction of three fields in the second cluster, i.e., the exhibtion and inspection of *mingqi*, the exhibition of tomb goods and the none-blood offering. Its scribe was likely of administration background. The creation of most of the entries and the summaries probably set in very early, perhaps even before the coffining in the related funerary cycle. The remaining entries and checkmarks were added later, as the first field was succeeded by the second one or as the third field was reproduced more than once. The checkmarks could have been added by two persons who re-collected the related material resources. And the notes were added, after the field of the exhibtion of potential tomb goods was exceptionally intersected by the dressing of the corpse, or as the spatial context of this field was extended to the outer coffin.

Independently from the creation of the list, the "letter to the Underworld" was created by some ritual specialist who was engaged in the field of the communication with the Underworld

authorities. Its creation set in much later than the funerary list. At some point in time, it was joined with the list by another person, which transformed the list to an appendix of the "letter". This bestowed on the list, which was created solely for administrative purpose, a new significance for the afterlife. This field is not mentioned in the funerary cycle described in *Yili*. But it formed a link of chain in the funerary cycle of the related tomb occupant and expanded the scope of the second cluster of fields of action.

4.2.4 Summary

The contents of early Chinese funerary lists overlap partly with the goods in the tombs, which yielded the lists. But the analysis in this section indicates that with regards to these overlaps, the organisational patterns of the list items deviate significantly from those of the tomb goods. Hence, the described resources were transformed before they obtained their final organisational pattern in the field of entombment. Such transformations may manifest in two ways: first, while the resources themselves remained unchanged, they were recombined with one another. Second, parts of the combined resources were abandoned and replaced by completely new ones. These two types of transformation sometimes took place simultaneously.

The case studies in this section involve tomb occupants whose social status ranged from the lowest ranked to the most privileged members of the aristocracy. Hence, the deviation of the organisational patterns was likely universal. Therefore, despite the overlaps, none of the lists were tomb inventory lists. Instead, the lists demonstrate primarily the organisational pattern of resources in the reproduction of various fields in the second cluster. More precisely, the lists may have been targetedly created for the reproduction of the following fields of action: the exhibition and inspection of the mortised wooden chamber, the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, the pre-entombment sacrificial offering, the none-blood offering, the exhibition of potential tomb goods, the procession, the vehicle exhibition, maybe also the draught animal presentation and occasionally the gift-giving.

It is important to note that, while the lists from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan describe among others real vehicles and those from tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui may refer to real vehicles, animals and persons, those lists from the Fenghuangshan tombs clearly record surrogates of them. Accordingly, in the funerals that shaped the Fenghuangshan tombs, the fields of vehicle

exhibition and draught animal presentation merged with one another, while they simultaneously collapsed into two further fields, i.e., the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi* and the exhibition of potential tomb goods.

The lists themselves were subject to transformations, if their creation and usage accompanied the transformations of the resources described in them. Some of the list parts, primarily the list entries (perhaps also some summeries), may have been created very early, maybe even before the coffining. While the remaining list parts, including checkmarks, notes and some other summaries, were probably added afterwards at individual points in time. Such transformations took place typically when one of the above-mentioned fields was reproduced more than once; or when these fields intersected one another or, relatively rarely, also other fields, e.g., the dressing of the corpse and the entombment.

More often than not, the discrepancy between the list entries and summaries in certain unities of content indicate that the unities were not necessarily always updated. It is possible that after many times of editing, the list became a palimpsest bearing the traces of too many fields of actions, so that further updates as well as the possibility to reuse it were rejected.

Furthermore, very few lists can be regarded as gift lists per se. More often, the references to donated goods came into being in the intesection of the field of gift-giving and certain other fields, e.g., the exhibition of potential tomb goods. And the references to the entombment are products of a similar mechanism. Even if they represented plans of the entombment, these plans were for the most part discarded.

This sheds new light on the nature of those lists that reach us: obviously, they have been used solely for the short-term administration of the resources in certain fields of action. Their disposal in tombs was probably no fixed agenda, which perhaps underlay the diversity of the deposition locations of the lists in the tombs dating from before the mid-Western Han dynasty.

Finally, the joins of several funerary lists with the so-called “letters to the Underworld” are evidence of a further transformation of these lists themselves. Those “letters” were created mostly independently from the lists by some ritual specialists who were engaged in the field of the communication with the Underworld authorities. At some point in time, they were joined with the lists, which transformed the lists into appendices of the “letters”. This bestowed on the lists, which were created solely for administrative purpose, a new significance for the

afterlife. This field is not mentioned in the funerary cycle described in *Yili*. But it formed a link of chain in the funerary cycle of the related tomb occupant and expanded the scope of the second cluster of fields of action.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I presented a completely new approach to the whole corpus of funerary lists from early Chinese shaft tombs (dating from between the late 5th century BCE and the 1st century CE). Such tombs share the following architectural structure: the shaft accommodated one or more wooden tomb chambers (*guo*) containing one or more wooden coffins (*guan*); the tomb chamber as well as the coffin(s) provided spaces for tomb goods. The occupants of the tombs yielding the lists used to be members of various social strata, ranging from commoners to the most privileged elites. The contents of the lists overlap with the goods in the related tombs to varying extents.

Hitherto, the most widespread assumption concerning the nature of those lists was that they are mostly tomb inventory lists, while part of them are gift lists. Some scholars also adopt the terms *qiance* 遣策 (dispatch lists) or *fengfang* 賵方 (lists of donated horses or vehicles), which are coined from transmitted texts, to denote the lists dating from before the mid-Western Han period. I suggest the more neutral term *sangzang shiwu qingdan* 喪葬事務清單, i.e. "funerary lists". To be more specific, funerary lists may include lists of things, lists of animals (both can be translated as *sangzangwu qingdan* 喪葬物清單) as well as lists of human resources (*sangzang renshi qingdan* 喪葬人事清單). Funerary lists dating from after the mid-Western Han period maybe called *yiwushu* 衣物疏 or *bu* 簿, since the two terms appear literally as part of the titles of several lists.

Through an interdisciplinary approach, I provide an alternative interpretation of the nature of those lists and reconstruct the general process of their creation and usage in the early Chinese funerary cycle. I investigated the funerary lists by means of the archaeological device of "fields of action", which was conceived by John C. Barrett. Furthermore, using transmitted texts based on long-term funerary practices in early China, I established a hypothetical model of the early Chinese funerary cycle, in which the fields of action are embedded. The funerary cycle consists of ten stages. Each of these stages, being a field of action itself, incorporates and intersects various fields of action, which mutually incorporate or intersect each other. The reproduction of each field draws upon cultural resources (social strata, sumptuary regulations, financial abilities, personal or regional preferences etc.) to which the bereaved had access; and the reproduction of the field takes place within a certain temporal-spatial context, involving further

cultural resources (material, animal and human resources) and transforming the cultural resources for the fields that come thereafter.

Interestingly, the early Chinese funerary lists demonstrate a systematic absence of references to certain goods deposited in self-contained spaces, with an apparent, radical shift around the mid-Western Han period (roughly around 100 BCE): the lists dating from before this period were by and large deposited in spaces between the (innermost) coffins and the tomb chambers. Their contents overlap partly with the tomb goods in these spaces, while they seldom refer to any goods in the (innermost) coffins. And the lists dating from after this period, except for those consisting of labels, were deposited in the (innermost) coffins. Their contents overlap partly with the tomb goods in the (innermost) coffins, while they seldom refer to any goods outside the (innermost) coffins.

This shift is evidence that in early Chinese funerals, the goods within the (innermost) coffins used to be administrated by and large separately from those that were disposed outside the (innermost) coffins. In the light of the early Chinese funerary cycle combined with the device of "field of action", the wooden chamber-and-coffin structure yielded the final scenes of the reproduction of two clusters of fields of action, which were by and large reproduced in separate spatial and temporal frames.

The first cluster of fields included at least the exhibition of clothing, quilts and accessories; the dressing of the corpse (including the first dressing, the lesser dressing and the fuller dressing); the coffining; and perhaps also the gift-giving of garments and quilts. These fields collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which were finally applied for the coffining of the deceased. And the second cluster of fields comprised at least the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, the exhibition of potential tomb goods and the entombment. In certain cases it may also have included the exhibition of the name banner and the *cong*-wood, the vehicle exhibition, the draught horse presentation, the gift-giving and the pre-entombment offering (including sacrificial offering and none-blood offering) etc. These fields collected, shaped and reshaped resources, part of which eventually formed the resources in the entombment.

The first cluster of fields was reproduced primarily in private spatiality within a few days after death occurred, while the second cluster of fields was reproduced in public spaces in several months thereafter. On the one hand, in comparison with the two clusters of fields that

shape the funeral of the Ordinary Officer, the two clusters of fields reproduced in real funerals were not necessarily confined to those fields described in transmitted literature. Instead, they were expandable. On the other hand, when a field of action was reproduced by the bereaved who had accesses to different cultural resources, it could have intersected the field of the entombment or not.

The systematic absence of references in the funerary lists to the goods deposited in self-contained spaces is evidence that these lists were no inventory lists of the entirety of tomb goods. And the way how the contents of the lists overlap with the tomb goods indicates that those lists dating from before and after the mid-Western Han period were by and large created in the second and the first cluster of fields, respectively. It is also evidence that the final boundary of these two clusters of fields in a funerary cycle was the lid of the (innermost) coffin, i.e., part of the resources in the first cluster of fields finally flowed into the (innermost) coffin, while part of the resources in the second cluster of fields were finally deposited between the (innermost) coffin and the tomb chamber.

With regard to the lists dating from before the mid-Western Han period, despite the partial overlaps between their contents and the goods in the related tombs, the organisational patterns of the list items deviate significantly from those of the related tomb goods, as indicated by my case studies. Hence, the resources described in the lists were transformed before they obtained their final organisational pattern in the field of entombment. Such traces of transformation, in combination with further, universal discrepancies between the contents of the lists and the related tomb goods in terms of their types and numbers, may falsify the widespread assumption that funerary lists are tomb inventory lists or *qiance*.

Judging by the goods described in the lists dating from before the mid-Western Han period and the discernible part of their organisational patterns, most of the lists were probably targetedly created for the most administration-intensive fields of action of the second cluster, including at least the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, which was reproduced multiple times in the fourth funeray stage and was then incorporated in the exhibition of potential tomb goods; and the exhibition of potential tomb goods in the sixth stage. Depending on the cultural resources to which the bereaved had access, further fields, such as the gift-giving, the vehicle exhibition, the draught horse presentation and the pre-entobment offering, may have produced funerary lists as well. The partial overlaps between the list items and the tomb goods are testimony that these fields shared material resources with the field of entombment.

The general discrepancies of the organisational patterns between the tomb goods and the related list items are due to the following two factors: first, the tomb provided a totally different spatial context than the spaces in which the above-mentioned pre-entombment fields were reproduced (e.g., the hall of the mansion, the courtyard of the ancestral temple or the procession routes). Second, while one of the main purposes of the pre-entombment fields was public display, this purpose probably became a secondary issue at the entombment. Concrete cases indicate that the disposal of the goods in tombs followed, among others, the principle of spatial economics.

To my knowledge, no attention has hitherto been paid to the phenomena that fields of action may merge with one another or collapse into other fields. These phenomena can be observed among the above-mentioned fields. For instance, several funerary lists from certain high aristocrats' tombs dating from the Waring States period, such as the tombs no. 1 at Leigudun and no. 2 at Baoshan, include parts that describe wheeled vehicles and sometimes also persons, draught animals and material resources related with the vehicles. They document how these resources were organised into basic patterns, which could probably be adopted and adapted, as the fields of vehicle exhibition, draught horse presentation and exhibition of potential tomb goods were reproduced. Some lists also indicate that part of these material resource perhaps entered the field of entombment. As a comparison, those lists from certain lower ranked aristocrats dating from between the early imperial period to the mid-Western Han period, such as the Fenghuangshan tombs, seldom refer to real vehicles, draught animals or persons. Instead, if they include such list items, they mostly refer to surrogates of them. Such surrogates may have been categorised as *mingqi*. The application of these surrogates indicates that the fields of vehicle exhibition and draught horse presentation merged with one another, while they simultaneously collapsed into the following two fields: the exhibition and inspection of *mingqi* and the exhibition of potential tomb goods.

Those fields of the second cluster, which brought forth funerary lists that came to us, were generally reproduced after the coffining. These lists themselves were sometimes subject to transformations, which are testimony of the transformations of certain resources. Sometimes, the garnering of the related goods, e.g., vehicles, occupied a long period in time. The long duration of this process, which partly intersected the temporal frame of the creation of the lists, was prone to uncertainties. This seems to have taken a toll on the uniformity of the writing

supports; the consistency of the scribal hands, layout and the structure; as well as the textual integrity of the lists.

And sometimes, the garnering of the related goods and their administration in written form may have set in early. Some of the list parts, including the majority of the list entries and perhaps also some summeries, may have been created before the coffining. The related goods (such as the name banner, clothing and accessories) may even have been shared by the first cluster of fields of action. The funerary lists ensured that these goods were re-collected while the targeted fields of action were reproduced. The remaining list parts, including certain entries, checkmarks, notes and some other summaries, were probably added afterwards at individual points in time, as the described resources underwent transformations.

The resource transformations took place typically when one of the above-mentioned fields was reproduced more than once; or when these fields intersected one another. Generally, two types of transformation of resources can be observed: first, while the resources themselves remained unchanged, they were recombined with one another. Second, parts of the combined resources were abandoned and replaced by completely new ones. These two types of transformation sometimes took place simultaneously. Some of the transformations took place before the entombment, while others occurred at the entombment, as indicated by the intertextuality of some lists, the organisational patterns of the list items and those of the tomb goods.

Some checkmarks or notes may have come into being while the related goods were re-collected for the targeted fields of action. Some other checkmarks or notes indicate that material resources in these lists entered certain exceptional fields, such as the coffining or the exhibition and inspection of the mortised wooden tomb chamber. And some summaries are evidence of the dissolution of the organisational pattern of certain resources in the former fields and their new organisational pattern in the succeeding field.

Conclusive indications suggest that scribes sometimes stopped editing the lists, even if the transformation of resources continued. It is possible that after several times of editing, such lists became palimpsests showing the traces of multiple fields. At some point in time, further updates as well as the possibility to reuse them were rejected. In addition, those lists dating from before the mid-Western Han period were deposited in diverse locations outside the (innermost) coffins. Given the fact that discoveries of such lists are extremely rare, this might

lead to the conjecture that their disposal was no fixed agenda in the funerary cycles. These lists were probably sorted out and buried because they were excluded from the long-term administration of material resources.

Furthermore, the joins of several funerary lists with the so-called "letters to the Underworld" are evidence of a further transformation of these lists themselves. These "letters" were created mostly independently from the lists by some ritual specialists who were engaged in the field of the communication with the Underworld authorities. At some point in time, they were joined with the lists, which transformed the lists into appendices of the "letters". This bestowed on the lists, which were created solely for administrative purpose, a new significance for the afterlife.

In addition, funerary lists dating from before the mid-Western Han period also include a few gift lists describing donated horses or vehicles, such as part of those lists from the Leigudun and the Baoshan tombs. Hence, the earlier assumption that some of the lists used to be *fengfang* is partly in line with the result of my analysis. But since the term *fengfang* is bound to the tablet format of writing supports, which does not always apply for the archaeologically discovered gift lists, the term *fengshu* 賵書 suggested by Chen Wei seems more accurate for denoting such lists.

But in cases when further types of gifts became the subject of a gift list, e.g., the list on a label from the Western Han tomb of a female aristocat at Wangchengpo, the term *fengshu* would be an improper denotation. I suggest the term *zengwushu* 贈物疏 instead. Furthermore, it is important to point out that at least the Leigudun gift lists were apparently non-final versions; while the Wangchengpo gift list is obviously no first-hand record, but a copy on a label instead. Therefore, these gift lists were not significant in the long-term administration of material resources and the maintenance of the reciprocal duties.

Much exceptionally, the Leigudun lists include sketches of the preparation of animals, persons and material resources for post-entombment offerings (*ji*-offerings 祭), which are part of the funerary cycle but go beyond the above-mentioned two clusters of fields.

Hence, these funerary lists likely served exclusively for the short-term administration of certain resources in the second cluster of fields. Sometimes they were updated when the related fields of action were reproduced multiple times, intersected or succeeded one another. But

eventually, such lists or list parts became obsolete after the fulfilment of the related short-term administration. Before the mid-Western Han period, merely such lists or list parts instead of inventories of tomb goods between the (innermost) coffins and the tomb chambers were disposed in tombs, because the latter were determined for the field of archiving.

The radical shift of the contents of the funerary lists and their deposition locations was likely triggered by a top-down reform launched by Emperor Wen in 157 BCE. This reform shortened the pre-entombment period to several days after death occurred and prohibited public exhibitions in the funerary cycles. This top-down reform changed the funerary customs within several decades. In the mid-Western Han dynasty, the practice of burying the deceased within several days probably reached a vast circle of the population. Subsequently, the first cluster of fields of action underwent some expansion and further division due to its absorption of certain fields from the former second cluster. As a result, the two clusters of fields of action de facto merged partly with one another, in other words, the second cluster of fields partly collapsed into the first one.

Accordingly, more material transformations may have taken place in the first cluster of fields then. This phenomenon may have resulted in the creation of funerary lists that dealt with short-term organisation of resources in this cluster of fields. Some of such lists eventually entered the field of coffining. Some of them describe the organisational patterns of the goods in certain fields of the first cluster, such as the fuller dressing, as indicated by one of my case studies. Other lists also describe further goods, which derived from further fields of the first cluster or even from the fields of the former second cluster.

The first cluster of fields of action before the mid-Western Han period and the second cluster of fields thereafter perhaps did not require much short-term organisation that was necessarily carried out in written form, because they were confined in relatively short periods and mostly in private spatiality with a relatively manageable amount of resources. Funerary lists that may have created in these frames anyway probably had the characteristics of inventory lists. They were products of the long-term administration of resources, i.e., they were likely archived instead of buried.

Both before and after the transition of funerary customs, there was occasional absence of reference in the funerary lists to certain types of tomb goods. Such absence of reference is related to items that were probably administered separately from the others or items that were

applied in certain self-contained funerary rites in certain funerary stages. Theoretically, it is possible that the administration of these items did not result in any written form. But more likely, these items were rendered in separate lists as well, which were not disposed in the tombs. With regard to the nature of the buried funerary lists, the motive of preventing these parts of funerary lists from entering into tombs may have been the intention to keep them in the field of archiving, perhaps because these parts were conform with the documentation for long-term administration of material resources.

Furthermore, there is a type of goods that systematically escaped record, i.e., roughly created, flat wooden figurines. In contrast to tomb figurines with more plastic dimensionality, they were obviously not produced by skilled artisans. Instead, there are indications that they were probably produced and used in certain exorcist rites, i.e., they belonged to the field of exorcism. They were beyond the power of the material administration of the bereaved families, which must have been the reason why they were never included in the funerary lists. This field, like the above-mentioned field of the communication with the Underworld authorities, is not mentioned in the funerary cycle described in *Yili*. Both fields formed a link of chain in the funerary cycle of the related tomb occupant, respectively, and expanded the scope of the second cluster of fields of action.

The present research does not include a comparison of the organisational patterns of the items in the lists dating from after the mid-Western Han period with the related tomb goods. This is mainly due to the fact that the most essential part of the contents of those lists, i.e. the clothing, cannot be compared with the goods in the coffins, because in general, textiles are poorly preserved. Future archaeological discoveries might provide beneficial conditions to compare such organisational patterns. Using the analytical device of "field of action", a comparison can be fruitful to pinpoint the pre-coffining fields, in which the lists were created and used. Even for the lists produced after the 1st century CE, this analytical device is fertile; but it must be applied in conjunction with updated hypothetical models of the funerary cycle, which take the transitions in funerary customs into account.

It is worth noting that the "field of action" concept can be effectively combined with the classic ethnological concept *rites de passage*. The transformations in the field of action involve three parties, i.e. the resources, the deceased and the bereaved. My case studies showcase that the "field of action" concept is capable of dealing with the transformations of resources, including material, animal as well as human resources, in terms of their organisational patterns.

Accordingly, this concept is a reasonable complement of the concept *rites de passage*, when archaeological discoveries meet funerary studies, because the latter stresses the transformations of the roles of the deceased and the bereaved. These transformations are the motivation of the resource transformations.

Finally, it is important to reiterate that none of the lists studied in the present work describes the final organisational pattern of the tomb goods; most of them do not even describe the final organisational pattern of the material resources in the individual pre-entombment fields of action. Therefore, my discoveries do not only contribute to the understanding of the funerary practices involving these lists, but also provide the basis for a fundamental and necessary reorientation in the philological and archaeological research of these lists. On the one hand, particular prudence is required in the conventional practice of the identification of tomb goods with list items. On the other hand, not only are the lists rare sources for archaeological terminology, for which they have been frequently used in the past, but they also provide unique insights into the short-term administration of resources in various fields of actions. Such administration was directed towards ensuring a smooth transition of the material conditions through various fields of action. The transformation of the material conditions was in turn motivated by the desire for the smooth transformation of the status of the deceased and the bereaved through various *rites de passage*.

Appendix I Tables

Table 1 An Overview of the Chinese Funerary Lists (Last Update 30.12.2024)

No. of tomb site / collection	Tomb / Site	Time of excavation	Tomb type	Deposition location of the funerary list(s)	Material of the funerary list(s)	Format of the funerary list(s) (cm)	Date of the tomb	Sources[1098]
1	Angang 安崗 (Laohekou 老河口) M1	1992	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins[1099]	Western compartment of the tomb chamber, between the coffin compartment and the two nesting coffins	Bamboo strips	Ca. 68.9 / ca. 0.6 / ?	Mid-Warring States period	SYC 2006
2	Angang (Laohekou) M2	1992	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	Head (northern) compartment of the tomb chamber	Bamboo strips	Ca. 71 / ca. 0.6 / ?	Mid-Warring States period	SYC 2006

[1098] The source "SYC 2006" refers to Shan Yuchen 2006, 481–513; "SYC 2016" refers to Shan Yuchen 2016, 345–365 (including further sources); and "DL" refers to Dou Lei 2016 (including further sources). Data from further resources will be further specified. This table does not include the following sites: 1) Daqingdun 大青墩 in Shan Yuchen 2006 and 2016. Various sources indicate that there is no evidence that the discovered manuscripts were funerary lists. See Ye Lei 叶雷, "Chaozuo, kaijue xinwenyuan de tujing: Cong maiduan Nanbo Siyang Daqingdun Han mu baodaoquan fengbo tan kaiqu" 炒作, 开掘新闻源的途经: 从买断南博泗阳大青墩汉墓报道权风波谈开去, *Chuanmei*, no. 4 (2003): 16; Ye Ting 叶霆, "'Maiduan' Nanbo Han mu fajue baodaoquan de qianqian houhou" '买断'南博汉墓发掘报道权的前前后后, *Xinwen shijian*, no. 2 (2003): 26. 2) Yandaishan M1 in Shan Yuchen 2006 and 2016. 26 wooden tablets were discovered in an accompanying pit to the north of the tomb chamber containing the coffin chamber. The writings on the tablets were illegible. But the site report surmises that that the tablets are *qiance* due to their size and material. But the size of the tablets (44 / 8 / 0,2 cm) is atypical for funerary lists or any other text types; whereas the material wood is no material specially reserved for the production of funerary lists. Furthermore, the deposition location is atypical for funerary lists as well. Since the accompanying pit yielded varies parts of horse-drawn vehicles, these wooden tablets can have been parts of the vehicle box. See Wang Genfu 王根富 and Zhang Min 张敏, "Jiangsu Yizheng Yandaishan Han mu" 江苏仪征烟袋山汉墓, *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (1987): 492.

[1099] If not specified otherwise, the coffins were made of wood.

3	Bantan 板灘 tomb (Anonym)	04/2011	Earth chamber	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Han or Jin	DL
4	Baoshan 包山 M2	1987	Shaft tomb with two nesting wooden chambers containing three nesting coffins	At the bottom layers of the eastern, southern and western compartments of the outer wooden chamber	Bamboo strips	64.8–72.6 / 0.6–1 / 0.1–0.15	316 BCE	SYC 2006
5	Bijiatan 畢家灘 M1 (Zhu Shaozhong 朱少仲)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	23.5–23.8 / 7.2–6.9 / 0.7	380 CE	SYC 2016
6	Bijiatan M3 (Huan Miaoqin 桓妙親)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	24 / 4.5 / 0.2	Sixteen Kingdoms (304–439)	SYC 2016
7	Bijiatan M20 (Huang Ping 黃平)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	24.6 / 4.7–3.5 / 0.6	403 CE	SYC 2016
8	Bijiatan M26 (Sun Gounü 孫狗女)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	24.6 / 4.7–3.5 / 0.6	370 CE	SYC 2016
9	Bijiatan M30 (Lü Huangnü 呂皇女)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	25 / 8.3 / 0.8	403 CE	SYC 2016
10	Bijiatan M37 (Zhao Yi 趙宜)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	26.3 / 3.8–4.3 / 0.8	378 CE	SYC 2016
11	Bijiatan M38 (Anonym)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	23.5 / 5.3 / 0.1–0.7	385 CE	SYC 2016
12	Bijiatan M40 (Anonym)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	26.7 / 3.3 / 0.7	375 CE	SYC 2016
13	Bijiatan M51 (Anonym)	06/2002	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	27 / 5.1 / 0.6	Sixteen Kingdoms (304–439)	SYC 2016
14	Binhuxilu 濱湖西路 M1	03–04/1993	Brick vault tomb	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Eastern Wu (222–280 CE)	SYC 2006
15	Binhuxilu M2		Brick vault tomb	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Eastern Wu (222–280 CE)	SYC 2006

16	Caojiagang 曹家岡 M5	12/1992–04/1993	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing three nesting coffins	In a *si*-basket in the side compartment of the tomb chamber	Bamboo strips	Ca. 13 / ca. 0.7	TAQ 278 BCE	SYC 2006
17	Changtaiguan 長台關 M1	03/1957	Shaft tomb (disturbed before excavation) with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	Left rear (northwestern) compartment of the tomb chamber	28 bamboo strips	68.5–68.9 / 0.5–0.9 / ?	Mid-Warring States period	SYC 2006
18	Changtaiguan M7	10/2002	Shaft tomb with three nesting wooden chambers containing two nesting coffins	Left side (northern?) compartment of the outer wooden chamber	Bamboo strips	/	Mid-Warring States period	SYC 2006
19	Chanshancun 纏山村 (Hongyazhiqu 紅崖支渠) tomb (Zuo Chang 左長 and his wife)	04/1991	Earth chamber	/	1 wooden tablet	23.3 / 3.7 / ?	Zuo died 236 CE	SYC 2016
20	Dafentou 大墳頭 M1	12/1973	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the head (western) compartment of the tomb chamber	1 wooden tablet	24.6 / 6.1 / 0.3	Early Western Han period	SYC 2006
21	Dingjiazui 丁家咀 M1	05–06/2009	Shaft tomb (looted) with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	/	Bamboo strips	/	Mid or late Warring States period	SYC 2016
22	Dingjiazui M2	05–06/2009	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the coffin compartment of the tomb chamber	Bamboo strips	All fragmented / ca. 0.8 / ?	Mid or late Warring States period	SYC 2016
23	Dundunshan 墩墩山 M1 (Tomb of	03/2011	Shaft tomb with two nesting	In the outer wooden chamber	Ca. 110 wooden labels (each bearing one or	/	59 BCE	SYC 2016

	Marquis of Haihun 海昏侯)		wooden chambers containing two nesting coffins		more items; some labels are numbered)			
24	Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 M8	09–11/1973	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	At the bottom of the head compartment of the tomb chamber	175 bamboo strips	22.4–23.8 / 0.55–0.8 / 0.1	Early Western Han period	SYC 2006
25	Fenghuangshan M9	09–11/1973	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	At the bottom of the head compartment of the tomb chamber	80 bamboo strips	23 / 0.7 / 0.25	TPQ 164 BCE	SYC 2006
26	Fenghuangshan M10	09–11/1973	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In a *si*-basket in the side compartment of the tomb chamber	1 wooden tablet (no. 6)	(Formats of all six tablets) 23–23.5 / 4.6–5.8 / 0.3–0.4	153 BCE	SYC 2006
27	Fenghuangshan M167	10–11/1975	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the fill, ca. 25 cm above the lid of the wooden chamber	66 wooden strips	Ca. 23.5 / 1.0 / ?	Early Western Han period	SYC 2006
28	Fenghuangshan M168	03–06/1975	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	At the bottom of the side (northern) compartment of the tomb chamber	66 bamboo strips (accompanied by a "letter to the Underworld")	24.2–24.7 / 0.7–0.9 / 0.1	167 BCE	SYC 2006
29	Fenghuangshan M169	1974–1975?	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber (number of coffins unknown)	/	58 bamboo strips	25–25.6 / 0.6–1.1 / ?	Early Western Han period	SYC 2006
30	Gaogaoding 高高頂 tomb	5/1980	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	23.1 / 6.6 / ?	Late Western Han period	SYC 2006
31	Gaotai 高臺 M6	04–09/1992	?	?	Wooden tablet(s)	?	First half of early Western Han period	SYC 2006

32	Gaotai M18 (also called M20)	04–09/1992	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the wooden chamber, to the south of the coffin	1 wooden tablet (accompanied by a "letter to the Underworld")	(M18:35): 23.1 / 5.5–5.7 / 0.4	173 BCE	SYC 2006; Zhang Xuqiu 1992
33	Guankou 關口 M1	09/2023	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the head (eastern?) compartment	4 (?) wooden tablets	?	193 BCE	Huang Wei et al. 2024
34	Guihuayuan 桂花園 tomb	05–08/1954	Brick vault tomb (looted)	/	1 stone tablet	23.5 / 12.3 / ?	361 CE	DL
35	Guojianao Qianguo 郭家塢前郭 M1	09/1987	Shaft tomb with earth chamber	?	1 wooden tablet	24.3 / 9.6 / 1.1	Eastern Wu (222–280 CE)	Wang Xue 2022
36	Haiqu 海曲 M129	03/2002–06/2002	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber (looted)	Between the tomb chamber and the coffin	2 wooden tablets	?	Mid to late Western Han–early Eastern Han period	SYC 2016; Liu Shaogang and Zheng Tongxiu 2013
37	Haiqu M130	03/2002–06/2002	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber (looted)	?	2 wooden tablets	?	Mid to late Western Han–early Eastern Han period	SYC 2016
38	Hantanpo 旱灘坡 M19 (Ji Yu 姬瑜 and his wife)	1985	Earth chamber tomb	In the coffins	2 wooden tablets	27 / 11.5 / 0.6; 27 / 7 / ?	338–369 CE	DL
39	Huangshan 黃山 M576	06/2002–10/2004	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the bottom layer of the tomb goods in the side (southwestern) compartment of the tomb chamber	24 bamboo strips	ca. 22.5 / 0.7 / ?	209 BCE–first half of early Western Han period	Chen Cheng 2023
40	Huangshiya 黃石崖 (Taowan 陶灣) M1 (Xiguo Bao 西郭寶)	04/1985	Shaft tomb with two neighbouring wooden chambers, one of which containing a coffin	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	21.5 / 6.5 / 0.8	Mid or late Western Han period	SYC 2006

41	Huayin 化音 M1	11/2016	Shaft tomb with an arched ceiling porch and two brick chambers connected by a corridor; brick chambers containing three coffins, i.e. those of a child, a female and a male adult	In the coffin of the female adult	1 wooden tablet	24 / 7.5 / 0.3	Eastern Han period (?)	Wang Weidong et al. 2023
42	Hujiacaochang 胡家草場 M12	07–08/2018	Shaft tomb (looted) with a wooden chamber consisting a coffin	In a *si*-basket in the head (northern) compartment of the tomb chamber	Ca. 120 bamboo strips	ca. 23 / ? / ?	TPQ 163 BCE	Jingzhou Xinwen wang 2019; Li Zhifang and Jiang Lujing 2020a; Li Zhifang and Jiang Lujing 2020b
43	Jiaoshan (Wangtuanzhuang) tomb (Dai Sheng 戴盛)	1976	?	/	1 wooden tablet	?	Han period	Li Hongfu 1982
44	Jiaoshan (Wangtuanzhuang) tomb (Huo He 霍贺 and his wife)	03/1973	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two neighbouring coffins	In the coffin of the husband	1 wooden tablet	22 / 6.5 / ?	Late Western Han period	SYC 2006
45	Jiaoshan (Wangtuanzhuang) tomb (Shiqi Yao 侍其繇 and his wife)	12/1973	Shaft tomb with two neighbouring wooden chambers, each containing a coffin	In the coffins of the couple	2 wooden tablets	Both 23 / 7.5 / 0.5	Mid or late Western Han period	SYC 2006
46	Jiaoshan 焦山 (Wangtuanzhuang 網疃莊) tomb (Anonym)	07/1962	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing	In the coffins of the couple	2 wooden tablets	23 / 6.7 /?; ? / ? / ?	Late Western Han–early Eastern Han period	SYC 2006

			two neighbouring coffins					
47	Jigongshan 雞公山 M48	1990–1992	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber	In the fill above the lid of the wooden chamber	Bamboo strips	/	Warring States period	SYC 2006; Zhang Xuqiu 1992
48	Jinjiliang 金雞梁 M5	02–04/2009	Brick vault tomb	/	1 wooden tablet	/	362 CE	SYC 2016
49	Jinqueshan 金雀山 M11	10–11/1978	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber	/	8 fragments of wooden boards	/	Mid or late Western Han	SYC 2006
50	Jinqueshan M13	10–11/1978	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber	/	?	/	Mid or late Western Han	SYC 2006
51	Jiuli 九里 80 linjiu 臨九 M1	1980	Shaft tomb (looted) with wooden chamber(s)	/	Ca. 100 bamboo strips	/	Mid-Warring States period	SYC 2006
52	Leigudun 擂鼓墩 M1	05–06/1978	Shaft tomb with four adjoining wooden chambers (waterlogged) containing two nesting coffins and 22 single coffins	Northern chamber of the tomb	240 bamboo strips (215 inscribed)	ca. 75 / ca. 1 / ?	433 BCE	SYC 2006
53	Luobowan 羅泊灣 M1	06/1976	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber (looted) containing two nesting coffins and two single coffins; seven single coffins below the wooden tomb chamber;	In certain compartments of the wooden chamber as well as in the accompanying pits	At least 3 wooden tablets and at least 10 wooden strips	(M1:161): 38 / 3.7 / 0.7; (M1:162): 25.2 / 4.8 / 0.15; (M1:163): 9 /4.9 / 0.2; (M1:364–482): ? / 1–1.5 / 0.3	Early Western Han period	SYC 2006

			one accompanying pit					
54	Luotuocheng 駱駝城 M5 (Hu Yunyu 胡運于)	06–07/2001	Earth chamber	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	36 / 4 / 0.8	369 CE	SYC 2006
55	Luotuocheng tomb (Anonymus)	1998	/	/	1 wooden tablet	/	379 CE	DL
56	Luotuocheng tomb (Qi Lizhi 祁立智)	2000	/	/	1 wooden tablet	/	337 CE	DL
57	Luotuocheng tomb (Xiahou Shengrong 夏侯勝榮)	1998	/	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Former Liang (320–376 CE)	DL
58	Luotuocheng tomb (Yingsi 盈思)	2000	/	/	1 wooden tablet	/	363 CE	DL
59	Luotuocheng tomb (Zhao Aci 趙阿茲 and her husband, Zhao Shuang 趙雙)	06/2000	Earth chamber (looted)	/	2 wooden tablets	26 / 7.5 / 0.6; 18.5 / 9.5 / 0.8	317 CE	SYC 2016
60	Luotuocheng tomb (Zhou Nan 周南)	2000	/	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Former Liang (320–376 CE)	DL
61	Luotuocheng tomb (Zhou Nüjing 周女敬)	2000	/	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Former Liang (320–376 CE)	DL
62	Maojiayuan 毛家園 M1	11/1985–03/1986	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber	?	Bamboo strips (accompanied by a “letter to the Underworld”)	?	168 BCE	SYC 2006
63	Maqiao 麻橋 M2	1978	Brick vault tomb	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Eastern Wu (222–280 CE)	SYC 2006

64	Maqiao M3	1978	Brick vault tomb	In the coffin	1 wooden tablet	/	Eastern Wu (222–280 CE)	SYC 2006
65	Mawangdui 馬王堆 M1	01–04/1972	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing four nesting coffins	In the eastern compartment of the tomb chamber, underneath two ding cauldrons in the first layer of the tomb goods	312 bamboo strips	Ca. 27.6 / 0.7 / 0.1	Shortly after 168 BCE	SYC 2006
66	Mawangdui M3	11–12/1973	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing three nesting coffins	One wooden tablet discovered in the western compartments of the tomb chamber (deposition location unknown); the remaining tablets and strips in the eastern compartment, in the second layer of the tomb goods	7 wooden boards and 400 bamboo strips	23–28 / 2.2–6 / ?; 27.5 / 1.0 / ?	168 BCE	SYC 2006
67	Mogao B228	11/1989	Grotto chamber (looted)	/	Paper	42.3 / 28.3	619 CE	Fan Jinshi and Peng Jinzhang 2004
68	Muyi 牡宜 tomb	09/2007	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber (looted)	?	At least 5 fragments of wooden tablet	/	Western Han period	SYC 2016; Yang Fan and Zeng Yueming 2008, Chen Zhenxiang and Huang Wangchong 2011

69	Nanchang Huochezhan 南昌火車站 M3 (Zhang Yu 張 and her husband, Lei Gai 雷陔)	09/1997	Brick vault tomb	In the coffin of the husband	1 wooden tablet	31.7 / 17.8 / 1	352 CE	SYC 2016
70	Qinjiazui 秦家咀 M99	05/1986–06/1978	Shaft tomb with wooden chamber(s) and coffin(s)	Partly in the side compartment, partly in the coffin compartment	< 16 bamboo strips	/	340 BCE	SYC 2006
71	Sanyangdun 三羊墩 M1	11/1963	Shaft tomb (looted) with two nesting wooden chambers and two adjoining, single wooden chambers; the nesting chambers containg three neighbouring coffins	In one of the three coffins	1 wooden tablet	22.8 / 3.5 / 0.5	Late Western Han–early Eastern Han period	SYC 2006
72	Shuanglongcun 雙龍村 M1	07/2002	Shaft tomb with two neighbouring wooden chambers, one of which containing three coffins (one male and two females) and the other containing one coffin (another female)	In the coffins of the male and one of the three females	2 wooden tablets	23 / 7 / ?; ? / ? / ?	Late Western Han period	SYC 2016
73	Songbai 松柏 M1	2004	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the western section of the wooden chamber	1 wooden tablet	/	TPQ 133 BCE	SYC 2016

74	Tengdian 藤店 M1	03/1973	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	Side (southern) compartment of the tomb chamber	24 bamboo strips	All fragmented	TPQ 334 BCE	SYC 2006
75	Tianxingguan 天星觀 M1	01–03/1978	Shaft tomb (looted) with a wooden chamber containing three nesting coffins	Western compartment of the tomb chamber	Ca. 240 bamboo strips	64–71 / 0.5–0.8 / ?	TPQ 339 BCE	SYC 2006
76	Toubazhai 頭壩寨 tomb (Yao Sheng 藥生)	10/1991	Unknown (looted)	/	1 wooden tablet	32 / 4.3 / 0.6	368 CE	SYC 2016/DL
77	Toubazhai tomb (Wudu Hun 烏獨渾)	10/1991	Unknown (looted)	/	1 wooden tablet	41 / 4.1 / 0.6	369 CE	SYC 2016/DL
78	Turfan 吐魯番 (56 tombs)[1100]	20th century–to date	/	In the coffins or at the corpses (as far as site reports are available	67 lists on paper, one list on silk	/	375–673 CE	Hou Can and Wu Meiling 2003; Rong Xinjiang et al. 2007; Rong Xinjiang et al. 2008
79	Tushantun 土山屯 M6	04–05/2011	Shaft tomb with an outer brick chamber and an inner wooden	In one of the inner coffins	1 wooden tablet	23 / 7 / 0.7	Late Western Han–early Eastern Han period	Zheng Luhong and Weng Jianhong 2017

[1100] The funerary lists from Turfan derive from a number of cemeteries including Astana 阿斯塔納, Halahezhuo 哈拉和卓, Yanghai 洋海 etc. For introductions to those cemeteries see The preface in Guojia wenwuju gu wenxian yanjiushi 国家文物局古文献研究室 et al., *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991): 1–6; Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 et al., ed., *Xin huo Tulufan chutu wenxian (shang)* 新獲吐魯番出土文獻（上） (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008): 3–11. Hou Can and Wu Meiling itemise 62 lists from at leat 50 tombs, see Hou Can and Wu Meiling 2003, vol. 2, 697–721. Rong Xinjiang et al. introduce another six lists from five tombs, see Rong Xinjiang et al. 2008, 104 ff.; Rong Xinjiang 荣新江 et al., "Xin huo Tulufan chutu wenxian gaishuo" 新获吐鲁番出土文献概说, *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2007): 41–49. And He Yifan mentions a list from another tomb, see He Yifan 何亦凡, "'Jian zhi guodu' shidai de yiwushu: Cong xin kanbu de Tulufan chutu zuizao de yiwushu tanqi" "简纸过渡"时代的衣物疏: 从新刊布的吐鲁番出土最早的衣物疏谈起, *Xiyu yanjiu*, no. 3 (2023): 32–43.

			chamber containing a pair of two nesting coffins					
80	Tushantun M8	04–05/2011	Shaft tomb with an outer brick chamber and an inner wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	In the inner coffin	1 wooden tablet	25.4 / 1.3 / 0.2	Late Western Han–early Eastern Han period	
81	Tushantun M147	Somethime between 03–11/2017	Shaft tomb with an outer brick chamber and an inner wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	In a si-box at the southeastern corner inside the inner coffin	1 wooden tablet	23 / 7 / 0.5	TPQ 1 BCE	Peng Yu et al. 2017; Zhongguo wenwu xinxi wang 2018; Peng Yu et al. 2019
82	Tushantun M148	Somethime between 05/2016 and 11/2017	Shaft tomb with an outer brick chamber and an inner wooden chamber containing a coffin	At the southwestern corner inside the coffin	1 wooden tablet (fragment)	6 / 2.5 / 0.1	Late Western Han period	Peng Yu et al. 2017; Zhongguo wenwu xinxi wang 2018; Peng Yu et al. 2019
83	Tushantun M157	Somethime between 05/2016–11/2017	Shaft tomb with an outer brick chamber and an inner wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Late Western Han period	Peng Yu et al. 2017; Zhongguo wenwu xinxi wang 2018
84	Tushantun M177	Somethime between 05/2016–11/2017	Shaft tomb with an outer brick chamber and an inner wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Late Western Han period	Peng Yu et al. 2017;

85	Tushantun M?–M?	Somethime between 05/2016–11/2017	/	/	5 wooden tablets[1101]	/	Late Western Han period	Peng Yu et al. 2017
86	Wangchengpo 望城坡 tomb (Princess of Yuyang's 漁陽 tomb)	02–07/1993	Shaft tomb with two nesting wooden chambers (?) containing two nesting coffins (looted)	In the eastern, southern and central compartments of the outer chamber	Wooden labels bearing lists	/	Around 157 BCE	SYC 2006; Song Shaohua and Li Eyi 2010
87	Wangshan 望山 M2	10/1965–01/1966	Shaft tomb (looted) with a wooden chamber containing three nesting coffins	Side (southern) compartment of the tomb chamber	66 bamboo strips	63.7–64.1 / 0.6–0.7 / 0.1–0.16	350–278 BCE	SYC 2006
88	Wangshanqiao 望山橋 M1	09/2013–01/2015	Shaft tomb (looted) with two nesting wooden chambers containing two nesting coffins	Southern compartment of the outer wooden chamber	Bamboo strips	All fragmented	TAQ 340 BCE	Jia Hanqing et al. 2017
89	Wulipai 五里牌 M406	1951	Shaft tomb (looted) with two nesting wooden chambers containing two nesting coffins	/	38 bamboo strips	(All fragmented) 2–13.2 / 0.7 / ?	Mid-Warring States period	SYC 2006

[1101] During the excavation at Tushantun in 2016 and 2017, nine wooden tablets bearing funerary lists came to light. Each of the tombs 147, 148, 157 and 177 produced one of these wooden tablets. See Peng Yu 彭峪 et al., "Qingdao Tushantun muqun kaogu fajue huo zhongyao xin faxian" 青岛土山屯墓群考古发掘获重要新发现. *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中国文物报, Dec. 22, 2017; Peng Yu et al. "Shandong Qingdao Tushantun muqun fajue shouhuo" 山东青岛土山屯墓群发掘收获, in *2017 Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2017 中国重要考古发现, edited by Guojia wenwuju 国家文物局 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2018): 107–12; *Qingdao Tushantun kaogu jishi* 青岛土山屯考古纪实, directed by Geng Zhe 耿哲, Tansuo faxian 探索发现, Beijing: CCTV-10, Jan. 22- Jan. 24, 2019.

90	Wuwangdun 武王墩 M1	2019–	Shaft tomb with nine wooden chambers (looted)	In one of the two western chambers	?	?	238 BCE?	Zhu Qinglei et al. 2024
91	Wuwei nanjiao 武威南郊 tomb (Zhang Dezong 張德宗)	10/1974	Brick vault tomb	/	1 wooden tablet	/	Wei and Jin dynasty (220–420 CE)	SYC 2016; Wu Haojun 2012
92	Wuzuofen 五座墳 M3	12/1973	Shaft tomb with a two-tiered wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the north-eastern section of the upper tier of the chamber, to the east of the coffin	30 fragments of bamboo strips	/	141–87 BCE	SYC 2006
93	Xiaojiacaochang 蕭家草場 M26	11/1992	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber (waterlogged)	Among the second layer of the tomb goods in the head (eastern) compartment of the tomb chamber	Bamboo strips	23.7–24.2 / 0.6–0.9 / 0.1–0.11	Early Western Han period	SYC 2006
94	Xiejiaqiao 謝家橋 M1	11/2007	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	Eastern compartment of the wooden chamber	208 bamboo strips (accompanied by a "letter to the Underworld")	23–23.6 / 0.45–0.75 / 0.2–0.35	184 BCE	SYC 2016
95	Xupu 胥浦 M101	1984	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two separate coffins	In the coffin of the wife	1 wooden tablet	23.6 / 3 / ?	TPQ 5 CE	SYC 2006
96	Yancang 嚴倉 M1	01/2010	Shaft tomb (looted) with a wooden chamber containing three nesting coffins	Southern compartment of the tomb chamber	Bamboo strips	All fragmented	307–299 BCE	SYC 2016

97	Yandaishan 煙袋山 M1	10–12/1985	Shaft tomb with two separate wooden chambers, one of which containing two coffins of a couple	In the wooden chamber separated from the coffin chamber	(Part of?) 26 wooden tablets	(One specimen): 44 / 8 / 0.2	Mid-Western Han period	SYC 2006
98	Yangjiashan 揚家山 M135	12/1990	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	At the bottom of the side (southern) compartment of the tomb chamber	75 bamboo strips	ca. 22.9 / 0.6 / 0.1	278–206 BCE	SYC 2006
99	Yangminglu 陽明路 tomb (Gao Rong 高荣 and his two wives)	1979	Brick vault tomb	In the coffins of the husband and one of the wives	2 wooden tablets	Both 24.5 / 9.5 / 1	232–238 CE	SYC 2006
100	Yangtianhu 仰天湖 M25	07/1953	Shaft tomb (looted) with two nesting wooden chambers containing two nesting coffins	Northern compartment of the outer wooden chamber	43 bamboo strips	20.2–21.6 / 0.9–1.1 / ?	Late Warring States period	SYC 2006
101	Yejiadang 葉家宕 M3	08/2008	Shaft tomb with a stone chamber containing a coffin	In the coffin	Paper	34.2 / 18	Early Ming dynasty	Gao Zhenwei and Zhou Lining 2009
102	Yintai 印臺 (one or more among M59–63, M83, M97, M112 and M115)	01/2002–01/2004	Shaft tombs with a wooden chamber containing a coffin each	In the head compartments (except for M122, which yielded 44 bamboo strips of unpublished content in its coffin)	Bamboo strips or wooden tablets	?	Early western Han period	SYC 2006; Zheng Zhonghua 2009; Li Tianhong 2023
103	Yintai M160	05/2021–07/2021	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	Among the tomb goods in the head (eastern) compartment of	Bamboo strips	?	Early western Han period	Jingzhou bowuguan 2023

				the tomb chamber				
104	Yinwan 尹灣 M2	03/1993	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber	/	1 wooden tablet	18 / 7 / 0.6	Xin–early Eastern Han period	SYC 2006
105	Yinwan M6	03/1993	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber	In the coffin of the husband	2 wooden tablets	23 / 7 / 0.3; 23 / 7 / 0.6	TPQ 10 BCE	SYC 2006
106	Yongwaizhengjie 永外正街 M1	03/1974	Brick vault tomb	In the coffin of the husband	1 wooden tablet	26.2 / 15.1 / 1.2	Jin dynasty (265–420 CE)	DL
107	Zaozhichang 造紙廠 M70	2021	?	?	3 bamboo strips	?	Warring States period	Zhao Xiaobing 2022
108	Zhangjiashan 張家山 M247	12/1983–01/1984	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	In the head (western) compartment of the tomb chamber	41 bamboo strips	ca. 23 / ? / ?	Early Western Han period	SYC 2006; Peng Hao 2022
109	Zhangjiashan M336 (also called M136)	1985 or 1988	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	Among the tomb goods in the lower layer of the side (southeastern) compartment	50 bamboo strips	24–25 / 0.7-1 / 0.15	TPQ 173 BCE	SYC 2006; Yuan Wenqing 1992; Peng Hao 2023
110	Zhengjiahu 鄭家湖 M277	05/2020–2021	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing a coffin	?	1 wooden tablet	?	180–172 BCE	Luo Yunbing 2022
111	Zhongbi 中筆 M1	05/2008	Shaft tomb with a wooden chamber containing two nesting coffins	/	Wooden (tablet)?	/	Early Western Han period	SYC 2016
112	Zhulianggongshe 株良公社	03/1964	Tomb chamber made of cement (sanhetu 三合土), brick and stone; wooden coffin	/	Paper	68 / 27 / ?	1593 CE	Xue Yao 1965

113	Ancient Pottery Culture Museum 古陶文明博物館 (from tomb of Xiahou Miaomiao 夏侯妙妙)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1 wooden tablet	11.6 / 29 / 1.2	317 CE	DL; Shirasu Jōshin 2013
114	Centre of Bamboo and Silk Manuscript Studies 武漢大學簡帛研究中心	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1 wooden tablet	16.5 / 6.6 / 0.3	Han dynasty	DL; Li Jing 2015
115	Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	11 bamboo Strips	/	Han dynasty	SYC 2006; Chen Songchang 2001, 52–53
116	Gest Library, Princeton University (from a Turfan tomb)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Paper	?	ca. 418–437	Wang Pu 2009
117	Handian Gallery in Beijing 北京翰典藝術館? (allegedly from certain site(s) at Huzhou 湖州)[1102]	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	2 wooden tablets		125 CE (date on one tablet)	Cao Jinyan et al. (ed.) 2022, 352–55.
118	MacLean Collection, U.S. (originally from a site in Wuwei 武威)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1 wooden tablet	37.2 / 6.5–6.9 / 0.6–1.1	355 CE	Zhang Lidong 2017
119	National Museum of China 中國國家博物館 (from tomb of Wang Jiangfei 王江妃)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1 wooden tablet	/	580 CE	SYC 2016; Duan Fang 1977: 8103; “Beiqi Wang Jiangfei muquan”

[1102] Chen Meilan mistakes these two lists as part of the discoveries among the so-called Wucheng Han jian. See footnote 259.

Table 2 The Cycle of the Funeral of an Ordinary Officer (*Shi*)[1103]

Funerary stages / Fields of action	Time	Incorporated fields of action or their parts (including rites or taboos)	Details	Place[1104]	Locale [1105]
1. Undertakings during the last illness	Shortly before death	Abstinence (*zhai* 齋) carried out by the dying person and his caretakers	The removal of musical instruments from the back chamber (taboo of music) may be part of the abstinence	Back chamber (*shishi* 適室) of the mansion	Mansion
		Cleaning of the space	/	Inside and outside the chamber	
		Bodily care for the dying person	Replacing the soiled clothes with new ones	Back chamber	
			Four servants hold the limbs of the deceased (*chi ti* 持體)		
			[One of the servants?] holds silk floss (against the sick man's mouth and the nostrils) to mark the last breath (*zhu kuang, yi si jueqi* 屬纊，以俟絕氣)		
		Taboos	() A man does not die in the arms of a woman, nor a woman in the arms of a man.	/	
		Prayers to the Five Household deities	/	Mansion	
2. First undertakings	The day of the death	Wailing	/	Back chamber	
		Rite of resuscitation (*fu* 復)	/	On the roof of the mansion	

[1103] If not specified otherwise, the sources of this table are three chapters from the ritual classic *Yili*, i.e., "Shi sangli" 士喪禮 (The Funeral of an Ordinary Officer, Section I), "Ji xi li" 既夕禮 (The Funeral of an Ordinary Officer, Section II) and "Shi yuli" 士虞禮 (The Sacrifices of Repose for an Ordinary Officer). See *Yili zhushu*, 759–966. For a translation of these chapters see Steele 1917, vol. 2, 45–126.

[1104] In the present work, "place" refers to the "immediate vicinity in which an… observer could view the layout by looking around". The definition is adapted from Rieser, John J, "The Generation and Early Development of Spatial Inferences," in *Spatial orientation: Theory, research, and application*, edited by Herbert Pick and Linda P. Acredolo (New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1983): 40.

[1105] In the present work, "locale" refers to "collections of visually bounded, adjacent places, like the rooms in a building or buildings in a city or town neighborhood". For the definition see Rieser 1983, 40.

at the place of death		Holding the mouth of the deceased open[1106]	Putting a spoon made of horn (*jiaosi* 角枱) between the teeth	Back chamber	
		Laying out the first pre-entombment offerings (*dian* 奠)[1107]	Non-blood offerings		
		Sending death notice (*fu* 赴) to the lord (*jun* 君)	/	/	
		The lord sends a message of condolence (*diao* 弔)	/	Outside the *qin*-gate (*qinmen* 寢門) – hall of the mansion	
		The lord, near relatives, male distant relatives, and friends make gifts of garments and quilts (*sui* 襚)[1108]	/	Outside the *qin*-gate – hall – back chamber	
		Preparing a name banner (*ming* 銘)[1109]	Making a name banner attached to a bamboo staff and placing it on the western steps	? – western steps	
		The first dressing of the corpse (*xi* 襲)	The farm-hands (*dianren* 甸人) dig a pit (*kan* 坎)	Between the western steps	
			Laying out materials for the first dressing of the corpse	Side chamber (*fang* 房)	
			Laying out articles for the washing, cleaning, and mouth filling	At the foot of the west inner wall in the back chamber	
			Washing the corpse, trimming the nails and the hair	Back chamber	

[1106] This field of action is addressed in Section 2.2. Together with the rites of the first dressing, the lesser dressing and the fuller dressing of the corpse (see below), it is part of a lager field of action, i.e., the dressing of the corpse, which intersects various fields in the second and the third funerary stages.

[1107] This field of action is part of a larger field of action, the pre-entombment offering, which is part of an even larger field of action, i.e., the funerary offering. The field of funerary offering intersects various fields between the second and tenth funerary stages.

[1108] This field of action, together with the gift-giving of various other types (see below), is part of a lager field of action, i.e., the gift-giving, which intersects various fields in the second, third, sixth and seventh funerary stages. This field is addressed in Chapter 2–Chapter 4.

[1109] This is part of the field of action concerning the name banner, which is addressed in Section 2.2 and Chapter 4. This field intersects various fields between the second and eighth funerary stages.

			Binding the hair with a silk braid (*zu* 組) and fixing it with a hairpin (*ji* 笄)		
			Putting on the underwear (*ming yishang* 明衣裳)		
			Filling the mouth with grains (*mi* 米) and cowries (*bei* 貝), applying the headdress (*yan* 掩), ear-plugs (*tian* 瑱), and eye-covering (*mingmu* 幎目)		
			Putting on shoes, tying the curled tips (*qu* 絇) of the two shoes together; putting on three suits, kneecaps (*ge* 韐), girdle (*dai* 帶), memorandum-tablet (*hu* 笏); tying both wrists (*wan* 腕) with one another; applying the fist-filling (*wo* 握); applying corpse bag (*mao* 冒); shrouding with a quilt (*qin* 衾)		
			Burying the trimmed nails and hair of the deceased in the digged pit	Between the western steps	
		Arranging a *chong*-wood (*chong mu* 重木)[1110]	Hewing a *chong*-wood into shape and chiselling slots into it. A field worker (*tianren* 甸人) errects it in the courtyard	On the North-South axis of the courtyard, a third of the courtyard's length to the South	
			The Xia liturgist cooks rice in two *li*-vessels (*li* 鬲) and hangs the vessels on the *chong*-wood	Under the western wall - the location of the *chong*-wood	
			The Xia liturgist dresses the *chong*-wood in the way that it faces North	The location of the *chong*-wood	
			The Xia liturgist fetches the name banner and puts it on the *chong*-wood		
		Lighting a torch in the night	/	In the center of the courtyard	
	The second day	Putting the torch out at dawn	/		

[1110] This is part of the field of action concerning the *chong*-wood. This field intersects various fields between the second and eighth funerary stages, as addressed in Section 2.2.

3. Public presentation of the corpse		The lesser dressing of the corpse (*xiao lian* 小斂)[1111]	Exhibition of the clothing, quilts and accessories for the lesser dressing (*chen yi* 陳衣)	Side chamber	
			Using part of the exhibited articles for the lesser dressing	Side chamber – back chamber – between the two pillars (ying 楹) of the hall	
		The exhibition of part of the mourning attire[1112]	Exhibition of the belts of the male mourning clothes	In the East of the hall	
			Exhibition of the belts of the female mourning clothes	In the eastern side chamber	
		Pre-entombment offerings on the occasion of the lesser dressing	Preparation of non-blood offerings	In the East of the hall, to the east of the corpse	
			Sacrifice and preparation of a Single Boar (*te tun* 特豚)	Outside the *qin*-gate (*qinmen* 寢門)	
			Presenting the offerings including the boar	Outside the *qin*-gate – to the East of the corpse	
		Gifts of clothes (*sui* 襚)	/	In the center of the courtyard – via the western steps – back chamber	
		Lighting a torch in the night	/	In the center of the courtyard	
	The third day	Putting the torch out at dawn	/		
		The fuller dressing of the deceased (*da lian* 大斂)[1113]	Exhibition of the clothing, quilts (including those made gifts) and accessories for the fuller dressing	In a side chamber	
			Using part of the exhibited articles for the fuller dressing	Between the two pillars of the hall - on a mat in the East of the hall	

[1111] As pointed out by Hankel, *Yili* merely uses the term *lian* 斂. The term *xiaolian* 小斂 is used in *Liji*. See Hankel 1994, 94.

[1112] This is the official beginning of the mourning period, a field that intersects various fields between the third and the tenth funerary stages.

[1113] As pointed out by Hankel, *Yili* merely uses the term *lian* 斂. The term *dalian* 大斂 is used in *Liji*. See Hankel 1995, 94.

4. Provisional burial	The third day	Provisional burial of the coffined corpse (*bin* 殯)[1114]	Digging a pit (*si* 肆) for the provisional burial in the western steps of the hall and interring the coffin into the pit	The western steps of the hall	
			The coffining of the deceased (*lian yu guan* 斂於棺 and *gai* 蓋)		
			Placing the name banner on the coffin		
		Pre-entombment offerings on the occasion of the provisional burial	Cleaning up the offerings from the previous day	In the east of the hall, to the east of the corpse	
			Arranging non-blood offerings	In the east of the hall; to the south of the western corner of the hall (*xi dian nan* 西坫南)	
			Sacrifice and preparation of a Single Boar	Outside the [*qin*]-gate (*men wai* 門外)	
			Presenting all the offerings including the boar	From the presentation location to the [back] chamber (*shi* 室)	
		Seclusion of the mourners into mourning shanks	/	Next to the mansion	
	The fourth day	Putting on full mourning attire	/	/	
		Response to the condolences	/	/	
	From the fourth day on	Wailing at dawn and dusk	/	In the mansion	
		Pre-entombment offerings at dawn and dusk	Non-blood offerings	In the back chamber	
	Days of new moon	Pre-entombment offerings on the new moon	The same as the sacrificial offerings and the non-blood offerings on the occasion of the fuller dressing	The same as the offerings on the third day	
	Days of full moon	Pre-entombment offerings on the full moon	The same as the non-blood offerings at dawn and dusk	In the back chamber	
	At harvest	Pre-entombment offerings at harvest	The same as the offerings on the new moon	The same as the offerings on the new moon	
	?	Choosing a site for building the tomb through divination by stalk (*shi ze* 筮擇)	/	At the potential tomb site(s)	Potential tomb site(s)

[1114] As has been argued in section 3.2, the provisional burial of the coffined corpse of a Vassal Lord took place in the stage of the sojourn of the coffined corpse in the ancestral temple.

	?	Exhibition and inspection of the mortised wooden tomb chamber (*jing guo* 井槨)	/	Outside the gates of the mansion (bin men wai 殯門外 ?)	Mansion
		Exhibition and inspection of the materials (*cai* 材) [of *mingqi*] [1115]		Outside the gates of the mansion	
		Exhibition and inspection of the semi-finished products (*su* 素) [of *mingqi*]			
		Exhibition and inspection of the finished products (*cheng* 成) [of *mingqi*]			
	?	Choosing a date for the entombment through divination by turtle's shell (*bu ze* 卜擇)	/	In the western gate-room (*xi shu shang* 西塾上)	
5. Transport of the corpse to the ancestral temple	Two days before the entombment (in the third month after death occurred)	Confirmation of the day for the opening of the provisional burial (*qiqi* 啟期)[1116]	/	/	
	One day before the entombment	Preparation of pre-entombment offerings (sacrificial and non-blood) in the ancestral temple	The same procedure as the preparation of the pre-entombment offerings on the occasion of the fuller dressing	In the ancestral temple	Mansion – Ancestral temple
		Opening the provisional burial, lifting the coffin from it[1117]	/	The western steps of the hall of the mansion	

[1115] In his commentary of *Yili*, Zheng Xuan interpretes the term *cai* 材 as well as the terms *su* 素 and *cheng* 成 below as three production stages of *mingqi*. Jia Gongyan, citing a passage in *Liji*, agrees with Zheng. The related passage in *Yili* reads: "獻材於殯門外，西面北上，綪。主人遍視之，如哭槨。獻素、獻成亦如之", i.e., "[the artisans] present the materials [of *mingqi*] outside the door at the provisional burial. [They are exhibited] facing west and graded from the north, the next row being in the reverse order of the first and so on. The [grieving] host inspects them all as he did the wooden tomb chamber, wailing thereafter. [The *mingqi*] are presented for inspection again when they are in process of making, and once more when they are finished, the formalities observed being the same in all cases". See *Yili zhushu*, 829. The translation is adapted from Steele 1917, vol. 2, 74. This exhibition is the first reproduction of the field of exhibition and inspection of *mingqi*, which is reproduced for another two times (see below). The material resources of this field is then incorporated and perhaps reshaped in the field of exhibition of potential tomb goods in the sixth funerary stage. Finally, these materials are incorporated and perhaps reshaped in the fields of procession, exhibition of dispatched goods and entombment between the seventh and eighth funerary stages.

[1116] This is part of the field of provisional burial.

[1117] This is the closure of the field of provisional burial.

		Recovering the original setting of the *chong*-wood (Hanging the name banner on it)	/	In the yard at the western steps of the hall of the mansion	
		Procession from the mansion to the ancestral temple[1118]	The order of the progress: the *chong*-wood, the pre-entombment offerings (the last pre-entombment offerings at dawn and dusk?), one torch, the coffin on a hearse (*zhou* 軸), the other torch, and the Master of the Ceremonies	Road between the mansion and the ancestral temple	
6. Sojourn of the coffined corpse in the ancestral temple	One day before the entombment	Spatial arrangement of a ritualistic environment in ancestral temple[1119]	Unloading the hearse and placing the coffin in the ancestral temple[1120]	Via the western steps – between the two pillars (*ying* 楹) of the hall	Ancestral temple
			Placing the *chong*-wood	On the North-South axis of the courtyard of the temple, a third of the courtyard's length to the South, facing North	
			Placing the pre-entombment offerings (non-blood offerings)	In the East of the temple hall	
		Exhibition of the vehicles (*jian che* 薦車) with their shafts pointing to the North	/	Vehicles aligned towards the eastern verge (of the courtyard of the temple) (*zhi dong rong* 直東榮)	
		Pre-entombment offering on the occasion of the move to the ancestral temple (*qian zu zhi dian* 遷祖之奠 according to Kong Yingda) [1121]	The same sacrificial offerings and non-blood offerings as those on the occasion of the fuller dressing	Via the western steps – in the west of the temple hall, to the west of the corpse	

[1118] This is the first reproduction of the field of funerary procession. This field will reproduced again in the seventh funerary stage.

[1119] This does not form a field of action in its own right. It is part of the individual fields (e.g., the field concerning the *chong*-wood, the field of offering etc.) for which the ritualistic environment is arranged.

[1120] This is the beginning of the field of coffin exhibition in the sixth funerary stage. This field also includes the exhibition of the coffin on the hearse and the decoration of the coffin later.

[1121] The term *qian zu zhi dian* 遷祖之奠 is used by Kong Yingda in his commentary to *Liji*. In *Yili* itself, the term *zu* 祖 is used instead. See *Liji zhengyi*, 251.

