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THE POLITICS OF SHANG RITUAL UNDER THE ZHOU

With the defeat of the Shang, the Zhou royal house positioned itself at the ideological center of a network held together by personal relationships with the early kings. To maintain this central position in the new post-Shang hierarchy, and to pursue their project of state-building through delegation of authority, the Zhou kings drew on one of their primary cultural advantages: their familiarity with Shang-style ancestral ritual. In doing so, the royal family faced the challenge of retooling the well-established Shang ritual system, centered on a supreme lineage tracing its ancestry back more than twenty generations, to meet the needs of a recently forged coalition of elite populations.

The following analysis explores the political details of this Western Zhou adaptation of Shang ancestral ritual. Through a close look at the records of individual ritual techniques, it shows that royal ancestral ceremonies reinforced the king's role as arbiter of prestige in Zhou elite society and inculcated principles of Zhou social organization. High-ranking elites attended these ceremonies, took part in them, and duplicated them within their own domains, in some cases at the king's express recommendation. They cast inscribed bronzes commemorating their attendance and used them in their own ancestral cults and burial practices, appropriating the memories of these ceremonies as tools for building personal and lineage identities. The Zhou take on Shang ancestral ritual thus made its way across, and indeed helped form, the Zhou cultural sphere. Over time, however, some ancestral-ritual techniques that offered substantial benefit to practitioners of varied status continued, while others, the lion's share, faded from the inscriptional record. This process culminated in a break between the ritual practices of the royal house and those of nonroyal Zhou elites as portrayed in bronze inscriptions. Terms that came

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into vogue after this break would heavily influence later characterizations of Western Zhou ritual.

Since its goal is to understand how different Western Zhou elites used rites to mediate controversies over group formation, identity, and membership, this analysis focuses whenever possible on the people involved in rites and their relationships to each other both during and outside the context of the rite.[1] It distinguishes between ritual techniques that appear in inscriptions as having been performed by both kings and nonroyal elites; those for which only royal performances are recorded; and those that, in the inscriptions, show no connection to the royal house.

SHARED RITUAL TECHNIQUES

Most ancestral-ritual techniques in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions are attributed at some point to both kings and lesser aristocrats. Certain techniques became quite widespread, making up a basic rubric of Zhou ancestral ritual that endured throughout most of the period. The following discussion explores how three such techniques – *hui*-entreaty, *zheng*-offering, and *zhu*-invocation – operated as foci of Western Zhou politics and identity.

Hui 𠂤 *(Entreaty)*

The activity known as *hui* 𠂤, "entreaty," was one of the most ubiquitous devotional practices of the Western Zhou.[2] Several inscriptions declare *hui*-entreaty as an intended purpose of the vessels that bear them. Like the corresponding Shang technique, the Western Zhou practice of *hui* entailed requesting favors of supernatural forces.[3] Parallel use of similar verbs in a number of inscriptions confirms this; for example, in that of the Bo Hu *gui* 伯𣪊簋 (4073) (an early-middle Western Zhou vessel), *hui* acts as a compound verb with *qi* 祈, "to pray

[1] Under the ANT model of "sociology of associations," such controversies are the primary source of data on associations, which tend to fade into the background once established. See Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 27–42, esp. 30–31.

[2] The transliteration of this character as *hui* is based on its *Shuowen* entry; see 497. It has many other functions in the Western Zhou inscriptions – as a personal name, a chariot implement (in the fixed phrase 𠂤較), a type of garment, and, in forms both with and without the radical *chuo* 辶, in the sense of "assist." These various readings are discussed in *JWGL* 1359, 6127–6153.

[3] On *hui* as a rite of entreaty in oracle bones, see *JGWZGL* 1533; Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi zhong*, 109; Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 501–502; Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 119–128. As Liu Yuan's table shows, *hui*-entreaties in the oracle bone inscriptions (OBI) target a much broader range of entities than in the Western Zhou inscriptions, including both royal ancestors and natural entities such as the River (*He* 河) and the Peaks (*Yue* 岳). For examples, see H00378.r, H01588, H00460, H00385. Two Zhouyuan oracle bones (H11:84r and H11:112) bear inscriptions mentioning the *hui*-entreaty; see *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, 64, 78.

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for," in a request for longevity.[4] Uses of *hui* in this manner are well distributed chronologically across the corpus of Western Zhou inscriptions (Table 1.1 in the Appendix). Most such bronzes with established provenance stem from the Zhou heartland in Shaanxi.[5]

Commissioners of vessels for *hui* occupied a variety of state and lineage positions. Several bore the epithet *bo*, "Elder," suggesting that they were first sons or lineage heads; the name of the commissioner of the Ji Xin *zun* 季宓尊 (05940), however, suggests that he ranked low in the sequence of his siblings.[6] The preeminent commissioner of such a bronze was King Li, normally identified as commissioning the Hu *gui*.[7] Xing, of the Xing *zhong* 癵鐘 (246), seems also to have been of high status, given that several of his ancestors, including his father, carried the title *gong* 公.[8] Determining the political status of the remaining commissioners is difficult, but Shi Chen 事晨, for example, seems based on his title to have been someone's subordinate; that the Shi Chen *ding* 事晨鼎 (2575) inscription uses the actions of a lineage head, "Elder Father Yin" (*Bo Yinfu* 伯殷父), as a dating reference suggests that Shi Chen occupied a subordinate position within his line. By the late Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn period, gender entered the picture as well. The X Chefu *gui* 柲車父簋 (3881–3886), the Bo Shi Si Shi *ding* 伯氏姒氏鼎 (2643), and the Qi Bo Mei Wang *pan* 杞伯每亡盆 (10334) were all commissioned by their namesakes on behalf of figures whose names suggest that they were female; all also declare *hui*-entreaty as a purpose.[9]

The concept of *hui*-entreaty was thus widespread among Western Zhou elites who could possess inscribed bronzes. Vessels that declare *hui* as a purpose rarely specify the entreaty's intended target directly.[10] When targets are obliquely specified, they are patrilineal ancestors of the vessel commissioners rather than living figures or other supernatural entities.[11] Overall, the

[4] The AS database assigns the vessel to the early Western Zhou; *Duandai*, 338, states King Gong as a *terminus ante quem*.

[5] Locations of discovery follow the AS database.

[6] On seniority terms, see David Sena, "Reproducing Society: Lineage and Kinship in Western Zhou China," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005, 123–124.

[7] On this argument, see *Sources*, 110–101, 169–170.

[8] The Xing *zhong* is from the famous Zhuangbaicun bronze cache no. 1; see Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui, "Shaanxi Fufeng Zhuangbai yi hao Xi Zhou qingtongqi jiaocang fajue jianbao," *Wenwu* 1978.3, 1–18.

[9] On the naming of women in the inscriptions, see Li Zhongcao, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de funü chengwei," *Baoji wenbo* 1991.1, 35–39.

[10] The "targets" in the table are all such cases, except for the Wei *ding* inscription, in which Ji Zhong is simply listed as the vessel dedicatee.

[11] One may feasibly read "the prior cultured men" (*qian wen ren* 前文人) of the Xing *zhong* inscription as a general reference to admirable figures of previous generations, regardless of lineage. I suspect, however, that the phrase refers to deceased members of the lineage who are not mentioned by name. In certain cases, *hui* takes a living person as its object; see the Guaibo *gui* 乖伯簋 (4331) and the Gua Zi *you* 寡子卣 (5392). There the context makes clear that the term means "to assist," after the form of the character with an added *chuo* radical 辶.

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inscriptions portray *hui*-entreaty as a standard ancestral-ritual technique, solidly entrenched within Zhou society and closely tied to the production of bronzes, which endured throughout the period.

Hui as Vehicle of Political Patronage: The Ze Ling Vessels

Hui apparently described one of the primary motivations for creating inscribed bronzes, and as such, most of its appearances in nonroyal inscriptions are formulaic. The inscriptions of the Ze Ling *fangzun* 矢令方尊 (6016) and Ze Ling *fangyi* 矢令方彝 (9901), however, furnish more detail about the political context of *hui* than any other source.[12]

The Ze Ling inscriptions begin with an account of honors granted to the vessel commissioner's superior –Ming Bao 明保, the Duke of Zhou's son – at a royal audience.[13] After receiving a broad-ranging appointment from the king, Ming Bao (also called "Duke Ming" [*Minggong* 明公] in the inscription) undertook a mission to the eastern capital Chengzhou, where he issued orders to a variety of officials.[14] Based on the word order, it appears that Ze Ling, the vessel commissioner, was present and was ordered to accompany Ming Bao to Chengzhou to work with the Ministry (*qingshiliao*) there.[15] Ming Bao completed his business with a series of sacrificial offerings at important venues in the Chengzhou area: the Jing Temple (*Jinggong* 京宮);[16] the Kang Temple (*Kanggong* 康宮);[17] and a location called *wang*, "royal," likely identifiable with

[12] The Ze Ling vessels, now held by the Palace Museum, Taiwan, were reputedly discovered in 1929 at Mapo, Luoyang, Henan (i.e., in the vicinity of Chengzhou). See the AS database, 6016, 9901; *Zhensong* 7.19.

[13] On Ming Bao, and for a full translation of the Ze Ling inscriptions, see *Bureaucracy*, 50–52; see also David M. Sena, "Zuoce Ling *fangyi* 作冊令方彝," in Constance A. Cook and Paul R. Goldin, eds., *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions*, Berkeley, CA: The Society for the Study of Early China, 2016, 45–48.

[14] The king grants Ming Bao control over "the Three Affairs in the four directions" and the Ministry (see *Bureaucracy*, 51). That is to say, Ming Bao receives supervisory capacity over the top-ranking military, civil, and agricultural officials across the sphere of royal control, as well as the body of officials directly associated with the royal court (for more detail on the relevant offices, see *Bureaucracy*, appendix I, 305–314). This appointment must have made Ming Bao one of the most powerful figures, if not *the* most powerful, besides the king himself.

[15] The inscription shows some ambiguity here on two points: first, whether it was Ming Bao (referred to as "duke" [*gong* 公] elsewhere in the inscription) or the Duke of Zhou (Zhougong 周公, at whose *gong* 宮 the order occurred) who commanded Ze Ling; and second, whether the Ministry with which Ze Ling was to work was located at the western or eastern capital. Given that sources trace the Ze Ling bronzes to the vicinity of Luoyang (see *Zhensong* 7.19v), I am inclined to think that Ze Ling worked at Chengzhou and that the inscription records his assignment there.

[16] On the Jing lineage, see the discussion of the He *zun* in Chapter 6.

[17] As Li Feng notes in *Bureaucracy*, 51, there is disagreement about whether the term "Kang Palace" necessarily referred to a structure for the posthumous worship of King Kang, which would require a post–King Kang date for the Ling vessels. The full argument is beyond the scope of this work; for lists of relevant sources and an approach to the problem, see *Bureaucracy*, 1 n. 16, and *Sources*, 193–216. Two points are worth noting here, however. First, Li Feng has now shown that *gong* 宮 were sometimes named for living individuals

the *wangcheng* 王城, or "King's City," on which much debate about the early structure of Chengzhou/Luoyang centers.[18] After the third leg of his tour, Duke Ming issued a set of rewards:

> 明公易(賜)亢師鬯、金、小牛,曰:用禦。易(賜)令鬯、金、小牛,曰:用禦。廼令曰:今我唯令女(汝)二人,亢眔矢,竆𠂤[19](左)右于乃寮𠂤(以)乃友事。乍(作)冊令(命)敢揚明公尹氒(厥)宜,用乍(作)父丁寶障彝,敢追明公賞于父丁,用光父丁。〔雋冊〕
>
> Duke Ming awarded Kang Shi dark wine, metal, and a young ox, saying, "Use these for *hui*-entreaty." [The Duke] awarded Ling dark wine, metal, and a small ox, saying, "Use these for *hui*-entreaty." [He] then commanded, "Now I am commanding you two men, Kang and Ze, to fervently assist each other with your Ministry's and your associates' business."[20] Document Maker Ling dares to extol the beneficence of Chief[21] Duke Ming, thereby making a precious offering vessel for Father Ding, daring to carry Duke Ming's reward on to Father Ding,[22] thereby to glorify Father Ding. (Clan mark.)

The dynamic of Duke Ming's relationship with his various subordinates is of note. Given the scope of his commands from the king, Duke Ming was effectively the royal representative at Chengzhou. He either could not or did not, however, command the personal presence of the full range of elites over whom he had been granted temporary authority. Rather than summoning the officials and regional rulers in question, he is said to have "sent out" (徂 [*chu* 出]) orders.[23] In fact, after his commands were finished, Duke Ming paid personal visits to several important local venues, notably including the royal compound, to make offerings. It seems that this sacrificial tour gave Ming Bao the opportunity to shore up local support from both powerful Chengzhou-area lineages and the personnel of the royal holdings there. The eastern capital was still fairly

who used them as personal workspaces; see "'Offices' in Bronze Inscriptions and Western Zhou Government Administration," *EC* 26–27 (2001–2), 1–72, esp. 4–14. Second, Kang 康is a fairly common name in the inscriptions, borne, in fact, by Kang Shi 康師, the other subordinate besides Ze Ling whom Ming Bao rewards here. It is possible that the Kang Palace in the inscription referred not to a temple built in honor of King Kang of Zhou (as it is usually understood), but to a locale associated with the lineage to which Kang Shi belonged. Duke Ming's visit there might thus have occasioned the service for which he later rewarded Kang Shi.

[18] See *Landscape and Power*, 64–65.

[19] The transcription of this character follows *MWX*, 69.

[20] The translation of the previous statement is informed by *Bureaucracy*, 51 (particularly the phrase "each other" and the term "Ministry"), and *MWX*, 68 n. 8.

[21] The rendering of *yin* 尹 as "chief" follows *Bureaucracy*, 51.

[22] That is, as Li Feng puts it, to "forward" the reward to the deceased Father Ding. See *Bureaucracy*, 51. I follow Li Feng also in rendering 宜 as "beneficence."

[23] *MWX*, 63 n. 8.

new at this point, and Duke Ming must have needed the support of local elites in order to function well as a royal emissary.[24]

The rewards that Duke Ming issued after the sacrificial tour, and the *hui*-entreaties they were meant to support, helped channel prestige from the royal house, through the organization of the central government, into the social context of individual lineages. While commanding their help with the Chengzhou branch of the Ministry, Ming Bao rewarded Ze Ling and Kang Shi with the basic resources for an offering event: liquor for drinking, livestock animals for feasting, and metal for producing bronzes. This created a direct relationship between Ze Ling's and Kang Shi's service to Duke Ming in his governmental activities and their ability to provide for their lineage cults. Ze Ling then made the provenance of these resources, and hence the details of this relationship, known during his cult activities. The bronze produced thus let Ze Ling maximize the impact of his accomplishments within the social context of his lineage cult by drawing an indirect connection to the Zhou royal house.

Royal Performances of *Hui*

In the early Western Zhou period, royal ritual events that included *hui*-entreaties provided a context for managing relations with elites of the very highest ranks. A recently excavated bronze, the Shu Ze *fangding* (NA0915) (Figures 1.1 and 1.2), describes an instance of *hui* tied to major political events of the early Western Zhou period:

> 隹 (唯) 十又四月,王 彭 大𥘅𠂤 在成周。咸𠂤,王乎殷厥士,齊叔矢以𠂤、衣、車、馬、貝卅朋。敢對王休,用乍(作)寶尊彝,其萬年揚王光厥士。[25]
>
> In the fourteenth month, the king performed a 彭 rite and greatly used documents to perform entreaty at Chengzhou. When the entreaty was finished, the king called an audience of his retainers,[26] [rewarding?] Shu Ze with a skirt, a jacket, a chariot and horses, and thirty strings of cowries.[27] [Shu Ze] dares to respond to the king's beneficence, therewith making a precious offering vessel. May [it] praise the king's honoring of his retainers for ten thousand years.

[24] This sequence raises the interesting question of the target of Duke Ming's offerings. If, as I suspect, the Jing and Kang in question were local lineages, it would seem that Duke Ming – a high-ranking figure indeed – deigned to perform sacrifices on the home ground of other lineages in the process of building political support.

[25] This transcription follows Li Boqian, "Shu Ze fangding mingwen kaoshi," *Wenwu* 2001.8, 39.

[26] I here take *yin* 殷 as equivalent to *jin* 覲, "to have audience," following Ma Chengyuan's interpretation in *MWX* 115, 80, n. 1b.

[27] The translations of the items here basically follow Shaughnessy, "Newest Sources of Western Zhou History," in Shaughnessy, ed., *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017, 137.

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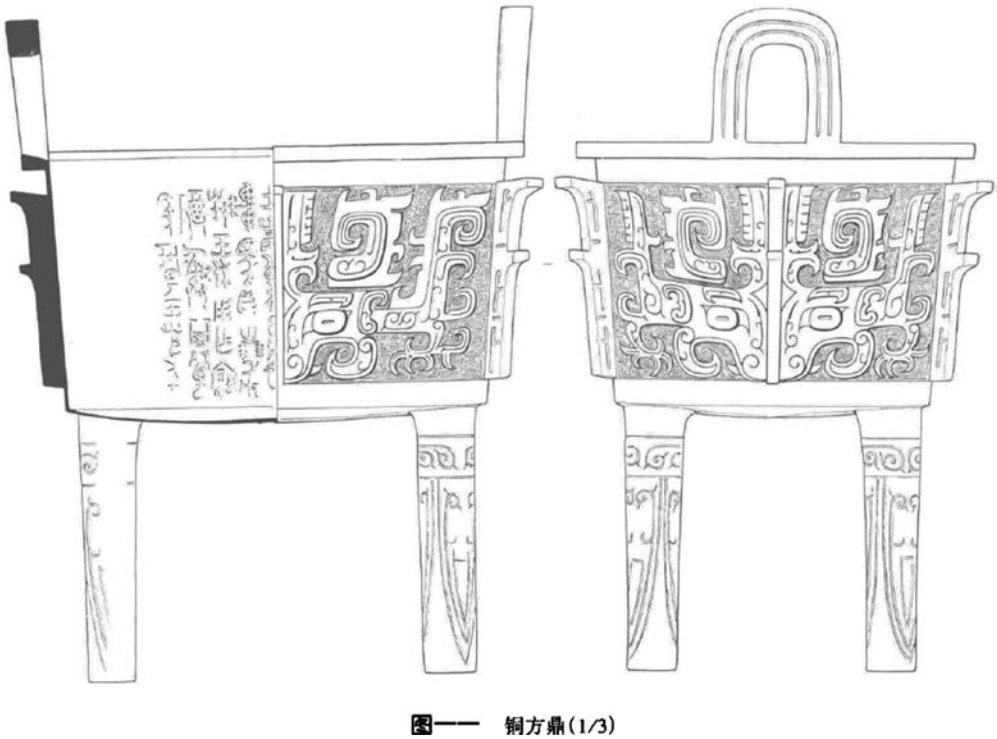
The Shu Ze *fangding* comes from the cemetery of the Jin state rulers, in the Fen River valley of Shanxi.[28] Li Boqian has plausibly suggested that it dates to the reign of King Cheng, based partly on the Shang-style use of a fourteenth, intercalary month; certainly, the reference to Chengzhou in the inscription means that it postdates the establishment of that polity.[29] Based on a paleographical analysis of the character *ze* 夨, Li further suggests that the vessel was probably produced by the figure known in historical records as Tangshu Yu 唐叔虞, the first ruler of the Jin state and younger brother of King Cheng, whom the *Bamboo Annals* record King Cheng installed during the tenth year of his reign.[30] Whether or not this was so, the circumstances of the vessel's discovery virtually require that it belonged to an early member of the Jin ruling line.

The case describes a pattern common in the inscriptions: The king conducts a major ritual event involving ancestral offerings; during or after the



图一一　铜方鼎(1/3)

Figure 1.1 The Shu Ze *fangding*. After Beijing daxue kaogu wenboyuan and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jinhou mudi di liu ci fajue," *Wenwu* 2001.8, 9.

