

## RECENTLY EXCAVATED INSCRIPTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS (2008–2018)

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### Abstract

Between 2008 and 2018 a significant number of inscriptions and manuscripts from early China were discovered or published. These sources include hundreds of new oracle bone and bronze inscriptions; more than thirty scientifically excavated literary manuscripts; thousands of private and official scientifically excavated documents; and more than seventy literary texts acquired from the antiquities market. This review article, focusing mainly on artifacts with archaeological provenance, offers a global overview of these new materials that have already renewed, or will certainly soon renew, the field of early China studies.

After a year-long stay at the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient Beijing Center between 2008 and 2009, I realized that many new discoveries of early Chinese inscriptions and manuscripts were announced or published every year without necessarily drawing the attention of the academic community. Back at my home institution in Paris, the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, I proposed an annual presentation on newly excavated texts and recent publications about those materials for our graduate students. This paper is based on ten years of such annual reports.

Many materials discovered or published between 2008 and 2018, such as the Tsinghua bamboo-slip manuscripts, have already been the subject of detailed studies. I will only briefly mention such well-known materials and refer to specialized articles or books for further information. The purpose of this article is to offer the most comprehensive overview possible (with a focus on less well-known materials), to show recent trends in the evolution of the corpus of excavated texts, and to anticipate the publication of forthcoming materials, which will constitute in the years and decades to come the basis for renewing our knowledge about early China.

I organize the presentation of excavated texts in a traditional way: (1) bone and shell inscriptions, (2) bronze inscriptions, and (3) bamboo and

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wooden manuscripts. While focusing on excavated texts, I also provide information about archaeological context, as I believe it aids in understanding excavated written materials.

## BONE AND SHELL INSCRIPTIONS

In 2003, Sun Yabing 孫亞冰 estimated the total number of oracle bone inscriptions to be roughly 130,000.<sup>1</sup> Even if this number is open to debate, oracle bone inscriptions clearly constitute the most important written source from the late Shang period (and also provide some original information about the early Western Zhou period).<sup>2</sup>

### Shang Bone and Shell Inscriptions

About 100,000 Shang oracle bone inscriptions were excavated during the early twentieth century, before scientific excavation of the last Shang capital began at Xiaotun village near Anyang, in 1928. Later, Shang oracle bone studies were marked by several important discoveries, like pit YH127 in 1936 (17,096 inscribed pieces), more than fifty pits (essentially trash-pits) at Xiaotun-South in 1973 (about 4,800 inscribed pieces), and pit H<sub>3</sub> at Huayuanzhuang-South in 1991 (689 inscribed pieces). Most of the oracle bone inscriptions excavated from YH127 and H<sub>3</sub> were dated to the reign of Wu Ding.

Apart from these major discoveries, several minor ones were made at Anyang by the Institute of Archaeology (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). Inscriptions recovered from the smaller excavations were gathered to form a new corpus published in 2012, *Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨.<sup>3</sup> This work contains inscribed

1. Sun Yabing, "Bainian lai jiaguwen cailiao zai tongji" 百年來甲骨文材料再統計, *Zhongguo wenwubao*, May 9, 2003, 7. A revised version of this article was published in *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, 2006.1, 24–47.

2. The number of pieces (*pian* 片) is repeatedly discussed by specialists. In fact, this number is naturally unstable: one piece can be broken into two or more pieces, later spread in different collections, or, alternatively, several pieces can be rejoined together to obtain one larger piece. Ideally, the only meaningful number—related directly to Shang and Zhou diviners' production and not to the hazards of later conservation conditions—should be the number of complete inscribed oracle bones or shells (an equivalent to MNI in archaeology). However, such information is generally difficult to obtain.

3. See *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 中國社會科學院考古研究所, *Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨 (Guilin: Yunnan renmin, 2012). A selection of twenty pieces from this corpus was published two years earlier, see Liu Yiman 劉一曼 and Yue Zhanwei 岳占偉, "Yinxu jinchi keci jiagu xuanshi" 殷墟近出刻辭甲骨選釋, *Kaoguxue jikan* 18 (2010), 211–36.