		The first presentation of draught horses (*jian ma* 薦馬) in the ancestral temple[1122]	The groom brings in an ornate horse team. They stand facing north. The driver stands behind them.	In the courtyard of the temple	
			The groom and the driver wail and stamp alternately, and then, turning by the right, go out.		
		Reloading the hearse with the coffin (*zai* 載) and strapping the coffin on the hearse (*shu* 束)	/	In the courtyard of the temple	
		Decorating the coffin (*shi jiu* 飾柩)	/	In the courtyard of the temple	
		Exhibition of potential tomb goods	Exhibition of *mingqi* 明器	To the West of the exhibited vehicles in the courtyard	
			Exhibition of the boards for covering the tomb chamber (*zhe* 折), the boards forming the covering frame (*kangmu* 抗木), three mats for keeping out the dust, cushions of spices (*yin* 茵) enclosed in coarse cloth dyed black and hemmed		
			Exhibition of two parcels made of reeds for wrapping the sacrificial offerings in		
			Exhibition of seed-baskets filled with glutinous millet, panciled millet, and wheat; three jars filled with vinegar, pickled hash, and ground ginger and cinnamon; two jars of must and wine		
			Exhibition of the implements that the deceased used in his lifetime		
			Taboo: no sacrificial implement is provided		
			Exhibition of musical instruments for entertainment		
			Exhibition of instruments of war (armour, helmet, spear and quiver)		

[1122] This is the first reproduction of the field of presenting draught horses (or draught animals). This field will be reproduced for another two times in the present funerary stage.

			Exhibition of things contributed to the ease of the deceased in his lifetime (walking staff, bamboo hat and fan)		
		Pre-entombment offering on the occasion of the forthcoming departure (*zu* 祖)	The same offerings used on the occasion of the move to the ancestral temple (*qian zu zhi dian* 遷祖之奠) are lowered down from the hall	The west of the temple hall – via the western steps – in the courtyard of the temple, towards the loaded hearse	
		Turn the vehicles around (*huan che* 還車)	/	Vehicles aligned towards the eastern verge (of the courtyard of the temple)	
		Putting the name banner on the cushions of the coffin	/	To the West of the presented vehicles in the courtyard	
		Turn the *chong*-wood to its left		On the North-South axis of the courtyard of the temple, a third of the courtyard's length to the South, facing North	
		The second presentation of draught horses	The same as the first presentation	In the courtyard of the temple	
		Non-blood offering		In the East of the temple hall	
		Confirmation of the day of the entombment (*zangqi* 葬期)	/	In the courtyard of the temple	
		Gifts from the social network of the deceased individual	*fu* 賻: monetary gifts in forms of silk bales (*shu* 束) or other silks (*bi* 幣) without receptacle are laid down (*dian* 奠) to the west of the body of the hearse, while those those together with receptacles are laid down along with the *mingqi*	In the courtyard of the temple	
			feng 賵: gifts of horses		
			dian 奠: donation such as rams is laid down along with the offerings		
			zeng 贈 : gifts according to the connoisseurship of the deceased (*wanghao* 玩好)		

		Funerary writing	Writing down the *feng*-gifts (i.e. horses) on tablets (*shu feng yu fang* 書賵於方)		
			Writing down on bamboo strips the goods to be dispatched to the tomb (*shu qian yu ce* 書遣於策)		
		Lighting a torch in the night	/	To the right inside the temple gate	
	The day of the entombment (commonly in the third month after death occurred)	Putting the torch out at dawn	/		
		Farewell offering on the occasion of the "dispatch", i.e. the final departure (*qiandian* 遣奠 in *Houhan shu*)[1123]	Sacrificial offerings of a ram and a boar (i.e. *shaolao* 少牢 or Lesser Set of Beasts)	In the Northwest of the courtyard of the temple	
			Non-blood offerings	In the East of the temple hall	
		The third presentation of draught horses		In the temple courtyard	
		Dissolution of the ritualistic arrangement in the ancestral temple[1124]	Carrying the *chong*-wood out of the temple (to be brought to the tomb?)	Through the temple gate to the road outside, on the left of the road	
			Wrapping a part of the sacrificial offerings with the two parcels made of reeds	In the temple hall	
			Carrying the goods out of the temple in the sequence of the cushions of spices, the parcels of meat, the various goods exhibited and the vehicles	From the temple courtyard to the road	
		The scribe of the deceased read out the records of horse donations (*feng* 賵) aloud[1125]	/	Standing in the temple courtyard, to the East of the hearse, facing the West (i.e. facing the deceased)	

[1123] See Fan Ye, *Houhan shu*, 3145.

[1124] This does not form a field of action in its own right. It is part of the individual fields of action (the field concerning the *chong*-wood, the funerary offering and the exhibition of potential tomb goods) for which the ritualistic arrangement is dissolved. Simultaneously, it shapes the material resources of the funerary procession.

[1125] This is the intersection between the field of gift-giving and the field of funerary writing.

		The scribe of the duke read out the records of the dispatched goods (*qian* 遣) aloud[1126]	/	Standing in the West of the courtyard, facing the East (perhaps facing the deceased)	
		Exiting the ancestral temple	/	Through the temple gate to the road outside	
7. Transport of the corpse from the ancestral temple to the tomb		Procession	/	Ancestral temple – tomb	Ancestral temple – tomb
		The duke's parting gift en route	The duke sends an under-steward with a parting gift of bales of black and crimson silk bales (*xuanxun shu* 玄纁束)	At the gate of the state (*bang men* 邦門)	
8. Acts at the tomb		Exhibition of the dispatched goods on both the eastern and the western sides of the ramp	/	At / In the tomb	Tomb
		Entombment	Interring the cushions of spices		
			Interring the coffin		
			Interring silk bales		
			Interring goods		
			Covering the goods with a pall		
			Interring the two parcels of sacrificial offerings and non-blood offerings		
			Interring the boards for covering the tomb chamber, three mats for keeping out the dust, and the boards forming the covering frame		
		Filling the tomb pit	/		
9. Intermediate sacrifices until the wailing end (*zu ku* 卒哭)	Began at noon after the return to the ancestral temple from the tomb; repeated twice in the	*Ji*-sacrifices of repose (*yuli* 虞禮 or *yuji* 虞祭)	Sacrifice and preparation of a Single Boar	On the right outside the ancestral temple gate - knives and cutting boards in the western inner gate-room (*nei xishu shang* 内西塾上)	Ancestral temple
			Preparation of non-blood offerings	In the back chamber - in the hall of the temple	

[1126] This is the intersection between the field of funerary writing and the field of exhibition of dispatched goods (eighth funerary stage).

	following three days		Hosting the spirits and the personator (*shi* 尸) of the deceased	Outside the temple gate - in the courtyard of the temple	
	After the end of the third sacrifice of repose or at the end of the third day after entombment	*Ji*-sacrifice on the occasion of the wailing end (*jian* 薦)	/	In the ancestral temple	
10. Stage between the wailing end and the end of the mourning period	At dawn of the fourth day after entombment	The mourners take a bath, comb their hair, and trim their nails	/	/	
		Enshrining the spirit tablet in the ancestral temple (*fu* 祔)	/	In the ancestral temple hall	
		Ji-sacrifice on the occasion of the enshrinement	/		
	In the 13th month (or one year) after the enshrinement of the spirit tablet	*Ji*-sacrifice of the Lesser Auspiciousness (*xiao xiang* 小祥 or *lian* 練)	/		
	In the 25th months (or in two years) after the enshrinement of the spirit tablet	*Ji*-sacrifice of the Fuller Auspiciousness (*da xiang* 大祥 or *xiang* 祥)	/		
	In the 27th month (or in three years) after the enshrinement of the spirit tablet	*Ji*-sacrifice on the occasion of the end of the mourning period (*dan* 禫)	/		
	Putting off the mourning attire	/	/	/	/

Table 3 Overlaps of the Vehicle Records on the A-C Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts)

Vehicle No.[1127]	Entries on the A strips			Entries on the B strips			Entries on the C strips		
	List entry No. in Appendix III[1128]	Ishiguro's entry No.[1129]	Vehicle phrase (vehicle name underlined)	List entry No. in Appendix III[1130]	Ishiguro's entry No.[1131]	Vehicle Phrase (vehicle name underlined)	List entry No. in Appendix III[1132]	Ishiguro's entry No.[1133]	Vehicle Phrase (vehicle name underlined)

[1127] In the present thesis, individual vehicles on the A-C strips are given identification numbers. This helps to understand the way how vehicles of individual properties are recorded in the lists, and how often individual vehicles are referred to in the lists.

[1128] I number the entries on the A strips according to their position in the layout. The number of an individual entry reveals its "Strip subgroup / Paragraph no. / Entry no. in the paragraph." For an overview of the strip subgroups, paragraph numbers, entry numbers and strip numbers see Appendix III.1.

[1129] Ishiguro's numeration of the entries on the A strips considers various criteria. Pointing out that all the vehicles recorded on the B strips are prepared by the Zeng court itself, she determines the A-I entries as those recording the Zeng vehicles that are also recorded on the B strips; the A-II entries are those referring to none-road-carriage vehicles contributed by Chu guests; the A-III entries are those recording the remaining Zeng vehicles that are not recorded on the B strips; and the A-IV entries are those recording the road carriages. Apart from the confusion caused by the multiple criteria in the numeration, a problem is that at least two vehicle names are missing in the writings on the B strips. This means that the division between the A-I and the A-III entries is problematic. See Ishiguro 1995, 40; for the position of the missing vehicle names on the B strips see Appendix III.2, Paragraph 2, anonymous chariots 2 and 3.

[1130] I generate the number of each entry on the B strips according to the concept of "Strip group / Paragraph no. / Entry no. in the paragraph". For an overview of the paragraph numbers, entry numbers and strip numbers see Appendix III.2.

[1131] Ishiguro's sequence of the entries on the B strips is the sequence of those vehicles in the manuscript reconstructed by Qiu and Li. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 496–497; Ishiguro 1995, 41, Table 2.

[1132] All the entries on the C strips are single-entry paragraphs. I generate the number of each entry on the C strips according to the concept of "Strip subgroup / Unity of content / Paragraph no. in the paragraph". For an overview of the strip subgroups, unities of content, paragraph numbers and strip numbers see Appendix III.3.

[1133] Ishiguro's numeration of the entries on the C strips is based primarily on her grouping of the unities of content. The C-I (strips 142–147), C-II (strips 149–158), and C-V entries (strips 197–204) concern vehicles that are referred to in the summaries on strips 148, 159, and 204, respectively. These three groups of entries correspond largely to my groups S-148, S-159, and S-204 (Appendix III.3). She assumes that the entries on strips 187–195, which she categorises as the C-IV entries, concern vehicles that are referred to in the summaries on strips 195 and 196; that the entries on strips 160–186, which she categorises as the C-III entries, have parallel structure as the entries in the C-I and C-II entries but concern vehicles that are not summarised; and that the two entries on strips 205 and 206, which she categorises as the C-VI entries, are part of the vehicles referred to in the summaries on strips 207–209. Her

1	A-1/P-1/E-1	A-I 1	Grand vanguard chariot ●driven by Jian, the Director of the Right 右敏建所竄（乘）●大轋	B/P-1/E-1	B 1	Grand vanguard chariot ● 大轋●	C-1/S-148/P-1	**C-I 1**	Grand vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Outside 外新官之駟（四馬）=大旆
2	A-1/P-1/E-2	A-I 2	■Travelling reserve-chariot driven by Li, the Director of the Palace Stable ■宮廄敏叟所駛（馭）竄（乘）陞	B/P-1/E-2	B 2	Travelling reserve-chariot ● 竄（乘）陞●	C-1/S-207–208/P-9	**C-III 10**	Travelling reserve-chariot, a *quadriga* of the [Groom of] black horses with white foreheads 龙（驄）馬駟竄（乘）陞
3	A-1/P-1/E-3	A-I 3	■●Travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left ■●差敏弘所駛（馭）竄=（乘車）	B/P-2/E-10	B 16	●Travelling chariot ●竄=（乘車）	/	/	/
4	A-1/P-1/E-4	A-I 4	■Principal chariot driven by Dong Chen, the Director of Guests in Lin ■羚連戠（敖）東臣所駛（馭）政車	B/P-1/E-3	B 3	Principal ● chariot 政●車	C-?/S-207–208/P-6	**C-III 7**	Principal chariot, a *quadriga* of an Orchardist 長（掌）腸（場）人之駟=（四馬）政車
5	A-1/P-1/E-5	A-I 5	■Grand rearguard chariot driven by Huang ● Maowang ■黃●毛王所駛（馭）大展（殿）	B/P-1/E-4	B 4	Grand ● rearguard chariot 大●展（殿）	C-1/S-159/P-1	**C-II 1**	Grand rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）大展（殿）
6	A-1/P-2/E-1	A-I 6	Left vanguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mai 黃●賈所駛（馭）左轋	B/P-1/E-5	B 5	Huang Mai ● drives the left vanguard chariot 黃賈●駛（馭）左旆	C-1/S-148/P-3	**C-I 3**	Left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer 新官人之駟=（四馬）左轋
7	A-1/P-2/E-2	A-I 7	■Junior broad chariot driven by Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding ■中●罨敏鰼所駛（馭）少輊	B/P-1/E-6	B 6	Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding, drives the junior broad chariot 中●罨敏鰼駛（馭）少輊	C-?/S-207–208/P-8	**C-III 9**	Junior broad chariot, a *quadriga* of a Bull Fattener 朴（職）人之駟=（四馬）少輊
8	A-1/P-2/E-3	A-I 8	■Left rearguard chariot driven by Qiu ● Ding ■裘●定所駛（馭）左展（殿）	B/P-2/E-1	B 7	Qiu Ding ● drives the left rearguard chariot 裘定●駛（馭）左展	C-1/S-159/P-2	**C-II 2**	Left rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）左展（殿）

categorisation of the C-III, C-IV and C-VI entries apparently differ from my categorisation of the entries concerned (Appendix III.3). I have argued for my categorisation in Sun Hui 2018, 53–67. Cf. Ishiguro 1995, 40 ff.

9	A-1/P-2/E-4	A-I 9	■Left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot driven by Ai ● Yi ■哀●裛所駛（馭）左禫輚	B/P-2/E-2	B 8	Ai ● Yi drives the left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot 哀●裛駛（馭）左禫施	C-?/S-148/P-4	**C-I 4**	Left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer 新官人之駟=（四馬）左輚
10	A-1/P-3	A-I 12	Jiu ● Qiang drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot 鄟●鼜駛（馭）左彤展（殿）	B/P-2/E-5	B 11	Jiu Qiang ● drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot 鄟鼜●駛（馭）左彤展（殿）	C-1/S-159/P-3	**C-II 3**	Left rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）左展（殿）
11	A-1/P-4	/	[Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot] [黃𡜐●駛（馭）右展（殿）]?	B/P-3/E-1	B 14	Huang Dan ● drives the Right rearguard chariot 黃𡜐●駛（馭）右展（殿）	C-1/S-159/P-4	**C-II 4**	Right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）右展（殿）
12	A-1/P-5/E-1	A-I 10	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan 黃●痰所駛（馭）𨷷軒	B/P-2/E-3	B 9	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan 黃●痰駛（馭）𨷷軒	C-1/S-207–208/P-10	**C-III 12**	Side-screen reserve-chariot, a *seiugis* of a Vehicle Manufacturer 邊輿人馳=（六馬）𨷷軒
13	A-1/P-5/E-2	A-I 11	■Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Bo ■黃●孛所駛（馭）𨷷軒	B/P-2/E-4	B 10	Huang ● Bo drives the side-screen reserve-chariot 黃●孛駛（馭）𨷷軒	／	／	／
14[1134]	A-1/P-5/E-3	A-II 1	■Ai ● Li drives the reserve chariot of the Chancellor of the Left 哀●立駛（馭）左尹之𨷷=	／	／	／	C-?/S-204/P-4	**C-V 4**	The reserve chariot of…, a biga ▨之𨷷=,麗
15[1135]	A-1/P-6	/	[Anonymous vehicle 1]	?	?	?	?	?	?
16	A-1/P-7	A-II 2	Zhan Maoji ● drives the broad chariot of the Lord of Li 斬紩吉●駛（馭）鄟君一輦輇	／	／	／	C-?/S-204/P-1	**C-V 1**	The broad chariot of the Lord of Li… one donated *biga* 鄟君之輇車……一輦𨷷車，麗

[1134] This reserve chariot may have been the same as the donated reserve chariot on the entry C-?/S-204/P-4 on the C strips. Although this vehicle is ascribed to the Chancellor of the Left, its record is incorporated in a paragraph, which describes two Zeng reserve chariots (nos. 12 and 13). As has been pointed out in Subsection 3.5.1, this means that this vehicle was re-equipped in the same way as the two Zeng vehicles, i.e., it may have been a donation instead of a guest vehicle.

[1135] The vehicle name in the related entry is missing. Judging by the equipment of weapons (see Appendix I: Table 7), the vehicle may have been one of the broad chariots or one of the reserve chariots. Accordingly, the vehicle may have been the same as the vehicle no. 51, 52 or 58 recorded on the C strips (see below).

17	A-1/P-8	A-II 4	[…] Ji ● […] drives the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li □葉●□駛（馭）鄗君之一□	／	／	／	C-?/L/P-4	**C-III 4**	Two horses pull abreast the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li 麗鄗君之□=（□車）
18	A-1/P-9	A-II 7	Huang ● An drives the hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming 黃●豕駛（馭）鄚君之一敏（畋）車	／	／	／	C-2/S-204/P-5	**C-V 5**	The donated hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming, a *biga* 鄚君之□□=（畋車），麗
19	A-1/P-10	A-II 5	Huang Hui ● drives the reserve chariot of Jian, the Prime Minister 黃逾●駛（馭）臤慶事之□=	／	／	／	C-2/S-204/P-3	**C-V 3**	The reserve chariot of the Prime Minister… one… 慶事之□=（□車） ……一□□□□[1136]
20	A-1/P-11	A-II 6	Ai ● Huan drives the light chariot of the Chancellor 哀●還駛（馭）敏尹之一□型（輕）車	／	／	／	C-2/S-204/P-6	**C-V 6**	The donated hunting chariot of the Chancellor, a *biga* 敏尹之□□=（畋車），麗
21	A-2/P-1	A-II 9	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Governor of Yan is Ai Yuan 所駛（馭）●郚尹之敏（畋）車，哀寏	／	／	／	／	／	／
22	A-2/P-2/E-1	A-II 8	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Lord of Pingye is Gong Qi, a New Officer 所駛（馭）●坪夜君之敏（畋）車，新官鞿忝	／	／	／	C-3/L/P-2	**C-III 2**	Gong Qi from Shiyuan uses [two horses] to pull the [Lord of Pingye]'s hunting chariot 石芫贛忝以□其□=（畋車）
23–24	A-2/P-2/E-2	/	Road carriages: two □車二□	／	／	／	C-?/S-195/P-5	**C-IV 5**	Two road carriages donated by the Lord of Pingye 坪夜君之□□車二□
25–27	A-2/P-3	/	Three road carriages of [the Lord of Yangcheng / the Duke of Lü][1137] 三□□車	／	／	／	C-2/S-195/P-7 or C-2/S-195/P-9	**C-IV 7**	Three road carriages of the Lord of Yangcheng □城君之□車三□

[1136] Compared with the entries on strips 197 and 203, the illegible character on strip 199 have been probably "□車，麗", i.e., "a donated *biga*".

[1137] The missing characters were possibly "□城君之" (the Lord of Yangcheng's), "□公之" (the Duke of Lü's), or "□□公之" (the Duke of Lüyang's) according to subtotal after the "■" on strip 119 as well as the entries on strips 193 (C-2/S-195/P-7) and 195 (C-2/S-195/P-9). See Appendix III.1, A-2 strips, paragraph 3.

									/ Three road carriages of the Duke of Lüyang[1138] 遾旕公之迨車三輦
28–30	/	/	[Three road carriages of the Duke of Lü / the Lord of Yangcheng] (Entry / entries missing)[1139]	／	／	／	Entry C-2/S-195/P-9 or C-2/S-195/P-7	**C-IV 9**	Three road carriages of the Duke of Lüyang 遾旕公之迨車三輦 / Three road carriages of the Lord of Yangcheng 旕城君之迨車三輦
31	A-2/P-4/E-1	／	Lord of Yang donated one road carriage 鄀君㚔一輦迨車	／	／	／	C-?/S-195/P-6	**C-IV 6**	One road carriage donated by the Lord of Yang 鄀君之㚔迨車一輦
32–34	／	／	[Three road carriages of …] (Entry / entries missing)[1140]	／	／	／	?	**?**	?
35	A-3/P-1/E-1	A-I 13	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot 黃夏●馭（馭）右輸	B/P-2/E-6	B 12	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot 黃夏●馭（馭）右旆	C-1/S-148/P-5	**C-I 5**	Right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer 新官人之駟=（四馬）右輸
36	A-3/P-1/E-2	A-I 14	■Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot ■黃●柫馭（馭）右彤輸	B/P-2/E-8	B 13	Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot 黃●柫馭（馭）右橦輸	C-1/S-148/P-6	**C-I 6**	Right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer 新官人之駟=（四馬）右輸
37	A-3/P-2	A-I 15	Zhe ● Mao drives the right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot 柘●卯馭（馭）右橦展（殿）	B/P-3/E-2	B 15	Right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot 右橦展（殿）	C-1/S-159/P-5	**C-II 5**	Right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）右展（殿）
38	A-3/P-3/E-1	A-III 6	Royal ● fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot 王●煲軒	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-12	**C-III 14**	Fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot, a *seiugis* of a Vehicle Attendant 輦馬之駃=（六馬）魚軒

[1138] I agree with Qiu and Li that Lüyang gong 遾旕公 (Duke of Lüyang) on strip 195 was the same person as Lügong 遾公 (Duke of Lü) on strip 119. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 521, footnote 177.

[1139] The subtotal after the "■" on strip 119 indicates that one entry on three road carriages is missing. See Appendix III.1, A-2 strips, paragraph 4.

[1140] Judging by the long gap at the fragmented head of strip 118, the phrase "迨車三輦" (three road chariots) on it must have been a subtotal such as the ones on strip 119 (See Appendix III.1, A-2 strips, paragraph 4). The entry or entries on such three road carriages are missing.

39	A-3/P-3/E-2	A-III 7	■● Qi, the Director of the New Office, drives the duke's side-screen chariot of the left ■●新官敏敔駛（馭）公左軒	／	／	／	／	／	／
40	A-3/P-4/E-1	A-III 1	Huang Ke ● drives a wooden-trunk-wheel chariot 黃克●駛（馭）輜車	／	／	／	／	／	／
41	A-3/P-4/E-2	A-III 2	■Huang ● Jian drives an ink-black chariot ■黃●建駛（馭）墨簟（乘）	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-11	**C-III 13**	Ink-black chariot, a *seiugis* of a Manufacturer of New Products 新賠人馱=（六馬）墨簟（乘）
42	A-3/P-5	A-III 5	Huang ● Yi drives a… chariot 黃●艤駛（馭）□車	／	?	?	**?**	**?**	?
43	A-3/P-6	A-III 11	Huang … ● drives the royal tiered-canopy chariot 黃●駛（馭）王僮車	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-15	**C-III 17**	Royal tiered-canopy chariot, a *quadriga* of a Stone Dyke Warden 石沙人之駟=（四馬）王僮車
44	A-3/P-7	A-III 3	The Palace ● Stable's Head drives a comfortable carriage 宮●廄尹駛（馭）安車	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-5	**C-III 5**	Old comfortable carriage, a *biga* of an Orchardist and a Bull Fattener, drawn by horses with one white left hoof each 長（掌）腸（場）人與杙（職）人之馬麗，倚馬舊安車
45	A-3/P-8	A-III 8	Governor of [...], ● Meng, drives a hunting chariot □尹●瘳駛（馭）敏（畋）車	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-13	**C-III 15**	Hunting chariot, a *seiugis* of a Chief Vehicle-Attendant 疋簟（乘）之馱=（六馬）鞶（畋）
46	A-3/P-9	A-III 9	Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan ● ling, drives a hearse 南●陵連戠（敖）惲駛（馭）棺鞶	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-14	**C-III 16**	Hearse, a *seiugis* of the […] □人之馱=（六馬）棺鞶
47	A-3/P-10	A-III 12	Curved-pole-canopy carriage 輈輇車	／	／	／	／	／	／
48	A-3/P-11	A-II 3	The chariot of the Lord ● of Ji 鄭●君之車	／	／	／	C-2/S-204/P-7	**C-V 7**	The curved-side-screen chariot of the Lord of Ji... one donated *biga* 鄭君之囝軒……一簟（乘）𠂤車，麗
49	A-3/P-12	A-III 4	New ● comfortable carriage 新●安車	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-4	**C-III 6**	Comfortable carriage, a *quadriga* of a Hunting Chariot Rider

									軎（乘）𨋍（畋）駟=（四馬）安車
50	A-3/P-13	A-III 10	Hearse ● 棺●轂	／	／	／	／	／	／
?	?	?	?	B/P-2/E-7	/	[Anonymous vehicle 2]	?	/	?
?	?	?	?	B/P-2/E-9	/	[Anonymous vehicle 3]	?	/	?
51 **1141**	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-148/P-2	**C-III 11**	Reserve chariot, a *seiugis* of a New Officer 新官人之馭=（六馬）𨋍=（𨋍車）
52 **1142**	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-1	**C-I 2**	Reserve chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Palace Stable 宮廄之新官駟=（四馬）𨋍=（𨋍車）
53	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-159/P-6	**C-II 6**	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）行轄
54	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-159/P-7	**C-II 7**	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）行轄
55	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-159/P-8	**C-II 8**	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）行轄
56	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-159/P-9	**C-II 9**	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）行轄
57	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-159/P-10	**C-II 10**	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer 大官之駟=（四馬）行轄

[1141] This vehicle may have been the same as the vehicle no. 15.

[1142] This vehicle may have been the same as the vehicle no. 15.

58[1143]	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-7	**C-III 8**	Travelling broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Vehicle Attendant 轚（乘）馬駟=（四馬）轚（乘）輦
59	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-2	**C-VI 1**	A Hunting Chariot Rider's two mules and his cart 轚（乘）𨐈（畋）人兩𠂤與其車
60	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-2(/C3)/L/P-5	**Strips 185+77**	*Chili* cart 時桲車
61	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-207–208/P-3	**C-VI 2**	A Hunting Chariot Rider's two grey horses and his low-built carriage 轚（乘）𨐈（畋）人兩隹輨=（卑車）
62	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-196/P-1	**C-III 18**	Grand road carriage, a *triage* 大𨎫，駾
63							C-1/S-196/P-2	**C-III 19**	Armed road carriage 戎𨎫
64	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-196/P-3	**C-III 20**	Vermillion road carriage 朱𨎫
65	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-196/P-4	**C-III 21**	Vermillion road carriage 朱𨎫
66	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-196/P-5	**C-III 22**	Vermillion road carriage 朱𨎫
67	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-196/P-6	**C-III 23**	Road carriage decorated with deer fur 鞘𨎫
68	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-196/P-7	**C-III 24**	Road carriage decorated with deer fur 鞘𨎫
69	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-?/S-196/P-8	**C-III 25**	… road carriage □𨎫

[1143] This vehicle may have been the same as the vehicle no. 15.

70	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-1/S-196/P-9/E-1	**Strip 196**	… [road carriage] ☒□
71	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-2/S-195/P-1	**C-IV 1**	The King donated one road carriage 王𠂤一輦（乘）𨎫車
72	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-2/S-195/P-2	**C-IV 2**	The King donated one road carriage 王𠂤一輦（乘）𨎫車
73	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-?/S-195/P-3	**C-IV 3**	The King donated one road carriage 王𠂤一輦（乘）𨎫車
74–76	／	／	／	／	／	／	C→A-2/S-195/P-4	**C-IV 4**	The crown prince donated three road carriages 大子𠂤三輦（乘）𨎫車
77–79	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-?/S-195/P-8	**C-IV 8**	Three road carriages of the Lord of Li 鄜君之𨎫車三輦（乘）
80	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-2/S-204/P-2	**C-V 2**	The donated reserve chariot of the Duke of Lüyang, a *biga* 賓旝公之一𠂤𨍏=（𨍏車），麗
	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-?/L/P-3	**C-III 3**	[Two horses] are used to pull the Duke of Luyang's reserve chariot 以輦（乘）魯旝公之𨍏=（𨍏車）
81	／	／	／	／	／	／	C-3/L/P-1	**C- III 1**	Zhuye Yuan uses... [two horses] to pull the hunting chariot of the Governor of Fu 朱夜宴以輦（乘）逭尹之𨏄=（畋車）

Table 4 Records of the Vehicle Parts on the A Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1144]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	輪 Wheels (colour)	軥（轅） Draught pole	齒輔 Axle caps with tooth patterns	骪（錣） Top blades of axle caps	夳（貫）鐬（鍏） Linchpins
1	A-1/P-1/E-1	Grand vanguard chariot ● driven by Jian, the Director of the Right	Complete	Recorded (ochre)	Not recorded	NR	R (painted)	NR
2	A-1/P-1/E-2	■Travelling reserve-chariot driven by Li, the Director of the Palace Stable	Complete	R (ochre)	R (painted)	NR	NR	R
3	A-1/P-1/E-3	■ ● Travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left	Complete	R (ochre)	R (painted)	NR	R (painted)	R
4	A-1/P-1/E-4	■Principal chariot driven by Dong Chen, the Director of Guests in Lin	Incomplete (ca. 9–13 characters missing)[1145]	R (black lacquer)	?	R	?	?
5	A-1/P-1/E-5	■Grand rearguard chariot driven by Huang ● Maowang	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
6	A-1/P-2/E-1	Left vanguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mai	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
7	A-1/P-2/E-2	■Junior broad chariot driven by Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	R	R (painted)	NR
8	A-1/P-2/E-3	■Left rearguard chariot driven by Qiu ● Ding	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
9	A-1/P-2/E-4	■Left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot driven by Ai ● Yi	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
10	A-1/P-3	Jiu ● Qiang drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
11	A-1/P-4	[Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot]?	Incomplete (ca. 7 characters at the beginning missing)	?	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
12	A-1/P-5/E-1	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan	Complete	R (pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR

[1144] If not specified otherwise, the sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.1 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–98.

[1145] Elsewhere, I have calculated the number of the missing characters in individual list entries. See Sun Hui 2020, 94–95. Since the vehicle parts and vehicle accoutrements are generally recorded together, it is not always apparent whether the missing characters referred to vehicle parts or accoutrements. Hence, the numbers given in Appendix I: Table 4 and Table 5 refer to the calculated numbers of characters that could have referred to both vehicle parts or accoutrements. In the further tables, respectively, the missing characters generally do not refer to items concerned in the other tables.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	輪 Wheels (colour)	𨊛（轅） Draught pole	齒輔 Axle caps with tooth patterns	𩰫（鍼） Top blades of axle caps	𣪊（貫）鐪（鍏） Linchpins
13	A-1/P-5/E-2	■Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Bo	Incomplete (ca. 2 characters missing)	R (pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	NR	NR
14	A-1/P-5/E-3	■Ai ● Li drives the reserve chariot of the Chancellor of the Left	Complete	R (black lacquer)	NR	NR	NR	NR
15	A-1/P-6	[Anonymous vehicle 1]	Incomplete (number of missing characters unknown)	?	?	?	R (patterned)	?
16	A-1/P-7	Zhan Maoji ● drives the broad chariot of the Lord of Li	Complete	NR	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR
17	A-1/P-8	[…] Ji ● […] drives the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
18	A-1/P-9	Huang ● An drives the hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
19	A-1/P-10	Huang Hui ● drives the reserve chariot of Jian, the Prime Minister	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
20	A-1/P-11	Ai ● Huan drives the light chariot of the Chancellor	Complete	NR	NR	R	NR	NR
21	A-2/P-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Governor of Yan is Ai Yuan	Incomplete (at least 1 character missing)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
22	A-2/P-2/E-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Lord of Pingye is Gong Qi, a New Officer	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
23–24	A-2/P-2/E-2	Road carriages: two	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
25–27	A-2/P-3	Three road carriages of [the Lord of Yangcheng / the Duke of Lü]	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
28–30	/	[Entry on "three road carriages of the Duke of Lü / the Lord of Yangcheng" missing][1146]	Entry missing	?	?	?	?	?
31	A-2/P-4/E-1	Lord of Yang donated one road carriage	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
32–34	/	[Three road carriages of …][1147]	Entry / entries missing	?	?	?	?	?

[1146] The subtotal after the "■" on strip 119 indicates that one entry on three road carriages is missing. See footnote 1306.

[1147] The passage "迭車三輦" (three road chariots) on strip 118 is likely a subtotal. See footnote 1308.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	輪 Wheels (colour)	輈（轅） Draught pole	齒輔 Axle caps with tooth patterns	甸（鍼） Top blades of axle caps	夆（貫）鐿（鍏） Linchpins
35	A-3/P-1/E-1	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
36	A-3/P-1/E-2	■Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
37	A-3/P-2	Zhe ● Mao drives the right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Complete	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR
38	A-3/P-3/E-1	Royal ● fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
39	A-3/P-3/E-2	■ ● Qi, the Director of the New Office, drives the duke's side-screen chariot of the left	Incomplete (4 characters illegible)	R (with pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	NR	NR
40	A-3/P-4/E-1	Huang Ke ● drives a wooden-trunk-wheel chariot	Complete	R (with pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	NR	NR
41	A-3/P-4/E-2	■Huang ● Jian drives an ink-black chariot	Incomplete (5–13 characters missing)	R (with pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	?	NR
42	A-3/P-5	Huang ● Yi drives a… chariot	Incomplete (number of missing character unknown)	?	NR	NR	?	NR
43	A-3/P-6	Huang … ● drives the royal tiered-canopy chariot	Complete	R (adapted to the mud-protectors)	NR	NR	NR	NR
44	A-3/P-7	The Palace ● Stable's Head drives a comfortable carriage	Complete	R (with pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	NR	NR
45	A-3/P-8	Governor of [...], ● Meng, drives a hunting chariot	Complete	R (with pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	NR	NR
46	A-3/P-9	Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan●ling, drives a hearse	Complete	R (with pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	NR	NR
47	A-3/P-10	Curved-pole-canopy carriage	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
48	A-3/P-11	The chariot of the Lord ● of Ji	Complete	R (pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	NR	NR
49	A-3/P-12	New ● comfortable carriage	Incomplete (number of missing character unknown)	R (with pheasant-feather-like patterns)	NR	NR	?	NR
50	A-3/P-13	Hearse ●	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

Table 5 Vehicle Accoutrements on the A Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1148]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞷	Rug 韗（禂）	Handrail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笌（鞦）	? 韌	Side paddings 靜 / 箾 / 酑 / 緀	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扈	Mat 篙（席）	Miscellaneous
1	A-1/P-1/E-1	Grand vanguard chariot ● driven by Jian, the Director of the Right	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
2	A-1/P-1/E-2	■Travelling reserve-chariot driven by Li, the Director of the Palace Stable	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	R (marten's forehead fur)	R (patterned)	R (leather)	NR	R (curved; reeled pongee as outer shell, purple silk as lining, and marten fur as border)	R (Two ropes made of dog fur)	R (painted)	R (purple)	NR
3	A-1/P-1/E-3	■ ● Travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	R (curved; reeled pongee as outer shell, purple silk as lining, and marten's head fur as border)	R (Two ropes made of dog fur)	R (patterned)	R (purple)	Axle cap pennants made of silk ribbons 緆(組)珥填（瑱）
4	A-1/P-1/E-4	■Principal chariot driven by	Incomplete (ca. 6–9	?	R (leather)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	?	NR	R[1149]	R (Two ropes	R (painted)	R (reddish-brown	Seven joined

[1148] If not specified otherwise, the sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.1 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–98.

[1149] The character *cheng* 酲, which means "border", appears on the fragmented strip 58 among the vehicle parts and accoutrements of the "principal chariot". The character in such a position refers commonly to the border of the vehicle part "side screen" (*xuan* 軒), as can be seen on strips 4, 7–8, 45, 53, 54, and 57. Therefore, it is likely that the vehicle part "side screen" used to be recorded on the missing parts of the first two strips (12 and 58) of the entry on the "principal chariot".

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞅	Rug 韗（褘）	Hand-rail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笌（靿）	? 韌	Side pad-dings 笣 / 箠 / 冊/ 緗	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Board-ing aid(s) 綏	? 扈	Mat 篙（席）	Miscel-laneous
		Dong Chen, the Director of Guests in Lin	characters missing)									made of dog fur)		leather webbing)	rings [1150] 七聚環
5	A-1/P-1/E-5	■Grand rearguard chariot driven by Huang ● Maowang	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (black)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
6	A-1/P-2/E-1	Left vanguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mai	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (black)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
7	A-1/P-2/E-2	■Junior broad chariot driven by Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	R (one rope made of dog fur)	R (painted)	R (purple)	NR
8	A-1/P-2/E-3	■Left rearguard chariot driven by Qiu ● Ding	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
9	A-1/P-2/E-4	■Left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	R (one rope made of leather)	NR	NR	NR

[1150] The function of the "seven joined rings" is not known. No such item has been found in the tomb. Nevertheless, a pair of three joined rings were found in tomb 1 of Jiuliandun, dating from ca. 300 BCE. See Shanxi sheng bowuyuan 山西省博物院 and Hubei sheng bowuyuan 湖北省博物院, eds., *Jing Chu changge: Jiuliandun Chu mu chutu wenwu jinghua* 荆楚长歌：九连墩楚墓出土文物精华 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2011): [138]; Wang Hongxing 王红星, "Liuliandu yi, er hao Chu mu de niandai yu muzhu shenfen" 九连墩1、2号楚墓的年代与墓主身份, *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 6 (2004): 437.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞙	Rug 韔（複）	Hand-rail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笮（靿）	? 韌	Side paddings 靜 / 箾 / 幜 / 緙	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扈	Mat 篙（席）	Miscellaneous
		driven by Ai ● Yi													
10	A-1/P-3	Jiu ● Qiang drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	R (one rope made of leather)	NR	NR	NR
11	A-1/P-4	[Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot]?	Incomplete (ca. 7 characters at the beginning missing)	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (stoat fur)	NR	NR	NR	R (one rope made of leather)	NR	NR	NR
12	A-1/P-5/E-1	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan	Complete	R (bronze)	NR	NR	NR	R (patterned)	R (leather)	NR	R	R (one rope made of dog fur)	NR	NR	NR
13	A-1/P-5/E-2	■Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Bo	Incomplete (ca. 2 characters missing)	NR	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned$_1$)	R (leather)	NR	R	?	NR	NR	NR
14	A-1/P-5/E-3	■Ai ● Li drives the reserve chariot of the Chancellor of the Left	Complete	NR	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (purple)	R (stoat fur)	NR
15	A-1/P-6	[Anonymous vehicle 1]	Completely missing	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16	A-1/P-7	Zhan Maoji ● drives the broad chariot of the Lord of Li	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	R (one rope made of leather)	NR	NR	NR
17	A-1/P-8	[…] Ji ● […] drives	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 轐/鞃	Rug 韔 (褽)	Handrail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笟 (靿)	? 韌	Side paddings 靜 / 箾 / 幽/ 緗	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扃	Mat 篙 (席)	Miscellaneous
		the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li													
18	A-1/P-9	Huang ● An drives the hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (bamboo-wove)	NR	NR	NR	R (purple brocade)	R (green silk border)	NR
19	A-1/P-10	Huang Hui ● drives the reserve chariot of Jian, the Prime Minister	Complete	NR	R (white bronze)	NR	NR	R (stoat fur)	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (purple)	NR	NR
20	A-1/P-11	Ai ● Huan drives the light chariot of the Chancellor	Complete	NR	NR	R (wild dog's fur)	NR	R (stoat fur)	R (leather)	R (patterned)	NR	NR	R (purple)	R (purple)	Axle cap pennants made of purple silk ribbons 紫組珥
21	A-2/P-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Governor of Yan is Ai Yuan	Incomplete (at least one character missing)	NR	NR	R (wild dog's fur)	NR	R (painted)	R (bamboo sheaths)	NR	NR	R (one rope made of undyed raw silk)	R (brocade)	R (Jin style)	NR
22	A-2/P-2/E-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Lord of Pingye is Gong Qi, a New Officer	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (patterned)	R (bamboo sheaths)	R (patterned)	NR	R (one rope made of undyed raw silk)	R (painted)	NR	NR
23–24	A-2/P-2/E-2	Road carriages: two	Complete	NR	NR	R	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (painted)	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞪	Rug 韗 (褽)	Hand-rail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笌 (靿)	? 韌	Side paddings 笩 / 箠 / 冊/ 緆	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扈	Mat 篙 (席)	Miscellaneous
25–27	A-2/P-3	Three road carriages of [the Lord of Yangcheng / the Duke of Lü]	Complete	R (merely on one of the road carriages; made of white metal)	NR	R (tiger fur)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
28–30	/	[Three road carriages of the Duke of Lü / the Lord of Yangcheng] (Entry / entries missing)	Entry missing	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31	A-2/P-4/E-1	Lord of Yang donated one road carriage	Complete	NR	NR	R	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
32–34	/	[Three road carriages of …][1151]	Entry / entries missing	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
35	A-3/P-1/E-1	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
36	A-3/P-1/E-2	■Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (stoat fur)	NR	NR	NR	R (one rope made of leather)	NR	NR	NR

[1151] The passage “迨車三韗” (three road chariots) on strip 118 is likely a subtotal. See footnote 1308.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞙	Rug 韔（褖）	Hand-rail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笟（靿）	? 韌	Side paddings 靜 / 箾 / 幜/ 緎	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扃	Mat 篙（席）	Miscellaneous
37	A-3/P-2	Zhe ● Mao drives the right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Complete	R (bronze)	R (bronze)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
38	A-3/P-3/E-1	Royal ● fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot	Complete	NR	NR	R (? 褖 marten fur and green fish hide as outer shell and purple brocade as lining)	R (leather)	R (patterned)	R (leather)	R (patterned)	R (fish hide; purple brocade as lining)	R (Two ropes made of dog fur)	R (patterned)	R (stoat fur)	NR
39	A-3/P-3/E-2	■● Qi, the Director of the New Office, drives the duke's side-screen chariot of the left	Incomplete (4 characters illegible)	NR	NR	NR	R	R (patterned)	R (leather)	NR	R (pongee)	R (one rope made of dog fur)	R (painted)	R (purple)	NR
40	A-3/P-4/E-1	Huang Ke ● drives a wooden-trunk-wheel chariot	Complete	NR	NR	R (wild dog's fur)	R (purple)	R (patterned)	R (leather)	R (patterned)	R (curved; reeled pongee as outer shell, purple silk as lining, and marten's head fur as border)	R (one green rope)	R (patterned)	R (purple)	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞸	Rug 韔（褥）	Hand-rail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笠（靿）	? 韌	Side paddings 靜 / 箴 / 幽/ 緂	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扃	Mat 篙（席）	Miscellaneous
41	A-3/P-4/E-2	■Huang ● Jian drives an ink-black chariot	Incomplete (5–13 characters missing)	?	R (leather)	R (? 襦 marten fur and green fish hide as outer shell and purple brocade as lining)[1152]	NR	R (patterned)	R (leather)	NR	R[1153]	R (one rope made of undyed raw silk)	R (painted)	R (purple)	NR
42	A-3/P-5	Huang ● Yi drives a… chariot	Incomplete (number of missing character unknown)	?	?	R (wild dog's fur as outer shell, green lining)	NR	R (patterned)	?	NR	?	R (one rope made of dog fur)	R (painted)	R (purple)	NR
43	A-3/P-6	Huang … ● drives the royal tiered-canopy chariot	Complete	NR	R (leather)	R (? 襦 marten fur and green fish hide as outer shell and purple brocade as lining)	NR	R (patterned)	R (leather)	NR	NR	R (Two ropes made of dog fur)	R (patterned)	R (purple)	NR
44	A-3/P-7	The Palace ● Stable's Head drives a	Complete	NR	NR	R (wild dog's fur)	R (leather)	NR	R (leather)	NR	R (vermillion; marten fur as border)	R (one rope made of dog fur)	NR	NR	? 加 , sitting

[1152] I have argued elsewhere that the character *nie* 聶 (border) in the phrase "襦韌（貂）與彔（綠）魚之聶" (border made of ? marten fur and green fish hide) on strip 88 is likely a mistake for the character *ming* 韔（褥） (tapet). See Sun Hui 2020, 96–97.

[1153] The character *cheng* 酲, which means "border", appears on the fragmented strip 88 among the vehicle parts and accoutrements of the "ink-black chariot". The character in such a position refers commonly to the border of the vehicle part "side screen" (*xuan* 軒), as can be seen on strips 4, 7–8, 45, 53, 54, and 57. Therefore, it is likely that the vehicle part "side screen" used to be recorded on the missing parts of the first two strips (47 and 88) of the entry on the "ink-black chariot".

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞙	Rug 韗（褖）	Hand-rail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笌（靿）	? 韌	Side paddings 靜 / 箾 / 冊/ 緗	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扃	Mat 筒（席）	Miscellaneous
		comfortable carriage													utensil[1154] made of purple brocade 紫栓之安 (newly made)
45	A-3/P-8	Governor of [...], ● Meng, drives a hunting chariot	Complete	NR	NR	R (wild dog's fur)	NR	R (patterned)	R (bamboo cortex)	R (stoat fur)	NR	R (one rope made of dog fur)	R (painted)	R (purple)	NR
46	A-3/P-9	Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan ● ling, drives a hearse	Complete	NR	NR	R (wild dog's fur)	NR	R (patterned)	R (leather)	R (patterned)	NR	R (one rope made of dog fur)	R (painted)	R (purple)	
47	A-3/P-10	Curved-pole-canopy carriage	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (with purple cushion)	NR
48	A-3/P-11	The chariot of the Lord ● of Ji	Complete	NR	NR	NR	R (green)	R (patterned)	R (purple brocade)	NR	R (curved; purple brocade as outer shell, green silk as lining, and and marten's head fur as border)	R (one rope made of dog fur)	R (patterned)	R (purple)	NR
49	A-3/P-12	New ● comfortable carriage	Incomplete (number of missing character unknown)	?	?	R (wild dog's fur)	?	?	?	NR	R (an upper screen bordered with marten fur, a lower	?	?	?	? 加 , sitting utensil made of

[1154] For the interpretation of the term *an* 安 as "sitting utensil" see Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 209.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Back railing cladding 弼	Front railing cladding 鞎/鞲	Rug 韗（褞）	Handrail coating 弦 / 弓 / 笟（靴）	? 韌	Side paddings 靜 / 箠 / 珊 / 緋	? 隞	Side screens 軒	Boarding aid(s) 綏	? 扈	Mat 篙（席）	Miscellaneous
											screen bordered with wild dog's fur)				purple brocade
50	A-3/P-13	Hearse ⬬	Complete but nothing recorded	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

Table 6 Vehicle Parts and Accoutrements Discovered in Tomb no. 1 at Leigudun[1155]

Denotation	Type(s)	Subtype(s)	Inventory Number(s)	Number	Material	Size cm (Length / Width / Height / Top Diameter / Bottom Diameter / Inside Diameter of the Bottom)	Comment	Number of involved vehicles
Vehicle box	Framework (fragmented) of vehicle box, with two elevated, curved side railings	/	E.155-2	1	Lacquered wood	Reconstructed L. 105 / W. 115 / H. > 59	/	1
	Fragments of a fender	/	E.155-3	Unknown	Rattan work bordered with wood strip on one side	The largest fragment: L. 44 / W. 10	/	
Canopies	Framework (fragmented) of an arched, single-roof canopy	/	E. 155-1	1	Lacquered wood	Reconstructed TD. 208 / H. unknown / BD. (shaft) unknown	/	
	Framework of a single-roof canopy	/	N.2	1	Lacquered wood and bronze	TD. 237 / H. 243, BD. (shaft) 4	/	1
	Framework (fragmented) of	/	N.10	1	Lacquered wood, bamboo, and	TD. 283 / H. 394 / BD. (shaft) 5	/	1

[1155] For the archaeological data used in the present table see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 306–325.

	a double-roof canopy				lacquered binding string (material unknown)			
Axle caps	Axle caps with round cross section	I	N.180	1	Bronze	H. 8.6 / TD. 5.6 / BD. 8.9 / IDB. 5.7	/	1 or ½ (this specimen and N.142:2 can theoretically have formed a pair for one vehicle)
		II	N.182	1 pair		H. 8.4 / TD. 4.4 / BD. 8.0 / IDB. 4.8	/	1 or 2
		III	N.149, N.170, N.146, N.169, N.171, N.398	6 pairs		H. 8.4–8.8 / TD. 4.5–4.9 / BD. 7.8–8.3 / IDB. 4.8–5.3	Equipped with a bronze brace each	6 or 12
		IV	N.92, N.96, N.166	2 pairs		H. 8.1–8.5 / TD. 3.3–4.0 / BD. 6.4–7.4 / IDB. 4.2–4.5	/	2 or 4
		V	N.176	1 pair		H. 7.8 / TD. 4.5 / BD. 7.6 / IDB. 4.8	/	1 or 2
		VI	N.164	1 pair		H. 8.6 / TD. 4.3 / BD. 7.8 / IDB. 4.6	/	1 or 2
		VII A	N.174	1 pair		H. 7.3 / TD. 4.0 / BD. 7.3 / IDB. 4.3	/	1 or 2
		VII B	N.165, N.112, N.144, N.181	4 pairs		H. 6.8–7.7 / TD. 4.0–4.3 / BD. 7.4–8.0 / IDB. 4.3–4.9	/	4 or 8

	Axle caps with polygonal cross section	I	N.91	1	Bronze	H. 12.9 / TD. 6.5 / BD. 10.3 / IDB. 6.8	/	1 or ½ (this specimen and N.142:1 can theoretically have formed a pair for one vehicle)
		II A	N.160	1 pair		H. 8.2 / TD. 4.5 / BD. 7.1 / IDB. 4.6	/	1 or 2
		II B	N.168, N.147	2 pairs		H. 10.1–10.2 / TD. 5.0 / BD. 9.5–9.7 / IDB. 5.4–5.5	Each profile of the axle cap adorned with repeated, amphora-shaped patterns or "cicada pattern" (*chanwen* 蟬紋) according to the excavation report	2 or 4
		III	N.148, N.175, N.90, N.72, N.159, N.178	4 pairs and 2 singles (N.72, N.178)		H. 7.9–9.8 / TD. 4.5–5.0 / BD. 7.9–9.1 / IDB. 5.0–5.6	Each profile of the axle cap adorned with repeated, triangular shapes or "triangular cloud pattern" (*sanjiaoyunwen* 三角雲紋) according to the	6 or 10

							excavation report	
		IV A	N.167, N.157, N.163, N.156, N.173	4 pairs and 1 single (N.157)		H. 7.5–9.6 / TD. 4.5–4.9 / BD. 8.2–8.9 / IDB. 5.0–6.4	/	5 or 9
		IV B	N.145, N.177, N.179, N.161, N.183	3 pairs and 1 single (N.183)		H. 9.2–9.5 / TD. 4.5–4.8 / BD. 8.5–9.0 / IDB. 5.4–5.6	/	4 or 7
		V	N.162, N.124, N.158	3 pairs		H. 7.4–9.3 / TD. 4.5–5.0 / BD. 7.8–8.5 / IDB. 5.0–5.4	/	3 or 6
		VI	N.172	1 pair		H. 6.7 / TD. 4.1 / BD. 7.3 / IDB. 4.5	/	1 or 2
	Axle caps with top blades	I	N.142:1	1	Bronze	H. 37 / TD. 5.4 / BD. 10.4 / IDB. 6.8	/	1 or ½ (this specimen and N.91 can theoretically have formed a pair for one vehicle)
		II	N.142:2	1		H. 41.4 / TD. 5 / BD. 10.0 / IDB. 6.0	/	1 (this specimen and N.180 can theoretically have formed a pair for one vehicle)

Table 7 Records of Weaponry on the A Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1156]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 扈	No. of bows of the Qin style 弸（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 殳	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of shields 戥	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
1	A-1/P-1/E-1	Grand vanguard chariot ● driven by Jian, the Director of the Right	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (3, 1)	1	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	1
2	A-1/P-1/E-2	■Travelling reserve-chariot driven by Li, the Director of the Palace Stable	Complete	1 (green fish hide)	4	2	1	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	2 (3, 0)	1?[1157]	2	常 *chang*-flag	2 (with gold [ornaments])	2
3	A-1/P-1/E-3	■ ● Travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left	Complete	1 (green fish hide)	3	2	1	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	2 (3, 0)	1?	2	NR	1 (with gold [ornaments])	2
4	A-1/P-1/E-4	■Principal chariot driven by Dong Chen,	Complete	1 (purple fish hide)	2	2	1	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (2, 0)	1 (晉殳 Jin type)	2	*Qi*-flag adorned with marten fur and	2 (painted)	2

[1156] If not specified otherwise, the sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.1 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–98.

[1157] As pointed out by Qiu and Li, the *shu*-polearm seems to have been the pole holding *pei*-flags. In the entry on the travelling reserve-chariot, two *pei*-flags are itemised. Hence, although no *shu*-polearm is explicitly mentioned, the chariot was probably equipped with a *shu*-polearm. However, it is not known whether it was an ordinary *shu*-polearm or a *shu*-polearm of the Jin type. The same holds true for the entries on the vehicles nos. 3, 16, and 17. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 505 ff., footnote 31.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 庪	No. of bows of the Qin style 邾（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 柲	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of shields 戥	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
		the Director of Guests in Lin											painted with *chang*-pattern 鼚（貂）旂		
5	A-1/P-1/E-5	■Grand rearguard chariot driven by Huang ● Maowang	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (3, 0)	1 (Jin type)	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2
6	A-1/P-2/E-1	Left vanguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mai	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (2, 0)	1 (Jin type)	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2
7	A-1/P-2/E-2	■Junior broad chariot driven by Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding	Complete	1 (purple fish hide)	4	2	2	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (3, 0)	1	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (with gold [ornaments])	2
8	A-1/P-2/E-3	■Left rearguard chariot driven by Qiu ● Ding	Incomplete (ca. 12–19 characters missing)	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	At least 1[1158]	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (2, 0)	1 (Jin type)	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2

[1158] The fragmented entry on the left rearguard chariot includes the phrase *zihuang fang zhi beng* 紫黃紡之絣 (fixation strap made of purple and yellow pongee), at the fragmentary beginning of strip 91. This phrase appeared on many other strips (e. g, strips 5, 9, 68, 14, 1719, 82, 33, 37, 102,40, 84, 30, 31). In each case, it is an accessory of one or two weapon fixation bars. Therefore, the missing part of the entry on the left rearguard chariot must have included at least one weapon fixation bar.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 庪	No. of bows of the Qin style 弆（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 殳	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of shields 戥	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
9	A-1/P-2/E-4	■Left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot driven by Ai ● Yi	Incomplete (ca. 24–31 characters missing)	1 (tiger fur)	4?	2	At least 1[1159]	2?	50 per quiver?	1 (2, 0)	1	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2
10	A-1/P-3	Jiu ● Qiang drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Incomplete (ca. 3 characters missing)[1160]	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (3, 0)	1 (Jin type)	2 (flag newly produced?) [1161]	NR	2 (painted)	2
11	A-1/P-4	[Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot]?	Incomplete (ca. 7–12 characters at the beginning missing)	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2? (string newly produced) [1162]	50 per quiver	1 (3, 1)	1 (Jin type)	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2

[1159] The term for weapon fixation bars (*juanzaijiong* 禯載庪 , "? weapon fixation bars") appears on the fragmentary head of strip 82, which is a part of the entry on the left *zhan*-banner vanguard chariot. But the number of the weapon fixation bars is missing. See Sun Hui 2020, 83.

[1160] The number of missing characters has been calculated by Qiu and Li. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 514, footnote 93.

[1161] Qiu and Li assume that the missing characters between strips 33 and 34 were "翻，旗（旗）貯（造）". These characters would refer both to the pole-accessories of the aforementioned *shu*-polearm of the Jin type and to the *pei*-flags that were newly produced. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 514, footnote 93.

[1162] The term for "bow" (*gong* 弓) appears at the head of strip 84, which is a part of the entry on the right rearguard chariot. But the number of the bows, which must have been the last character of the previous strip (strip 108), is missing. Furthermore, it is important to point out that throughout the Leigudun manuscripts, all bows have been of the Qin type. See Sun Hui 2020, 87.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 庪	No. of bows of the Qin style 鄦（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 梳	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of shields 戥	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
12	A-1/P-5/E-1	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan	Incomplete (21–25 characters missing	1 (tiger fur)	3	2	?	2? (string newly produced)[1163]	50 per quiver	At least 1 (?, 0)[1164]	1 (Jin type)	? (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2
13	A-1/P-5/E-2	■Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Bo	Incomplete (ca. 3 characters missing)	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	1	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (3, 1)	1 (Jin type)	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2
14	A-1/P-5/E-3	■Ai ● Li drives the reserve chariot of the Chancellor of the Left	Incomplete (34–38 characters missing)	?	?	?	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15	A-1/P-6	[Anonymous vehicle 1]	Incomplete (24–28 characters among records of weapons and horse tack missing)	1 (wild dog's fur)	3	?	?	?	?	1(2, 0)	1	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (of tiger's head)	2
16	A-1/P-7	Zhan Maoji ● drives the	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	3	NR	2	1	26	2 (number of blades	1?	2	NR	2	NR

[1163] The term for "bows of the Qin type" (*Qin gong* 鄦弓) appears on the head of strip 107, which is a part of the entry on the side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang Tan. But the number of the bows, which must have been the last character of the previous strip (strip 26), is missing. See Sun Hui 2020, 88.

[1164] The term *guo* 果 (originally "fruit") appears on the fragmentary head of strip 110, which is a part of the entry on the side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang Tan. Throughout the Leigudun manuscripts, the term refers to the side blade of a *ji*-polearm. Therefore, the missing part of the entry must have included at least one *ji*-polearm. See Sun Hui 2020, 88.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 庪	No. of bows of the Qin style 鄋（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 梳	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of *s*hields 戡	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
		broad chariot of the Lord of Li								not recorded)					
17	A-1/P-8	[…] Ji ● […] drives the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	3	NR	1	1	9	1 (number of blades not recorded)	1?	1	NR	2	1
18	A-1/P-9	Huang ● An drives the hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	1	NR	NR	1	3	NR	NR	NR	Cinnabar *jing*-flag 朱 旌（旌）	NR	NR
19	A-1/P-10	Huang Hui ● drives the reserve chariot of Jian, the Prime Minister	Incomplete (ca. 3 characters missing)	1 (tiger fur)	1	NR	2	NR	NR	1 (2, 0)	1	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	NR	?
20	A-1/P-11	Ai ● Huan drives the light chariot of the Chancellor	Complete	1 (green fish hide)	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
21	A-2/P-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Governor of Yan is Ai Yuan	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	1	NR	NR	1	9	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
22	A-2/P-2/E-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Lord of Pingye is	Complete	1 (wild dog's fur)	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	Cinnabar *zhan*-flag 朱 旃（旃）	NR	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 扈	No. of bows of the Qin style 鄀（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 梳	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of *s*hields 戥	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
		Gong Qi, a New Officer													
23–24	A-2/P-2/E-2	Road carriages: two	Complete	1[1165]	NR	NR	NR	NR	3	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
25–27	A-2/P-3	Three road carriages of [the Lord of Yangcheng / the Duke of Lü]	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
28–30	/	[Three road carriages of the Duke of Lü / the Lord of Yangcheng] (Entry / entries missing)	Entry missing	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31	A-2/P-4/E-1	Lord of Yang donated one road carriage	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
32–34	/	[Three road carriages of …][1166]	Entry / entries missing	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
35	A-3/P-1/E-1	Huang Xia ● drives the right	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (2, 0)	1 (Jin type)	2	NR	2 (painted)	2

[1165] Each of the two road carriages was equipped with one "". Xiao Shengzhong assumes that the character is a variant of the character *fu* 箙, which means "arrow quiver". See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 97 ff.

[1166] The passage "迖車三輦" (three road chariots) on strip 118 is likely a subtotal. See footnote 1308.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 庪	No. of bows of the Qin style 鞹（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 杸	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of *s*hields 戥	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
		vanguard chariot													
36	A-3/P-1/E-2	■Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	Incomplete (ca. 4 characters missing)	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2?	50 per quiver	1 (3, 0)	1	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	1 (painted)	2
37	A-3/P-2	Zhe ● Mao drives the right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	4	2	2	2 (strings newly produced)	50 per quiver	1 (3, 0)	1	2 (flag newly produced)	NR	2 (painted)	2
38	A-3/P-3/E-1	Royal ● fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot	Incomplete (1 character illegible)	1 (purple fish hide)	1	1	NR	1 (string newly produced)	50	NR	NR	NR[1167]	NR	1 (painted)	2?[1168]
39	A-3/P-3/E-2	■● Qi, the Director of the New Office, drives the duke's side-screen chariot of the left	Complete	1 (green fish hide)	1	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	*Zhan*-flag adorned with wild duck's feathers	1 (painted)	2

[1167] In Qiu and Li's version of transcription, the royal fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot was equipped with "二旆□", i.e., "two *pei*-flags […]". However, Xiao, after consulting the infrared photo of the characters concerned, identifies the characters as "二貙□". See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 82; Cf. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 493.

[1168] In the entry on the "royal fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot", the passage "二貙□，紫緷，屯二翼之翻" (strip 55) is reminiscent of the recurring passage "二（/一）戈，紫緷，屯二（/一）翼之翻" on strips 6, 10, 20, 46, 69, 88, 104 and 106. Hence, the missing character is probably *ge* 戈. The passage concerned means "two *ge*-polearms for hunting wild boar, equipped with a purple tassel and two pairs of wing-shaped pole-accessories".

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 庪	No. of bows of the Qin style 鄦（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 柲	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of *shields* 戫	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
40	A-3/P-4/E-1	Huang Ke ● drives a wooden-trunk-wheel chariot	Complete	1 (purple fish hide)	1	1	NR	1 (string newly produced)	50	NR	NR	NR	*Zhan*-flag adorned with wild duck's feathers 鱄（鳧）旃（旃）	1 (leather)	2
41	A-3/P-4/E-2	■Huang ● Jian drives an ink-black chariot	Complete	1 (green fish hide)	1	1	NR	1 (string newly produced)	50	NR	NR	NR	*Zhan*-flag adorned with wild duck's feathers (flag newly produced)	1 (painted)	2
42	A-3/P-5	Huang ● Yi drives a… chariot	Complete	1 (purple fish hide)	2	1	NR	1 (string newly produced)	50	NR	NR	NR	NR	2 (painted)	2
43	A-3/P-6	Huang … ● drives the royal tiered-canopy chariot	Incomplete (ca. 6–9 characters missing)	1 (green fish hide)	1	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	At least 1[1169]	1
44	A-3/P-7	The Palace ● Stable's Head drives a comfortable carriage	Complete	1 (green fish hide)	1	1	NR	1 (string newly produced)	50	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
45	A-3/P-8	Governor of [...], ●	Complete	1 (green	1	1	NR	1	50	NR	NR	NR	Purple *zhan*-flag	NR	NR

[1169] The bottom of strip 75, which is the first strip of the entry on the royal tiered-canopy chariot, is missing. Strip 106, the second strip of this entry, begins with the phrase *Qi zi zhi beng* 鄦紫之絣, the fixation strap coloured with the purple of Qi (one of the Warring States). This phrase appears twice elsewhere in the Leigdun manuscripts (strips 54 and 88). In both cases, it is the accessory of a painted shield (*huadun* 畫戫). Hence, the missing part of strip 75 has included at least one shield.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	No. of bow quiver 韔	No. of arrow quivers 箙	No. of ? 韐	No. of weapon fixation bars 庪	No. of bows of the Qin style 鞹（秦）弓	Arrows 矢	No. of *ji*-polearms (no. of side-blades, no. of top-blades per polearm) 戟（戟）	No. of *shu*-polearm 梳	No. of *pei*-flags 旆	Various further flags	No. of *shields* 戥	No. of *ge*-polearms 戈
		Meng, drives a hunting chariot		fish hide)											
46	A-3/P-9	Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan●ling, drives a hearse	Complete	1 (tiger fur)	1	1	NR	Without	50	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
47	A-3/P-10	Curved-pole-canopy carriage	Complete but nothing recorded	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
48	A-3/P-11	The chariot of the Lord ● of Ji	Complete	1 (green fish hide)	3	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	A *chang*-flag made of wild dog's fur and a purple *zhan*-flag 鼠常，紫旜（旃）	NR	NR
49	A-3/P-12	New ● comfortable carriage	Completely missing (number of missing characters unknown	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
50	A-3/P-13	Hearse ●	Incomplete (ca. 7–10 characters concerning the accessories of arrow quiver missing)	1 (green)	1	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

Table 8 Weapon Records in the Leigudun Manuscripts versus Weapon Discovery in the Tomb[1170]

Types of weapons or weapon accessories	Subtypes of weapons or weapon accessories	Entries marked by "●" or not[1171]	Numbers of weapons or weapon accessories described in the Leigudun manuscripts			Subtypes of weapons or weapon accessories excavated from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun	Numbers of the weapons discovered in the northern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun	Numbers of the weapons discovered in the eastern chamber of tomb no. 1 at Leigudun
			According to Qiu and Li's counting[1172]	According to Xiao Sheng-zhong's counting[1173]	According to Appendix I: Table 7			
Bow quivers 韔		No	/	/	3	/	None	None
		Yes	/	/	32			
		Unknown	/	/	1			
Arrow quivers 箙		No	/	/	6	/	None	None
		Yes	/	/	79			
		Unknown	/	/	3			
Bows of Qin 秦弓		No	37	37	4	55 cm long	30	25
		Yes			38	112–130 cm long		
Arrows 矢		No	1100	2388/2391	306	I-IV	3089	1418
		Yes			3097			
***Ji*-polearms 戟（戟）**	1): *Ji*-polearms with three side blades and one top blade each 戟（戟），三菓，又骳	No	21	12	0	I	3	None
		Yes			3			
		No			2	II	9	

[1170] For the archaeological data used in the present table see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 252–306.