[28] On this vessel, discovered in a tomb probably belonging to a ruler of Jin, see Beijing daxue kaogu wenboyuan and Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jinhou mudi di liu ci fajue," *Wenwu* 2001.8, 9, 12–15, 21; Li Boqian, "Shu Ze fangding mingwen kaoshi," *Wenwu* 2001.8, 39–42.

[29] See Li Boqian, 40–41.

[30] Ibid.; see *Bamboo Annals*, King Cheng, 10th year, 146. On Tangshu Yu's relationship to King Cheng, see *Shiji*, 1635–1636.

Figure 1.2 The inscription of the Shu Ze *fangding*. After *Wenwu* 2001.8, 9.

ceremonies, he then publicly rewards a subordinate, who casts an inscribed bronze to commemorate the event. The Shu Ze *fangding* inscription records no recounting of merits, assistance with the rite, report of a successful campaign, or other justification for the commissioner's presence beyond the assumption that he numbered among the "retainers" (*shi* 士) the king summoned. The vessel commissioner's status itself was apparently sufficient justification for both his presence at the rite and the reward.

I strongly suspect that Li Boqian is correct in attributing the vessel to Tangshu Yu, or that his son, at the latest, produced it. The inscription calls its commissioner by the seniority term *shu* in combination with a personal name, suggesting that, in the context described in the inscription, the commissioner's seniority status within his generation needed more emphasis than the specific lineage to which he belonged. This would surely have held true for a scion of the royal house.[31] The Shu Ze *fangding* inscription thus exemplifies the utility of ancestral rites for managing relationships in the political context of the early

[31] Characters preceded by seniority terms are generally interpreted as personal names; words preceding seniority terms, on the other hand, are usually understood as lineage names, like "Da Zhong" in the Da *gui* inscription. See the discussion in *Landscape and Power*, 252.

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Western Zhou. The occasion of the entreaty and associated devotions helped motivate Shu Ze, likely a member of the Jin ruling line and descendant of the Zhou royal line, to attend the king at Chengzhou. This in turn let the king reinforce bonds with his kinsman through gifts of prestige goods, while situating those bonds within the hierarchical relations between king and retainer.

Another bronze shows that King Cheng conducted *hui* in the Zhou heartland as well:

> 唯成王大𡍮,才(在)宗周,商(賞)獻侯𠂤[32]貝,用乍(作)丁侯噂彝。〔〕。
>
> When King Cheng conducted a great entreaty at Zongzhou, [he] awarded cowries from Xiao to the Lord of Xian.[33] [The Lord] therewith makes an offering vessel for Lord Ding. (Clan mark.) (Xianhou *ding* 獻侯鼎 [2626–2627])[34]

Unfortunately, the identity of Xianhou (translated here as "the Lord of Xian") and the location of the state Xian 獻, if indeed it existed, are unclear.[35] Xianhou appears to have been of Shang cultural affiliation, judging from the use of the clan mark , common on Shang bronzes, and the *ganzhi* designation *ding* 丁 referring to the vessel dedicatee.[36] The format of the dedicatee's name, Dinghou, affords the possibility that the Xian in Xianhou might not indicate the location of the bearer's state, as was usual for an "X hou"-format name. Without further information on a potential state of Xian, it is hard to understand the relationship between Xianhou and the Zhou king. However, Xianhou's apparent Shang heritage, combined with the fact that Xian is absent from the *Zuozhuan*'s list of Ji-surnamed regional states founded during the early Western Zhou, suggests that the two did not share patrilineal blood ties.[37] Xianhou was probably an important ally of the royal house, since his title, *hou* 侯, was carried by certain regional lords. Here again, then, in the context of

[32] This character is to be read as *xiao* 𠂤; I am indebted to Li Feng (personal communication, May 2012) for this observation.

[33] *MWX* reads the character after *hou* 侯 as the personal name of the Lord; see *MWX* 24, n. 2, 16. I am inclined to see it instead as a specification of the origin of the cowries. Shirakawa raises this possibility; see 7.29, 335–336.

[34] Xianhou *ding* no. 2626 is held by the Palace Museum, Taipei; see the AS database, 2626; *Xiqingyi* 1.6; *Sandai* 3.50.2–3; *Gugong tulu* 1.2.52, 31–32; 2.2.52, 51. On vessel 2627, see Zhu Shanqi, *Jingwuxin shi yiqi kuanshi*, 1.25v; *Zhuiyi* 3.20 (all cited in the AS database).

[35] *Xiqingyi* suggests that the Marquises Xian and Ding mentioned in the inscription might have been the similarly named rulers of the royal line of Qi; see *Xiqingyi* 1.6. Shirakawa refrains from this identification; see p. 338.

[36] On the commonality of the clan mark, see *MWX*, 24, n. 3, 16; on *ganzhi* names, see David N. Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape*, Berkeley: University of California Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies, 2000, 33–35, and Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 19–56.

[37] See *Zuozhuan*, Duke Xi 24, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1817. On this and other numberings of Western Zhou regional states, see *Landscape and Power*, 71.

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an entreaty to royal ancestors, the king awards largesse to an aristocrat of high rank. The inscription again records no specific service rendered to the king, implying an assumed right to the king's patronage.

One further early Western Zhou inscription, duplicated on the Yu *gui* 圉簋 (3824–3825), the Yu *yan* 圉甗 (00935), and the Yu *you* 圉卣 (5374), records the king's rewarding of an elite in the context of a *hui*-entreaty with no additional context:[38]

> 王𠂤于成周,王易(賜)圉貝,用乍(作)寶噂 彝。
>
> The king conducted an entreaty at Chengzhou. The king awarded Yu cowries. [Yu] therewith makes a precious offering vessel. (Yu *gui* 圉簋 [3824–3825])[39]

The Yu vessels were recovered in the 1970s from tomb M253 in the Yan 燕 state cemetery at Liulihe, Fangshan, Beijing (with the exception of Yu *gui* no. 1 [3824], which had reputedly found its way to a tomb at Kazuo county, Liaoning province).[40] Given the size of tomb M253 and the richness of its grave goods, we can surmise that Yu wielded substantial influence in the early Western Zhou political world – probably as a scion of the Yan state's ruling line.[41] Again, the Yu inscriptions record the bare fact of an influential figure attending a royal entreaty – potentially the same one recorded on the Shu Ze *fangding* – without additional justification. In this case, since the state of Yan lay in the far northeast of the Zhou sphere of influence, the attendee would have had to travel across most of north China to take part.[42]

Hui-entreaties provided political opportunities and responsibilities for elites of lesser status as well. The indirect nature of the rewards they produced spurred greater elaboration in two early Western Zhou inscriptions – the Yu *jue* 盂爵 (9104) and the Shu *gui* 叔簋 (4132). The Yu *jue*, a bronze liquor cup probably dating to the reign of King Kang, records that the Zhou king dispatched a representative to the state of Deng, probably in modern Henan:[43]

> 隹(唯)王初𠂤于成周,王令孟寧𠦪(鄧)白(伯),賓(儐)貝,用乍(作)父寶噂 彝。

[38] Throughout this work, I follow the gloss of the vessel commissioner's name as *yu* 圉, offered as a secondary title in, for example, the AS database entry for vessel 3824 (though not in the AS transcription of the inscription itself).

[39] On the Yu *gui*, see *Liulihe*, 134–135, 148–151; for the *yan*, 147, 165–166; for the *you*, 183, 186–189.

[40] On tomb M253, see *Liulihe*, 36–37; on Yu *gui* no. 1, see *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1993–1998, 6.12.

[41] *Liulihe*, 251. As the report notes, since the tomb contains vessels commissioned by a figure called Jin 堇 as well, it is not clear whether Yu was the tomb occupant.

[42] Li Feng has noted that these two bronzes might record rewards at the same event; see *Bureaucracy*, 259.

[43] *MWX* 64, 44 n. 2. The Yu *jue* is a non-excavated vessel that passed through multiple collections before reaching that of Ogawa Chikanosuke; see *Jungu* 2.3.3v; *Zongji*, 4204; *MWX* 64.

> When the king first conducted an entreaty at Chengzhou, the king ordered Yu to pacify the Elder of Deng. [Yu] received a guest-gift of cowries. [Yu] therewith makes a precious offering vessel for [his] father[s]. (Yu *jue* 盂爵 [9104])

In this case, the initial contact between the vessel commissioner and the king took place in the context of the entreaty event, while the party to whose service the commissioner was assigned later granted an award. Yu, it would seem, did not receive a royal gift directly at the entreaty. However, the occasion precipitated the king assigning Yu to a lucrative position and so was duly recorded in the inscription.

Another two bronzes of probable early Western Zhou date, the two Shu *gui* 叔簋 (4132–4133), record the queen's involvement in an interaction between elites on the occasion of a *hui* rite.[44] During a royal entreaty at Zongzhou, Shu received the queen's command to attend the Grand Protector, whose vital role in the early Western Zhou state is well known.[45] The generous reward that Shu subsequently received came from the Grand Protector rather than directly from the queen; by thanking the Grand Protector in the vessel's dedication, Shu makes that clear. However, the inscription still records the royal *hui* rite as the origin point of the interaction.

During the early Western Zhou, then, the Zhou royal house conducted high-profile *hui*-entreaties that served as venues for negotiating and maintaining political relationships with individuals of varying status. These took place at the key centers of Zhou power – Zongzhou; the capitals of Feng/Hao in the Zhou heartland; and Chengzhou, the recently founded eastern capital.[46] High-ranking Zhou aristocrats such as Shu Ze 叔夨, the Lord of Xian 獻侯, and Yu 圉 traveled substantial distances to attend. Powerful elites received largesse

Shirakawa dates it to the Cheng–Kang period, while *MWX* assigns it specifically to King Kang; see Shirakawa 35, 385–388; *MWX*, 44. There is some debate about the relationship of the Yu that commissioned this vessel to the Yu of the famous Da Yu *ding* (2837) and Xiao Yu *ding* (2839), and potentially the Yu *you* (5399); see Shirakawa 35, 385–391, 394. *MWX* does not go so far as to suggest outright that the Yu of the Yu *you* is the same as the Yu of (according to Ma) the Da Yu *ding* and the Yu *jue*; see *MWX*, 44–45.

[44] These vessels appear in Shirakawa under the heading "Shu *suiqi*" 叔隨器; see Shirakawa 6, 77–83. Shirakawa compares their calligraphy to that of the Cheng Wang *fangding* (1734), implicitly suggesting a corresponding date; the AS database notes that Yu Xingwu has questioned the authenticity of that vessel. *Duandai* assigns the Shu *gui* to King Cheng, while Tang Lan assigns them to King Kang; see Shirakawa, 77. According to *Duandai*, Chen Mengjia came across them in the possession of the Committee for the Management of Cultural Relics, Hangzhou, Zhejiang, in 1951; see *Duandai* 54, 76.

[45] See Shaughnessy, "The Role of Grand Protector Shi in the Consolidation of the Zhou Conquest," in *Before Confucius*, 137–164.

[46] There is some debate on the location of Zongzhou; for a summary, see Maria Khayutina, "Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Construction of the Western Zhou Polity," *T'oung Pao* 96 (2010), 6 n. 13.

directly from the king, with no justification given in relevant inscriptions. Their right to attend the royal *hui*-entreaties was apparently implicit, although the rewards they received still warranted producing inscribed bronzes. Royal *hui*-entreaty also created opportunities for lesser elites such as Yu 盂 and Shu 叔 to earn recognition and rewards, which they then recorded on inscribed bronzes, leveraging them for status and prestige in the context of their individual lineage cults. The practice of *hui*-entreaty during the early Western Zhou thus helped the kings shore up the infrastructure of their recently formed state.

After the early Western Zhou, the Zhou kings seem to have performed *hui*-entreaty less, or at least under less high-profile conditions. Only the inscriptions of the Hu *gui* and the Bu Zhi *fangding* attest to royal *hui* after that point. Based on this, Liu Yu has characterized the early Western Zhou as the "golden age" of *hui*-entreaty among the Zhou.[47] If we account for inscriptions recording concern with *hui* among nonroyal elites, however, the custom seems to have enjoyed its heyday during the middle Western Zhou period and survived throughout the Western Zhou era. *Hui* is virtually absent from received texts, however, as well as from bronze inscriptions dating to the middle Spring and Autumn period and later. Given the centralized distribution of bronzes that claim it as a purpose, it is likely that the term *hui*, if not the custom it described, was conceptually associated with the political influence of the Zhou kings. As their importance as arbiters of prestige faded, the term *hui* likewise receded from the historical record.

Zheng 烝/蒸 *(Deng* 登*)*

The bronze inscriptions contain several instances of the approximate character form  , alternately transcribed as *zheng* 烝, *zheng* 蒸, *deng* 登, and *deng* 鄧 depending on the transcribers' sense of its meaning.[48] Like most of the terms considered here, *zheng*/*deng* came to the Zhou from the Shang, among whom it designated a practice that included offering either foodstuffs or liquor to ancestors, but may also have involved mustering troops or large groups of personnel.[49]

Royal Performances of *zheng*

Records of the Zhou king performing a ritual act referred to as *zheng* 蒸 survive from throughout the period. The earliest – putatively, at least – appears in

[47] Liu Yu, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli," 501.

[48] For example, JC (AS database) lists *zheng* 烝 for the character in the inscription of the Taishi Cuo *dou* 大師虘豆 (4692), *zheng* 蒸 for the first occurrence on the Da Yu *ding*; *deng* 登 in the Deng Zuo Zun Yi *you* 登作尊彝卣 (5115) inscription; and *deng* 鄧 in the inscription of the Deng Xiaozhong *ding* 鄧小仲鼎 (2528), despite the essential similarity of the characters.

[49] See, for example, bone H39864.

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the inscription of the Da Yu *ding* 大盂鼎 (2837), one of the longest and most detailed from the early Western Zhou period.[50] Most of its length records a royal speech given when the king appointed a figure named Yu, who had helped educate the king, to a new office and granted him lavish rewards.[51] As a lead-in to this speech, the king assessed the accomplishments of Kings Wen and Wu. Among the latter's good points, we are told, was his temperance when performing actions called 髭 and 𢍏; the latter is certainly *zheng* 烝.[52] The account offers no further details, but it is notable that (1) the current king held that King Wu had performed *zheng*, and (2) *zheng* was, when this inscription was composed, seen as a process in which consumption, and perhaps over-consumption, of liquor might be expected.[53]

The most concrete example of royal *zheng* from the early Western Zhou appears in the inscription of the Gao *you* (5431) (Figure 1.3), known only from Song dynasty collections:[54]

〔亞〕。隹(唯)十又二月,王初𠂤旁,唯還在周,辰才(在)庚申,王𠂤(飲)西宮,𢍏(烝)。咸,釐尹易(賜)臣雀䜌[55]揚尹休,高對乍(作)父丙寶噂彝,尹其亙萬年受畢(厥)永魯,亡競才(在)服,㬎長矣其子子孫孫寶用。

(*Ya*.) It was the twelfth month, when the king first feasted at Pang. When he returned to Zhou, on the *gengshen* day, the king hosted drinking at the Western Palace and performed *zheng*. When it was finished, Chief Li gave his servant a spotted(?) canopy.[56] Praising the Chief's beneficence, Gao, in

[50] On the discovery of the Da Yu *ding* and its companion vessel, the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839), see Chapter 4.

[51] Following the idea, proposed in *MWX*, that Yu had worked in the king's "school"; see *MWX*, 39 n. 14.

[52] I am less than convinced that the former term is *chai* 柴, as the AS database renders it.

[53] The latter portion of the Da Yu *ding* inscription contains an instance of the character 𢍏, used for *zheng* in the Gao *you* and Duan *gui* inscriptions. As part of his admonitions to Yu, the king requests that Yu should "morning and night assist me, the solitary man, with *zheng* for the Four Directions" (朕 [夙]夕𠂤 [召]我一人𢍏 [烝]四方). *MWX* draws on an *Erya* gloss to suggest that *zheng* here means something like "to rule, to be lord of"; see 40 n. 22. Given the context, I am inclined to agree.

[54] *Duandai* suggests a Cheng–Kang date for the Gao *you*; see vol. 1, 343.

[55] I differ with the AS database in reading sentence breaks immediately after *zheng* and taking *li yin* 釐尹 as a name; I have adjusted the transcription accordingly. Apart from this name, the punctuation of the several preceding characters follows *Duandai*, vol. 1, 343.

[56] Following on Chen Mengjia's suggestion to read the *zhui* 隹 and *shao* 小 in the inscription as a single character (with the former above and the latter below), I here suggest the tentative reading of *que*, "sparrow-colored" (i.e., spotted). I suspect that the *bo* 䜌 may mean *fu* 幅, "canopy," in which sense it appears in the inscriptions of, for example, the Thirteenth-Year Xing *hu* (9723–9724) and the Shi Ke *xu* (4467–4468) (as per the AS database inscriptions). For an alternate interpretation of the character in the latter two inscriptions, suggesting that it indicated either an ornament or a garment, see Chen Hanping, *Xi Zhou ceming zhidu yanjiu*, Shanghai: Xuelin, 1986, 238–239.

response, makes a precious offering vessel for Father Bing. May the Chief continue for ten thousand years to confer his eternal brilliance, without peer in service. May the descendants of Zhi, the head of the Ji, treasure and use [it].[57] (Gao *you* 高卣 [5431])

The prestation relationships recorded here were complex. The Zhou king held a drinking event and associated *zheng*-offering that occasioned a gift to Gao. The king did not, however, give this gift; instead, it came from a figure called "the Chief" (*yin* 尹). Gao then praised the Chief's beneficence,

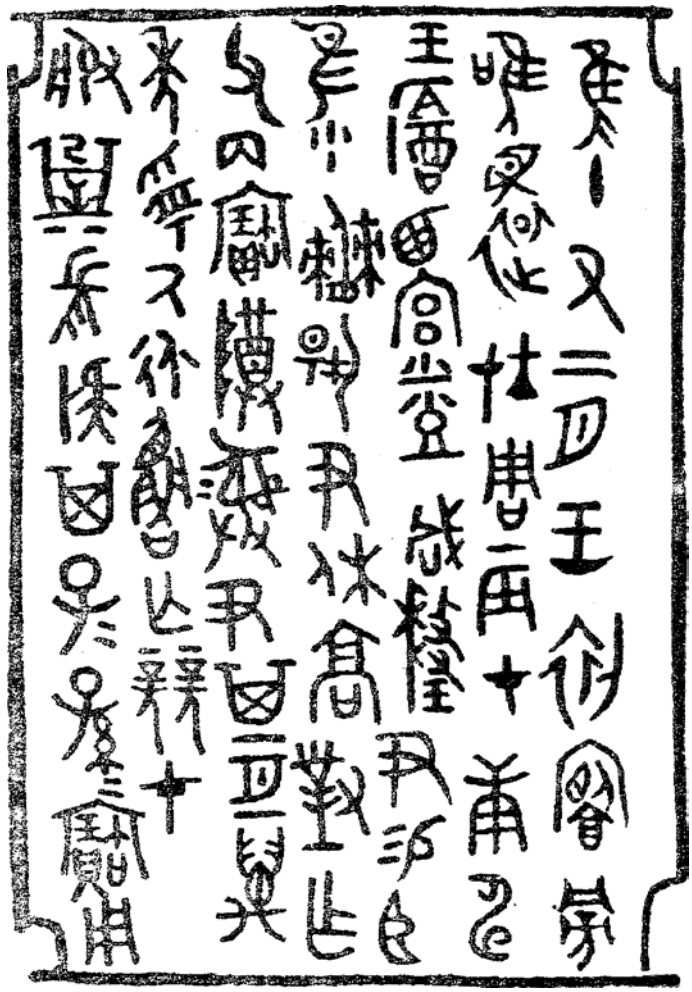

Figure 1.3 The inscription of the Gao *you*. After *JC* 5431.

[57] Rather than reading *zhi* 𠂤 as *yi* 疑, as in the JC transcription, I take it as the personal name of the figure Ji Zhang, "the head of Ji." I have adjusted the transcription accordingly. For another example of *zhi* used as a personal name, see the inscription of the Yanhou Zhi *ding* 匽侯旨鼎 (2628).