oracle bones and shells excavated from the center and the south of Xiaotun village between 1986 and 1989 (305 pieces) and between 1986 and 2004 (233 pieces). The content and the appearance of these inscriptions resemble those observed earlier at Xiaotun-South (some pits were in fact very close to ones excavated in 1973). These inscriptions contain new toponyms, anthroponyms and names of spirits to whom sacrifices were offered. According to standard classification, this corpus essentially belongs to the Shi 師, Wu 午, Anonymous (*wuming* 無名), and Li 歷 diviner groups, with some pieces related to the Bin 賓 and Huang 黃 groups. It offers a limited but intriguing overview of royal and non-royal oracle bone inscription production from the reign of Wu Ding to the reigns of the last Shang kings. One of the most valuable aspects of *Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu* is clear information about the inscriptions' archaeological background. Stratigraphy and ceramics typology (as most inscribed fragments come from pits containing sherds) represent solid evidence contributing to the debate about the chronology of the different groups. The discovery of more than fifty inscribed fragments belonging to the Anonymous group is considered particularly important for better understanding the production of this non-royal diviner group, which was probably active under six different reigns over the course of a century.<sup>4</sup> This discovery also provides good evidence to support the distinction, first proposed by Li Xueqin 李學勤, between a northern and a southern tradition at Anyang with different mantic and epigraphical practices.<sup>5</sup> The editors of *Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu* follow a high publication standard, providing annotated transcriptions associated with three different reproductions of the originals: rubbings, photographs, and drawings. They also provide pictures of the archaeological context. At the end of the second volume, several indexes and tables constitute useful tools for multi-aspect research.<sup>6</sup> A detailed study of the various forms of cavities made for crack making on those materials can also be found in this book, complementing a similar study published more than thirty years ago on the Xiaotun-South oracle bones.

4. For a detailed study of this group's production, see Liu Yifeng 劉義峰, *Wuming zu buci de zhengli yu yanjiu* 無名組卜辭的整理與研究 (Beijing: Jindun, 2014).

5. See Li Xueqin, "Di Yi shidai de feiwang buci" 帝乙時代的非王卜辭, *Kaogu xuebao* 1958.1, 43–74. For a recent study of this question using the *Cun zhong cun nan* corpus, see Zhang Zhiqiang 張志強, "Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu suo jian xin cailiao yu 'liang xi shuo' de yunyong" 《殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨》所見新材料與“兩系說”的運用, *Gu hanyu yanjiu* 2016.1, 46–58.

6. An exhaustive concordance of this corpus, with hand-written copies of the inscriptions, was published in 2016, taking into account corrections proposed after the book publication in 2012. See Li Shuangjie 李霜潔, ed., *Yinxu Xiaotun cunzhong cunnan jiagu keci leizuan* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨刻辭類纂 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2017).

Unfortunately, the quality of the pictures is not always excellent. Since the book was published, some scholars have also proposed corrections to the transcription. Several fragments have been joined to form larger pieces, offering more complete inscriptions.

Ten small inscribed fragments were also excavated between 2004 and 2005, when archaeologists excavated exploration ditches in order to better understand the so-called Palace-Temple zone foundations (first excavated by the Academia Sinica in the 1930s).<sup>7</sup> These fragments were found north of Xiaotun, less than ten meters from the “big connected pits” (*da lian keng* 大連坑) where many oracle bone inscriptions were excavated in 1929, including four intact turtle shell plastrons first studied by Dong Zuobin 董作賓 (1895–1963).<sup>8</sup>

An inscribed fragment of ox scapula was excavated in September 2009 from a pit at Dasikong 大司空, a site where past excavations uncovered important remains of the Shang dynasty, such as aristocratic tombs and bronze workshops.<sup>9</sup> The fragment is only 9.5 cm long, but it presents inscriptions on both sides, organized in twenty-one columns separated by vertical strokes. In total, sixty characters can be identified on one side and thirty-seven on the other. All columns are incomplete, and their content is not always clear, but some sentences are related to military and ritual activities. Most authors follow He Yuling’s 何毓靈 interpretation that these inscriptions, unrelated to divination practices, are simply carved (upside down) on a discarded, used divination support. It is certainly an unusual inscription, but I still wonder if it can’t be linked to the Wu Ding-period Bin group divination practice of “general program oracle inscription” (*zonggangxing buci* 總剛性卜辭) as defined by Sakikawa Takashi 崎川隆.<sup>10</sup> Two other inscribed oracle scapula fragments were discovered at Dasikong in 2004: a small one, with very brief inscriptions, and a large one, with long inscriptions consisting of lists of binomes used in the Shang sexegenary cycle, probably as an exercise.<sup>11</sup>

7. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui 中國社會科學院考古研究所安陽工作隊, “2004–2005 nian YinXu Xiaotun gongdian zongmiao qu de kantan he fajue” 2004–2005 年殷墟小屯宮殿宗廟區的勘探和發掘, *Kaogu xuebao* 2009.2, 240–41.