[1171] The checkmark is always added to the vehicle phrase at the beginning of an individual entry. Since the vehicle phrase in entry A-1/P-6 is fragmented, it is not known whether the phrase used to be marked. In this table, this entry is regarded as unmarked. For the weapons recorded in this entry see Appendix I: Table 8, vehicle no. 15.

[1172] See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 456.

[1173] See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 167 ff.

	2): *Ji*-polearms with three side blades each 戣（戟）， 三菓	Yes			7			
	3): *Ji*-polearms with two side blades each 戣（戟）， 二菓	No		7	1	III	18	
		Yes			5			
		Unknown			1			
	Further *ji*-polearms (number of the blades not specified) 戣（戟）	No		3	0	/	/	
		Yes			4			
***Ge*-polearms 戈**		No	44	45	4	Four main subtypes	59	7
		Yes			39			
		Unknown			2			
***Mao*-polearms 矛**		/	None	None	None	1, 2.I and 2.II	48	1
***Shu*-polearms 殳**	1): *Shu*-polearms (with top-blades)	No	7	7	1	I and II	6 and 1	None
		Yes			5			
		Unknown			1			
	2): *Shu*-polearms of the Jin style (with bronze caps on both ends of the pole) 晉殳	No	9	9	1	Not categorised	14	
		Yes			8			
	Further *shu*-polearms (subtype unknown)	No	5	/	1?	/	/	
		Yes			3?			
Shields 戥	Golden shields 黃金之戥	No	/	38	2	Not categorised	2	2[1174]
		Yes	/		3			
	Painted shields 畫戥	No	/		2		16	19[1175]
		Yes	/		28			
	Leather shield 革戥	No	/		0		8	2
		Yes	/		1			
	Shields of tiger's head 虓首 之戥	No	/		0			
		Yes	/		0			

[1174] See Subsection 3.7.3.

[1175] See Subsection 3.7.3.

		Unknown	/		2			
	Further shields (type unknown) 戡	No	/		0			
		Yes	/		5			

Table 9 Horse Tack (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1176]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韅靼	? 紳	? 冪	? 轏	Axillary straps 靼（鞹）	Throat straps 鞅	? 縪	Shabracks 伾	Terrets 鐲	Hobbles 敳	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 戹（軶）	Traces 鞁	Reins 繶（轡）	Miscellaneous
1	A-1/P-1/E-1	Grand vanguard chariot ● driven by Jian, the Director of the Right	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	R	R (reddish-black)	R	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (otter fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
2	A-1/P-1/E-2	■Travelling reserve-chariot driven by Li, the Director of the Palace Stable	Complete	NR	R (dark red, with striped patterns)	R	R	R	R	R (purple and yellow pongee)	NR	NR	R	R	R	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	NR
3	A-1/P-1/E-3	■ ● Travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left	Complete	R	R (dark red, with striped patterns)	R	R	R (dark red)	R (dark red)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (reddish-brown)	NR	NR	R (patterned)	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	NR
4	A-1/P-1/E-4	■Principal chariot driven by	The end (ca. one charac-	R (patterned)	R (dark red)	R	R	R (dark red)	R (dark red)	R (purple and	R (reddish-brown)	R (newly produced ?)[1177]	R (patterned)	NR	NR	R	R	[? 轐] made of gold

[1176] If not specified otherwise, the sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.1 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–98 and 122. Furthermore, it is important to point out that my interpretation of the horse harnesses is based on the premise that the wheeled vehicles recorded on the Leigudun manuscripts were equipped with single draught poles. As pointed out by Sun Ji, until the Western Han dynasty, wheeled vehicles in China were equipped predominantly with single draught poles. Such vehicles operated with a harness system that differs significantly from a harness system with two draught poles. See Sun Ji 孙机, "Zhongguo gu duzhou mache de jiegou" 中国古独辀马车的结构, in *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001d): 27.

[1177] I have argued elsewhere that at least one character, *zao* 貤, is missing at the end of the entry. The missing character likely used to follow the last character on strip 69, *cai* 鏏. Together they meant that "the terrets are newly produced". See Sun Hui 2020, 94.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韔韜	? 紳	? 霥	? 鞣	Axillary straps 靼（鞴）	Throat straps 鞅	? 鞿	Shabracks 伂	Terrets 鐓	Hobbles 斁	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 戹（軶）	Traces 鞁	Reins 繶（轡）	Miscellaneous
		Dong Chen, the Director of Guests in Lin	ter) missing							yellow pongee)								
5	A-1/P-1/E-5	■Grand rearguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mao-wang	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	NR	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	NR
6	A-1/P-2/E-1	Left vanguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mai	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	NR	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
7	A-1/P-2/E-2	■Junior broad chariot driven by Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Live-stock Breeding	Incomplete (ca. 0.2–5 cm of strip 20 missing)	R	R (ochre)	R	R	R (dark red)	R (dark red)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	R (patterned)	R (patterned)	R	R	[? 輞] made of gold[1178]
8	A-1/P-2/E-3	■Left rearguard chariot driven by Qiu ● Ding	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
9	A-1/P-2/E-4	■Left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot driven by Ai ● Yi	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR

[1178] Comparing the fragmented context with a similar passage on strip 69, Qiu and Li assume that the missing characters are "之輞". See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 513, footnote 81.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韅靷	? 紳	? 霥	? 鞹	Axillary straps 靼（鞴）	Throat straps 鞅	? 鞷	Shabracks 伂	Terrets 鐓	Hobbles 靶	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 戹（軶）	Traces 鞁	Reins 繶（轡）	Miscellaneous
10	A-1/P-3	Jiu ● Qiang drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	R	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
11	A-1/P-4	[Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot]?	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	R	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	NR	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	NR	R	NR
12	A-1/P-5/E-1	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R (4) [1179]	R (6)	NR
13	A-1/P-5/E-2	■Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Bo	Incomplete (ca. 3 characters missing)	R	? (ochre)	R	R	R (newly produced)	NR	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (otter fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
14	A-1/P-5/E-3	■Ai ● Li drives the reserve chariot of the Chancellor of the Left	Perhaps incomplete (ca. 2 characters missing)	R (dark red)	R (dark red)	R	R	R	R	R (purple, newly produced)	R (stoat fur)	?	R (dark red)	R	R	R	R	NR
15	A-1/P-6	[Anonymous vehicle 1]	Incomplete (together 24–28 characters concerning	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	R	?	?	?	Draught horses wearing white feathers

[1179] Elsewhere, I argued that the term si bei liu pei refers to the number of traces and reins for six draught horses. See Sun Hui 2020, 74–76.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韅韜	? 紳	? 霥	? 轏	Axillary straps 靼（鞴）	Throat straps 鞅	? 鞿	Shabracks 伂	Terrets 鐓	Hobbles 鞁	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 戹（軛）	Traces 鞎	Reins 繼（轡）	Miscellaneous
			weapons and harnesses missing)															
16	A-1/P-7	Zhan Maoji ● drives the broad chariot of the Lord of Li	Complete	NR	R	NR	NR	R	R	NR	R (reddish-black stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	R	R	NR	NR	[Draught horses] wearing ?霞 feathers
17	A-1/P-8	[…] Ji ● […] drives the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li	Complete	NR	R	NR	NR	R	R	NR	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (reddish-black)	R	R	NR	R (for two horses)	purple bits 紫勒
18	A-1/P-9	Huang ● An drives the hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming	Complete	NR	R	R	NR	R	R	R (purple and green)	R (reddish-yellow leather webbing)	NR	R (dark red)	R	R	NR	R (made of leather, for two horses)	Gilded bits
19	A-1/P-10	Huang Hui ● drives the reserve chariot of Jian, the Prime Minister	Complete	NR	R	R	NR	R	R	R (purple)	NR	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	NR	R	Gilded bits 黃金之勒
20	A-1/P-11	Ai ● Huan drives the light chariot of the Chancellor	Incomplete (three characters illegible	NR	R (black lacquered)	NR	NR	R	R	R (purple and yellow pongee)	?	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	R	R	NR	R (for two horses)	Gilded bits
21	A-2/P-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the	Incomplete (ca. 3–6 characters missing)	?	R (ochre)	?	?	R	R (reddish-black, purple and green)	?	R (reddish-yellow)	R (newly produced)	?	?	?	?	R (for two horses)	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韔韜	? 紳	? 霥	? 韣	Axillary straps 靼（鞴）	Throat straps 鞅	? 鞷	Shabracks 伂	Terrets 鐓	Hobbles 斁	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 戹（軶）	Traces 鞁	Reins 繶（轡）	Miscellaneous
		Governor of Yan is Ai Yuan																
22	A-2/P-2/E-1	The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Lord of Pingye is Gong Qi, a New Officer	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	R	R	R (purple and green)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (reddish-black)	R	R	R (dark red)	R	Fixing ring of the trace (newly produced) 鉤環
23–24	A-2/P-2/E-2	Road carriages: two	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (reddish-black)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
25–27	A-2/P-3	Three road carriages of [the Lord of Yangcheng / the Duke of Lü]	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
28–30	/	[Three road carriages of the Duke of Lü / the Lord of Yang-cheng]	Entry missing	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31	A-2/P-4/E-1	Lord of Yang donated one road carriage	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
32–34	/	[Three road carriages of …][1180]	Entry / entries missing	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

[1180] The passage “迨車三輦” (three road chariots) on strip 118 is likely a subtotal. See footnote 1308.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韅靷	? 紳	? 霥	? 靽	Axillary straps 靼（鞴）	Throat straps 鞅	? 鞷	Shabracks 伂	Terrets 鐓	Hobbles 鞁	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 軛（軶）	Traces 鞎	Reins 繲（轡）	Miscellaneous
35	A-3/P-1/E-1	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	NR	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
36	A-3/P-1/E-2	■Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	NR	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
37	A-3/P-2	Zhe ● Mao drives the right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	NR	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (otter fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
38	A-3/P-3/E-1	Royal ● fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot	Complete	R (dark red)	R (dark red)	R	R	R	R	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (patterned)	NR	NR	R (4)	R (6)	Six tassel balls 六瓔
39	A-3/P-3/E-2	■ ● Qi, the Director of the New Office, drives the duke's side-screen chariot of the left	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	R	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R	R	NR
40	A-3/P-4/E-1	Huang Ke ● drives a wooden-trunk-wheel chariot	Complete	NR	R (ochre)	NR	R	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (otter fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R	R	? 霥 made of wild dog's fur)

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韔韜	? 紳	? 霥	? 韣	Axillary straps 靼（鞴）	Throat straps 靼	? 鞶	Shabracks 毡	Terrets 鐓	Hobbles 鞚	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 戹（軛）	Traces 鞁	Reins 繶（轡）	Miscellaneous
41	A-3/P-4/E-2	■Huang ● Jian drives an ink-black chariot	Complete	R	R (ochre)	R	R	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R	R	NR
42	A-3/P-5	Huang ● Yi drives a… chariot	Complete	R (newly produced)	R (ochre)	R	R	R	R	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	NR	NR	NR	R	R	NR
43	A-3/P-6	Huang … ● drives the royal tiered-canopy chariot	Complete	R (dark red)	R (dark red)	R	R	R	R	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R	R	NR
44	A-3/P-7	The Palace ● Stable's Head drives a comfortable carriage	Complete	NR	R (ochre)	NR	NR	R	R	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (otter fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R	R	? 霐 made of wild dog's fur)
45	A-3/P-8	Governor of [...], ● Meng, drives a hunting chariot	Complete	NR	R (dark red)	R	Without	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R (4)	R (6)	NR
46	A-3/P-9	Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan ● ling, drives a hearse	Complete	NR	R (ochre)	Without	R	R (newly produced)	R (newly produced)	R (purple and yellow pongee)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R (4)	R (6)	NR
47	A-3/P-10	Curved-pole-canopy carriage	Complete but nothing recorded	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
48	A-3/P-11	The chariot of the Lord ● of Ji	Complete	R (dark red)	R (dark red)	R	R	R	R	R (purple and green)	R (stoat fur)	R (newly produced)	R (dark red)	NR	NR	R	R	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Horse frontlets 韉韊	? 紳	? 霥	? 鞣	Axillary straps 顯 (韅)	Throat straps 鞅	? 鞿	Shabracks 毯	Terrets 鏍	Hobbles 斁	Yoke bars 衡	Yokes 戹 (軛)	Traces 鞁	Reins 繶 (轡)	Miscellaneous
49	A-3/P-12	New ● comfortable carriage	Incomplete (no. of missing characters unknown	?	?	?	?	?	?	R (purple and yellow pongee)	?	R (newly produced)	?	?	?	R (dark red)	?	NR
50	A-3/P-13	Hearse ●	Complete but nothing recorded	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
60	C-2(/C3)/L/P-5	*Chili* cart	Complete	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	R (leather adorned with gold)	NR

Table 10 Horse Tack Found in Tomb no. 1 at Leigudun[1181]

Denotation of harness	Subtype(s)	Inventory number	Material	Number	Size	Number of possibly involved horses
Snaffle bits	Snaffle bits with two jointed cannons that complement each other	E.205, E.206, E-77-1 etc.	Bronze	38	Length 18–23.7 cm, largest width 4.5–6 cm	38
	Snaffle bits with two jointed cannons that do not complement each other[1182]	E.54	Bronze	2	Length 22.3 cm, largest width 4.8 cm	2
Snaffle cheekpieces	Horn-shaped cheekpieces, each with two eyelets and six ridges running towards the tip	E.207, E.15, E.60, E.30 etc.	Lacquered wood, bone, or horn	76 (36 pairs and 4 singles)	Length 15.2–20.5 cm, largest width 1.6–2.8 cm, thickness 1.6–2.2 cm	40
	Horn-shaped cheekpieces, each with one eyelet and eight ridges running towards the tip[1183]	E.225	Wood, bone, or horn	14 (7 pairs)	Length 11 cm, largest width 2 cm, thickness 1.8 cm	7
	Horn-shaped cheekpieces, each with	E.170	Bone or horn	8 (4 pairs)	Length 4.7 cm, width 1.3–1.9 cm,	4

[1181] For the archaeological data used in the present table see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 325–332.

[1182] These two cheekpieces were likely defective products. Each snaffle bit from the marquis' tomb consists of two canons. Each canon has two bronze rings, a bigger one and a smaller one, joined by a bronze bar. The two canons are chained together through the two smaller rings. On a common snaffle, the bigger rings on either end are on the same level. But on each of the snaffle bits numbered E.54, the bigger rings on either end are perpendicular to each other. Hence, they are not able to hold two cheekpieces in the same direction to form a symmetrical bridle. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 326.

[1183] In the archaeological report, merely the horn-shaped items with two eyelets each are called *mabiao* 馬鑣 (cheekpieces), while those with only one eyelet each are called *mabiao xing qi* 馬鑣形器 (items in the shape of cheekpieces). However, cheekpieces with one eyelet have been used since the Western Zhou period. Some of them appear almost identical with those found in the marquis' tomb. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 326 ff.; Liu Yonghua 刘永华, *Zhongguo gudai cheyu maju* 中国古代车舆马具 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2013): 114, Figs. 4–7, items (5)–(7), (15), and (16).

	one eyelet and five ridges running towards the tip				thickness 1.3–1.7 cm	
Strap junctions[1184]	Round junctions (partly with remnants of silk or leather)	E.78-1, E.201-1, E.52, E.31, E.201-2, E.78-2, E.201-3, E.208-1, E.171-1, E.201-3 etc.	Bronze, gold foils, silk, leather	145	Diameter 3.5–5.6 cm, height 1.15–1.55 cm	Not known
	Rectangular junctions	E.32-1 and E.221 (part)	Bone or horn	8	Length 2.8 cm, width 2.4 cm, thickness 0.8–1.8 cm	Not known
	Tubular junctions	E.32-3 and E.221 (part)	Bone or horn	9	Length 3.8 cm, width 1.1–2.6 cm, thickness 1.1–2.6 cm	Not known
Strap slides[1185]	Rectangular slides (partly with remnants of silk)	E.201-4, E.16, E.201-4, E.16, E.171-2, E.78-4, E.201-5, E.201-7, E-171-3, E.78-6, E.78-7, E.222-1, E.201-8 etc.	Bronze, gold foils, silk	737	Length 2.8 cm, width 2.4 cm, thickness 0.8–1.8 cm	Not known
	Beads	E.32-6 and E.221 (part)	Bone or horn	11	E.32-6: Length 2.1 cm, width 1.6 cm, thickness 1.3 cm	Not known

[1184] The term "strap junctions" refers to horse harness fittings with two crossing eyelets each. They include part of the items called *mashi* 馬飾 (horse decorations) and part of those called *mashi xing qi* 馬飾形器 (items in the shape of horse decorations) in the archaeological report. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 328 ff.

[1185] The term "strap slides" refers to horse harness fittings with one eyelet each. They include part of the items called *mashi* (horse decorations) and part of those called *mashi xing qi* (items in the shape of horse decorations) in the archaeological report. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 328 ff.

Table 11 Special Loads (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1186]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle	Individual loads
3	A-1/P-1/E-3	■● Travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left	? 朖, *gui*-spades 銫, *cha*-spades 畣, sickles 兼, needles 肄, ropes 旛（繯） and flints 炊（燧）(all the items might have been singular)
25–27	A-2/P-3	Three road carriages of [the Lord of Yangcheng / the Duke of Lü]	sleeves (?) made of red silk ribbons 紉（縐）褭
46	A-3/P-9	Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan● ling, drives a hearse	Purple sack 紫罋 with sash 絫 made of the brocade of Shu 繢 and newly produced ? 敖
60	C-2(/C3)/L/P-5	*Chili* cart	Calves 磾 and ram lambs 圉

[1186] If not specified otherwise, the sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.1 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–98.

Table 12 Armours and Barding (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1187]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Body armours	Matching Helmets	Number of draught horses (reference to entry on C strips)	Barding	Matching chamfrons	Miscellaneous
1	B/P-1/E-1	Grand vanguard chariot ●	Complete	2 (Chu style, undyed, fixing cords made of purple cloth)	Yes (made of leather)	4 (C-1/S-148/P-1)	All vermillion	Yes (made of ? 彈 and ? 韄, with fixing cords made of black *zu*-ribbon)	NR
				1 (Chu style, fixing cords made of purple cloth)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)				
2	B/P-1/E-2	Travelling reserve-chariot ●	Complete	3 (Wu style; fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons; armour plates connected with one another by woven cords; equipped with a jade chest disc)	Yes (made of leather)	4 (C-1/S-207–208/P-9)	None	None	? 鞅隞, [1188] one undershirt 氏褐, one skirt 常, one ? 綢,[1189] one arm-guard made of leather 革衧; one knee guard […] 革夜□[1190]
4	B/P-1/E-3	Principal ● chariot	Complete	1 (Wu style; fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons; armour plates	Yes (made of leather)	4 (C-?/S-207–208/P-6)	All painted (fixing cords made	Yes (made of ? 彈 and ? 韄)	Reins made of gold [components]

[1187] If not specified otherwise, the sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.1, Appendix III.2 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–106.

[1188] The characters *ye* 鞅 and 隞 have not been interpreted yet.

[1189] Tian He renders the character *chou* 綢 as *dao* 裯 and further interprets it as *didao* 衹裯, which means "undershirt". But the strip 123 records one *chou* as well as one *didao* 氏褐, which is rendered *didao* 衹裯 by Qiu and Li. Hence it is impossible that both terms would mean "undershirt". Cf. Tian He 2007, 184; Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 522 ff., footnote 188.

[1190] Tian He renders the character *ye* 夜 as *ye* 袘, which means "knee guard". See Tian He 田河, "Chutu Zhanguo qiance suoji mingwu fenlei huishi" 出土战国遣册所记名物分类汇释 (PhD Diss., Jilin daxue, 2007): 169.

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Body armours	Matching Helmets	Number of draught horses (reference to entry on C strips)	Barding	Matching chamfrons	Miscellaneous
				connected with one another by woven cords; equipped with a chest disc made of rhinoceros' [hide])			of yellow pongee)		
				1 (Chu style, undyed, fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of leather)				
				1 (Wu style, undyed; fixing cords made of purple silk threads; armour plates connected with one another by woven cords)	Yes (undyed; made of leather)				
5	B/P-1/E-4	Grand ● rearguard chariot	Complete	3 (Chu style, fixing cords made of purple cloth)	Yes (made of leather)	4 (C-1/S-159/P-1)	All vermillion (fixing cords made of yellow pongee)	Yes (made of ? 彈 and ? 靼)	NR
6	B/P-1/E-5	Huang Mai ● drives the left vanguard chariot	Complete	2 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple hemp yarns)	Yes (made of leather)	4 (C-1/S-148/P-3)	All vermillion (fixing cords made of yellow pongee)	Yes (made of ? 彈 and ? 靼)	NR
				1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)				
7	B/P-1/E-6	Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding drives the junior broad chariot	Complete	1 (Chu style, fixing cords made of ribbons of Wu style)	Yes (made of leather, newly produced)	4 (C-?/S-207–208/P-8)	All painted (fixing cords made of purple ribbons)	Yes made of ? 彈 and ? 歖)	NR
				2 (Wu style, fixing cords made of ribbons of Wu style)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)				
8	B/P-2/E-1	Qiu Ding ● drives the left rearguard chariot	Complete	3 (Chu style, fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)	4 (C-1/S-159/P-2)	All vermillion (fixing	Yes (made of ? 彈 and ? 歖)	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Body armours	Matching Helmets	Number of draught horses (reference to entry on C strips)	Barding	Matching chamfrons	Miscellaneous
							cords made of yellow pongee)		
9	B/P-2/E-2	Ai ● Yi drives the left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	Complete	3 (Wu style, fixing cords made of *zu*-ribbons of Wu style)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)	4 (C-?/S-148/P-4)	All painted (fixing cords made of yellow pongee)	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 歕)	One ? 綢
12	B/P-2/E-3	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan	Complete	2 (Wu style, fixing cords made of *zu*-ribbons of Wu style)	Yes (made of leather)	6 (C-1/S-207–208/P-10)	Six, all painted (fixing cords made of yellow pongee)	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 韗)	NR
				1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons; armour plates connected with one another by woven cords)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels ; each equipped with one lining)				
13	B/P-2/E-4	Huang ● Bo drives the side-screen reserve-chariot	Complete	1 (Wu style, undyed, fixing cords made of *zu*-ribbons of Wu style; armour plates connected with one another by woven cords)	Yes (made of leather and brocade of Shu, with fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	4	3 painted (fixing cords made of yellow pongee)	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 歕)	NR
				1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of *zu*-ribbons of Wu style)	Yes (made of leather)				
				1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple *fu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)		1 undyed (fixing cords made of purple *fu*-ribbons)		
10	B/P-2/E-5	Jiu Qiang ● drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Incomplete (5–14 characters missing)	1 (Chu style, undyed, fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of leather)	4 (C-1/S-159/P-3)	All vermillion […]	? [fragmented]	? [perhaps fragmented]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Body armours	Matching Helmets	Number of draught horses (reference to entry on C strips)	Barding	Matching chamfrons	Miscellaneous
				1 (Chu style, fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)					
				1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)					
35	B/P-2/E-6	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot	Incomplete (10–15 characters missing)	2 (Wu style, fixing cords made of ribbons of Wu style)	Yes (made of leather)	4 (C-1/S-148/P-5)	3 painted (fixing cords made of black ribbon)	[…]	? [perhaps fragmented]
				1 (Chu style, fixing cords made of *zu*-ribbons bordered by ? 臺)	Yes (made of leather, adorned by kingfisher's feathers, each equipped with one lining and three tassels)		1 […]		
?	B/P-2/E-7	[Anonymous vehicle 2]	Incomplete (an unknown number of characters missing at the beginning of the entry)	? [description fragmented]	? [description fragmented]	?	[…] (fixing cords made of yellow pongee)	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 歕)	NR
36	B/P-2/E-8	Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	Complete	1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple silk threads; armour plates connected with one another by woven cords; equipped with a jade chest disc)	Yes (made of leather	4 (C-1/S-148/P-6)	All vermillion (fixing cords made of yellow pongee)	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 歕; each equipped with three tassels)	NR
				1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple *fu*-ribbon)	Yes (made of leather)				

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Body armours	Matching Helmets	Number of draught horses (reference to entry on C strips)	Barding	Matching chamfrons	Miscellaneous
				1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of *zu*-ribbons with curved and intertwined patterns	Yes (made of leather)				
?	B/P-2/E-9	[Anonymous vehicle 3]	Incomplete (an unknown number of characters missing at the beginning of the entry)	? (fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)	?	All painted (fixing cords bordered by ? 彖)	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 韗)	Reins made of gold [components]
3	B/P-2/E-10	● Travelling chariot 簞=（乘車）	Complete	1 (official service style; fixing cords made of purple ? 政; equipped with a jade chest disc; adorned by kingfisher's feathers)	Yes (made of painted leather; bordered with kingfisher's feathers)	?	All painted (fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 軷)	Fixing bands of the chamfrons; and throat strap made of ? 淢 (newly produced); reins decorated with gold
				1 (Wu style; fixing cords made of brocade of Shu)	Yes (made of leather)				
				1 (Wu style; fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbons)	Yes (made of leather, with newly produced tassels)				
11	B/P-3/E-1	Huang Dan ● drives the Right rearguard chariot	Complete	1 (Wu style, fixing cords made of purple *fu*-ribbon)	Yes (made of leather, with fixing cords made of purple *zu*-ribbon; bordered with kingfisher's feather)	4 (C-1/S-159/P-4)	None	None	NR
				1 (Chu style, fixing cords made of purple *fu*-ribbon)	Yes				
37	B/P-3/E-2	Right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	Incomplete (ca. 2–3 characters missing)	3 (Chu style, fixing cords made of purple *fu*-ribbons	Yes (made of leather; each equipped with three tassels)	4 (C-1/S-159/P-5)	All vermillion (fixing cords made	Yes (made of ? 殫 and ? 歖)	NR

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Vehicle name in vehicle phrase	Completeness of the records	Body armours	Matching Helmets	Number of draught horses (reference to entry on C strips)	Barding	Matching chamfrons	Miscellaneous
							of yellow pongee)		
16	A-1/P-7	Zhan Maoji ● drives the broad chariot of the Lord of Li	Complete	3 (purple fixing cords)	Yes (made of leather)	2 (C-?/S-204/P-1)	2 lacquered (purple fixing cords)	Yes (made of ? 殫 without ? 歕)	NR
17	A-1/P-8	[…] Ji ● […] drives the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li	Incomplete (an unknown number of characters missing at the end of the entry	2 (Wu style, purple fixing cords)	Yes (made of leather)	2 (C-?/L/P-4)	All […] (description fragmented)	[…] (perhaps fragmented)	[…] (perhaps fragmented)
Number of armour suits and barding suits listed in entries on the B strips				The vehicles in entries marked with "●"are associated with 44 armour suits, two vehicles in entries with missing heads (the usage of "●" unknown) are associated with an unknown number of armour suits, and one vehicle in an unmarked entry is associated with 3 armour suits		The vehicles in entries marked with "●"are associated with at least 50 barding suits, three vehicles in entries with missing heads (the usage of "●" unknown) are associated with an unknown number of barding suits, and one vehicle in an unmarked entry is associated with 4 barding suits			/
Number of armour suits and barding suits listed in entries on the A strips				Two vehicles in entries marked with "●"are associated with 5 armour suits		Two vehicles in entries marked with "●"are associated with 4 barding suits			/
Number of armour suits and barding suits that were newly made				15		20			
Grand total of armour suits and barding suits listed on strips 140 and 141				64		86			/

Table 13 Overview of Unity S-148 (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1191]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Strip No.	Vehicle Phrase	Official on the Vehicle	Owner of the left, exterior outrigger 左騑	Owner of the left, interior outrigger 左驂	Owner of the left pole horse 左騑	Owner of the right pole horse 右騑	Owner of the right, interior outrigger 右驂	Owner of the right, exterior outrigger 右騑	Corresponding Vehicles on the A Strips	Corresponding Vehicles on the B Strips
1	C-1/S-148/P-1	142	Grand vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Outside	New Officer of the Outside 外新官	/	Pu 莆	Minister 慶事	Cai Qi 蔡齮	Lord of Ji 鄭君	/	A-1/P-1/E-1	B/P-1/E-1
51	C-1/S-148/P-2	171	Reserve chariot, a *seiugis* of a New Officer	New Officer 新官人	? 𠂤	? Fu 𠂤甫	Zhuo, the Remonstrance Head 叡尹孛	Zhuo, Remonstrance Head	? 𠂤	Envoy from Song 宋客	/	/
6	C-1/S-148/P-3	144	Left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer	New Officer	/	Yao 駅	Lord of Li 鄒君	Bei 北	Chancellor of the Right 右尹	/	A-1/P-2/E-1	B/P-1/E-5
9	C-?/S-148/P-4	145	Left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer	New Officer	/	Chancellor of the Right	Grand Diviner 大辻（卜）尹	Grand Construction Foreman 大攻（工）尹	Herdsman in She 鄀牧	/	A-1/P-2/E-4	B/P-2/E-2
35	C-1/S-148/P-5	146	Right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer	New Officer	/	Mou Cao 某艸	Director of Sacrifice 牢敬	Mou Cao	Yi 依	/	A-3/P-1/E-1	B/P-2/E-6

[1191] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

36	C-1/S-148/P-6	147	Right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer	New Officer	/	Herdsman in She	Gao She 高鄨	Grand Chieftain 大首	Herdsman in She	/	A-3/P-1/E-2	B/P-2/E-8

Table 14 Overview of Unity S-159 (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1192]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Strip No.	Vehicle Phrase	Official on the Vehicle	Contributor of the left outrigger	Contributor of the left pole horse	Contributor of the right pole horse	Contributor of the right outrigger	Corresponding Vehicles on the A Strips	Corresponding Vehicles on the B Strips
5	C-1/S-159/P-1	149	Grand rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer 大官	Governor of Li 鄒尹	[…] Yi □冀	Jiao 憍	Lord of Li	A-1/P-1/E-5	B/P-1/E-4
8	C-1/S-159/P-2	150	Left rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Squire of the Right 右阬徒	Lord of Li	Military Supervisor of the Right 右司馬	Governor of New Production 新賠尹	A-1/P-2/E-3	B/P-2/E-1
10	C-1/S-159/P-3	151	Left rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Military Supervisor 司馬	Mou Cao	Governor of Royal Fields 敏（畋）尹	Zheng Cheng 鄭成	A-1/P-3	B/P-2/E-5
11	C-1/S-159/P-4	152	Right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Grand Construction Foreman	Lord of Li	Squire of the Left 左阬徒	Jia, the Remonstrance Head 寪尹𠂤	A-1/P-4	B/P-3/E-1
37	C-1/S-159/P-5	153	Right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Horse Master of Cheng 城馬尹	Lord of Li	Lord of Li	Du 櫝	A-3/P-2	B/P-3/E-2
53	C-1/S-159/P-6	154	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Chancellor of the Right	Chancellor of the Right	Aid of the Head of Steward 啐（宰）尹臣	Chancellor of the Right	/	/
54	C-1/S-159/P-7	155	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer 大官	Mang Zhan 笁斬	Scribe of Divination, Qi 辻史啟	Aid of the Head of Steward	Ci 辟	/	/

[1192] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

55	C-1/S-159/P-8	156	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Wangsun Sheng[…] 王孫生□	Chieftain Zhong Cheng 中城子	Scribe of Divination, Fa 灋史伐	Governor of Jiaoya 憍呿尹	/	/
56	C-1/S-159/P-9	157	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Governor of Ying, Yang 贏尹鄒	Yang 鄒	Governor of Ying, Yang 贏尹鄒	Jun 濬	/	/
57	C-1/S-159/P-10	158	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer	Grand Officer	Yuan Ding 趄定	Lord of Li	Head of Rites 賛（賚）尹[1193]	Head of Rites	/	/

[1193] Zhou Fengwu renders the character 賛 as *lai* 賚 and assumes that a *laiyin* 賛尹 had the same duty as *tai zongbo* 大宗伯 (Grand Minister of Rites) in *Zhou li*. See Zhou Fengwu 2006, 122.

Table 15 Overview of Unities S-207 and S-208 (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1194]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Strip No.	Vehicle phrase	Official on the vehicle	Contributor of the left, exterior outrigger	Contributor of the left, interior outrigger	Contributor of the left pole horse / mule	Contributor of the right pole horse / mule	Contributor of the right, interior outrigger	Contributor of the right, exterior outrigger	Corresponding Vehicles on the A Strips	Corresponding Vehicles on the B Strips
52	C-1/S-207–208/P-1	143	Reserve chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Palace Stable	New Officer of the Palace Stable 宮廄之新官	/	Zhuoyi 玃耳	Pu	Mou Cao	Wang Jiu 王衴	/	/	/
59	C-1/S-207–208/P-2	205	A Hunting Chariot Rider's two mules and his cart	Hunting Chariot Rider 龔（乘）驁（畋）人	/	/	Hunting Chariot Rider	Hunting Chariot Rider	/	/	/	/
61	C-1/S-207–208/P-3	206	A Hunting Chariot Rider's two grey horses and his low-built carriage	Hunting Chariot Rider	/	/	Hunting Chariot Rider	Hunting Chariot Rider	/	/	/	/
49	C-1/S-207–208/P-4	165	Comfortable carriage, a *quadriga* of a Hunting Chariot Rider	Hunting Chariot Rider	/	Shuo Yaping 順呰坪	Jin Yang 晉旸	Head of Rites	Zheng 鄭	/	A-3/P-12	/
44	C-1/S-207–208/P-5	164	Old comfortable carriage, a *biga* of an Orchardist and a Bull Fattener, drawn by horses with one white left hoof each	Orchardist and Bull Fattener 長（掌）腸（場）人與杙（職）人	/	/	Herdsman in She	Han Fu 鼾夫	/	/	A-3/P-7	/
4	C-?/S-207–208/P-6	166	Principal chariot, a *quadriga* of an Orchardist	Orchardist	/	Gao Yuan 高趄	Lord of Yangcheng 旸城君	You 滫	? 盇	/	A-1/P-1/E-4	B/P-1/E-3

[1194] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

58	C-1/S-207–208/P-7	167	Travelling broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Vehicle Attendant	Vehicle Attendant 車（乘）馬	/	Xiang Fu 巷𠂤	Xiang Fu 巷𠂤	Xiang Fu 巷𠂤	Gao She 高𨛜	/	/	/
7	C-?/S-207–208/P-8	168+169	Junior broad chariot, a *quadriga* of a Bull Fattener	Bull Fattener	/	Chieftain Xian 縣子	Military Supervisor	Han Fu	Military Supervisor of the Left 左司馬	/	A-1/P-2/E-2	B/P-1/E-6
2	C-1/S-207–208/P-9	170	Travelling reserve-chariot, a *quadriga* of the [Groom of] black horses with white foreheads	[Groom of] black horses with white foreheads 龙（駹）馬	/	Gao She 高𨛜	Han Fu	Chieftain Jing Jun 𠂤君子	Chieftain ? Fu 𣪊甫子	/	A-1/P-1/E-2	B/P-1/E-2
12	C-1/S-207–208/P-10	172	Side-screen reserve-chariot, a *seiugis* of a Caretaker of *Bian*-Vessels on Vehicles	Caretaker of *Bian*-Vessels on Vehicles 邊輿人	Yang Yuan 鄢褑	Zao 𤔔	Minister 卿事	Lord of Ji	Jian Ju 建巨	Zao	A-1/P-5/E-1	B/P-2/E-3
41	C-1/S-207–208/P-11	173	Ink-black chariot, a *seiugis* of a Manufacturer of New Products	Manufacturer of New Products 新貯人	Fang Li 邡鄜	Gong 公	Lord of Ji	Jiao 憍	Minister of Works of Song 宋司城	Grand Chieftain 大首	A-3/P-4/E-2	/
38	C-1/S-207–208/P-12	174	Fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot, a *seiugis* of a Vehicle Attendant	Vehicle Attendant	Wang 𤴔	Huan 嬛	Han Fu	Gong Hei 𥘅黑	Nan 難	Military Supervisor 司馬	A-3/P-3/E-1	/
45	C-1/S-207–208/P-13	175	Hunting chariot, a *seiugis* of a Chief Vehicle-Attendant	Chief Vehicle-Attendant 疋輦（乘）	Head of the Palace Stable 宮廄尹	Grand Steward 大啐（宰）	Tuo Gan 𠬜𠂤	Grand Chieftain 大首	Mou Cao	Tuo 𠬜	A-3/P-8	/
46	C-1/S-207–208/P-14	176	Hearse, a *seiugis* of the […]	[…] □人	Zheng Tong 鄭禋	Minister of Works of Song 宋司城	Ai Chen 哀臣	Lord of Le 樂君	Chancellor of the Left 左尹	Xi Fang 𠂤邡	A-3/P-9	/

43	C-1/S-207–208/P-15	177	Royal tiered-canopy chariot, a *quadriga* of a Stone Dyke Warden	Stone Dyke Warden 石沟人	/	[…] ⧅	Junior Preceptor 少市（師）	Military Supervisor	Junior Preceptor	/	A-3/P-6	/

Table 16 Overview of Unity S-196 (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1195]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Strip No.	Vehicle phrase	Contributor of the left outrigger	Contributor of the left pole horse	Contributor of the right pole horse	Corresponding vehicles on the A strips	Corresponding vehicles on the B strips
62	C-1/S-196/P-1	178	Grand road carriage, a *triage*	Han Fu	Ci 辟	Duke of Bin 賓公	/	/
63	C-1/S-196/P-2	179	Armed road carriage	Herdsman in She	Herdsman in She	Herdsman in She	/	/
64	C-1/S-196/P-3	180	Vermillion road carriage	/	Herdsman in She	Duke of Bin	/	/
65	C-1/S-196/P-4	181	Vermillion road carriage	/	Herdsman 牧人	Herdsman	/	/
66	C-1/S-196/P-5	182	Vermillion road carriage	/	Duke of Bin	Herdsman in She	/	/
67	C-1/S-196/P-6	183	Road carriage decorated with deer fur	/	Duke of Bin	Duke of Bin	/	/
68	C-1/S-196/P-7	184	Road carriage decorated with deer fur	/	Herdsman	Herdsman	/	/
69	C-?/S-196/P-8	186	[…] road carriage	/ (or […] ⧅)	[…] ⧅	[…] ⧅	/	/
70	C-?/S-196/P-9/E-1	196	[… road carriage]	/ (or […] ⧅)	[…] ⧅	[…] ⧅	/	/

[1195] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

Table 17 Overview of Unity S-195 (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1196]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Strip No.	Vehicle phrase	Donor of the vehicle	Number of the vehicles concerned	Number of the matching horses	Corresponding vehicles on the A strips	Corresponding vehicles on the B strips
71	C-2/S-195/P-1	187	The King donated one road carriage	The King 王	1	3	/	/
72	C-2/S-195/P-2	188	The King donated one road carriage	The King	1	2	/	/
73	C-?/S-195/P-3	189	The King donated one road carriage	The King	1	2	/	/
74–76	C->A-2/S-195/P-4	190	The crown prince donated three road carriages	The crown prince 大子	3	8	/	/
23–24	C-?/S-195/P-5	191	Two road carriages donated by the Lord of Pingye	Lord of Pingye	2	4	A-2/P-2/E-2	/
31	C-?/S-195/P-6	192	One road carriage donated by the Lord of Yang	Lord of Yang	1	2	A-2/P-4/E-1	/
25–27 or 28–30	C-2/S-195/P-7	193	Three road carriages of the Lord of Yangcheng	/	3	6	A-2/P-3?	/
77–79	C-?/S-195/P-8	194	Three road carriages of the Lord of Li	/	3	6	/	/
28–30 or 25–27	C-2/S-195/P-9/E-1	195	Three road carriages of the Duke of Lüyang	/	3	6	/	/

[1196] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

Table 18 Overview of Unity S-204 (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1197]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Strip No.	Vehicle phrase	Number of the vehicles concerned	Donor of the vehicle	Driver	Number of the matching horses	Corresponding vehicles on the A strips	Corresponding vehicles on the B strips
16	C-?/S-204/P-1	197	The broad chariot of the Lord of Li… one donated *biga*	1	Lord of Li	Zhan Maoji 斬耗吉 (A-II 2)	2	A-1/P-7	/
80	C-2/S-204/P-2	198	The donated reserve chariot of the Duke of Lüyang, a *biga*	1	Duke of Lüyang 賓旝公	/	2	／	/
19	C-2/S-204/P-3	199	The reserve chariot of the Prime Minister… one…	1	Minister 慶事	Huang Hui 黃遺 (A-II 5)	2	A-1/P-10	/
14?	C-?/S-204/P-4	200	The reserve chariot of…, a *biga*	1	[…] ⧅	/	At least 2	A-1/P-5/E-3?	/
18	C-2/S-204/P-5	201	The donated hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming, a *biga*	1	Lord of Ming 鄍君	Huang An 黃犴 (A-II 7)	2	A-1/P-9	/
20	C-2/S-204/P-6	202	The donated hunting chariot of the Chancellor, a *biga*	1	Chancellor 敔尹	Ai Huan 哀還 (A-II 6)	2	A-1/P-11	/
48	C-2/S-204/P-7	203	The curved-side-screen chariot of the Lord of Ji... one donated *biga*	1	Lord of Ji	/	2	A-3/P-11?	/
?	C-?/S-204/P-8	missing	?	1	?	?	At least 2	?	?

[1197] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

Table 19 Overview of Loose Entries on the C Strips (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1198]

Vehicle No.	List entry No.	Strip No.	Vehicle phrase	Number of the vehicles concerned	Owner of the Vehicle	Driver	Owner of the left pole horse	Owner of the right pole horse	Corresponding vehicles on the A Strips	Corresponding vehicles on the B Strips
81	C-3/L/P-1	160 (*biga*)	Zhuye Yuan uses [two horses] to pull the hunting chariot of the Governor of Fu	1	Governor of Fu 邆尹	Zhuye Yuan 朱夜宴	Lord of Pingye	Lord of Pingye	/	/
22	C-3/L/P-2	161 (*biga*)	Gong Qi from Shiyuan uses [two horses] to pull the [Lord of Pingye]'s hunting chariot	1	Lord of Pingye	Gong Qi from Shiyuan 石芫贛忝	Lord of Pingye	Lord of Pingye	A-2/P-2/E-1	/
80	C-?/L/P-3	162 (*biga*)	[Two horses] are used to pull the Duke of Luyang's reserve chariot	1	Duke of Luyang 魯旚公	/	Governor of Fu	Governor of Fu	/	/
17	C-?/L/P-4	163 (*biga*)	Two horses pull abreast the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li	1	Lord of Li	[...] Ji [...] □葉□	Lord of Yangcheng 旚城君	Lord of Ji	A-1/P-8	/
60	C-2(/C3)/L/P-5	185+77	*Chili* cart	1	/	/	Lord of Ji	Construction Foreman 攻（工）尹	/	/

[1198] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

Table 20 Overview of the Summary on Strips 120–121 (Leigudun Manuscripts)[1199]

Number and type of Vehicles	Vehicle No.	Corresponding vehicles on the A strips	Vehicle phrase	Corresponding vehicles on the B strips	Vehicle phrase	Corresponding vehicles on the C strips	Vehicle phrase
12 Broad chariots 輇車	**1**	A-1/P-1/E-1	Grand vanguard chariot ● driven by Jian, the Director of the Right	B/P-1/E-1	Grand vanguard chario ●	C-1/S-148/P-1	Grand vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Outside
	5	A-1/P-1/E-5	■Grand rearguard chariot driven by Huang ● Maowang	B/P-1/E-4	Grand ● rearguard chariot	C-1/S-159/P-1	Grand rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	6	A-1/P-2/E-1	Left vanguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mai	B/P-1/E-5	Huang Mai ● drives the left vanguard chariot	C-1/S-148/P-3	Left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer
	7	A-1/P-2/E-2	■Junior broad chariot driven by Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding	B/P-1/E-6	Yi, the Director of the ● Palace Livestock Breeding, drives the junior broad chariot	C-?/S-207–208/P-8	Junior broad chariot, a *quadriga* of a Bull Fattener
	8	A-1/P-2/E-3	■Left rearguard chariot driven by Qiu ● Ding	B/P-2/E-1	Qiu Ding ● drives the left rearguard chariot	C-1/S-159/P-2	Left rearguard chariot , a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	9	A-1/P-2/E-4	■Left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot driven by Ai ● Yi	B/P-2/E-2	Ai ● Yi drives the left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	C-?/S-148/P-4	Left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer
	10	A-1/P-3	Jiu ● Qiang drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	B/P-2/E-5	Jiu Qiang ● drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	C-1/S-159/P-3	Left rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	35	A-3/P-1/E-1	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot	B/P-2/E-6	Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot	C-1/S-148/P-5	Right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer
	36	A-3/P-1/E-2	■Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	B/P-2/E-8	Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot	C-1/S-148/P-6	Right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer
	37	A-3/P-2	Zhe ● Mao drives the right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	B/P-3/E-2	Right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot	C-1/S-159/P-5	Right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	11	A-1/P-4	[Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot]?	B/P-3/E-1	Huang Dan ● drives the Right rearguard chariot	C-1/S-159/P-4	Right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer

[1199] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–125.

	58[1200]	／	/	/	/	C-1/S-207–208/P-7	Travelling broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Vehicle Attendant
4 reserve chariots with curved side-screens 副車，囝軒	**2**	A-1/P-1/E-2	■Travelling reserve-chariot driven by Li, the Director of the Palace Stable	B/P-1/E-2	Travelling reserve-chariot ●	C-1/S-207–208/P-9	Travelling reserve-chariot, a *quadriga* of the [Groom of] black horses with white foreheads
	12	A-1/P-5/E-1	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan	B/P-2/E-3	Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan	C-1/S-207–208/P-10	Side-screen reserve-chariot, a *seiugis* of a Vehicle Manufacturer
	13	A-1/P-5/E-2	■Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Bo	B/P-2/E-4	Huang ● Bo drives the side-screen reserve-chariot		
	51[1201]	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-148/P-2	Reserve chariot, a *seiugis* of a New Officer
	52[1202]	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-207–208/P-1	Reserve chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Palace Stable
5 swift broad-chariots built by the artisan assistant Ping 攻差坪所賠行輦	**53**	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-159/P-6	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	54	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-159/P-7	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	55	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-159/P-8	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	56	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-159/P-9	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
	57	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-159/P-10	Swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer
9 touring chariots with a	**3**	A-1/P-1/E-3	■●Travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left	B/P-2/E-10	●Travelling chariot	/	/

[1200] This vehicle may have been the vehicle no. 15. See footnote 1135.

[1201] This vehicle may have been the vehicle no. 15. See footnote 1135.

[1202] This vehicle may have been the vehicle no. 15. See footnote 1135.

rounded hood each 遊車，囝軒	**4**	A-1/P-1/E-4	■Principal chariot driven by Dong Chen, the Director of Guests in Lin	B/P-1/E-3	Principal ● chariot	C-?/S-207–208/P-6	Principal chariot, a *quadriga* of an Orchardist
	38	A-3/P-3/E-1	Royal ● fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot	/	/	C-III 14 (*seiugis*)	Fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot, a *seiugis* of a Vehicle Attendant
	39	A-3/P-3/E-2	■● Qi, the Director of the New Office, drives the duke's side-screen chariot of the left	/	/	/	/
	40	A-3/P-4/E-1	Huang Ke ● drives a wooden-trunk-wheel chariot	/	/	/	/
	41	A-3/P-4/E-2	■Huang ● Jian drives an ink-black chariot	/	/	C-1/S-207–208/P-11	Ink-black chariot, a *seiugis* of a Manufacturer of New Products
	42	A-3/P-5	Huang ● Yi drives a… chariot	?	?	?	?
	44	A-3/P-7	The Palace ● Stable's Head drives a comfortable carriage	/	/	C-1/S-207–208/P-5	Old comfortable carriage, a *biga* of an Orchardist and a Bull Fattener, drawn by horses with one white left hoof each
	49	A-3/P-12	New ● comfortable carriage	/	/	C-1/S-207–208/P-4	Comfortable carriage, a *quadriga* of a Hunting Chariot Rider
One hunting chariot 敏（畋）車	**45**	A-3/P-8	Governor of [...], ● Meng, drives a hunting chariot	/	/	C-III 15 (*seiugis*)	Hunting chariot, a *seiugis* of a Chief Vehicle-Attendant
One hearse 棺轂	**46**	A-3/P-9	Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan●ling, drives a hearse	/	/	C-1/S-207–208/P-14	Hearse, a *seiugis* of the […]
1 royal tiered-canopy chariot 王僮車	**43**	A-3/P-6	Huang … ● drives the royal tiered-canopy chariot	/	/	C-1/S-207–208/P-15	Royal tiered-canopy chariot, a *quadriga* of a Stone Dyke Warden
One curved-pole-canopy	**47**	A-3/P-10	Curved-pole-canopy carriage	/	/	/	/

carriage 輸**輜車**							
9 road carriages 迭**車**	**62**	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-1	Grand road carriage, a *triage*
	63	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-2	Armed road carriage
	64	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-3	Vermillion road carriage
	65	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-4	Vermillion road carriage
	66	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-5	Vermillion road carriage
	67	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-6	Road carriage decorated with deer fur
	68	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-7	Road carriage decorated with deer fur
	69	/	/	/	/	C-?/S-196/P-8	… road carriage
	70	/	/	/	/	C-1/S-196/P-9/E-1	… [road carriage]

Table 21 Contributions of Vehicles and Draught Animals in Marquis Yi's Funeral[1203]

Contributor No.	Contributors	Number of the contributed horses (irrespective of those donated together with vehicles	Number of the contributed mules	Number of the donated road carriages	Vehicle no.	Number and type of the donated chariots	Vehicle no.
1	King 王	/	/	3 (1 *triga*, 2 *bigae*)	71–73	/	/
2	Crown prince 大子	/	/	3 (1 quadriga, 2 *bigae*)	74–76	/	/
3	The Lord of Pingye 坪夜君	4	/	2 (*bigae*)	23–24	1 hunting chariot (*biga*)	22
4	Lord of Li 鄒君	6	/	3 (*bigae*)	77–79	1 broad chariot (*biga*) 1 reserve chariot (*biga*)	16–17
5	Lord of Ji 鄾君	5	/	/	/	1 curved-side-screen chariot (*biga*)	48
6	Lord of Ming 鄸君	/	/	/	/	1 hunting chariot (*biga*)	18
7	Lord of Yang 鄴君	/	/	1 (*biga*)	31	/	/
8	Lord of Yangcheng 旝城君	2	/	3 (*bigae*)	25–27 or 28–30	/	/
9	Lord of Le 樂君	1	/	/	/	/	/
10	Duke of Luyang 魯旝公 / Duke of Lüyang 遬旝公	/	/	3 (*bigae*)	28–30 or 25–27	1 reserve chariot (*biga*)[1204]	80
11	Duke of Bin 賓公	5	/	/	/	/	/
12	Minister 卿事/慶事	2	/	/	/	1 reserve chariot (*biga*)	19
13	Chancellor 敏尹	/	/	/	/	1 hunting chariot (*biga*)	20
14	Chancellor of the Left 左尹	1	/	/	/	1 reserve chariot (*biga*)	14
15	Chancellor of the Right 右尹	5	/	/	/	/	/
16	Governor of Yan 郾尹	/	/	/	/	1 hunting chariot (*biga*)	21
17	Governor of Fu 邊尹	2	/	/	/	1 hunting chariot (*biga*)	81
18	Head of Rites 贅（賚）尹	3	/	/	/	/	/
19	Grand Construction Foreman 大攻（工）尹	2	/	/	/	/	/

[1203] The sources of this table include the sequence of the strips in Appendix III.3 and the transcription of the lists in Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 106–125.

[1204] As addressed in Subsection 3.4.2, the entries on strips 162 and 195 likely refer to one and the same reserve chariot.

20	Construction Foreman 攻（工）尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
21	Horse Master of Cheng 埕馬尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
22	Governor of Li 鄜尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
23	Palace Livestock Breeding 中罟尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
24	Grand Diviner 大𠂤（卜）尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
25	Head of the Palace Stable 宮廄尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
26	Governor of Jiaoya 憍𠯿尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
27	Governor of Royal Fields 敏尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
28	Governor of New Production 新賠尹	1	/	/	/	/	/
29	Governor of Ying, Yang 贏尹鄒	2	/	/	/	/	/
30	Zhuo, the Remonstrance Head 竁尹卓	2	/	/	/	/	/
31	Jia, the Remonstrance Head 竁尹𠂤	1	/	/	/	/	/
32	Aid of the Head of Steward 啐（宰）尹臣	2	/	/	/	/	/
33	Director of Sacrifice 牢 敏（令）	1	/	/	/	/	/
34	? Fu 𣏌甫	1	/	/	/	/	/
	Chieftain ? Fu 𣏌甫子	1	/	/	/	/	/
35	Chieftain Jing Jun 劓君子	1	/	/	/	/	/
36	Chieftain Xian 縣子	1	/	/	/	/	/
37	Chieftain Zhong Cheng 中城子	1	/	/	/	/	/
38	Military Supervisor 司馬	4	/	/	/	/	/
39	Military Supervisor of the Left 左司馬	1	/	/	/	/	/
40	Military Supervisor of the Right 右司馬	1	/	/	/	/	/
41	Squire of the Left 左阱徒	1	/	/	/	/	/
42	Squire of the Right 右阱徒	1	/	/	/	/	/

43	Grand Chieftain 大首	3	/	/	/	/	/
44	Grand Steward 大啐（宰）	1	/	/	/	/	/
45	Junior Preceptor 少帀（師）	2	/	/	/	/	/
46	Scribe of Divination, Fa 让史伐	1	/	/	/	/	/
47	Scribe of Divination, Qi 让史啟	1	/	/	/	/	/
48	Herdsman in She 鄀牧	9	/	/	/	/	/
49	Herdsman 牧人	4	/	/	/	/	/
50	Hunting Chariot Rider 竁（乘）𣪊（畋）人	2	2	/	/	/	/
51	Minister of Works of Song 宋司城	2	/	/	/	/	/
52	Envoy from Song 宋客	1	/	/	/	/	/
53	Wangsun Sheng[…] 王孫生□	1	/	/	/	/	/
54	Ai Chen 哀臣	1	/	/	/	/	/
55	Mou Cao 某𢦏	5	/	/	/	/	/
56	Han Fu 鼾夫	5	/	/	/	/	/
57	? 盉	3	/	/	/	/	/
58	Gao She 高鄀	3	/	/	/	/	/
59	Xiang Fu 巷柫	3	/	/	/	/	/
60	Ci 𠬜	2	/	/	/	/	/
61	Pu 莆	2	/	/	/	/	/
62	Jiao 憍	2	/	/	/	/	/
63	Tuo 𠯿	1	/	/	/	/	/
64	Tuo Gan 𠯿𢀛	1	/	/	/	/	/
65	Yang Yuan 鄢褑	1	/	/	/	/	/
66	Zao 獠	1	/	/	/	/	/
67	Gong Hei 杠黑	1	/	/	/	/	/
68	Huan 嬛	1	/	/	/	/	/
69	Wang 沕	1	/	/	/	/	/
70	Shuo Yaping 曙晉坪	1	/	/	/	/	/
71	Xi Fang 西邡	1	/	/	/	/	/

72	[…] Yi □冀	1	/	/	/	/	/
73	Bei 北	1	/	/	/	/	/
74	Fang Li 邡鄜	1	/	/	/	/	/
75	Jun 濬	1	/	/	/	/	/
76	Yao 駃	1	/	/	/	/	/
77	Zhuoyi 獾耳	1	/	/	/	/	/
78	Cai Qi 蔡齮	1	/	/	/	/	/
79	Du 櫝	1	/	/	/	/	/
80	Gao 高	1	/	/	/	/	/
81	Gao Yuan 高趄	1	/	/	/	/	/
82	Gong 公	1	/	/	/	/	/
83	Jian Ju 建巨	1	/	/	/	/	/
84	Jin 晉	1	/	/	/	/	/
85	Mang Zhan 笀斬	1	/	/	/	/	/
86	Nan 難	1	/	/	/	/	/
87	Wang Jiu 王衴	1	/	/	/	/	/
88	Yi 依	1	/	/	/	/	/
89	You 汙	1	/	/	/	/	/
90	Yuan Ding 趄定	1	/	/	/	/	/
91	Zheng 鄭	1	/	/	/	/	/
92	Zheng Cheng 鄭成	1	/	/	/	/	/
93	Zheng Tong 鄭橦	1	/	/	/	/	/
94	Jin Yang 晉觴	1	/	/	/	/	/
95	[…] ⧅	5	/	/	/	/	/
Total	At least 95	At least 158[1205]	2	1 quadriga, 1 triage and 16 *bigae* (39 horses)	/	11 *bigae* (22 horses: 8 of which were of other provenances)	/

[1205] This table assumes that vehicles nos. 69–70 in Appendix I: Table 16 may have been drawn by two horses each. But it is possible that they were drawn by more horses.

Table 22 Contributions of Sacrificial Horses in Marquis Yi's Funeral[1206]

Official foddering the horses	Contributor No.	Contributors of the horses	Number of the horses	Number of the horses contributed by the same person in List C
?	?	[…] □□□	2	?
	38	Military Supervisor 司馬	2	4
	?	Governor of […] □尹	2	?
	15	Chancellor of the Right 右尹	2	5
	14	Chancellor of the Left 左尹	A team of draught horses (2?)	1
The Seventh Grandee 七夫=（七大夫）	44	Grand Steward 大啐	1	1
	96	Grand Governor 大尹	2	0
	25	Head of the Palace Stable 宮廄尹	1	1
	45	Junior Preceptor 少帀（師）	2	2
	97	Military Supervisor in Cheng 城司馬	1	0
	21	Horse Master of Cheng 城馬尹	1	1
	?	Grand […] 大□□□	?	?
?	?	Governor of […] ⧅尹	1	?
	41	Squire of the Left 左阬徒	1	1
	42	Squire of the Right 右阬徒	1	1
	93	Zheng Cheng 鄭成	1	1
	31	Jia, the Remonstrance Head 寋（緘）尹加	1	1
Total	/	17	At least 24	At least 19

[1206] The sources of this table are strips 210, 52+211 in Appendix III.4 and Appendix I: Table 21.

Table 23 Part of the Entries in the Lists from Tomb No. 1 at Mawangdui[1207]

Strip No.	List entry	Translation	Corresponding tomb goods (Inventory No. or description)[1208]	Deposition location	Comment
1	牛首酵（酷）羹一鼎	Ox head stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
2	羊酵（酷）羹一鼎	Lamb stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
3	鹿雋(膲)一鼎	Thick venison goulash stew, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
4	彖（豕）酵（酷）羹一鼎	Pork stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
5	豚酵（酷）羹一鼎	Suckling pig stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
6	狗酵（酷）羹一鼎	Puppy dog stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
7	鴈（鳧）酵（酷）羹一鼎	Wild duck stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found. A label (Label No.) with the inscription “鴈（鳧）酵（酷）羹” (Wild duck stew seasoned with pickles) was discovered at a *guan*-pot (Inv. No. ?); and a pottery *ding*-

[1207] For the transcription of the list entries see Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 208–214.

[1208] For the inventory numbers and description of the tomb goods see Hunan sheng bowuguan 1973, vol. 1, 35–129.

					cauldron containing duck bones was found (52) in the eastern compartment
8	雉酵（酷）羹一鼎	Pheasant stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
9	雞酵（酷）羹一鼎	Chicken stew seasoned with pickles, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found. A label (Label No. 5) with the inscription “雞羹” (Chicken stew) was discovered at a *guan*-pot (Inv. No. ?)
10	▌右方酵羹九鼎	▌To the right: stews seasoned with pickles, nine *ding*-cauldrons	/	/	Summary (No corresponding *ding*-cauldrons found. But part of the stews in the *ding*-cauldrons may have been transferred to part of the pottery *ding*-cauldrons (strip 221 in another unity of content) and several *guan*-pots (not described in the list)
11	牛白羹一鼎	Beef stew in a clear broth, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found. A label (Label No. 2) with the inscription “牛白羹” (Beef stew in a clear broth) was discovered at a *guan*-pot (300?)
12	鹿肉鮑魚笋白羹一鼎	Venison stew with fermented fish and bamboo shoots in a clear broth, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldrons found. A *guan*-pot containing bones of bovine and deer (300) was discovered
13	鹿肉芋白羹一鼎	Venison goulash stew with taros in a clear broth, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	
14	小叔（菽）鹿劦（脅）白羹一鼎	Venison spare rib stew with young beans in a clear broth, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	
15	雞白羹一鼎瓠菜	Chicken stew with gourds in a clear broth, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.

16	鰿（鯽）白羹一鼎	Goldfish (*Carassius auratus auratus*) stew in a clear broth, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldrons found. Five *guan*-pots containing fish bones (233, 276, 304, 302 and 311) were discovered
17	鮮鱵（鱖）禺（藕）鮑白羹一鼎	Fresh mandarin fish stew with lotus roots and fermented fish in a clear broth, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldrons found. Five *guan*-pots containing fish bones (233, 276, 304, 302 and 311) and one lacquered wooden *ding*-cauldron (100) with lotus roots were discovered in the eastern compartment
18	▌右方白羹七鼎	▌To the right: stews in clear broths, seven *ding*-cauldrons	/	/	Summary (No corresponding *ding*-cauldrons found. But part of the stews in the *ding*-cauldrons may have been transferred to part of the *ding*-cauldrons made of lacquered wood (strip 165 in another unity of content) as well as in several *guan*-pots (not described in the list)
19	狗巾羹一鼎	Puppy dog stew seasoned with water celery (*Oenanthe javanica*), one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
20	鴈（雁）巾羹一鼎	Wild goose stew seasoned with water celery, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found. A label (Label No. 3) with the inscription “鴈（雁）巾羹” (Wild goose stew seasoned with water celery) was discovered at a *guan*-pot (Inv. No. ?), and a pottery *ding*-cauldron containing wild goose bones was discovered (99) in the eastern compartment
21	鰿禺（藕）肉巾羹一鼎	*Ji*-fish stew with lotus roots and meat, seasoned with water celery, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found. A pot labeled with “鰿肉禺（藕）巾羹” (*Ji*-fish stew with meat and lotus roots) was discovered at a *guan*-pot (One of the Inv. Nos. 233, 276, 304, 302 and 311?)
22	▌右方巾羹三鼎	▌To the right: stews seasoned with water celery, three *ding*-cauldrons	/	/	Summary (No corresponding *ding*-cauldrons found. But part of the stews in the *ding*-cauldrons may have been transferred to part of the

					pottery *ding*-cauldrons (strip 221 in another unity of content) as well as in several *guan*-pots (not described in the list)
23	牛逢（蓬）羹一鼎	Beef stew seasoned with edible chrysanthemum (*Glebionis coronaria*), one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
24	牛封（蓬）羹一鼎	Beef stew seasoned with edible chrysanthemum, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
25	豕（豕）逢（蓬）羹一鼎	Pork stew seasoned with edible chrysanthemum, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
26	▌右方逢（蓬）羹三鼎	▌To the right: stews seasoned with edible chrysanthemum, three *ding*-cauldrons	/	/	Summary
27	牛苦羹一鼎	Beef stew seasoned with field sowthistle (*Sonchus arvensis*)	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
28	狗苦羹一鼎	Puppy dog seasoned with field sowthistle, one *ding*-cauldron	/	/	No corresponding *ding*-cauldron found.
29	▌右方苦羹二鼎	▌To the right: stews seasoned with field sowthistle, two *ding*-cauldrons	/	/	Summary
165	𣐈（漆）畫木鼎七皆有蓋盛羹	Seven lacquer-painted, wooden *ding*-cauldrons for holding stews, all with lids	Seven lacquer-painted, wooden *ding*-cauldrons (48, 100 with lotus roots, 101-102, 104, 275, and 296)	Inv. No. 48 in the first layer, and Inv. Nos. 100-102, 104 in the second layer of the tomb goods in the eastern compartment; Inv. No. 275 in the first layer and 296 in the second layer of the tomb goods in the southern compartment	The seven *ding*-cauldrons in the tomb did not form a group, but distributed in two compartments, e.g., Inv. No. 48 was deposited in the northern half of the eastern compartment, while Inv. No. was placed towards the eastern end of the southern compartment. Some of these *ding*-cauldrons may have held the stews described in the unities of content on strips 1-29

166	𣪊（漆）畫鈚六	Six lacquer-painted ladles	Six lacquer-painted ladles (118-123)	In the second layer of the tomb goods in the eastern compartment	The lables in the tomb formed a group that was not associated with any of the *ding*-cauldrons
167	▌右方𣪊（漆）畫鼎七鈚六	▌To the right: seven lacquer-painted, wooden *ding*-cauldrons and six ladles	/	/	Summary (The recorded goods were merely partly discovered in the tomb. The related tomb goods did not form a group)
195	𣪊（漆）畫小具杯廿枚：其二盛醬┗鹽；其二郭（槨）首┗，十八郭（槨）足	20 lacquer-painted, stackable cups: two containing sauce┗ and salt, respectively. [These?] two for the head (northern) compartment; 18 for the foot (southern) compartment	Seven empty, stackable cups (Inv. Nos. 177①-⑦); three empty, loose ones (96, 106 and 390)	Seven empty, stackable cups (Inv. Nos. 177①-⑦) were found in a cup container (Inv. Nos. 177) in the eastern compartment; two more (96 and 106) were found loose in this compartment, placed among a group of *ding*-cauldrons, trays, boxes and jars (Inv. No. 48-52, 58-59, 93-107) holding diverse food and beverages; and another one (390) holding a pair of chopsticks (391) on a table (382) in the northern compartment, respectively	Ten of the recorded cups were not discovered in the tomb. The discovered cups, which did not hold sauce or salt, were deposited in three locations in two compartments. Neither the numbers of the cups nor their deposition locations correspond to the records
196	𣪊（漆）畫具杯柙二合	Two lidded cup containers	One cup container (Inv. Nos. 177)	In the eastern compartment	One of the recorded cup containers was not discovered in the tomb
197	▌右方𣪊（漆）畫小具杯廿枚┗檢二合	▌To the right: 20 lacquer-painted, stackable cups, and ┗two lidded boxes [for holding cups?][1209]	/	/	Summary (The recorded goods were merely partly discovered in the tomb. The related tomb goods did not form a group)
201	𣪊（漆）畫華圩十枚：其一盛牛肩，郭（槨）左；九郭（槨）足	Ten lacquer-painted *huayu*-bowls: one containing a shoulder piece of beef for the left (eastern) compartment and nine for the foot (southern) compartment	Six empty, lacquered bowls of the shape *yu* (61, 62, 74, 75, 92 and 206)	Eastern compartment	Four of the recorded bowls were not discovered in the tomb. All of the discovered ones were placed in the eastern compartment, which is at odds with the recorded deposition locations

[1209] Although there are controversial opinions about whether the term *xia* 柙 on stip 196 and *jian* 檢 on strip 197 are loan characters, these two strips have been put together as part of an unity of content. See Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 145; Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 202.