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designating him as the significant patron for purposes of the gift. Gao went on to cast the Gao *you* for Father Bing, commemorating the reward in the context of his ancestral cult and referring to the Chief near the end of its inscription. The final clause, however, commits the vessel to the use of the descendants of "Zhi, the head of the Ji" (*Ji zhang Zhi* 冀長矣). Based on the location of its appearance, this phrase probably refers to Gao himself, but that is not certain.[58]

It is difficult to decipher the relative status of the various parties mentioned based on the Gao *you* inscription alone. In all likelihood, the Chief was a subordinate of the king who took part in the drinking event and the *zheng*-offering, and perhaps the preceding feast as well.[59] The "servant" (*chen* 臣) whom the Chief rewarded, presumably the vessel commissioner Gao, may have been the Chief's subordinate or, alternatively, a royal functionary whom the king tasked the Chief to reward. He may have played a role in the drinking event and the *zheng*-offering, or simply have been present at the time and reaped the benefits. This may or may not have been a redistribution of a corresponding reward given by the king to the Chief. We can state with certainty only that the king hosted a drinking event that included an instance of *zheng*, and that occasion created a context for the Chief to reward a subordinate who commissioned an inscription to commemorate the occasion. It is perhaps also notable that the king's event was a drinking party, hinting at a connection between *zheng* and liquor. That the vessel bearing this inscription, according to *Bogu*, was of a type normally used to hold alcoholic beverages may be obliquely relevant.[60]

This royal performance of *zheng* was part of a prestation event instantiating multidirectional bonds of patronage. Gao owed thanks to the Chief for his gift, but that gift came, if not from the king himself, at least due to the Chief's service to the royal house. In his inscription, Gao recorded the royal activities that formed the context of the gift and entreated the Chief's continued service, locating the Chief within the state hierarchy and emphasizing his own connection to the king through the Chief. The gift thus further bound the Chief to the royal house, since his subordinate recognized the Zhou king as the source of the Chief's ability to confer gifts.

[58] The final clauses of Western Zhou bronze inscriptions often commend their vessels to the use of the commissioners' descendants; examples are too numerous to list.

[59] It is unclear whether the Chief was a permanent attaché of the royal court or made a special trip to attend these events. Based, however, on the frequent use of *yin* 尹 as an addendum to titles for royal officials, I suspect that the Chief was probably a regular member of the court. See the examples of "Chief Document Maker" (*Zuoce Yin* 作冊尹) and "Chief Interior Scribe" (*Neishi Yin* 內史尹), described by Li Feng in *Bureaucracy*, 311 and 309, respectively.

[60] *Bogu* 11.18, cited in AS database. Since the vessel is no longer extant, this is difficult to confirm; collections sometimes disagree about the shape category of a particular vessel. It is harder still with the Gao *you*, of which *Bogu* lists only the cover.

The inscription of the Duan *gui* 段簋 (4208), an unprovenanced middle Western Zhou vessel held by the Shanghai Museum, records another *zheng* performed by the Zhou king.[61] The offering in the Gao *you* inscription took place on the king's home ground at Zongzhou. Here, by contrast, the king conducted a *zheng*-offering at Bi – a location important to the royal house, but apparently also the territory of another lineage.[62] The multiday event of the king's visit included both the *zheng*-offering and a recounting of merits for Duan, the vessel's commissioner. During the latter process, the king recalled the lineage of a figure named Bi Zhong, presumably an ancestor of Duan's, suggesting that Duan was related to an elite lineage with authority over the area.[63] The king then ordered another figure called Long Ge 龔姼 to make a great apportionment of land to Duan.[64] As no further details are offered on Long Ge, it is unclear whether he was local or traveled to Bi along with the king. However, since Duan thanked the king, rather than Long Ge, for the honors conveyed, it appears that Long Ge was a functionary rather than an active agent in the transaction.

Here, as in the Gao *you* case, the royal performance of *zheng* formed part of a wider ritual event that included rewarding subordinate elites. In this case, however, it took place on the home ground of the recipients. The king's visit, *zheng* ceremony, recounting of merits, and accompanying reward thus comprised a direct royal intervention in the local hierarchy through the medium of ritual.[65]

[61] The AS database dates the Duan *gui* to the middle Western Zhou. Shirakawa assigns it to King Zhao; see Shirakawa 74, 829. See also *MWX*, 261, 188, which dates it to a much later king (King Yih). The vessel passed through various private hands before entering the Shanghai Museum's collection; see *Yunqing* 3.23; *Zongji* 2737; AS database, 4208.

[62] On the location of Bi, see *Bureaucracy*, 151–152 and n. 3.

[63] Since Duan's presumptive ancestor bore the seniority term *zhong* 仲, "second son," he may have been the founder of a branch of the main Bi lineage; on the other hand, it is at least possible that the lineage of Bi Zhong became the dominant one in the area. On the problem of the nomenclature format (lineage name) (seniority term), see Sena, "Reproducing Society," 123–124.

[64] For this reading, see *MWX*, 189 n. 4.

[65] These three inscriptions are the most direct sources on Western Zhou kings performing *zheng*. Two more inscriptions associated with the Zhou king, however, should be accounted for: those of the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* (358) and the Hu *gui* (4317), both commonly attributed to the late Western Zhou King Li. The character in the former inscription rendered in the AS database as *zheng* is virtually illegible in the rubbing included in the collection; I suspect it is read as *zheng* by analogy with the inscription of the Hu *gui*, as the editors transcribe a character therein, readily identifiable as *zheng*, in the same manner. However, the character's use in the Hu *gui* inscription in conjunction with *xian* 憲 does not readily admit its interpretation as a devotional offering (see *MWX*, 279 n. 6). Drawing on a *Erya* gloss, *MWX* offers the simple reading of *zheng* as *mei* 美, "beautiful, good"; I am inclined to agree. Understanding the *zheng* in the Hu *gui* inscription in that sense then raises the possibility of reading the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* case, if indeed it is *zheng*, in the same way. Without further evidence, I therefore do not take the *zheng* in the Hu vessel inscriptions as the ritual technique.

Figure 1.4 The Ji *ding*. Image source: The Palace Museum/Image copyright © The Palace Museum.

Nonroyal Vessels Cast for *Zheng*-Offering

Two vessels commissioned by nonroyal elites and dating to the second half of the Western Zhou – the Taishi Cuo *dou* 大師虘豆 (4692) and the Ji *ding* 姬鼎 (2681) (Figure 1.4) – declare *zheng* as the purpose of their creation.[66] Both are food vessels, contrasting with the admittedly weak association of *zheng* with liquor in early inscriptions. Both also indicate that the *zheng* in question would be devotions to patrilineal ancestors; though this likely held for the early, royal cases as well, the relevant inscriptions lack evidence to that effect.[67] The Ji *ding* was almost certainly made to support the ritual activities of a married woman on behalf of her husband's patriline.[68] The combination of the terms *zheng* and *chang* in its inscription, in the phrase 用糕(烝)用嘗 *yong zheng yong chang* ("therewith to perform *zheng*-offering and *chang*-offering"),

[66] The Taishi Cuo *dou* 大師虘豆 (4692) is no longer extant; it is known from *Yunqing* (3.1). It can be dated to the late Western Zhou period, however, by connection with the Taishi Cuo *gui* (4251–4252), reputedly discovered in Xi'an in 1941 and still held by the Palace Museum, Beijing. The vertical ribs decorating the latter vessel are relatively unusual in Western Zhou bronze décor. Based on this point and the probable life sequence of figures named in the inscription, Shaughnessy argues for a King Xiao date; see *Sources*, 262–266. For another detailed discussion of the Taishi Cuo *gui*'s relationship to other bronzes, see *Bureaucracy*, 19 n. 29. Li notes Ma Chengyuan's dating of the vessel to King Yi, for which see *MWX*, 263–264. The Ji *ding* 姬鼎 (2681) is also in the Palace Museum collection. Its provenance is unknown; however, *Zhensong* (3.20) suggests that it was cast as the second half of a two-vessel set, the missing member of which carried the first half of the inscription. A third possible example appears on the Zhonghou *gui* (3589), dated by the AS database to the late Western Zhou. It contains a character that is quite close to what the AS database's Da Yu *ding* transcription renders as *zheng* and could feasibly be read that way. However, since the Zhonghou *gui* inscription offers no supporting context, this is not certain, and I have omitted this case from the analysis.

[67] In the case of the Ji *ding*, this is clear from its appearance in parallel with the terms *xiao* 孝 and *xiang* 享.

[68] When a surname like Ji appears in the inscriptions, it is usually part of a woman's name. See Li Zhongcao, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de funü chengwei," *Baoji wenbo* 1991.1, 35–39; Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Ji 姬 and Jiang 姜: The Role of Exogamic Clans in the Organization of the Zhou Polity," *EC* 25 (2000), 4–8.

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is the first occurrence of a formula that sees use in later inscriptions, and of an association that recurs in the later ritual texts.[69]

By the late Western Zhou, then, a model of *zheng* had emerged among non-royal elites that involved offering foodstuffs to patrilineal ancestors in search of longevity and other blessings. Providing for these lineage cult activities was itself apparently sufficient justification for creating an inscribed bronze.

Zheng in Received Texts

Zheng is relatively common in received texts of possible Western Zhou date. As a term for an offering, it appears in two *Shijing* songs, "Feng nian" and "Zai shan," classified as "Zhou Hymns."[70] Both describe agricultural activities and their relationship with the envisioned Zhou social order, with ancestral devotions as an organizing principle. As befits its name, "Feng nian" covers only the harvest side of the equation. "Zai shan" is much longer; it gives a full and idealized account of the agricultural process, celebrating the rustic virility of the cultivators and arguing for the antiquity of the agricultural cycle and concomitant devotional activities. The part of the poem describing the harvest, however, is almost identical to the corresponding lines in "Feng nian":

> 載穫濟濟、有實其積、萬億及秭。
> 為酒為 醴、烝畀祖妣、以洽百禮 …
>
> The harvesters flow in, filling their stores, ten thousand, a million, even a billion [grains],
> Making liquor, making sweet wine, for *zheng* and giving to ancestors and ancestresses, in accordance with the hundred rites … (Zai shan)[71]

The poems specify quite clearly that the grains of the harvest will produce alcoholic beverages, which will then support the performance of *zheng* rites to patrilineal ancestors and ancestresses.[72] The designation of liquor for *zheng* is of note, echoing the association between the two in relevant early Western Zhou inscriptions.[73] The poems describe *zheng* as, if not a harvest rite, at least one that took place after the fruits of the harvest had been processed into spirits.

[69] Specifically, the inscriptions of the Chenhou Wu vessels, dating to the early Warring States period, employ this formula; see the Chenhou Wu *gui* 陳侯午簋 (4145), Tenth-year Chenhou Wu *gui* 十年陳侯午簋 (4648), and Fourteenth-year Chenhou Wu *gui* 十四年陳侯午簋 (4646–4647). On the association of *zheng* and *chang* in the ritual texts within the "seasonal rites" model, see *Zhouli*, "Da zong bo," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 758–759; "Si zun yi," 773–774; *Liji*, "Wang zhi," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1335–1336; "Ming tang wei," 1489–1790; "Ji tong," 1606.

[70] On the likely Western Zhou date of the "Luo gao," see Zhu and Xu, *Xian Qin shi yanjiu gaiyao*, 41–42; Shaughnessy, "Shang shu," in Loewe, *ECT*, 376–380.

[71] For "Feng nian," see *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 594; for "Zai shan," see 601–602.

[72] Both *jiu* and *li* also appear as verbs in the Western Zhou inscriptions; see Chapter 1.

[73] See the brief discussion of the Xiao Yu *ding* in Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 19.

They mention no special association with the royal house; there is no reason these poems might not have been performed in any Zhou elite household.

A relevant passage from the *Shangshu* offers less detail on *zheng per se* but more on its use in a royal ritual event. The "Luo gao" chapter narrates the ceremonies surrounding the establishment of the eastern Zhou capital at Chengzhou. The question of the appropriate role of the king – direct governor or ritual head of state – permeates the passage, thanks to its concern with King Cheng and the Duke of Zhou.[74] As such, the narrative contains several significant terms relating to Zhou ritual. One portion describes a series of offerings conducted when King Cheng assigned the Duke of Zhou to handle affairs at Chengzhou:[75]

> 戊辰,王在新邑,烝祭。歲文王騂牛一,武王騂牛一。王命作冊。逸祝冊,惟告周公其後。王賓,殺、禋,咸格,王入太室祼。王命周公後,作冊,逸誥。在十有二月,惟周公誕保文武受命、惟七年。
>
> On the *wuchen* day, at the New City (*Xinyi*), the king performed *zheng*-sacrifice.[76] He presented one red ox to King Wen and one red ox to King Wu in *sui*-offering. The king ordered Document Maker Yi to perform an invocation with documents, announcing that the Duke of Zhou would remain behind.[77] The king acted as [ritual] guest; he killed (the sacrificial victim). When the offering was complete, he entered.[78] The king entered the Great Hall (*Taishi* 太室) and performed *guan*-libation. The king commanded the Duke of Zhou to remain behind; Document Maker Yi made the announcement. It was the twelfth month, when Dan, the Duke of Zhou, preserved the command received by Kings Wen and Wu; it was the seventh year.[79]

The king's *zheng* accompanied but was not equivalent to his *sui*-offering 歲, in which he offered one red ox each to his father and grandfather. These acts, as well as an offering called *yin* 禋, took place outside the complex containing

[74] Legge, *The Shoo King*, 433.

[75] *Shangshu*, "Luo gao," in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 214–217, esp. 217. The excerpt follows the CHANT database edition, except where specified.

[76] I have altered the punctuation to break this clause between *ji* 祭 and *sui* 歲 rather than between *sui* and *wen* 文, as the CHANT edition does.

[77] I do not observe the break inserted by CHANT between *Zuoce*, the common title "Document Maker," and *yi* 逸; I hold this to be the compound name "Document Maker Yi." On the title of Document Maker, see *Bureaucracy*, 310–311, and Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu, *Xi Zhou jinwen guanzhi yanjiu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986, 34–36. With respect to the meaning of *hou* 後 here, I follow Legge in relating it to the following contents of the passage (i.e., the king's leaving the Duke of Zhou behind at Chengzhou). See Legge, *The Shoo King*, 444–445, 451–452.

[78] My sense is that *xian* 咸 and *ge* 格 are independent of each other and the passage uses *ge* 格 and *ru* 入 to describe the king's entry into the overall compound and the Great Hall, respectively. The change does not substantially affect the meaning of the passage. On reading *yin* 禋 as "offering" in a general sense, see the section devoted to that term.

[79] *Dan* 誕 here probably substitutes for *dan* 旦, the personal name of the Duke of Zhou.

the Great Hall (*Taishi* 太室) – presumably because, as the passage specifies, the sequence involved the king killing the sacrificial victims. Along with them, an official with the title "Document Maker" (*Zuoce* 作冊) performed an invocation at the king's behest, perhaps relating to the king's upcoming command to the Duke of Zhou.[80] When finished, the king proceeded inside to perform *guan*-libation and issue the official announcement, through the intermediary Document Maker Yi, that the Duke of Zhou would remain behind in Chengzhou. The individual offering *zheng* here is just one component of an extended ritual sequence. Many of the surviving accounts of early Western Zhou royal ritual are like this; Chapter 4 of this work explores the implications of this fact in greater detail.

Zhu 祝 (Invocation)

Inscriptions from throughout the Western Zhou contain *zhu* 祝, a term with precedent in the Shang oracle bones, which the Han-era *Shuowen jiezi* – a much later source – defines as "when the master of a ritual speaks words of praise" (*ji zhu zan ci zhe* 祭主贊詞者), and which is sometimes translated as "Invoker" or "Invocator."[81] Two points from received texts support understanding *zhu* in this sense in the Western Zhou sources. The "Luo gao" chapter of the *Shangshu* records that King Cheng, as part of a series of offerings, orders Document Maker Yi (*Zuoce Yi* 作冊逸) to perform a *zhu* 祝 with documents relating to the Duke of Zhou's subsequent assignment.[82] In the "Ke Yin" chapter of the *Yizhoushu*, the term serves as part of the title "Temple Invoker" (*zongzhu* 宗祝), a figure whom the leader of the Zhou orders to honor important guests and conduct prayers among the Zhou troops after the conquest of Shang.[83]

[80] There is room to wonder whether attendees might have seen a distinction between two separate events: one consisting of the *zheng* and *sui* offerings and an invocation by Document Maker Yi at the king's behest; and a second comprising the king's ritual guest-hood, the *yin*-offering, the *guan*-libation, and the announcement of the king's command to the Duke of Zhou. The grammar of the passage accommodates but does not require the reading of a break between the characters *ce* 冊 and *wei* 惟. Since a separate date is not given for the second grouping of ritual actions, however, and since the king's "killing" could reasonably refer to the oxen mentioned as part of the *sui* offering, I am inclined to read the entire sequence as a single, extended event.

[81] *Shuowen*, 6; for relevant examples of the translation of *zhu*, see Kern, "Bronze Inscriptions," 174–176; *Bureaucracy*, 311; Robin D. S. Yates, "Soldiers, Scribes, and Women: Literacy among the Lower Orders in Early China," in Li Feng and David Prager Branner, eds., *Writing and Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011, 354, 357. Examples of Shang OBI containing the term *zhu* include H01076v, H15278, H15362, etc. (results accessed from CHANT database, 04/25/2018).

[82] The appearance of Document Maker Yi in this inscription offers some oblique support for an early date for this passage, since, as Li Feng notes, the office of Document Maker was active mainly during the early Western Zhou. See *Bureaucracy*, 310.

[83] Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu jiaobu zhuyi*, Xi'an: Sanqin, 2006, 182–183. Note that the standard text prints the character as *si* 祀 rather than *zhu* 祝; however, both Huang and the CHANT

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Together, these texts offer intriguing though inconclusive evidence that the relevant Western Zhou inscriptions might have meant by *zhu* something close to "invocation" or "Invoker."

Only two Western Zhou inscriptions use the term *zhu* for actual occurrences of a ritual technique. Chapter 4 discusses one of these, the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription, in detail; here we may simply note its claim that the king personally performed an invocation as part of a series of ritual events.[84] The second is the Qin *gui* 禽簋 (4041) inscription (Figures 1.5 and 1.6), dating probably to the reign of King Cheng and famed for mentioning the Duke of Zhou and his eldest son, Qin:[85]

> 王伐𡍮(蓋)侯,周公某(謀),禽祝,禽又(有)啟祝,王 易(賜)金百孚(鋝),禽用乍(作)寶彝。
>
> The king attacked the Marquis of Gai. The Duke of Zhou did the planning. Qin performed an invocation (*zhu*). Qin had a full-vessel invocation.[86] The king presented [Qin] with one hundred *lüe* of metal. Qin thereby makes a precious vessel.

Qin's invocation is part of the preparations for the king's campaign, the ritual counterpart to his father's planning. It is tempting to see the division of responsibilities between the Duke of Zhou and his son Qin as part of the Duke's controversial domination of the Western Zhou government during King Cheng's earlier years, stipulated in the classic historical narratives of the time.[87] Indeed, Qin held the official title of "Grand Invoker" (*Dazhu* 大祝), as we know from the inscription of the Dazhu Qin *ding* 大祝禽鼎 (1937–1938).[88]

Three more inscriptions commemorate the appointment of Zhou elites as either "Invokers" (*zhu* 祝) – an official position that persisted, in various locations and at various levels, throughout the Western Zhou period – or as aides to such.[89] The Shen *guigai* (4267), a middle Western Zhou vessel, records Shen's appointment to assist the "Grand Invoker" (*da zhu* 祝). Since his responsibilities

database edition correct this to *zhu* 祝. Later ritual texts offer a bit of weak corroboration in mentioning a *zongzhu*; see *Zhouli*, "Yu ren," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 923; *Liji*, "Li yun," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1425–1426. On the likely Western Zhou date of "Ke Yin," see Zhu Fenghan, *Xian Qin shi yanjiu gaiyao*, 42–43.

[84] See the treatment of the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription in Chapter 4.

[85] On the identity of Qin, referred to as Bo Qin, see *Shiji*, 1518. The Qin *gui* is a non-excavated vessel but was part of several private collections before entering the holdings of the National Museum of China; see *Duandai* 13, 27–28; AS database, 4041.