8. See Dong Zuobin 董作賓, “Da gui si ban kaoshi” 大龜四版考釋, in *Anyang fajue baogao* 安陽發掘報告, vol. 3 (Peiping: Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1931), 423–42.

9. See He Yuling 何毓靈, “Henan Anyang shi YinXu Dasikong chutu keci niugu” 河南安陽市殷墟大司空村出土刻辭牛骨, *Kaogu* 2018.3, 116–20.

10. See Sakikawa Takashi, *Bin zu jiaguwen fenlei yanjiu* 賓組甲骨文分類研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2011), 933–36.

11. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui 中國社會科學院考古研究所安陽工作隊, *Anyang Dasikong—2004 nian fajue baogao* 安陽大司

## Western Zhou Bone and Shell Inscriptions

The corpus of Western Zhou oracle-bone inscriptions is much smaller and less studied than the Shang one (though still more than one thousand pieces, mostly unpublished).<sup>12</sup> The most important discoveries of Western Zhou oracle bone inscriptions were made in the Zhouyuan 周原 region (Shaanxi), in the core of the Zhou royal domain. At present, all those inscriptions are dated between the very end of the Shang dynasty and the beginning of the Zhou dynasty (c. eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.E.). The most famous corpus, excavated in 1977 from two pits at Fengchu 鳳雛, Qishan 岐山, contains 293 inscribed fragments.<sup>13</sup> Minor discoveries were also reported in the same region in 2002, 2003, 2004, and 2007.<sup>14</sup> In 2008, a joint archaeological team from Peking University and the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology organized planned excavation at Zhougongmiao 周公廟, where oracle bone inscriptions had been discovered a few years earlier. The remains of Western Zhou buildings destroyed by a fire (i.e., burnt wooden pieces and tiles) were found in a large ditch. Among those remains, archaeologists also discovered more than 7,600 oracle bone and shell pieces, 688 of which were inscribed. This discovery confirms the importance of the pyromantic practice for Zhou elite at the beginning of the Western Zhou period. It

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空—2004年發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2014), 204–7. About Anyang Shang writing/carving exercises, see Adam Smith, “The Evidence for Scribal Training at Anyang,” in *Writing and Literacy in Early China*, ed. Li Feng and David Prager Branner (Seattle: University of Washington, 2011), 173–205.

12. For a synthesis of Western Zhou oracle bones, see Wang Yuxin 王宇信, *Zhongguo jiaguxue* 中國甲骨學 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2009), 457–578.

13. See Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Zhouyuan Oracle-Bone Inscriptions: Entering the Research Stage?” *Early China* 11–12 (1985–1987), 146–63, and Jean-Pierre Diény “Les Inscriptions sur os et sur écaille de l’époque de Zhou,” *Journal Asiatique* 274.3–4 (1986), 455–66. Later, this corpus was republished with better quality photographic reproductions in Cao Wei 曹瑋, ed., *Zhouyuan jiaguwen* 周原甲骨文 (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2002).

14. Liujiagou 劉家溝 (2002, one inscribed piece) in Fufeng 扶風 county, and Zhougongmiao 周公廟 (2003, 55 inscribed pieces; and 2004, more than 90 inscribed pieces) and Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 (2007, 13 inscribed pieces) in Qishan 岐山 county. See “Zhouyuan yizhi kaogu xin faxian” 周原遺址考古新發現, in 2002 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2002 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2003), 39–40; Zhouyuan kaogudui 周原考古隊, “2003 nian Shaanxi Qishan Zhouyuan Zhougongmiao yizhi diaocha baogao” 2003年陝西岐山周原周公廟遺址調查報告, *Gudai wenming* 5 (2006), 172–83. Xu Tianjin 徐天進, “Shaanxi Qishan Zhougongmiao yizhi” 陝西岐山周公廟遺址, in 2005 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* (Beijing: Wenwu, 2006), 64–65; Fenghuangshan kaogudui 鳳凰山考古隊, “Qishan xian Fenghuangshan Shang Zhou shiqi yizhi” 岐山縣鳳凰山商周時期遺址, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian* 2008 中國考古學年鑑 2008 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2009), 396.