202	𣐈（漆）畫沐（木）般（盤）容五斗	One lacquer-painted wooden *pan*-basin with a capacity of five *dou* (10000 ml)	None	/	Recorded item was not discovered in the tomb
203	𣐈（漆）畫盛六合 ㄴ盛黃白粢稻食麥食各二器	Six lacquer-painted, lidded *cheng*-boxes: ㄴtwo holding yellow rice pastries, two holding white rice pastries, and the remaining two holding wheat pastries	Four lacquer-painted, lidded, round boxes with certain pastries (70)	Eastern compartment	Two of the recorded boxes were not discovered in the tomb
204	▌右方𣐈（漆）華圩十 ㄴ木般一 ㄴ盛六合	▌To the right: ten lacquer-painted *huayu*-bowls, ㄴ one wooden basin, ㄴsix lidded *cheng*-boxes	/	/	Summary (The recorded goods types were merely partly discovered in the tomb. Among the types that were buried, the tomb goods were overnumbered by the recorded ones. The related tomb goods were not deposited in accordance with the records)
214	𣐈（漆）畫卑𠂤，桱（徑）八寸，冊：其七盛乾肉，郭首 ㄴ；卅一盛癐（膾）、載（胾）	40 painted trays, diameter eight *cun* (ca. 18.48 cm): seven loaded with dried meat for the head (northern) compartment ㄴ, 31 loaded with minced meat or pieces of meat	20 painted trays with the diameter of ca. 18.5 cm (63, 98, 103, 107 holding noodles, bones of mandarin fish, beef scapula, beef spare ribs, respectively; 93-94 holding pheasant bones; 383–387 holding certain food; and 64, 95, 97, 107, 113–115 as well as 160–162 were empty)	Five trays with the diameter of 18.5 cm (383–387) discovered on the table (382) in the northern compartment and 15 such trays (63, 64, 93–95, 97, 98, 103, 107, 113–115 and 160–162) in the eastern compartment	The recorded trays were merely partly discovered in the tomb. The northern (head) compartment yielded five instead of seven trays
215	▌右方卑𠂤冊	▌To the right: 40 trays	/	/	Summary (The recorded goods were merely partly discovered in the tomb. The related deposition location yielded more trays than the recorded ones destined for the location)
220	熏盧（爐）二皆畫	Two incense burners, both coated with paint	286 and 433	286 in the southern compartment and 433 in the northern compartment	The entry does not necessarily belong to the summary on strip 223. The tomb goods related to this entry did not form a group
221	瓦器三貴錫埁其六鼎盛羹 ㄴ釿六盛米酒 ㄴ溫酒	Three cupboards of pottery vessels coated with tin, of which six *ding*-cauldrons hold stews ㄴand six *fang*-jars hold rice wine ㄴas well as mulled wine	Four pottery *ding*-cauldrons coated with tin (52, 99 and 105 holding bones of duck, wild goose and chicken, respectively; 49 was empty); two pottery *ding*-cauldrons with black-lacquered lids and bodies painted with black, yellow, green and silver pigments (66 was empty and 67	Pottery *ding*-cauldrons located in the eastern compartment and pottery *fang*-jars placed in the southern compartment	The numbers of the discovered *ding*-cauldrons and *fang*-jars correspond to the records, but their decorations deviate partly from the records (not all were coated with tin), and they did not form a group since they were placed in different compartments. Some of these *ding*-

			holding chicken bones); two black-lacquered pottery *fang*-jars (280 and 287) painted with yellow, green and silver pigments		cauldrons may have held the stews described in the unities of content on strips 1-29
222	瓦簪（鬻）甗各錫埀	One *zeng*-pot and one pottery *yan*-damper, both coated with tin	One cooking pot called *fu* 釜 (295) and one pottery damper erroneously called *zeng* 甑 (297) by the excavators. Both coated with tin	In the southern compartment	Types and numbers of the recorded vessels correspond to the discovered ones. The vessels in the tomb were not directly combined with each other, but they were deposited close to each other in the same compartment
223	瓦錄二皆畫	Two pottery *xian*-vessels, both coated with paint	Two pottery vessels called *dou* 豆 by the excavators (279 and 419)[1210]	279 in the southern compartment and 419 in the northern compartment	The entry does not necessarily belong to the summary on strip 223. The tomb goods related to this entry did not form a group
224	▌右方七牒瓦器錫埀	▌To the right: seven bamboo strips recording pottery items that are coated with tin	/	/	The summary refer to seven bamboo strips that used to belong to the related unity of content. But merely two strips (221-222) from the tomb bear entries that most likely belonged to this unity. The records on these two entries correspond partly to the related tomb goods in types and totally in numbers, but these tomb goods did not form a group
225	員付簍二盛印副	Two round, combinable boxes containing a seal and a wig, respectively	443-8 (small round box with a diameter of 13.5 cm containing a wig and a silk floss)	Small round box found in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) in the northern compartment	The seal, the wig and the combinable boxes were not discovered in the combination as described in the entry, instead, they were combined with many further items, respectively
			Seal without Inv. No.	Seal found amid 5 small boxes and various other items in another big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 441) in the northern compartment	
226	員付簍二盛帶└一空	Two round, combinable boxes containing ribbons └ One is [now] empty	Maybe 443-5 (a ribbon)	Ribbon amid the small boxes in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) in the northern compartment	No corresponding boxes found. The ribbon may also corresponds to the entry one strip 275
			/	/	

[1210] For the identification of the items described on strip 223 see Qiu Xigui 2014, vol. 6, 205 ff. The site report identifies the items with two pottery vessels called *zhong* by the excvators. But these vessels were not coated with paint, but instead with tin. Cf. Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 123 and 147.

227	小付篋三盛節（櫛）𠂢脂𠂢𣰰（粉）	Three small combinable boxes containing combs𠂢 cream𠂢 and powder	One broad-tooth comb (441-16: length 8.5 cm) and one fine-tooth comb (441-17: length 8.8 cm), both made of wood in a *lian*-box (Inv. No. 441); 443-10 (small round box containing rouge made of grease-paint), 443-14 (small round box with a diameter of 8.2 cm containing whitening powder)	In a *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) in the northern compartment	The set of combs was not discovered in a small box as described, but amid nine small boxes in a big *lian*-box
228	▌右方付篋七	▌To the right: seven combinable boxes	/	/	Summary (the tomb goods related with the unity of content on strips 226-228 did not form a group. They were distributed amid other goods in two *lian*-boxes)
230	九子曽（層）檢一合	A [two]-tiered *lian*-box with textile containing nine combinable boxes	A two-tiered *lian*-box containing nine combinable boxes (443)	In the northern compartment	This entry is not associated with any other entries or unity of content in the list. But the corresponding *lian*-box in the tomb contained part of the items described in the unity of content on strips 225–228 as well as part of the items described in the entries on strips 236, 238, 240, 264–268 and 275
231	五子檢一合	A *lian*-box containing five combinable boxes	441 (big *lian*-box with a diameter of 34 cm containing five combinable small boxes)	In the northern compartment	This entry is not associated with any other entries or unity of content in the list. But the corresponding *lian*-box contained part of the items described in the unity of content on strips 225–228 as well as part of the items described in the entries on strips 236, 242 and 243
236	踈比（篦）一具	A set of one broad-tooth comb and one fine-tooth comb	One broad-tooth comb and one fine-tooth comb (Inv. Nos. unknown; both 8.8 cm long), both made wood, in a small hoof-shaped box (diameter 9.8 cm, Inv. No. 443-15), which was placed in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) discovered in the northern compartment	The items described in the entry were discovered possibly in a big *lian*-box in the tomb. The combination of the related set with the *lian*-box, which corresponds to the list entry on strip 231, is not indicated in the list
237	尺比（篦）二枚	Two fine-tooth combs, one *chi* (23.1 cm) long each	/	/	No corresponding combs found

238	象踈（梳）比（篦）一雙	A set of a broad-tooth comb and a fine-tooth comb, both made of ivory	One broad-tooth comb (443-15①) and one fine-tooth comb (443-15②), both made of ivory, in a small hoof-shaped box (diameter 9.8 cm, Inv. No. 443-15), which was placed in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) discovered in the northern compartment	The items described in these two entries were discovered in a big *lian*-box in the tomb. Their combination with the *lian*-box, which corresponds to the list entry on strip 231, is not indicated in the list
240	茀二其一赤	Two brushes, one of which is red	Two brushes, the hairs of one of which is red, discovered in a small rectangular box (6 / 21.2 / 6 cm, Inv. No. 443-12) , which was placed in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) discovered in the northern compartment	
241	大鏡一	One big mirror	/	/	No corresponding mirror found
242	小鏡一有衣	One small mirror, wrapped in an envelope	A bronze mirror (441-2) in an envelope of the shape of a cylinder (441-3) in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 441)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 441) discovered in the northern compartment	The items described in these two entries were discovered in a big *lian*-box in the tomb. Their combination with the *lian*-box, which corresponds to the list entry on strip 231, is not indicated in the list
243	所以除鏡一	One mirror cleaner	A cone made of red pongee and brocade and filled with unwoven silk in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 441)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 441) discovered in the northern compartment	
244	非衣一長丈二尺	A flying garment, 1.2 *zhang* (ca. 277.2 cm) long	A T-shaped silk painting (452)	On the lid of the inner coffin in the coffin compartment	The whole length of the T-shaped silk painting, including the loop at the top and the tassels at the bottom, is 282 cm (the length of the individual tassels: more than 20 cm), which is relatively close to the described length[1211]
245	▌右方非衣	▌To the right: a flying garment	/	/	Summary
246	紋緒巾二繢掾（緣）	Two patterned handkerchiefs made of ramie fibre, bordered by textile shreds	/	/	No corresponding handkerchiefs found
247	紋緒巾一素掾（緣）	One patterned handkerchief made of ramie fibre, bordered by undyed silk	/	/	No corresponding handkerchief found
248	紋緒巾一	One patterned handkerchief made of ramie fibre	/	/	No corresponding handkerchief found

[1211] This is pointed out by Fu Juyou, see Fu Juyou 傅举有, “Mawangdui zenghua yanjiu: Mawangdui Han hua yanjiu zhiyi” 马王堆缯画研究——马王堆汉画研究之一, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物, no. 3 (1993): 102. It is controversial whether the item described on strip 244 corresponds to the T-shaped painting, since the site report asserts that no entity of the related length could be found in the tomb, perhaps because it merely considers the length of the main body of the painting (205 cm). Cf. Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, vol. 1, 39 and 249. I agree with Fu that the whole length must be considered.

249	緒巾一	One handkerchief made of ramie fibre	/	/	No corresponding handkerchief found
250	麻巾一	One handkerchief made of hemp fibre	/	/	No corresponding handkerchief found
251	郭（槨）中綢印𣰰（縠）帷一，繢掾（緣），素捽；袤二丈二尺，廣五尺；青綺𠋨（紛），素裹掾（緣）	One curtain, made of silk gauze and fringed with tabby silk – for the middle compartment – with a painted fringe and undyed loops; two *zhang* and two *chi* (508.2 cm) long and five *chi* broad (115.5 cm); with sashes made of blue, patterned tabby-silk with undyed inner lining as well as an undyed silk fringe	One curtain (450) made of three sheets of undyed, patterned tabby-silk (*qi* 綺); with a fringe made of purple tabby silk (*juan* 絹) on its top edge and side edges. Its top is attached with several loops made of tabby silk. It is 730 cm long and 145 cm wide	Fixed by bamboo nails on the four walls of the northern compartment	The size, silk combination and deposition location of the curtain in the tomb do not correspond to those of the recorded one
252	白綃乘雲繡郭（槨）中綑（茵）度（著）一赤掾（緣）	One coffin cushion for the middle compartment, with [an envelop made of] white raw silk embroidered with the “riding-the-wind” pattern and fringed with red silk	/	/	No coffin cushion found
253	素乘雲繡枕巾一，繢周掾（緣），素綏（緁）	One pillow cover made of undyed silk with embroidery of the “riding-the-wind” pattern, a dyed inner fringe and an undyed outer fringe	444 or 446	Northern compartment	One more pillow cover (446) than described was discovered
254	繡枕一	One embroidered pillow	440	Northern compartment	/
255	素長壽繡机巾一，繢周掾（緣），素綏（緁）	One armrest cover made of undyed silk, with embroidery of the “longevity” pattern, a dyed inner fringe and an undyed outer fringe	439	Northern compartment	/
256	素信期繡檢𣪊（幭）一，素周掾（緣），繻緩緪（縪）飤（飾）	One small *jian*-box envelope made of undyed silk, with embroidery of the “faithful appointment” pattern and an undyed silk fringe, adorned with a coloured and broad band	A cloth (443-1)	Wrapping a *lian*-box (443) in the northern compartment	The entries on the cloths are part of the unity of content on strips 246–258. But the related cloths were discovered in combination with two *lian*-boxes, the records of which (strips 230–231) are no part of the unity of conten
257	素長壽繡小檢𣪊（幭）一，赤周掾（緣）	One small *jian*-box envelope made of undyed silk, with embroidery of the “longevity” pattern and a red silk fringe	A cloth (441-1)	Wrapping a *lian*-box (441) in the northern compartment	

258	▌右方巾㇀沈㡛（幭）	▌To the right: cloths, pillow and envelopes	/	/	Summary (The recorded goods were merely partly discovered in the tomb. One of the pillow covers in the tomb was not mentioned in the list. The size, material and deposition location of the curtain in the tomb do not correspond to those of the recorded one.)
259	素履一兩	One pair of undyed silk shoes	Three pairs of silk shoes (65-3, 434, 435)	In a *si*-box (65) in the eastern compartment and in the northern compartment	/
260	絲履一兩	One pair of silk shoes			
261	青絲履一兩，扁褚掾（緣）	One pair of black silk shoes with ramie braids			
262	接麤一兩	A pair of stockings with ties	329-3 or 329-4	In a *si*-box in the western compartment	One more pair stockings than described was discovered
263	▌右方履二兩麤一兩	▌To the right: two pairs of shoes and one pair of stockings	/	/	The summary refers merely to two of the three pairs of shoes described in the entries (strips 259-261). The related tomb goods did not form a group as described in the unity of content on strips 259-263
264	素長壽鏡衣一，赤掾（緣），大	One mirror envelope made of undyed silk, embroidered with the “longevity” pattern and bordered red; big	Cylinder made of embroidered silk (443-7) in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) discovered in the northern compartment	/
265	絲（綟）綺緘衣一赤掾（緣）	One pincushion made of *li*-grass-coloured tabby-silk and bordered red	One of the two pinchusions (Inv. Nos. 443-12① or 443-12②) in a small rectangular box (6 / 21.2 / 6 cm, Inv. No. 443-12) , which was placed in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) discovered in the northern compartment	One more pincushion than described is found in the inner box
266	紗綺緆一兩素掾（緣）千金縭（繚）飤（飾）	One pair of glovelettes made of plain-weave gauze and tabby-silk, with finger parts made of undyed silk, and decorative silk bands bearing the “thousand gold”-character pattern	A pair of glovelettes (Inv. No. 443-2) in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)	Big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) discovered in the northern compartment	/
267	絲（綟）綺緆一兩素掾（緣）千金縭（繚）飤（飾）	One pair of glovelettes made of *li*-grass-coloured tabby-silk, with finger parts made of undyed silk, and decorative silk bands bearing the “thousand gold”-character pattern	A pair of glovelettes (Inv. No. 443-3) in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)		

268	素信期繡緆一兩赤掾（緣）千金縭（縭）飤（飾）	One pair of glovelettes made of undyed silk bearing an embroidered pattern of “faithful appointment”, with finger parts made of red silk, and decorative silk bands bearing the “thousand gold”-character pattern	A pair of glovelettes (Inv. No. 443-4) in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443)		
269	白綃信期繡熏囊一素掾（緣）	One fragrance bag made of white raw silk-gauze, with embroidery of the “faithful appointment” pattern and and an undyed silk fringe	442	Northern compartment	/
270	紺綺信期繡熏囊一素掾（緣）	One fragrance bag made of dark-purple tabby-silk, with embroidery of the “faithful appointment” pattern and an undyed silk fringe	65-2	In a *si*-basket (65) in the eastern compartment	/
271	素信期繡熏囊一沙素掾（緣）	One fragrance bag made of undyed silk, with embroidery of the “faithful appointment” pattern and an undyed plain-weave gauze fringe	65-1	In a *si*-basket (65) in the eastern compartment	/
272	紅綺熏囊一素掾（緣）	One fragrance bag made of red tabby-silk and fringed with undyed silk	65-4	In a *si*-basket (65) in the eastern compartment	/
273	素娶一	One ? made of undyed silk	/	/	/
274	羅一	Silk-gauze in net-weave	/	/	/
275	紅組帶一	One red ribbon	Maybe 443-5 (a ribbon)	Ribbon amid the small boxes in a big *lian*-box (Inv. No. 443) in the northern compartment	Ribbon in the *lian*-box may correspond to the record on strip 226

Table 24 Goods Deposited in the Three Nesting Coffins in Tomb No. 1 at Mawangdui[1212]

Space in the four nesting coffins	Chinese term suggested by the excavators	English term	Colour and material	Num-ber	Size	Inv. No.	Deposition location	Correspon-ding list items
Inner coffin	假髮	Wig	Wig	1	/	/	Mixed with the real hairs of the corpse	/
	玳瑁髮笄	Hairpin	Tortoiseshell	1	19.5 / 2 / 1	/	Fixing the hairs and wig	/
	竹髮笄	Hairpin	bamboo	1	/	/	Fixing the hairs and wig	/
	角質髮笄	Hairpin	horn	1	24 / 2.5 / 1.5	/	Fixing the hairs and wig	/
	木花飾品	Decoration items in the shape of flowers and stems	Wood, gold inlay, gold foils, pigments	29	Ca. 1 / 0.2 / ?	/	At the forehead and the temples of the corpse	/
	幎目	Eye cover	brocade	1	11 / 4 / ?	/	Over the forehead and the eyes of the corpse	/
	掩鼻	Nose cover	Undyed pongee and silk wadding	1	10 / 2.5–4	/	Over the nose of the corpse	/
	綉花絹面香囊	Fragrance bags	Bag made of enbroidered pongee, herbs	2	12 / 4 /?	/	In the hands of the corpse	/[1213]
	組帶	Silk ribbons	Silk	9	150–180 / 13 / ?	/	Binding the textile wrap of the corpse (in intervals of 15 cm)	/
	綉黃綺綿衾	Quilts	Embroidered, yellow tabby-silk; silk wadding	2	72 / 3.6 / ?, 130 / 160 / ?	N3	First two layers of the wrap of the corpse	/
	綉黃絹綿衾	Quilt	Embroidered, yellow pongee; silk wadding	1	/	N4	3rd layer of the wrap of the corpse	/
	黃紗綿衾	Quilt	Yellow gauze, silk wadding	1	/	N5	4th layer of the wrap of the corpse	/
	綉羅琦綿袍	Lined robes	Embroidere tabby-silk; silk wadding	4	/	N7, N14, N17, N32	5th, 15th-16th and 20th layers of the wrap of the corpse	/
	綉絹單衣	Unlined robes	Embroidered pongee	5	/	N8, N10, N18, N11, N12	6th and 9th-12th layers of the wrap of the corpse	/

[1212] The sources of this table is Hunan sheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, 28–31 and 39.

[1213] The list entries on strips 269–272 describe four fragrance bags. But they correspond more likely to three fragrance bags in a *si*-basket in the eastern compartment and a further one in the northern compartment than with the two in the coffin. See Appendix I: Table 23.

	綉羅琦單衣	Unlined robe	Embroidere tabby-silk	1	/	N9	7th layer of the wrap of the corpse	/
	灰麻布包裹層，飾千金縿	Shroud	Grey hemp cloth with decorative silk bands of the “thousand gold”-character pattern	1	/	N26	8th layer of the wrap of the corpse	/
	黃絹殘片	Fragments of pongee	Yellow pongee	3	/	N20, N13	13th-14th and 17th layers of the wrap of the corpse	/
	白麻布包裹層	Shroud	White hemp cloth	1	/	N27, N29	18th layer of the wrap of the corpse	/
	細麻布單衣	Unlined robe	Hemp cloth	1	/	N30	19th layer of the wrap of the corpse	/
	絲帶	Silk ribbon	Silk	1	/		Binding the arms and the feet of the corpse (in intervals of 15 cm)	/
	絹面裹絲綿	Enveloped silk waddings	Pongee, silk wadding	2	/	/	Around the groin and between the thighs	/
					/	N02	Between the feet and the inner coffin end	/
	絹帶	Pongee ribbons	Pongee	2	60 / 2 / ?, 70 / 2 / ?	N03	On N02	/
	青絲履	Black silk shoes	Silk	1 pair	/	N04	On the feet of the corpse	/[1214]
Between the two innermost coffins	T 形帛畫	T-shaped silk painting	Silk, pigments, bamboo culm, silk suspending strings, silk tassels	1	Painting surface: 205 / 47.7–92 / ?. Tassels: 20 / ? / ?	452	On the lid of the inner coffin	Strips 244 and 245
	漆玳瑁璧	*Bi*-disc	Tortoiseshell, lacquer, silk suspending strings,	1	14.2 / 2 / 0.8	451	On the lid of the inner coffin, close to the top of the T-shaped silk painting	/
	墨繪桃枝小俑	Small figurines	Peach branches, ink	33	8–12 / ? / ?	453, 454	On the lid of the inner coffin, close to the bottom of the T-shaped silk painting	/
	墨繪丝衣小俑	Dresses small figurines	Peach branches, silk	2	Ca. 11–12 / 2.5 / 1	455, 456	Between the two innermost coffins, to the east and the west of the innermost coffin	/
	墨繪麻衣小俑	Dresses small figurines	Peach branch, hemp cloth	1		457	Between the two innermost coffins, to the south of the innermost coffin	/
	繒帛殘片	Fragments of plain-weave silk	Plain-weave silk	/	/	458	Between the two innermost coffins, to the south of the innermost coffin	/

[1214] The list entries on strips 259–263 describe three pairs of shoes. But they correspond more likely to three pairs of shoes in two compartments of the tomb chamber than with the pair in the coffin. See Appendix I: Table 23.

Appendix II Physical Features of the Leigudun Strips

The lists came to light as loose bamboo strips including both intact and fragmented strips. The strips seem to resemble several jigsaw puzzles thrown together. The puzzle pieces are 215 bamboo strips, either fragments or intact ones. Unlike common puzzle pieces that bear individual parts of a picture, each strip bears a part of a list that used to be arranged in a certain layout. Individual puzzle pieces can be arrayed to one another or pieced together according to a number of physical features, including the shapes of the strip and indications of former bindings, i.e., notches and traces of binding strings. Hence, the most crucial step in playing the game is to figure out how many jigsaw puzzles the strips used to form.

In the previous reconstruction, the physical features of the strips did not obtain as much attention as they deserve.[1215] To deal with this lack, I provided my own reconstruction of the sequence of the A and B strips, combining methods in regard of the following criteria: the physical features of the strips, the structure and the layout of the writings, as well as the textual and intertextual coherence of the philological data.[1216] This appendix introduces the physical features of those strips among the A-D groups that bear traces of binding (notches and traces of binding strings).

The measurements made by Xiao Shengzhong in 2004 are the latest data available about the physical features of the strips, i.e., the lengths of the individual strips, the distances between each strip top and its upper notch, between each strip bottom and the lower notch, as well as the distance between the two traces of binding strings on each strip; in addition, he indicates whether a strip is a fragment and points out the position of the missing part.[1217] Furthermore, a comparison of the photos of the strips and Xiao's measurement data indicates that the lengths of a few strips are problematic. Thanks to the courtesy of Professor Xiao, I was able to use the original data of his measurement (see Appendix III).

[1215] Elsewhere, I have introduced the previous reconstructions of the sequence of the strips. See Sun Hui 2020, 58–60.

[1216] See Sun Hui 2020, 60–145.

[1217] See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 26–32.

Both the inter-binding-trace distances and the inter-notch distances indicate that the notched strips can be roughly divided into two main groups, with one group roughly corresponding to the A and B strips and the other group corresponding to the C strips. But within each group, not only the inter-binding-trace distances and the inter-notch distances (see Fig. 60), but also the intact strip lengths (see Fig. 61) diverge greatly. The previous reconstructions, surmising that the strips might have formed two scrolls, underestimate the original number of the jigsaw puzzles. This took its toll especially on the previous reconstructions of the sequence of the A and B strips, because there are multiple options to form them into long paragraphs, which consist of one or more long entries each.[1218]

The irregular distributions of the values within each of the three groups are probably due to uneven size changes of the strips. The size changes of the strips include their swelling during the water-logged deposition in the tomb and their shrinkage after the excavation. Indeed, a recent experiment shows that even bamboo strips from one and the same tomb can shrink and swell to diverse degrees.[1219] Generally, the tangential size changes of the bamboo strips are much greater than the axial size changes.[1220] But since the individual widths of the bamboo strips from the marquis' tomb are not known,[1221] the tangential size changes will not be considered.

Since these strips likely underwent the same conditions of deposition and conservation, their disparate axial swelling and shrinkage are probably due to individual physical properties of the bamboo materials themselves. Nothing is known about the bamboo species used for the

[1218] For an introduction of the previous reconstructions see Sun Hui 2020, 58–60.

[1219] Restorators measured the sizes of a number of bamboo strips from the tomb of Marquis of Haihun and those from a certain tomb in Zhangjiashan in three different phases: 1) waterlogged shortly after their excavation; 2) air-dried and shrunk; 3) waterlogged after a treatment with a restorative solution consisting of distilled water, $C_{12}H_{24}N_2O$, NaOH, and $C_{12/14}$ alkyl polyglycoside. The measurement shows that individual shrinkages occurred among waterlogged bamboo strips from one and the same tomb, and individual degrees of swelling also took place after the restorative treatment. See Wu Hao 吴昊 et al., "Chutu baoshui zhujian shishui gansuo de fuxing yanjiu: Yi Haihun Hou muzang chutu zhujian weili" 出土饱水竹简失水干缩的复形研究：以海昏侯墓葬出土竹简等为例, *Wenwu baohu yu kaogu kexue* 文物保护与考古科学 28, no. 3 (2016): 13 ff.

[1220] See Wu Hao et al. 2016, 15 ff., Tables 2–5.

[1221] The excavators state that the strips were ca. 1 cm wide shortly after the excavation; Xiao Shengzhong states that the most strips were 0.6–0.8 cm wide, their nodes were up to 0.9 cm, while some of the carbonised strips were 0.3–0.5 cm wide. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 453; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 32.

Leigudun lists. Therefore, some general factors that may have played a role in the disparate axial shrinkages can be considered.

A number of tests carried out on fresh bamboos indicate that the magnitude of the axial swelling and the axial shrinkage of bamboo culms depend on a number of factors, such as individual bamboo species,[1222] difference of ages,[1223] and difference of diameter at breast height of bamboo plants within the same species.[1224] The anisotropic character of individual bamboo culm can also have a slight impact on the disparate axial shrinkage. Tests demonstrate that the axial shrinkage changes according to the position of the culm. For instance, bamboo splits (a radial section of a bamboo culm, including outer skin and inner skin) from different heights of a culm present individual axial shrinkage, whether air-dried or oven-dried.[1225] Furthermore, the layers between the outer skin (cortex) and the inner skin of the culm wall shrink in individual degrees while oven-dried, with the layer closest to the outer skin presenting the minimal shrinkage.[1226]

The last factor may be of less importance in the disparate size changes of the bamboo strips as writing supports, because those bamboo strips were commonly outer layers instead of

[1222] Zhou Fangchun experiments with samples of 35 air dried bamboo species to test the degrees of their swelling in water. The longitudinal swelling degrees range from 0% to 0.57%. Jiang Fuqing (Chiang F. C.) measures the shrinkage of 14 bamboo species indigenous to Taiwan from green to oven-dry. The longitudinal shrinkages range from 0.26% to 0.61%. See Zhou Fangchun 周芳纯, "Zhucai wuli lixue xingzhi de yanjiu" 竹材物理力学性质的研究, *Nanjing linye daxue xuebao* 南京林业大学学报（自然科学版） 2 (1981): 24 ff; Jiang Fuqing 蔣福慶, "Taiwan chan zhuyao zhucai zhi wuli xingzhi shiyan" 臺灣產主要竹材之物理性質試驗, *Taiwan sheng linye shiyansuo baogao* 臺灣省林業試驗所報告 241 (1973): 9, Table 3.

[1223] See Lin Jinguo 林金国 et al., "Fangzhucai jiben midu he gansuoxing bianyi guilü de yanjiu" 方竹材基本密度和干缩性变异规律的研究, *Xibei linxueyuan xuebao* 西北林学院学报 19, no. 2 (2004): 113 ff., Tables 1–3.

[1224] See Lin Jinguo et al. 2004, 113 ff., Tables 1–2.

[1225] See R. Anokye et al., "Variations in Moisture Content and Its Effect on the Shrinkage of *Gigantochloa Scortechinii* and *Bambusa Vulgaris* at Different Height of Bamboo Culm," *BioResources* 9, no. 4 (2014): 7487, Table 1; Yu H. Q. et al., "Selected Physical and Mechanical Properties of Moso Bamboo (*Phyllostachys Pubescens*)," *Journal of Tropical Forest Science* 20, no. 4 (2008): 260, Table 1; Su Wenhui 苏文会 et al., "Damuzhu zhucai wuli xingzhi de yanjiu" 大木竹竹材物理性质的研究, *Nanjing linye daxue xuebao (ziran kexue ban)* 31, no. 2 (2007): 44, Table 4; Lin Jinguo et al. 2004, 114, Table 3.

[1226] See Anwar et al. 2005, 4, Table 1; Yu H. Q. et al. 2008, 260, Table 1.

the other layers of the culm walls.[1227] Apart from this factor, the above-mentioned factors can have resulted in the disparate axial size changes of the Leigudun strips.

What can be done to minimise the disparity of axial size changes of the strips? As has been mentioned above, bamboo splits from different heights of a bamboo culm can feature individual axial swelling and shrinkage. This means, theoretically, the top and the bottom of each intact strip, which was maximally 75 cm long shortly after the excavation, may have undergone size changes of different degrees. However, available tests indicate that the discrepancy of axial shrinkage at various spots on an individual bamboo strip as such is almost negligible,[1228] i.e. the axial shrinkage at various spots on an individual Leigudun strip can be regarded as almost proportional. Therefore, the lengths of the three parts on an individual strip, which are divided by the notches, probably also changed proportionally, i.e. the lengths' ratios of these three parts are likely close to their original ratios. The lengths' ratios distribute as follows (see also Fig. 62):

Table II-1

Strip subgroup	Strip no.	Ratio between inter-notch distance and upper part length	Ratio between inter-notch distance and lower part length	Ratio between upper part length and lower part length
A-1	2, 4–10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 31, 35, 42–44, 58, 60, 62–66, 68, 69, 80	2.28–2.48	3.61–4.2	1.49–1.74

[1227] See Pian Yuqian and Duan Shu'an 2006, 38.

[1228] H. Q. Yu et al. prepared the following samples for a test of the bamboo shrinkages from water saturation to oven-dry: "Six moso bamboos, all 4–6 years old, were cut close to the base. The bamboo culms were 5.5 to 6.5 m in length with diameter at breast height ranging from 7 to 9 cm. Two sections (each having two internodes) at the heights of 1.3 and of 4.0 m were cut. A strip of 1.5 cm in width was cut respectively from these two sections. The bamboo skin (cutin) for each strip was removed, then each strip was split evenly into six thin laminae and gently sanded to make the surface smooth, designated as layers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 respectively from the inner layer to the outer layer (near the cutin). After sanding, the thickness of the samples was 0.7 ± 0.2 mm." It seems that in view of the physical features, layer number 6 is closest to the bamboo strips used as writing supports in early China. The average axial shrinkage of layer 6 at the height of 1.3 meters is 0.132%, while the average one of layer 6 at the height of 4 meters is not much different (0.087%). See Yu H. Q. et al. 2008, 26, Table 1. Considering that the distance between the top and the bottom of a bamboo strip is much less than the one between the two heights concerned in the above-mentioned test, the disparity of the axial shrinkage on an individual strip can be negligible.

	57 (?)	2.21 (?)	3.44 (?)	1.55 (?)
	84 (*)[1229]	2.47	4.13	1.67
A-2	67, 116, 119	2.64, 2.6, 2.81	4.2, 4.1, 4	1.58, 1.59, 1.43
	70 (*), 115 (*)	2.78, 2.56	4.1, 4.11	1.48, 1.61
A-3	36–41, 45, 46, 48, 54–56, 71, 74, 76, 78, 79, 86, 87, 92, 95, 102, 104	2.31–2.49	4.38–4.79	1.83–2.01
	53 (?),[1230] 59 (?)	2.4 (?), 2.41 (?)	4.54 (?), 4.54 (?)	1.87 (?), 1.88 (?)
A-?	1 (*)	2.09	3.75	1.79
B	122, 124–128, 130, 137, 138	2.3–2.47	4.11–4.63	1.66–1.96
	123(*), 129 (*)	2.52, 3.01	4.35, 4.28	1.73, 1.42
B (originally A)	120	2.63	4.61	1.75
C-1	142, 143, 146–159, 164, 165, 167, 170–172, 174, 175, 178–184, 205–208	1.76–2.03	2.98–3.4	1.55–1.77
	166 (*), 173 (*), 176 (*)	1.95, 1.89, 1.88	3.09, 3.18, 3.1	1.58, 1.68, 1.65
C-2	187, 193, 195, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203	2.01–2.3	2.97–3.4	1.41–1.52
	188 (?)	2.3 (?)	3.2 (?)	1.39 (?)
C-3	161	2.68	3.14	1.22
	160 (?)	2.69 (?)	3.24 (?)	1.2 (?)
C→A-2	190	2.67	4.22	1.58
D→A-1	215	2.24	3.61	1.61

[1229] Each strip marked with "*" consists of several fragments.

[1230] The marks "?" are adopted from Xiao Shengzhong. It indicates that lengths of the three parts of a strip are not necessarily correct, because Xiao is not certain about the positions of the notches. See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 26–32.

Table II-1 demonstrates that the lengths' ratios enable a more precise division of the A and the C groups into three subgroups, respectively, i.e. the A-1 – A-3 strips and the C-1 – C-3 strips. Accordingly, the A strips may have formed at least three integral scrolls. The division of these subgroups drastically confined the options to combine the A strips into multi-strip entries, because each entry has to be formed by strips of the same subgroup.

The subgroups can be differentiated from each other through at least one of the three ratios. As a result, further strips, including fragments, may be sorted into these subgroups, if one of the ratios can be determined. The sorting result is demonstrated in Table II-2.

Table II-2

Strip subgroup	Strip no.	Ratio between middle part length and upper part length	Ratio between middle part length and lower part length	Ratio between upper part length and lower part length
A-1	15, 98, 118	/, /, /	3.85, 3.91, 3.7	/, /, /
	93	/	/	1.73
	28 (?)	2.16	/	/
A-1 or A-2	3, 22, 91	/, /, /	4.05, 4.01, 4.12	/, /, /
A-2	106	/	4.59	/
A-1 or A-3	18, 20, 25, 26, 29, 30, 61, 83, 97	2.31–2.49	/	/
	49 (*)	2.43	/	/
B	131, 136	/, 2.09	4.13, /	/, /
C-1	144, 169, 177	1.97, /, /	/, 3.02, 3.07	/, /, /
C-1 or C-2	196	/	3.55	/
C-2 or C-3	185+77 (*)	/	/	<1.34

Based on Tables II-1 and II-2, the A strips can be divided at least into three subgroups, A-1 – A-3. The notch positions on the B strips are relatively homogeneous. Considering that the number of the B strips is not big, these strips may have formed one integral scroll. Furthermore, strip 120 resembles the B strips as much as the A-3 strips, regarding its notch positions; but the ratios of its three parts are closer to those of the B strips than to the A-3 strips. This may indicate that strip 120, which is part of a summary (strips 120 and 121) hitherto assigned to the A strips, was probably bound directly with the B strips. This is especially interesting in association with

the contents of the strips concerned, which indicate that this summary may have been shared by the A and B strips (II.2.3).

The C strips consists of at least two subgroups, C-1 – C-3. But strip 190 can be ordered to none of the two subgroups. Its notch positions are close to those of the A-2 strips. But both the content and the handwritings on strip 190 (see Appendix IV.2) indicate that the strip must belong to the C strips. Subsection 3.4.2 presents an explanation of the inconsistency between the content and the physical features. Apart from this inconsistency, the subdivision of the C strips is in line with the division of the records according to the vehicles' provenances. Entries on those vehicles prepared by the Zeng court itself are inscribed on strips of subgroup C-1, while entries on vehicles from Chu are inscribed on strips of subgroups C-2 or C-3.

Strip 215, the only strip that bears notches and binding traces among the D strips, shows apparent notch positions that are identical with those of the strip subgroup A-1. Therefore, against the assumption of Xiao,[1231] the strip did not likely belong to the B strips; instead, it probably belonged to the A strips. It bears only one thick block at its top. A thick block is used either in combination with a long gap to separate two list entries with one another within a paragraph, in combination with a line break to mark the end of a paragraph, or to mark the beginning of a summary (see 2.1.3). The layout of the thick block on strip 215 is unique. Maybe it marks a paragraph's end close to the bottom of another strip.[1232]

Of course, the strips in Tables II-1 and II-2 do not include all the Leigudun strips. But they reflect the physical features of 148 of the most complete of the 215 strips and hence they serve to define the skeletons of at least seven individual jigsaw games formed by the A-C strips (A-1 – A3, B, C-1 – C-3). Most of the further strips are fragments, without notches or with merely one notch each, respectively. Some of them can be pieced together, others have to remain fragmented. The notches among the fragments must be especially heeded because they almost always give hints about whether two fragments can be pieced together; in combination with the textual content, the notch on a fragment can also hint whether the fragment used to be part of an entry and if so, which part of the entry it used to be, for instance a part with an upper notch or a part with the lower one. According to my reconstruction, all of the A-C strips that

[1231] Xiao assumes that strip 215 belonged to the B strips. See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 25.

[1232] For a possible position of the thick block on strip 215 see Appendix III.1, subgroup A-1.

are not included in the tables above can fill in the blanks of the skeletons of the jigsaw games defined above.

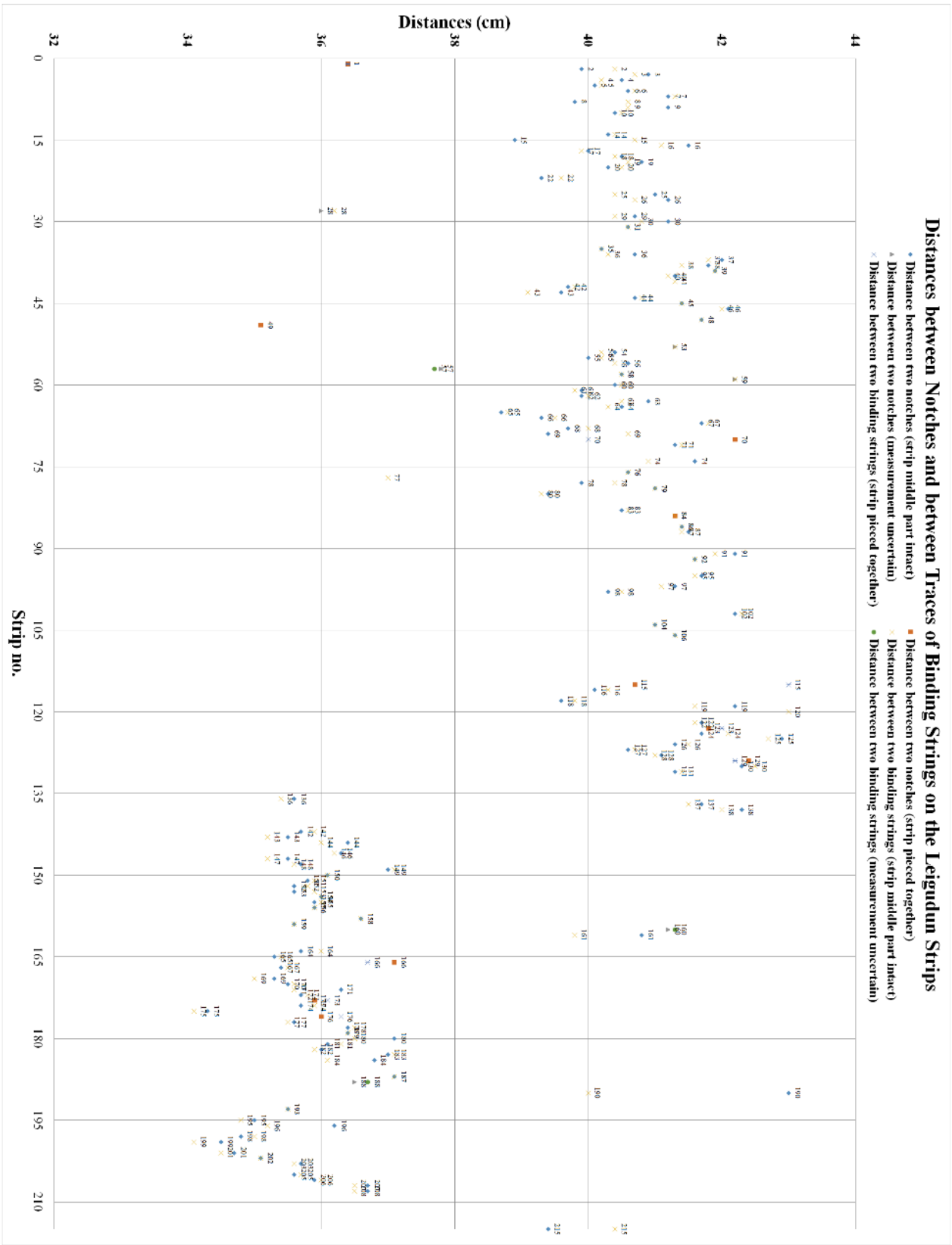


Fig. 60 Distances between notches and between traces of binding strings on the Leigudun strips.

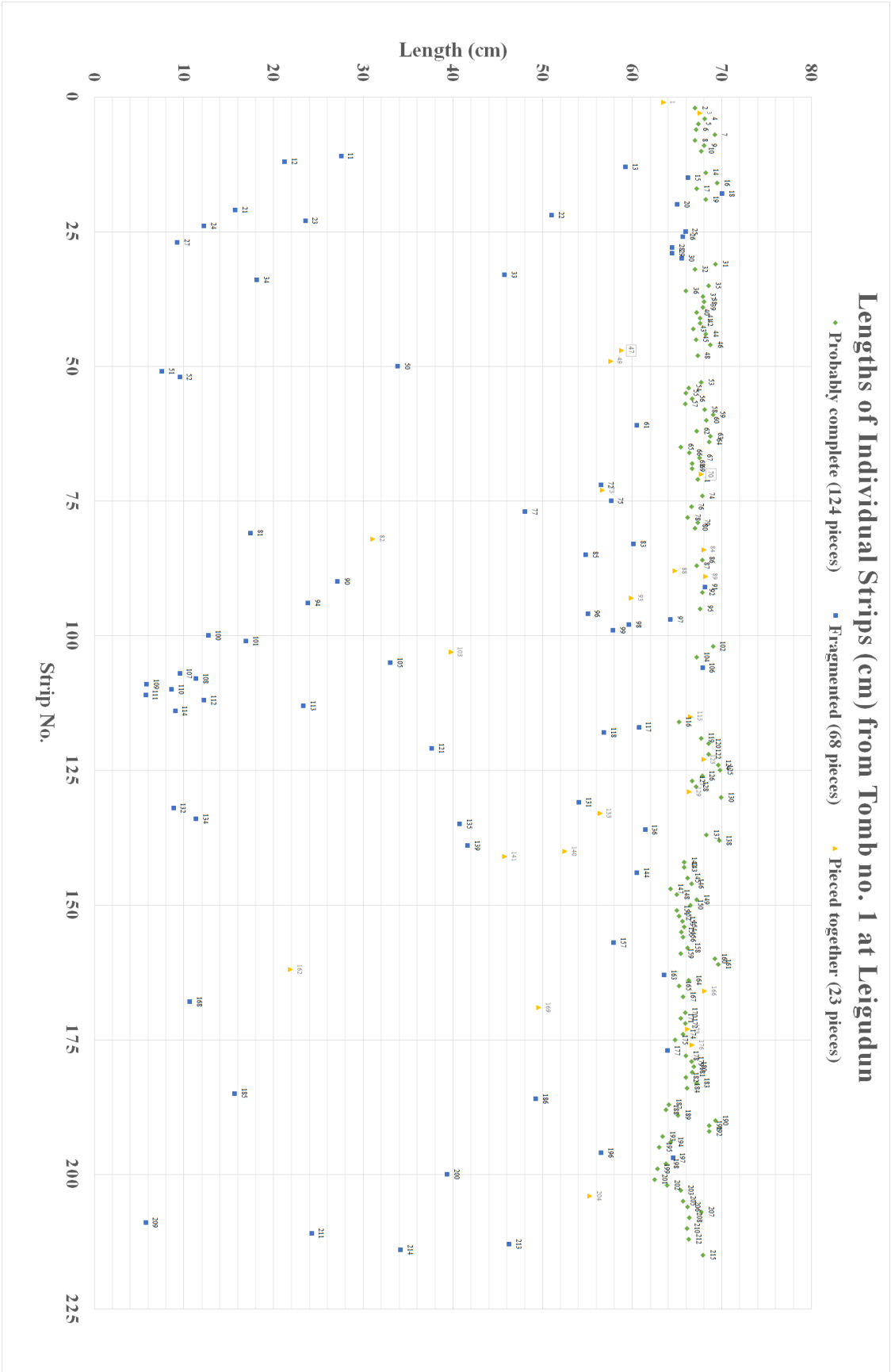


Fig. 61 Lengths of individual strips (cm) from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun.

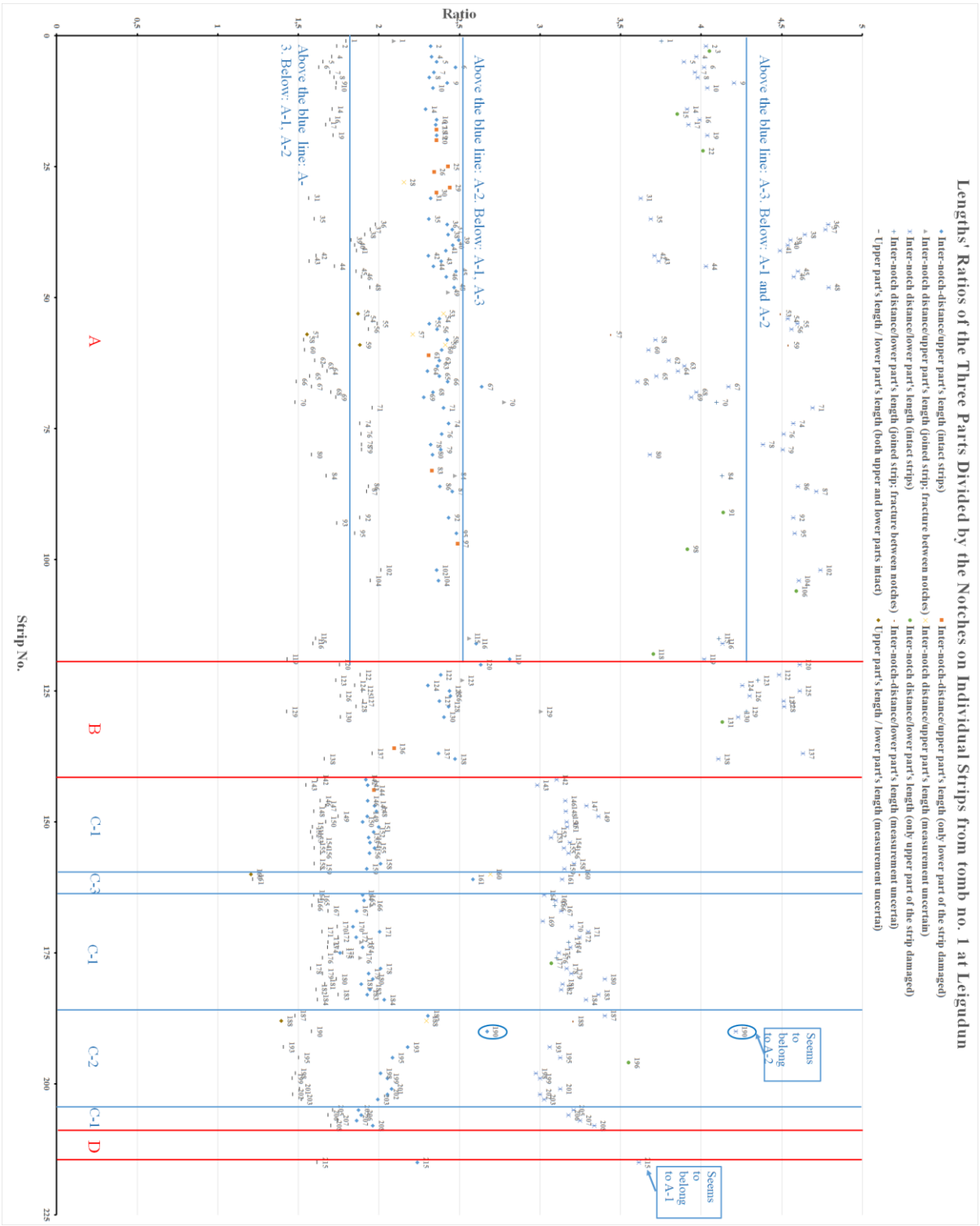


Fig. 62 Length ratios of the three parts divided by the notches on individual strips from tomb no. 1 at Leigudun. The red lines mark the boundaries between the A-D strips, while the blue lines subdivide the strip groups A and C.

Appendix III Partial Translation of the Leigudun Manuscripts[1233]

III.1 The A Strips

A-1 Strips

Title

Strip 1 (verso): 右敏（領）建駿（馭）大旆

Jian, the Director of the Right,[1234] drives a grand vanguard chariot.[1235]

[1233] This appendix aims at a presentation of the layout of the Leigudun manuscripts and the introduction to the textual structure of the manuscripts. It transcribes the original layout with a writing mode of vertical top-to-bottom character array and right-to-left line array into the mode of horizontal left-to-right character array and top-to-bottom line array. As introduced in Sections 3.3–3.6, the manuscripts are written on A–D strips and include structural units such as a title, an initial remark, list entries, subtotals and grand totals. This appendix translates the title, the initial remark and exemplary list entries on the A–C strips as well as all three list entries on the D strips. The list entries on the A–C strips encompass an introducing phrase each, which is relevant for understanding the intertextuality of the lists on these strip groups. These introducing phrases will be translated as well. The omitted passages are represented as "…", each illegible character as "□" and each missing passage consisting of an unknown number of characters as "☑". A join of two fragments, whether direct or indirect, is marked by the character "+". The numbers of the strips is from Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 487–500. The sequence of the strips, if deviates from Qiu and Li's version, will be specified in detail below. If not specified otherwise, the transcription of the manuscripts is from Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–98; and Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 3–42.

[1234] Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao render the character *ling* 敏 as *ling* 令 and point out that *ling* 令 is a phonetic loan of *ling* 領. The official title *youling* 右領, the Director of the Right, is known to have been an official title in Chu. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 501 ff., note 8. If not specified otherwise, the transcriptions and the characters in brackets are from Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 40–148.

[1235] According to *Erya* 爾雅, "繼旒曰旆" (the extension of a square banner painted with tortoise and snake is a *pei*); and according to *Shuowen jiezi*, a *pei* is "繼旒之旗也，沛然而垂" (a [streamer] flag that extends a *zhao*-banner, ripples richly and hangs down). See Zong Fubang et al. 2003, 994. Yang Yingjie indicates that the term means a streamer that can be attached to certain flags to convey certain signals. Liu Wenqiang, citing further transmitted texts, indicates that the term (vexillology) can mean an independent flag, an independent streamer as well as a streamer that is fixed to a flag. See Yang Yingjie, "Xian Qin qizhi kaoshi" 先秦旗帜考释, *Wenwu*, no. 2 (1986a): 53 ff.; Liu Wenqiang 劉文強, "Lun 'dapei'" 論「大旆」, *Wen yu zhe* 文與哲, no. 18 (2011): 63–80.

The term *pei* in the Leigudun manuscripts sometimes means independant streamer and sometimes stands *pars pro toto* for a chariot that carried one or more *pei*-streamers. The *dapei* concerned, for instance, refers to a chariot that carried grand *pei*-streamers (normally two). I agree with Xiao Shengzhong that a *dapei* can be further specified as a grand vanguard chariot. See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 82. For further arguments see Subsection 3.4.4, esp. footnotes 554 and 555.

Paragraph 1: Strips 1–10, 11+12, 58, 68–69 and 13–15 (17 strips)[1236]

Strip 1 (recto): **[Initial remark]** 大莫戠（敖）旚爲適𨍏之春，𠂤=（八月）庚申，𡎴（冑）趕（鞎）執事人書入車。**[Entry A-1/P-1/E-1]**右𣪊（領）建所𨒅（乘）●大轋：䐓輪；弼、鞪（鞎），𥎦（銅）賠（造）；畫𩦋（鍛）；斂韌；虓（虎）韔，鼏聶；鼾（豻）殉 (L. 39.5+24 cm)

[Initial remark] On the *gengshen* day of the eighth month [of the year,[1237] in which] the Grand Maréchal,[1238] Yangwei, went to Fu[1239] in the spring, the officials in charge of helmets and harnesses for wheeled vehicles[1240] recorded the received vehicles. **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-1]** The grand vanguard chariot ● driven by Jian, the Director of the Right: ochre wheels. Back railing cladding and front railing cladding, both made of bronze.[1241] Axle caps topped with a painted

[1236] The sequence of strips 58 and 68 as well as 69 and 13 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 93–95.

[1237] The year concerned is 433 BCE. For a discussion of the date see Section 3.3.

[1238] For the translation of the official title *mo'ao* 莫敖 as "maréchal" see Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 1, 112.

[1239] Peng Yu indicates that the character *fu* 𨍏 might be a variant of the character *fu* 鄙 in the Baoshan manuscripts. Li Xueqin interprets the latter character, due to related archaeological findings, historical events as well as possibility of phonetic loan characters, as the place name *ba* 巴; and he further interprets the related place as the Ba state 巴國. Accordingly, *fu* 𨍏 might also have referred to the State of Ba, which was located to the west of Chu. See Peng Yu 2010, 20; Li Xueqin 李学勤, "Baoshan Chu jian 'fu' ji Baguo shuo" 包山楚简"鄙"即巴国说, *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 四川师范大学学报（社会科学版） 33, no. 6 (2006): 5–8.

[1240] Qiu and Li render the character *dou* 趕 as *dou* 鞎, which means "harness for wheeled vehicles" (*che bei ju* 車鞁具) according to *Shuowen jiezi*. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 501, footenote 6. Zong Fubang et al. 2003, 2478.

[1241] He Linyi renders the character *tong* 𥎦 as *tong* 銅. Furthermore, strip 62 bears a similar passage, in which the variant *tong* 銅 itself is used: "鞪，𤰔（畾）銅賠", i.e., "front railing cladding made of white bronze". Hence, the grand vanguard chariot was equipped with bronze railing claddings. Such railing claddings have been found on the railings of several chariots in the late Western Zhou pit no.1 at Beizhao 北趙, Quwo 曲沃, Shanxi province. See He Linyi 1998, 173; Ji Kunzhang et al. 2010, 12, Figs. 20–21. See also Subsection 3.7.1.

blade each.[1242] Patterned ?.[1243] One bow quiver made of tiger fur and bordered with tiger's ?.[1244]

Strip 2: 之箙，䝙（貍）䰠（貘）之聶；二懸箙，襦紫魚與录（緑）魚，二䝙（貍）䰠（貘）之聶；一懸箙，录（緑）魚，敲聶；屯璽（纆）緧（組）之綏；二韐，屯斂虓，屯璽（纆）緧（組）之綏；二載扈，其一襦紫 (L. 67 cm)

One arrow quiver, made of the fur from the wild dog's chest and bordered with leopard cat's ?; two suspended arrow quivers made of ?[1245] violet and green fish hide[1246] and bordered with

[1242] The character 䖵 appears three times (on strips 3, 30, and 84) as a part of a *ji*-polearm and twelve times on the A strips as a vehicle part (see Appendix I: Table 4). Song Huaqiang points out that it can be rendered as *sha* 鎩, i.e., "lance". I agree with him that it means, as a part of a *ji*-polearm, the top blade. But I do not agree with his interpretation of the character as "yarns wounding on an axle cap" (*guyue* 轂約, *zuan* 軉, or *zuan* 纂), when it refers to a vehicle part. To my opinion, as a vehicle part, 䖵 can also be rendered as *sha* 鎩, which means a top blade on an axle cap. Two axle caps with top blades were found in the marquis' tomb (see Fig. 22). Cf. Song Huaqiang 宋華強, "Zenghou Yi mu zhujian kaoshi yi ze" 曾侯乙墓竹簡考釋一則, updated Mar. 21, 2011, accessed Feb. 18, 2025, http://m.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5613.html.

[1243] I agree with Bai Yulan to render the character *fen* 斂 as *wen* 文, i.e., "patterned". And the meaning of the term *ren* 韐 is unclear. Bai Yulan interprets it as *yin* 茵 (sitting mat). But the common term for a "sitting mat" in the Leigudun manuscripts is *xi* 筵 （席）. Liu Xinfang argues that *ren* 韐 is a phonetical loan character of *ren* 軔, which means "wheel stopper". Liu's interpretation is not impossible but it seems implausible in the context. Cf. Bai Yulan 白於藍, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian kaoshi (si pian)" 曾侯乙墓竹簡考釋（四篇）, *Zhongguo wenzi* 25 (2005): 202; Liu Xinfang 劉信芳, "Zeng Hou Yi jian wenzi bushi liu ze" 曾侯乙簡文字補釋六則, *Jianbo* 1 (2006): 7.

[1244] The term *mo* 䰠 is also written as *mo* 䝏. Qiu and Li suppose that the term, often appearing in binomials such as *humo* 虓（虎）䝏 (tiger's ?), *limo* 䝙（貍）䝏 (leopard cat's ?), *hanmo* 豻（豺）䝏 (wild dog's ?), and *diaomo* 貂（貂） 䝏 (marten's ?), means "fur" (*pi* 皮). But this does not explain why this character is merely used to refer to the border material of bow quivers (*zhang* 韔), arrow quivers (*fu* 箙), or shabracks (*an* 毡), but is never used if these items themselves were made of those furs. Peng Yu renders the character as *mo* 貘, which means "brown bear" (*si xiong er heihuang se* 似熊而黃黑色) according to *Shuowen jiezi* or "white leopard" (*baibao* 白豹) according to *Erya*. But Peng further renders the character as *he* 貉, which means "raccoon dog". This interpretation does not make sense in view of the binomials mentioned above. Therefore, I suppose the character refers to a certain part of fur of the mammals mentioned in the binomials. Cf. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 503, footnote 15; Peng Yu 2010, 2 and 27.

[1245] The pronunciation and meaning of the term 襦 are not clear. Qiu and Li surmise that it is possibly a certain colour without specifying it. He Linyi believes that it means "to paint". But he does not explain its difference with the characters *hua* 畫 or *hua* 劃, both of which appear in the Leigudun manuscripts and mean "to paint" as well. Shi Xiejie assumes that it is a phonetical loan character of *hua* 黊, which means "bright yellow". But this interpretation seems awkward in the phrase "襦紫黃紡" below (at the end of strip 2 and the beginning of strip 3), in which three characters referring to individual colours follow each other. Cf. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 503; He Linyi 1998, 736; Shi Xiejie 施谢捷, "Chu jian wenzi zhong de 'tuo' zi" 楚简文字中的"橐"字, *Yuwen yanjiu* 语文研究, no. 4 (2002): 31.

[1246] I agree with Qiu and Li that the phrase "紫魚與录（緑）魚" refers to the materials of the quivers, i.e., "fish hide painted violet and green". See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 503. Peng Yu argues that the phrase refers

leopard cat's ?; one suspended arrow quiver, made of green fish hide and double bordered.[1247] All [four arrow quivers] equipped with fixing cords made of reddish ribbons. Two ?[1248] [equipped with] multiple tassels[1249] as well as fixing cords made of reddish ribbons. Two pole-weapon receptacles,[1250] one of which coated with ? purple

Strip 3: 黃紡之綳；二鄰（秦）弓，𢆶（弦）賠（造）；矢，箙五秉；一𢍏（戟），三菓又骳（鍛），一翼翺；一柭，二旆，屯八翼之翺，旗（旗）賠（造）；二戲；戈，屯一翼之蕾；鑲鞚；膱紳賠（造），鼾（豻）首之雾；鼾（豻）韘；削顯（韅）、鞅，(L. 67.6 cm)

to a kind of appliqué in the shape of a fish, i.e., 272 appliqués found in the northern chamber of the tomb. They are made of tin-lead solder and shaped as bas-reliefs with a flat side each; on several of the flat sides of the appliqués, fragments of textile (silk or hemp fabric) were still detectable. He therefore assumes that the appliqués were attached to textiles on the surfaces of the quivers. This is however arguable, because all of these appliqués were found in a pile close to each other (see Fig. 39, Inv. No. 65). It is hard to imagine how the quivers, if any were buried (none was detectible at the excavation), would have to be placed in the tomb so that the appliqués would have formed such a pile. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 503, footnote 18; cf. Peng Yu 2010, 33.

[1247] For the interpretation of *xianie* 敳聶 as "double border" see Peng Yu 2010, 32.

[1248] There are several interpretations of the term *yan* 韐 but none of them seems to fit the context. Bai Yulan renders the character as *han* 函 and assumes that it means a leather box for holding arrows. However, almost each individual vehicle is equipped with one or more arrow quivers (*fu* 箙), and the arrows are always associated with these quivers but never with the term *yan* 韐. Therefore, it does not seem reasonable to interpret the term as arrow box. Peng Yu renders the character *yan* 韐 as *yan* 揜 (to cover) and interprets it as *yanfan* 揜軓, which was used to give shelter to weapons such as shields (*dun* 盾) and *mao*-polearms (*mao* 矛). As identified by Sun Ji, *yanfan* was a shovel-shaped shelter placed at the front piece of a vehicle box. However, since there are two pieces of *yan* associated with the grand vanguard banner chariot, this interpretation does not seem to make sense. See Bai Yulan 2005, 199 ff.; Peng Yu 2010, 37 ff. and 248 ff.; Sun Ji 孙机, "Shihuang ling 2 hao tongche dui chezhi yanjiu de xin qishi" 始皇陵 2 号铜车对车制研究的新启示, in *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001b): 9.

[1249] Peng Yu interprets the term 𣪊 as *mao*-polearm (*mao* 矛). This does not seem to make sense, because the term also appears frequently on the B strips (e.g., strips 122–131, 135 and 137–139), as part of a helm. I agree with Liu Xinfang to render the term as *you* 遊 , which means "the tassels of a flag". See Liu Xinfang 劉信芳, *Baoshan Chu jian jiegu* 包山楚簡解詁 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2003): 297 and 308; cf. Peng Yu 2010, 38.

[1250] Qiu and Li render the character 扃 as *jiong* 扃, which means originally a door locking bar; in transmitted literature (e.g., *Zuo zhuan*), it is also used as a part of a chariot, i.e., a pole-weapon receptacle that has some mechanism of fixing pole-weapons. Sun Yirang 孫貽讓 (1848–1908 CE) argued that such pole-weapon receptacles were built on both sides of the chariot box, more exactly, between the side of the chariot box and the wheel. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 504, footnote 23; *Zhou li zhengyi* 周禮正義, with the commentary of Sun Yirang, Shisan jing Qing ren zhushu 十三經清人注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987): 3131 ff.

and yellow silk. Two bows of the Qin style, the strings of which are newly produced. Arrows, fifty per quiver. One *ji*-polearm,[1251] bearing three side blades, one top blade, and one pair of wing-shaped pole-accessories.[1252] One *shu*-polearm[1253] holding two *pei*-streamers,[1254] each attached with eight pairs of wings.[1255] *Qi*-flags, newly produced. Two shields. [One] *ge*-polearm[1256] holding one pair of wing-shaped pole-accessories. Horse frontlets. Newly

[1251] A *ji*-polearm 戟（戟） is a polearm topped with more than one blade.