[86] The translation follows Ma's suggested reading of the character 啟; see *MWX*, 27, 18 n. 3.

[87] See, for example, *Shiji*, 1518–1520. Shaughnessy summarizes these affairs in "Western Zhou History," 310–317.

[88] The *JC* editors had some question about whether the two Dazhu Qin *ding* were both real; see *JC* 1938 (vol. 4, notes p. 49).

[89] On the office of Invoker, see *Bureaucracy*, 311.

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Figure 1.5 The Qin *gui*. Image courtesy of the National Museum of China.

Figure 1.6 The inscription of the Qin *gui*. After *JC* 4041.

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included supervising a group known as the "Invokers of the Nine Xi" (*jiu xi zhu* 九盭祝), one can reasonably assume that Shen carried the title of Invoker as well.[90] Notably, the inscription specifies that Shen is succeeding his father and grandfathers in this role, suggesting that his lineage had a family tradition of service as Invokers. The inscription of the Chang Xin *he* (9455), another middle Western Zhou vessel, describes a Grand Invoker's participation in a formal archery competition; since this Grand Invoker shot in a pair with the influential Elder of Jing (*Jingbo*), it stands to reason that his status at court was quite high.[91] Finally, the Qian *gui* (4296–4297), a late Western Zhou vessel, commemorates the king extending its commissioner's appointment as Invoker for the Five Cities, and the beginning portion of the inscription specifically refers to Qian as "Invoker Qian."[92] By the middle to late Western Zhou at the latest, it seems, the office of Invoker had developed both an internal hierarchy of ranks and hereditary associations with particular lineages.

In the early Western Zhou, then, the king could perform *zhu*-invocation but could also appoint official personnel to do so. Middle and late Western Zhou inscriptions attest to an expansion of such personnel. The title of Grand Invoker, once held by Qin, survived into the middle Western Zhou at least, and lesser offices were created as well. Some were known simply as "Invoker," while others, such as "Invoker of the Five Cities" and "the Invokers of the Nine Military Camps," were identified with specific locations, extending the royal ritual model across the Zhou cultural sphere.

Invocations place the performer at the center of attention during important public events. At a time when state-level public appearances required an enormous investment in time and resources, an official appointment to make them regularly would have offered substantial prestige. It is unsurprising, then, that the institutional underpinnings of *zhu*-invocation expanded over the course of the period. Pressure on the royal house to afford powerful elites and their scions the prestige and public visibility of invocation must have been great. At the same time, selecting invokers would have been a powerful tool for

[90] *MWX* identifies this term simply as a "conferred settlement" (*caiyi* 采邑); see *MWX*, 23, 161 n. 1. Li Feng identifies the character as *xi* 戲 and reads it as referring to military camps; see *Bureaucracy*, 77–79. The Shen *guigai* itself was donated to the Zhenjiang Museum in 1963 along with several other artifacts; see Liu Xing, "Shen guigai ming kaoshi," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1983.2, 18.

[91] The Elder of Jing (Jingbo) was a powerful figure of the middle Western Zhou period; on his role in the relative dating of bronzes, see *Sources*, 116–120. The Chang Xin *he* dates to the reign of King Mu; see *Sources*, 110–111. Chapter 2 discusses the vessel in more detail.

[92] The Qian *gui* are known from depictions in *Kaogutu* 3.9–10. With their three raised feet and horizontal ribbing beneath a narrow band of ornamentation, they can unproblematically be dated to the late Western Zhou; compare, for example, the two Zhong Youfu *gui* 中友父簋 (3755–3756) from a cache in Qijiacun, pictured in detail in *Zhouyuan*, 29. This decoration is the essence of what Shaughnessy calls "*Gui* Style IV," dating to Kings Yi, Li, and Xuan; see *Sources*, 130–132.

soliciting the loyalty of lesser elites, developing them as resources with recognition and connections among the community, and establishing an alternative to the context of military endeavor that supported much of early Western Zhou patronage.[93]

Post–early Western Zhou inscriptions contain no references to specific performances of *zhu*. Judging, however, from the detailed references in received texts from the Eastern Zhou and Han periods, we can safely say that the practice of *zhu*-invocation achieved traction throughout the Zhou cultural sphere and survived throughout the pre-Qin period.[94] Probably, then, the expansion of officially designated Invokers was accompanied by continued practice of invocation throughout the Western Zhou state, and the lack of references to specific invocations in middle and late inscriptions reflects not an overall waning of the practice, but changes in the royal practice of ritual and its relationship to the casting of inscribed bronzes.

LIVESTOCK OFFERINGS AND ROYAL PATRONAGE

Sacrifice of livestock animals was a central feature of early Chinese ritual from the earliest reaches of recorded history down through the creation of the ritual canon. Indeed, inquiries about the proper type, number, and timing of livestock sacrifices loom large in the Shang oracle bones, the earliest extant written records in China.[95] Sacrificial offerings were among the aspects of Shang ritual that the Zhou kings continued, and traces of their use made their way into the inscriptions of bronzes. These accounts offer little detail on the technical aspects of sacrifice, but they have much to say about the social relations that sacrificial offerings helped to create, maintain, and modify.

In the Western Zhou inscriptions, the two ritual techniques *di/chi* 禘/啻 and *lao* 牢/*da lao* 大牢 both involved livestock offerings. A close look at their records in the inscriptions will shed some light on how the Zhou kings' investment in livestock sacrifice, as both performers and patrons, helped tie together the Zhou elite community.

[93] The famous observation "the great affairs of the state are ritual and war" (*Zuozhuan*, Duke Cheng, 13th year, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1911) has a corollary: if you cannot achieve success through one, you can pursue it through the other.

[94] *Zhu* appears several times in later portions of the *Shangshu* and the *Shijing*, and two later chapters of the *Yizhoushu* purport specifically to record important invocations of the Shang and Zhou periods; see, for example, *Shangshu*, "Jin teng," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 196; *Mao shi*, "Chu ci," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 468; Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, 412–424. It is particularly prevalent in the *Sanli*, however, appearing more than eighty times in the *Yili* alone, with double-digit occurrences in the *Zhouli* and *Liji* as well (figures accessed from the CHANT database concordances, 04/25/2018).

[95] See David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, 33–35.

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Chi 禘 *(Di* 禘*?)*

The Western Zhou bronze inscriptions record four instances of a ritual action designated *chi* 禘 – that is, the base character *di* 帝 over a mouth radical or other square object 口. Analyses of this term sometimes approach it as an intermediary stage between *di* 帝, used by the Shang for both the greatest known spirit and a rite performed for a variety of ancestor spirits and natural phenomena;[96] and *di* 禘, characterized in the *Liji* as a seasonal rite exclusive to the Zhou royal house.[97] Judging from bronze inscriptions, however, the Western Zhou rite that this character designated shared little with either the Shang *di* 帝 rite that preceded it or the *di* 禘 rites described in Eastern Zhou and Han sources.[98] Instead, the inscriptions depict a nonexclusive livestock rite that made up a key part of Western Zhou elite patronage.

The earliest case, appearing in the Xiao Yu *ding* 小盂鼎 (2839) inscription, formed part of an elaborate, multiday ritual event. In the wake of a great military victory, the vessel commissioner Yu attended the king – probably King Kang – at the Zhou Temple (*Zhou miao* 周廟) together with some of the most powerful individuals in the Zhou state.[99] As part of the recognition of his accomplishments, Yu witnessed a *di*/*chi* 禘 offering that the king performed, targeting the previous kings Wu and Cheng as well as a figure called "the Zhou King"; the latter presumably referred to King Wen as founder of the Zhou state.[100] The offering involved a livestock sacrifice (*sheng* 牲) and was connected with a number of libations (*guan* 祼) exchanged between the aristocratic participants, as well as a crack-divination (*bu* 卜) and an invocation (*zhu* 祝) performed by the king himself. The king presented Yu with several gifts on this occasion.[101]

[96] For a comparative summary of analyses of *di* in the oracle bones, including bibliographic references to major interpretations, see Sarah Allan, "On the Identity of Shang Di and the Origin of the Celestial Mandate," *EC* 31 (2007), 1–46. See also *JGWZGL* 1132, 1082–1086. In fact, both Allan and Liu Yuan note that the Shang may have observed an orthographic distinction between Di the spirit and *di* the rite; see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 66; Allan, "Shang Di," 21–22, 24–26.

[97] See *Liji*, "Da zhuan," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1506; "Wang zhi," 1335–1337; "Ji yi," 1592. For an example of the approach mentioned, see Liu Lamei, "Qianxi Yin dai wanqi zhi Chunqiu shiqi "diji" de bianhua," *Heilongjiang shizhi* 2009.19, 119, 125. *JWGL* 7, 120, summarizes arguments from a number of scholars identifying *chi* 禘 with *di* 帝 and/or *di* 禘, including Fang Junyi, Xu Zhongshu, and Ding Shan.

[98] Allan, "Shang Di," 25–26; Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 70–71, 75–76. Unlike the Shang rite, which targeted both ancestral spirits and natural entities, the Western Zhou *chi* 禘 rite, like most of the period, targeted only recent patrilineal ancestors; see Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 496–498, 515. Nor did the Western Zhou rite have a discernible seasonal association, unless one accepts that the small sample set available establishes a bi-seasonal schedule for the *chi* 禘 rite; for that viewpoint, see Dong Lianchi, "Yin Zhou diji tanzhen," *Renwen zazhi* 1994.5, 75–78, which assigns the rite to summer and autumn.

[99] On the Zhou Temple, see *Bureaucracy*, 160–163.

[100] The "Da kuang" chapter of the *Yizhoushu* uses this address for King Wen during his tenure at Cheng 程. See Niu Hong'en, *Xin yi Yizhoushu*, 2 vols., Taipei: Sanmin, 2015, 86.

[101] Xiao Yu *ding* (JC 2839, *MWX*, 63); a full translation and discussion appears in Chapter 4.

Further occurrences of the *di/chi* offering appear in several brief inscriptions dating to the middle Western Zhou period. Read together, they offer an intriguing network of data on the circumstances of the rite and its role in elite relations. The Xian *gui* (10166), for example, also records the king's formal acknowledgment of a subordinate in conjunction with a *di/chi* offering to a prior king – in this case, King Zhao.[102] Liquor and liquor vessels figured importantly in the process; not only did the honoree Xian take part in *guan*-libations, but the king also awarded him jade tools for conducting them. This also recalls the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription narrative, which, though incomplete, describes even more elaborate exchanges of libations between honoree, king, and attendees.

The La *ding* 剌鼎 (2776), another probable King Mu vessel,[103] suggests that its dedicatee played an active role in the king's *di/chi* rite:

> 唯五月王才(在)衣, 辰才(在)丁卯,王啻(禘),用牡于大室,啻(禘)卲(昭)王,剌𠂤(御), 王易(賜)剌貝卅朋, 天子邁(萬)年,剌對揚王休, 用乍(作)黃公尊𣪘彝, 其(其)孫孫子子永寶用。
>
> It was the fifth month; the king was at Yi. On the day *dingmao*, the king conducted the *di*-rite. He employed a sacrifice in the Great Hall and performed the *di*-rite for King Zhao; La attended [on the king]. The king presented La with thirty strings of cowries. Ten thousand years to the Son of Heaven! La praises the king's beneficence in response, thereby making a precious *jiang*-vessel for Huanggong. May [his] grandsons' grandsons and sons' sons long treasure and use [it].

In fact, the La *ding* inscription is the only example in which the *di/chi* rite does not coincide with a ceremonial acknowledgment of merit. It is of course possible that no such acknowledgment occurred in this case. However, the term *yu* 御, rendered here as "to attend on," indicates that La was not a passive guest, but played a supporting role in the rite.[104] This suggests that the gift La received was meant to reward his help with the rite itself. If an acknowledgment of merit did occur, La may have omitted it as irrelevant to his case; alternatively, the cowries may simply have been meant as a hospitality gift for La.

The aforementioned inscriptions comprise all cases in which the king is said to have performed a *di/chi* rite. Other Zhou aristocrats did so as well, however.

[102] Vessels whose inscriptions, like that of the Xian *gui*, refer to departed kings are typically dated to the reign of the following king, which would make the Xian *gui* a King Mu bronze; see *Sources*, 108.

[103] Scholars generally agree that the La *ding* dates to the reign of King Mu; see Shirakawa 97, 256; *Sources*, 110. The vessel passed through the hands of several private collectors before reaching the holdings of the Guangzhou Municipal Museum; see *Duandai* 105, 145; AS database, 2776.

[104] For this reading of the character, see Shirakawa, 258–259.

The inscription of the Fan *you* 繁卣 (5430), dated by the AS database to the middle Western Zhou, provides an example:[105]

> 隹(唯)九月初吉癸丑,公𢦏祀,𠂤旬又一日辛亥,公賓(禘)𢦏辛公祀,卒事亡𣪘,公穫(蔑)繁曆,易(賜)宗彝一𠂤(肆)、車、馬兩。繁拜手䭫首,對揚公休,用乍(作)文考辛公寶噂彝,其邁(萬)年寶。〔或〕。
>
> It was the ninth month, the *chuji* moon phase, the *guichou* day. The Duke performed 𢦏-offerings. Eleven days later, on the *xinhai* day,[106] the Duke performed a *di*/*chi* offering and a 𢦏-offering to Duke Xin. The business was completed without harm. The Duke recounted Fan's merits, giving [him] a vessel for the ancestral hall,[107] a chariot, and two horses. Fan bows and strikes his head, praising the Duke's beneficence in response, therewith making a precious offering vessel for [his] cultured deceased father Duke Xin. May [he] treasure [it] for ten thousand years. [Emblem]

Here again, the vessel commissioner, Fan, receives the *mieli* acknowledgment in conjunction with a *di*/*chi* rite. In this case, however, the performer was not the king, but a person known by the title *gong* 公. Given that the rite in question targeted a certain Xingong 辛公 and that Fan dedicated his vessel to the same figure, it is likely that Fan was a blood relative of the dedicatee, perhaps a younger brother or member of a branch lineage connected with the main lineage through Duke Xin. The Duke awarding an ancestral vessel (*zongyi* 宗彝) to Fan exemplifies the direct promulgation of ancestral ritual. The Duke rewards Fan for playing the appropriate role in the former's ancestral cult, while also providing him with the tools to conduct his own cult activities. Here, then, is a case of the active structuring of the lineage hierarchy through ritual participation.

Based on later texts, one might imagine that the Duke, by performing *di*/*chi*, co-opted a royal prerogative.[108] The inscription of the Da *gui*大簋 (4165) (Figures 1.7 and 1.8), however, shows that the royal house intended for others to perform the rite:

> 唯六月初吉丁巳,王才(在)奠[109](鄭),穫(蔑)大曆,易(賜)芻𦎫(騂)𤰞(犅),曰:用啻于乃考。大拜䭫首,對揚王休,用乍(作)𣪊(朕)皇考大中(仲)噂𣪘。

[105] *MWX* dates the Fan *you* to King Mu's reign; see 119, 125.

[106] In fact, the day *xinhai* is two days earlier in the sixty-day cycle. *MWX* explains this disparity by suggesting that the eleven days in question referred to the separation of these rites not from the first date given, but from the performance of rites dedicated to a previous ancestor in a system of ancestors; see *MWX*, 125 n. 2. An error in the first branch of one of the two dates might also explain the problem; Liu Yu suggests such a solution in "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de jizuli," *Kaogu xuebao* 1989.4, 500.

[107] Or perhaps a set of vessels. Wu Zheng has recently argued that the bronze inscriptions contain no measure words for individual items; see Wu Zheng, "Yin Zhou Hanyu mingliangci bianxi," *Yindu xuekan* 2009.3, 111–115.

[108] The *Liji* model of the rite *di* 禘 emphasizes its exclusivity to the royal house; for the classic formulation of this stance, see *Liji*, "Da zhuan," in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1506.

[109] I follow *MWX*, 270, in reading the character here as *dian* 奠 (representing *zheng* 鄭).

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> It was the sixth month, the *chuji* moon phase, the *dingsi* day; the King was at Zheng and recounted Da's merits, awarding him red, grain-fed livestock and saying, "Use this in *di*/*chi*-offering to your deceased father." Da bowed and struck his head, praising the king's beneficence in response, therewith making a *gui*-tureen for offerings for my august deceased father Da Zhong.[110]

In this case, the king is in Zheng, outside the normal sphere of his ritual activities; he is probably on the home ground of the Da lineage.[111] He conducts the recounting of merits for Da and arranges an award of cattle raised on fodder, stipulating their use as offerings in a *di*/*chi* rite to Da's patrilineal ancestors. Although the king himself does not perform an offering, he does take pains to associate the acknowledgment of Da's merits with ancestral ritual by ensuring that Da is equipped to carry on the rite on his own time.

Figure 1.7 The Da *gui*. Image source: The Palace Museum/Image copyright © The Palace Museum.

[110] There is some disagreement on the date of this bronze. Shirakawa suggests the eras of Kings Mu and Gong; see Shirakawa 118, 491–494. *MWX* assigns it to King Yi; see *MWX*, 393, 269–270. *Duandai* dates it to after King Gong; see *Duandai* 121, 168–169. I follow Shirakawa's dating. Now in the collection of the Palace Museum, the vessel was previously held by the Qing rulers; see *Sandai* 8.44v.3; *Xiqing xujia* 12.40–41; AS database, 4165; *Gugong* 188.

[111] On Zheng, see Lu Liancheng, "Zhou du yu Zheng kao," in Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Guwenzi lunji* (*Kaogu yu wenwu congkan* no. 2; Xi'an: 1983), 8–11.

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大𣪘

Figure 1.8 The inscription of the Da *gui*. After *JC* 4165.

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Royal support of *di/chi* seen here reinforced the association of the patrilineal ancestral cult with the prestige derived from connections with the Zhou royal house. Da could conduct the *di/chi* rite with auspicious offerings thanks to the largesse he received in conjunction with his official acknowledgment of merits. Performing the offerings within his own ancestral cult would then recall his relationship with the king. The Zhou kings thus tethered the internal relationships of Da's lineage to external relationships (i.e., Da's standing with the Zhou royal house).[112] The fact that the kings had themselves performed the *di/chi* rite that Da was to perform would have reinforced this connection, as would Da commissioning an inscribed bronze commemorating his receipt of the livestock for the offering. The normative force of these connections would, of course, have been contingent on Da's actual performance of the rite as requested. It is possible that Da simply accepted the king's gift with good grace and went about his business. Still, the example of the Fan *you* indicates that at least some Zhou aristocrats found the *di/chi* rite relevant enough to carry out independent of the king's immediate supervision; and Da recording the sequence on an inscribed bronze suggests that he introduced at least the idea of royally sponsored *di/chi* into the context of his lineage cult.

The Bamboo Annals *and the Chronology of* Di/Chi

These examples comprise all direct references to *di/chi* 啻 as a rite in the Western Zhou inscriptions. However, the "New Text" section of the *Bamboo Annals* contains two references to a rite under the name *di* 禘. One, dated to King Cheng's reign, notes that representatives of the state of Lu 魯 performed it at the Temple of the Duke of Zhou after a successful campaign with the king.[113] The other targeted "the former kings" (*xian wang* 先王) and is

[112] It is worth noting that Da referred to his father as *zhong* 仲, indicating either that he was at one point second in line to succeed as lineage head or that his and therefore Da's lineage was a branch; see Sena, "Reproducing Society," 123–124. The inscription's referral to Da by that name (that is, by the name of his lineage) suggests to me that the former was more likely. This raises questions about Da's relative seniority within the hierarchy of his lineage. Was Da referred to by that name because he was the current lineage head? If not, how did his status as son of a second sibling affect his standing within the lineage, and how did the king's patronage of Da react with that dynamic?