also shows the continuity between Shang and Zhou epigraphical practice, even if inscribing oracle bones and shells was less frequent in the Zhou tradition. Only a few inscriptions from the 2008 Zhougongmiao discovery have been published.<sup>15</sup> In the inscriptions, historical figures such as Wang Ji 王季, Dawang 大王, Wen Wang 文王, Zhou Gong 周公, Shao Gong 召公, Bi Gong 畢公 and Shu Zheng 叔鄭 (probably one of the younger brothers of Wu Wang 武王) are mentioned. Several pieces present numerical hexagrams (*shuzigua* 數字卦), from which the *Zhouyi* 周易 tradition probably emerged.<sup>16</sup> Of particular interest is the reference to a ritual practice called “pacifying the wind” (*ningfeng* 寧風), well attested in Shang oracle bone inscriptions but observed here for the first time in Zhou materials. Two other discoveries were later reported from Qishan county: at Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 in 2009 (more than 240 inscribed fragments) and, once again, at Zhougongmiao in 2011 (one inscribed fragment).<sup>17</sup>

If Shang oracle-bone inscription practice was essentially limited to the capital (with rare exceptions in Zhengzhou and Daxinzhuang 大辛莊),<sup>18</sup> Zhou texts have been excavated from different places across Zhou territory, such as Luoyang 洛陽 (site of the eastern capital Chengzhou 成周), Liulihe 琉璃河 (ancient capital of Yan 燕 in modern-day Beijing), and Xingtai 邢臺 (likely capital of the Xing 邢 state, located in modern Hebei).<sup>19</sup> One inscribed scapula was also accidentally discovered in Luoyang in 2008.<sup>20</sup> Due to the South–North Water Transfer Project (Nan shui bei diao 南水北調), an important Zhou site was discovered

15. See, for example, Zhougongmiao kaogu dui 周公廟考古隊, “Qishan Zhougongmiao yizhi qunian chutu daliang Xi-Zhou jiagu cailiao” 岐山周公廟遺址去年出土大量西周甲骨材料, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Feb. 20, 2009, 5.

16. For a recent publication about these number series, see Andrea Bréard and Constance Cook, “Cracking Bones and Numbers: Solving the Enigma of Numerical Sequences on Ancient Chinese Artifacts,” *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 74 (2020), 313–43.

17. See Fenghuangshan kaogudui 鳳凰山考古隊, “Qishan xian Fenghuangshan Shang Zhou shiqi yizhi” 岐山縣鳳凰山商周時期遺址, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian 2010* 中國考古學年鑑 2010 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2011), 425; Zhong Jianrong 種建榮, “Qishan Zhougongmiao Longshan shidai ji Shang Zhou shiqi yizhi” 岐山周公廟龍山時代及商周時期遺址, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian 2012* 中國考古學年鑑 2012 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2013), 406.

18. See Ken-ichi Takashima, “Literacy to the South and the East of Anyang in Shang China: Zhengzhou and Daxinzhuang,” in *Writing and Literacy in Early China*, 141–72.

19. See Wang Yuxin, *Zhongguo jiaoguxue* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2009), 457–62. For the Xingtai discovery, see also Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所 and Xingtai shi wenwu guanlichu 邢臺市文物管理處, “Hebei Xingtai Nanxiaowang Zhou dai yizhi fajue jianbao” 河北邢臺南小汪周代遺址發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2012.1, 14–16.

20. See Cai Yunzhang 蔡運章, “Luoyang xin huo Xi-Zhou bugu wenzi luelun” 洛陽新獲西周卜骨文字略論, *Wenwu* 2008.11, 50–53.

at Chenzhuang 陳莊, Zibo 淄博 municipality, Shandong. Between 2008 and 2010 archaeologists uncovered the remains of an ancient walled city as well as ancient tombs.<sup>21</sup> The remains were dated to the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.E. A bronze inscription indicates that the site, whose identification is still debated, was related to the state of Qi 齊. Among the bones and shells used for divination, a plastron fragment with numerical hexagrams was found, attesting to the widespread use of this kind of “numeromancy.” A discovery in June 2017, at an important cemetery dating to the Shang and the Zhou periods located at Yaoheyuan 姚河塬 in the territory of the municipality of Guyuan 固原 (Ningxia Province), was more unexpected.<sup>22</sup> More than fifty tombs were identified, including two large ones with access ramps (so-called *jia* 甲 character-shaped tombs) as well as horse and chariot pits, such features being considered signs of persons with especially high status. Unfortunately, most of these remains were destroyed over the course of time. In the infill layers of the access ramp of one of the large tombs, a fragment of an oracle bone was found with carved and painted characters on it. The inscription records a divination about two individuals charged with leading groups of people to specific locations with the hope they will not encounter any difficulties. The nature of this site, situated on the western borders of the Zhou world, is still debated, but the presence of such oracle bone inscriptions can be considered as supplementary evidence for a strong link between people buried in this cemetery and the Zhou aristocratic community, especially as the contents of the inscriptions present parallels with others from the Zhouyuan region.<sup>23</sup>