[1252] As pointed out by Peng Yu, *ji*-polearms with wing-shaped pole-accessories are common motifs in the scenic incisions on bronze vessels of the Warring States' period. See Peng Yu 2010, 52–56.

[1253] A *shu*-polearm is a polearm with a cylinder metal cap with or without a top blade.

[1254] For the meaning of the term *pei* 旆 see footnote 1235.

[1255] As pointed out by Peng Yu, a motif of a *shu*-polearm with wing-shaped pole-accessories can be seen in the scenic incisions on a bronze vessel of the Warring States' period. See Peng Yu 2010, 57.

[1256] A *ge*-polearm is a polearm with one side-blade, normally referred to as dagger-axe.

produced ochre ?.[1257] ?[1258] made of the head fur of wild dogs. ?[1259] made of wild dog fur. Reddish-black axillary straps[1260] and throat straps.[1261]

Strip 4: 紫黃紡之䜌；䩜䮛，鼾（豻）尾之𩦋；鑅賠(造)。■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-2]** 宮廄敏（令）𣪊所駁（馭）𨎜（乘）𨐈：膹輪，畫趄（轅），𣏌（貫）鐿（鐊），革𩊱，弼、鞪（鞎），珧（銅）賠（造）。囝軒，紡襮，紫裹，鼸（貂）𦋦。斂韌。二鱳綏。彔（綠）魚之 (L. 68.1 cm)

[1257] Qiu and Li render the term *shen* 紳 as *yin* 軑, i.e., the "trace". However, another term that frequently appears on the A strips, *bei* 鞁, is more likely equivalent to *yin* (see footnote 1273). Cf. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 506, footnote 34.

[1258] The pronunciation and meaning of the term 霥 are not known. Peng Yu renders it as *meng* 蒙 and assumes that it is a synonym of *shi* 軓, i.e., rug of the chariot. But as the term is apparently listed together with the horse tack, Peng's interpretation seems problematic. Furthermore, another term, *ming* 鼏 (e.g., strips 45, 48, 55, 63, 71, 73, 85 and 96) on the A strips is more likely the denotation of a rug; and several vehicles were equipped both with a 霥 and a *ming* 鼏 (see Appendix I: Table 5 and Table 8, vehicles nos. 40, 45, and 46). Cf. Peng Yu 2010, 67 ff.

[1259] The pronunciation and meaning of the term 𩦋 are not known. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao render its right component as *di* 狄 (a certain dog breed according to *Shuowen jiezi*; or the term used to describe various ethnic groups that lived in northern China by the Zhou 周 people) but do not interpret the character itself. Tian He renders the character as *cui* 𩦋 but does not interpret it. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 507; Tian He 2007, 107.

[1260] Qiu and Li render the character *xian* 顯 as *xian* 韅. According to *Shuowen jiezi*, the latter character means "箸亦鞮也", literally "a leather strap worn at the armpits". Duan Yucai comments that "箸亦鞮、謂箸於馬兩亦之革也", i.e., "'a leather strap worn at the armpits means a leather strap applied at the both axillae of the forelegs of a horse". Yang Yingjie argues that each pole horse in the draught team of the bronze vehicle no. 2 from the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty wears such an axillary strap, which goes under the axillae of the forelegs of a pole horse and is connected at both ends to the yoke bar. He indicates that an outrigger does not wear any axillary strap, but instead a similar strap that girdles around the belly but is not connected to the yoke bar. Barbieri-Low interprets such a girth strap as *xian* 韅. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that the Leigudun manuscripts provide two separate denotations for these two kinds of straps, which went both under the axillae. See Zong Fubang et al. 2003, 2484; Yang Yingjie, "Xian Qin guche wanma bufen beiju yu mashi kaobian" 先秦古车挽马部分鞁具与马饰考辨, *Wenwu*, no. 2 (1988): 77; Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, "Wheeled Vehicles in the Chinese Bronze Age (c. 2000–741 B.C.)," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 99 (2000): 89.

[1261] In *Shuowen jiezi*, *yang* 鞅 is interpreted as a "throat strap" (*jingda* 頸靼). In *Shiming*, *yang* is explained as follows: "嬰也，喉下稱嬰，言瓔絡之也", i.e., "['*yang*' means] 'wrap'. [The tack] under the [horse's] throat is called a 'wrap', meaning that it wraps the [horse's] throat". Hence, it seems that *yang* must have been a strap that is placed at the throat of a horse. Yang Yingjie regards it as a rope connecting the ends of the yoke and fixing the yoke around the horse's neck. See Zong Fubang et al. 2003, 2476; Yang Yingjie 1988, 76; for another interpretation of the term (a strap around the lower neck, possibly connected through the girth strap to the trace), cf. Barbieri-Low 2000, 89.

?[1262] made of purple and yellow pongee. Shabracks[1263] made of otter fur and bordered with wild dog tail. Terrets newly produced.[1264] ■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-2]** The travelling reserve-chariot[1265] driven by Li, the Director of the Palace Stable: ochre wheels. Painted draught pole.

[1262] The meaning of the term *chen* 鬱 is not known. Qiu and Li assumes that it is a phonetic loan character of *chen* 陳 but does not explain its meaning in the context. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 507, footnote 38.

[1263] The term *an* 䩜 is mostly interpreted as *an* 鞍 (saddle). For examples see Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 507, footnote 39; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 53; Jiang Yan 2011, 12 ff. However, it does not seem likely that saddles were known in the central plains of China around the 5th century BCE. The earliest saddle that has been archaeologically discovered within the geographical region of today's China is one dated to a period between the 5th and the 3rd century BCE, from a tomb in the Turfan basin. See Shao Huiqiu 邵会秋, "Xinjiang Subeixi wenhua yanjiu" 新疆苏贝希文化研究, *Bianjiang kaogu yanjiu* 边疆考古研究, no. 12 (2012): 198 and 209. Apart from the lack of such finds in the central plains of China, there is no evidence that draught horses at that time were equipped with saddles. All the horses that are associated with such an *an* in the Leigudun manuscripts were draught horses, for which saddles would have been of no use. Therefore, an *an* 䩜 is anything but a saddle. I thank Jeanette Werning for the indication that *an* may have been an item that is etymologically related to a saddle, such as a shabrack, which is primarily used as a decorative element.

[1264] He Linyi renders the character *cai* 鏃 as *sha* 鏨 and further as *ye* 鍱. The latter character is according to *Guangya* 廣雅 a synonym of the character *huan* 鐶, which means "terrets" in the context. Terrets are "rings through which reins pass; in antiquity they were fastened to the draught pole or yoke, or to a draught or harness element on the animal's shoulders". See He Linyi 1998, 943; M. A. Littauer, J. H. Crouwel, and Peter Raulwing, *Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness,* Culture and history of the ancient Near East vol. 6 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002): xix. It is important to point out that a similar part of the harness, the fixing ring of the trace, seems to have been called *gouhuan* 鉤環 (strip 115).

[1265] The character 𨐈 (sometimes 𨐈=) is also written 𨑨 in the Leigudun manuscripts. Meng Yuelong argued that both characters share the same phonophoric *yue* 月, which is in the same rhyme group as the character *que* 闕 in old Chinese phonology. Therefore, the character 𨐈 can theoretically be rendered as *que* 闕. *Queche* 闕車, i.e., "reserve chariot", is known as a type of war chariot in transmitted literature such as *Zuo zhuan*. As pointed out by Guo Dewei, the reserve chariot was used as a reserve for replacement once a gap emerged through the fall of another chariot in a battle formation. See Meng Yuelong 孟躍龍, "Qinghua jian 'yi' ji 'yique' shuo" 清華簡"伊"即"伊闕"說, updated April 18, 2016, accessed Feb. 18, 2025, http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/6679.html; Guo Dewei 1993, 73 ff.

Since reserve chariots were used as reserve in a battle formation, they must have been equipped similarly as the chariots composing the formation. This is corroborated by the Leigudun records of the chariots named with the character 𨐈: in view of their parts, accoutrements, weapons, horse harnesses, as well as armours and barding (see Appendix I: Table 4, Table 5, Table 7, Table 9, and Table 12), they were equipped similarly to the chariots in the van (*pei*) and in the rear (*dian*), which were styled as chariots in a battle formation (see Subsection 3.4.4). Hence, it is likely that the vehicles concerned were indeed reserve chariots.

There are several further interpretations of the character. Xiao Shengzhong renders the character as *yi* 𠂤, which means "to vibrate", and further interprets the term *yiche* 𠂤車 as *luanlu* 鸞路, a road carriage equipped with bells. However, the denotations of the road carriages in the Leigudun lists always include the character *lu* (see Appendix I: Table 16 and Table 17). Therefore, it does not seem likely that a road carriage equipped with bells will be called 𨐈, which is no phonetical loan character of *lu* 䢅. Luo Xiaohua renders the character as *han* 罕, which was a stellar constellation in the shape of a hunting chariot in the 28 mansions of constellations (*xingxiu* 星宿) in ancient China. Furthermore, Luo points out that the Grand Entourage (dajia 大駕), one of the emperor's convoys (*lubu* 鹵簿) in early imperial China, included one escorting chariot (*fuche* 副車 or *shuche* 屬車) that was denotated as *yunhan* 雲罕, i.e., "hunting chariot in the cloud". But while the 28 mansions of constellations merely include one "hunting chariot" constellation and the Grand Entourage merely encompassed one "hunting chariot in the cloud", the Leigudun lists refer to many more

Transfixing linchpins. Side paddings made of raw hide.[1266] Back railing cladding and front railing cladding, both made of bronze. Curved side screens,[1267] with reeled pongee as outer

vehicles denotated as 輚. Chen Wei renders the character concerned as *zhan* 棧, which was a service vehicle for an Ordinary Officer (*shi* 士). He further indicates that a *zhan* or *zhanche* 棧車 fulfilled multiple functions such as a hearse (*jiuche* 柩車), a sleeping carriage (*woche* 臥車), or a chariot (*zhanche* 戰車). However, several 輚 in the Leigudun lists belonged to certain fief lords (*fengjun* 封君) or were gifts made by those lords. It does not seem plausible that they would deign to ride a service vehicle for an Ordinary Officer or to make a gift of such in Marquis Yi's funeral. Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 179 ff; Luo Xiaohua 羅小華, "Chu jian cheming xuan shi er ze" 楚簡車名選釋二則, Updated Oct. 28, 2012a, accessed Feb. 16, 2025. http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5930.html; Chen Wei 陈伟, "Cheyu ming shi shuo (er ze)" 车舆名试说 (二则), *Gu wenzi yanjiu*, no. 28 (2010): 384–388.

[1266] Qiu and Li assumes that the character 𥳑 is a phonetic loan character of *dian* 簟, which means "bamboo mat". Li Tianhong assumes that it is a phonetic loan character of *jian* 薦, which means "straw mat". And Li surmises that the straw mat concerned would have been placed at the side railings as paddings. But in the context, the term is modified by *ge* 革, i.e., "raw hide". Perhaps the vehicle accoutrement concerned has conventionally been made of straw, but some of the vehicles on the funeral of the marquis were equipped with a luxurious version of the accoutrement. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 502, footnote 7; Li Tianhong 李天虹, "Shi Zenghou Yi mu zhujian zhong de 'jian'" 釋曾侯乙墓竹簡中的"兼", *Gu wenzi yanjiu*, no. 26 (2006): 303.

[1267] Fu Qian 服虔 (fl. 180 CE) commented *in Zuo zhuan* that "車有藩曰軒", i.e., "a vehicle equipped with *fan* is called *xuan*". See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義, with the commentary of Du Yu 杜預 and Kong Yingda 孔穎達, Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000): 355. In addition, in *Shuowen jiezi*, the vehicle *xuan* is "a vehicle equipped with a bent draught pole and *fan*" (曲輈藩車也). See Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, commented by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 and compilated by Xu Weixian 許惟賢 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007): 1250.

Hence, it seems that *fan* 藩 is an essential characteristic of the vehicle *xuan*. Hayashi Minao argues on the basis of transmitted literature that *fan* refers to a kind of side screens equipped on the vehicle. Zhao Huacheng corroborates Hayashi's argument with pictorial representations – of vehicles equipped with side screens – on stone reliefs and wall paintings of the Han dynasty. See Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫, *Kandai no bunbutsu* 漢代の文物 (Kyoto: Hôyû shoten, 1976): 336 ff.; Zhao Huacheng 赵化成, "Han hua suojian Han dai cheming kaobian" 汉画所见汉代车名考辨, *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1989): 80 ff.

The term *yuanxuan* 囷（圓）軒 appears several times in the Leigudun manuscripts. In most cases, including the present one, the term refers to vehicle accoutrements, probably side screens that were curved (matching the curved floor of the vehicle). But on strip 203, the term obviously refers to a vehicle: "鄭君之圓軒：左騙（服）騜，右騙（服）馱（牡）" (The curved-side-screen chariot of the Lord of Ji, with one yellow-and-white horse as the left pole horse and one stallion as the right pole horse).

In a number of the tombs at Majiayuan 馬家塬, dating from the late Warring States period, several vehicles equipped with such curved side screens were excavated. For the restoration of the vehicles see Zhao Wucheng, "The Restoration of the Chariots of the Warring-States Period in Majiayuan, Gansu," *Chinese Archaeology* 13, no. 1 (2013): 176, Figure 1, vehicle types I and II; for the reconstruction of the side screens see Zhao Wucheng 赵吴成, "Gansu Majiayuan Zhanguo mu mache de fuyuan: Mache de sheji zhizao jiqiao ji niuche de gaizhuang yu sheji sixiang (xu er)" 马车的设计制造技巧及牛车的改装与设计思想：甘肃马家塬战国墓马车的复原（续二）, *Wenwu*, no. 6 (2018): 49, Figures 13 and 14.

shell, purple silk as lining, and marten fur as border. Patterned ?. Two ropes made of dog hide as boarding aids. One bow quiver made of green fish hide

Strips 5: 韔，屯劗（貂）鼁之聶，三襦劗（貂）與彔（綠）魚之箙，狐白之聶；一襦劗（貂）與紫魚之箙，鬱聶，屯璗（繓）絽（組）之綏。二鄹（秦）弓，絃貼（造）。用矢，箙五秉。一襦載扈，紫黃紡之絣。二 (L. 67.4 cm)

and completely bordered with marten's ?. Three arrow quivers made of ? marten fur and green fish hide and bordered with the axillary fur of foxes; one arrow quiver made of ? marten fur and purple fish hide and bordered with red ribbon.[1268] All [arrow quivers] equipped with fixing cords made of reddish ribbons. Two bows of the Qin style, the strings of which newly produced. Arrows, fifty per quiver. One ? pole-weapon receptacle coated with purple and yellow reeled pongee. Two

Strip 6: 韐，屯敢鞾，口綏。二娡（戟），屯三菓，屯一翼之翑。二旆，屯八翼之翑；丌（其）旗（旗），鷷（翠）首，紫羊須之縩，紫罗之常。二黃金之戚。二戈，紫縩，屯一翼之翑。劃扈，紫筒（席），鞦散，衡、 (L. 67.1 cm)

?, both equipped with patterned tassels and fixing cords made of undyed raw silk. Two *ji*-polearms, each bearing three side blades, one top blade, and one pair of wing-shaped pole-accessories. Two *pei*-streamers, each adorned by eight pairs of wings; the flag of the streamers[1269] is attached to a pole-tip filled with kingfisher's feathers, adorned with a purple ram-beard tassel, and has a surface with the sun and moon patterns grounded with purple feathers.[1270] Two golden shields. Two *ge*-polearms, each adorned by a purple tassel and one

[1268] He Linyi renders the character 鬱 as *jue* 蕝 and further as *zuan* 纂, which means "red silk ribbons" (似組而赤) according to *Shuowen jiezi*. See He Linyi 1998, 944.

[1269] As argued above (see footnote 1235), *pei*-streamers were often used to attach to a certain flag. Hence, the phrase *qi qi* 丌（其）旗（旗） or "their flag" here refers to the flag that bore the attachment of the *pei*-streamers.

[1270] In *Zhou li*, the term *chang* 常 refers to a certain kind of flag: "日月為常", i.e., "[a flag depicting] the sun and the moon is a *chang*". Zheng Xuan comments to the term *dachang* 大常 as follows: "大常，九旗之畫日月者", i.e., "the big *chang* is the one among the nine flags, which is painted with the sun and the moon". See *Zhou li zhushu*, 1054.

pair of wing-shaped pole-accessories. Painted ?.[1271] A purple mat. Dark red hobbles.[1272] The yoke beam

Strip 7: 戹，顯（韅）、靼，紫黃紡之繫，鞦縷（紳），紃，鼾（豻）首之霥，劘（貂）韐，鶱=（乘馬）之鞁繆（轡）貾（造）。(long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-3]**●差敏弘所駇（馭）輦=（乘車）：膬輪，畫趄，弼、鞪（鞎），珧（銅）貾（造），畫駍（鍛），囝軒，(L. 69.2 cm)

and yokes. Axillary straps and throat-straps. ? made of purple and yellow pongee. Dark red ? with striped pattern. ? made of the fur from the head of a wild dog. ? made of marten fur. Draught horses' traces[1273] and bridles, all newly produced. (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-3]** ●The travelling chariot driven by Hong, the Director of the Left: ochre wheels; painted draught pole. Back railing cladding and front railing cladding, both made of bronze. Axle caps topped with a painted blade each. Curved side screens

[1271] The term 戹 has hitherto not been interpreted.

[1272] I agree with Peng Yu to render the character *bai* 骳 as *ban* 靽 and to interpret it as "hobbles" (*banmasheng* 絆馬繩). See Peng Yu 2010, 290–293. According to *Shiming*, *ban* is "半也，拘使半行，不得自縱也" (the same as the character for 'a half', in the sense of restraining [a running horse] to its half tempo, lest it gallops to its liking). See Liu Xi 2008, 263. Wang Zhengduo points out that such a hobble can be seen between two legs of a draught horse in action depicted on a stone relief of the Han dynasty. For a rubbing of the stone relief see Wang Zhenduo 王振铎, *Donghan che zhi fuyuan yanjiu* 东汉车制复原研究, compiled by Li Qiang 李强 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1997): 69, Fig. 52.

I thank Ms Jeanette Werning for the information about the modern usage of hobbles in the steppes. A catalogue describes these hobbles as follows: "The old horse dealer of Kalgan or Khweihwa [Knukho Khoto] uses the hobbles to train a horse to amble or to pace; they hobble one fore and one hind leg on the same side together. In this manner the pony soon finds out the best way to move when hobbled. This way of tying the hobbles is only done to improve the amble or pace, which the pony naturally does when in slow gait, but when moving faster it may change over to trotting." See Christel Braae, *Among Herders of Inner Mongolia: The Haslund-Christensen Collection at the National Museum of Denmark,* The Carlsberg Foundation's Nomad Research Project (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2017): 385 ff.

For an alternative rendering of the character as *bei* 貝 and interpretation as "decorative cowries on certain horse tack" (*beilei shi* 貝勒飾) cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 58.

[1273] Wei Zhao 韋昭 (201–273 CE) commented in *Guo yu* as follows: "鞁，靷也", i.e., "*bei* is synonymous with *yin*". *Yin*, the trace, is a strap that connects the inner arm of the yoke saddle to the draught pole of a vehicle. See *Guo yu*, 494.

Strips 8: 紡襮，紫裹，鬫（貂）定之𦎫。斂韌，斂扈，紫筒（席），二獡綏。二韐，紫組（組）之綏，二斂𩰫，瓀（纁）組（組）之綏。彔（綠）魚之韔，虓（虎）鼁之聶。三鬫（貂）襦紫魚之箙，屯 (L. 67 cm)

with reeled pongee as outer shell, purple silk as lining, and marten's forehead fur as border.[1274] Patterned ?. Patterned ?. A purple mat. Two ropes made of dog hide as boarding aids. Two ?, one of which is equipped with fixing cords made of purple ribbons, the other with two patterned tassels and fixing cords made of reddish ribbon. A bow quiver made of green fish hide and bordered with tiger's ?. Three arrow quivers made of ? marten fur and purple fish hide, all of which

Strips 9: 貍鼁之聶。二鄴（秦）弓，絃賠（造）。用矢，箙五秉。一襦載扈，紫黃紡之綳。二娡（戟），屯三菓，屯一翼之翻。二旆，屯九翼之翻，鵻（翠）紲（縫）白𣪊（氂）之首。鵻（翠）頸，鵻（翠）簣，紫羊 (L. 68 cm)

bordered with leopard cat's ?. Two bows of the Qin style, the strings of which are newly produced. Arrows, fifty per quiver. One ? pole-weapon receptacle equipped with loops made of violet and yellow silk. Two *ji*-polearms, each bearing three side blades, one top blade, and one pair of wing-shaped pole-accessories. Two *pei*-streamers, each attached with nine pairs of wings; the streamers' head (the pinnacle of the pole) [adorned with] kingfisher's feathers sewn with white yak's tail hair together, their neck (the middle of the streamers) as well as their tail (the fly farthest away from the pole) adorned with kingfisher's feathers and purple ram-

Strips 10: 須之縩。鬫（貂）定之笎。黃金之戚。二戈，紫縩，屯二翼之翻。𡧓（貫）轅（轄），組（組）珥填（瑱）。斂𨐈，鑲韝，鞦顯（韅）、鞅。胳𢘑，鬫（貂）鼁之𦎫。紫黃紡之繴，鞦緀（紳） (L. 67.7 cm)

beard tassels. Handrail coating[1275] made of marten's forehead fur. One gilded shield. Two *ge*-polearms adorned by a purple tassel and eight pairs of wing-shaped pole-accessories each.

[1274] Qiu and Li render the character *ding* 定 as *ding* 顁, which means "forehead". See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 511, footnote 65.

[1275] Qiu and Li render the term *hong* 笎 (also written as *hong* 弘) as *hong* 靶, which means "the handle of the handrail" (車軾中把) according to *Shuowen jiezi*. Duan Yucai comments that the term means "以去毛之皮

Transfixing linchpins. Pennant made of ribbons attached to the axle caps.[1276] Patterned yoke bar. Horse frontlets. Dark red axillary straps and throat straps, brown shabrack bordered with marten's ? fur. ? made of purple and yellow pongee. Dark red ?

Strip 11: 紃，鋌（貂）首之霥，鼾（豻）韎，皵（鞁）繐（轡）賠（造）。朖，錥，敲，兼，鏏，旛（繯）炑（燧）☒ (L. 27.5 cm)

Strip 12: ☒ (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-4]** 陵連戳（敖）東臣所駁（馭）政車：…… ☒ (L. 21.2 cm)

Strip 58: …… (L. 68.1 cm)

Strips 68: …… (L. 66.7 cm)

Strips 69: …… (L. 67.7 cm)

Strip 13: ☒ (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-5]** 黃●迭王所駁（馭）大屃（殿）：…… (L. 59.2 cm)

Strip 14：…… (L. 68.2 cm)

Strip 15：☒……■ (line break) (L. 66.2 cm)

鞔軾中人所凭處" (to cover the center of the handrail, on which the charioteer steadies himself, with dehaired hide). See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, footnote 71; Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 195.

[1276] Qiu and Li renders the character *tian* 填 as *tian* 瑱, which are jade pendants (part of a headgear) hanging down at the temples. *Er* 珥 is a synonym to *tian* 瑱 according to *Shuowen jiezi*. Qiu and Li further point out that *ertian* 珥瑱 must have been a certain vehicle accoutrement. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 512, footnote 72; Zong Fubang et al. 2003, 1458.

In the context, *ertian* can be pennants attached to the axle caps. As Dong Shan argues, such pennants have been seen at an axle cap in one of the Chu tombs, on one of the bronze chariots from the mausoleum of first emperor of the Qin dynasty, as well as in Han murals. From the Han dynasty onward, such pennants were denotated as *feiling* 飛軨. See Dong Shan 2007.

(Strip 11+12:) with striped patterns, ? made of marten's head fur. ? made of wild dog's fur. [Draught horses'] traces and bridles, all newly produced. ?,[1277] a *gui*-spade,[1278] a *cha*-spade, a sickle, needles,[1279] ropes and a flint,[1280] […] (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-4]** The principal chariot driven by Dong Chen, the Director of Guests in Lin, … […]…[…] (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-1/E-5]** The grand rearguard chariot ● driven by Huang Maowang… […] … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 2: Strips 16–20, 21+22, 23+90, 91, 25, 109+82 and 83 (11 strips)[1281]

Strip 16: **[Entry A-1/P-2/E-1]**黃●貲所駁（馭）左轓…… (L. 69.5 cm)

Strip 17: …… (L. 67.2 cm)

Strip 18: …… (long gap) ■**[Entry A-1/P-2/E-2]**中●罟敏䯒所駁（馭）少輗…… (L. 70 cm)

Strip 20: ……☒ (L. 65 cm)

[1277] The character 朖 has hitherto not been interpreted.

[1278] According to *Shuowen jiezi*, *gui* 銫 is a kind of spade (*cha* 臿). See Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 1228.

[1279] See Zhang Tiehui 张铁慧, "'Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi' du hou ji" 《曾侯乙墓竹简释文与考释》读后记, *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (1996): 69 ff.

[1280] Liu Xinfang renders the character *huang* 旟 as *huang* 繟, i.e., "ropes", and the character *zhu* 炸 as *sui* 燧, i.e., "flint". Liu Xinfang 2006, 6.

[1281] The join of strip 23 and 90 as well as the sequence of strips 91 and 25 are reconstructed by myself. Luo Xiaohua suggests that strips 82 and 83 follow strip 25. I partly follow his suggestion, while adding strip 109 in between to reconstruct the join 109+82. See Sun Hui 2020, 73–77, and 81–85; and Luo Xiaohua 羅小華, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian bianlian jubu tiaozheng" 曾侯乙墓竹簡編聯局部調整, updated Nov. 27, 2012b, accessed Feb. 16, 2025, http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5943.html.

Strip 21: ……☒ (L. 15.7 cm)[1282]

Strip 22: ☒…… (long gap) ■**[Entry A-1/P-2/E-3]**裘●定所駁（馭）左屃（殿）…… (L. 51 cm)

Strip 23: ……☒ (L. 23.5 cm)

Strip 90: ☒……☒ (L. 27.1 cm)

Strip 91: ☒…… (L. 68.1 cm)

Strip 25: …… (long gap) ■**[Entry A-1/P-2/E-4]**哀●裹所駁（馭）左禮轔……☒ (L. 65.9 cm)

Strip 109: ☒……☒ (L. 5.8 cm)

Strip 82: ☒…… (L. 24.5+6.6cm)

Strip 83: ……■ (line break) ☒ (L. 60.1 cm)

[Entry A-1/P-2/E-1] The left vanguard chariot driven by Huang ● Mai… (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-2/E-2]** The junior broad chariot[1283] driven by Yi, the Director of the Palace Livestock Breeding… (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-2/E-3]** The left rearguard chariot driven by Qiu

[1282] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 21 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (53.1 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plates 176–177; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 26. After an e-mail correspondence with him, he kindly looked into his archive and corrected the value to 15.7. In his new publication, Xiao uses the corrected value. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 49.

[1283] Qiu and Li as well as Xiao assume that the character *guang* 輄 is a phonetic loan of the character *guang* 廣, meaning "broad". It is possible that the term *guang* 輄 originally refers to a certain vehicle part, which became the name of the vehicle that is characterised by such a part. In the context, the term obviously refers both to such a vehicle and its characteristic part, which is equipped with "gold adornments" (*huangjin zhi shi* 黃金之𢦏). See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 496; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 182.

Ding… (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-2/E-4]** The left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot driven by Ai ● Yi … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 3: Strips 32, 33+34 and 35 (3 strips)

Strip 32: **[Entry A-1/P-3]**鄘●鬻駛（馭）左彤展（殿）…… (L. 67 cm)

Strip 33: ……☒ (L. 45.7 cm)

Strip 34: ☒…… (18.1 cm)

Strip 35: …… (line break) (68.5 cm)

Jiu ● Qiang drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot …(line break)

Paragraph 4: Strips 105+108, 84 and 93 (3 strips)[1284]

Strip 105: **[Entry A-1/P-4]** [黃嘼●駛（馭）右展（殿）][1285] ☒……☒ (L. 33 cm)

Strip 108: ☒……☒ (L. 11.3 cm)

Strip 84: …… (L. 68 cm)

Strip 93: ……■ (line break) ☒ (L. 44.5+15.4 cm)

[1284] The join of strips 105 and 108 is reconstructed by Luo Xiaohua; and the sequence of strips 108, 84 and 93 is reconstructed by myself. See Luo Xiaohua 2012b; and Sun Hui 2020, 93–95.

[1285] The vehicle phrase of this paragraph is missing. For the reconstruction of the entry and the reason why the missing head of strip 105 probably bore the characters "黃嘼●駛右展" (Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot) see Sun Hui 2020, 85–87.

[Huang Dan ● drives the right rearguard chariot] … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 5: Strips 26, 107+110+111+27, 28–31, 112 and 113+114 (8 strips)[1286]

Strip 26: **[Entry A-1/P-5/E-1]**黃●痰所駁（馭）躗軒…… (L. 65.6 cm)

Strip 107: ……☒ (9.5 cm)

Strip 110: ☒……☒ (12.7 cm)

Strip 111: ☒……☒ (2.9+2.8 cm)

Strip 27: ☒…… (9.2 cm)

Strip 28: …… (long gap) ■**[Entry A-1/P-5/E-2]**黃●孚所駁（馭）躗軒……☒ (L. 64.4 cm)

Strip 29: …… (L. 64.4 cm)

Strip 30: ……☒ (L. 65.5 cm)

Strip 31: …… (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-1/P-5/E-3]**哀●立駁（馭）左尹之躗=：…… (L. 69.3 cm)

Strip 112: ☒……☒ (L. 12.2 cm)

Strip 113: ☒……☒ (L. 23.3 cm)

[1286] The joins of strips 107 and 110 and of strips 113 and 114 are reconstructed by Luo Xiaohua; and the sequence of strips 26 and 107, the join of strips 111 and 27, and the sequence of strips 31 and 112 are reconstructed by myself. See Luo Xiaohua 2012b; Sun Hui 2020, 73–77, and 81–85.

Strip 114: ☒ ····· ☒ (L. 9 cm) (entry incomplete)[1287]

[Entry A-1/P-5/E-1] The side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan … (long gap)

■**[Entry A-1/P-5/E-2]** The side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Bo … (long gap)

■**[Entry A-1/P-5/E-3]** ■ Ai ● Li drives the reserve chariot of the Chancellor of the Left … […]

Paragraph 6: 99+100 and 101+81 (2 strips)[1288]

[Entry A-1/P-6] [·····][1289]

Strip 99: ····· ☒ (L. 57.8 cm)

Strip 100: ☒ ····· (L. 12.7 cm)

Strip 101: ····· ☒ (L. 16.9 cm)

Strip 81: ☒ ·····■ (line break) (L. 17.4 cm)

[Anonymous vehicle 1] … ■ (line break)

[1287] As I have argued elsewhere, the end of this entry is missing. More exactly, maybe two characters are missing. See Sun Hui 2020, 105.

[1288] The join of strips 101 and 81 is reconstructed by myself. It could have followed a strip that is missing, as demonstrated in the appendix. Furthermore, they could also have followed strip 51. See Sun Hui 2020, 100–101 and 106–107.

[1289] I have argued elsewhere that the beginning of this entry was either located on a strip that is missing or on the missing end of strip 114. In the latter case, this entry would be part of paragraph 5. See Sun Hui 2020, 107.

Paragraph 7: Strips 42–44 (3 strips)

Strip 42: **[Entry A-1/P-7]** 斬紩吉𠂤駁（馭）鄗君一𨒅（乘）輤：黃金之弋（飾）。二載 扈，黃金之弋（飾），紫綳。胤韔，胤鼛之聶。鼬（豻）口之箙，無聶。二紫梘之箙，鼬（豻）弋（飾）。二旆。二𢦏（戟）。二戡，屯霝 (L. 67.6 cm)

Zhan Maoji 𠂤 drives the broad chariot of the Lord of Li: gold adornments. Two laden weapon fixation bars with gold adornments and purple fixation straps. One bow quiver made of tiger fur and bordered with tiger's ?. One arrow quiver made of wild dog's […], without border. Two arrow quivers made of purple brocade and adorned with wild dog's [fur.] Two *pei*-streamers. Two *ji*-polearms. Two shields, both with ?[1290]

Strip 43: 之翻。紛韌，紫緙（縢）。革綏。縉[illegible]。顯（韅）、鞅、緲（紳）。衡戹（軛）。削緐毆，豻𥫱。鑅賠（造）。一鄴（秦）弓，矢二秉又六。三吳甲，屯紫縢；鞷（胄），楒賠（造）。兩馬之釗甲，紫縢；鞷（胄），彋賠（造），無歖。兩 (L. 66.8 cm)

pole-accessories. Patterned ? with purple hank of ropes. Leather boarding aids. Patterned axle caps with top blades. Axillary straps, throat-straps, and ?. Yoke beam and yokes. Reddish-black shabrack made of stoat fur and bordered with wild dog's fur. Terrets newly made. One bow of the Qin style. 26 arrows. Three body armours of the Chu style, all with purple fixing cords. Matching helmets made of leather.[1291] Two draught horses' black-lacquered barding with purple fixing cords. Matching chamfrons made of ?[1292] without ?.[1293] Two

Strip 44: 馬之繼（轡），紫勒，屯戠霝雩。■ (line break) (L. 68.2 cm)

[1290] The term 霝 has not been interpreted yet.

[1291] Qiu and Li assume that the term 楒 is a variant of *wei* 幃. They render it as *wei* 韋, which means "leather". See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 515, footnote 104; 522, footnote 184.

[1292] Xiao Shengzhong renders the term 彋 or 彈 as 鞔 and assumes that it means a certain band on the chamfron. Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 100. But more likely, it means a certain material in parallel with the term 楒.

[1293] The term 歖 has not been interpreted yet.

draught horses equipped with reins and purple bridles. Both horses wearing ? feathers. ■ (line break)

Paragraph 8: Strips 60–61 (2 strips)

Strip 60: **[Entry A-1/P-8]** □葉●□駁（馭）鄙君之一𨐈…… (L. 68.3 cm)

Strip 61: ……☒ (L. 60.5 cm)

[…] Ji ● […] drives the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li … […] (entry incomplete)

Paragraph 9: Strips 65, 66 and 215 (3 strips)[1294]

Strip 65: **[Entry A-1/P-9]** 黃●豕駁（馭）鄀君之一𨐈（乘）敏（畋）車…… (L. 65.4 cm)

Strip 66: …… (L. 66.4 cm)

Strip 215: ■ (line break) (L. 67.9 cm)[1295]

Huang ● An drives the hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 10: Strips 62 and 80 (2 strips)[1296]

Strip 62: **[Entry A-1/P-10]** 黃逾●駁（馭）臤慶事之𨐈=（𨐈車）…… (L. 67.2 cm)

[1294] The sequence of strips 66 and 215 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 107–108.

[1295] The entry A-1/P-11 ends on strip 66. It is probable that the square ink blot and the line break on strip 215 was applied to mark the end of the entry.

[1296] The sequence of strips 62 and 80 is reconstructed by Xiao Shengzhong. See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 18–19.

Strip 80: ☒……■ (line break) (L. 67 cm)

Huang Hui ● drives the reserve chariot of Jian, the Prime Minister … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 11: Strips 63 and 64 (2 strips)

Strip 63: **[Entry A-1/P-11]** 哀●還駁（馭）敏（令）尹之一輦（乘）酋（輕）車…… (L. 68.7 cm)

Strip 64: ……■ (line break) (L. 68.6 cm)

Ai ● Huan drives the light chariot of the Chancellor … ■ (line break)

A-2 Strips

Paragraph 1: Strips 70 and 98 (2 strips)[1297]

Strip 70: **[Entry A-2/P-1]** 所駁（馭）●郠尹之敏（畋）車，哀寢…… (L. 67.7 cm)[1298]

Strip 98: ☒……■ (line break) (L. 59.6 cm)[1299]

The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Governor of Yan is Ai Yuan … ■ (line break)

[1297] The sequence of strips 70 and 98 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 89–90.

[1298] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 70 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (28.5+44.2 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 193; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 28. After an e-mail correspondence with Xiao, he corrected the value to "23.9+29+21-6.2=67.7 cm". In his new publication, Xiao uses the corrected value. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 51.

[1299] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 98 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (5+59.6 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 202; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 29. After an e-mail correspondence with Xiao, he corrected the whole value to "59.6". In his new publication, however, Xiao does not change the old value. Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 52.

Paragraph 2: Strips 67, 115 and 116 (3 strips)[1300]

Strip 67: **[Entry A-2/P-2/E-1]** 所䟒（馭）●坪夜君之敏（畋）車，新官贛忝…… (L. 67.5 cm)

Strip 115: …… **[Entry A-2/P-2/E-2]** 迭車二𨒫（乘），虓（虎）罷（褫），削敭，緺𦋥。(L. 66.5 cm)[1301]

Strip 116: 一白𢧐；三矢；劃筵（席），紫趯。■ **[Subtotal A-2/P-2/S-116]** 二𨒫（乘）迭車。 (line break) (L. 65.2 cm)

[Entry A-2/P-2/E-1] The one who drives ● the hunting chariot of the Lord of Pingye is the New Officer, Gong Qi… **[Entry A-2/P-2/E-2]** Road carriages, two: [Both equipped with] rugs[1302] made of tiger fur; reddish-black hobbles decorated with red silk ribbons; one white bow;[1303] three arrows; a painted mat decorated with purple stoat fur.[1304] ■ **[Subtotal A-2/P-2/S-116]** Two road carriages. (line break)

[1300] The sequence of strips 67, 115 and 116 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 90 ff.

[1301] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 115 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (5.2+15.9+15.4=66.5 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 206; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 29. After an e-mail correspondence with Xiao, he corrected the value to "35.2+15.9+15.4=66.5". In his new publication, Xiao uses the corrected value. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 53.

[1302] The character 罷 is written *shi* 罝 in bronze inscriptions and *mi* 褫 in *Zhou li*. I agree with Gao Hongjin 高鴻縉 (1891–1963) to read it as *shi* 適 and further as *xi* 席. See Li Pu 李圃, ed., *Gu wenzi gulin* 古文字诂林, vol. 5 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002): 296 ff. The records on the A strips also refer to "筵", which is rendered as *xi* 席 as well. But it seems that "罷" was often made of animal skins and hence means "rug" (e.g., *hushi* 虓（虎）罷, i.e., "rug made of tiger fur"); while "筵" was often made of textiles and hence means "mat" (e.g., "紫因（絪）之筵", i.e., "mat made of purple dyed, bast fibre").

[1303] According to Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao, the character 𢧐 might mean a certain kind of bow. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 520.

[1304] The character 趯 is transcribed by Zhang Tiehui. She does not interpret it but points out that the Leigudun manuscripts refer to two similar characters, i.e., 翏 and 翟. She renders the latter two characters as *you* 鼬, i.e., "stoat". It is possible that the term 趯 also means "stoat". See Zhang Tiehui 1996, 71 ff.

Paragraph 3: Strip 117 (1 strip)

Strip 117: **[Entry A-2/P-3]** ☐三𨨏（乘）逴車：屯虓（虎）韗 （褽）。丌一𨨏（乘），白金之弼。載紉（縏）褭。 (line break) (L. 60.7 cm)

Three road carriages of […]:[1305] all [equipped with] rugs made of tiger fur. [Furthermore], one of them [equipped] with a cover made of silver for the front of the vehicle box. Loaded with sleeves (?) made of red silk ribbons. (line break)

Paragraph 4: Strip 119 (1 strip)

Strip 119: **[Entry A-2/P-4/E-1]** 鄴君𠂤一𨨏（乘）逴車，縏（蔰）韗（褽）。■ (long gap) **[Subtotal A-2/P-4/S-119]** 旝城君三逴車，鄴君一𨨏，遊公三𨨏（乘）逴車。 (line break) (L. 67.7 cm)[1306]

The Lord of Yang donated[1307] one road carriage: [all equipped with] red rug] red rug. ■ (long gap) The Lord of Yangcheng's three road carriages, the Lord of Yang's one road carriage, the Duke of Lü's three road carriages. (line break)

[1305] This list entry is incomplete due to the damage of the strip head. The missing head, ca. 1.8–9 cm long (the intact C strips' lengths are 62.5–69.7 cm), bore 2–8 characters. The list entry may have been subtotaled on strip 119 (see below). And the related road carriages in the subtotal are recorded on the A strips as well (strips 195 and 193). Hence, the missing characters may have been "旝城君之" (the Lord of Yangcheng's), "旝城君𠂤" (the Lord of Yangcheng donated), "遊公之" (the Duke of Lü's), or "遊公𠂤" (the Duke of Lü donated).

[1306] Strip 119 with its special structure and layout of the text, i.e., "a list entry + a thick block + a long gap + a subtotal", resembles to a certain extent to strips 195 and 196 (a list entry + a long gap + a thick block + a subtotal) of the C strips. The subtotal on strip 119 refers to the entry before the "■" on the same strip, the entry on strip 117 (see footnote 1305), and another entry on three road carriages, which is apparently missing.

[1307] The character 𠂤 is transcribed by Xiao Shengzhong. I agree with Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao to render it as *feng* 賵, i.e., "to make gifts of wheeled vehicles and horse on a funeral" (for detailed arguments see Subsection 3.4.2). See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 521; Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中, "Zeng Hou Yi mu jian yu Jiangling Tianxingguan yihao mu jian cong 'zheng' zhi zi" 曾侯乙墓簡與江陵天星觀一號墓簡從'爭'之字, in *Chu jian Chu wenhua yu xian Qin lishi wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 楚簡楚文化與先秦歷史文化國際學術研討會論文集, edited by Luo Yunhuan 羅運環 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2013): 517–520.

Paragraph 5: Strip 118 (1 strip)

Strip 118: **[Entry A-2/P-5/E-1]** ⊠ (long gap) **[Subtotal A-2/P-5/S-118]** 迨車三輦（乘）。(line break) (L. 56.8 cm)[1308]

[Entry A-2/P-5/E-1] […] (long gap) **[Subtotal A-2/P-5/S-118]** Road carriages, three. (line break)

A-3 Strips

Paragraph 1: Strips 36–38, 102, and 103+94 (5 strips)[1309]

Strip 36: **[Entry A-3/P-1/E-1]** 黃夏●駁（馭）右轋…… (L. 66 cm)

Strip 37: …… (L. 67.9 cm)

Strip 38: …… (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-3/P-1/E-2]** 黃●柫駁（馭）右彤轋…… (L. 68 cm)

Strip 102: …… (L. 69 cm)

Strip 103: …… (line break) ⊠ (L. 39.8 cm)

Strip 94: ⊠……■ (line break) (L. 23.8 cm)

[Entry A-3/P-1/E-1] Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot … (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-3/P-1/E-2]** Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot … ■ (line break)

[1308] I put this strip after strip 119. This strip is a fragment. Ca. 10 cm of the head of the strip is missing, and the beginning portion of the fragment is a gap of ca. 7 cm at a rough estimate. It is likely that strip 118 used to have a similar structure and layout of the text as those on strip 119 (see footnote 1306). This means that the missing part of strip 118 used to bear a short list entry, and the passage "迨車三輦" (Three road carriages) after the mark "■" is likely a subtotal. See also Sun Hui 2020, 91–93.

[1309] The sequence of strips 38, 102, 103 is suggested by Cao Jingjing. Luo Xiaohua suggests that strip 103 may be followed by strip 94. I further assume that strips 103 and 94 may be joined indirectly. See Cao Jingjing 2007, 29; Luo Xiaohua 2012b; and Sun Hui 2020, 73–77.

Paragraph 2: Strips 39–41 (3 strips)

Strip 39: **[Entry A-3/P-2]** 柘●卯駁（馭）右襠屏（殿）…… (L. 67.9 cm)

Strips 40–41: ……■ (line break) (L. 67.2 and 67.6 cm)

Zhe ● Mao drives the right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 3: Strips 54–57, 104 and 89 (6 strips)[1310]

Strip 54: **[Entry A-3/P-3/E-1]** 王●煲軒…… (L. 66.3 cm)

Strips 55–56: …… (L. 66 and 66.7 cm)

Strip 57: …… (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-3/P-3/E-2]** ● 新官敏欹駁（馭）公左軒 (L. 65.9 cm)

Strip 104: …… (L. 67.2 cm)

Strip 89: ……■ (line break) (L. 57.8+15.4 cm)

[Entry A-3/P-3/E-1] Royal● fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot … (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-3/P-3/E-2]** ● Qi, the Director of the New Office, drives the duke's side-screen chariot of the left … ■ (line break)

[1310] The sequence of strips 57, 104 and 89 is reconstructed by myself. Furthermore, it is also possible that strip 57 is followed by strips 88, 86 and 87. See Sun Hui 2020, 95–99.

Paragraph 4: Strips 45–47, 88, 86, and 87 (6 strips)[1311]

Strip 45: **[Entry A-3/P-4/E-1]** 黃克●駁（馭）輜車…… (L. 67.1 cm)

Strip 46: …… (L. 68.7 cm)

Strip 47: …… (long gap) ■ **[Entry A-3/P-4/E-2]** 黃●建駁（馭）墨輦（乘）……☒ (L. 58.8 cm)[1312]

Strip 88: ☒…… (L. 26.7+38.1 cm)

Strip 86: …… (L. 67.8 cm)

Strip 87: ……■ (line break) (L. 67.2 cm)

[Entry A-3/P-4/E-1] Huang Ke ● drives a wooden-trunk-wheel chariot… (long gap) ■

[Entry A-3/P-4/E-2] Huang ● Jian drives an ink-black chariot… ■ (line break)

Paragraph 5: Strips 51+96 and 97; or strips 51, 96 and 97 (2 or 3 strips)[1313]

Strip 51: **[Entry A-3/P-5]** 黃●艛駁（馭）□車☒ (L. 7.5cm)

Strip 96: ☒…… (L. 55 cm)

[1311] The sequence of strips 47, 88 and 86 is reconstructed by myself. Furthermore, it is also possible that strip 47 was followed by strips 104 and 89. See Sun Hui 2020, 95–99.

[1312] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 47 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (39.8+17+19 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 185; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 27. After an e-mail correspondence with Xiao, he corrected the value to "39.8+19=58.8 cm". In his new publication, Xiao uses the corrected value. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 50.

[1313] The indirect joint of strips 51 and 96 is reconstructed by myself. It is also possible that strips 51 and 96 were no parts of the same strip. Furthermore, strip 51 could also have been followed by the joined strips 99+100 and 101+81. See Sun Hui 2020, 106–107.

Strip 97: ⋯⋯ (line break) ⧄ (L. 64.2 cm)

Huang ● Yi drives a […] chariot … (line break, end of the strip missing)

Paragraph 6: Strips 75, 106 and 59 (3 strips)[1314]

Strip 75: **[Entry A-3/P-6]** 黃𡍮●駁（馭）王僮車⋯⋯⧄ (L. 57.6 cm)

Strip 106: ⧄⋯⋯ (L. 67.8 cm)

Strip 59: ⋯⋯■ (L. 69 cm)

Huang … ● drives the royal tiered-canopy chariot … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 7: Strips 48–49 (2 strips)

Strip 48: **[Entry A-3/P-7]** 宮●廄尹駁（馭）安車⋯⋯ (L. 67.3 cm)

Strip 49: ⋯⋯■ (line break) ⧄ (L. 16.8+30.8 cm)

The Palace Stable's Head drives a comfortable carriage … ■ (line break, end of the strip missing)

[1314] The sequence of strips 75, 106 and 59 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 99–102.

Paragraph 8: Strips 71, 72+24 and 92 (3 strips)[1315]

Strip 71: **[Entry A-3/P-8]** □尹●瘳駛（馭）敏（畋）車…… (L. 67.3 cm)

Strip 72: ……☒ (L. 56.5 cm)

Strip 24: ☒…… (L. 12.2 cm)

Strip 92: ……■ (line break) (L. 67.8 cm)

Governor of..., ● Meng, drives a hunting chariot … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 9: Strips 73 and 95 (2 strips)[1316]

Strip 73: **[Entry A-3/P-9]** 南●陵連戠（敖）惲駛（馭）棆（輪）轂……☒ (L. 27.9+28.8 cm)

Strip 95: ……■ (line break) (L. 67.6 cm)

Hui, the Official Guest Receptionist of Nan●ling, drives a hearse[1317] … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 10: Strip 76 (1 strip)

Strip 76: **[Entry A-3/P-10]** 輗軥(轏輗)車……■ (line break) (L. 66.6 cm)

[1315] The sequence of the joined strip 72+24 and strip 92 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 80–81.

[1316] The sequence of strips 73 and 95 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 103–104.

[1317] Chen Wei, based on a number of transmitted texts, argues that *chuangu* 棆（輪）轂 is a hearse. See Chen Wei 1996, 185.

Curved-pole-canopy carriage[1318]… ■ (line break)

Paragraph 11: Strips 53, 78, and 79 (3 strips)[1319]

Strip 53: **[Entry A-3/P-11]** 鄭●君之車…… (L. 67.7 cm)

Strips 78–79: ……■ (line break) (L. 66.2[1320] and 67.3 cm)

The chariot of the Lord ● of Ji … ■ (line break)

Paragraph 12: Strips 50, 85 (2 strips)[1321]

Strip 50: **[Entry A-3/P-12]** 新●安車……☒ (L. 33.8 cm)

Strip 85: ……■ (line break) ☒ (L. 54.8 cm)

New comfortable carriage… ■ (line break, end of the strip missing)

[1318] Qiu and Li render the characters 輗軥 as *pini* 輗軮. Xiao Shengzhong interprets the term *pini* as curved-pole canopy. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, vol. 1, 520, footnote 154; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 184 ff.

[1319] The sequence of strips 53, 78, and 79 is reconstructed by Xiao Shengzhong. See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 18–19.

[1320] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 78 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (60.2 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 196; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 28. After an e-mail correspondence with Xiao, he corrected the whole value to "66.2". In his new publication, Xiao uses the corrected value. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 51.

[1321] The sequence of strips 50 and 85 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 102–103.

Paragraph 13: Strip 74 (1 strip)

Strip 74: (Left indent) **[Entry A-3/P-13]** 椯（短）●轂…… (line break) (L. 67.8 cm)

(Left indent) Hearse ●… (line break)

III.2 The B Strips

Entries on the B Strips

Paragraph 1: Strips 122–126 (5 strips)

Strip 122: **[Entry B/P-1/E-1]** 大輴●：二真楚甲，索，紫𣏌之䐉（縢）；辠（胄），幃賠（造）。一真楚甲，紫𣏌（布）之䐉（縢）；辠（胄），幃賠（造），鞦賠（造）。𩵦=（乘馬）之彤甲，辠（胄），彈韕賠（造），屯玄組（組）之䐉（縢）。 **[Entry B/P-1/E-2]** 𩵦（乘）𨟠●：…… (L. 68.5 cm)

Strip 123: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-1/E-3]** 政●車：…… (L. 39.8+28.2 cm)

Strip 124: …… (long gap occupied by characters added afterwards) **[Entry B/P-1/E-4]** 大●𡰥（殿）：…… (L. 69.6 cm)

Strip 125: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-1/E-5]** 黃貲●馭（馭）左旆：…… (L. 69.8 cm)

Strip 126: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-1/E-6]** 中●罝敏䩜馭（馭）少輇：…… (line break?) (L. 67.8 cm)

[Entry B/P-1/E-1] The Chariot Carrying the Grand Forward-Banner ●: two armours of the Chu style, undyed, with fixing cords made of purple cloth; matching helmets made of leather. One armour of the Chu style, with fixing cords made of purple hemp cloth; matching helmets made of leather, of which the tassels were newly made. Vermillion barding of the draught horses; matching chamfrons made of ? and ?,[1322] with fixing cords made of black *zu*-ribbon.

[1322] The character 韕 has not been interpreted yet.

(long gap) **[Entry B/P-1/E-2]** Travelling reserve-chariot 🕳: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-1/E-3]** Principal 🕳 chariot: … **[Entry B/P-1/E-4]** Grand 🕳 rearguard chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-1/E-5]** Huang Mai 🕳 drives the left vanguard chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-1/E-6]** Yi, the Director of the 🕳 Palace Livestock Breeding, drives the junior broad chariot: … (line break?)

Paragraph 2: Strips 127–132, 133+134, 135, 137, and 138 (10 strips)[1323]

Strip 127: **[Entry B/P-2/E-1]** 裘定🕳駁（馭）左屎（殿）：…… **[Entry B/P-2/E-2]** 哀🕳裛駁（馭）左禮旆：…… (L. 66.7 cm)

Strip 128: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-3]** 黃🕳痰駁（馭）𨒅軒：…… (L. 67.1 cm)

Strip 129: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-4]** 黃🕳孚駁（馭）𨒅軒：…… (L. 14.7+51.7 cm)

Strip 130: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-5]** 鄘醬🕳駁（馭）左彤屎（殿）：…… (L. 69.9 cm)

Strip 131: ☒ (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-6]** 黃夏🕳駁（馭）右旆：…… (L. 54 cm)

Missing upper part of strip 132: […… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-7]** ……：……] (L. 56.4–62.1 cm)[1324]

Strip 132: ☒…… (L. 8.8 cm)

Strip 133: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-8]** 黃🕳柫駁（馭）右禮轙：……☒ (L. 15[1325]+24+17.4 cm)

[1323] The sequence of strips 135 and 137 is reconstructed by myself. See Sun Hui 2020, 109–110.

[1324] Elsewhere I have argued that the missing upper part of strip 132 likely bore the end of the entry B/P-2/E-6, a long gap and the beginning of entry Entry B/P-2/E-7 on an unknown vehicle. See Sun Hui 2020, 111.

[1325] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 133 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (24+17.4=43.4 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 212; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 30.

Strip 134: ☒…… (L. 11.3 cm)

Strip 135: …… (long gap) □☒ (L. 40.7 cm)

Missing lower part of strip 135: **[Entry B/P-2/E-9]** [……：……] (L. 24.5–29.3 cm)

Strip 137: …… (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-10]** ●輦（乘）：…… (L. 68.3 cm)

Strip 138: …… (line break?) (L. 69.7 cm)

[Entry B/P-2/E-1] Qiu Ding ● drives the left rearguard chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-2]** Ai ● Yi drives the left *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-3]** Side-screen reserve-chariot driven by Huang ● Tan: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-4]** Huang ● Bo drives the side-screen reserve-chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-5]** Jiu Qiang ● drives the left *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-6]** Huang Xia ● drives the right vanguard chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-7]** [Anonymous vehicle 2]: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-8]** Huang ● Fu drives the right *zhan*-banner-vanguard chariot: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-9]** [Anonymous vehicle 3]: … (long gap) **[Entry B/P-2/E-10]** ● Travelling chariot: … (line break?)

Paragraph 3: Strips 136 and 139 (2 strips)[1326]

Strip 136: **[Entry B/P-3/E-1]** 黃●駁（馭）右屃（殿）：…… **[Entry B/P-3/E-2]** 右禮屃（殿）：……☒ (L. 61.4 cm)

Strip 139: …… (line break) ☒ (L. 41.6 cm)

After an e-mail correspondence with Xiao, he corrected the value to "15+24+17.4=56.4". In his new publication, Xiao uses the corrected value. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 53.

[1326] The sequence of strips 136 and 139 is suggested by Cao Jingjing. See Cao Jingjing 2007, 30.

[Entry B/P-3/E-1] Huang Dan ⬬ drives the Right rearguard chariot: … **[Entry B/P-3/E-2]** Right *zhan*-banner-rearguard chariot: … (line break)

Summaries on the B Strips

Paragraph 4: Strips 120–121 (2 strips)

Strip 120: ■ **[Subtotals B/P-4/S-120–121]** 凡輇車十輦（乘）又二輦=（乘車）_；四[illegible]車_，囝軒；攻差坪所賠（造）行輇五輦（乘）_；遊車九輦（乘），囝軒_；一敏（畋）車；一棤轂；一王僮車；一鞁輨 (L. 68.5 cm)

Strip 121: 車；逴車九▄ (long gap) **[Grand total B/P-4/G-121]** 大凡四十輦（乘）又三輦（乘）_。　　至紫（此）。 (line break) ⊠ (L. 37.6 cm)

■ In total: twelve broad carriages; four reserve chariots, each equipped with curved side screens;[1327] five swift broad chariots newly produced by the artisan assistant Ping; nine touring chariots, each equipped with curved side screens; one hunting chariot; one hearse; one royal tiered-canopy chariot; one curved-pole-canopy carriage; nine road carriages. ▄ (short gap) Grand total: forty-three [vehicles]. (long gap) Until here. (line break)

Paragraph 5: Strip 140 (1 strip)

Strip 140: **[Subtotals B/P-5/S-140]** ⊠□所賠（造）十真[illegible]=真 ▄ **[Grand total B/P-5/G-140]** 大凡[illegible]=真又三真。_ (line break) (L. 3.3+11+38.1 cm)

[1327] Xiao Shengzhong punctuates the beginning part of these totals as follows: "凡輇車十輦又二。輦=（輦車）、四[illegible]車，囝軒" (In total: broad carriages, twelve; one travelling chariot and four reserve chariots, all equipped with curved side screens). See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 99. However, his interpunction will allow the conclusion that the vehicles in the subtotals amount to 44, which contradicts the number of the vehicles in the grand total.

[…]15 suits [of armours newly][1328] produced by […]: ■ Grand total: 64 suits of [body armours]. (line break)

Paragraph 6: Strip 141 (1 strip)

Strip 141: **[Subtotals B/P-6/S-141]** ⧄□所賠（造）廿=嗎［=］（匹馬）[1329]之甲[■][1330] **[Grand total B/P-6/G-141]**大凡[illegible]=馬甲[illegible]=馬之甲。 (line break) (L. 45.8 cm)

[…] 20 suits of barding newly produced by […]: [■] Grand total: 86 suits of barding. (line break)

[1328] In the total and the grand total concerned, no armours are mentioned. But since the nominal classifier *zhen* 真 on the A and B strips always refers to armours, the total and the grand total must have been those of the armours.

[1329] The text of the present summary on strip 141 is extremely blurred. A mark "=", which would turn the character *pima* 嗎 into a ligature (*hewen* 合文), has probably vanished. This character is used on several other strips as a counting unit of barding (for examples see strips 129 and 131). But here, it must be a ligature consisting of the counting unit *pi* 匹 and the noun *ma* 馬 (horse), so that it can precede the possessive form *zhi jia* 之甲 (…' barding). It is a similar case with the character *cheng* 輦, which acts both as a counting unit of wheeled vehicles (for examples see strips 63, 65, and 77) and a ligature followed by an iteration mark "=", standing for a type of chariot, *chengche* 乘車 ("travelling chariot", for examples see strips 7 and 137).

[1330] Based on a comparison with the summary on strips 140, which features a relatively similar textual structure, a thin block before the characters *dafan* 大凡 (altogether) has probably vanished from the present summary on strip 141. In the photo of this strip, the distance between the character *jia* 甲 and the first character of *dafan* is longer than the average distance between the other characters of the same strip. This also indicates that there used to be a thin block. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 214. Furthermore, in the new infra-red photo, even the character *da* 大 almost disappeared. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, Plates, 63.

III.3 The C Strips

Unity S-148 (C-1 Strips)[1331]

Strip 142: **[Entry C-1/S-148/P-1]** 莆之騩爲左驂，慶（卿）事（士）之駉（騮）爲左驕（服），蔡齮之騍爲右驕（服），鄭君之騏爲右驂：外新官之駟=（四馬）大旆。 (L. 65.8 cm)

Pu's grey horse acts as the left outrigger, the Prime Minister's bay horse acts as the left pole horse, Cai Yi's mare acts as the right pole horse, and the Lord of Ji's piebald horse acts as the right outrigger: grand vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Outside. (line break)

Strip 171: **[Entry C-1/S-148/P-2]** 盫深驎爲左飛（騑），𣏌甫之駉（騮）爲左驂，寁（箴）尹卓之兩駉（騮）爲驕（服），盫騅爲右驂，宋客之駉（騮）爲又（右）飛（騑）：新官人之馱=（六馬）望=（望車）。 (L. 65.4 cm)

?'s[1332] dark Six-Feet[1333] acts as the left, exterior outrigger; ? Fu's[1334] bay horse acts as the left, interior outrigger; two bay horses of the Chief Remonstrator,[1335] whose name is Zhuo, act as the pole horses; ?$_1$'s dotted horse acts as the right, interior outrigger; and a bay horse of the Guest of the Song Duchy acts as the right, exterior outrigger: reserve chariot, a *seiugis* of a New Officer. (line break)

Strip 144: **[Entry C-1/S-148/P-3]** ……新官人之駟=（四馬）左轙。 (L. 60.5 cm)

[1331] Elsewhere I have explained why the summary on strip 148 refers to the list entries on strips 142, 171, 144–177. See Sun Hui 2018, 59–62.

[1332] The character 盫 (pronounciation unknown) is likely a person's name.

[1333] Tian He renders the character 驎 as *ju* 駒 (foal) or *jiao* 驕 (a horse of six feet height). Since the character *ju* 駒 (foal) is also in use in the records on the C strips (strip 179), the other option might be more suitable. See Tian He 2007, 112.

[1334] The character 𣏌 (pronounciation unknown) is likely part of a person's name.

[1335] Qiu and Li renders the character 寁 as *zhen* 箴 or *jian* 緘, which means "remonstrance". See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, footnote 224.

… left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer. (line break)

Strip 145: **[Entry C-?/S-148/P-4]** ……新官人之駟=（四馬）左轙。 (L. 66.2 cm)

… left vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer. (line break)

Strip 146: **[Entry C-1/S-148/P-5]** ……新官人之駟=（四馬）右轙。 (L. 66.6 cm)

… right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer. (line break)

Strip 147: **[Entry C-1/S-148/P-6]** ……新官人之駟=（四馬）右轙。 (L. 64.3 cm)

… right vanguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer. (line break)

Strip 148: **[Subtotal C-1/S-148]** (Indent) ■ 凡新官之馬六輦（乘）。 (L. 65 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: the horse-[drawn chariots] of the New Office amount to six.[1336] (Line break)

Unity S-159 (C-1 Strips)

Strip 149: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-1]** 鄗尹之駣（騮）爲左〔驂〕，□冀之駣（騮）爲左驅（服），憍駣（騮）爲右驅（服），鄗君之黃右驂。大官之駟=（四馬）大屃（殿）。 (L. 67.2 cm)

[1336] Literally, this summary could be understood as a description of the amount of horses of the New Officers. But apart from the fact that the context would not allow such an understanding of this sentence, the counting unit *cheng* 輦 is probably not suitable to modify the noun "horse", because this counting unit, which includes the radical *che* 車 (wheeled vehicle), is generally used to modify nouns relating to all kinds of vehicles in the lists concerned (see also footnote 1329), while the counting unit *pi* 匹 is used to modify the noun "horse" (for examples see strips 179, 187, and 189). Interestingly, there are also the noun *chengma* 騬, which shares a component with *cheng* 輦 and means a "draught horse" (for examples see strips 61, 81, and 115), and the counting unit *pima* 馬 for barding (see also footnote 1329). Both characters, as well as the character *cheng* 輦, suggest that there was a developed system of attributes modifying the nouns "wheeled vehicle" and "horse", further testifying the distinctive importance of these two entities in the society in which these characters were used.

The Governor of Li's bay horse acts as the left outrigger, (one illegible character) Yi's bay horse acts as the left pole horse, Jiao's bay horse acts as the right pole horse, the Lord of Li's tan horse acts as the right outrigger: grand rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of a Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 150: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-2]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）左屏（殿）。 (L. 66.5 cm)

… left rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 151: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-3]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）左屏（殿）。 (L. 65 cm)

… left rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 152: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-4]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）右屏（殿）。 (L. 65.2 cm)

… right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 153: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-5]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）右屏（殿）。 (L. 65.6 cm)

… right rearguard chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 154: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-6]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）行轄。 (L. 65.8 cm)

… swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 155: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-7]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）行轄。 (L. 65.5 cm)

… swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 156: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-8]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）行轄。 (L. 65.7 cm)

… swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 157: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-9]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）行轄。 (L. 57.9 cm)

… swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 158: **[Entry C-1/S-159/P-10]** ……大官之駟=（四馬）行轄。 (L. 66.2 cm)

… swift broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of the Grand Officer. (Line break)

Strip 159: **[Subtotal C-1/S-159]** (Indent) ■ 凡大官之馬十竄（乘）。 (L. 65.4 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: the horse-[drawn chariots] of the Grand Office amount to ten.[1337] (Line break)

Unity S-207–208 (C-1 Strips)[1338]

Strip 143: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-1]** 翟耳之黃爲左驂，莆之黃爲左驅（服），某𡨴之黃爲右驅（服），王衶之黃爲右驂：宮廄之新官駟=（四馬）𨒅=（𨒅車）。 (L. 65.8 cm)

Qu Yi's yellow horse acts as the left outrigger, Pu's yellow horse acts as the left pole horse, Mou Cao's yellow horse acts as the right pole horse, and Wang Jiu's yellow horse acts as the right outrigger: reserve chariot, a *quadriga* of a New Officer of the Palace Stable. (Line break)

Strip 205: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-2]** 竄（乘）𪓛（畋）人兩[illegible]與其車。 (L. 65.7 cm)

A Hunting Chariot Rider's two mules and his cart. (Line break)

Strip 206: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-3]** 竄（乘）𪓛（畋）人兩雌𨐈=（卑車）。 (L. 66.2 cm)

A Hunting Chariot Rider's two grey horses and his low-built carriage. (Line break)

Strip 165: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-4]** ……竄（乘）𪓛（畋）駟=（四馬）安車。 (L. 65.2 cm)

… comfortable carriage, a *quadriga* of a Hunting Chariot Rider. (Line break)

[1337] As compared to unity of content S-148, the *taiguan* (or *daguan*) 大官 in the list entries on strips 149-158 probably means the officers (Grand Officer) who worked in the office of the same Chinese title (Grand Office), which is related to in the summary on strip 159.