[113] *Bamboo Annals*, King Cheng, 13th year. See Legge, *The Shoo King, Vol. 1, Prolegomena*, 146; future references will indicate page numbers in this edition. Lu was founded by the Duke of Zhou's descendants; see Shaughnessy, "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Minister-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy," *EC* 18 (1993), 48–50; *Bureaucracy*, 58. The Temple of the Duke of Zhou (*Zhougong miao* 周公廟) was probably in the area still known by that name today, where substantial Western Zhou remains have been discovered; on the work in this area, see Xu Tianjin, "Zhougongmiao yizhi de kaogu suohuo yu suosi," *Wenwu* 2006.8, 55–62. Thus, after the campaign was complete, the forces of Lu made offerings at a temple in the heartland, devoted to their recently deceased lineage founder, before traveling back to their homeland in the eastern reaches of north China.

attributed to King Kang.[114] As public ancestral rites, recorded as major events and performed by both the Zhou king and the representatives of a powerful branch lineage, these are compatible with the image of *chi* 賁 presented in the bronze inscriptions. The *Bamboo Annals* account, if one takes it seriously, thus offers some oblique evidence that early authors saw the term *di/chi* 賁 in the Western Zhou bronzes as related to the term *di* 禘.[115]

Di/Chi *and Zhou Politics*

The ritual technique *di/chi* 賁 was used during the early and middle Western Zhou periods; three inscriptions mentioning it probably date to the reign of King Mu. The Zhou kings performed it occasionally as part of major ceremonial events, but other powerful Zhou elites used it as well, with the blessing of the Zhou royal house.[116] It involved, or at least admitted, a livestock sacrifice and frequently took place in conjunction with *guan*-libations. The Zhou kings performed it in multiple locations at different times. Typically, however, it went along with an official recounting of a subordinate's merit, providing an opportunity to instantiate hierarchical bonds between superior and subordinate in the context of patrilineal ancestral ritual.

Rewarding elites who assisted with the ritual event, as in the La *ding* inscription, extended patronage opportunities beyond the individual relationship celebrated in the recounting of merit. This in turn would have encouraged a sense of cooperative well-being, as the ancestral rituals associated with the honoring of one created opportunities for others to distinguish themselves and receive rewards. *Di/chi* events thus encouraged elites to develop interdependent assignations of status within the rubric of Zhou elite interaction. To use Callon's term, they strove to establish *interessement*, to engage different elites in forming the pearl of Zhou elite identity around the grain of sand that was ritual.[117]

[114] *Bamboo Annals*, King Kang, 3rd year, 147. Note that the *Bamboo Annals* record of King Kang's *di*-rite assigns it to the third year of his reign, definitively precluding the possibility that it refers to the same event recorded in the Xiao Yu *ding* inscription.

[115] The authenticity of the "New Text" *Bamboo Annals* is the subject of a long and still ongoing debate. For an introduction to the issue, see David S. Nivison, "Chu shu chi nien," in Loewe, *ECT*, 39–43, and the sources listed therein. For further statements, see David W. Pankenier, "The 'Bamboo Annals' Revisited: Problems of Method in Using the Chronicle as a Source for the Chronology of Early Zhou, Part 2: The Congruent Mandate Chronology in 'Yi Zhou shu,'" *BSOAS* 55.3 (1992), 498–510; David S. Nivison, *The Riddle of the Bamboo Annals*, Taipei: Airiti Press, 2009; Shaughnessy, "Of Riddles and Recoveries: The *Bamboo Annals*, Ancient Chronology, and the Work of David Nivison," *Journal of Chinese Studies* 52 (January 2011), 269–290; David S. Nivison, *The Nivison Annals: Selected Words of David S. Nivison on Early Chinese Chronology, Astronomy, and Historiography*, ed. Adam C. Schwartz, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

[116] As noted in the previous section, the "New Text" *Bamboo Annals* offer one more such example: representatives of Lu 魯 making offerings to the Duke of Zhou, the progenitor of the state's ducal line.

[117] See Callon, "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation," 206–211.

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Figure 1.9 The Haozi *you*. Unknown artist, China, 11th c. BCE, bronze. Minneapolis Institute of Art: bequest of Alfred F. Pillsbury, 50.46.94a, b. Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art.

Lao 牢/Da Lao 大牢

As implied by its form, the character *lao* 牢 is generally understood in Shang and Western Zhou inscriptions to indicate pen-raised livestock animals or the sacrificial offering of such.[118] Only two inscriptions offer any potential evidence that the Zhou kings personally performed offerings called by that name.

[118] For a summary of prevailing opinions on the term, see *JGWZGL* 1548, 1504–1517; *JWGL* 100, 527–528. The *Shuowen* has simply "an enclosure for the care of cattle and horses"; see *Shuowen*, 52.

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Figure 1.10 The inscription of the Haozi *you*. Unknown artist, China. 11th c. BCE, bronze. Minneapolis Institute of Art: Bequest of Alfred F. Pillsbury, 50.46.94a, b. Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art.

One, the Zi *zun* 子尊 (6000), may be of Shang rather than Western Zhou date; in its inscription, the term effectively functions as a measure word – albeit for animals to be used as victims in a specified rite.[119] In the second, that of the Haozi *you* 貉子卣 (5409) (Figures 1.9 and 1.10), *lao* probably means simply "to pen up [game]," as on a hunt.[120]

[119] The Zi *zun* was recovered in the course of agricultural work at Dayuancun, Chang'an County, Shaanxi, in the 1960s; see Chen Xianfang, "Fu gui zun yu Zi zun," *Wenwu* 1986.1, 44. The Academia Sinica database dates it to the late Shang or early Western Zhou. Liu Yu treats it as an early Western Zhou vessel and interprets the events of the inscription as a show of subservience by Zi, an elite of Shang heritage, to the Zhou king; see Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 509. Chen Xianfang similarly suggests that Zi was a Shang elite who had submitted to the Zhou; however, Chen views the inscription as evidence that remnant Shang elites retained some Shang cultural characteristics after the conquest. See Chen Xianfang, "Fu gui zun yu Zi zun," 44–45.

[120] See *Duandai*, 123. This unprovenanced vessel, once part of a pair possessed by the Qing imperial house, is now in the Minneapolis Museum of Art. Chen Mengjia held that the lid was genuine and the vessel (bearing a textually identical inscription) fake. See *Duandai* 82, 123; *Xiqing* 15.9–10; *Meidiguozhuyi* A626 (vol. 1, 118, 230; vol. 2, 882–883); Bernhard Karlgren, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952, 47–50.

Nonroyal elites certainly employed a sacrifice called *lao*, however, and higher-ranking or even royal patrons occasionally supported their efforts. Three more instances of the term *lao* occur among the inscriptions. All appear in the compound phrase *da lao* 大牢, "great penned livestock [offering]," seen commonly in both Shang oracle bones and later received texts.[121] The inscription of the Lübo *gui* (3979) offers some evidence that this phrase could describe an offering:

> 吕(呂)白(伯)乍(作)毕(厥)宫室寶障彝𣪘,大牢, 其萬年祀毕(厥)祖考。
>
> The Elder of Lü makes a precious sacrificial *gui*-tureen for his palace hall and [performs] a great *lao*-offering. May he make offerings (*si* 祀) to his grandfathers and deceased father for ten thousand years. (Lübo *gui* 呂伯簋 [3979])

The Lübo *gui* is no longer extant; we know it from its line drawing and rubbing in *Xiqing*.[122] *Duandai* dates it to King Kang.[123] Judging from the apparent depth of the vessel, its facing-bird decorations, and its cover, however, the AS database is probably right to assign it to the middle Western Zhou.[124] The syntax of the inscription leaves little room for doubt that the *da lao* it records was an ancestral offering.[125]

The remaining two vessels have both entered the corpus relatively recently. The Rong Zhong *ding* 榮仲鼎 (NA1567), probably dating to the early Western Zhou, was recently acquired by the Poly Museum.[126] It records that a party called Zi 子 conferred an honorary gift on Rong Zhong after the king created a structure for Rong Zhong that AS renders as *gong* 宫, "palace, office," and Li identifies as *xu* 序, "school."[127] This Zi may have been a royal scion; the son or sons of the Elder and the Lord of Hu; or perhaps even a powerful former Shang noble, as Liu Yu proposed for the Zi of the Zi *zun* inscription. After the

[121] For examples of *da lao* in the Shang oracle bones, see H21548, H28244, H29561, etc.; for *da lao* in later received texts, see, for example, *Zhouli*, "Qiu guan si kou," "Zhang ke," in *Shisanjing zhushu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980, 900–902; *Yili*, "Pin li," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1048; *Liji*, "Wang zhi," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1337.

[122] *Xiqing* 27.11.

[123] *Duandai* 88, 128; 12, 24–27. *Duandai* notes that a Lübo appears also in the inscription of the Ban *gui*, which it dates to King Cheng.

[124] Compare, for example, the Chang Xin *gui* (3581–3582), which Shaughnessy offers as exemplar of his "Style II *gui*"; see Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, "Chang'an Puducun Xi Zhou mu de fajue," *Kaogu xuebao* 1957.1, 75–85, esp. 79, plate 2; *Sources*, 129–130, fig. 22. Shaughnessy dates the Ban *gui* to the middle Western Zhou as well; see *Sources*, 107.

[125] The phrase is grammatically independent of the preceding and following sentences, both of which follow common Western Zhou inscriptional formulae. It must contain a verb, for which *lao* is the obvious choice.

[126] On the Rong Zhong *ding*, see Li Xueqin, "Shilun xin faxian de Ban fangding he Rong Zhong fangding," *Wenwu* 2005.9, 59–69, and Feng Shi, "Ban fangding, Rong Zhong fangding ji xiangguan wenti," *Kaogu* 2006.8, 67–73. Li Xueqin, 62, compares the vessel to the Zhong *fangding* (2751), an early Western Zhou bronze illustrated in *Bogutu* and the Xian *ding* (NA0703). The AS database editors assign it to the early Western Zhou.

[127] AS database; Li Xueqin, "Shilun," 62–63.

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gift, Rong Zhong issued invitations to the sons of the Elder of Rui (*Ruibo* 芮伯) and the Lord of Hu (*Huhou* 胡侯).[128] What brings the event to our attention here is that Zi's gifts to Rong Zhong included *sheng da lao* 牲大牢, "a great *lao* for sacrifice."

The sequence of this inscription suggests that the Zhou royal house set up physical infrastructure to support patronage, royal or otherwise, of Rong Zhong's ancestral cult activities. After the king furnished a facility, Rong Zhong hosted elites from the lineages of Rui and Hu, drawing on the resources received from Zi to forge bonds with other powerful Zhou affiliates.[129] The *da lao*, the offering animals, in question let Rong leverage the facility built for him by the king to make inter-lineage connections, at once winning status for himself and strengthening the network of relations around which the Zhou state was organized. Zi then rewarded Rong Zhong yet again, providing him with metal to cast a bronze commemorating the event.

If Zi's role in the Rong Zhong *ding* inscription raises questions about the connection of the royal house to the activities described therein, the inscription of the Ren *ding* 壬鼎 (NA1554), recently acquired by the Chinese National Museum, presents no such ambiguities.[130] It records that Ren's merits were officially recounted by a representative of the king after a series of unusual circumstances.[131] Gifts, which again included a *da lao* meant expressly for sacrifice (the phrase used is *ting sheng tai lao* 挺牲太牢, "a great *lao* for

[128] Reading *su* 速 in the inscription as "to summon, to invite," as Li does; see Li Xueqin, "Shilun," 64.

[129] Having examined the rubbing image, I suspect that the repetition mark that both the AS database and Li Xueqin read after the character *zi* 子 at the end of the seventh line may be a flaw in either the bronze or the rubbing. If that is the case, then Rong Zhong issued an invitation to the Elder and the Marquis themselves rather than their sons, after which Zi presented him with a gift of metal. See Li Xueqin, "Shilun," 64, for the rubbing image.

[130] On the Ren *ding*, see Wang Guanying, "Ren ding mingwen kaoshi," *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2004.2, 20–25. The dating of the Ren *ding* to the middle Western Zhou, as in the AS database, is unproblematic; see Wang Guanying, 20.

[131] Wang Guanying reads the sequence as follows: the king received a beast of some sort, probably either a female ape or an elephant; a *ding*-cauldron was broken, possibly by the beast itself; Ren then purchased another cauldron (see p. 22). Wang rightly notes that the idea that ritual vessels could be bought and sold is controversial; see, for example, Constance A. Cook, "Wealth and the Western Zhou," *BSOAS* 60.2 (1997), 253–294, on the question of inalienable goods in the Western Zhou context. Wang suggests the alternate reading *mi* 冪, taking it to mean that the cauldron in question was covered or sealed, but is dissatisfied with that reading's failure to account for the problem of the broken cauldron. I would like to suggest that *ding xi* 鼎盡 and *mi* 冪 could be read as a single sentence, with *mi* carrying its *Shuowen* meaning of "to put a wooden pole through a cauldron's ears and carry it" (which meaning Wang himself points out; see p. 23). That sentence would then mean something like "a *ding*-cauldron broke its carrying-pole."

meat-sacrifice") accompanied the recounting.[132] In both of these inscriptions, then, an intermediary, rather than the king himself, conveyed gifts that included livestock offerings. We might attribute this to the convenience of delegating the management of animals to specialists, or to someone whose own herds were closer to the site of the gift; but the inscription of the Da *gui*, wherein the king personally conveys a reward of cattle for sacrifice, offers a counter-example.

No extant material confirms that any Western Zhou king performed an offering called *lao*. Most instances of the term describe gifts of livestock meant to support ancestral cult activities of other elites. The problematic Zi *zun* case, if we accept it as a Western Zhou vessel, describes the gift of livestock victims by an elite of potential Shang royal extraction to the king, for which he was well rewarded with a *zan*-jade – an important piece in the context of Western Zhou elite ornamentation – and a large volume of cowries. Through his support of royal sacrificial activities, he converted his agricultural wealth into a form denoting status within the Western Zhou sphere of elite interaction.[133] The Rong Zhong *ding* and Ren *ding* inscriptions, in contrast, record royal patronage of ancestral offerings performed by lesser elites. In the former inscription, Zi's gift helps integrate Rong Zhong into a network of ranking Zhou elites, while also tying him directly to the king through royal patronage of his ancestral cult. The Ren *ding* inscription records a similar situation, though Ren seems already to have rendered the king special service. Both of these inscriptions bear clan marks and dedications employing *tiangan* funerary names, raising the possibility that *lao* or *da lao*, as of the middle Western Zhou, was seen as relating to Shang heritage; however, the Lübo *gui* inscription contains neither.

Whether or not the Zhou kings ever performed *lao* as understood under the Shang, they did recognize how useful sacrificial livestock victims could be as a vehicle of patronage, allowing them to exert influence through the ancestral cults of local elite lineages. The redistribution mechanism of feasting ensured that those bonds would reach throughout patronized lineages and potentially, as in the Rong Zhong *ding* case, horizontally to other powerful Zhou elites.

[132] Both the AS database and Wang use the character *tai* 太 in their transcriptions, in analogy with the *tai lao* mentioned in later texts such as the *Gongyang zhuan*; see Wang Guanying, 23. There was no difference between *tai* 太 and *da* 大 in the early script.

[133] On the exchange of cowries during the Western Zhou period, see Li Yung-ti, "On the Function of Cowries in Shang and Western Zhou China," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 5 (2006), 1–26; Cook, "Wealth and the Western Zhou," 260–265. We cannot currently know to what degree this exchange was symmetrical, and, by extension, what degree of coercion was involved; though my sense is that a hundred strings of cowries was a very large volume indeed. Further work on the relative values of exchange items in the inscriptions is in order.

EARLY WESTERN ZHOU RITUAL TECHNIQUES

Certain Shang-style techniques carried over into the early Western Zhou period but failed to achieve lasting traction as part of the basic toolkit of Zhou elite ritual. A close look at the inscriptional records of three such techniques offers a glimpse of how political and practical concerns affected the scope of ancestral-ritual practice.

Liao 燎 *(Burnt Offering)*

The practice of burning offerings is attested in prehistoric China, particularly near the east coast.[134] Chen Mengjia connected this to a proposed western migration of the Shang population.[135] Whether or not it had been brought from the east, a ritual technique known as *liao* 燎 was common in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions (OBI) and, judging from the form of its character, probably involved burning.[136] Initially, it was offered to a wide range of natural entities and ancestral spirits, but it underwent phases of greater or lesser popularity, and its range of targets eventually decreased.[137] The Zhou acquired the custom of *liao* and probably performed it in the pre-conquest period, judging from its appearance in the Zhouyuan oracle bones. Their stipulated targets for the rite were limited to an entity which may or may not be the River (*He* 河), as well as the Marshals (*Shishi* 師氏), real figures known from bronze inscriptions. The involvement of the latter suggests that the rite was already developing an association with military affairs by the time the Zhouyuan bones were produced.[138]

The AS database inscriptions contain only one instance of the character *liao* 燎, plus a second case, written 尞, that was probably meant to indicate the same thing. Both refer to ceremonies held in the wake of successful military campaigns.[139] In the inscription of the Xiao Yu *ding*, as part of a great victory celebration at the Zhou Temple (*Zhoumiao* 周廟), Yu formally presents ears severed from his foes. This is accompanied by a *liao*-offering:

[134] See Li Jinshan, "Liaoji qiyuan yu dongbu yanhai diqu," *Zhongguo wenwu yanjiu* 7 (Spring 1995), 41–42; for an argument on the feasibility of assessing cultural distribution based on the materials used in burnt offerings, see Xu Ke, "Gudai liaoji yongwu jiqi yiyi," *Sichuan daxue xuebao* 2008.3, 138–143, esp. 142–143.

[135] Chen Mengjia, "Guwenzi zhong," 133.

[136] See *JGWZGL* 1526, pp. 1466–1470; Chen Mengjia, 107. Jiao Zhiqin finds 982 individual instances of the *liao* rite in *HJ*; see Jiao Zhiqin, "Buci liaoji de yanbian," *Yindu xuekan* 2001, 27.

[137] Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 508; Jiao Zhiqin, 29. On the range of entities targeted by *liao* in the Shang oracle bones, see Chen Mengjia, "Guwenzi zhong," 113–133.

[138] *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, 4, 26; Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 508.

[139] This is often noted; see, for example, Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 508.

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王乎(呼) … 令 … 毕(厥)𢦏(馘)入門,獻西旅,𠂤(以) … 入燎周廟,孟 … 入三門,即立中廷,北鄉(嚮),孟告。

The king called on … to order … their ears in through the gate and present them in the western part of the facility taking [the ears] and submitting [them as] a *liao*-offering at the Zhou Temple. Yu … entered the three gates and took up position in the center of the hall facing north; Yu reported.[140]

The poor condition of the inscription makes it hard to determine who conducted the *liao* in question. Provided that the term *ling* 令, "to order, to command," is read as a verb, however, it is unlikely that the king carried it out himself. Perhaps Yu, as leader of the successful military campaign, enjoyed the honor of performing a *liao*-offering in the king's presence. Here, the *liao* was only one part of an extended ritual event that brought together military officials, local potentates, and the king for drinking, libations, a dress parade, reporting of a successful campaign, invocations, divinations, offerings to the royal ancestors, and rewards.

The Yongbo X *gui* (4169) (Figures 1.11 and 1.12), on which the second occurrence appears, was reportedly found near Xi'an, Shaanxi, in the Zhou heartland.[141] Though the AS database dates it to the early Western Zhou, the shape and decoration of the vessel suggest a dating no earlier than the reign of King Zhao, and potentially that of King Mu.[142] The inscription commemorates a reward received by Yongbo X – based on his name, the head of a lineage called Yong – after the king's return from a campaign against two troublesome populations:

隹(唯)王伐速魚, 𠂤伐淖黑,至𡆥于宗周,易(賜)𠂤(庸)白(伯)𢦚貝十朋,敢對揚王休,用乍(作)朕(朕)文考寶𡆥𣪘,其萬年子子孫孫其永寶用。

When the king attacked the Laiyu, came out, and attacked Zhuo?hei, [he] delivered a *liao*-offering at Zongzhou. [The king] presented Yongbo X with ten strings of cowries. [I, Yongbo X,] praise the king's beneficence in response, thereby making a precious offering tureen (*gui*) for my deceased father. May [my] descendants eternally treasure and use it for ten thousand years. (Yongbo X *gui* 庸伯𢦚簋 [4169])

[140] A full treatment of this inscription, including textual notes, appears in Chapter 4.