### Collections of Oracle-Bone Inscriptions

Apart from new, scientifically excavated materials, specialists of oracle-bone inscriptions have also since 2008 benefited from the publication of oracle-bone collections kept in institutions like the Shanghai Museum (5,002 pieces), Peking University (2,980 pieces), the Institute of History of

21. See Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 山東省文物考古研究所, “Shandong Gaoqing xian Chenzhuang Xi-Zhou yizhi” 山東高青縣陳莊西周遺址, *Kaogu* 2010.8, 33–34.

22. See Ma Qiang 馬強, Hou Furen 侯富任 and Ma Tianxing 馬天行, “Ningxia Pengyang Yaoheyuan faxian daxing Shang Zhou yizhi—juluo xingcheng fuza, muzang dengji gao, keneng wei Xi-Zhou fengguo duiyi yizhi” 寧夏彭陽姚河塬發現大型商周遺址—聚落形成複雜、墓葬等級高，可能為西周封國都邑遺址, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Jan. 26, 2018, 8.

23. On parallels with Zhouyuan inscriptions, see Fu Qiang 付強, “Ningxia Pengyang Yaoheyuan Xi-Zhou muzang M13 chutu jiagu kaoshi” 寧夏彭陽姚河原西周墓葬M13出土甲骨考釋, Jan. 15, 2018 ([www.bsm.org.cn/show\\_article.php?id=2972](http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2972)), accessed July 27, 2020. Later published in *Yindu xuekan*, 2019.1, 30–32.

the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2,024 pieces), Lüshun Museum (2,217 pieces), Chongqing Three Gorges Museum (208 pieces), Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, and the Hermitage Museum (202 pieces).<sup>24</sup> Most of these public collections are based on private collections assembled at the beginning of the twentieth century by famous scholars and collectors like Liu E 劉鶚 (1857–1909), Wang Yirong 王懿榮 (1845–1900), and Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940). It should be mentioned that the majority of the inscriptions contained in these recent volumes have been published before, such as in the *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 (abbreviated as *Heji*). Texts that are published for the first time mostly consist of small fragments with short and often incomplete inscriptions. In fact, the real value of these books lies in the quality of the edition. Where the *Heji* provides only one rubbing for each inscribed face of each divination support, most of these recent volumes contain high quality color pictures and rubbings for both faces (front and back), as well as a hand-drawn copy of the inscription and a transcription in modern characters. In the appendices, readers will find useful indexes and tables, like correspondence tables with other corpora or tables providing information about diviner groups for each piece. Great attention is now paid to oracle bones not only as carriers of text, but as objects. That is why these books usually include precise information about the exact dimension of each piece, a feature generally lacking in previous publications. If the inscriptions are not always as readable in the color pictures as in traditional black-and-white rubbings, pictures are useful to better understand the relationship between text and divination practice. Some uninscribed backs are reproduced here for

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24. Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang jiaguwenzi* 上海博物館藏甲骨文字 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu, 2009); Lee Jung-sook 李種淑 and Ge Yinghui 葛英會, eds., *Beijing daxue zhencang jiaguwenzi* 北京大學珍藏甲骨文字 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2008); Song Zhenhao 宋鎮豪, Zhao Peng 趙鵬 and Ma Lifan 馬季凡, eds., *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Lishi yanjiusuo suo cang jiagu ji* 中國社會科學院歷史研究所所藏甲骨集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2012); Song Zhenhao and Guo Fuchun 郭富純, eds., *Lüshun bowuguan suo cang jiagu* 旅順博物館所藏甲骨 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2014); Song Zhenhao and Li Xiaolong 黎小龍, eds., *Chongqing Sanxia bowuguan cang jiagu ji* 重慶三峽博物館藏甲骨集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2016); Zhou Zhongbing 周忠兵, *Kaneiji bowuguan suo cang jiagu yanjiu* 卡內基博物館所藏甲骨研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2015); Song Zhenhao and Ma Liya 瑪麗婭 (Maria Menshikova), eds., *Eluosi Guoli Aimitashi bowuguan cang Yinxiu jiagu* 俄羅斯國立愛米塔什博物館藏殷墟甲骨 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2013). For more information about those books and other similar book projects mentioned in this review, see Zhi Xiaona 鄧曉娜, “Jiaguwen zhengli yu yanjiu de xin dongxiang” 甲骨文整理與研究的新動向, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Feb. 9, 2016, 3; Song Zhenhao, “Jieshao ba zong jiaguwen cangpin de zhengli yu zhulu” 介紹八宗甲骨文藏品的整理與著錄, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 31 (2016), 11–17; Song Zhenhao, “Jiaguwen cailiao quanmian zhengli yanjiu de xin dongxiang” 甲骨文材料全面整理研究的新動向, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Oct. 25, 2017, 5.