[1338] Elsewhere I have explained why the summaries on strips 207 and 208 refer to the list entries on strips 143, 205, 206, 164–167, 168+169, 170 and 172–177. See Sun Hui 2018, 59–63.

Strip 164: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-5]** ……長（掌）腸（場）人與杙（職）人之馬，麗崎馬舊安車。 (66.3 cm)

… old comfortable carriage, a *biga* of an Orchardist[1339] and a Bull Fattener,[1340] drawn by horses with one white left hoof each. (Line break)

Strip 166: **[Entry C-?/S-207–208/P-6]** ……長（掌）腸（場）人之駟=（四馬）政車。 (L. 8.7+21.3+38.1 cm)

… principal chariot, a *quadriga* of an Orchardist. (Line break)

Strip 167: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-7]** ……輦（乘）馬駟=（四馬）輦（乘）輊。 (L. 65.7 cm)

… travelling broad-chariot, a *quadriga* of a Vehicle Attendant. (Line break)

Strip 168+169: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-8]** ……杙（職）人之駟=（四馬）少輊。 (L. 10.6+49.6 cm)

… junior broad chariot, a *quadriga* of a Bull Fattener. (Line break)

Strip 170: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-9]** ……龍（駹）馬駟=（四馬）輦（乘）𨐈。 (L. 65.9 cm)

[1339] Dong Shan renders the term *changchang* 長腸 as *zhangchang* 掌場, arguing that a *zhangchangren* 長（掌）腸（場）人 was the same official title as *changren* 場人 (Orchardist) in *Zhou li*. The passage concerned in *Zhou li* reads: "場人：掌國之場圃，而樹之果蓏珍異之物，以時斂而藏之。凡祭祀、賓客，共其果蓏。享亦如之" (the Orchardists are in charge of the kingdom's orchards in terms of planting those rarities and exotica among fruits, collecting, and conserving them according to seasons. On occasions of sacrifices and official visiting, they are to present their fruits. The same they do for ordinary offerings). See Dong Shan 2010, 203; and *Zhou li zhushu*, 500.

[1340] In Zheng Xuan's commentary to *Zhou li*, he states that the official title *zhiren* 職人 (Bull Fattener) can be written *zhiren* 樴人 or *zhiren* 杙人. Hence, the term *zhiren* 杙人 means "Bull Fattener". The term *zhi* 杙 or *zhi* 樴 means a stake for fastening the tether of cows. Qiu and Li render the character as *yi* 弋 (to shoot). Xiao Shengzhong renders the character as *shi* 飾 (to decorate). See *Zhou li zhushu*, 382; Cf. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 527, footnote 233. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 25 and 129 ff.

… travelling reserve-chariot, a *quadriga* drawn by black horses with white foreheads. (Line break)

Strip 172: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-10]** ……邊輿人駐=（六馬）䡆軒。 (L. 65.9 cm)[1341]

… side-screen reserve-chariot, a *seiugis* of a Caretaker of *Bian*-Vessels on Vehicles. (Line break)

Strip 173: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-11]** ……新賠（造）人駐=（六馬）墨䡆（乘）。 (L. 34.5+31.7 cm)

… ink-black chariot, a *seiugis* of a Manufacturer of New Products. (Line break)

Strip 174: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-12]** ……䡆（乘）馬之駐=（六馬）魚軒。 (L. 65.7cm)

… fishskin-leather-side-screen chariot, a *seiugis* of a Vehicle Attendant. (Line break)

Strip 175: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-13]** ……疋䡆（乘）之駐=（六馬）䡅（畋）。 (L. 64.8 cm)

… hunting chariot, a *seiugis* of a Chief Vehicle-Attendant. (Line break)

Strip 176: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-14]** ……口人之駐=（六馬）棺轂。 (L. 35.2+31.5 cm)

… hearse, a *seiugis* of the […] (Line break)

Strip 177: **[Entry C-1/S-207–208/P-15]** ……石泹人之駟=（四馬）王僮車。 (L. 63.9 cm)

… royal tiered-canopy chariot, a *quadriga* of a Stone Dyke Keeper.[1342] (Line break)

[1341] In view of the available photo, the length of strip 172 in Xiao Shengzhong's 2011 publication is problematic (35.9 cm). Cf. Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 223; and Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 31. After an e-mail correspondence with Xiao, he corrected the value to "65.9". In his new publication, Xiao uses the corrected value. See Xiao Shengzhong 2019, 55.

[1342] Zhang Tiehui renders the character 泹 as *liang* 梁. According to the expression "梁，石絕水曰梁" (The term *liang* means "to cut off water with stone") in the *Mao shi zhuan* 毛詩傳 (*Mao Commentary on the Classic of Peotry*), she further interprets *shiliang* as *yuba* 魚壩, i.e., "dyke constructed for fish farming". Accordingly,

Strip 207: **[Subtotal C-1/S-207]** (Indent) ■凡宮廄之馬與𩵦十輦（乘），入於此槨官之屯（中）_。 (L. 67.7 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: ten horse-[drawn] and mule-[drawn[1343] chariots][1344] from the Palace Stable are to enter this Office of Xue_.[1345] (Line break)

Strip 208: **[Subtotal C-1/S-208]** (Indent) ■凡宮廄之馬所入長坑之屯（中）五輦（乘）。 (L. 66.4 cm)

(Indent) ■ In total: five horse-[drawn chariots][1346] from the Palace Stable are to enter the Long Gate.[1347] (Line break)

Strip 209: **[Fragment of a Summary]** ☒車十輦（乘）又五☒ (L. 5.7 cm)

[…] 15 wheeled vehicles […]

---

the term *shiliangren* means a "Stone Dyke Warden", who was probably an official of the Zeng March. See Zhang Tiehui 1996, 72 ff.

[1343] For the interpretation of the character 𩵦 as *luo* 騾 "mule", see He Linyi 1998, 874.

[1344] For the reason of interpreting the character *cheng* 輦 as a counting unit of vehicles, instead of a counting unit for horses, see footnote 1336.

[1345] There is no consensus on the interpretation of the character 槨. Qiu and Li do not interpret it; Xu Zaiguo (2003) notes that it might be read *xue* but does not interpret it; Zhao Ping'an renders the two characters 槨官 as *gunguan* 棍棺, which would mean "a coffin made of *gun*-tree (a certain tree mentioned in *Guangyun* 廣韻)". See Xu Zaiguo 徐在国, "Shangbo zhushu (er) wenzi zakao" 上博竹书（二）文字杂考, *Xueshu jie* 学术界 1 (2003): 102; Zhao Ping'an 2006, 11–14.

[1346] For the reason of interpreting the character *cheng* 輦（乘） as a counting unit of vehicles, instead of as a counting unit for horses, see footnote 1336.

[1347] For the interpretation of the term *changhong* 長坑 as "Long Gate" see Xiao Shengzhong 2009, 371.

Unity S-196 (C-1 Strips)[1348]

Strip 178: **[Entry C-1/S-196/P-1]** 黫夫之駃爲左驂，辟之𩦋（驪）爲左騙（服），賓公之駃爲右騙（服）：大迭，驂。 (L. 66 cm)

One Trotter[1349] of Hanfu acts as the left outrigger, one black horse of Ci acts as the left pole horse, one Trotter of the Duke of Bin acts as the right outrigger: grand road carriage, a *triage*. (Line break)

Strip 179: **[Entry C-1/S-196/P-2]** 鄗牧之晶匹駒𩦋（騮）：戎迭。 (L. 66.6 cm)

Three bay foals of the Herdsman of She: armed road carriage. (Line break)

Strip 180: **[Entry C-1/S-196/P-3]** 鄗牧之𩦋（騮）爲左騙（服），賓公之黃爲右騙（服）：朱迭。 (L. 66.9 cm)

One bay horse of the Herdsman of She acts as the left pole horse, one palomino horse of the Duke of Bin acts as the right pole horse: cinnabar-red road carriage. (Line break)

Strip 181: **[Entry C-1/S-196/P-4]** 牧人之騏爲左騙（服），牧人之𩦋（騮）爲右騙（服）：朱迭。 (L. 66.7 cm)

One piebald horse of the Herdsman acts as the left pole horse, one bay horse of him acts as the right pole horse: cinnabar-red road carriage. (Line break)

[1348] Elsewhere I have explained why the summary on strip 196 refers to the list entries on strips 178–184, 186 and 196. See Sun Hui 2018, 57 ff.

[1349] The character *yu* 駃 means “馬走” (trot) in *Guangyun* 廣韻 (Broad Rimes) and “馬走皃” (the trotting of a horse) in *Jiyun* 集韻 (Collected Rimes). As a denotation of a horse, it perhaps derives from the behaviour of the “trotting” of a horse. Interestingly, there is late modern literature on the training of trotters as draught horses, e.g., Hiram Woodruff, *The Trotting Horse of America: How to Train and Drive Him: With Reminiscences of the Trotting Turf* (Philadephia, Chicago, Toronto: The John C. Winston Co., 1874).

Furthermore, Qiu and Li suggest that the character can be rendered *bo* 駾 as well, which means a mythical creature that looks like a white horse with a tail of a buffalo and one horn on its head. As a denotation of a horse, it may have referred to a white horse breed that is named after a mythical creature. See *Zhongwen da cidian* 中文大辭典, vol. 10 (Taibei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue, 1962): 364; Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 527, footnote 236.

Strip 182: **[Entry C-1/S-196/P-5]** 賓公之騇爲左驌（服），鄱牧之黃爲右驌（服）：朱逌。 (L. 66 cm)

One Trotter of the Duke of Bin acts as left pole horse, one palomino horse of the Herdsman of She acts as the right pole horse: cinnabar-red road carriage. (Line break)

Strip 183: **[Entry C-1/S-196/P-6]** 賓公之驕爲左驌（服），賓公之黃爲右驌（服）：鞘逌。 (L. 66.2 cm)

One black horse with a white groin area, a horse of the Duke of Bin, acts as the left pole horse, one of his palomino horses acts as the right pole horse: deer-fur road carriage. (Line break)

Strip 184: **[Entry C-1/S-196/P-7]** 牧人之兩黃：鞘逌。 (L. 66.1 cm)

Two palomino horses of the Herdsman: deer-fur road carriage.

Strip 186: **[Entry C-?/S-196/P-8]** ⧄□逌。 (L. 49.2 cm)

[…] …road carriage.

Strip 196: **[Entry C-?/S-196/P-9/E-1]** ⧄□_ (long gap) **[Subtotal C-?/S-196]** ■凡逌車九輦（乘）_。 (L. 56.5 cm)

[…] (long gap) ■ In total: nine road carriages_. (Line break)

Unity S-195 (Strips of Mixed Subgroups)

Strip 187: **[Entry C-2/S-195/P-1]** 王[illegible]一輦（乘）逌車：三匹騜（騮）。 (L. 64.1 cm)

The King donated one road carriage, [drawn by] three bay horses. (line break)

Strip 188: **[Entry C-2/S-195/P-2]** 王[illegible]一輦（乘）逌車：麗，兩騜（騮）。 (L. 63.8 cm)

The King donated one road carriage: a *biga* [drawn by] two bay horses. (line break)

Strip 189: **[Entry C-?/S-195/P-3]** 王㚔一輦（乘）逌車：麗，匹黃、匹騜（騮）。 (L. 65.1 cm)

The King donated one road carriage: a *biga* [drawn by] one yellow horse and one bay horse. (line break)

Strip 190: **[Entry C->A-2/S-195/P-4]** 大子㚔三輦（乘）逌車：其一輦（乘）駟，其二輦（乘）屯麗。 (L. 69.3 cm)

The crown prince donated three road carriages: one of them is a *quadriga*, the other two are both *bigae*. (line break)

Strip 191: **[Entry C-?/S-195/P-5]** 坪夜君之㚔逌車二輦（乘）：屯麗。 (L. 68.6 cm)

Two road carriages donated by the Lord of Pingye: both are *bigae*. (line break)

Strip 192: **[Entry C-?/S-195/P-6]** 鄝君之㚔逌車一輦（乘）：麗。 (L. 68.6 cm)

One road carriage donated by the Lord of Yang: a *biga*.[1350] (line break)

Strip 193: **[Entry C-2/S-195/P-7]** 旸城君之逌車三輦（乘）：屯麗。 (L. 63.4 cm)

The Lord of Yang's three road carriages: all are *bigae*. (line break)

Strip 194: **[Entry C-?/S-195/P-8]** 鄒君之逌車三輦（乘）：屯麗。 (L. 64.3 cm)

The Lord of Li's three road carriages: all are *bigae*. (line break)

Strip 195: **[Entry C-2/S-195/P-9/E-1]** 遊旸公之逌車三輦（乘）：屯麗。 (long gap)[1351] **[Subtotal C-2/S-195]** ■凡㚔逌車九輦（乘）。 (L. 63 cm)

[1350] The fief Yang 鄝 was located in today's east part of Shenqiu county 沈丘縣, Henan province 河南. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 520 ff.; Wu Liangbao 2010, 122.

[1351] Though this thick block is shown in none of the modern transcriptions of the text on the strip concerned, half of it is still visible in the photo of the present strip. For the photo see Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 227.

The Lord of Lüyang's three road carriages: all are *bigae*. (long gap[1352]) ■[1353] In total: nine donated road carriages. (line break)

Unity S-204 (C-2/C3 Strips)

Strip 197: **[Entry C-?/S-204/P-1]** 鄀君之輦車，一黃駐（牡）左驕（服），一驪（驪）駐爲右驕（服）。一輦（乘）[illegible]車，麗。 (L. 64.5 cm)

The Lord of Li's broad carriage [with] one tan stallion acting as one pole horse and one black stallion acting as the other. It is a donated *biga*. (line break)

Strip 198: **[Entry C-2/S-204/P-2]** 簪旝公之一[illegible]=（墮車），麗。 (L. 63.8 cm)

The donated reserve chariot of the Duke of Lüyang, a *biga*. (line break)

Strip 199: **[Entry C-2/S-204/P-3]** 慶事之墮=（墮車），一驕駐（牡），一黃駐（牡），一輦（乘） ［□□□］。 (L. 62.8 cm)

The reserve chariot of the Minister, with one black stallion with a white groin area as one pole horse and one tan stallion as the other. It is one […].[1354] (line break)

Strip 200: **[Entry C-?/S-204/P-4]** ⧄之墮=（墮車），麗，兩駢。 (L. 39.3 cm)

The reserve chariot of […], a *biga* drawn by two bay horses. (line break)

Strip 201: **[Entry C-2/S-204/P-5]** 鄀君之[illegible]=（畋車），麗。 (L. 62.5 cm)

[1352] Since no photo of the white space of the strip concerned is available, the length of the gap between the entry and the thick block cannot be determined. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 227.

[1353] Though this thick block is shown in none of the modern transcriptions of the text on the strip concerned, half of it is still visible in the photo of the present strip. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 227.

[1354] Compared with the entries on strips 197 and 203, the illegible characters on strip 199 were probably "[illegible]車，麗", i.e., "a donated *biga*".

The donated hunting chariot of the Lord of Ming, a *biga*. (line break)

Strip 202: **[Entry C-2/S-204/P-6]** 敏尹之𢍏𣪊=（畋車），麗，兩𩵦。 (L. 63.9 cm)

The donated hunting chariot of the Chancellor, a *biga* drawn by two black horses. (line break)

Strip 203: **[Entry C-2/S-204/P-7]** 鄾君之囝軒，左𩵦（服）騜，右𩵦（服）馱，一𨎫（乘）𢍏車，麗。 (L. 65.4 cm)

The curved-side-screen chariot of the Lord of Ji,[1355] with one yellow-and-white horse as the left pole horse and one stallion as the right pole horse. It is one donated *biga*. (line break)

Loose Entries (C-2 or C-3 Strip)

Strip 160: **[Entry C-3/L/P-1]** 坪夜君之兩駙（騮）馰（牝），朱夜窡以𨎫（乘）逭尹之𣪊=（畋車）。 (L. 69.2 cm)

Two bay mares of the Lord of Pingye are used by Zhuye Yuan to draw the hunting chariot of the Governor of Fu. (Line break)

Strip 161: **[Entry C-3/L/P-2]** 坪夜君之兩駙（騮）馰（牝），石芫贛黍以𨎫（乘）其𣪊=（畋車）。 (L. 69.6 cm)

Two bay mares of the Lord of Pingye are used by Gong Qi from Shiyuan to draw the [Lord of Pingye]'s hunting chariot. (Line break)

Strip 162: **[Entry C-?/L/P-3]** 逭尹之一騏一黃，以𨎫（乘）魯旝公之𨍏=（𨍏車）。 (L. 21.9 cm)

[1355] As indicated by the subtotals on strips 120–121, a vehicle with a curved side-screen may either have been a reserve chariot or a touring chariot (*youche* 游車). The curved-side-screen chariot is ascribed to the Lord of Ji, a Chu fief lord. Throughout the records on the C strips, none of the vehicles from Chu was a touring chariot (see Appendix I: Table 21). Hence, it is likely that the curved-side-screen chariot was a reserve chariot.

The Governor of Fu's piebald and tan horses are used to draw the Duke of Luyang's reserve chariot. (Line break)

Strip 163: **[Entry C-?/L/P-4]** 旃城君之騅（騮）爲左驧（服），鄭君之騅（騮）駐爲右驧（服），麗鄙君之墅=（墅車）。 (L. 63.5 cm)

The Lord of Yangcheng's bay horse acts as the left draught horse, the Lord of Ji's bay horse with a white left back hoof[1356] acts as the right draught horse. The two horses draw abreast the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li. (Line break)

Strip 204: (Indent) **[Subtotal C-?/S-204]** ■ 凡䡜車：輇=（輇車），墅=（墅車），鞁=（敗車），八輦（乘）。 (L. 35+20.3 cm)

(Indent) ■ Together the following [types of] donated chariots: broad carriages, reserve chariots and hunting chariots. [They amount together to] eight. (line break)

Strip 185+77: **[Entry C-2(/C3)/L/P-5]** 鄭君之驕，攻（工）尹之騅，一輦（乘）麗，時梓車，丌（其）革纕（轡）黃金之釱（飾）。才（載）繟圉。 (L. 15.6+48 cm)

One black horse with a white groin area, a horse of the Lord of Ji, and one bay horse of the Construction Foreman [draw] the *chili* cart, a *biga*, the leather reins of which are decorated with gold. [The cart] is to be loaded with calves and ram lambs.[1357] (Line break)

[1356] For the interpretation of *zhu* 駐 as *zhu* 舝 (a horse with a white left back hoof), see Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 89. Wu Zhenwu renders it as *cong* 驄, which means "a horse with a bluish white colour". Cf. Wu Zhenwu 吳振武, "Ejun Qi jie 'kua' zi jie" 鄂君啟節"胯"字解, in *Di er jie guoji Zhongguo guwenzixue yantaohui lunwen ji* 第二屆國際中國古文字學研討會論文集, edited by Xianggang zhongwen daxue zhongguo yuyan wenxue xi 香港中文大學中國語言文學系, 273–292 (Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1993): 279.

[1357] Xiao Shengzhong renders the character *cai* 才 as *zai* 載, which means "to be loaded with". Both characters after the character *cai* are blurred. Zhang Guanyu et al. identify the first blurred character as "繟", which is further rendered as *du* 犢 (calf) by Xiao Shengzhong. Xiao identifies the last character as "圉" and further renders it as *da* 荅 (ram lamb). Thus, according to Xiao, the last three characters together mean "to be loaded with a calf and a ram lamb". See Zhang Guangyu 張光裕 et al., ed., *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian wenzi bian* 曾侯乙墓竹簡文字編 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1997): 295; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 91.

Peng Yu, agreeing with Xiao to identify the first character as "繟", renders it as *zhu* 柷. He identifies the last character as *yu* 圉 and further renders it as *yu* 敔. According to him, the *chili* cart was loaded with a percussion instrument named *zhuyu* 柷敔, which has the shape of a crouching tiger. Cf. Peng Yu 2010, 171, 268 ff. Such an instrument was not discovered among the musical instruments in the tomb. This fact does not necessarily confine the reading of the related term. It is even possible that the unearthed musical instruments were in deed

III.4 The D Strips

Paragraph 1: Strips 210, 52+211 (or 52 and 211)

Strip 210: **[Entry D/P-1/E-1]**□□所𡍮（歐/芻）：□□□兩馬，[1358]司馬兩馬，□尹兩馬，右尹兩馬，左尹鼜=。**[Entry D/P-1/E-2]**七夫=所𡍮（歐/芻）：大啐鴟=，大尹兩馬，宮廄尹一馬，少帀（師）兩馬，𡍮司馬一馬，𡍮 (L. 66.1 cm)

Strip 52: 馬尹一馬，大□□□□⧄ (L. 9.5 cm, no bindings)

Strip 211: ⧄尹一馬，左阱徒一馬，右阱徒一馬，鄭成一馬，羣（緘）尹𣪊一馬。(L. 24.2 cm)

(Strip 210) **[Entry D/P-1/E-1]** [Horses] foddered[1359] by […]: two horses of…, two of the Military Supervisor, two of the Governor of…, two of the Chancellor of the Right, and one

transported to the tomb by means of wheeled vehicles. But the records on the A-D strips do not mention any of these instruments. Hence, it is likely that the transport of the musical instruments lay beyond the fields of action underlying these records. Thus, Peng's interpretation seems implausible.

[1358] Compared with the version of the transcription by Qiu and Li, Xiao Shengzhong adds "左尹兩馬" between "□□□兩馬" and "司馬兩馬" without any comment. In the photo of strip 210, the inscription concerned is seriously blurred. But the character spacing indicates that Xiao's insertion is probably a typing error. See Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 126 and 148; Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 2, Plate 230.

[1359] The character 𡍮 can be rendered *zou* 芻, i.e., "to fatten". The old Chinese pronounciations of 區, which is the phonetical element of the character 𡍮, is reconstructed as "k^{h}o" by Zhengzhang and as "q^{ʕ}(r)o" by Baxter/Sagart. The old Chinese pronounciations of the character 芻 is reconstructed as "shro" by Zhengzhang and as "[ts^{h}]ro" by Baxter/Sagart. Therefore, the phonetical elements of both characters 𡍮 and 芻 are in the same rhyme group but their initials differ from each other; their initials belong to the labiodental and the laryngeal category, respectively. In several cases, two characters beginning with these two initial categories are phonetic loans. For instance, the characters 色 and 所 ("sruɡ" and "sq^{h}raʔ" according to Zhengzhang), both of which begin with the labiodental initial "s", are loans of 頍 and 御 ("ŋɯ" and "ŋas" according to Zhengzhang), respectively. Both of the latter characters begin with the laryngeal initial "ŋ". See Zhengzhang Shangfang 鄭張尚芳, *Shanggu yinxi* 上古音系 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003): 292, 449, 229, 355, 456, 495, and 526. William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, "Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese Reconstruction, Version 1.1," updated September 20, 2014, accessed January 12, 2018, http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/BaxterSagartOCbyMandarinMC2014-09-20.pdf; William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014): 242; and Bai Yulan 白於藍, *Zhanguo Qin Han jianbo gushu tongjiazi huizuan* 戰國秦漢簡帛古書通假字彙纂 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2012): 56, 242. Xiao Shengzhong renders the character 𡍮 as *qu* 歐,

team of draft (perhaps two) horses[1360] of the Chancellor of the Left. **[Entry D/P-1/E-2]** [Horses] foddered by the Seventh Grandee: one horse of the Grand Sacrificial Butcher; two of the Grand Governor; one of the Governor of the Palace Stable; two of the Junior Preceptor; one of the Military Supervisor in Cheng; (Strip 52) one of the Horse Governor in Cheng; […] of the Grand […] (Strip 212) one of the Governor of […]; one of the Shengtu of the Left; one of the Shengtu of the Right; one of Zheng Cheng; and one of Jia, the Remonstrance Governor. (line break)

Paragraph 2. Strips 212 and 213

Strip 212: **[Entry D/P-2]** 佣（用）所生（牲）：豕六夫，☐揆（朕）六夫_，☐三夫，☐三夫，羔甫三夫_，屬一夫_，遰（傳）二人，拳一夫_，焚（燔）牛一夫_，芹二夫，☐一夫，☐一夫_，柏溪(朕)二夫，  二夫_，桐溪(朕)一夫，璽（熏）一人，☐夜二夫，☐☐二夫，☐二夫，☐一夫_，斲姑長暘 (L. 66.3 cm)

Strip 213: 三夫_，  鼆三夫_，璽（熏）一夫_，二鬴、二公，鄹二夫_，旨（祈）一夫_。(L. 46.2 cm)

---

i.e., “to drive”. However, his interpretation seems imprecise to describe an assignment, since nothing is said about the direction and the destination of the movement of driving horses. Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 126.

[1360] The ligature *chengma*  = stands for *chengma* 乘馬. Though this term may refer to the act of riding a horse or the function of a horse as saddle horse in post-Han literature, it did not have this meaning in pre-imperial literature. The practice of riding horses was not widely known to people in the central plains of China before the military reform of King Wuling of Zhao in 307 BC. After the reform, the term *ji* 騎 was sometimes used for riding saddle horses. See Dong Dezhi 董德志, “‘*Zuo zhuan*’ ‘chengma’ jie: Jian shuo qima zhi qiyuan” 《左传》“乘马”解：兼说骑马之起源, *Xuchang xueyuan xuebao* 许昌学院学报, no. 4 (1987): 63 ff.

As for the meaning of the term *chengma* in pre-imperial Chinese literature, modern scholars frequently refer to Zheng Zhong’s 鄭眾 (?-83 CE) comment in *Zhou li*: *si pi wei cheng* 四疋為乘, i.e., “*cheng* means [a team of] four draught horses”. See *Zhou li zhushu*, 1010. But *chengma* also means “a draught horse team” or “draught horse(s)” in general. For instance, *Zuo zhuan* refers to *chengma ba pi* 乘馬八匹, i.e., “eight draught horses”, which were presented by one Chu prince to the Duke Jian of Zheng 鄭簡公 (reigned 565–530 BCE). See Durrant et al. 2016, vol. 3, 1408 ff.

All the donated chariots in Marquis Yi’s funeral were *bigae* (see Appendix I: Table 19 and Table 20); and the donated road carriages were *bigae*, except for the *triage* donated by the Chu king and the *quadriga* donated by the Chu crown prince. Hence, it is possible that the *chengma* in the context consisted of two to four draught horses.

(Strip 212) [Manpower] needed for the sacrificial animals:[1361] For the boar, six persons [are needed];[1362] for dried meat[1363] of […], six persons; for […], four persons; for the ram lamb, four persons; for ?,[1364] one person; for postal delivery (?), two offices;[1365] for ?,[1366] one person; for burning the bull / roasting beef, one person;[1367] for celeries, two persons; for […], one person; for […], one person; for the air-dried meat on cypress wood, two persons; for ?,[1368]

[1361] I agree with Xiao's original interpretation of the phrase *yong suo sheng* 佣所生 as *yong suo sheng* 用所牲, which indicates that strips 212 and 213 record persons who offered sacrifices. However, he resorts later to the interpretation of Qiu and Li, who render the phrase as *yong suo sheng* 俑所生 and indicate that the records on strips 212 and 213 describe a series of surrogate human figures used instead of human sacrifices. Qiu and Li's interpretation has been more widely accepted. Furthermore, Xiao assumes that the character *yong* 佣 indicates that those "human figures" were made of wood, while the character *xi* 蓑 and *zhi* 邸 on strip 214 indicate another two materials used to form "human figures", i.e., "grass" and "earth". He does not provide further argument for this assumption. See Xiao Shengzhong 2009, 372; Cf. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 530, footnote 276; Peng Yu 2010, 238 ff.; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 25 and 127 ff.; Jiang Yan 2011, 77 ff.

[1362] For the reading *shi* 豕 (boar) see Zhang Guangyu et al. 1997, 358. Xiao identifies the character concerned as *fang* 芳 (fragrance). Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 128.

[1363] The character *xie* 揳 (originally "to clasp or hold under the arm, to support") is identified by Qiu and Li and further rendered by them as *xi* 奚. Li Shoukui replaces it with the character *xi* 溪 (originally a "stream, creek, or brook"). Peng Yu accepts Qiu and Li's reading and Xiao Shengzhong accepts Li Shoukui's reading. But both Xiao and Peng assume that the character means *xi* 奚, i.e., "female slaves". However, this reading is problematic due to its counting unit *fu* 夫 (man). It is unlikely that female slaves would have been counted by *fu*, which seldom refers to any female in pre-Qin texts. I render the character as *xi* 腊, i.e., "dried meat". Cf. Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 530, footnote 277; Li Shoukui 李守奎, *Chu wenzi bian* 楚文字編 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003): 644; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 128; Peng Yu 2010, 238 and 241.

[1364] The character  is hitherto not interpreted.

[1365] Peng Yu assumes that a *ren* 人 (person) was higher ranked than a *fu* 夫 (man) according to the context. See Peng Yu 2010, 242. This was not necessarily the case. In view of the official system in *Zhou li* (see Subsection 3.4.1), it is possible that a *ren* was an authority (office) consisting of several officials and subordinate officials. A *fu* was possibly one man whose rank is not specified.

[1366] The character *quan* 拳 is transcribed by Qiu and Li. But they do not interpret it. Xiao Shengzhong replaces the character with  but does not explain the meaning of the character. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 500; Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 127 ff.

[1367] In *Shuowen jiezi*, the character *fan* 燔 means "to burn the field" (*shao tian ye* 燒田也). An alternative reading of the character is also possible. The phonetic component of the character, *fan* 枫, was pronounced as *ban* in Old Chinese according to the reconstruction of Zhengzhang Shangfang. Therefore, it may have been a loan character for *fan* 燔, which was pronounced as *ban* in Zhengzhang's system as well. The latter *fan* means "to burn, set on fire; to roast; meat open-roasted, for sacrifice". See Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 845; Zhengzhang Shangfang 2003, 314.

[1368] The character  is transcribed by Qiu and Li. But they do not interpret it. Xiao replaced it with *qi* 髹 (lacquer). But because the character is seriously blurred, both readings must be regarded with reservations. See Qiu Xigui and Li Jiahao 1989, 500; Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 127 ff.

two persons; for the air-dried meat on paulownia wood, two persons; for smoking [meat], one person in charge; for […] in the night, two persons; for […], two persons; for […], one person; for hewing [firewood?] during the daytime (?), (Strip 213) three persons; for ?,[1369] three persons; for smoking [meat,] one person; for two ?[1370] and two dukes (?), two persons from Han;[1371] and for prayers, one person. (line break)

Paragraph 3. Strip 214

Strip 214: **[Entry D/P-3/E-1]**所彏（發）石沙（梁）隶（津）彏（發）：柦、新田之盬（鹽）_；**[Entry D/P-3/E-1]**杙（職）爲人_凡蓐、_鄀_。(L. 34.1 cm)

[1369] The character 𠬜 has hitherto not been interpreted.

[1370] The character 龠 has hitherto not been interpreted.

[1371] The character 鄀 is probably a variant of *han* 郅, which appears twice as a place name in the Baoshan manuscripts (strips 124 and 125). Liu Xinfang assumes that *han* 郅 corresponds to the place name written as Han 豰 in *Shuowen jiezi*. Han was located in today's Xinye 新野 county in Henan province. See Liu Xinfang 2003, 115.

[Entry D/P-3/E-1] The tax levied[1372] from the Stone Dyke Ford[1373] is salt[1374] from Zha[1375] and Xintian.[1376] **[Entry D/P-3/E-2]** [The tax levied from] the Bull Fattening Office is corvée labour,[1377] which encompasses the labourers Xi and Zhi.[1378] (line break)

[1372] The character 殰 is identified by Qiu and Li, but they do not interpret it. He Linyi renders it as *fei* 廢, which means "to levy taxes" or "levied taxes". See He Linyi 1998, 953. Xiao Shengzhong accepts the reading of He Linyin but interprets the character as 發 and further as 發遣之物, i.e., "the dispatched". Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 129.

[1373] The term *shiliang* 石沘 seems to be associated with the term *shiliangren* 石沘人, i.e., "Stone Dyke Warden", on strip 177. *Shiliang* may have been a place name, which derived from a stone dyke. Xiao Shengzhong assumes that it was a bridge (or its model?) dispatched to the tomb. Furthermore, he surmises that the term *jin* 津 (ford) also refers to one of the items that were dispatched to the tomb. He supposes that these two terms were associated with the path to the underworld. Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 130. In the tomb, no such items were discovered.

[1374] For the interpretation of the character 盬 as *yan* 鹽 (salt) see Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, "Zhanguo wenzi zhong de yan zi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu: Yi Qi 'xi yan zhi xi' wei zhongxin" 戰國文字中的鹽字及相關問題研究：以齊"徙鹽之璽"為中心, *Huaxue* 華學, no. 6 (2003): 111. Xiao Shengzhong accepts this reading and surmises that salt was one of the items that were dispatched to the tomb. Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 130.

[1375] Zha 柤 is mentioned several times as a place in the Chu kindom in *Zuo zhuan*. According to Yang Bojun, the place is in today's Jiakou 泇口 to the northwest of Pixian 邳縣, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu province. See Durrant et al. 2016, 964 and 966; Yang Bojun 1990, 973; for the location of Zha see Tan Qixiang 谭其骧, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中国历史地图集, vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982): 29–30, ②9. Xiao Shengzhong renders the term as zu 俎, i.e., "a *zu*-tray". Cf. Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 130. In the tomb, 10 *zu*-trays were discovered among various further wooden utensils. See Hubei sheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 377. But none of the other utensils is mentioned in the manuscripts, probably because the dispatch of these wooden utensils lay beyond the fields of action underlying these records. Thus, Xiao's interpretation seems implausible.

[1376] I surmise that Xintian 新田 is the place known in *Zuo zhuan* as the capital of the Jin March since 585 BCE. See Durrant et al. 2016, 758 ff. The site is in the west of today's Houma 侯馬, Shanxi province. See Tan Qixiang 1982 , vol. 1, 22–23, ⑥8. Zhao Ping'an assumes that Xintian is a place located in today's Xintian county of Hunan province. But as he points out himself, this county name was first established in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 CE). Cf. Zhao Ping'an 2003, 111.

[1377] As argued above, the term *zhiren* 杙人 means "Bull Fattener". See footnote 1340. Accordingly, the term *zhi* 杙 perhaps means "Bull Fattening Office".

[1378] The character *xi* 葬 appears as a given name in one of the Liye manuscripts, and the character *zhi* 邸 appears as a family name in a manuscript found in tomb 2 of Baoshan. In this context, they are possibly also names. See Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所, ed., *Liye Qin jian (yi)* 里耶秦簡（壹） (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012): 154 and 63, no. 8-1206; He Linyi 1998, 1289 ff.

Appendix IV Scribal Hands in the Leigudun Manuscripts

IV.1 The A Strips

According to their physical features, the A strips can be further divided into three subgroups, i.e. the A-1 – A-3 strips (see Appendix II). The title, inscribed on the verso of strip 1 of the A-1 subgroup, is an excerpt from the vehicle phrase of the first entry, i.e., "右敏（領）建所輦（乘）●大轏" (The grand vanguard chariot ● driven by Jian, the Director of the Right). But while the last character of the title is *pei* 旆, the vehicle phrase uses a variant of the character, *pei* 轏. Hence, the title may have been written by another hand than the one inscribing the vehicle phrase of the first paragraph. But it is not apparent to judge whether it was written by another hand (see below) that participated in the inscribing of the A-1 strips.

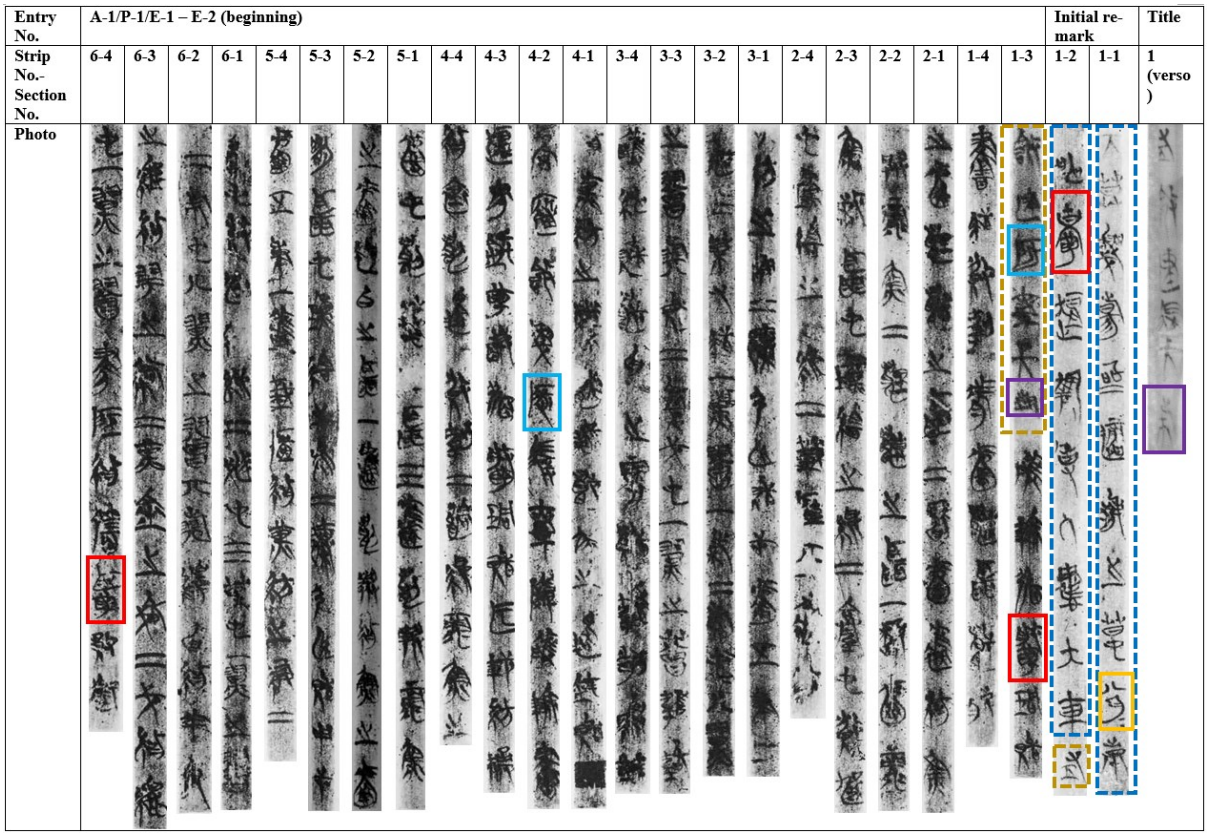


Fig. 63 Infrared photo of the title and black-and-white photos of part of the first paragraph on the A-1 strips of the Leigudun manuscripts. The photo of each strip is divided into four sections. The meanings of the individual marks are as follows:

Initial remark	Vehicle phrase of the first entry	*Pei* 旆 and *pei* 轏	*Suo* 所	*Bayue* 𠂣 = 八月	Characters with *ge* 革 components

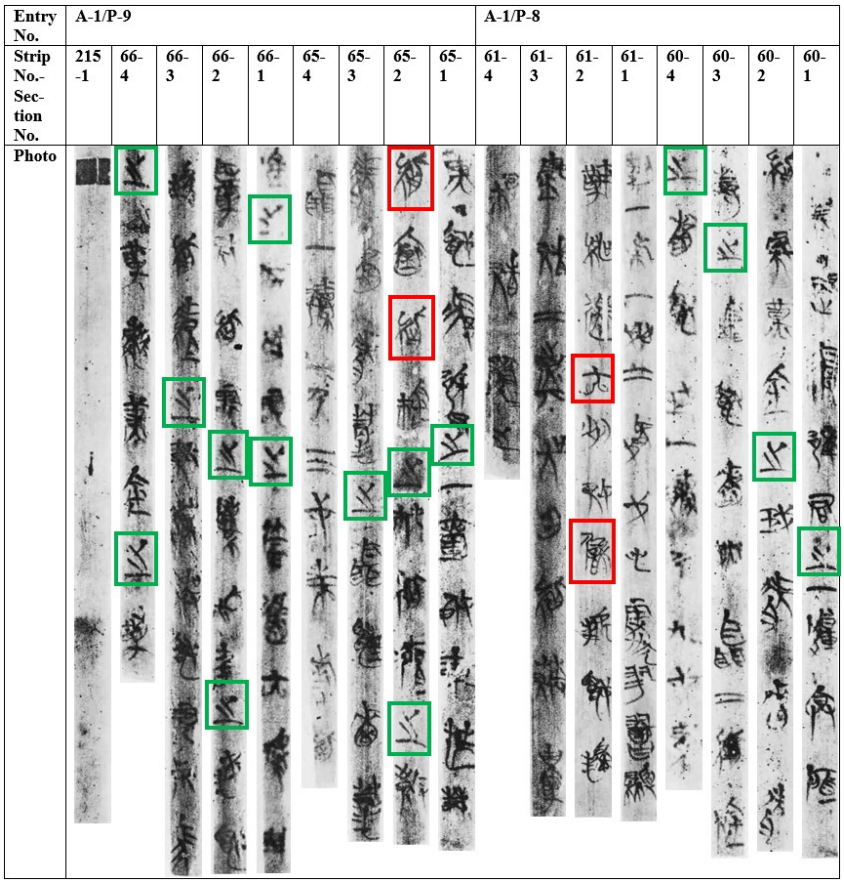


Fig. 64 Black-and-white photos of the eighth and the eleventh paragraphs on the A-1 strips. The photo of each strip is divided into four sections. Of strip 215, merely the first section of the photo is available.

Interestingly, the first paragraph seems to have been written by two different hands (Fig. 63). The remark and the vehicle phrase of the first entry seem to have been written by one hand and the remaining part by another hand. The former hand is characterised by a larger character spacing; furthermore, several strokes are inscribed distinctively and stylistically, compared to the remaining part of the paragraph. For instance, both the "丿" and the "丨" strokes in the *jin* 斤 component in the character *suo* 所 are written as an elongated, sharply hooked stroke left-ward (see Fig. 63).

The remaining part in the first paragraph (Strips 1–10, 11+12, 58, 68–69 and 13–15) includes another four *suo*. But none of them demonstrates such a stroke; furthermore, each of them contains a component (like a mirror-inverted "y" in the lower part of each character) that does not appears in the *suo* in the first vehicle phrase (see Table IV-1):

Table IV-1. The character *suo* 所 in the first paragraph on the A-1 strips



Strip 1 (initial remark)	4	7	11	13

Furthermore, such a stroke is also visible in the ligature *bayue* 𠂤=（八月） and in the *ge* 革 component of the character *zhou* 辠 in the initial remark (see Fig. 63 and Table IV-2). The *ge* 革 component appears in nine characters in the remaining part of the first paragraph:

Table IV-2. Characters with the *ge* 革 component in the first paragraph on the A-1 strips

										
辠	鞫	鞠	鞫	鞠	鞠	鞠	革	鞫	鞫	鞠
Strip 1 (initial remark)	1	6	7	7	10	10	12	12	13	69

In each of the nine *ge* components, the lowermost stroke is equipped with a hook as well, but it is never elongated as it is in the character *zhou*; in addition, each of the lowermost strokes is crossed by a short "—" stroke that is not visible in the character *zhou*.

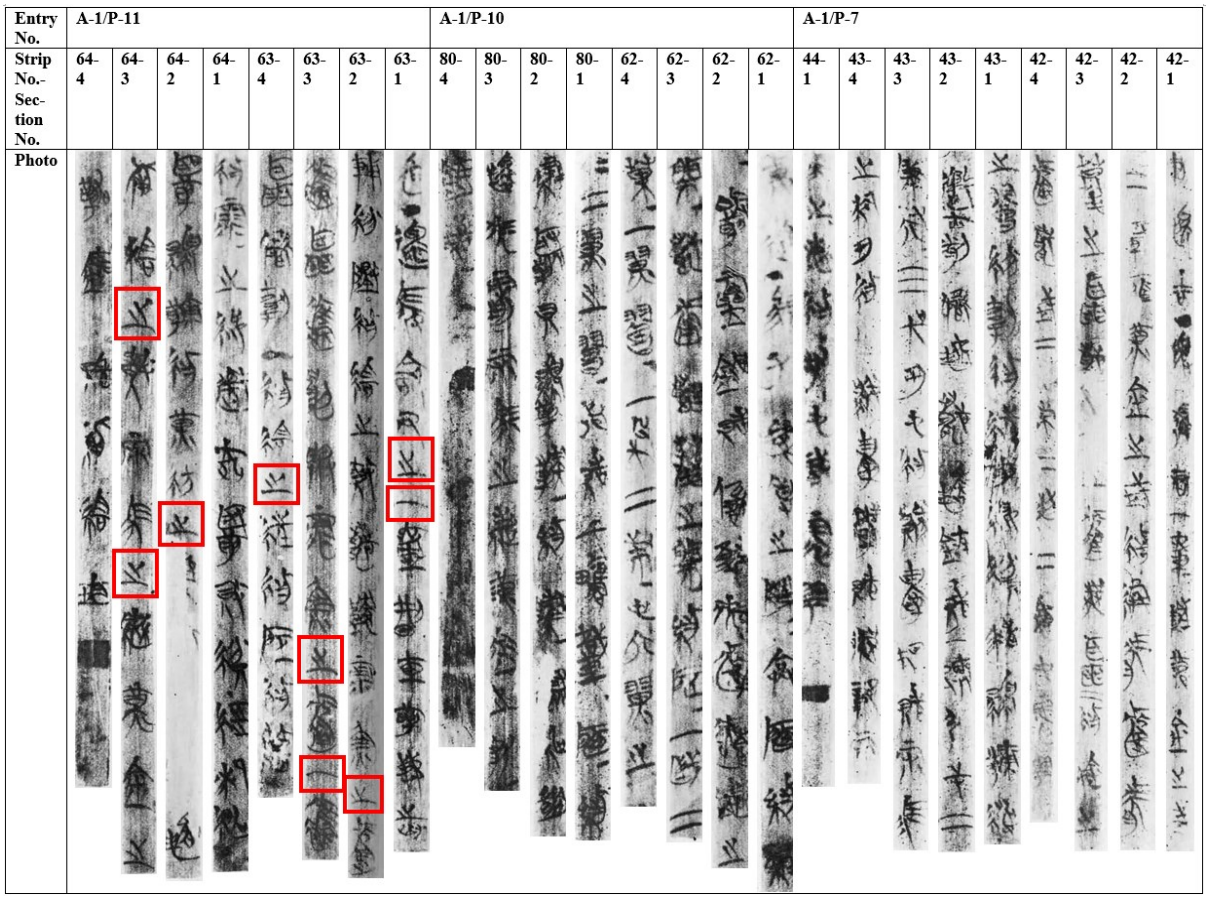


Fig. 65 Black-and-white photos of the seventh, tenth and eleventh entries on the A-1 strips. The photo of each strip is divided into four sections.

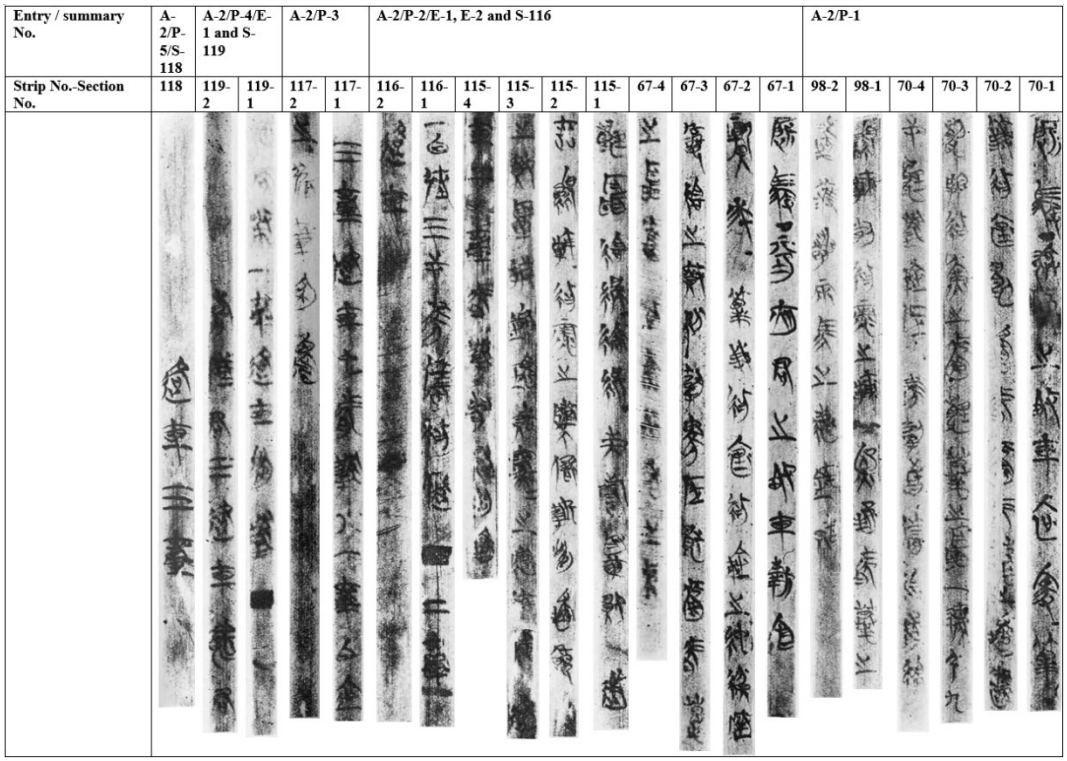


Fig. 66 Black-and-white photos of the A-2 strips.

Hence, the hand that inscribed the initial remark and the vehicle phrase of the first entry did not inscribe the remaining part of the first paragraph. This hand, which will be referred to as [1], does not appear again among the writings. The handwritings of the remaining part of the first entry and further four entries seem to be similar regarding the following features: the average character spacing is relatively narrow; the characters are seldom cursive; individual characters have relatively consistent height;[1379] their components and strokes are well proportioned. The positions of individual strokes are well balanced, i.e., the "horizontal" strokes and the "vertical" strokes are seldom slanted – though the "horizontal" strokes are sometimes slightly vaulted; individual strokes frequently demonstrate a pronounced head and a pointed end, though the "horizontal" strokes seem to be the exceptions because they often begin without a pronounced head.[1380] This hand will be referred to as [2].

[1379] It is worth noting that the widths of individual characters are not always comparable. Individual character widths are approximately equal to the widths of the bamboo strip concerned. The strip widths vary between 0.3–0.9 cm, i.e., the strips had undergone individual, tangential size changes, which are much greater than the axial size changes (see Appendix II.2.1).

[1380] The above-mentioned criteria of comparing the writing hands are inspired by Li Songru 李松儒, *Zhanguo jianbo ziji yanjiu: Yi Shangbo jian wei zhongxin* 戰國簡帛字迹研究：以上博簡爲中心 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015): 119–174;

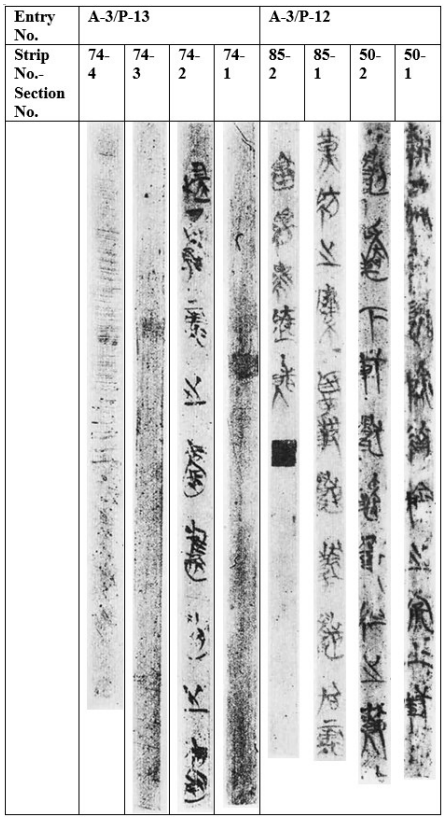


Fig. 67 Black-and-white photos of two entries on the A-3 strips.

Hand [2] has probably inscribed the paragraphs P-1 – P-6 on the A-1 strips (44 strips altogether), and the paragraphs P-1 – P-5, P-7 – P-9, and P-11 – P-13 on the A-3 strips (37 strips altogether)[1381]. They include both multi-entry-paragraphs and single-entry paragraphs. Except for two entries concerning Chu vehicles (entries A-1/P-5/E-3 and A-3/P-11) and one concerning a vehicle of which the name is missing (entry A-1/P-6), all the entries written by this hand concern Zeng vehicles. The above-mentioned paragraphs occupy 44 of the A-1 strips and 37 of the A-3 strips and therefore form the majority of the writings on the two strip subgroups. It is probable that these 81 strips, together with a few missing strips (e.g., the beginning strip of the entry A-1/P-6), used to form the original two scrolls.

All the remaining paragraphs on the A-1 strips are five single-entry paragraphs concerning Chu vehicles. They seem to have been written by four different hands, [3] – [6]. The remaining two entries on the A-3 strips are two single-entry paragraphs concerning Zeng vehicles, one of which is one of the two short-nave chariots mentioned above.

Hand [3] inscribed the single-entry-paragraphs A1/P-8 and A1/P-9 (on the reserve chariot of the Lord of Li and a hearse. See Fig. 64). Compared with the handwritings [2], the handwritings [3] demonstrate wider character spacing; the proportion of the components in several characters excuted by the two hands differs from each other as well. For instance, the character 緐 (see Table IV-3) consists of three parts, i.e. the 亻 on the left, the 言 in the middle and the 系 on the right. While the middle component in each character by hand [2] is placed relatively in the middle between the other two components, this component by hand [3] is placed much closer to the left component. The two components of the character *zi* 紫 (see Table IV-3) by hand [3] are placed much closer to each other than those by hand [2]. Furthermore, hand [3] seems more artistically. For instance, sometimes strokes of a character run from a

[1381] For the strip nos. concerned in each paragraph see Appendix III.1 and III.2.

slightly pronounced head to a tenuous, pointed end (see Fig. 64, red rectangles; cf. Fig. 63); and sometimes a character is written in various styles, for instance, the character *zhi* 之 appears 15 times and many of them are written differently (see Fig. 64, green rectangles).

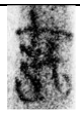
Scribal hands	[3]	[2]			
尻				/	/
	Strip 61	7	10	/	/
謬（繆）					
	Strip 61	32	56	105	86
紫					
	65	9	14	18	26

Table IV-3. Artistic style by hand [3] and the counterparts by hand [2]

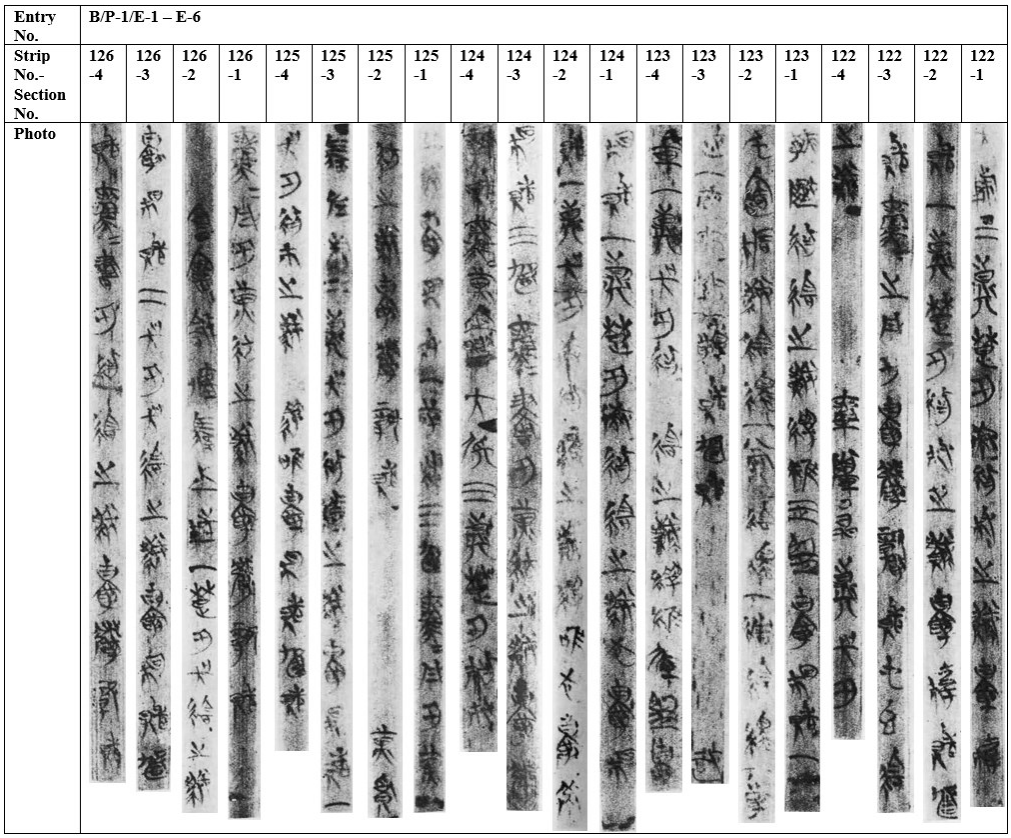


Fig. 68 Black-and-white photos of the first half of the first paragraph on the B strips.

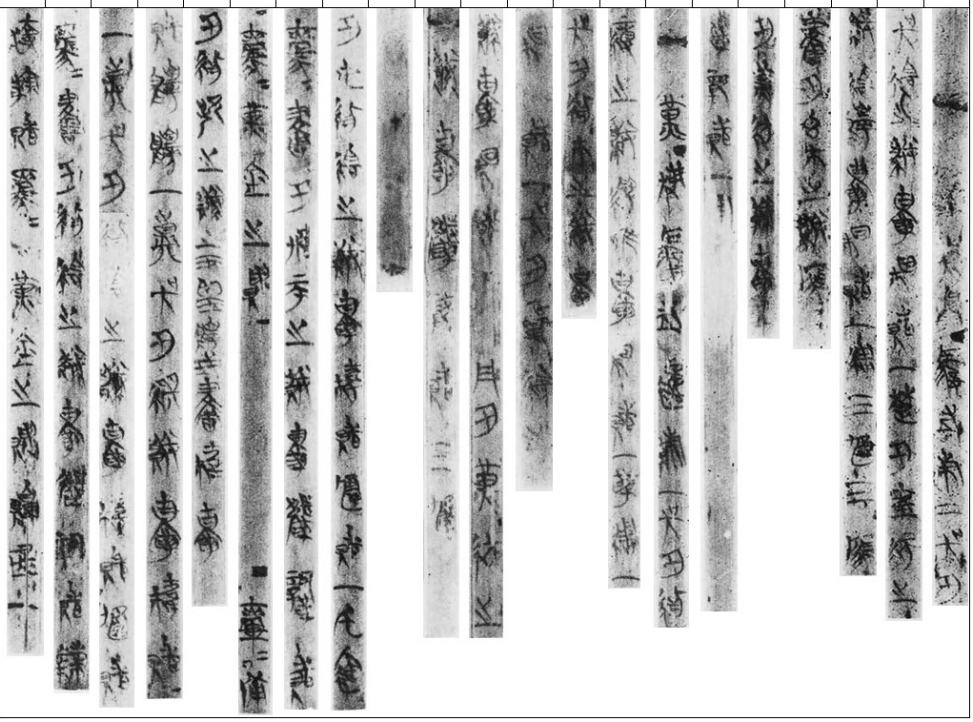
Entry No.	B/P-2/E-6 – E-10 (the missing upper part of strip 132 bore the beginnings of E-7 and the missing lower part of strip 135 bore the beginning of E-9)																				
Strip No.-Section No.	138-4	138-3	138-2	138-1	137-4	137-3	137-2	137-1	135-3	135-2	135-1	134	133-4	133-3	133-2	133-1	132	131-4	131-3	131-2	131-1
Photo																					

Fig. 69 Black-and-white photos of the latter half of the second paragraph on the B strips.

Hand [4] inscribed the single-entry-paragraph A-1/P-7. Though the handwritings are relatively similar to those by hand [2], their individual heights seem to be much more irregular; furthermore, compared with all the other hands including hand [2], the hand has executed extremely tenuous strokes. Hand [5] inscribed the single-entry-paragraph A-1/P-10. The handwritings are characterised by a general slant towards the upper right as well as the frequent use of the punctuation "_" (see Fig. 65). Hand [6] inscribed the single-entry-paragraph A-1/P-11. The hand [7] writings seem to be similar to the hand [2] writings, but the character spacing is less regular; the execution of strokes seems to be much more smoother; furthermore, many "horizontal" strokes are vaulted and slant to the right (see Fig. 65, red rectangles).

The A-2 strips bear merely records concerning the Chu vehicles, including two chariots and probably twelve road carriages (see Fig. 66). At least the two entries on the two chariots, in a single-entry-paragraph and a multi-entry-paragraph, respectively, seem to have been written by a new hand, hand [7]. The handwritings are similar to those by the hand [6], but the vehicle phrases have been written in a larger size as the remaining characters; the character

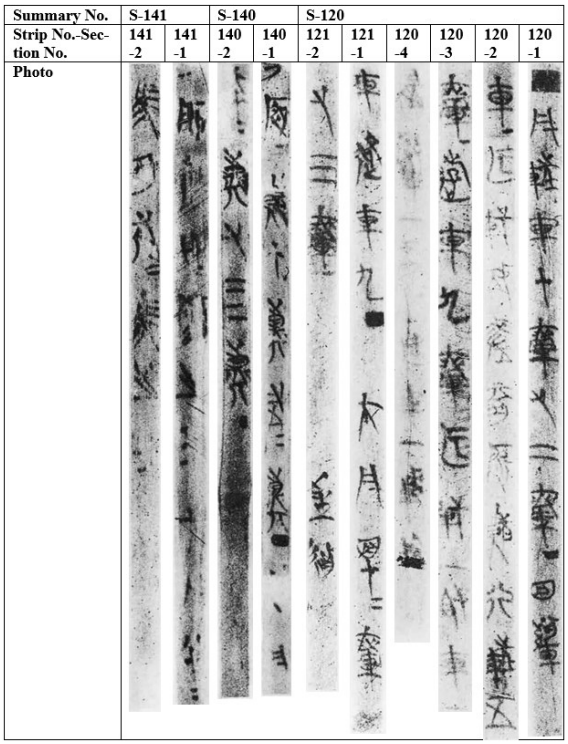


Fig. 70 Black-and-white photos of the summaries on the B strips.

spacing is more regular; and the "horizontal" strokes seldom slant. The records of the road carriages may have been written by hand [2].

As mentioned above, most of the A-3 strips were probably written by hand [2]. The remaining strips bear two single-entry-paragraphs, i.e., A-3/P-12 and A-3/P-13. These two entries concern two Zeng vehicles, i.e. the new comfortable carriage and one of the short nave chariots. They seem to have been written by two individual hands, [8] and [9], respectively (see Fig. 67).

Compared with the handwritings by hand [2], those by hand [8] are stretched much longer in the vertical direction. The writings by hand [9] are the most cursive among those on the A and B strips; they demonstrate the most generous character spacing. Furthermore, the entry concerned is the only single-entry-paragraph written with a long, left indent.

IV.2 The B Strips

The majority of entries on the B strips, i.e. entries except for the one on strips 133–135, were perhaps inscribed by one and the same hand, hand [10] (see Fig. 68; and Fig. 69, strip 131). On the one hand, the hand is similar to hand [2] in view of the running course of the "horizontal" strokes and the "vertical" strokes as well as the pronounced heads and the pointed ends of most of the strokes; on the other hand, the characters inscribed by hand [10] are distinctive through the inconsistent height and the less proportioned components (for a comparison of the two hands see Fig. 68 and Fig. 63).

The only exceptional hand on the B strips, hand [11], incribed merely the eighth entry in the second paragraph (see Fig. 69, strips 133–135). The sizes of the characters concerned are

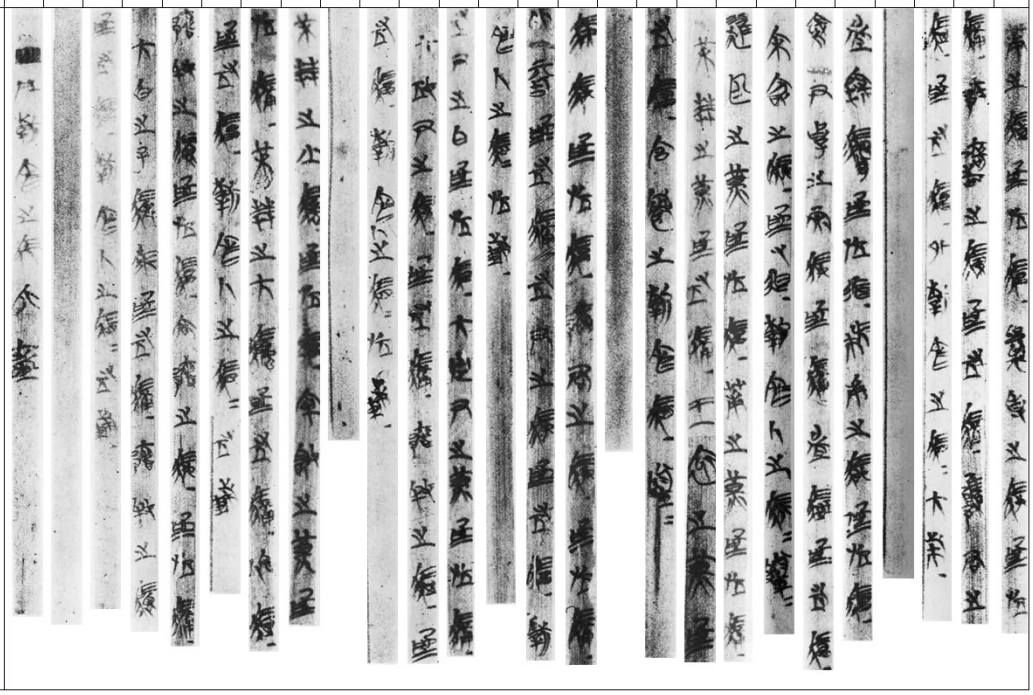
Unity of content	Unity S-148																										
Strip No.-Section No.	148-2	148-1	147-3	147-2	147-1	146-3	146-2	146-1	145-4	145-3	145-2	145-1	144-3	144-2	144-1	143-4	143-3	143-2	143-1	171-3	171-2	171-1	142-4	142-3	142-2	142-1
Photo																											

Fig. 71 Black-and-white photos of the Unity S-148.

less regular than those inscribed by hand [2]. Furthermore, while individual strokes by hand [2] frequently demonstrate a pronounced head and a pointed end (except for the "horizontal" strokes), the strokes by hand [11] seldom show any pronounced heads.