[141] The Yongbo X *gui*, purportedly found in Xi'an, was part of the Pillsbury collection of bronzes, donated in 1950 to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. See Karlgren, *Pillsbury*, 103–105 (and "Acknowledgement"); *Zhenbu* 26.2. *Duandai* dates it to the reign of Kings Zhao–Mu; see *Duandai* 137.

[142] With a bottom-heavy belly and a relatively flat surface dominated by facing-bird decorations, the vessel fits well into Shaughnessy's "*Gui* type 2" classification, which he dates to the time of King Mu; see *Sources*, 127–132.

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Figure 1.11 The Yongbo X *gui*. Unknown artist, China. 10th c. BCE, bronze. Minneapolis Museum of Art: bequest of Alfred F. Pillsbury, 50.46.119. Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art.

The king led the campaign mentioned in the inscription personally, and it seems that he conducted the subsequent *liao*-offering as well. The inscription unfortunately does not provide grounds to tell how Yongbo was involved. Yongbo may have participated in the campaign with the king, assisted the king in performing the *liao* rite, or simply been present.[143] Whatever the logic behind his reward, however, he evidently received it along with the king's *liao* rite.

Liao *in the "Shi fu"*

The Xiao Yu *ding* account describes a triumph in miniature, held under the watchful eye of the Zhou king. It contrasts intriguingly with a *liao* mentioned in the "Shi fu" chapter of the *Yizhoushu*, connected with King Wu's victorious return to the Zhou homeland.[144] The latter account shares most of the previously mentioned elements, but its overall sequence is quite different; the king and his adherents conduct a formalized progress from outside the city walls to the Zhou temple, with offerings at each stage. The victory ceremonies described in the "Shi

[143] Yongbo appears in one other AS database inscription, on the Yongbo *dinggai* 庸伯鼎蓋 (NA1754), reputedly discovered in the Xi'an area as well; see Wang Changqi, "Xi'an shi wenwu zhongxin suocang Shang Zhou qingtongqi," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1990.5, 9–15. Unfortunately, that inscription merely states that Yongbo commissioned the vessel, with no further detail.

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Figure 1.12 The inscription of the Yongbo X *gui*. Unknown artist, China. 10th c. BCE, bronze. Minneapolis Museum of Art: bequest of Alfred F. Pillsbury, 50.46.119. Photo: Minneapolis Institute of Art.

fu," in fact, resemble remarkably the traditional model of the Roman triumph. The king's ceremonial arrival, apparently distinct from his actual arrival, and the parading of the remaining captives through the city adorned in finery, progressing to the temple, have analogues in Roman examples.[145]

The freedom of movement shown in the "Shi fu" account, I suspect, derives from the king's personal performance of the rite and, by extension, his personal enjoyment of the benefits. Yu's triumphal ceremonies took place in a fixed location under the close control of the king and royal representatives. The royal house seems to have understood the danger inherent in allowing Yu to perform *liao* and to have taken pains to integrate that performance into a framework dominated by the king's hospitality activities and ancestral offerings. This framing helped maintain the royal house as an "obligatory passage point" for prestige and recognition in the wake of a major military victory, which, though auspicious, could potentially destabilize the budding Zhou hierarchy.[146]

[144] See Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu jiaopu zhuyi*, 210–221, esp. 218.
[145] See the discussion of Pompey's triumphs in Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, 7–41.
[146] Callon, "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation," 203–206.

The 彭 *Offering*

In the bronze inscriptions, the term 彭 is rare compared to such terms as *di* and *hui*. It is central to the short inscriptions of the Wu Yin Zuo Fu Ding *fangding* 戊寅作父丁方鼎 (2594) and the Fu Yi *zun* 父乙尊, two bronzes of likely Shang date.[147] In three Western Zhou inscriptions, it appears in conjunction with other rites.[148] The Shu Ze *fangding* inscription connects it with an entreaty (*hui*) that the Zhou king (probably King Cheng) conducts at Chengzhou prior to an audience with his retainers. The Mai *fangzun* 麦方尊 (6015) describes the visit of a regional lord to the center of Zhou power at Zongzhou, where an early Western Zhou king (probably King Kang) assigns him a new state.[149] Afterward, this new Lord of Xing travels to nearby Pangjing, where the king conducts an event that includes feasting, ancestral devotions, and gifts. Here, 彭 is part of the ritual program, occurring together with a feast near the beginning of the ritual sequence.

Both the Mai *fangzun* and the Shu Ze *fangding* are early Western Zhou vessels; they commemorate ritual events that kings conducted while establishing the political infrastructure of the Zhou state. The Fan *you*, in contrast, is a middle-Western-Zhou vessel commissioned by a subordinate (and likely kinsman) of a figure there called *gong* 公:

> 隹(唯)九月初吉癸丑,公彭祀,季旬又一日辛亥,公啻(禘)彭辛公祀,卒事亡𣪊…
>
> It was the ninth month, the *chuji* moon phase, the *guichou* day. The Duke performed 彭-offerings. Eleven days later, on the *xinhai* day, the Duke performed a *di*/*chi* offering and a 彭-offering to Duke Xin. The business was completed without harm.… (Fan *you* 繁卣 [5430])

The Fan *you* inscription unambiguously describes two separate instances of 彭, separated by a significant time gap.[150] No additional rite term is given for the first instance, as in the Shu Ze *fangding* inscription. Like the person conducting the rite, the target of the second 彭 offering, at least, carried the title *gong* 公. We

[147] JC dates both of these bronzes to the late Shang. Syntactically, it is feasible that the instance in the Fu Yi *zun* inscription was the name of the bronze's commissioner, although I know of no other case in which this term was a personal name.

[148] For this reason, Liu Yu interprets the Western Zhou version as an auxiliary or supplemental rite; see Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 500. This is in accord with Liu Yuan's assessment that, in the Shang OBI, 彭 indicated a stage or portion of ritual events – usually one near the beginning – rather than referring to events in their entirety; see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 116. I would suggest that in the Fan *you* inscription, at least, 彭 plays as important a role as *di*, the other rite conducted with it.

[149] For a detailed discussion of the Mai *fangzun* inscription, see the section on *da li* 大禮 in Chapter 2.

[150] On the problem of the dates in the inscription, see Note 18. The important point here is that the two occurrences were not on successive days, for instance.

can reasonably assume that Duke Xin was a forebear of the contemporary Duke and that the 酓 rites in question should be understood as ancestral offerings.

As recorded in the Western Zhou inscriptions, 酓 occurred only together with other ritual techniques and only in contexts where political activities were conducted. Apparently, 酓 was not a personal rite, as *hui* and *yu* sometimes were; it appears only in cases in which multiple attendees are mentioned by name or title. The two early instances were part of major events at which the king sought to legitimize his authority in a ritual context and strengthen bonds between the royal house and the uppermost echelon of Zhou adherents.[151] The Fan *you* inscription, from the middle Western Zhou, records no associated inter-lineage political activities. It does, however, explicitly record that the performance of the 酓 and *di* rites created an opportunity for the Duke (*gong* 公) to reward a subordinate.

The Fan *you* inscription contains the latest appearances of 酓, not just in the bronze inscriptions, but in any source. It has been suggested that 酓 was equivalent to *rong* 肜 and that both that term and the related *yi* 繹 served a similar purpose in later texts.[152] The case for this theory is weak, and the use of 酓 in the Western Zhou inscriptions does not support its identification as a "next-day" rite; *rong* 肜 is more likely a separate concept. 酓, it would seem, did not become part of the overall shared milieu of Zhou ritual. Its association with major, multiday events likely contributed to its decline, as the royal house and other powerful elites shifted to different strategies of ritual legitimation.

Yu 禦 *(Exorcism/Warding)*

The bronze inscriptions contain a few examples of the term *yu* 禦, used by both the Shang and the Zhou to denote a negative entreaty – a plea to the spirits to prevent or repair some uncomfortable situation.[153] Chronologically, the occurrences of *yu* in the bronze inscriptions group neatly into two clusters: a few dating to the late Shang or early Western Zhou, all the work of nonroyal elites; and two appearing in the unusual late Western Zhou inscriptions associated with King Li.

[151] On the Shu Ze *fangding*, see the section on *hui*. For a translation and analysis of the Mai *fangzun* inscription, see Chapter 4.

[152] See Liu Yu's summary of the prior debate about the term in "Jinwen zhong," 500 n. 2.

[153] As opposed to the "positive entreaty," represented by *hui*, in which a particular benefit is requested. Liu Yuan draws on these two terms as the basis of his characterization of late Shang ancestral worship; see *Jizuli*, 119–131. Bone H11:1 of the Zhouyuan oracle bones contains a character that Liu Yu identifies as *yu* 禦. This inscription provides a point of linkage between Shang and Zhou practices, since it mentions the last Shang king, Di Yi. Unfortunately, the details of the inscription reveal little about the Zhou approach to *yu* beyond its continuity with practices reflected in the Shang oracle bones. See *Zhouyuan jiaguwen*, 1; Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 505.

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Nonroyal Instances of Yu 禦 *(Early Western Zhou)*

The key source inscriptions on *yu* 禦 as a ritual technique appear on the Wo *ding* 我鼎 (2763) and the Zuoce Yi *you* 作冊益卣 (5427).[154] Reputedly discovered near Luoyang, the former vessel was obtained in several pieces and later restored.[155] The ritual vocabulary of its inscription is quite unusual in the Western Zhou context. It describes an event dedicated to two ancestral couples but focusing on the ancestresses, who received additional secondary rites. The terms for these supplementary rites– *yue* 礿 and *sai* (束又示) – have no further precedent in the AS database bronze inscriptions. One, however, appears in the Shang oracle bones, wherein it is frequently an auxiliary rite.[156]

Based on this point of vocabulary, its use of Shang-style funerary names for both ancestors and ancestresses, the inclusion of a clan mark, and its reported discovery at Luoyang, it is tempting to conclude, as Liu Yu does, that the Wo *ding* is of Shang rather than Western Zhou provenance.[157] Without stronger internal evidence in the inscription requiring a pre- or post-conquest dating, however, that distinction is hard to make. If, as *MWX* and the AS database hold, the Wo *ding* is indeed a Western Zhou vessel, then it presents a strong point of continuity between the pre- and post-conquest ritual practices of Shang-heritage elites.[158] Here, our main concerns are that in this case, the *yu* rite admitted the use of secondary rites; and that it could target ancestor-ancestress pairs as well as just ancestors.

If the Wo *ding* shows the possible range of targets, the Zuoce Yi *you* confirms *yu*'s role in warding off misfortune.[159] The Zuoce Yi *you* inscription was created after the death of Document Maker Yi's son; Yi seems to have repurposed a previously commissioned vessel to fit these unpleasant new circumstances. Since Yi's son left behind no sons of his own, Yi's ancestral line was in danger of ending with him. Under these stressful circumstances, Yi turned to the *yu* rite, retooling his vessel as an appeal to his ancestors to alleviate the trouble. The targets of this appeal include Yi's parents; previous generations of his family; and the vague category "the many spirits," which may have included outside

[154] The remaining two vessels, the X *zun* 亩尊 (5952) and the Zuo Yu Fu Xin *zhi* 作禦父辛觶 (6472), are simple liquor vessels of unknown provenance. Though the AS database dates them to the early Western Zhou, their dedications to figures with *ganzhi* names and, in the Zuo Yu Fu Xin inscription, the use of a clan mark raise the question of a possible Shang connection. Their inscriptions offer little information on *yu* 禦 beyond citing instances of its performance.

[155] *JC* 2763 (via AS database).

[156] Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi zhong*, 105–106.

[157] Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 505–506, dates the Wo *ding* to the Shang.

[158] For the *MWX* dating, see *MWX*, 125, 85.

[159] Once owned by Pan Zuxin, the Zuoce Yi *you* is now held by the Shanghai Museum; see *Duandai* 83, 124; AS database, 5427.

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forces or simply referred to other deceased family members.[160] This unusual breadth of coverage likely reflects Yi's extreme desperation. Yi here intended *yu* in the sense it carried in the Shang oracle bones: as a provision of ritual offerings to secure the spirits' help in correcting a misfortune.[161]

Royal Instances of Yu *(late Western Zhou)*

After the aforementioned cluster, the term *yu* 禦 appears next in the inscriptions of the Hu *gui* (4317) and the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* 五祀䜌鐘 (358), both dating to the late Western Zhou and attributed to King Li.[162] Both declare *yu* as a purpose of the vessel, in line with the later uses of *hui*; in fact, the Hu *gui* inscription contains both terms. Despite the sparse detail of the clause containing *yu*, its use in the Hu *gui* inscription does suggest two important ideas: first, that Hu planned on performing several instances of *yu*; and second, that at this point, the same vessel could be involved in both *yu* and *hui*, the positive entreaty. The closing lines of the Fifth-year Hu *zhong* offer one additional, important tidbit:

> 䜌其萬年永畯(畯)尹四方,保大令,乍(作)寔才(在)下,御大福,其各。唯王五祀。
>
> May [I,] Hu, eternally oversee and administer the Four Directions for ten thousand years; protect the great mandate; establish a base below;[163] and perform *yu* for great fortune. May [I] fulfill [these expectations]. It was the king's fifth offering-cycle.

[160] Ma Chengyuan interprets this inscription differently, taking some characters as the name of Document Maker Yi's son; see *MWX*, 142, 95 n. 4. It is also possible that Yi's son had been dead for some time before the commissioning of the vessel. My impression, however, is that a vessel with a more usual inscription had already been commissioned when the tragedy struck.

[161] For a detailed treatment of *yu* in the Shang materials, see Liu Yuan, *Jizuli*, 122–131, esp. tables 7 and 8. In keeping with his practice of avoiding focusing on rite names, Liu refers to the phenomenon as *rangfei zhi ji* 禳禷之際, "rites of exorcism." The specific examples cited in the section, however, consistently contain the term *yu*, and Liu's table 8 contains a column labeled "person exorcised" (*bei yu zhe* 被禦者). Unlike in the bronzes, the character form *yu* 禦 had yet to be consistently differentiated from *yu* 御 in the Shang OBI. In fact, *JGWZGL* identifies a range of characters as variants of or loans for *yu* 御; see *JGWZGL*, 391, 407.

[162] Shaughnessy thus includes both bronzes in his chart of dating standards; see *Sources*, 110–111, 169–170. The Hu *gui* was recovered from a hoard of bronzes found in the course of civil engineering work at Qicun, Fufeng County, Shaanxi, in the middle of the Wei River valley of Shaanxi; see Luo Xizhang, "Shaanxi Fufeng faxian Xi Zhou Li Wang Hu gui," *Wenwu* 1979.4, 89. The Fifth-Year Hu *zhong* came into the possession of the Shaanxi Provincial Museum in 1982 as a single item; see Mu Haiting and Zhu Bingyuan, "Xin faxian de Xi Zhou wangshi zhongqi Wusi Hu zhong kao," *Renwen zazhi* 1983.2, 118.

[163] In reading the term *zhi* 寔 as "base" here, I follow Zhang Zhenglang's reading of the Hu *gui* inscription in "Zhou Li Wang Hu gui shiwen," consulted in Zhang Zhenglang, ed., *Zhang Zhenglang wenshi lunji*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004, 539. Shaughnessy has "to make roots in the lower realm" for the same phrase in the Hu *gui* inscription; see *Sources*, 172. The sense seems to be that the king hopes to establish a solid base of support among the populace.

The Fifth-year Hu *zhong* employs the character *yu* 御, absent the altar radical, in place of *yu* 禦; the similarity of the two inscriptions suggests this reading, which is otherwise uncommon in the bronze inscriptions.[164] Notably, *yu* here has *da fu* 大福, "great fortune," as its object. The stipulation of a positive goal departs from the use-pattern of *yu* in the Shang OBI and the Zuoce Yi *you* inscription, in which it warded off misfortune and alleviated disaster rather than seeking blessings. Judging from this point, as well as the use of *yu* together with *hui* on the Hu *gui* and its apparent prediction of future performances, the composers of these two inscriptions understood *yu* differently than Zuoce Yi and his early Western Zhou contemporaries. They apparently saw *yu* as an ordinary, predictable rite for procuring favor from the ancestors rather than an ameliorative measure for times of crisis. Given the term's complete absence from the middle Western Zhou inscriptions, the rite itself may have fallen out of favor. In the King Li inscriptions, it was likely used to evoke a sense of antiquity without concern for the details of its previous performance.[165]

The Absence of Yu *from Zhou Political Ritual*

All instances of *yu* in early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions were conducted by nonroyal elites who called their deceased ancestors by Shang-style *ganzhi* funereal names; probably the practice was held over among former Shang-affiliated elites. Appearances of *yu* in the Zhouyuan oracle bones and the "Shi fu" chapter of the *Yizhoushu* suggest that Zhou kings at least occasionally performed it.[166] However, no surviving bronze inscriptions record royal *yu* rites as the center of political events, as with *di* and *hui*. Neither do any record royal gifts or gifts from superiors intended to support *yu*. In fact, the most detailed inscription mentioning *yu*, on the Zuoce Yi *you*, suggests that its vessel was retooled to support the commissioner's exigent need for a *yu*-rite.

As practiced during the late Shang and early Western Zhou, *yu*, it would seem, was meant to deal with specific, unpleasant situations – for example, the bloody aftermath of the conquest of Shang – and so was unsuitable for the kind of planned, bond-forging events that the Zhou royal house organized around *di* and *hui*.[167] It was a poor pretext for royal largesse, since awarding

[164] For this reading see the AS database; Mu Haiting and Zhu Jieyuan, "Xin faxian de Xi Zhou wangshi zhong qi Wusi Hu zhong kao," *Renwen zazhi* 1983.2, 118. This portion of the rubbing is exceedingly difficult to make out. With respect to *yu* 御 as a loan for *yu* 禦, I have surveyed all occurrences of the former character in the AS database and found only this case in which it seems to refer to a rite.

[165] Rawson sees the use of built-in square stands like that of the Hu *gui* as a hint of archaism; see Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," 439.

[166] See Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, 211.

[167] This is the context of the *yu* recorded by the "Shi fu" chapter of the *Yizhoushu*.

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goods for use in *yu* would have been tantamount to wishing misfortune upon someone. Likewise, its unpredictable chronology made it a poor medium for strengthening bonds between the royal house and subordinate elites, since times of crisis that called for *yu* would have been precisely when those bonds were tested most strenuously. This may explain why the early Zhou kings did not make *yu* a key part of their political program.

Later occurrences show that *yu* in the sense of "warding," "exorcism," or "defense" continued to be understood as a goal of ritual well after the power of the Zhou royal house was broken.[168] It is likely that propitiating ancestors as a ritual technique continued after its disappearance from the inscriptions; that it left little trace simply because its purposes did not coincide with the interests that drove the creation of inscribed bronzes; and that the severing of that association weakened the specific implications of the term, so that the composers of the King Li bronzes used it differently than in earlier inscriptions, and the compilers of later texts clarified its meaning with additional qualifiers.[169]

RITUAL TECHNIQUES PERFORMED ONLY BY ZHOU KINGS

Two ritual techniques in the Western Zhou inscriptions are only performed by Zhou kings. Both relate to the management of the Shang remnant population.

Su ()

One such term appears in the inscription of the X Shi *zun* 噩士尊 (5985):[170]

> 丁巳,王才(在)新邑,初  (餗),王易(賜)𠂤噩士鄉貝朋,用乍(作)父戊𠂤彝。〔子_〕。
>
> On the *dingsi* day, the king was at the New City and first performed *su*. The king gave X Shi Qing a string of cowries, with which [Qing] makes an offering vessel for Father Wu. (Clan mark).

The royal activity *su*  occasioning X Shi Qing's gift appears only this once in the entire corpus of bronze inscriptions. No *Shuowen* entry exists

[168] See Dong Zengling, *Guoyu zhengyi*, Guiji Zhang shi shixuntang, 1880, 406; *Liji*, "Jifa," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1590–1591; Chen Qiyou, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi*, Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984, 422.

[169] The *Guoyu* and *Liji* cases listed here use *han* 扞/捍, "to ward off," while the *Lüshi chunqiu* case uses *nuo* 儺, "to exorcise." See ibid.