the first time, providing scholars with direct information about technical aspects of the mantic procedure. From this perspective, the side profile pictures of some of the broken bones and shells furnished by some of the collections (i.e., Lüshun Museum and the Institute of History) are also precious. This is especially the case when a break occurs at the center of a pyromantic hollow because it offers better conditions to observe hollow shapes and to understand hollow production. Of important collections which are expected to be published soon (probably with the same level of care), we can mention the Shandong Museum collection (more than 10,580 pieces, most unpublished) and the Palace Museum collection (22,463 pieces, most unpublished). Both of these collections are in turn mainly based on the older collection of James Mellon Menzies (明義士, 1895–1957).<sup>25</sup> The publication of the Tianjin Museum collection (more than 1,800 pieces) has also been announced. The Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica is well known for preserving the most important collection of scientifically excavated oracle-bone inscriptions (about 25,000 pieces discovered at Anyang between 1928 and 1937). But this institution also possesses a smaller collection of oracle bones purchased by earlier scholars (338 pieces) that was published in 2009.<sup>26</sup> The specialists of the Academia Sinica are also in charge of the edition of a corpus representing more than 3,000 oracle bones excavated at Anyang between 1929 and 1930 by He Rizhang 何日章 (1893–1979) on behalf of the Henan provincial government. The collection was first placed in the Henan Museum, Kaifeng, before being moved to Taiwan, where it is now housed in the National History Museum.<sup>27</sup> Some recent Chinese private collections have also been published since 2008.<sup>28</sup>

Despite their high quality, these new corpora are not intended to replace the *Heji*, which retains its importance as a convenient general corpus to which all studies, dictionaries and indexes can continue

25. On the Palace Museum collection, see also Wang Su 王素, “Gugong bowuyuan cang Yinxu jiaguwen zhengli yu yanjiu xiangmu yuanqi” 故宮博物院藏殷墟甲骨文整理與研究項目緣起, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 2016.3, 6–10.

26. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, ed., *Shiyusyuo goucang jiagu ji* 史語所購藏甲骨集 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2009).

27. Li Zongkun 李宗焜, “He Rizhang wajue jiagu” 何日章挖掘甲骨, *Jiaguwen yu Yin Shang shi* 5 (2015), 293–97.

28. See Duan Zhenmei 段振美, Dang Xiangkui 党相魁, Jiao Zhiqin 焦智勤, and Dang Ning 党寧, eds., *Yinxu jiagu jiyi—Anyang minjian cang jiagu* 殷墟甲骨輯佚—安陽民間藏甲骨 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2008) (1,102 pieces); Song Zhenhao, Jiao Zhiqin, and Sun Yabing, eds., *Yinxu jiagu shiyi* 殷墟甲骨拾遺 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2015) (647 pieces); Song Zhenhao, ed., *Zhang Shifang suo cang Yinxu jiagu ji* 張世放所藏殷墟甲骨集 (Beijing: Xianzhuang, 2009) (385 pieces); Song Zhenhao, ed., *Fu Kaidong suo cang Yinxu jiagu* 符凱棟所藏殷墟甲骨 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2018) (119 pieces).

making reference. The *Heji* (41,956 pieces) was complemented in 1999 by the *Jiaguwen heji bubian* 甲骨文合集補編 (abbreviated as *Bubian*; more than 13,000 pieces, including some Western Zhou inscriptions). Song Zhenhao 宋鎮豪 is currently working on the editing of a new corpus completing the *Heji* and the *Bubian*.