The three summaries on the B strips may have been written by a further hand, hand [12]. The hand is characterised by the irregular changes of the thickness of the strokes (see Fig. 70, *jiu* 九 in blue rectangles). Even the thickness of the punctuations such as "_" change irregularly (see Fig. 70, red rectangles). Furthermore, most of the strokes executed by the hand begin with a pronounced head, taper abruptly and end in tenuous points.

IV.3 The C Strips

According to their physical features, the C strips can be further divided into three subgroups, i.e. the C-1 – C-3 strips (see Appendix II). The C-1 strips, which bear the unities of content S-148, S-159, S-207–208 and S-196, were perhaps inscribed by one and the same hand, hand [13] (for part of the strips see Fig. 71 and Fig. 72). The hand is characterised by a general vault of

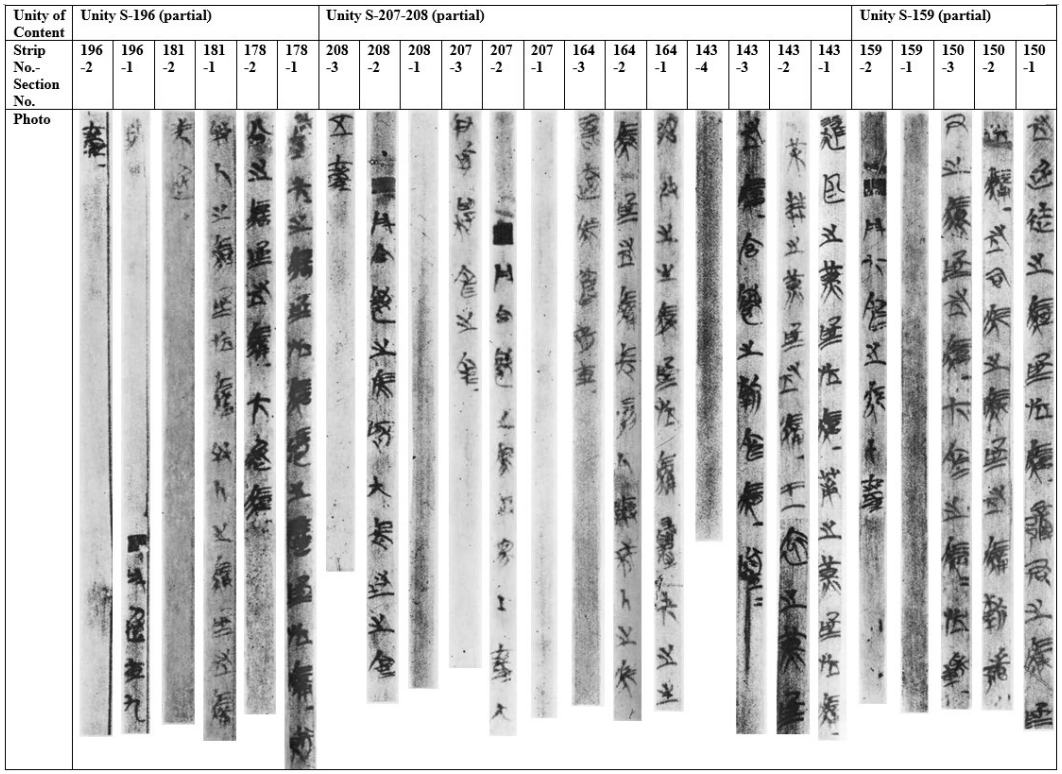


Fig. 72 Black-and-white photos of part of the Unities S-159, S-207–208 and S-196.

the "horizontal" strokes; compared with the individual strokes executed by hand [2] (see Fig. Fig. 63), most of the individual strokes are written much shorter.

Among the unitiy of content S-195, at least two individual hands are recognizable. The two subtotals and the entries except for those on strips 190, 191 and 193 were perhaps written by hand [13] as well. The entries on these exceptional strips were perhaps written by another hand, hand [14] (see Fig. 73). In the writings by the latter hand, the "horizontal" strokes are not vaulted; instead, they demonstrate a general slant towards the upper right. Furthermore, the unitiy of content S-204 (see Fig. 73) as well as all the loose entries were written by hands [13] (see Fig. 74).

IV.4 The D Strips

Compared with the writings on the A-C strips, the writings on the D strips demonstrate a much smaller character spacing (Fig. 75). It seems that at least two individual scribal hands were at work in the records on the D strips. One hand, hand [15], inscribed the first paragraph, while the other, hand [16], wrote the second and the third paragraphs.

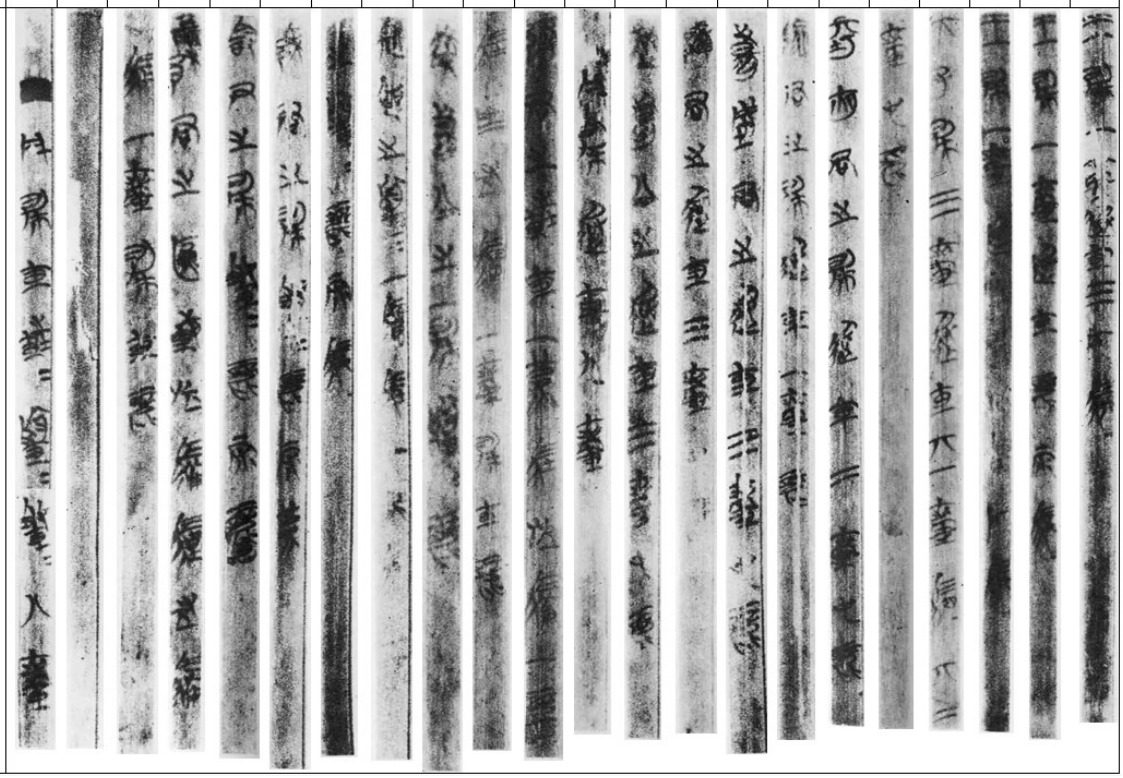
Unity of Content	Unity-204											Unity S-195										
Strip No.-Section No.	204 -2	204 -1	203 -2	203 -1	202	201	200	199	198	197 -2	197 -1	195 -2	195 -1	194	193	192	191	190 -2	190 -1	189	188	187
Photo																						

Fig. 73 Black-and-white photos of the Unities S-195 and S-204.

Compared with hand [15], hand [16] had the habit of adding punctuations, i.e. short dashes on the right side of each strips; and it applied much narrower character spacing.[1382] Furthermore, hand [15] tended to inscribe each horizontal stroke with a pointed beginning, an arch in the middle and a pronounced end; while the second hand executed each of such horizontal strokes with an upward slant and a much more even weight in the brush, resulting in less changes in the thickness of the stroke.

[1382] Among the D strips, merely strips 210 and 212 are intact (66.1 and 66.3 cm, respectively) and both are inscribed from the top to the bottom without gaps. Strip 210, written by the first hand, bears 50 characters; while strip 212, inscribed by the second hand, bears 74 characters. For the measurement see Xiao Shengzhong 2011, 32.

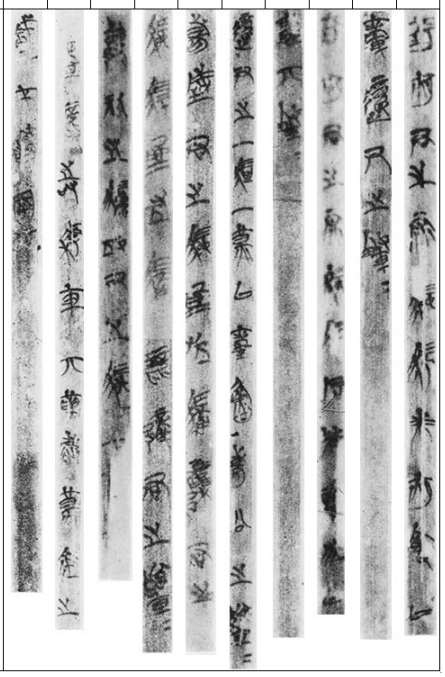
Entry No.	C-2(/C3)/L/P-5			C-3/L/P-4		C-3/L/P-3	C-3/L/P-2		C-3/L/P-1	
Strip No.-Section No.	77-2	77-1	185	163-2	163-1	162	161-2	161-1	160-2	160-1
Photo										

Fig. 74 Black-and-white photos of the loose entries on the C strips.

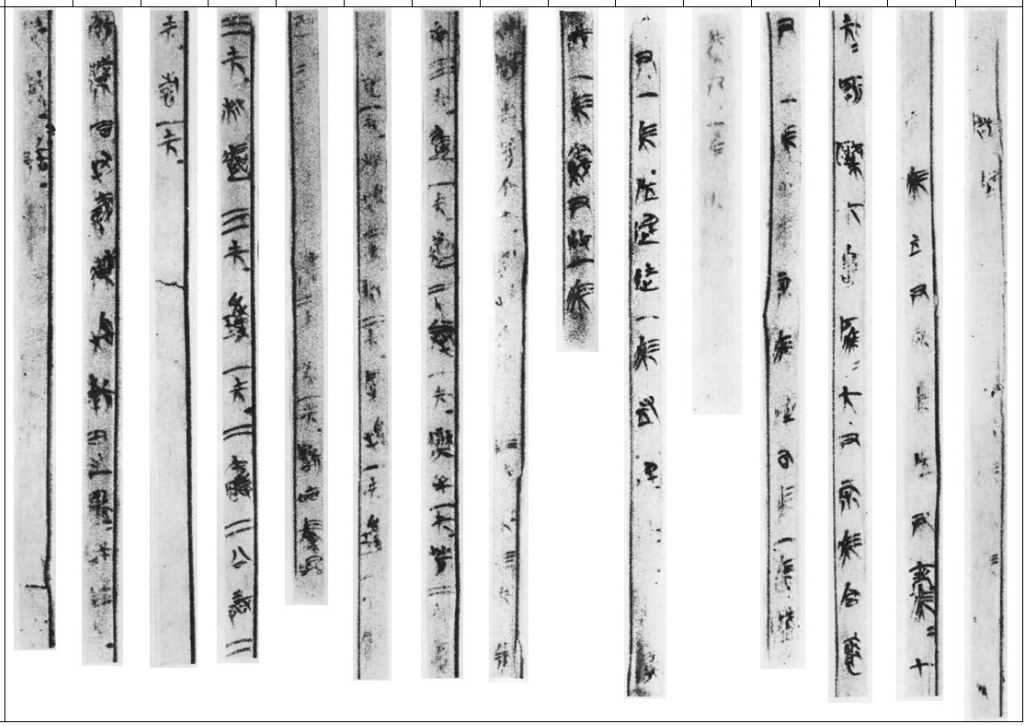
Entry No.	D-1/P-3		D-1/P-2						D-1/P-1/E-1 – E-2						
Strip No.-Section No.	214-2	214-1	213-2	213-1	212-4	212-3	212-2	212-1	211-2	211-1	52	210-4	210-3	210-2	210-1
Photo															

Fig. 75 Black-and-white photos of the entries on the D strips.

Bibliography

An Zhengdi 安峥地. “Tang Fangling Dazhang gongzhu qingli jianbao” 唐房陵大长公主墓清理简报. *Wenbo* 文博, no. 1 (1990).

An Zhimin 安志敏. “Changsha xin faxian de Xihan bohua shitan” 长沙新发現的西汉帛画試探. *Kaogu* 考古, no. 1 (1973): 43–53.

Anokye, R., et al. “Variations in Moisture Content and Its Effect on the Shrinkage of *Gigantochloa Scortechinii* and *Bambusa Vulgaris* at Different Height of Bamboo Culm.” *BioResources* 9, no. 4 (2014): 7484–7493.

Bai Yulan 白於藍. “Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian kaoshi (si pian)” 曾侯乙墓竹簡考釋（四篇）. *Zhongguo wenzi* 中國文字 25 (2005): 193–202.

Bai Yulan 白於藍. *Zhanguo Qin Han jianbo gushu tongjiazi huizuan* 戰國秦漢簡帛古書通假字彙纂. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2012.

Ban Gu 班固. *Han shu* 漢書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.

Ban Gu. *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han*, translated by Burton Watson. New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1974.

Ban Gu. *The History of the Former Han Dynasty: 1. Division: The Imperial Annals, Chapt. I - V.*, translated by Homer H. Dubs. Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1938.

Barbieri-Low, Anthony J. “Wheeled Vehicles in the Chinese Bronze Age (c. 2000–741 B.C.).” *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 99 (2000). http://www.sino-platonic.org/complete/spp099_wheeled_vehicles_china.pdf.

Barbieri-Low, Anthony J., and Robin D. S. Yates. *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb*. 2 vols. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015.

Barrett, John C. “Agency, the Duality of Structure, and the Problem of the Archaeological Record.” In *Archaeological Theory Today*. Edited by Ian Hodder, [141]–164. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.

Barrett, John C. “Fields of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology.” *Critique of Antropology* 7, no. 3 (1988): 5–16.

Baxter, William H., and Laurent Sagart. “Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese Reconstruction, Version 1.1.” Updated September 20, 2014. Accessed January 12, 2018. http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/BaxterSagartOCbyMandarinMC2014-09-20.pdf.

Baxter, William H., and Laurent Sagart. *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Boyd, M. J. “Explaining the Mortuary Sequence at Mycenae.” *Mycenaeans Up to Date: The Archaeology of the North-Eastern Peloponnese-Current Concepts and New Directions*, 2015, 433–447.

Boyd, Michael J. “Fields of Action in Mycenaean Funerary Practices.” In *Staging Death: Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean*. Edited by

Anastasia Dakouri-Hild and Michael J. Boyd, [57]–87. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016.

Boyd, Michael J. “The Materiality of Performance in Mycenaean Funerary Practices.” *World Archaeology* 46, no. 2 (2014): 192–205.

Boyd, Michael J. *Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese*. British Archaeological Reports Limited, 2002.

Braae, Christel. *Among Herders of Inner Mongolia: The Haslund-Christensen Collection at the National Museum of Denmark.* The Carlsberg Foundation’s Nomad Research Project. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2017.

Brown, Miranda. “Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses? A Reconsideration of Elite Conceptions of Death.” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, 1–4 (2002): 201–223.

Brown, Miranda. *The Politics of Mourning in Early China*. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 2012.

Bryant, Clifton D., and Dennis L. Peck, eds. *Encyclopedia of Death and the Human Experience*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2009.

Cai Feng 蔡锋. *Chunqiu shiqi guizu shehui shenghuo yanjiu* 春秋时期贵族社会生活研究. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004.

Cai Jingquan 蔡靖泉. “Zengguo kaogu faxian yu Zeng Sui lishi wenti” 曾国考古发现与曾随历史问题. *Hubei shehui kexue* 湖北社会科学, no. 9 (2018): 184–198.

Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ascribed). *Duduan* 獨斷. Baojingtang congkan 抱經堂叢刊. Beijing: Zhili shuju, 1923.

Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ascribed). *Duduan* 獨斷. Sibu congkan san bian, zibu 四部叢刊三編・子部 223. Shanghai: Hanfen lou 涵芬樓 photocopy of a 1503 woodblock print in the collection of Changshu Qu shi tieqin tongjian lou 常熟瞿氏鐵琴銅劍樓.

Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ascribed). *Duduan* 獨斷. Zuo shi baichuan xuehai 左氏百川學海 Vol. 3 (jia 甲 3). Tao shi sheyuan 陶氏涉園 photocopy of a 1273 woodblock print, 1927.

Cai Yunzhang 蔡运章. “Lun Guo Zhong qiren” 论虢仲其人. In *Guoguo mudi de faxian yu yanjiu* 虢国墓地的发现与研究, edited by Wang Bin 王斌, 115–120. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000.

Cao Benye 曹本冶. *Sixing - xingwei: Yishi zhong yinsheng de yanjiu:* 思想——行为：仪式中音声的研究. Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe, 2008.

Cao Jiandun 曹建敦. “Zhou dai jisi yong sheng lizhi kaolüe” 周代祭祀用牲礼制考略. *Wenbo*, no. 3 (2008): 18–21.

Cao Jingjing 曹菁菁. “Zeng Hou Yi mu chezai bingqi yanjiu” 曾侯乙墓遣冊車載兵器研究. Master’s thesis, Beijing daxue, 2007.

Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, et al., eds. *Wucheng Han jian* 烏程漢簡. Zhongguo mei shu xue yuan Han zi wen hua yan jiu suo cong shu. Shanghai: Shanghai shu hua chu ban she, 2022.

Cao Jinyan 曹锦炎. “Zeng hou can zhong mingwen kaoshi” 曾侯残钟铭文考释. *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古, no. 4 (2014): 70–73.

Chang Huaiying 常怀颖. “Zeng hou mu de zangche ji xiangguan wenti” 曾侯墓的葬车及相关问题. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 5 (2015): 53–78.

Changjiang liuyu dierqi wenwu kaogu gongzuo renyuan xunlianban 长江流域第二期文物考古工作人员训练班. “Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan mu fajue jianbao” 湖北江陵凤凰山西汉墓发掘简报. *Wenwu* 文物, no. 6 (1974): 41–61, Figs. 1–52, and plates II-VIIII.

Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 長沙市文物考古研究所, and Zhongguo wenwu yanjiusuo 中國文物研究所, eds. *Changsha Dongpailou Donghan jiandu* 長沙東牌樓東漢簡牘. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006.

Chao Fulin 晁福林. “Shi shi Zhanguo zhujian zhong de ‘jian’ zi bing lun Zhou dai de jianji” 试释战国竹简中的“薦”字并论周代的薦祭. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中国史研究, no. 2 (2010): 71–88.

Chen Cheng 陈程. “Hubei Jingzhou Huangshan mudi M576 fajue jianbao” 湖北荆州黄山墓地M576发掘简报. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (2023): 14–38.

Chen Gongrou 陳公柔. “Shi sangli, Ji xi li zhong suo jizai de sangzang zhidu” 士喪禮、既夕禮中所記載的喪葬制度. *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, no. 4 (1956): 67–84.

Chen Huang 陈锽. “Chu Han fuguan bohua xingzhi bianxi” 楚汉覆棺帛画性质辨析. In *Zhongguo han hua xuehui dijiu jie nianhui lunwenji: Shang* 中国汉画学会第九届年会论文集：上, 424–448. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 2004.

Chen Meilan 陳美蘭. “‘Wucheng Han jian’ jian 333, 334 qiance chutan” 《烏程漢簡》簡333、334遣冊初探. *Zhongguo wenzi* 10 (2023): 97–109.

Chen Mengjia 陈梦家. “You shiwu suojian Han dai jiance zhidu” 由实物所见汉代简册制度. In *Han jian zhuishu* 汉简缀述, 291–315. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.

Chen Mengjia 陳夢家. “Xizhou tongqi duandai (san)” 西周銅器斷代（三）. *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, no. 1 (1956): 65–114.

Chen Ning 陈宁. *Qin Han mazheng yanjiu* 秦汉马政研究. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2015.

Chen Songchang 陈松长. “Gaodice de xingwen geshi yu xiangguan wenti” 告地策的行文格式与相关问题. *Hunan daxue xueba (Shehui kexue ban)* 湖南大学学报（社会科学版）22, no. 3 (2008): 21–25.

Chen Songchang 陈松长. “Mawangdui san hao Han mu ‘Chema yizhang tu’ bohua shishuo” 马王堆三号汉墓“车马仪仗图”帛画试说. In *Hunan bowuguan wenji* 湖南博物馆文集, edited by Hunan Bowuguan 湖南博物馆, 82–87 and 4. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1990.

Chen Songchang 陈松长. “Mawangdui san hao Han mu mudu san lun” 马王堆三号汉墓木牍散论. *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1994): 64–70.

Chen Songchang 陈松长. “Mawangdui sanhao muzhu de zai renshi” 马王堆三号墓主的再认识. *Wenwu*, no. 8 (2003): 56–59.

Chen Songchang 陳松長, ed. *Xianggang zhongwen daxue wenwuguan cang jiandu* 香港中文大學文物館藏簡牘. Xianggang: Xianggang zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, 2001.

Chen Wei 陈伟. "Cheyu ming shi shuo (er ze)" 车舆名试说（二则）. *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究, no. 28 (2010): 384–388.

Chen Wei 陈伟. *Baoshan Chu jian chu tan* 包山楚简初探. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1996.

Chen Wei 陳偉, ed. *Qin Jiandu Heji* 秦簡牘合集. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2014.

Chen Wei 陳偉. "Baoshan 2 hao mu jiance (fu qianpai)" 包山2號墓簡冊（附簽牌）. In *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]* 楚地出土戰國簡册[十四種], edited by Chen Wei et al., 1–137. Beijing: Jingji kexue chubanshe, 2009.

Chen Xianru 陈贤儒. "Gansu Wuwei Mozuizi Han mu fajue" 甘肃武威磨咀子汉墓发掘. *Kaogu*, no. 9 (1960): 15–28.

Chen Yingfei 陈颖飞. "Chu Daowang shiqi de dazhan yu Chu fengjun: Qinghua jian 'Xinian' zhaji zhiyi" 楚悼王初期的大战与楚封君：清华简《系年》札记之一. *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知识, no. 5 (2012): 105–107.

Chen Yuan 陈园. "Xizhou chemaqi maizang de quyu tedian yanjiu" 西周车马器埋葬的区域特点研究. Master's thesis, Dongbei shifan daxue, 2017.

Chen Zhenxiang 陈祯祥 and Huang Wangchong 黄王崇. "Guangnan jingxian 'Han dai muguo mu'" 广南惊现‘汉代木椁墓’. *Qingnian yu shehui* 青年与社会, no.12 (2011): 40–41.

Chen Zhenyu 陈振裕. "Jiangling Fenghuangshan 168 hao Han mu" 江陵凤凰山一六八号汉墓. *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报, no. 4 (1993): 455–513.

Chen Zhenyu 陳振裕. "Yiliuba hao mu" 一六八號墓. In *Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu* 江陵鳳凰山西漢簡牘, edited by Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, 181–205. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

Chen Zhi 陈直. "Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu de ruogan wenti kaoshu "长沙马王堆一号汉墓的若干问题考述. *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1972): 30–35.

Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu 春秋公羊傳注疏. Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000.

Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義. With the commentary of Du Yu 杜預 (222–285) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648). Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000.

Clark, David S., ed. *Encyclopedia of Law & Society: American and Global Perspectives*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, 2007.

Cook, Constance A. *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey.* China studies (Leiden, Netherlands) 8. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006.

Cun Mu 寸木. " Xiao yi Xiejiaqiao yi hao Han mu qiance zhong jizai de guoshi zhi zhi" 小議謝家橋一號漢墓遣策中記載的槨室之制. Updated May 16, 2009. Accessed Feb. 18, 2025, 2015. http://www.bsm.org.cn/?hanjian/5255.html.

Da Haobo 笪浩波. “Hubei Yicheng Luogang chemakeng de jige xiangguan wenti” 湖北宜城罗岗车马坑的几个相关问题. *Huaxia kaogu* 华夏考古, no. 2 (1999): [184]–189.

Daming xian xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 大名县县志编纂委员会. *Daming xianzhi* 大名县志. Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1994.

Dewall, Magdalene von. *Pferd und Wagen im frühen China*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1964.

Dien, Albert E. “The Inventory Lists of Tomb 86TAM386 at Astana, Turfan.” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2002): 183–200.

Ding Lan 丁兰. “Shi lun Hubei diqu de dai kan Chu mu” 试论湖北地区的带龛楚墓. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (2004): 64–69.

Ding Linghua 丁凌华. *Zhongguo sangfu zhidu shi* 中国丧服制度史. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2000.

Ding Yan 丁岩. “Chang’an Shenheyuan Zhanguo Qin lingyuan niandai shukao” 长安神禾原战国秦陵园年代述考. *Wenbo*, no. 2 (2010): 13–16.

Dong Dezhi 董德志. “‘*Zuo zhuan*’ ‘chengma’ jie: Jian shuo qima zhi qiyuan ” 《左传》“乘马”解：兼说骑马之起源. *Xuchang xueyuan xuebao* 许昌学院学报, no. 4 (1987): 63–66.

Dong Shan 董珊. “Chu jian buji yu chuguo liangzhi yanjiu ” 楚简簿记与楚国量制研究. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 2 (2010): 171–206.

Dong Shan 董珊. “Chu jian zhong cong ‘da’ sheng zhi zi de dufa (yi) ” 楚簡中從“大”聲之字的讀法（一）. Updated Jul. 8, 2007. Accessed Feb. 18, 2025. http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/4806.html.

Dong Shan 董珊. “Suizhou Wenfengta chutu sanzhong Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong mingwen kaoshi” 隨州文峰塔M1出土三種曾侯與編鐘銘文考釋. Updated October 4, 2014. Accessed January 12, 2019. http://www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/Web/Show/2339.

Dou Lei. “From the Living to the Afterlife: Funerary Inventories of Ancient China.” PhD Diss., University of California, 2023.

Dou Lei 窦磊. “Han Jin yiwushu jijiao ji xiangguan wenti kaocha” 汉晋衣物疏集校及相关问题考察. Master’s thesis, Wuhan daxue, 2016.

Droz, Yvan. “Transformations of Death Among the Kikuyu of Kenya: From Hyenas to Tombs.” In *Funerals in Africa: Explorations of a Social Phenomenon*, edited by Michael Jindra and Joël Noret, 69–87. New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2011.

Du Zhengsheng 杜正勝. “Zhou dai fengjian zhidu de shehui jiegou: Fengjian yu zongfa (xiapian)” 周代封建制度的社會結構：封建與宗法（下篇）. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, no. 50.3 (1979): 551–613.

Duan Qingbo 段清波. “Guanyu Shenheyuan da mu muzhu ji xiangguan wenti de taolun” 关于神禾原大墓墓主及相关问题的讨论. *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物, no. 4 (2009): 53–61.

Durrant, Stephen, et al., transl. *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals”*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016.

Falkenhausen, Lothar von. *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence*. Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2006.

Falkenhausen, Lothar von. *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

Fan Gudong 凡国栋. "Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong mingwen jianshi" 曾侯與编钟铭文柬释. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 61–67.

Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩 and Peng Jinzhang 彭金章. "Dunhuang Mogaoku bei qu B228 ku chutu Hexi Daliangguo Anle sannian (619) Guo Fang suizang yiwushu chutan" 敦煌莫高窟北區 B228 窟出土河西大涼國安樂三年 (619) 郭方隨葬衣物疏初探. *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學, no. 25 (2004): 515–528.

Fan Ye 范曄. *Houhan shu* 後漢書. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1965.

Fang Qin 方勤. "Guojiamiao Zeng guo mudi de xingzhi" 郭家庙曾国墓地的性质. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 5 (2016): 86–88.

Fenghuangshan 167 hao Han mu fajue zhengli xiaozu 凤凰山一六七号汉墓发掘整理小组. "Jiangling Fenghuangshan 167 hao Han mu fajue jianbao" 江陵凤凰山一六七号汉墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1976): 31–37, 50 and Plate 2.

Fang Qin 方勤. "Zengguo lishi de kaoguxue guancha" 曾国历史的考古学观察. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 109–115.

Feng Shi 冯时. "Wofangding mingwen yu Xizhou sangdianli" 我方鼎銘文與西周喪奠禮. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 3 (2013): 185–212.

Feng Yan 封演 (fl. 756–800). *Feng shi wenjianji jiaozhu* 封氏聞見記校注. With the commentary of Zhao Zhenxin 趙貞信. Tang Song shiliao biji congkan 唐宋史料筆記叢刊. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005.

Finlayson, James Gordon. "To the Things Themselves Again: Observations on What Things Are and Why They Matter." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World*, edited by P. Graves-Brown et al., 94–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Friedrich, Michael. "The 'Announcement to the World Below' of Ma-wang-tui 馬王堆 3." *Manuscript Cultures* 1 (2008): 7–15.

Friedrich, Michael. "Wer war der Grabherr von Ma-Wang-Tui?" In *Dem Text ein Freund: Erkundungen des chinesischen Altertums; Robert H. Gassmann gewidmet*, edited by R. Altenburger et al., 125–143. Bern: Peter Lang, 2009.

Fu Juyou 傅举有. "Guanyu Mawangdui san hao Han mu de muzhu wenti" 关于长沙马王堆三号汉墓的墓主问题. *Kaogu*, no. 2 (1983): 165–172.

Fu Juyou 傅举有. "Mawangdui zenghua yanjiu: Mawangdui Han hua yanjiu zhiyi" 马王堆缯画研究——马王堆汉画研究之一. *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物, no. 3 (1993): 101–9.

Gao Chongwen 高崇文. "Chu 'zhenmushou' wei 'zu chong' jie" 楚"镇墓兽"为"祖重"解. *Wenwu*, no. 9 (2008): 54–60.

Gao Chongwen 高崇文. “Shi lun xian Qin liang Han sangzang lisu de yanbian” 试论先秦两汉丧葬礼俗的演变. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (2006): 447–472.

Gao Dalun 高大伦. “‘Qiance’ yu ‘fengfang’” “遣策”与“赗方”. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (1988): 106–108.

Gao Guofan 高国藩. *Dunhuang minsu xue* 敦煌民俗学. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1989.

Gao Huanting 高换婷. “Cong Qing gong dang’an kan qingdai di hou sangzang ji jisi huodong” 从清宫档案看清代帝后丧葬及祭祀活动. In *Qingdai huanggong lingqin* 清代皇宫陵寝, edited by Qingdai gongshi yanjiuhui 清代宫史研究会, 406–417. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1995.

Gao Zhenwei 高振威 and Zhou Lining 周利宁. “Jiangsu Jiangyin Yejiadang Ming mu fajue jianbao” 江苏江阴叶家宕明墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 8 (2009): 30–45.

Gao Zhixi 高至喜. “Chu yong yanjiu” 楚俑研究. In *Shang Zhou qingtongqi yu Chu wenhua yanjiu* 商周青铜器与楚文化研究, 180–207. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1999.

Gao Zhixi 高至喜. “Mawangdui san hao Han mu de muzhu daodi shi shui” 马王堆三号汉墓的幕主到底是谁. *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中华文化论坛, no. 3 (2000): 124–129.

Gennep, Arnold von. *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monica B. Yizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Giele, Enno (エノ・ギーレ). “‘Yu’ sei ko: Shin Kan jidai wo chūshin ni” 「郵」制攷：秦漢時代を中心に, translated by Tomiya Itaru 冨谷至. *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 63, no. 2 (2004b): 203–239.

Giele, Enno. “New Glimpses of the Early Chinese Postal System,” unpublished manuscript, 2004a.

Giele, Enno. “Signatures of ‘Scribes’ in Early Imperial China.” *Asiatische Studien* 59, no. 1 (2005): 353–387.

Giele, Enno. “Using Early Chinese Manuscripts as Historical Source Materials.” *Monumenta Serica* 51, no. 1 (2003): 409–438.

Giele, Enno. *Imperial Decision-Making and Communication in Early China: A Study of Cai Yong’s Duduan.* opera sinologica 20. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006.

Given, Lisa M. *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, 2008.

Gong Yanming 龚延明. *Zhongguo lidai zhiguan bieming da cidian* 中国历代职官别名大辞典. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2006.

Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841). *Gong Zizhen quanji* 龔自珍全集. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1975.

Grießler, Margareta T. J. “The Last Dynastic Funeral: Ritual Sequence at the Demise of the Empress Dowager Cixi.” *Oriens Extremus* 34, 1/2 (1991): 7–35.

Groot, Jan Jakob Maria de. *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspects, Manners, Custom and Social Institutions Connected Therewith (Book I, Disposal of the Dead)*. Leiden: Brill, 1897.

Gu Chunjun 顾春军. "'Zhiqian' liubian kaolun" "纸钱"流变考论. *Wenhua yichan* 文化遗产, no. 3 (2015): 77–90.

Tang Lan 唐兰, Gu Tiefu 顾铁符, et al. "Zuotan Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu" 座谈长沙马王堆一号汉墓. *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1972): 52–73.

Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan 广西壮族自治区博物馆. *Guangxi Guixian Luobowan Han mu* 广西贵县罗泊湾汉墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988.

Guanzi jiaozhu 管子校注. With the commentary of Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳 and compiled by Liang Yunhua 梁運華. Xinbian zhuzi jicheng 新编诸子集成. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 2004.

Guo Baojun 郭宝钧. *Shanbiao zhen yu Liulige* 山彪镇与琉璃阁. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959.

Guo Baojun 郭宝钧. *Yin Zhou cheqi yanjiu* 殷周车器研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998.

Guo Dewei 郭德维. "Chu che kaosuo" 楚车考索. *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化, no. 5 (1993): 71–81.

Guo Dewei 郭德维. "Tantan woguo qingtong zhuzao jishu zai Chudi de fazhan yu tupo" 谈谈我国青铜铸造技术在楚地的发展与突破. *Zhongyuan wenwu*, no. 1 (1990): 76–82.

Guo Jue. "Concepts of Death and the Afterlife Reflected in Newly Discovered Tomb Objects and Texts from Han China." In *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought*, edited by Amy Olberding and P. J. Ivanhoe, 85–115. Suny series in Chinese philosophy and culture. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011.

Guo Jue. "Western Han Funerary Relocation Documents and the Making of the Dead in Early Imperial China." *Bamboo and Silk* 2, no. 2 (2019): 141–273.

Guo Rencheng 郭仁成. *Chuguo jingjishi xinlun* 楚国经济史新论. Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990.

Guo Ruoyu 郭若愚. "Changsha Yangtianhu Zhanguo zhujian wenzi de moxie he kaoshi" 長沙仰天湖戰國竹簡文字的摹寫和考释. *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 上海博物馆集刊 3 (1986): 22–34.

Guojia wenwuju gu wenxian yanjiushi 国家文物局古文献研究室 et al. *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書, vol. 1–10. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991.

Guo yu 國語. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978.

Habberstad, Luke. "Texts, Performance, and Spectacle: The Funeral Procession of Marquis Yi of Zeng, 433 B.C.E." *Early China* 37, no. 1 (2014): 181–219.

Han Guohe 韩国河. *Qin Han Wei Jin sangzang zhidu yanjiu* 秦汉魏晋丧葬制度研究. Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1999.

Han Lianqi 韩连琪. *Xian Qin liang Han shi luncong* 先秦两汉史论丛. Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1986.

Hankel, Bernt. *Der Weg in den Sarg: Die Ersten Tage des Bestattungsrituals in den Konfuzianischen Ritenklassikern*. Bad Honnef: Bock+Herchen Verlag, 1995.

Hayashi Minao 林巳奈夫. *Kandai no bunbutsu* 漢代の文物. Kyoto: Hôyû shoten, 1976.

He Jiejun 何介钧, ed. *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao han mu: (Diyi juan) Tianye kaogu fajue baogao* 长沙马王堆二、三号汉墓：（第一卷）田野考古发掘报告. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004.

He Linyi 何琳儀. *Zhanguo guwen zidian: Zhanguo wenzi shengxi* 戰國古文字典: 戰國文字聲系. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1998.

He Qiang 贺强. "Mawangdui Han Mu Qiance Zhengli Yanjiu" 马王堆汉墓遣策整理研究. Master's thesis, Xinan daxue, 2006.

He Yifan 何亦凡. "'Jian zhi guodu' shidai de yiwushu: Cong xin kanbu de Tulufan chutu zuizao de yiwushu tanqi" "简纸过渡"时代的衣物疏: 从新刊布的吐鲁番出土最早的衣物疏谈起. *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, no. 3 (2023): 32–43.

Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所. *Anping Donghan Bihua Mu* 安平东汉壁画墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990.

Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所 et al. *Xichuan Heshangling yu Xujialing Chu mu* 淅川和尚岭与徐家岭楚墓. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2004.

Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所, *Xincai Geling Chu mu* 新蔡葛陵楚墓. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003.

Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所 et al. *Xichuan Xiasi Chunqiu mu* 淅川下寺春秋楚墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991.

Hodder, Ian. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2012.

Höllmann, Thomas O. *Das Alte China: Eine Kulturgeschichte.* München. C.H.Beck, 2008.

Hong Shi 洪石. "Dongzhou zhi Jindai mu suo chu wushu jiandu ji qi xiangguan wenti yanjiu" 东周至晋代墓所出物疏简牍及其相关问题研究. *Kaogu*, no. 9 (2005): 59–69.

Hou Can 侯燦 and Wu Meiling 吳美琳. *Tulufan chutu zhuanzhi jizhu* 吐魯番出土砖志集注. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2003.

Hou Junjie 侯俊杰 and Wang Jianming 王建明. "Sanmenxia Guoguo mudi 2009 hao mu huo zhongda kaogu chengguo" 三门峡虢国墓地2009号墓获重大考古成果. In Guoguo mudi de faxian yu yanjiu 虢国墓地的发现与研究, edited by Wang Bin 王斌, 24–25. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000.

Hou Xudong 侯旭东. "Xibei suochu Han dai buji ceshu jian de pailie yu fuyuan: Cong Donghan Yongyuan bingwu bu shuoqi" 西北所出汉代簿籍册书简的排列与复原：从东汉永元兵物簿说起. *Shixue jikan* 史学集刊, no. 1 (2014): 58–73.

Hou Yanfeng 侯彦峰, et al. "Shanxi Licheng Kai hou mudi chutu jisi dongwu guge jianding yu fenxi" 山西黎城楷侯墓地出土祭祀动物骨骼鉴定与分析. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2013): 106–115.

Hou Yi 侯毅 and Qu Chuanfu 渠川福. "Taiyuan Jinshengcun 251 hao Chunqiu damu ji chemakeng fajue jianbao" 太原金胜村251号春秋大墓及车马坑发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1989): 59–86.

Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 and Li Tianhong 李天虹. *Changjiang liuyu chutu jiandu yu yanjiu* 长江流域出土简牍与研究. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004.

Hu Pingsheng 胡平生. "Jiandu zhidu xintan" 简牍制度新探. *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2000): 66–74.

Hu Xiaoye 胡晓烨. "Zhanguo zhi Xihan shiqi qiance de shi du" 战国至西汉时期遣策的解读. *Xun gen* 寻根, no. 1 (2022): 54–60.

Hu Xinsheng 胡新生. "Zhou dai binli kao" 周代殡礼考. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 3 (1992): 65–73.

Hu Yali 胡雅丽. "Chu jian qiance suojian zangqi zhidu kao" 楚简遣策所见葬器制度考. *Hunansheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊 5 (2008): 363–375.

Hu Yali 胡雅丽. "Fulu yijiu: Baoshan erhao Chu mu qiance chubu yanjiu" 附录一九：包山二号楚墓遣策初步研究. In Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 湖北省荆沙铁路考古队, *Baoshan Chu mu* 包山楚墓, 508–520. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991.

Hu Yali 胡雅丽. *Zun long shang feng: Chu ren de xinyang lisu* 尊龙尚凤: 楚人的信仰礼俗. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003.

Hu Yali 胡雅麗. "Gong, fan, gan mingwu bian" 箕、笲、簳名物辨. *Jianbo* 簡帛 4 (2009): 247–264.

Huang Fengchun 黄凤春 and Hu Gang 胡刚. "Shuo Xizhou jinwen zhong de 'Nangong': Jian lun Suizhou Yejiashan Xizhou Zengguo mudi de zushu" 说西周金文中的"南公"：兼论随州叶家山西周曾国墓地的族属. *Jianghan* kaogu, no. 2 (2014): 50–56.

Huang Fengchun 黄凤春 and Hu Gang 胡刚. "Zai shuo Xizhou jinwen zhong de 'Nan gong': Er lun Yejiashan Xizhou zengguo mudi de zushu" 再说西周金文中的"南公"：二论叶家山西周曾国墓地的族属. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 5 (2014): 41–45.

Huang Fengchun 黄凤春, et al. "Suizhou Yejiashan Xizhou mudi di'erci kaogu fajue de zhuyao shouhuo" 随州叶家山西周墓地第二次考古发掘的主要收获. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (2013): 3–6.

Huang Fengchun 黄凤春, Hu Gang 胡刚 and Guo Changjiang 郭长江. "Hubei Suizhou shi Wenfengta Dongzhou mudi" 湖北随州市文峰塔东周墓地. *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2014): 18–33.

Huang Fengchun 黄凤春. "Guanyu Zengguo de zhengzhi zhongxin jiqi bianqian wenti" 关于曾国的政治中心及其变迁问题. *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 中原文化研究 4 (2018): 40–46.

Huang Haobo 黃浩波. "Shi shuo lingyin Zichun ji Wugong Zichun" 試說令尹子春即郜公子春 . Updated Oct. 27, 2011. Accessed Feb. 18, 2025. http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5762.html.

Huang Shengsong 黃聖松. "Xian Qin "yi guo duo ming" xianxiang chuyi: Jian lun Zeng, Sui er ming zhi guanxi " 先秦「一國多名」現象芻議——兼論曾, 隨二名之關係. *Zhongguo wenshizhe yanjiu nikan* 中國文哲研究集刊, no. 45 (2014): 121–169.

Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋. "Dixiashu yu gaodice: Qiance xin lunzheng" 地下书与告地策：遣策新论证. In *Xu Zhongshu xiansheng bainian danchen jinian wenji* 徐中舒先生百年诞辰纪念文集, 155–162. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1998.

Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋. “Jiangling gaotai han mu xin chu ‘gaodice’, qiance yu xiangguan zhidu fa fu” 江陵高台汉墓新出“告地策”、遣策与相关制度发复. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (1994): 41–44 and 26.

Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋. “Xin faxian de ‘Yangling’ jinban ji xiangguan de Yang qi, Zeng qi mingwen zhong zhu wenti de kaosuo ”新发现的“羕陵”金版及相关的羕器、曾器铭文中诸问题的考索. In *Chutu wenxian yanjiu xuji* 出土文献研究续集, edited by Guojia wenwuju gu wenxian yanjiushi 国家文物局古文献研究室, 107–119. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989.

Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋. “Yang qi yu Yangguo diwang ji yu Chu zhi guanxi kaobian” 鄬器与鄬国地望及与楚之关系考辨. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 1 (1988): 49–51.

Huang Xiquan 黃錫全. “Jieshao yijian Han niannian Zhongzi ge” 介紹一件韓廿年冢子戈. *Gu wenzi yanjiu*, no. 27 (2008): 318–321.

Huang Wei 黄伟, et al. “Chongqing shi Wulong qu Guankou Xihan yi hao mu” 重庆市武隆区关口西汉一号墓. *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中国文物报, Jan. 19, 2024.

Huang Zhanyue 黄展岳. “Yin Shang muzang zhong renxun rensheng de zai kaocha: Fu lun xunsheng jisheng” 殷商墓葬中人殉人牲的再考察：附论殉牲祭牲. *Kaogu*, no. 10 (1983): 935–949.

Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Yunmeng dafentou yi hao Han mu” 云梦大坟头一号汉墓. *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 文物资料丛刊, no. 4 (1981a): 1–28.

Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Zeng Hou Yi mu zhongqing mingwen” 曾侯乙墓钟磬铭文释文. *Yinyue yanjiu* 音乐研究, no. 1 (1981b): 3–16.

Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. *Zeng Hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓. Zhongguo tianye kaogu baogao ji: Kaoguxue zhuankan (Ding zhong 37) 中国田野考古报告：考古学专刊（丁种 37）. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989.

Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 湖北省荆沙铁路考古队. *Baoshan Chu jian* 包山楚简. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991a.

Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 湖北省荆沙铁路考古队. *Baoshan Chu mu* 包山楚墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991b.

Hubei sheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 湖北省荆州地区博物馆. “Jiangling Tianxingguan 1 hao Chu mu” 江陵天星观1号楚墓. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (1982): 71–116, Plates 7–24.

Hubei sheng Jingzhoushi Zhouliangyuqiao yizhi bowuguan 湖北省荆州市周梁玉桥遗址博物馆. *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu* 关沮秦汉墓简牍. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001.

Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所 and Suizhou shi bowuguan 随州市博物馆. “Suizhou Wenfengta M1 (Zeng Hou Yu mu), M2 fajue jianbao” 随州文峰塔 M1 (曾侯与墓), M2 发掘简报. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 3–51.

Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed. *Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985.

Hulsewé, Anthony François Paulus. *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd Century BC Discovered in Yün-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985.

Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆 and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所. "Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Han mu fajue jianbao 长沙马王堆二、三号汉墓发掘简报." *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1974): 39–48 and 63.

Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆 and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国科学院考古研究所. *Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓. 2 vols. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973.

Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所, ed. *Liye Qin jian (yi)* 里耶秦簡（壹）. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012.

Ishiguro Hisako 石黒ひさ子. "Sōkō itsu bo shutsudo chikkan ni tsuite nohitotsu kōsatsu" 曽侯乙墓出土竹簡についての一考察. *Sundai shigaku* 駿台史学 95 (1995): 34–64.

Jellinek, Georg. *Allgemeine Staatslehre*. Berlin: Verlag von O. Häring, 1914.

Ji Kunzhang 吉琨璋, et al. "Shanxi Beizhao Jin hou mudi yihao chemakeng fajue jianbao" 山西北赵晋侯墓地一号车马坑发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2010): [4]–22.

Ji Kunzhang 吉琨璋, et al. "Shanxi Quwo Yangshe Jin hou mudi fajue jianbao" 山西曲沃羊舌晋侯墓地发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2009): 4–14 and 26.

Jinancheng Fenghuangshan 168 hao Han mu fajue zhengli zu 纪南城凤凰山一六八号汉墓发掘整理组. "Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan 168 hao Han mu fajue jianbao" 湖北江陵凤凰山一六八号汉墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1975): 1–8, 22.

Jia Hanqing 贾汉清, et al. "Hubei Jingzhou Wangshanqiao yihao Chu mu fajue jianbao" 湖北荆州望山桥一号楚墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2017): 4–37.

Jia Lianmin 贾连敏, et al. "Sanmenxia Guoguo mudi M2013 de fajue qingli" 三门峡虢国墓地 M2013 的发掘清理. *Wenwu*, no. 12 (2000): 23–34.

Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔. *Zhanguo zhushu xingzhi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu: Yi Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian wei zhongxin* 戰國竹書形制及相關問題研究：以清華大學藏戰國竹簡為中心. Qing hua jian "xi nian" yu gu shi xin tan yan jiu cong shu 清華簡《繫年》與古史新探研究叢書 10. Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2015.

Jia Yao 贾尧. "Houma Siqi yizhi Xinyue xiaoqu jisi yizhi de dongwuxue yanjiu" 侯马虒祈遗址新月小区祭祀遗存的动物考古学研究. Master's thesis, Jilin daxue, 2012.

Jiang Fuqing 蔣福慶. "Taiwan chan zhuyao zhucai zhi wuli xingzhi shiyan" 臺灣產主要竹材之物理性質試驗. *Taiwan sheng linye shiyansuo baogao* 臺灣省林業試驗所報告 241 (1973): 1–9.

Jiang Lixin 江立新. "Xian Qin wuku shitan" 先秦武库试探. *Jiangxi shifan daxue* xuebao 江西师范大学学报, no. 1 (1987): 54–60.

Jiang Lujing 蔣魯敬 and Liu Jianye 刘建业. "Jingzhou Wangshanqiao yihao Chu mu chutu bushi jidao jian ji muzang niandai chutan" 荆州望山桥一号楚墓出土卜筮祭祷简及墓葬年代初探. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 1 (2017): 81–84.

Jiang Lujing 蒋鲁敬 et al. “Hubei Jingzhou Fenghuangdi yizhi M24 chutu Xihan gaodishu” 湖北荆州凤凰地遗址M24出土西汉告地书. *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2024): 76–80.

Jiang Shoucheng 姜守誠. “Xianggang suo cang ‘songren’ jiechu mudu yu Han Jin muzang zhi jinji fengsu” 香港所藏「松人」解除木牘與漢晉墓葬之禁忌風俗. *Chengda lishi xuebao* 成大歷史學報 31 (2006): 1–64.

Jiang Wen 蒋文. “Shuo Mawangdui sanhao Han mu qiance jian 408 de gouhuafu he ‘qiu dao ci’” 说马王堆三号墓遣策简408的勾划符和“雔到此”. *Wenshi* 文史, no. 1 (2014): 279–280 and 90.

Jiang Wen. “To Turn Soybeans into Gold: A Case Study of Mortuary Documents from Ancient China.” Bamboo and Silk 2 (2019): 32–51.

Jiang Yan 蔣艷. “Zeng Hou Yi mu jianwen zhushi” 曾侯乙墓簡文註釋. Master’s thesis, Xinan daxue, 2011.

Jilin daxue lishi xi kaogu zhuanye fu Jinancheng kaimen banxue xiao fendui 吉林大学历史系考古专业赴纪南城开门办学小分队. “Fenghuangshan 167 hao Han mu qiance kaoshi” 凤凰山一六七号汉墓遣册考释. *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1976): 38–42.

Jin Li 金立. “Jiangling Fenghuangshan ba hao han mu zhujian shi shi” 江陵凤凰山八号汉墓竹简试释. *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1976): 69–75.

Jin Weinuo 金维诺. “Tan Changsha Mawangdui sanhao Han mu bohua” 谈长沙马王堆三号汉墓帛画. *Wenwu*, no. 11 (1974): 40–44.

Jingzhou bowuguan 荆州博物馆. “Hubei Jingzhou Yintai mudi M159, M160 fajue jianbao” 湖北荆州印台墓地M159, M160发掘简报. *Jianghan kaogu* 185, no. 2 (2023): 23–38.

Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 荆州地区博物馆. “Jiangling Zhangjiashan san zuo Han mu chutu dapi zhujian” 江陵张家山三座汉墓出土大批竹简. *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1985): 1–8.

Jingzhou xinwen wang 荊州新聞網. “Jingzhou Hujiacaochang ji Longhuihe mu zhongyao kaogu chengguo gongbu 荊州胡家草場墓及龍會河墓重要考古成果公布.” Updated May 8, 2019. Accessed September 6, 2019. https://kknews.cc/culture/pppexpp.html.

Lai Guolong. *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2015.

Legge, James, transl. *The Sacred Books of China, The Texts of Confucianism (Part III): The LÎ KÎ, I-X*. The Sacred Books of the East. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885a.

Legge, James, transl. *The Sacred Books of China, The Texts of Confucianism (Part IV): The LÎ KÎ, XI-XLVI*. The Sacred Books of the East. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885b.

Lewis, Mark Edward. *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990.

Lewis, Mark Edward. *The Construction of Space in Early China*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012.

Li Boqian 李伯谦. “Cong Jin hou mudi kan Xizhou gongmu mudi zhidu de jige wenti” 从晋侯墓地看西周公墓墓地制度的几个问题. *Kaogu*, no. 11 (1997): 51–60.

Li Chunyi 李纯一. “Zeng Hou Yi mu de bianci he yuexuan” 曾侯乙墓编钟的编次和乐悬. *Yinyue yanjiu*, no. 2 (1985): 63–71.

Li Daming 李大鸣. “Xian Qin shiqi yanye shengchan yu maoyi yanjiu” 先秦时期盐业生产与贸易研究. PhD diss., Jilin daxue, 2015.

Li Dongfang 黎東方. *Xian Qin shi* 先秦史. Fuxing congshu 復興叢書. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1944.

Li Dunxue 李敦学, et al. “Hubei Zaoyang Jiuliandun 2 hao chemakeng fajue jianbao” 湖北枣阳九连墩2号车马坑发掘简报. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 6 (2018): 56–75.

Li Fei 李飞. “Xi’anshi Yanliangqu Sanhecun Shandong yimin xisu er ti” 西安市阎良区三合村山东移民习俗三题. *Xianyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* 咸阳师范学院学报 31, no. 3 (2016): 70–72.

Li Hongfu 李洪甫. “Jiangsu Lianyungangshi Huaguoshan chutu de Han dai jiandu 江苏连云港市花果山出土的汉代简牍.” *Kaogu*, no. 5 (1982): 476–480.

Li Hongjun 李洪君. “Ye tan sannian sang de sangqi wenti” 也谈三年丧的丧期问题. *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社会科学战线 1 (2002): 271–273.

Li Jiahao 李家浩. “Baoshan qiance kaoshi (si pian)” 包山遣册考释（四篇）. In *Anhui daxue hanyuyan yanjiu congshu: Li Jiaohao juan* 安徽大学汉语言文字研究丛书：李家浩卷, 129–142. Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2013.

Li Jiahao 李家浩. “Jiu hao mu” 九號墓. In Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu, edited by Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 61–87. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

Li Jiahao 李家浩. “Muzun, zong ji qita” 毋尊、纵及其他. *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1996): 89, 90 and 74.

Li Jianmao 李建毛. “Changsha Chu Han mu chutu xi tu tao de kaocha” 长沙楚汉墓出土锡涂陶的考察. *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1998): 71–75.

Li Jing 李靜. “Wuhan daxue jianbo yanjiu zhongxin cang yiwushu shishi” 武漢大學簡帛研究中心藏衣物數試釋. *Jianbo*, no. 10 (2015): 211–216.

Li Junming 李均明. *Gudai jiandu* 古代简牍. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003.

Li Junming 李均明. *Jiandu wenshu xue* 简牍文书学. Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999.

Li Junming 李均明. *Qin Han jiandu wenshu fenlei jijie* 秦汉简牍文书分类辑解. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009.

Li Lei 李蕾. “Cong Dandong diqu sangzang yishi kan Zhongguo chuantong sangxiao de chuancheng yu zhuanhuan” 从丹东地区丧葬仪式看中国传统丧孝的传承与转换. Master’s thesis, Ha’erbin gongye daxue, 2011.

Li Lin 李琳 and Bai Jiangang 白建钢. “‘Qingong’ yu ‘Wugou’” “秦弓”与“吴钩”. *Wenbo*, no. 6 (1987): 71–73.

Li Ling 李零. *Jianbo gushu yu xueshu yuanliu* 简帛古书与学术源流. Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2004.

Li Ling 李零. *Zhongguo fangshu kao (xiuding ben)* 中国方术考（修订本）. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006.

Li Mingxiao 李明曉. “Shi Tan Zhanguo, Xihan qiance zhong de ‘wangtong’ yu ‘mingtong’” 試談戰國、西漢遣策中的“亡童”與“明童”. Updated February 19, 2010. Accessed Feb. 18, 2025. http://m.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5420.html.

Li Pu 李圃, ed. *Gu wenzi gulin* 古文字诂林. Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999–2004.

Li Rui 李瑞. “Chuguo zuigao dengji muzang yi tiqu wenwu chao qian jian : Wuwangdun mu kaogu gongzuo qude zhongyao chengguo” 楚国最高等级墓葬已提取文物超千件: 武王墩墓考古工作取得重要成果. *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, May 19, 2024.

Li Rusen 李如森. *Han dai sangzang lisu* 汉代丧葬礼俗. Shenyang: Shengyang chubanshe, 2003.

Li Rusen 李如森. *Han dai sangzang zhidu* 汉代丧葬制度. Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 1995.

Li Shoukui 李守奎. “Qinghua jian ‘Xinian’ ‘Mo’ao Yangwei’ kaolun” 清华简《系年》“莫嚚昜为”考论. *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu*, no. 2 (2014): 50–54.

Li Shoukui 李守奎. *Chu wenzi bian* 楚文字編. Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2003.

Li Songru 李松儒. *Zhanguo jianbo ziji yanjiu: Yi Shangbo jian wei zhongxin* 戰國簡帛字迹研究：以上博簡爲中心. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015.

Li Tianhong 李天虹. *Chuguo tongqi yu zhujian wenzi yanjiu* 楚国铜器与竹简文字研究. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012a.

Li Tianhong 李天虹, ed. *Hubei chutu Chu jian wu zhong* 湖北出土楚簡五種. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2024.

Li Tianhong 李天虹. “Qin Han muzang chutu jiandu de kaoguxue guancha: yi Jianghan diqu de faxian wei zhongxin” 秦汉墓葬出土简牍的考古学考察: 以江汉地区的发现为中心. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 3 (2023): 337–56.

Li Tianhong 李天虹. “Shi Zenghou Yi mu zhujian zhong de ‘jian’” 釋曾侯乙墓竹簡中的“兼”. *Gu wenzi yanjiu*, no. 26 (2006): 303–307.

Li Tianhong 李天虹. “Yiliujiu hao mu” 一六九號墓. In *Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu*, edited by Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 207–225. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012b.

Li Tianhong 李天虹 et al. “Hubei Jingmen Yancang 1 hao Chu mu chutu zhujian” 湖北荆门严仓 1 号楚墓出土竹简. *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2020): 58–62.

Li Xiating 李夏廷 and Zhang Kui 张奎. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi disici fajue” 天马——曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第四次发掘. *Wenwu*, no. 8 (1994): 4–21.

Li Xueqin 李学勤. “Baoshan Chu jian ‘fu’ ji Baguo shuo” 包山楚简“鄀”即巴国说. *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 四川师范大学学报（社会科学版）33, no. 6 (2006): 5–8.

Li Xueqin 李学勤. “Dayu ding xinlun” 大盂鼎新论. *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 郑州大学学报（哲学社会科学版）, no. 3 (1985): 51–55.

Li Xueqin 李学勤. “Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong qianban shidu” 曾侯 𤔔（舆）编钟铭文前半释读. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 68–69.

Li Xueqin 李学勤. “Zengguo zhi mi” 曾国之谜. *Guangming ribao* 光明日報, October 4, 1978.

Li Xueqin 李学勤. *Wenwu zhong de gu wenming* 文物中的古文明. Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 2008.

Li Xueqin 李学勤. *Xia Shang Zhou niandai xue zhaji* 夏商周年代学札记. Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1999.

Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed. *Qinghua daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian (er): Shiwen zhushi* 清華大學藏戰國竹簡（貳）：釋文注釋. Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2011.

Li Yajun 李亚军. “Hexi Han mu chutu ‘renmianxing’ mupai yanjiu” 河西汉塞出土“人面形木牌”研究. Master’s thesis, Xibei shifan daxue, 2016.

Li Yan 李岩 and Zhao Weibin 赵玮彬. “Zhou dai de bianfu zhidu” 周代的弁服制度. *Tonghua shifan xueyuan xuebao* 通化师范学院学报, no. 11 (2015): 111–16.

Li Yujie 李玉洁. *Xian Qin sangzang yu jizu yanjiu* 先秦丧葬与祭祖研究. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2015.

Li Zheng 李征. “Tulufan Asitana-Halahezhuo gumu qunfajuejianbao” (1963–1965) 吐鲁番县阿斯塔那——哈拉和卓古墓群发掘简报 (1963–1965). *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1973): 7–27, 82.

Li Zhifang 李志芳 and Jiang Lujing 蒋鲁敬. “Hubei Jingzhou shi Hujiacaochang mudi M12 fajue jianbao 湖北荆州市胡家草场墓地 M12 发掘简报.” *Kaogu*, no. 2 (2020a): 3–20.

Li Zhifang 李志芳 and Jiang Lujing 蒋鲁敬. “Hubei Jingzhou Shi Hujiacaochang Xihan Mu M12 Chutu Jiandu Gaishu 湖北荆州市胡家草场西汉墓 M12 出土简牍概述.” *Kaogu*, no. 2 (2020b): 21–33.

Li Zhipeng 李志鹏. “Liang Zhou shiqi zang ma yicun yanjiu” 两周时期葬马遗存研究. Master’s thesis, Zhengzhou daxue, 2013.

Lianyungang shi bowuguan 连云港市博物馆. “Lianyungangshi Taowan Huangshiyan Xihan Xiguo Bao mu” 连云港市陶湾黄石崖西汉西郭宝墓. *Dongnan wenhua*, no. 1 (1986): 17–21 and Plates 1–2.

Lianyungang shi bowuguan 連雲港市博物館. *Yinwan Han mu jiandu* 尹灣漢墓簡牘. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997.

Liese, Walter, and Thi Kim Hong Tang. “Properties of the Bamboo Culm.” In *Bamboo: The Plant and Its Uses*, edited by Walter Liese and Michael Köhl, 227–256. Tropical Forestry. Cham et al.: Springer, 2015.

Liji zhengyi 禮記正義. With the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 CE) and the subcommentary of Kong Yingda. Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000.

Lin Jianming 林剑鸣. *Jiandu gaishu* 简牍概述. Xi’an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984.

Lin Jinguo 林金国, et al. “Fangzhucai jiben midu he gansuoxing bianyi guilü de yanjiu” 方竹材基本密度和干缩性变异规律的研究. *Xibei linxueyuan xuebao* 西北林学院学报 19, no. 2 (2004): 112–115.

Lin Qingyuan 林清源. *Jiandu boshu biaoti geshi yanjiu* 簡牘帛書標題格式研究. Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2004.

Lin Yun 林沄. “Du Baoshan Chu jian zhaji qi ze” 读包山楚简札记七则. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (1992): 83–85.

Littauer, M. A., J. H. Crouwel, and Peter Raulwing. *Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness.* Culture and history of the ancient Near East, vol. 6. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002.

Liu An 劉安. *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋. Compiled by He Ning 何寧. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998.

Liu An. *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*. Translated by John S. Major et al. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Liu Bingbing 刘兵兵, Xie Yan 谢焱 and Wang Hui 王辉. “Gansu Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi 2012–2014 nian fajue jianbao” 甘肃张家川马家塬战国墓地2012–2014年发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2018): 4–25.

Liu Binhui 刘彬徽, Hu Yali 胡雅丽, et al. “Fulu yi: Baoshan erhao Chu mu jiandu shiwen yu jishi” 附录一：包山二号楚墓简牍释文与考释. In Hubei sheng Jing Sha tielu kaogu dui 湖北省荆沙铁路考古队, *Baoshan Chu mu* 包山楚墓, 348–399. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991.

Liu Guosheng 劉國勝 and Hu Yali 胡雅麗. “Angang yi, er hao mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi 安崗一、二號墓竹簡釋文與考釋.” In *Laohekou Angang Chu mu* 老河口安岗楚墓, edited by Wang Xianfu 王先福, 144–57. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2018.

Liu Guosheng 刘国胜. “Chu qiance zhidu shulüe” 楚遣策制度述略. *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 6 (2005): 229–240.

Liu Guosheng 劉國勝. *Chu sangzang jiandu jishi* 楚喪葬簡牘集釋. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011.

Liu Guosheng 刘国胜. “Du Xihan sangzang wenshu zhaji” 读西汉丧葬文书札记. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (2011): 116–19.

Liu-Perkins, Christine. *At home in her tomb: Lady Dai and the ancient Chinese treasures of Mawangdui*. Watertown, MA: Charlesbridge Publishing, 2014.

Liu Qingzhu 刘庆柱. “Zhongguo gudai ducheng kaoguxue yanjiu de jige wenti” 中国古代都城考古学研究的几个问题. *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2000): 60–69.

Liu Shaogang 劉紹剛 and Zheng Tongxiu 鄭同修. “Rizhao Haiqu Han mu chutu qiance gaishu” 日照海曲漢墓出土遣策概述. *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 出土文献研究, no. 1 (2013): 202‐12.

Liu Wei 刘伟. “Zhisang yu binzang: ‘*Zuo zhuan*’ zhong sangzang chengxu yanjiu” 治丧与殡葬：《左传》中丧葬程序研究. *Zaozhuang xueyuan xuebao* 枣庄学院学报 32, no. 1 (2015): 66–70.

Liu Wenqiang 劉文強. “Lun ‘dapei’” 論「大旆」. *Wen yu zhe* 文與哲, no. 18 (2011): 63–80.

Liu Xi 劉熙. *Shiming shu zheng bu* 釋名疏證補. With the commentary of Ruan Yuan 阮元 and revision of Wang Xianqian 王先謙. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008.