[170] The hand-drawn image of the character shown throughout this section is informed by the Academia Sinica database's transcription of the relevant vessel inscription.

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to hint at its meaning.[171] *MWX* suggests a reading along the lines of *kui* 餽, "to give food as a gift," or *gui* 歸, "return, give back to," presumably based on the character's left-hand element; Shirakawa notes this possibility as well.[172] The AS database, on the other hand, glosses the character as *su* 餗.[173] I am inclined to accept the latter identification, given the commonality of the character's components with some variants of *su* in the Shang OBI.[174]

The problem remains, however, what the ceremonial activity *su* entailed. The oracle bones give little evidence beyond the likelihood, based on character forms, that it involved an offering of vegetable matter or liquor.[175] Received texts offer little help. The earliest use of the term, and the source of many later references,[176] is in a line from the *Zhouyi:*

> 九四:鼎折足,覆公餗,其形 渥 [剭],凶
>
> 94: The cauldron's broken leg overturns the duke's stew (*su*); his punishment is execution. Inauspicious.
>
> 《象》曰:「覆公餗」、信如何也。
>
> The *Images* say: "'[It] overturns the duke's stew (*su*)' means "'to trust how it is.'" (*Zhouyi*, "Ding," no. 50)[177]

Yijing line statements are notoriously difficult to interpret, but the fact that the line connects *su* with a *ding*-cauldron 鼎, a type of vessel that would come to represent the well-being of the state, lends circumstantial support to the idea that *su* was a food offering.[178] This might explain why overturning a cauldron would be inauspicious enough to warrant execution, as per Shaughnessy's reading of the line.

[171] *MWX*, 128, 87–88 n. 1.

[172] Ibid.; Shirakawa 1.7, 320.

[173] AS database, 5985. It bears noting that the CHANT database version of this inscription leaves the character unidentified, but glosses a different character from the inscription of the Yin Guang *ding* 尹光鼎 (2709) as *su* 餗; in the Academia Sinica database, the situations are reversed.

[174] See *JGWZGL*, 3206–3209, 3226–3229.

[175] For the viewpoint that the rite may have involved offering vegetables, see *JGWZGL*, 3229 (3209 entry).

[176] Including, for example, *Hanshu*, "Xu zhuan," in Ban Gu, author, Wang Xianqian, ed., *Hanshu buzhu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983, 1730; Su Yu, *Chunqiu fanlu yi zheng*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1992, "Jing hua," 97.

[177] See *Zhouyi zhengyi* in *Shisanjing zhushu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982, 61. The translation follows Shaughnessy's in "The Composition of the *Zhouyi*," Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1983, 177–182. The alternate characters offered in the transcription are Shaughnessy's suggestions.

[178] On the conceptual connection between *ding* and the state, see Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual*, 95–100.

A circumstantial connection offers more information on the historical context of this technique's performance. The "Shao gao" chapter of the *Shangshu* describes a series of offerings that the Duke of Zhou performed after arriving at the future site of the new capital Chengzhou.[179] Since the two share the date *dingsi*, it has been suggested that the X Shi *zun* inscription records the same ritual event as the "Shao gao" passage, although the term *su* itself appears nowhere in the latter.[180] Shirakawa rightly notes that the shared date is insufficient to identify the *su* 餗 in the inscription with the sacrifices in the "Shao gao." He observes, however, that vessels referring to the location in question as *Xinyi* ("the New Settlement") rather than *Chengzhou* seem to trend earlier in date. The site may not have been called Chengzhou, Shirakawa suggests, until its completion (as implied by the name *Chengzhou*, or "Completion of Zhou").[181] This would indicate that the X Shi *zun* indeed dates to the period of Chengzhou's initial construction. The instance of *su* 餗 mentioned in its inscription would thus have occurred in the context of early establishment of Zhou royal authority over the recently refigured Luo River valley community.[182]

The Duke of Zhou's trip culminated, the "Shao gao" claims, in the marshaling of local human resources to build the city. Some participants were identified as "commoners of Yin" (*Yin shu* 殷庶), in keeping with the tradition that the Zhou relocated the remnant population of Shang to the Luo River valley.[183] The project must have involved great toil and expense to both locals and the elites (the *hou* 侯, *dian* 甸, *nan* 男, and *bangbo* 邦伯 of the passage) responsible for managing them. The ceremonies leading up to the issuing of official orders would have provided a venue for the king's representatives[184] to demonstrate

[179] For the relevant passage, see "Shao gao," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 211; for an English translation, see Legge, *The Shoo King*, 423–424.

[180] See Chen, cited in Shirakawa 7.27, 318–319.

[181] Shirakawa 7.27, 318–319.

[182] For a general summary of the establishment of Chengzhou and the various regional states during the early Western Zhou period, see Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 311–317; for a more detailed consideration of the sociopolitical circumstances surrounding Chengzhou, see *Landscape and Power*, 62–66. The name *Xinyi* and variants thereof appear frequently in the "Zhou shu" chapters of the *Shangshu* in reference to Chengzhou; see Chen, cited in Shirakawa 7.27, vol. 1, 318. On Xinyi, see Chen Gongrou, "Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de Xinyi Chengzhou yu Wangcheng," in *Qingzhu Su Binqi xiansheng kaogu wushiwu nian lunwenji*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1989, 386–397. The X Shi *zun* was reportedly found at Luoyang; see *Zhensong* 7.18.1.

[183] "Shao gao," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 211, and Legge, *The Shoo King*, 424. In general, the "Shao gao" concerns the control and management of the remnant Shang populations during the building of Chengzhou and the succession of King Cheng. After the first major conflict over the royal succession and the combined rebellion of the Overseers and the leader of the remaining Shang populace, this task cannot have been simple. For a summary of the situation, see Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 310–311.

[184] Here, the Dukes of Zhou and Shao; see *Shisanjing zhushu*, 211.

royal power, strengthen personal bonds with local potentates, and, perhaps most important, distribute largesse and prestige to help offset the material and political costs of the upcoming project.

The X Shi *zun* inscription describes just such an event. In the context of the *su* 餗 food offering, the king awards a string of cowries to X Shi Qing, who, judging from the use of the *ganzhi* name "Father Wu" (*Fu Wu* 父戊) to refer to X Shi Qing's father and the inclusion of a Shang-style clan mark  , was probably of Shang heritage.[185] These cowries may have been meant to support or repay his participation in the upcoming construction, or perhaps simply to strengthen the bonds between the Zhou kings and X Shi Qing and his lineage.[186] Either way, the offering evoked a model of royal authority and religious privilege familiar from the practices of the Shang royal house. This situation would have perfectly suited the construction of Chengzhou, when it was in the Zhou kings' interest to take the path of least resistance in marshaling the labor of the Shang remnants. While the lack of further references to *su* 餗 in the bronze inscriptions may simply reflect the patchiness of the sources, it bears considering whether the Zhou kings might have abandoned the practice once their political infrastructure and control over the remnant Shang were better established.

Yue 禴

A ritual technique called *yue* 禴 was a frequent part of royal ancestral-ritual activities under the Shang, usually in conjunction with other rites.[187] In the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, its prevalence is difficult to assess. The base form *yue* 龠 appears in musical contexts, often read as *yue* 籥, "pipes," or *he* 龢, describing the tonal properties of bells.[188] However, in the inscription shared

[185] On *ganzhi* cult names, see Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape*, 33–35, and Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, 19–56; on clan marks, see Gao Ming, *Guwenzi leibian*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982, cited in William Boltz, "Language and Writing," in *Cambridge History*, 113–114.

[186] This early in the Western Zhou, at least, Cook suggests that cowries may have been inalienable in Weiner's sense – that is to say, a nontransferable medium of prestige distribution – though she notes the possibility of their use as a standard of exchange as well. See Cook, "Wealth and the Western Zhou," 262–265. Cook also points out that Shang bronzes record no gifts other than cowries (p. 260).

[187] The base character *yue* 龠 appears on forty-six bones in the CHANT OBI database, and the surrounding syntax makes clear that it indicates a rite in many of these occurrences. See also *JGWZGL*, 733–739, 751–753. When an object is specified for the offering, it is typically a Shang royal ancestor; see, for example, H23241, H27178, H41003, retrieved from CHANT. Liu Yu observes the term's use as an ancestral rite in the OBI as well; see Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 511.

[188] See, for example, the JC (AS) transcriptions of the inscriptions of the Zhe Jian *zhong* 者減鐘 (196–198), an early Spring and Autumn bell set, and the Ke *ding* 克鼎 (2836), a late Western Zhou vessel; as well as *MWX*, 534, 363, and *MWX*, 297, 215–217, esp. 217 n. 21, for the

by the Shi Shang *you*士上卣 (5421–5422), *zun* (5999), and *he* (9454) (士上卣/尊/盉), a set of early Western Zhou vessels associated with the Zhou settlement at Luoyang, it likely refers to a ceremony:[189]

> 隹(唯)王大龠(禴)于宗周，𠂤(出)餐荐京年,才(在)五月既望(望)辛酉,王令士上眔史寅寝(殷)于成周,𠂤百生(姓)豚,眔賞卣、鬯、貝,用乍(作)父癸寶噂彝。〔臣辰冊佻〕。

> It was the year when the king performed a great *yue*-rite at Zongzhou and then went out to give a feast at Pangjing.[190] In the fifth month, during the *jiwang* moon phase, on the *xinyou* day, the king ordered Shi Shang and Scribe Yin to attend an audience at Chengzhou and to give the Hundred Surnames suckling pigs;[191] [the king] also awarded [Shi Shang] a *you*-urn, dark liquor, and cowries. [Shi Shang] therewith makes a precious offering vessel for Father Gui. Chen Chen [Clan emblem.][192]

Liu Yu cites this inscription as evidence that *yue* 禴 was an important ancestral rite of some sort, given its appearance in conjunction with *xiang* 餐. The latter, he suggests, can be identified as a specific rite commemorating the accession of a new ancestor to the patriline based on the pattern of its use as a year-marker in the inscriptions.[193] This is, I think, a stretch; but the fact that this *yue* rite was considered important enough to mark a year puts it in a very small group of ceremonies, including *da feng/li* 大豐 and *hui* 𢍏.[194]

relevant readings. Some Western Zhou inscriptions, including those of the Liang Qi *zhong* 梁其鐘 (187–192) and the Xing *zhong* 癲鐘 (246, 253), contain a character that JC (AS) glosses as a compound of *yue* 龠 and *li* 力. Ma glosses this character as *yue/le* 樂; see *MWX*, 273–274; 194–195 no. 3. On *he* 穌 as a description for bells, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 41–43.

189 Ma Chengyuan situates these as part of a complex of inscriptions, including those of the Xiaochen Zhuan *gui* (4206) and the Zuoce Xi *you* 作冊翻卣 (5400), mentioning a major royal audience at Chengzhou, which he dates to the reign of King Zhao; see *MWX* 115–118, 80–83. *Duandai* dates the Shi Shang vessels to King Cheng; see *Duandai* 21, 41–43. The vessels were reportedly unearthed at Mapo, Luoyang, Henan, in 1929; see *Duandai* 21, 42; AS database, 5421, etc.

190 For this reading, including the gloss of 𠂤 as 出 (adjusted in the transcription), see *MWX*, 118, 82, 82 n. 1 (though I have here read 餐 simply as "feast").

191 I follow *MWX*'s reading of this line in the translation; see 81–82. For Ma's explanation of *yin* 殷 as *jin* 覲, "to have audience," see *MWX*, 115 (Zuoce Xi *you* 作冊翻卣), 80 n. 1b.

192 The characters *chen* 臣 and *chen* 辰 seem to be separate from the emblem that follows, as in, for example, *MWX*, 82 (though Ma Chengyuan reads the following portion of the inscription as two distinct signs as well). I have therefore added them to the transcription, with the assumption that they represent a name (as per their rendering in *Bureaucracy*, 318 and throughout).

193 Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 502–503, 511.

194 *Feng/li* appears as a year-marker in the He *zun* (6014) inscription; *hui* does so in the inscription of the Shu Ze *fangding* (on which see Li Boqian, "Shu Ze fangding mingwen kaoshi").

The audience in the Shi Shang inscription may not have related to the king's hosting of the *yue* rite.[195] If it did, though, the rite allowed the king to meet with subordinate elites Shi Shang and Scribe Yin, wherein, according to Ma's interpretation, he called upon them to distribute suckling pigs (*tun* 豚) – a frequent sacrificial offering under the Shang– to the Hundred Surnames (*baixing* 百姓).[196] Given the location of the event, the connection of the vessels with Luoyang, and the fact that the commissioner's deceased father bore the funereal name Father Gui (*Fu Gui* 父癸), it is likely that Shi Shang and Scribe Yin were of Shang affiliation.[197] The command concerning the pigs may then be seen as the king employing local intermediaries to ensure that local elites were provisioned to continue offerings carried out under the Shang kings.[198] Alternatively, the king might have been providing largesse that was expected after the performance of a major ceremony.

Either way, the king providing suckling pigs suggests an effort to keep Chengzhou-area elites committed to familiar modes of ritual interaction under a new ruler. His compensation of Shi Shang and Scribe Yin with dark liquor (*chang* 鬯) – itself a common ritual offering – as well as cowries suggests a similar motivation toward individual figures.[199] This *yue* rite then appears as an effort to arrogate the legitimacy of the Shang royal ritual institution, maintain the loyalty of Shang remnant elites through gifts, and express a new order of hierarchical relations in terms those elites would understand.

Yue in Received Texts

Yue appears frequently in received texts, including some of possible Western Zhou date. The "New Text" edition of the *Bamboo Annals* contains the following line in the entry for the last Shang king, Di Xin:

> 六年,西伯初禴于畢。
>
> In the sixth year, the Earl of the West first performed the *yue*-rite at Bi.[200]

[195] Given that the king hosted feasting at Pangjing later that year, however, the *yue* rite and the audience of Shi Shang and Scribe Yin likely took place during the same tenure of the king at Chengzhou. The trip between Chengzhou and the Zhou heartland, where Pangjing was probably located, was not to be undertaken lightly. Inscriptional sources suggest that it required about a month and a half's travel one-way; see *Landscape and Power*, 65, and 65 n. 113.

[196] See, for example, H15521, in which a hundred goats, a hundred dogs, and a hundred suckling pigs are to be killed for the Directions (*fang* 方).

[197] A similar argument is made above for X Shi Qing, commissioner of the X Shi *zun*. I have not cited the clan mark on the Shi Shang vessels as evidence because, to my eye, its format is unusual.

[198] Historical tradition holds that the Zhou kings were concerned with continuing offerings to the Shang ancestors, leading King Wu to install remnants of the Shang royal family in the state of Song; see *Shiji*, 1607–1611.

[199] On uses of the dark liquor *chang* 鬯 in Zhou ancestral ritual, see the previous discussion of *di*/*chi* 帝/啻.

[200] *Bamboo Annals*, Di Xin, 6th year, 139. Liu Yu has observed the term's appearance in the *Zhushu jinian*; see Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 511. For the use of the name "the Western Earl" to refer to King Wen before his break with the Shang, see *Shiji*, "Zhou ben ji," 116.

The location here called Bi 畢 is traditionally known as the resting place of the first few Zhou rulers; it referred to a division of the Western Zhou royal holdings, likely near the city of Hao.[201] Here, then, is an example of a rite (1) associated with the Shang royal house (2) performed by King Wen (3) in the Zhou heartland (4) before the conquest of Shang was accomplished. This rare piece of evidence recalls certain *Shijing* poems' assertion that King Wen established ritual standards for the Zhou state – in contrast with the traditional view centered on the Duke of Zhou.[202]

Yue also features in three *Zhouyi* line statements. Two simply advise its suitability; little is to be gleaned from these other than additional evidence suggesting the term's antiquity.[203] The third contrasts the *yue*-offering with a theoretical different ceremony for which it could substitute:

> 九五:東鄰殺牛,不如西鄰之禴祭實受其福。
>
> 9.5: Killing an ox in the eastern neighborhood is inferior to making a *yue*-offering in the western neighborhood, [which] truly receives its good fortune (allotment of meat?). (Section 63, "Already Crossed")[204]

Liu Yu suggests that the *yue* rite specifically did not involve an animal sacrifice, based on its contrast with the killing of an ox in this passage.[205] The clearer point of difference in the line, in my view, is the connection of *yue* with the western as opposed to the eastern direction. This is plausible, but so is the idea that *yue* was simply meant as another term also referring to an animal offering. The most that can be said without reservation is that, in one situation, the authors of the line statement considered the *yue* offering to be at least equivalent in effectiveness to offering an ox.

NONROYAL RITUAL TECHNIQUES

A small but significant range of terms for ritual techniques appear on Western Zhou bronzes but are never attributed to the Zhou kings. By and large, these terms occur in middle and late Western Zhou inscriptions. Some of them are quite common in the received textual record, suggesting the advent of an alternative ritual vocabulary among nonroyal Zhou elites.

[201] *Bureaucracy*, 151–152 and n. 3.
[202] See *Mao shi*, "Wei qing," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 584; "Wo jiang," 588. On the tradition of the Duke of Zhou as author of the *Zhouli* and, by implication, of Zhou state ritual, see William G. Boltz, "Chou li," in *ECT*, 26–27.
[203] These are in section 45, "Gathering," and section 46, "Ascending." See *Shisanjing zhushu*, 58.
[204] *Shisanjing zhushu*, 72.
[205] Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 511.

Chang 嘗

The term *chang* has no precedent in the Shang oracle bones.[206] It appears first in two late Western Zhou inscriptions, both declaring it an intended purpose of their production.[207] The Sixth-year Zhousheng *gui* 六年琱生簋 (4293) (also known as the Shaobo Hu *gui*) puts it as follows:[208]

> 琱生對揚朕(朕)宗君其休,用乍(作)朕(朕)剌(烈)且(祖)𠭯(召)公嘗𣪘…
>
> In response, [I], Zhousheng, praise the beneficence of my ancestral lord, thereby making a tasting (*chang*) *gui*-tureen for my brilliant ancestor the Duke of Shao …

This case is somewhat ambiguous; but the inscription of the Ji *ding*, mentioned in the section on *zheng*, confirms that *chang* referred to a ritual practice, placing it in parallel with *zheng* in the phrase *yong zheng yong chang* 用烝用嘗, "for use in *zheng*-offering and *chang*-offering."[209]

The Ji *ding* instance is the first case of a pattern of use that would come to characterize *chang* in later materials, both inscriptional and received. Received sources designate *chang* as an autumn rite, pairing it with *zheng*, as a winter rite, in later formulations of the seasonal rites of the Zhou state.[210] The *zheng*/*chang* pairing recurs in Eastern Zhou bronze inscriptions as well – specifically those

[206] *JGWZGL* contains no reference for *chang*, and the CHANT OBI database contains no cases thereof.

[207] These are not, however, the first instances of the character *chang* 嘗 in the inscriptions. It indicated a location or lineage as well, judging from its appearance on the Xiao *you* (5433) and Xiao *zun* (6009) as part of the name Changgong 嘗公. It is tempting to see *chang* as a new rite in the sphere of late Western Zhou elite ritual activities. A line from the New Text *Bamboo Annals* complicates that picture by stipulating that King Cheng, during the fourth year of his reign, "first tasted the wheat" (*chu chang mai* 初嘗麥); see *Bamboo Annals*, King Cheng, 4th year, p. 145. This case of *chang* was sufficiently well known to lend its name to a chapter of the *Yizhoushu*; see Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, 313–321.

[208] On the ownership history of this vessel and the related Fifth-Year Zhousheng *gui* (4292), see *Duandai* 166, 231–232, cited in the AS database.

[209] Ji *ding* 姬鼎 (2681). As with *zheng*, the appearance of *chang* in the Ji *ding* inscription indicates that an appropriately equipped aristocratic woman could carry it out. On the whereabouts of this vessel before it reached the Palace Museum, see *Zhensong* 2.3.20v; *Gugong* 186.