At a more modest level, some small collections were recently published as journal articles that provide rubbings and transcriptions. The museum of the city of Xinxiang 新鄉 (formerly the Pingyuan 平原 provincial museum) is situated in Henan province, about one hundred kilometers south of Anyang. Its collection consists of 232 small, inscribed fragments, most of them unpublished.<sup>29</sup> The museum of Shaanxi Normal University possesses a collection of sixty-five small, inscribed fragments purchased during the 1950s and 60s. The majority of these pieces are now published for the first time. Beyond rubbings and transcriptions, the article presenting the Shaanxi Normal University collection also provides high quality black and white photographs as well as information about size of each fragment with remarks about traces of pyromantic practice.<sup>30</sup>

Some older catalogues of oracle-bone inscription rubbings were also recently reprinted or re-edited.<sup>31</sup> Aside from their importance to the history of oracle bone collections, such publications also provide rubbings that reflect a better state of preservation than what can now be observed on the original objects. In some cases, these older rubbings are the only testimonies we have for oracle bones that have disappeared, like the so-called Huzhi 笏之 collection that was partly destroyed during a bombing raid on Tokyo in 1945.

### Other Bone And Shell Inscriptions

The habit of carving inscriptions on oracle bone and shell seems to disappear after the tenth century B.C.E. The Zhou people, and other groups related to Zhou culture, continued to practice pyro-osteomancy but without adding inscriptions to divination supports.<sup>32</sup> On the other

29. Zhu Qi 朱旗, "Xinxiang shi bowuguan guancang jiagu" 新鄉市博物館館藏甲骨, *Huaxia kaogu* 2015.3, 123–33.

30. See Guo Yanli 郭妍利, "Shaanxi shifan daxue bowuguan cang jiaguwen shidu yu yanjiu" 陝西師範大學博物館藏甲骨文釋讀與研究, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2018.3, 86–101.

31. See Song Zhenhao, ed., *Xu Zongyuan Zunliu shi jiagu taben ji* 徐宗元尊六室甲骨拓本集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2018) (268 pieces); Song Zhenhao and Zhu Detian 朱德天, eds., *Yunjian Zhu Kongyang cang Jianshoutang Yinxi wenzi jiu ta* 雲間朱孔陽藏戩壽堂殷墟文字舊拓 (Beijing: Xianzhuang, 2009) (932 pieces, partly unpublished); Song Zhenhao, ed., *Huzhi jiagu taben ji* 笏之甲骨拓本集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2016) (1,867 pieces, unpublished with a few exceptions).

32. For evidence of late Warring States Qin oracle shell practice, see Tian Jin 田進, "Shaanxi Xixian xinqu Qin ren mudi 'yiwai' faxian bujia" 陝西西咸新區秦人墓地“意

hand, the use of bone as a writing support for labels is well attested at Chang'an, the capital of the Western Han dynasty, where 63,883 bone labels were excavated.<sup>33</sup> Examples of similar epigraphical practice were discovered in 1998 at Xinzheng 新鄭 (Henan). Thirty-nine inscribed ox rib bones were excavated from a pit that was part of a large sacrificial site of the Han 韓 capital during the Warring States period.<sup>34</sup> Inscriptions, traced with ink (and not carved), were only partly readable. The texts consist of lists with inventory numbers. The nature of the listed items is still uncertain—it may be related to skeins of silk or hemp. As these inscriptions were found close to the granary zone of the ancient city, the lists may have been produced by officials.

## BRONZE INSCRIPTIONS

As underlined in Edward Shaughnessy's reference work on the subject, bronze inscriptions represent one of our major sources for Western Zhou history.<sup>35</sup> Many inscriptions excavated or published in the last ten years have expanded the corpus from this specific period, and some have already been included in recent studies in Western languages. Many Shang inscribed bronzes have also been excavated, as well as vessels from the Eastern Zhou period. In this section I will follow a mostly chronological order from the Shang to the Han. However, in a few cases, discoveries concerning specific regions or states across different periods will be treated independently.

### Shang Inscribed Bronzes

Unlike oracle-bone inscriptions, many Shang bronze inscriptions have been found outside of Anyang. However, the last Shang royal capital is still the place where most Shang inscribed bronzes have been excavated.

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外"發現卜甲, Mar. 19, 2018 (<https://www.chinanews.com/cul/2018/03-19/8471330.shtml>), accessed on July 28, 2020.

33. For an overview, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, *Zhongguo kaoguxue: Qin Han juan* 中國考古學：秦漢卷 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2010), 805–12.