Liu Xiaolu 刘晓路. “Lun bohua yong: Mawangdui 3 hao mu dong xi bi bohua de xingzhi he zhuti” 论帛画俑: 马王堆3号墓东西壁帛画的性质和主题. *Kaogu*, no. 10 (1995): 937–941.

Liu Xiaolu 刘晓路. “Mawangdui Han mu zakao” 马王堆汉墓杂考. *Hunan sheng bowuguan wenji* 湖南省博物馆文集 4 (1998): 98–110.

Liu Xinfang 劉信芳. “Zeng Hou Yi jian wenzi bushi liu ze” 曾侯乙簡文字補釋六則. *Jianbo*, no. 1 (2006): [5]–10.

Liu Xinfang 劉信芳. *Baoshan Chu jian jiegu* 包山楚簡解詁. Taibei 臺北: Yiwen yinshuguan 藝文印書館, 2003.

Liu Yiting 刘一婷. “Shang Zhou jisi dongwu yicun yanjiu” 商周祭祀动物遗存研究综述. *Nanfang wenwu* 南方文物, no. 1 (2014): 58–64.

Liu Yonghua 刘永华. *Zhongguo gudai cheyu maju* 中国古代车舆马具. Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2013.

Liu Yuhuan 刘玉环. “Mawangdui Han mu qiance mingwu kao” 马王堆汉墓遣策名物考. *Xinan xuekan* 西南学刊 3 (2012): 248–255.

Liu Yutang 刘玉堂, ed. *Chuguo liyi zhidu yanjiu* 楚国礼仪制度研究. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012.

Liu Yutang 刘玉堂. *Chuguo jingjishi* 楚国经济史. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996.

Liu Zunzhi 刘尊志. “Xuzhou liang Han zhuhouwang mu” 徐州两汉诸侯王墓研究. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (2011): 57–98.

Loewe, Michael. Everyday life in early imperial China during the Han period, 202 BC-AD 220. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2005.

Loewe, Michael. “The Orders of Aristocratic Rank of Han China.” *T’oung Pao* 48, Livr. 1/3 (1960): 97–174.

Loewe, Michael. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide.* Early China Special Monograph Series 2. Berkeley, Calif.: Society for the Study of Early China; Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993.

Lozada, Eriberto P. *God Aboveground: Catholic Church, Postsocialist State, and Transnational Processes in a Chinese Village*. Stanford University Press, 2001.

Lu Jialiang 鲁家亮 and Li Yongkang 李永康. “Hubei Wuhan Dingjiazui M1, M2 chutu Zhanguo zhujian” 湖北武汉丁家咀 M1, M2 出土战国竹简. *Wenwu*, no. 6 (2015): 49–51.

Lu Xiqi 鲁西奇. “Han dai maidiquan de shizhi, yuanyuan yu yiyi” 汉代买地券的实质, 渊源与意义. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 1 (2006): 47–68.

Lu Xixing 陆锡兴. “Kaogu faxian de taogeng zu taoren” 考古发现的桃梗与桃人. *Kaogu*, no. 12 (2013): 78–85.

Lu Xixing 陆锡兴. “Tulufan gumu zhi mingqi yanjiu” 吐鲁番古墓纸明器研究. *Xiyu yanjiu*, no. 3 (2006): 50–55.

Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (ascribed). *Lü shi Chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋. Compiled by Xu Weiyu 許維遹. 2 vols. Beijing: Beijing shi Zhongguo shudian, 1985.

Lü Ling 吕玲. “Chunqiu jianli xianxiang yanjiu” 春秋僭礼现象研究. Master’s thesis, Shanxi shifan daxue, 2013.

Lü Peng 吕鹏 and Gong Xicheng 宫希成. “Jisheng lizhihua de ge’an yanjiu: Heying yizhi dongwu kaoguxue yanjiu de xin sikao” 祭牲礼制化的个案研究：何郢遗址动物考古学研究的新思考. *Nanfang wenwu*, no. 3 (2016): 169–174.

Luo Xiaohua 羅小華. “Chu jian cheming xuan shi er ze” 楚簡車名選釋二則. Updated Oct. 28, 2012a. Accessed Feb. 16, 2025. http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5930.html.

Luo Xiaohua 羅小華. “Zeng Hou Yi mu C lei jian yanjiu” 曾侯乙墓C類簡研究. *Jianbo*, no. 1 (2016): 61–77.

Luo Xiaohua 羅小華. “Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian bianlian jubu tiaozheng” 曾侯乙墓竹簡編聯局部調整. Updated Nov. 27, 2012b. Accessed Feb. 16, 2025. http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5943.html.

Luo Xiaohua 羅小華. “Zhanguo jiance suojian che ma jiqi xiangguan wenti yanjiu” 戰國簡冊所見車馬及其相關問題研究. PhD diss., Wuhan daxue, 2011.

Luo Xiaohua 羅小華. *Zhanguo jiance zhong de chema qiwu ji zhidu yanjiu* 戰國簡冊中的車馬器物及制度研究. Wu Han: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2017.

Luo Yunbing 罗运兵. “Yunmeng Zhengjiahu: Jianzheng Qin Han da yitong” 云梦郑家湖: 见证秦汉大一统. *Guangming ribao*, April 17, 2022.

Ma Yuanyuan 马媛媛. “Dai wang yinjian de tongguan wenshu: Lun gaodishu zai sangzang wenshu fazhan zhong de diwei” 带往阴间的通关文书：论告地书在丧葬文书发展历程中的地位. *Guizhou wenshi congkan* 贵州文史丛刊, no. 3 (2014): 72–77.

Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China: A History*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2016.

Meng Yuelong 孟躍龍. “Qinghua jian ‘yi’ ji ‘yique’ shuo” 清華簡“伊”即“伊闕”說. Updated Apr. 18, 2016. Accessed Feb. 18, 2025. http://www.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/6679.html.

Mi Rutian 米如田. “‘Qiance’ kaobian” “遣策”考辨. *Huaxia kaogu*, no. 3 (1991): [96]–99.

Mozi jiaozhu 墨子校注. Compiled by Wu Yujiang 吳毓江. Xinbian zhuzi jicheng 新编诸子集成 6. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006.

Mu tianzi zhuan 穆天子傳. Sibu congkan chu bian 四部叢刊初編 467. Shanghai: Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 photocopy of a woodblock print in the collection of Tianyige 天一閣.

Nan Bo 南波. “Jiangsu Lianyungangshi Haizhou Xihan Shiqi Yao mu” 江苏连云港市海州西汉侍其繇墓. *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1975): 169–177.

Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China. Vol. 4. Physics and Physical Technology. Part III. Civil Engineering and Nautics*. With the collaboration of Wang Ling and Lu Gwei-Djen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China. Vol. 4. Physics and Physical Technology. Part II. Mechanical Engineering*. With the collaboration of Wang Ling. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Nie Chongyi 聶崇義. *San Li Tu Jizhu* 三禮圖集注. Qinding siku quanshu 欽定四庫全書, Classics 4 經部四, category of ritual 禮類. Photocopy. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005.

Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生. *Chūgoku Kodai Teikoku No Keisei to Kōzō: Nijūtō Shakusei No Kenkyū* 中国古代帝国の形成と構造：二十等爵制の研究. Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1961.

Nylan, Michael. "Towards an Archaeology of Writing: Text, Ritual, and the Culture of Public Display in the Classical Period (475 B.C.E.-220 C.E.)." In *Text and Ritual in Early China*, edited by Martin Kern, 3–49. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2007.

Okamura Hidenori 岡村秀典. "Sen Shin jidai no kyōgi" 先秦時代の供犠. *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 75 (2003): 1–80.

Ozawa Masahito 小澤正人. "Hōōzan irarokugō bo kara mita zenkan hatsu no sōnsei" 鳳凰山168号墓からみた前漢初の葬制. *Shakai inobeeshon kenkyū* 社会イノベーション研究 2, no. 1 (2006): 107–124.

Patrik, Linda E. "Is There an Archaeological Record?" In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 8, 27–62. Orlando, FL: Academica Press, 1985.

Pavićević, Aleksandra. "Diving into the Silence: Death and Funeral in Serbia at the Beginning of the Third Millennium." In *Dying and Death in 18th-21st Century Europe*, edited by Marius Rotar, Adriana Teodorescu and Corina Rotar, 86–111. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

Peng Hao 彭浩. "Ba hao mu" 八號墓. In *Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu*, edited by Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 13–59. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

Peng Hao 彭浩. "Du Yunmeng Shuihudi M 77 Han jian 'Zang lü'" 读云梦睡虎地M77汉简《葬律》. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2009): 130–134.

Peng Hao 彭浩. "Zhanguo shiqi de qiance" 戰國時期的遣策. *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究 2 (1996): 48–55.

Peng Hao 彭浩, ed. *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian (san san liu hao mu)* 張家山漢墓竹簡(三三六號墓). 2 vols. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2022.

Peng Yu 彭峪 and Wei Songtao 衛松濤. "Qingdao Tushantun muqun 147 hao mu mudu" 青島土山屯墓群147號墓木牘. Updated Dec. 27, 2018. Accessed May 23, 2024. http://fdgwz.org.cn/Web/Show/4199.

Peng Yu 彭峪, et al. "Qingdao Tushantun muqun kaogu fajue huo zhongyao xin faxian" 青岛土山屯墓群考古发掘获重要新发现. *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Dec. 22, 2017.

Peng Yu 彭峪, et al. “Shandong Qingdao Tushantun muqun fajue shouhuo” 山东青岛土山屯墓群发掘收获. In *2017 Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2017中国重要考古发现, edited by Guojia wenwuju 国家文物局, 107–12. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2018.

Peng Yu 彭峪, et al. “Shandong Qingdao Tushantun muqun si hao fengtu yu muzang de fa jue” 山东青岛土山屯墓群四号封土与墓葬的发掘. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 3 (2019): 405–38.

Peng Yu 鵬宇. “Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian wenzi jishi jianzheng” 曾侯乙墓竹簡文字集釋箋證. Master’s thesis, Huadong shifan daxue, 2010.

Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫 and Duan Shu’an 段書安. *Ben shiji yilai chutu jianbo gaishu: Ziliao pian, lunzhu mulu pian* 本世紀以來出土簡帛概述: 資料篇, 論著目錄篇. Taibei: Wanjuan lou tushu youxian gongsi, 2003.

Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫 and Duan Shu’an 段書安. *Ershi shiji chutu jianbo yongshu* 二十世紀出土簡帛綜述. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006.

Prüch, Margarete, and Annette Kieser. *Tradition und Wandel: Untersuchungen zu Gräberfeldern der Westlichen Han-Zeit (206 v. Chr. - 9 n. Chr.).* Forschungen zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen 4. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006.

Psarras, Sophia-Karin. *Han Material Culture: An Archaeological Analysis and Vessel Typology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Pu Muzhou 蒲慕州. *Muzang yu shengsi: Zhongguo gudai zongjiao zhi xingsi* 墓葬與生死：中国古代宗教之省思. Taibei: Lianjing, 1993.

Pu Shenghua 蒲生华. “‘*Zuo zhuan*’ zhong Chunqiu guizu de zangli, sang zangli jiqi sangzang sixiang”《左传》中春秋贵族的葬礼, 丧祭礼及其丧葬思想. *Qinghai shifan daxue minzu shifan xueyuan xuebao* 青海师范大学民族师范学院学报 16, no. 2 (2005): 29–34.

Puett, Michael. “The Offering of Food and the Creation of Order: The Practice of Sacrifice in Early China.” In *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China*, edited by Roel Sterckx, 75–95. New York, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Qi Kun 齐琨. “Yinsheng biaoshu de yuzhou: Changjiang liuyu Hanzu jujudi sangzang yishi yinsheng bijiao yanjiu” 音声表述的宇宙观：长江流域汉族聚居地丧葬仪式音声比较研究. *Yinyue yanjiu*, no. 4 (2014): 78–85.

Qian Boquan 钱伯泉. “Guanyu Zeng Hou Yi mu Chu bo mingwen kaoshi de shangque: Jian tan Zeng Hou Yi mu de juedui niandai” 关于曾侯乙墓楚镈铭文考释的商榷：兼谈曾侯乙墓的绝对年代. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (1984): 93–94.

Qian Mu 钱穆. *Xian Qin zhuzi xinian kaobian* 先秦诸子系年考辩. “Minguo congshu” xuanyin 《民国丛书》选印. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shudian 上海书店, 1992.

Qian Xuan 錢玄 and Qian Xingqi 錢興奇. *Sanli cidian* 三禮辭典. Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998.

Qin Jiahui 秦佳慧. “Chunqiu sangzang miao xiang dianli kaolun: Yi ‘*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*’ wei zhongxin” 春秋丧葬庙享典礼考论：以《春秋左传》为中心. PhD diss., Zhejiang daxue, 2007.

Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇兵马俑博物馆 and Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所. *Qin Shihuang ling tong chema fajue baogao* 秦始皇陵铜车马发掘报告. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998.

"Qing dai di, hou, fei lingqin yingjian xiushan dang'an" bianxie zu 《清代帝、后、妃陵寝营建修繕檔案》編寫組. Qing dai di, hou, fei lingqin yingjian xiushan dang'an 清代帝、后、妃陵寝營建修繕檔案. 5 vol. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2023.

Qingdao Tushantun kaogu jishi 青岛土山屯考古纪实. Directed by Geng Zhe 耿哲. Tansuo faxian 探索发现. Beijing: CCTV-10. Jan. 22- Jan. 24, 2019.

Qiu Guangming 丘光明, et al. *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi: Du liang heng juan* 中国科学技术史：度量衡卷. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2001.

Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭 and Li Jiahao 李家浩. "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi" 曾侯乙墓竹简释文与考释. In *Zeng hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓. 487–531. Zhongguo tianye kaogu baogao ji: Kaoguxue zhuankan (Ding zhong 37) 中国田野考古报告：考古学专刊（丁种 37）. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989.

Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭, ed. *Changsha Mawangdui Han mu jian bo ji cheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡牘集成. 7 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014.

Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭. "Tan tan Suixian Zeng Hou Yi mu de wenzi ziliao" 谈谈随县曾侯乙墓的文字资料. *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1979): 25–33.

Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭. "Yiling hao mu" 一〇號墓. In *Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu*, edited by Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 89–150. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

Qu Shangmei 翟尚美. "Wanqiu, Chencheng, Chengying: Huaiyang diming yuanliu kao" 宛丘・陈城・陈郢：淮阳地名源流考. *Zhoukou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 周口师范学院学报 13, no. 4 (1996): 77–79.

Quirk, Charles Randolph, et al., ed. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. 4th ed. Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2005.

Raphals, Lisa. *Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Ren Xiaofeng 任晓锋. "Chunqiu shiqi jianli xianxiang yanjiu" 春秋时期僭礼现象研究. Master's thesis, Shanxi shifan daxue, 2008.

Richter, Matthias. "Tentative Criteria for Discerning Individual Hands in the Guodian Manuscripts." In *Rethinking Confucianism: Selected Papers from the Third International Conference on Excavated Chinese Manuscripts, Mount Holyoke College, April 2004*, 132–147. San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University, 2006.

Rieser, John J. "The Generation and Early Development of Spatial Inferences." In *Spatial orientation: Theory, research, and application*, edited by Herbert Pick and Linda P. Acredolo, 39–71. New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1983.

Robb, John. "Beyond Agency." *World Archaeology* 42, no. 4 (2010): 493–520.

Robb, John. *The Early Mediterranean Village: Agency, Material Culture, and Social Change in Neolithic Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Rogers, Clifford J. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Röllicke, Hermann-Josef. "Die 'Als-ob'-Struktur der Riten: Ein Beitrag zur Ritualhermeneutik der Zhanguo- und Han-Zeit." In *Han-Zeit: Festschrift für Hans Stumpfeldt aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages*, edited by Michael Friedrich, 517–533. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

Rong Geng 容庚 (1894–1983). *Shangzhou yiqi tongkao* 商周彝器通考. Yanjing xuebao zhuanhao 燕京學報專號 17. Beijing 北京: Yanjing daxue yanjing xueshe 燕京大學燕京學社, 1941.

Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, et al., ed. *Xin huo Tulufan chutu wenxian (shang)* 新獲吐魯番出土文獻（上）. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008.

Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, et al. "Xin huo Tulufan chutu wenxian gaishuo" 新获吐鲁番出土文献概说. *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2007): 41–49.

Sahara Yasuo 佐原康夫. "Kōryō Hōōzan Kan kan saikō" 江陵鳳凰山漢簡再考. *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 61, no. 3 (2002): 405–432.

Saladin, Kenneth S. *Anatomy & Physiology: The Unity of Form and Function*. 7th rev. ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2015.

Seidel, Anna. "Traces of Han Religion in Funeral Texts Found in Tombs." In *Dokyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化, edited by Kan'ei Akizuki 秋月觀暎, 21–57. Tōkyō: Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1987.

Selbitschka, Armin. "Bestattungssitten in den drei Ritenklassikern und die ‚Wahrheit' in den Gräbern." In *Sprache und Wirklichkeit in China*, edited by Christian Soffel, Daniel Leese and Marc Nürnberger, 29–48. Jahrbuch der Deutschen Vereinigung für Chinastudien 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011.

Shan Yuchen 單育辰. "1900 nian yilai chutu jianbo yilan (xu)" 一九〇〇年以來出土簡帛一覽（續）. *Jianbo yanjiu*, no. Spring and Summer 2016 (2016): 345–365.

Shan Yuchen 單育辰. "1900 nian yilai chutu jianbo yilan" 一九〇〇年以來出土簡帛一覽. *Jianbo*, no. 1 (2006): 481–513.

Shang Zhitan 商志醰. "Mawangdui yi hao Han mu 'feiyi' Shishi" 马王堆一号汉墓"非衣"试释. *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1972): 43–47, Plates 1–6.

Shanxi sheng bowuyuan 山西省博物院 and Hubei sheng bowuyuan 湖北省博物院, eds. *Jing Chu changge: Jiuliandun Chu mu chutu wenwu jinghua* 荆楚长歌：九连墩楚墓出土文物精华. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2011.

Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, et al. *Taiyuan Jin guo Zhao Qing mu* 太原晋国赵卿墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996.

Shao Bei 邵蓓. "Chunqiu zhuhou de binqi" 春秋诸侯的殡期. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 4 (2005): 9–15.

Shao Huiqiu 邵会秋. "Xinjiang Subeixi wenhua yanjiu" 新疆苏贝希文化研究. *Bianjiang kaogu yanjiu* 边疆考古研究, no. 12 (2012): [193]–220.

Shaughnessy, Edward L. *Rewriting Early Chinese Texts*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006.

Shenggyan Fashi 圣严法师. *Zhengxin de fojiao* 正信的佛教. Xi'an: Shanxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008.

Shi Anzhong 师安衷. "Zhongguo shufashi shang de zhongda faxian" 中国书法史上的重大发现. In *Guoguo mudi de faxian yu yanjiu* 虢国墓地的发现与研究, edited by Wang Bin 王斌, 250–253. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000.

Shi Quan 石泉 and Lu Xiqi 鲁西奇. "Gu Xiashui yuanliu xinzheng" 古夏水源流新证. *Hunan daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 湖北大学学报（哲学社会科学版）, no. 6 (1995): 47–55.

Shi Quan 石泉. "Chu Yingdu, Qin Han zhi Qi Liang Jianglingcheng guzhi xintan" 楚郢都，秦汉至齐梁江陵城故址新探. In *Shi Quan wenji* 石泉文集, 246–319. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2006a.

Shi Quan 石泉. "Cong Chunqiu Wu shi ru Ying zhi yi kan gudai Jingchu dili" 从春秋吴师入郢之役看古代荆楚地理. In *Shi Quan wenji* 石泉文集, 192–245. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2006b.

Shi Quan 石泉, et al. eds. *Chuguo lishi wenhua cidian* 楚国历史文化辞典. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1997.

Shi Shuqing 史樹青. *Changsha Yangtianhu chutu Chu jian yanjiu* 長沙仰天湖出土楚簡研究. Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955.

Shi Xiejie 施谢捷. "Chu jian wenzi zhong de 'tuo' zi" 楚简文字中的"橐"字. *Yuwen yanjiu* 语文研究, no. 4 (2002): 29–33.

Shi Zhangru 石璋如. "Yindai tansi yizhi" 殷代壇祀遺址. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, no. 51 (1980): 413–455.

Shirasu Jōshin 白须净真. "Jin Jianxing wu nian Xiahou Miaomiao yiwushu chutan: Gu tao wenming bowuguan suocang xin ziliao jieshao" 晋建兴五年夏侯妙妙衣物疏初探：古陶文明博物馆所藏新资料介绍. Translated by Pei Chengguo 裴成国. *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史, no. 8 (2013): 98–102.

Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡整理小組. *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990.

Sima Qian 司馬遷. *Shiji* 史記. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.

Simon, B. G. "Native American Culture Change and Persistence in Contact Period New England: Analysis of Mortuary Data from a Praying Indian Burial Ground in Massachusetts." In *Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Las Vegas.,* 1990.

Song Huaqiang 宋华强. "Shi lun Pingye Jun Cheng ji Pingye Wenjun zhi zi" 试论平夜君成即平夜文君之子. Updated May 17, 2006. Accessed Feb. 18, 2025. http://m.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/4561.html.

Song Huaqiang 宋華強. “Zenghou Yi mu zhujian kaoshi yi ze” 曾侯乙墓竹簡考釋一則. Updated March 21, 2011. Accessed February 18, 2025. http://m.bsm.org.cn/?chujian/5613.html.

Song Huaqiang 宋華強. *Xincai Geling Chu jian chutan* 新蔡葛陵楚簡初探. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2010.

Song Shaohua 宋少华 and Li Equan 李鄂权. “Hunan Changsha Wangchengpo Xihan Yuyang Mu Fajue Jianbao” 湖南长沙望城坡西汉渔阳墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 4 (2010): 4–35.

Song Youzhi 宋有志. “Hubei Jingmen Yancang muqun M1 fajue jianbao” 湖北荆门严仓墓群M1发掘情况. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 1 (2010): 132 and Plates 3–7.

Steele, John, transl. *The I-li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*. London: Probsthain & Co., 1917.

Stein, Aurel. *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran.* 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928.

Sterckx, Roel. “Animal to Edible: The Ritualization of Animals in Early China.” In *Animals through Chinese History: Earliest Times to 1911*, edited by R. Sterckx, M. Siebert, and D. Schäfer, 46–63. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Sterckx, Roel. *Food, Sacrifice, and Sagehood in Early China*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Sterckx, Roel. *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China.* Suny series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Su Jianzhou 苏建洲. “Ye lun Qinghua jian ‘Xinian’ ‘Mo’ao Yangwei’” 也论清华简《系年》“莫嚚昜为”. *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 2, no. 5 (2014): 115–121.

Su Wenhui 苏文会, et al. “Damuzhu zhucai zuli xingzhi de yanjiu” 大木竹竹材物理性质的研究. *Nanjing linye daxue xuebao (ziran kexue ban)* 南京林业大学学报（自然科学版） 31, no. 2 (2007): 42–46.

Sumiya Tsuneko 角谷常子. “Riya Shin kan niokeru tandokukan ni tsuite” 里耶秦簡における単独簡について. *Nara shigaku* 奈良史学 30 (2013): 107–30.

Sun Hua 孙华, et al. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi di'erci fajue” 天马——曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第二次发掘. *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1994): 2–28.

Sun Hui 孫慧. “Zeng Hou Yi mu chutu A, B liang lei zhujian jubu jianxu zai shangque” 曾侯乙墓出土Ａ、Ｂ兩類竹簡局部簡序再商榷. *Jianbo yanjiu*, no. Autumn and Winter 2019 (2020): 58–145.

Sun Hui 孫慧. “Zeng Hou Yi mu chutu zhujian C lei jian de fenzu zai shangque” 曾侯乙墓出土竹簡 C 類簡的分組再商榷. *Jianbo*, no. 16 (2018): 53–67.

Sun Ji 孙机. “Lu” 辂. In *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛, 80–88. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001a.

Sun Ji 孙机. “Shihuang ling 2 hao tongche dui chezhi yanjiu de xin qishi” 始皇陵2号铜车对车制研究的新启示. In *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛, 3–18. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001b.

Sun Ji 孙机. “Zhonggo gudai de daiju” 中国古代的带具. In *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛, 253–292. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001c.

Sun Ji 孙机. “Zhongguo gu duzhou mache de jiegou” 中国古独辀马车的结构. In *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛, 27–55. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001d.

Sun Ji 孙机. “Zhongguo gu mache de san zhong jijiafa” 中国古马车的三种系驾法. In *Zhongguo gu yufu luncong* 中国古舆服论丛, 56–68. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001e.

Sun Liping 孙丽萍. “Tulufan gu muzang zhi mingqi kaolun” 吐鲁番古墓葬纸明器考论. *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐鲁番学研究, no. 2 (2014): 84–90.

Sun Yaokui 孙尧奎. “Liang Zhou shiqi duzhou mache jiama shu wenti yanjiu shulun” 两周时期独辀马车驾马数问题研究述论. *Qilu xuekan* 齐鲁学刊 2008, no. 4 (2008): 36–40.

Suzuki Naomi 鈴木直美. “Hōōzan Zenkan bo kandoku ni miru yasaku sakusei katei to sōrei junbi” 鳳凰山前漢墓簡牘にみる遣策作成過程と葬礼準備. In *Bunken to ibutsu no kyōkai: Chūgoku shutsudo kandoku shiryō no seitaiteki kenkyū* 文獻と遺物の境界：中国出土簡牘史料の生態的研究, edited by Momiyama Akira 籾山明 and Satō Makoto 佐藤信, 279–308. Fuchū-shi: Tōkyō gaikokugo daigaku ajia afurika gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 2014.

Suzuki Naomi 鈴木直美. “Maōtai sangō bo shutsudo kan ni miru kensaku sakusei katei to mokuteki” 馬王堆三号墓出土簡にみる遣策作成過程と目的. In *Bunken to ibutsu no kyōkai: Chūgoku shutsudo kandoku shiryō no seitaiteki kenkyū* 文獻と遺物の境界：中国出土簡牘史料の生態的研究, edited by Momiyama Akira 籾山明 and Satō Makoto 佐藤信, 185–222. Fuchū-shi: Tōkyō gaikokugo daigaku ajia afurika gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 2011.

Tan Liming 谭黎明. “Chunqiu Zhanguo shiqi Chuguo guanzhi yanjiu” 春秋战国时期楚国官制研究. PhD diss., Jilin daxue, 2006.

Tan Qixiang 谭其骧. *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中国历史地图集. Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982.

Tan Weisi 谭维四. “Shenqi de Leigudun: Zeng Hou Yi mu fajue jishi” 神奇的擂鼓墩——曾侯乙墓发掘纪实. *Zongheng* 纵横, no. 2 (2004): 48–54.

Tan Weisi 谭维四. *Zeng hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001.

Tang Yuhui 汤馀惠. *Zhanguo wenzi bian* 戰國文字編. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2015.

Tang Ziwei 唐紫薇. “Han dai ‘san nian zhi sang’ de xingtai yanjin jiqi dongyin tanxi” 汉代“三年之丧”的形态演进及其动因探析. *Xi’an wenli xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 西安文理学院学报（社会科学版） 21, no. 6 (2018): 34–41.

Teng Rensheng 滕壬生. *Chu xi jianbo wenzi bian* 楚系簡帛文字編. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995.

Thorp, Robert L. “The Qin and Han Imperial Tombs and the Development of Mortuary Architecture.” In *The Quest for Eternity: Chinese Ceramic Sculptures from the People’s Republic of China*, edited by Los Angeles County Museum, 17–37. Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987.

Thorp, Robert L. “The Sui Xian Tomb: Re-thinking the Fifth Century.” *Artibus Asiae* 43, 1/2 (1981): 67–110.

Thote, Alain. “Chinese Coffins from the First Millennium BC and Early Images of the Afterworld.” *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 61, no. 1 (2012): 22–40.

Thote, Alain. “Daybooks in Archaeological Context.” In *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han*, edited by Donald Harper and Marc. Kalinowski, 11–56. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Tian He 田河. “Chutu qiance yu gudai mingwu yanjiu” 出土遣策与古代名物研究. *Shehui kexue zhanxian*, no. 10 (2018): 130–142.

Tian He 田河. “Chutu Zhanguo qiance suoji mingwu fenlei huishi” 出土战国遣册所记名物分类汇释. PhD Diss., Jilin daxue, 2007.

Tian He 田河. “Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu qiance buzheng” 张家山二四七号汉墓遣册补正. *Shehui kexue zhanxian*, no. 11 (2010): 84–89.

Tian Tian. “From ‘Clothing Strips’ to Clothing Lists: Tomb Inventories and Western Han Funerary Ritual.” Translated by David Sena. *Bamboo and Silk* 2, no. 1 (2019): 52–86.

Tian Tian 田天. “Mawangdui Han mu de qiance yu sangzangli” 馬王堆漢墓的遣策與喪葬禮. *Wenshi*, no. 1 (2020): 33‑68.

Tian Tian 田天. “Xihan qiance ‘ouren jian’ yanjiu” 西汉遣策“偶人简” 研究. *Wenwu*, no. 6 (2019): 88–96.

Tian Tian 田天. “Xihan zhong wanqi qiance de bianqian ji qi yiyi” 西汉中晚期遣策的变迁及其意义. In *Wenwu, wenxian yu wenhua: Lishi kaogu qingnian lunji* 文物、文献与文化: 历史考古青年论集, edited by Wang Yu 王煜. Di 1 ji, 21–27. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017.

Tong Shuye 童书业. *Tong Shuye zhuzuo ji* 童书业著作集. Compiled by Tong Jiaoying 童教英. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008.

Tong Shuye 童书业. *Tong Shuze lishi dili lunji* 童书业历史地理论集. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004.

Venture, Olivier (Feng Yicheng 風儀誠). “Gudai jiandu xingshi de yanbian: Cong sangzang wushu shuoqi” 古代簡牘形式的演變：從喪葬物疏說起. *Jianbo* 4 (2009): 357–365.

Wang Bin 王斌, ed. *Guoguo mudi de faxian yu yanjiu* 虢国墓地的发现与研究. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000.

Wang Bin 汪斌. “Mawangdui san hao mu jinian mudu chutu weizhi kao : Cong duwen ‘zang wu yi bian’ suo zhi shiwu shuoqi” 马王堆三号墓纪年木牍出土位置考: 从牍文“藏物一编”所指实物谈起. *Hunansheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊 15 (2019): 343–53.

Wang Bozhong 王柏中. “Liang Han guojia jisi zhidu yanjiu” 两汉国家祭祀制度研究. PhD. diss., Jilin daxue, 2004.

Wang Congli 王从礼. “Chu mu bikan yu yaokeng yanjiu” 楚墓壁龛与腰坑研究. *Hunansheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊, no. 10 (2013): 189–202.

Wang Genfu 王根富 and Zhang Min 张敏. “Jiangsu Yizheng Yandaishan Han mu” 江苏仪征烟袋山汉墓. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (1987): 471–501.

Wang Guihai 汪桂海, “Han dai jiandu zhong de gaodice ziliao” 漢代簡牘中的告地策資料. *Jianbo Yanjiu* (2006): 242–248.

Wang Guowei 王国维. *Jiandu jianshu kao jiaozhu* 简牍检署考校注. With the commentary of Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 and Ma Yuehua 马月华. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004.

Wang Hongxing 王红星. “Liuliandu yi, er hao Chu mu de niandai yu muzhu shenfen” 九连墩1、2号楚墓的年代与墓主身份. *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 6 (2004): 430–438.

Wang Houzhi 王厚之. *Zhong ding kuanshi yi juan* 鐘鼎款識一卷. Xuxiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 901: shibu 史部, jinshilei 金石類. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.

Wang Hui 王晖 and Jia Junxia 贾俊侠. *Xian Qin Qin Han shi shiliaoxue* 先秦秦汉史史料学. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2007.

Wang Hui 王辉. “Yangzhou Pingshan Han mu qiance shidu shi bu” 扬州平山汉墓遣策释读试补. *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1987): 8

Wang Jinnan 王进南 and Liu Zunzhi 刘尊志. “Yuanshi Daojiao He Zaoqi Fojiao Sixiang Zai Xuzhou Han Mu Zhong De Tixian Yu Fanying” 原始道教和早期佛教思想在徐州汉墓中的体现与反映. *Xuzhou shifan daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 徐州师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版） 36, no. 2 (2010): 98–101.

Wang Mingqing 王明钦, et al. “Hubei Jingzhou Xiejiaqiao yi hao Han mu fajue jianbao” 湖北荆州谢家桥一号汉墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 4 (2009): 26–42.

Wang Pu 王璞. “Pulinsidun daxue Geside tushuguan cang Gaochang jun shidai queming yiwushu kao” 普林斯顿大学葛斯德图书馆藏高昌郡时代缺名衣物疏考. *Tulufan xue yanjiu* 吐鲁番学研究, no. 2 (2009): 63–70.

Wang Qinjin 王勤金, et al. “Jiangsu Yizheng Xupu 101 hao Xihan mu” 江苏仪征胥浦101号西汉墓. *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1987): 1–19, Plate 1–3.

Wang Rencong 王人聪. “Guanyu Zeng Hou Yi mu de niandai” 关于曾侯乙墓的年代. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 2 (1985): 3–4.

Wang Shaohua 汪少華. “Zhongguo gu cheyu mingwu kaobian” 中國古車與名物考辨. PhD diss., Huadong shifan daxue, 2004.

Wang Shuli, et al. “Distribution of Cambrian Salt-Bearing Basins in China and Its Significance for Halite and Potash Finding.” *Journal of Earth Science* 24, no. 2 (2013): 212–233.

Wang Wei 王巍 and Huang Xiuchun 黄秀纯, “1981-1983 nian Liulihe Xizhou Yanguo mudi fajue jianbao” 1981—1983年琉璃河西周燕国墓地发掘简报. *Kaogu*, no. 5 (1984): 405-416 and 404.

Wang Weidong 王卫东, et al. “Gansu Linze Huayin Han mu fajue jianbao” 甘肃临泽化音汉墓发掘简报. *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 中国国家博物馆馆刊, no. 2 (2023): 6–19.

Wang Xianfu 王先福, et al. “Hubei Laohekou Angang yihao Chu mu fajue jianbao” 湖北老河口安岗一号楚墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 7 (2017): 4–37.

Wang Xianfu 王先福, et al. “Hubei Zaoyang Jiuliandun M1 fajue jianbao” 湖北枣阳九连墩M1发掘简报. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (2019): 20–70.

Wang Xianfu 王先福, et al. “Hubei Zaoyang Jiuliandun M2 fajue jianbao” 湖北枣阳九连墩M2发掘简报. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 6 (2018): 3–55.

Wang Xue 汪雪. “Hubei Ezhou Guojianao (Qianguo) M1 chutu yiwushu chubu zhengli” 湖北鄂州郭家墝（前郭）M1出土衣物疏牘初步整理. *Jianbo* 24 (2022): [187]–[198].

Wang Yao 王尧 and Chen Jian 陈践. “Qinghai Tubo jiandu kao shi” 青海吐蕃简牍考释. *Xizang Yanjiu* 西藏研究, no. 3 (1991): 127–35.

Wang Zhenduo 王振铎. *Donghan che zhi fuyuan yanjiu* 东汉车制复原研究, compiled by Li Qiang 李强. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1997.

Wang Zhiyou 王志友. “Dongzhou Qin Han shiqi muzang zhong de yaokeng qianyi 东周秦汉时期墓葬中的腰坑浅议.” *Qin wenhua luncong* 秦文化论丛, no. 1 (2003): 278–293.

Wang Zhuo 王琢. “Zengguo lishi wenhua de kaoguxue yanjiu” 曾国历史文化的考古学研究. Master’s thesis, Henan daxue, 2015.

Waring, Luke. “Writing and Materiality in the Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Mawangdui.” PhD diss., Princeton University, 2019.

Wei Houkai 尉侯凱. “Zeng Hou Yu bianzhong mingwen kaoshi” 曾侯腴編鐘銘文補議. Jianbo wang 簡帛網. Updated May 27, 2016. Accessed Feb. 18, 2025. http://m.bsm.org.cn/?guwenzi/6720.html.

Wei Lingshui 魏灵水. “Cong Han mu qiance kan Han dai sangzang wenhua” 从汉墓遣策看汉代丧葬文化. *Talimu daxue xuebao* 塔里木大学学报 17, no. 4 (2005): 44–46.

Wen Bingchun 文炳淳. “Baoshan Chu jian suojian guanzhi yanjiu” 包山楚簡所見楚官制研究. Master’s thesis, Guoli Taiwan daxue 國立臺灣大學, 1997.

Woodruff, Hiram. *The Trotting Horse of America: How to Train and Drive Him: With Reminiscences of the Trotting Turf*. Philadephia, Chicago, Toronto: The John C. Winston Co., 1874.

Wu Hao 吴昊, et al. “Chutu baoshui zhujian shishui gansuo de fuxing yanjiu: Yi Haihun Hou muzang chutu zhujian weili” 出土饱水竹简失水干缩的复形研究：以海昏侯墓葬出土竹简等为例. *Wenwu baohu yu kaogu kexue* 文物保护与考古科学 28, no. 3 (2016): 12–18.

Wu Hung. “Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui.” *Early China* 17 (1992): 111–144.

Wu Hung. “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries AD).” *Artibus Asiae* 47, 3/4 (1986): 263–352.

Wu Hung. “From Temple to Tomb: Ancient Chinese Art and Religion in Transition.” *Early China* 13 (1988): 78–115.

Wu Hung. “Picturing or Diagramming the Universe.” In *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, 191–214. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Wu Hung. “The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period.” In *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, edited by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, 651–744. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wu Hung. *The Art of the Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese tombs*. London: Reaktion Books, 2010.

Wu Jiabi 武家璧. *Guan xiang shou shi: Chuguo de tian wen li fa* 观象授时：楚国的天文历法. Chu wenhua zhishi congshu 楚文化知识丛书. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001.

Wu Kerong 武可荣, et al. “Jiangsu Lianyungang Haizhou Xihan mu fajue jianbo” 江苏连云港海州西汉墓发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2012): 4–17.

Wu Liangbao 吴良寶. *Zhanguo Chu jian diming jizheng* 戰國楚簡地名輯證. Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2010.

Wu Linqi 吴林栖 and Deng Hongya 邓宏亚. “Chu mu zhong de xunzang xianxiang shulüe” 楚墓中的殉葬现象述略. *Xichang xueyuan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 西昌学院学报（社会科学版） 25, no. 2 (2013): 76–79.

Wu Xiaosong 吴晓松 and Hong Gang 洪刚. “Hubei Huanggang liang zuo zhongxing Chu mu” 湖北黄冈两座中型楚墓. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 2 (2000): 257–284 and plates 9–16.

Wu Xiaoyun 吴晓筠. *Shang Zhou shiqi chema maizang yanjiu* 商周时期车马埋葬研究. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2009.

Wu Xiaoyun 吳曉筠. “Xizhou shiqi chema maizang zhong de lizhi yihan” 西周時期車馬埋葬中的禮制意涵. *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 22, no. 4 (2005): 1–30.

Wu Yongzhang 吴永章. “Chu fushuizhi chutan” 楚赋税制初探. *Jianghan luntan* 江汉论坛, no. 7 (1982): 65–69.

Wu Zhenwu 吳振武. “Ejun Qi jie ‘kua’ zi jie” 鄂君啟節“胯”字解. In *Di er jie guoji Zhongguo guwenzixue yantaohui lunwen ji* 第二屆國際中國古文字學研討會論文集, edited by Xianggang zhongwen daxue zhongguo yuyan wenxue xi 香港中文大學中國語言文學系, 273–292. Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1993.

Wu Zhenwu 吳振武. “Xinjian shibanian Zhongzi Han zeng ge yanjiu: Jian lun Zhanguo ‘Zhongzi’ yi guan de zhizhang” 新見十八年冢子韓矰戈研究：兼論戰國「冢子」一官的職掌. *Gu wenzi yu gudaishi* 古文字與古代史, no. 1 (2007): 309–334.

Wu Zhu 吴柱. “Chunqiu zhuhou sangli binqi wenti xintan” 春秋諸侯喪禮殯期問題新探. *Wenshi*, no. 4 (2016): 5–26.

Xi Wenqian 郗文倩. “Han dai gaodishu jiqi wenti yuanyuan shulun” 汉代告地书及其文体渊源述论. *Shangdu xuetan* 南都學壇 31, no. 3 (2011): 1–5.

Xia Jinhua 夏金华. “Zhiqian yuanliu kao” 纸钱源流考. *Shilin* 史林, no. 1 (2013): 69–76.

Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中. “Zeng Hou Yi mu jian yu Jiangling Tianxingguan yihao mu jian cong ‘zheng’ zhi zi” 曾侯乙墓簡與江陵天星觀一號墓簡從“爭”之字. In *Chu jian Chu wenhua yu Xian Qin lishi wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 楚簡楚文化與

先秦歷史文化國際學術研討會論文集, edited by Luo Yunhuan 羅運環, 517–520. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2013.

Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中. “Zeng Hou Yi mu jiance” 曾侯乙墓簡冊. In *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]* 楚地出土戰國簡册[十四種], edited by Chen Wei 陳偉 et al., 340–373. Beijing: Jingji kexue chubanshe, 2009.

Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中. Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian 曾侯乙墓竹簡. Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance heji 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集 3. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2019.

Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中. *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng ji chema zhidu yanjiu* 曾侯乙墓竹簡釋文補正暨車馬制度研究. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011.

Xiao Tong, comp. *Wen Xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, Volume I: Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals*, translated into English by David. R. Knechtges. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Xie Yayan 謝雅妍. “Song si yu zuo sheng: Liang Zhou feng fu xianxiang zai yanjiu” 送死與佐生：兩周賵賻現象再研究. Master’s thesis, Xianggang zhongwen daxue, 2019.

Xie Yayan 谢雅妍. “Zhanguo qiance yu Chu di muzang suojian de fengfu xianxiang xintan” 战国遣策与楚地墓葬所见的賵赙现象新探. *Gudai wenming* 古代文明 15 (2021): [122]–159.

Xie Yan 谢焱 et al. “Zhangjiachuan Majiayuan Zhanguo mudi 2010–2011 nian fajue jianbao” 张家川马家塬战国墓地 2010–2011 年发掘简报. *Wenwu*, no. 8 (2012): 4–26.

Xing Yitian 邢義田. “Han dai jiandu gongwenshu de zhengben, fuben, caogao he qianshu wenti” 漢代簡牘公文書的正本, 副本, 草稿和簽署問題. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 82, no. 4 (2011): 601–678.

Xiong Xianpin 熊贤品. “Chutu wenxian suojian Qin, Chu shiyan chandi de fenbu” 出土文献所见秦，楚食盐产地的分布. *Yanyeshi yanjiu* 盐业史研究, no. 1 (2016): 19–23.

Xu Changqing 徐长青, et al. “Jiangxi Jing’anxian Lizhou’ao Dongzhou muzang” 江西靖安县李洲坳东周墓葬. *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2008): 47–53, Plates 10–12.

Xu Feng 徐峰. “Jian lun sangli de yifu 简论丧礼的易服.” *Chongqing jiaotong daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 重庆交通大学学报（社会科学版）14, no. 1 (2014): 94–96.

Xu Jijun 徐吉军. *Zhongguo sangzang shi* 中国丧葬史. Nanchang: Jiangxi gaoxiao chubanshe, 1998.

Xu Qianxue 徐乾學. *Du Li Tongkao* 讀禮通考. Qinding siku quanshu 欽定四庫全書, Classics 4 經部四, Category of ritual 禮類. Photocopy. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005.

Xu Shaohua 徐少华. “Lun Suizhou Wenfengta yihao mu de niandai jiqi xueshu jiazhi” 论随州文峰塔一号墓的年代及其学术价值. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 4 (2014): 76–84.

Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 30–ca. 124 CE). *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注. With the commentary of Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815 CE) and punctuation added by Xu Weixian 許惟賢. Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007.

Xu Shen 許慎. *Wujing yiyi zuan* 五經異義纂. Compiled by Zhuang Shuzu 莊述祖 (1751–1816 CE). Yuan shi Zhenjietang chaoben 袁氏貞潔堂抄本.

Xu Tianjin 徐天进, et al. “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi diwuci fajue” 天马—曲村遗址北赵晋侯墓地第五次发掘. *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1995): 4–38.

Xu Xiaoqing 徐晓青. “Jiaodong Bandao shang Yunnan yu ‘Xiao Yunnan’ yimin de jiti jiyi” 胶东半岛上云南与“小云南”移民的集体记忆. *Minsu yanjiu* 民俗研究 145, no. 3 (2019): 56–63.

Xu Zaiguo 徐在国. “Shangbo zhushu (er) wenzi zakao” 上博竹书（二）文字杂考. *Xueshu jie* 学术界 1 (2003): 98–103.

Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒. *Xian Qin shi lungao* 先秦史论稿. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992.

Xue Shanggong 薛尚功. *Lidai zhong ding yiqi kuanshi* 歷代鍾鼎彝器款識. Liaoning: Liao Shen shushe, 1985.

Xue Yao 薛尧. “Jiangxi Nancheng Ming mu chutu wenwu” 江西南城明墓出土文物. *Kaogu*, no. 6 (1965): 318–320.

Yang Aimin 杨爱民 and Liu Shegang 刘社刚. “Guoguo mudi chutu moshu yuqi ji qi shufa jiazhi” 虢国墓地出土墨书玉器及其书法价值. *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古, no. 9 (2023): 42–45.

Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990.

Yang Fan 杨帆 and Zeng Yueming 曾跃明. “Guangnan xian Muyi muguo mu yu Gouding guguo” 广南县牡宜木椁墓与句町古国. *Wenshan shifan gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 文山师范高等专科学校学报 21 , no. 3 (2008): 1–9.

Yang Hong 杨泓. “Zhanche yu chezhan: Zhongguo gudai junshi zhuangbei zhaji zhiyi” 战车与车战：中国古代军事装备札记之一. *Wenwu*, no. 5 (1977): 82–90.

Yang Hua 杨华 and Jiang Qiyan 江奇艳. “Di san zhang: Sangli” 第三章：丧礼. In *Chuguo liyi zhidu yanjiu* 楚国礼仪制度研究, edited by Liu Yutang 刘玉堂, 73–166. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012.

Yang Hua 杨华. “Lun Zhongguo xian Qin shiqi yaokeng mu zangsu wenhua de qiyuan yu fazhan (shang)” 论中国先秦时期腰坑墓葬俗文化的起源与发展（上）. *Sanxia daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 三峡大学学报（人文社会科学版） 27, no. 6 (2005): 9–17.

Yang Hua 杨华. “Qianyan” 前言. In *Chuguo liyi zhidu yanjiu* 楚国礼仪制度研究, edited by Liu Yutang 刘玉堂, 4–18. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2012.

Yang Hua 杨华. “Sui, feng, qian: Jiandu suo jian Chu di zhusang lizhi yanjiu” 禭·賵·遣：简牍所见楚地助丧礼制研究. *Xueshu yuekan* 学术月刊 9 (2003): 49–59.

Yang Hua 楊華. “Sui, Feng, Qian: Jiandu suo jian chu di zhusang lizhi yanjiu” 禭·賵·遣：簡牘所見楚地助喪禮制研究. In *Xin chu jianbo yu lizhi yanjiu* 新出簡帛與禮制研究, 159–382. Chutu sixiang wenwu yu wenxian yanjiu congshu 出土思想文物與文獻研究叢書 33. Taibei: Taiwan guji, 2007.

Yang Jiagang 杨家刚. “Xian Qin shenzhu zhidu yanjiu” 先秦神主制度研究. Master’s thesis, Xibei daxue, 2014.

Yang Jun 杨军 and Xu Changqing 徐长青. “Nanchangshi Xihan Haihun Hou mu” 南昌市西汉海昏侯墓. *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2016): 56.

Yang Kuan 杨宽. *Zhanguo shi* 战国史. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1998.

Yang Kuan 楊寬. *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidushi yanjiu* 中國古代都城制度史研究. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993.

Yang Liu 杨柳. “Zhanguo Qin Han shiqi Hunan diqu ni mingbi de kaoguxue yanjiu” 战国秦汉时期湖南地区泥冥币的考古学研究. Master’s thesis, Sichuan daxue, 2021.

Yang Shuda 楊樹達. “Han dai sangzang zhidu kao” 漢代喪葬制度考. *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 2, no. 1 (1932): [1]–149.

Yang Tianyu 杨天宇. “Lüe lun Han dai de sannian sang” 略论汉代的三年丧. *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 35, no. 5 (2002): 63–69.

Yang Yi 杨怡. “Hewei ‘qiance’? Yi Mawangdui sanhao mu weili” 何为“遣册”？ ——以马王堆三号墓为例. In Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆, *Jinian Mawangdui Han mu fajue sishi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 纪念马王堆汉墓发掘四十周年国际学术研讨会论文集, 327–333. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2016.

Yang Ying 杨颖. “*Shijing* jizu shi yu Zhou dai zongmiao jisi wenhua yanjiu” 《诗经》祭祖诗与周代宗庙祭祀文化研究. Master’s thesis, Xibei daxue, 2011.

Yang Ying 杨英. “‘*Zuo zhuan*’ sangzangli yanjiu” 《左传》丧葬礼研究. Master’s thesis, Sichuan shifan daxue, 2010.

Yang Yingjie 杨英杰. “Xian Qin guche wanma bufen beiju yu mashi kaobian” 先秦古车挽马部分鞁具与马饰考辨. *Wenwu*, no. 2 (1988): 75–80.

Yang Yingjie 杨英杰. “Xian Qin qizhi kaoshi” 先秦旗帜考释. *Wenwu*, no. 2 (1986a): 52–56.

Yang Yingjie 杨英杰. *Zhanche yu chezhan* 战车与车战. Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1986b.

Yang Yubing 杨育彬 and Sun Guangqing 孙广清. *Henan kaogu tansuo* 河南考古探索. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 2002.

Yao Xiaosui 姚孝遂 and Chen Yong 陈雍. “Yiliuqi hao mu” 一六七號墓. In *Jiangling Fenghuangshan Xihan jiandu*, edited by Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 151–197. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012.

Ye Lei 叶雷. “Chaozuo, kaijue xinwenyuan de tujing: Cong maiduan Nanbo Siyang Daqingdun Han mu baodaoquan fengbo tan kaiqu” 炒作, 开掘新闻源的途经: 从买断南博泗阳大青墩汉墓报道权风波谈开去. *Chuanmei* 传媒, no. 4 (2003): 14–16.

Ye Ting 叶霆. “'Maiduan' Nanbo Han mu fajue baodaoquan de qianqian houhou” ‘买断’南博汉墓发掘报道权的前前后后. *Xinwen shijian* 新闻实践, no. 2 (2003): 25–26.

Ye Wansong 叶万松. “Haozhou Xihan Huo He mu qingli jianbao” 海州西汉霍贺墓清理简报. *Kaogu*, no. 3 (1974): 179–86, 178 and Plates 4–5.

Yili zhushu 儀禮注疏. With the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 CE) and the sub-commentary of Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. 7th century). Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000.

Yining xian difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 伊宁县地方志编纂委员会. *Yining xianzhi* 伊宁县志. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2003.

Yin Hongbin 尹弘兵. *Chuguo ducheng yu hexinqu tansuo* 楚国都城与核心区探索. Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2009.

Yin Qun 印群. *Huanghe zhongxiayou diqu de Dongzhou muzang zhidu* 黄河中下游地区的东周墓葬制度. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2001.

Yin Zhihua 印志华. "Yangzhou Pingshan Yangzhichang Han mu qingli jianbao" 扬州平山养殖场汉墓清理简报. *Wenwu*, no, 1 (1987): 26–36.

Yokota Kyozo 横田恭三. "Zenkan haka shutsudo 'kokujisaku' kō" 前漢墓出土「告地策」考. *Shogaku shodōshi kenkyū* 書学書道史研究, no. 23 (2013): 9–23.

You Zhenqun 游振群. "T Xing bohua ji huihua yishu" T 形帛画与绘画艺术. In *Mawangdui Han mu yanjiu* 马王堆汉墓研究, edited by Chen Jianming 陈建明, 158–175. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2013.

You Zhenyao 尤振尧 and Li Zhongyi 黎忠义. "Jiangsu Lianyungangshi Haizhou Wangtuanzhuang Han muguo mu" 江苏连云港市海州网疃庄汉木槨墓. *Kaogu*, no. 6 (1963): 287–290.

Yu H. Q., et al. "Selected Physical and Mechanical Properties of Moso Bamboo (*Phyllostachys Pubescens*)." *Journal of Tropical Forest Science* 20, no. 4 (2008): 258–263.

Yu Weichao 俞伟超 and Li Jiahao 李家浩. "Mawangdui Yihao Han Mu Cutu Qiqi Zhidi Zhu Wenti: Cong Chengdu shifu zuofang dao Shujun gongguan zuofang de lishi bianhua" 马王堆一号汉墓出土漆器制地诸问题——从成都市府作坊到蜀郡工官作坊的历史变化. *Kaogu*, no. 6 (1975): 344–348.

Yu Weichao 俞伟超, et al. "Guanyu Fenghuangshan yiliuba hao Han mu zuotan jiyao" 关于凤凰山一六八号汉墓座谈纪要. *Wenwu*, 1975, 9–19 and 28.

Yu Weichao 俞伟超. "Zhou dai yong ding zhidu yanjiu" 周代用鼎制度研究. In *Xian Qin liang Han kaoguxue lunji* 先秦两汉考古学论集, 62–114. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985.

Yü Ying-shih. "'O Soul, Come Back!' A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol.47, no. 2 (1987): 363–395.

Yuan Jing and Rowan Flad. "New Zooarchaeological Evidence for Changes in Shang Dynasty Animal Sacrifice." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24, no. 3 (2005): 252–270.

Yuan Tingdong 袁庭栋 and Liu Zemo 刘泽模. *Zhongguo gudai zhanzheng* 中国古代战争. Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1988.

Yuan Wenqing 院文清. "Jiangling Zhangjiashan liang zuo Han mu chutu dapi zhujian" 江陵张家山两座汉墓出土大批竹简. *Wenwu*, no. 9 (1992): 1–11.

"Yunmeng Shuihudi Qinmu" bianxiezu 《云梦睡虎地秦墓》编写组, ed. *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin Mu* 云梦睡虎地秦墓. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981.

Zhang Bingquan 張秉權. “Jisi buci zhong de xisheng” 祭祀卜辭中的犧牲. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan*, no. 38 (1968): 181–232.

Zhang Changping 张昌平, et al. “Hubei Suizhou shi Zeng Hou Yi mu yihao peizangkeng fajue jianbao” 湖北随州市曾侯乙墓一号陪葬坑发掘掘简报. *Kaogu*, no. 11 (2017): 31–44.

Zhang Changping 张昌平. “Zeng Hou Yi, Zeng Hou Yu he Zeng Hou Yue” 曾侯乙、曾侯邁和曾侯邘. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 1 (2009): 92–99 and 91.

Zhang Changping 张昌平. “Zengguo tongqi de faxian yu Zengguo diyu” 曾国铜器的发现与曾国地域. *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2008): 59–64.

Zhang Guangyu 張光裕 et al., ed. *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian wenzi bian* 曾侯乙墓竹簡文字編. Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1997.

Zhang Hequan 張鶴泉. *Zhou dai jisi yanjiu* 周代祭祀研究. Taibei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993.

Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組, ed. Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian [ersiqi hao mu] (Shiwen xiuding ben) 張家山漢墓竹簡[二四七號墓]（釋文修訂本）. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006.

Zhang Jun 张君. “Chuguo kuoma zhidu zonglun” 楚国括马制度综论. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 2 (1989): 109–118.

Zhang Lidong 张立东. “Meiguo Maikelin shi cang Qianliang Guo Fugui yiwushu” 美国麦克林氏藏前凉郭富贵衣物疏. *Xiyu yanjiu*, no. 2 (2017): 85–97.

Zhang Peiyu 张培瑜. *Zhongguo xian Qin shi libiao* 中国先秦史历表. Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1987.

Zhang Ruxu 张如栩. “Changsha Mawangdui san hao Han mu qiance yanjiu” 长沙马王堆三号汉墓遣策研究. Master’s thesis, Zhengzhou daxue, 2011.

Zhang Tiehui 张铁慧. “‘Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi’ du hou ji” 《曾侯乙墓竹简释文与考释》读后记. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (1996): 66–75.

Zhang Wenhan 张文瀚. “Gaodice yanjiu pingshu” 告地策研究评述. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu dongtai* 中国史研究动态, no. 1 (2013): 5–12.

Zhang Xiancheng 張顯成. *Jianbo wenxianxue tonglun* 簡帛文獻學通論. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004.

Zhang Yachu 張亞初 and Liu Yu 劉雨. *Xizhou jinwen guanzhi yanjiu* 西周金文官制研究. Beijing: Zhonghua Beijing, 1986.

Zhang Yanyong 张雁勇. “‘*Zhou li*’ tianzi zongmiao jisi yanjiu” 《周礼》天子宗庙祭祀研究. PhD diss., Jilin daxue, 2016.

Zhang Yingying 张莹莹. “Chu Mu chutu muyong de kaoguxue yanjiu” 楚墓出土木俑的考古学研究. Master’s thesis, Zhongnan minzu daxue, 2016.

Zhang Xuqiu 张绪球. “Yihuang gonglu Xianjiang duan kaogu fajue gongzuo qude zhongda shouhuo” 宜黄公路仙江段考古发掘工作取得重大收获. *Jianghan kaogu*, no. 3 (1992): 89, 90, 57.

Zhao Congcang 赵丛苍 and Guo Yanli 郭妍利. *Liang Zhou kaogu* 两周考古. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004.

Zhao Dexiang 赵德祥. “Dangyang Caojiagang 5 hao chu mu” 当阳曹家岗 5 号楚墓. *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (1988): 455–500.

Zhao Haizhou 赵海洲. *Dong Zhou Qin Han shiqi chema maizang yanjiu* 东周秦汉时期车马埋葬研究. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2011.

Zhao Huacheng 赵化成. “Han hua suojian Han dai cheming kaobian 汉画所见汉代车名考辨.” *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1989): 76–82.

Zhao Huacheng 趙化成. “Zhou dai guanguo duochong zhidu yanjiu” 周代棺椁多重制度研究. *Guoxue yanjiu* 国学研究 5 (1998): 27–74.

Zhao Minmin 赵敏敏. “Jiangling Fenghuangshan ba hao mu qiance bianlian xiaoyi” 江陵凤凰山 8 号墓遣册编联小议. *Luojia shiyuan* 珞珈史苑 (2016), 44–50.

Zhao Ping’an 趙平安. “Shi Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian zhong de ‘gun’ he ‘gun’: Jian ji kun, min de xingti laiyuan” 釋曾侯乙墓竹簡中的“緄”和“棍”：兼及昆、黽的形體來源. *Jianbo* 1 (2006): 11–14.

Zhao Ping’an 趙平安. “Zhanguo wenzi zhong de yan zi ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu: Yi Qi ‘xi yan zhi xi’ wei zhongxin” 戰國文字中的鹽字及相關問題研究：以齊“徙鹽之璽”為中心. *Huaxue* 華學, no. 6 (2003): 107–113.

Zhao Ruicai 赵睿才 and Yang Guangcai 杨广才. “‘Zhiqian’ kaolüe” “纸钱”考略. *Minsu yanjiu*, no. 1 (2005): 115–129.

Zhao Wei 赵威 and Tian Yu 田雨. “*Chunqiu* ‘gui feng’ kaoshi” 《春秋》“归赗”考释. *Zhaotong xueyan xuebao* 昭通学院学报 40, no. 2 (2018): 83–87.

Zhao Wucheng 赵吴成. “Gansu Majiayuan Zhanguo mu mache de fuyuan: Mache de sheji zhizao jiqiao ji niuche de gaizhuang yu sheji sixiang (xu er)” 马车的设计制造技巧及牛车的改装与设计思想：甘肃马家塬战国墓马车的复原（续二）. *Wenwu*, no. 6 (2018): 44–57.

Zhao Wucheng. “The Restoration of the Chariots of the Warring-States Period in Majiayuan, Gansu.” *Chinese Archaeology* 13, no. 1 (2013): 176–185.

Zhejiang sheng Yinxian difangzhi bianweihui 浙江省鄞县地方志编委会, ed. *Yinxian zhi* 鄞县志. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996.

Zheng Luhong 郑禄红 and Weng Jianhong 翁建红. “Shandong Qingdaoshi Tushantun mudi de liang zuo han mu” 山东青岛市土山屯墓地的两座汉墓. *Kaogu*, no. 10 (2017): 32–59.

Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌. “Mawangdui sanhao Han mu qiance zhi ‘mingtong’ wenti yanjiu” 马王堆三号汉墓遣策之“明童”问题研究. *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物, no. 1 (2005a): 38–43.

Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌. *Mawangdui Han mu qiance zhengli yu yanjiu* 马王堆汉墓遣策整理与研究. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2022.

Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌. “Mawangdui sanhao Han mu qiance zhong de sangzang yong che” 马王堆三号汉墓遣策中的丧葬用车. In *Jinian Mawangdui Han mu fajue sishi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 纪念马王堆汉墓发掘四十周年国际学术研讨会论文集, edited by Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物馆, 108–112. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2016.

Zheng Shubin 郑曙斌. “Qiance de kaogu faxian yu wenxian quanshi” 遣策的考古发现与文献诠释. *Nanfang wenwu*, no. 2 (2005b): 28–34.

Zheng Xianren 鄭憲仁. “Zhou dai ‘Zhuhou dafu zongmiao tu’” 周代「諸侯大夫宗廟圖」. *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 24, no. 2 (2006): 1–40.

Zheng Youguo 郑有国. *Zhongguo jianduxue zonglun* 中国简牍学综论. Wuhan: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1989.

Zhengzhang Shangfang 鄭張尚芳. *Shanggu yinxi* 上古音系. Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003.

Zheng Zhonghua 郑忠华. “Yintai mudi chutu dapi Xihan jiandu 印台墓地出土大批西汉简牍.” In *Jingzhou zhongyao kaogu faxian* 荆州重要考古发现, edited by Jingzhou bowuguan 荆州博物馆. 204–8. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009.

Zhongguo gonglu jiaotongshi bianshen weiyuanhui 中国公路交通史编审委员会. *Zhongguo gudai daolu jiaotongshi* 中国古代道路交通史. Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe, 1994.

Zhongguo wenwu xinxi wang 中国文物信息网. “Shandong Qingdao Tushantun muqun” 山东青岛土山屯墓群. Updated January 31, 2018. Accessed September 6, 2019. http://www.kaogu.cn/cn/xccz/20180131/60941.html.

Zhongwen da cidian 中文大辭典. 10 vols. Taibei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue, 1962.

Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所. *Yinzhou jinwen ji qingtongqi ziliaoku* 殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫 (Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions). Accessed January 25, 2019. http://bronze.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/qry_bronze.php.

Zhou Congjun 周聰俊. “Yansi shichai youliao kao” 禋祀實柴槱燎考. *Guoli bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊, no. 29.1 (2000): 1–22.

Zhou Fagao 周法高, ed. *Jinwen gulin* 金文詁林. Xianggang Xianggang zhongwen daxue, 1974.

Zhou Fangchun 周芳纯. “Zhucai wuli lixue xingzhi de yanjiu” 竹材物理力学性质的研究. *Nanjing linye daxue xuebao* 2 (1981): 1–32.

Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五. “Shangbo si ‘Jian dawang bo han’ chong tan” 上博四《柬大王泊旱》重探. *Jianbo*, no. 1 (2006): 119–135.

Zhou li zhengyi 周禮正義. With the commentary of Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908). Shisan jing Qing ren zhushu 十三經清人注疏. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

Zhou li zhushu 周禮注疏. With the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 CE) and the sub-commentary of Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. 7th century). Shisan jing zhushu 十三經注疏. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000.

Zhou Xinfang 周新芳. "'Tianzi jia liu' wenti kaobian" "天子驾六"问题考辨. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu*, no. 1 (2007): 41–57.

Zhu Fenghan 朱凤瀚, et al. "Jiangxi Nanchang Xihan Haihun Hou Liu He mu chutu jiandu" 江西南昌西汉海昏侯刘贺墓出土简牍. *Wenwu*, no. 11 (2018): 87–96.

Zhu Fenghan 朱凤瀚. *Shang Zhou jiazu xingtai yanjiu* 商周家族形态研究. Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2004.

Zhu Jingge 朱京葛. "Henan Changge chutu yijian Zhanguo tong pi" 河南长葛出土一件战国铜钹. *Wenwu*, no. 4 (1992): 81.

Zhu Keli 朱克理. "'*Chunqiu*' '*Zuo zhuan*' zhong suojian zhuhou binsang liyi kaoshu" 《春秋》《左传》中所见诸侯殡丧礼仪考述. Master's thesis, Jilin daxue, 2015.

Zhu Qinglei 朱庆磊, et al. "Wuwangdun 'zai jing tianxia' Wenwu jiangshu 'heyi Huainan'" 武王墩"再惊天下":文物讲述"何以淮南". *Huainan ribao* 淮南日报, May 20, 2024.

Zhu Wei 朱蔚. "'*Yili*-Shi sangli', 'ji xi li' suo fanying de sangzang zhidu yanjiu" 《仪礼•士丧礼》、《既夕礼》所反映的丧葬制度研究. Master's thesis, Xiamen daxue, 2008.

Zhuang Shuhui 莊淑慧. "Zeng Hou Yi mu chutu zhujian kao" 曾侯乙墓出土竹簡考. Master's thesis, Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue, 1994.

Zong Fubang 宗福邦, et al., eds. *Gu xun huizuan* 故訓匯纂. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003.

Zou Shuijie 邹水杰. "Liye Qin jian 'Gangao mouzhu' wenshu geshi zaikao" 里耶秦简"敢告某主"文书格式再考. *Ludong daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 鲁东大学学报(哲学社会科学版) 31, no. 5 (2014): 75–83.

Zuo Yandong 左言东. *Xian Qin zhiguan biao* 先秦职官表. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1994.

Zürcher, Erik. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.