[210] This model appears in the "Wang zhi," "Ji tong," and "Ming tang wei" sections of the *Liji*, as well as the "Da zong bo" section of the *Zhouli*; notably, *chang* and *zheng* are consistently named as the autumn and winter rites, while the spring and summer rites vary between models. See *Zhouli*, "Da zong bo," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 758–759; "Si zun yi," 773–774; *Liji*, "Wang zhi," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1335–1336; "Ming tang wei," 1489–1490; "Ji tong," 1606. In the absence of other rite names, *zheng* and *chang* are still commonly paired in the "Shang song" and "Xiao ya" sections of the *Shijing* in particular; see *Mao shi*, "Na," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 620–621; "Chu ci," 468; "Lie zu," 621–622. *Zhouli*, "Si zun yi," pairs them as well; see 773–774. *Zuozhuan*, Xigong 33rd year, lists *di* 禘, *zheng*, and *chang* together without a fourth item; see 1834. The "Xiao ya" poem "Tian bao" also lists the series *yue ci zheng chang*, though it does not assign seasons to the individual rites; see 412.

of the Chenhou Wu *gui* (4145) and the Fourteenth-year Chenhou Wu *gui* vessel set (4646–4648), which the AS database dates to the Warring States period.[211] Based on its appearances in later texts and its mundane meaning of "to taste," Liu Yu suggests that *chang* 嘗 was a ritual sampling of the fruits of the new harvest.[212]

Sheng 升

Chen Mengjia identified the term *sheng* 升 (early form ) as a ritual term; he suggested a relationship to *deng* 登 and *xian* 獻, both meaning "to present" in general.[213] The Western Zhou inscriptions contain one case in which *sheng* operates this way. The inscription of the You *gui* 眚簋 (4194), probably a late Western Zhou bronze, commemorates the king recounting You's merits and giving him oxen:[214]

> 眚既拜䭫首,升于毕(厥)文且(祖)考…
>
> You, having bowed and struck his head, performs *sheng* to his cultured ancestors and deceased father …

Two further possible cases appear in the late Western Zhou inscriptions of the Bo Taishi Li *xu* 伯大師釐盨 (4404) and the Shi Ke *xugai* 師克盨蓋 (4468). Both are in the phrase *lü sheng* 旅升 ("for display and presentation?"), declared as the purpose of the vessels in question.[215]

It is difficult, based on these examples, to suggest that *sheng* survived into the Western Zhou period as a term for a devotional technique. Later bronze inscriptions most often use *sheng* as a unit of volume.[216] In Eastern Zhou texts, it typically means either this unit of measurement or "to lift up, to ascend" in a mundane sense; the former is its *Shuowen* gloss, while the latter accounts for

[211] Accessed 07/14/2017. Also extant is the pairing *sui chang* 歲嘗; this appears in a cluster of inscriptions of Warring States Chu origin, including those of the Chu Wang Xiong Qing(?) Ye(?) *ding* 楚王熊肯鉣鼎 (2479), the Chu Wang Xiong Qing (?) *ding* 楚王熊肯鼎 (2623), the Chu Wang Xiong Gan *ding* 楚王熊悍鼎 (2794–2795), etc.

[212] Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 511.

[213] Chen Mengjia, *Guwenzi zhong*, 140. The character image is from *JGWZGL* 3220, 3235.

[214] The AS database dates this bronze to the middle Western Zhou. Noting the late proliferation of ridged, "tile-patterned" vessels, Shirakawa nonetheless suggests a King Mu date for this vessel; see Shirakawa 18.238–242, esp. 242. The vessel was previously in both private collections and that of the Palace Museum; see *Duandai* 96, 134, cited in the AS database, 4194.

[215] Many bronzes record their creation simply for *lü*, "display"; see, for example, the Xiaochen *gui* 小臣簋 (2678), the Bo Mifu *ding* 伯密父鼎 (2487), etc. On this meaning of the term, see Chen Chusheng and Zeng Xiantong, *Jinwen changyong zidian*, Xi'an: Shaanxi Renmin, 1987, 685.

[216] See, for example, the Third-year Zhao Shi *ding* 三年詔事鼎 (2651), the Qingong *gui* 秦公簋 (4315), and so on.

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most of its appearances in the *Liji*, for example.[217] It appears in the *Zhouli* only as a unit of measurement as well.[218] One brief passage in the "Li qi" chapter of the *Liji* points to a lingering sense of its meaning as a ritual act.[219]

Sui 歲

The inscription of the famous Maogong *ding* 毛公鼎 (2841), a late Western Zhou vessel commemorating the king's confirmation of a Father An 父厝 to high office, contains an instance of the character *sui* 歲 that may refer to a ritual act.[220] It appears at the end of the king's list of his gifts to Father An, which included a chariot with implements:

> 易(賜)女(汝)  (茲)  (賸),用歲用政(征)。
>
> [I] bestow these gifts upon you for use in *sui* and on campaign. (Maogong *ding* 毛公鼎 [2841])[221]

This ambiguous example is the only place in the Western Zhou inscriptions where *sui* may refer to a rite. Other contemporary examples use it to mean "[with] the season."[222] Later inscriptions, however, frequently use *sui* in such a sense. A complex of vessels associated with eastern Zhou-affiliate states describe the process of "serving the *sui*" (*shi sui* 事歲), and others produced by kings of Chu pair *sui* with *chang* 嘗, presumably referring to ritual activities surrounding the harvest.[223]

In most pre-Qin texts, the term *sui* means "season" and by extension "year." The phrase *sui zhong* 歲終, "year's end," dominates its use even in the *Zhouli*, for example.[224] In the Shang bone inscriptions, *sui* already carried this meaning

[217] See *Shuowen*, 719; *Liji*, "Qu li [shang]," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1248; "Yue ling," 1370, and so on.
[218] *Zhouli*, "Li shi," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 917; "Zi ren," 925.
[219] *Liji*, "Li qi," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1440.
[220] Li Feng dates the Maogong *ding* to the late Western Zhou based on comparison of its shape and ornamentation with the Guo Wengong *ding* 虢文公鼎 (2636) and the Song *ding* 頌鼎 (2829). See *Bureaucracy*, 85 n. 92; see also *Daxi* 136; *MWX* 316–319; and Shirakawa 30.181, 637–687, all cited therein, and *Sources*, 107 n. 2. The vessel was reputedly recovered in Qishan County, Shaanxi; see *Duandai* 201, 292, cited in the AS database, 2841.
[221] This translation is informed by *MWX*, 319 n. 42–43, as well as Cook, "Mao Gong *ding* 毛公鼎," in *Source Book*, 208.
[222] See the inscriptions of the Hu *ding* 曶鼎 (2838) and the Shi Qiang *pan* 史牆盤 (10175). The Li *gui* 利簋 (4131) inscription, which commemorates the conquest of Shang by King Wu, contains the term in its sense as Jupiter, "the Harvest Star."
[223] The former include the Guo Cha X 國差𪕥 (10361), which describes its production on behalf of the Marquis of Qi 齊, as well as the Chen Xi *hu* 陳喜壺 (9700), the Chen Zhang *hu* 陳璋壺 (9703), the Gongzi Tu Zhe *hu* 公子土折壺 (9709), the Chen Jiang *jian* 陳璋鑑 (9975), the Chen Chun *fu* 陳純釜 (10371), and the Zi He Zi *fu* 子禾子釜 (10374). The latter are the various Chu-affiliate vessels cited above under *chang* 嘗.
[224] See, for example, *Zhouli*, "Da zai," *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 650; "Gong zheng," 657. The *Zhouli* even contains a section on an official designated *zhisui* 職歲, whose duties concerned the management of taxes; see *Zhouli*, "Zhi sui," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 682.

but also indicated a manner of offering livestock animals, or sometimes human victims. *JGWZGL* suggests its congruity with the related character *gui* 劌, "to cut, to stab."[225] A single example from early texts suggests that King Cheng among Western Zhou kings, at least, knew of this method of offering:

> 戊辰,王在新邑,烝祭,歲文王騂牛一,武王騂牛一。
>
> On the *wuchen* day, the king was at the New City; he performed a *zheng*-offering. He *sui*-offered one red ox to King Wen and one to King Wu. ("Luo gao")[226]

Fundamentally, this lines up with the use of the term in the OBI.[227] Notably, this case describes the king's actions at Chengzhou, the new capital in the former Shang heartland and home to the relocated remnants of the Shang populace.

Yin 禋

The term *yin*, like *chang*, is not in the Shang oracle bones. It appears for the first time in the detailed middle-Western-Zhou inscription of the Shi Qiang *pan*, which contains a panegyric list of the commissioner's ancestors:[228]

> 亞且(祖)且(祖)辛,竁毓子孫,蘩(繁)猶(福)多孷(釐),櫅(齊)角(祿)𢍏(熾)光,義(宜)其𡉉(禋)祀。
>
> Clear-eyed and bright was Grandfather Xin of the branch lineage! Transferring (the lineage) and nurturing sons and grandsons, (he had) abundant good fortune and many blessings. Even-horned and redly gleaming, abundant were his sacrifices [*yin si*]. (Shi Qiang *pan* [10175])[229]

Yin here appears in the compound phrase *yin si* 禋祀, referring, judging from the colorful language of the inscription, to livestock offerings. Its one other

[225] *JGWZGL*, 2406.

[226] See Note 196. The transcription follows the CHANT edition; however, I have changed the punctuation to reflect my understanding of the relationship of *sui* 歲 to the following phrases.

[227] JGWZGL, 2406. *JGWZGL* notes the difficulty of distinguishing *sui*'s use as a "method of offering" (*jifa* 祭法) versus the name of an offering in and of itself (*jiming* 祭名). This common difficulty is one of Liu Yuan's points against the utility of the "rite name" approach; see *Jizuli*, 19–31.

[228] The Shi Qiang *pan* is generally accepted as a King Gong vessel, since the list of kings in its inscription runs up to and including King Mu. See *Sources*, 111. It was recovered from Cache no. 1 at Zhuangbai, Fufeng County, Shaanxi, an enormous hoard of vessels belonging to a single lineage; for more detail on this hoard, see the sources on the Xing *zhong* cited in the section on *hui*-entreaty.

[229] The translation is excerpted from Shaughnessy's; see *Sources*, 4, 189–190. Transcriptions of characters follow Shaughnessy, with the exception of 𢍏 (and 𡉉, which is part of the Unicode character set; the character as transcribed in Shaughnessy is its mirror image). The bracketed text is an addition.

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occurrence in a Western Zhou inscription is on the Nanshi Dian *hu* 南史展壺 (9718), a late Western Zhou bronze that notes its creation "for use in making offerings (*yin si*) in this ancestral temple hall" (*yong yin si yu zi zong shi* 用禋祀于茲宗室).[230] In Eastern Zhou materials, *yin* almost always pairs with *si* or *xiang* 享to indicate ancestral offerings in a general sense.[231]

Two received texts of possible Western Zhou date employ the term by itself. In the "Zhou song" poem "Wei qing," which celebrates King Wen's establishment of Zhou ceremonial tradition, *yin* almost certainly refers to sacrificial offerings in general.[232] *Yin* also appears several times in the "Luo gao." One occurrence, in which *yin* refers back to a ceremony at which the king acted as ritual guest and killed a sacrifice, was treated in the section on *zheng* 烝. The others appear earlier in the chapter, when the Duke of Zhou describes his receipt of two *you*-urns of dark liquor for offerings to Kings Wen and Wu.[233] The use of the term *yin* 禋 to indicate an offering of liquor, followed soon afterward by another appearance in which it refers to a livestock offering, suggests that the compilers of the "Luo gao" understood it to denote ancestral offerings in general.

Zhuo 酌

Zhuo, "to ladle wine, to toast," is yet another term with later ritual connotations that does not seem to exist in the Shang inscriptions, though certain unidentified characters such as *JGWZGL* 2729 and 2738 resemble its later form  somewhat.[234] It appears first in a late Western Zhou inscription split between the two Bo Gongfu *shao* 伯公父勺 (9935–9936), discovered in a cache at Yuntang village in Fufeng county, Shaanxi, in 1976.[235] As the name *shao* implies, these are finely decorated, ladle-shaped wine cups clearly intended for the *zhuo* that they declare as a purpose of their creation (though their inscription intriguingly refers to them as *jue*-cups rather than *shao*-ladles).

[230] This item was found in a riverbank near Shuichacun, Luonan County, Shaanxi, in 1968; see *Shaanxi jinwen jicheng* 1763 (15.216–218), cited in the AS database.

[231] See the inscriptions of the Ai Cheng Shu *ding* 哀成叔鼎 (2782), the Caihou *zun* 蔡侯申尊(蔡侯尊) (6010) and Caihou *pan* 蔡侯盤 (10171), and the Zhongshan Wang X *hu* 中山王嚳壺 (9735); the latter pairs *yin* with a character absent from the *Shuowen* but which may well be *zhai* 齋. See also *Zuozhuan*, Yingong 11, Huangong 6, and Xianggong 9, *Shisanjing zhushu*, 1736, 1750, 1943; *Zhouli*, "Da zongbo," 757–758; "Da zhu," 811; "Da sikou," 871, and "Xiao sikou," 874; and *Mao shi*, "Da tian," 477; "Sheng min," 529–530; and "Yun han," 561.

[232] *Mao shi*, "Wei qing," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 584.

[233] Here I follow Legge's reading; see Legge, *The Shoo King*, 449.

[234] See *JGWZGL*, 2700, 2738. Image following JC 9935 (AS database).

[235] See JC (AS database); Shaanxi sheng Zhouyuan kaogudui, "Shaanxi Fufeng xian Yuntang, Zhuangbai er hao Xi Zhou tongqi jiaocang," *Wenwu* 1978.11, 6–10, esp. 8. *MWX* assigns the vessels to King Xiao; see *MWX* 304, 220.

To my knowledge, this is the only appearance of the character *zhuo* 酌 in any pre-Qin bronze inscription.

Zhuo assumes some importance in later texts; it is common in the *Yili*, *Liji*, and *Zhouli*, and it gives its name to both an *Yizhoushu* chapter and a poem from the "Zhou song" section of the *Shijing*.[236] In light of this importance in the received sources, I have included the term here and wish to note, first, that the only inscription containing it adorns a pair of vessels produced by a powerful regional lord of the late Western Zhou, rather than a king; and second, that the vessels are of an archaic type and call themselves by an archaic name.[237]

CONCLUSION: ANCESTRAL RITUAL IN ZHOU POLITICS

Traditional records hold, and the Zhouyuan oracle bones confirm, that the Zhou royal house was familiar with some ritual practices of the Shang before the uprising of the western coalition.[238] After the conquest of Shang – immediately after, in fact – the Zhou kings began a program of public ritual activity that included various ancestral rites with origins in Shang practice. They hosted major ritual events at centers of power both old and new. Combining offerings to royal ancestors with feasting and drinking, formal recognition of subordinates, and direct largesse, these events linked prestige, recognition, and wealth in the post-Shang order with the coherence of the Zhou royal line. At the highest level of the formative Zhou community, they helped kings manage relationships with local power-holders from across the far-flung scope of the new Zhou territory, including those of former Shang affiliation. At lower levels, by allowing subordinate elites to take part in royal relationship building, they encouraged such elites to conceive of ancestral ritual as a medium of status.

Taking part in Zhou royal ritual events was a privilege accompanied by rewards, often including both material and immaterial resources for producing inscribed bronzes. Most early Western Zhou records of specific rites are relics of this process. The complex of royal ancestral ritual attendance, reward, and implementation of the reward in local ancestral ritual carried the message of a Zhou elite identity with the king as an "obligatory passage point" through whom status within both state and lineage must be sought.[239] This

[236] See, for example, *Yili*, "Shi guan li," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 956; *Zhouli*, "Si zun yi," 773–774; *Liji*, "Li qi," 1441; Huang Huaixin, *Yizhoushu*, "Wen zhuo jie," 27–37. The poem "Zhuo" is, however, one of the few with a traditional title that does not appear in the body of the poem itself. "Zhuo," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 604.

[237] Of thirty-nine inscribed vessels identified by the AS database as *shao*, twenty-four are dated to the Shang; one to the early Western Zhou; two (the Bo Gongfu *shao*) to the late Western Zhou; and the remaining thirteen to the Warring States period (accessed 07/14/2017). The Bo Gongfu *shao* are thus quite unusual for their time.

[238] See, for example, *Mao shi*, "Wei qing," *Shisanjing zhushu*, 584.

[239] See Callon, "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation," 203–206.

complemented the political model pursued by the early Zhou kings, which delegated complete but conditional authority over far-flung settlements to local rulers bound to the royal house by (real or imagined) lineage ties.[240]

During the middle-Western-Zhou period, the Zhou royal house occasionally supported the ancestral cults of nonroyal elites directly with gifts of livestock. Along with the hosting of ancestral-ritual events and support of the physical infrastructure of ancestral worship during the early Western Zhou, this patronage shows the specific interest of Zhou kings in disseminating their brand of ancestral worship – based on Shang practice, but with significant differences – throughout the formative Zhou state.[241] Nonroyal Zhou elites took up individual ritual techniques to varying degrees. *Hui*-entreaty gained traction as a common declared purpose of inscribed bronzes; the *zheng*-offering survived throughout the period, also driving the casting of bronzes in certain cases; and *zhu*-invocation developed into an elaborate institution. These had certain built-in factors acting on their behalf. *Zheng* was associated with the natural phenomenon of the harvest; *zhu* provided a venue for achieving public attention outside the context of military endeavor; *hui* denoted an action fundamental to the entire concept of the ancestral cult (i.e., the appeal to ancestral spirits for blessings).

Many ritual techniques used by the royal house in the early Western Zhou, however, disappeared from the inscriptions. Some of these – specifically *su* and *yue* – related closely to Shang remnant populations and the new capital of Chengzhou. Concern with these rites may have waned as distance from the Shang era grew and the remaining Shang-affiliate elites became more invested in the Zhou group identity. Rites that enjoyed direct royal patronage – *di* and *lao* in particular – faded despite limited effort to support their performance among nonroyal elites. The timing of this disappearance likely indicates a redirection of royal resources after the middle-Western-Zhou period. The ritual techniques called *sui* and *chang* are attributed to Zhou kings in received texts, but appear in the inscriptions only on nonroyal vessels dating to the late Western Zhou – in the case of *sui*, in a radically different form. Other terms for ritual techniques arose in middle or late Western Zhou inscriptions

[240] For the model of the Western Zhou state as a "delegatory kin-ordered settlement state," see *Bureaucracy*, 294–299. The account of the foundation of Wu 吳 in *Shiji*, 1445–1446, provides an example of a lineage myth composed to fit a regional state into the political system created by the Zhou expansion.

[241] Liu Yu has previously noted the general trend of ceremonial terminology in the inscriptions away from Shang vocabulary; see Liu Yu, "Jinwen zhong," 514–515. Liu's assumption seems to be that the Zhou held closely to Shang practices early in the Western Zhou period due to the superior degree of advancement of Shang culture. I follow the alternative interpretation that Shang-style rites provided common ground for the Zhou royal house and Shang-remnant aristocracy at a time when managing former Shang populations still entailed much difficulty for the Zhou central powers.

independent of any recorded royal activities. Some of these had precedents in the Shang oracle bones, while some did not.

The fading of accounts of specific royal rituals from the inscriptions, the stopping of royal patronage of livestock offerings, and the changes in ritual vocabulary that began in the middle Western Zhou and continued into the late Western Zhou suggest a shift in the strategy of the Zhou royal house away from ancestral rites as a preferred medium of the public performance of Zhou identity. That records of royal ancestral-ritual acts in bronze inscriptions waned does not, however, mean that they disappeared altogether. Judging from the continued appearance of terms such as *hui* and *zheng* on nonroyal bronzes, Zhou elites continued to conduct certain ancestral rites of early vintage that carried intrinsic value for them. The renewed appearance of *sui* and *chang* may thus reflect a revival of practices that had lost royal favor among nonroyal performers. Further, many terms that emerged first in the bronze inscriptions in the middle or late Western Zhou and in association with nonroyal elite activities – *chang*, *yin*, *zhuo*, and *lao*, for example – became quite common in later treatments of Zhou ritual. Together, these points suggest that the seeds of later visions of Western Zhou ritual derived from interests outside the Zhou royal house.

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