34. See Cai Quanfa 蔡全法, "Xinzheng Zheng Han gucheng chutu Zhanguo niuleigu moshu zhangbu kao" 新鄭鄭韓故城出土戰國牛肋骨墨書賬簿考, *Huaxia kaogu* 2014.4, 72–74. This article provides transcriptions and color photos (quality insufficient for detailed reading) for a selection of four bones.

35. See Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). For presentations and English translations of more than eighty Shang-Zhou bronze inscriptions, see Constance A. Cook and Paul R. Goldin, eds., *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 2016).

These inscriptions consist mainly of emblems representing individuals or groups of people belonging to the aristocracy. Important discoveries have been reported or published recently for sites like Dasikong, Qijiazhuang-East 戚家莊東, Liujiazhuang-North 劉家莊北, or Wangyukou 王裕口. Most of the inscribed bronzes have been excavated from tombs.

In 2004 the Anyang team of the Institute of Archaeology (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) excavated more than 450 tombs at Dasikong, of which ten contained bronze vessels.<sup>36</sup> Tomb M303 was the largest unlooted tomb found during this archaeological campaign.<sup>37</sup> The rectangular burial pit was 6.64 m deep, measuring 4.25 m by 2.05 m on the sides. Inside the pit was a wooden chamber (*guo* 槨) where a coffin was surrounded by funeral goods, including thirty-seven bronze ritual vessels, among which thirty-two were inscribed. All inscriptions are identical and consist of the emblem of the tomb owner (composed of two elements). The tomb also contained 165 bronze weapons or parts of weapons, but none with an inscription. While not very big, M303 furnished the largest number of inscribed bronze vessels after the Fu Hao 婦好 tomb (180 inscribed bronze vessels) and Guojiazhuang 郭家莊 M160 (thirty-eight inscribed bronze vessels).<sup>38</sup> Three other tombs from Dasikong contained one to two bronze vessels inscribed with different emblems (M58, M215, M230).

In 2015, the Anyang City Institute of Archaeology published the final report concerning the Shang cemetery of Qijiazhuang-East, excavated between 1981 and 1984. Among 192 mostly looted tombs, only ten contained ritual bronze vessels, of which four held inscribed ones. M63 contained eight vessels inscribed with roughly the same emblem. Half of these emblems were carved into the bronze, an unusual practice during the Shang period. M269 is the largest tomb. It contained twenty-eight inscribed bronzes, including fifteen ritual vessels, three bells and ten weapons. Except for three vessels, all were inscribed with the same emblem.<sup>39</sup>

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36. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, ed., *Anyang Dasikong—2004 nian fajue baogao*.

37. Before the 2014 monograph, the report on M303 was published as Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, “Yinxu Dasikong M303 fajue baogao” 殷墟大司空 M303 發掘報告, *Kaogu xuebao* 2008.3, 353–94.

38. For a general reflection about inscribed bronzes excavated from Shang tombs in Anyang, see Feng Yicheng 風儀誠, “Anyang Shang dai muzang zhong de ‘zuhui’” 安陽商代墓葬中的‘族徽’, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 29 (2012), 206–29.

39. See Anyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 安陽市文物考古研究所, *Anyang Yinxu Qijiazhuang dong Shang dai mudi fajue baogao* 安陽殷墟戚家莊東商代墓地發掘報告 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 2015).

Another important tomb was discovered in 2009 at Wangyukou.<sup>40</sup> The burial pit of M94 is a bit smaller than the one in Dasikong M303, but the tomb has an access ramp. It was in fact the first time an unlooted tomb with an access ramp was scientifically excavated at Anyang. The archaeologists expected exceptional grave goods, but they were quite disappointed. The tomb contained only four ritual bronzes, thirty-three *ge* halberd blades (including thirty-two funeral substitutes, or *mingqi* 明器) as well as some other bronze weapons, tools, and various objects. Two accompanying corpses were also buried with the tomb occupant. An inscribed emblem appears both on a *ding* 鼎 bronze cauldron and a bow-shaped implement (*gongxingqi* 弓形器). Interestingly, the same emblem is attested in a smaller, neighboring tomb (M103), which contained nine accompanying corpses and nine ritual bronze vessels. Four vessels were inscribed, including three with the same emblem as the one from M94. Archaeologists also made an even more unexpected discovery in this tomb: a bronze seal. A few Shang bronze seals had been known since the beginning of the twentieth century, but as those pieces were exceptional and did not come from scientific excavations, some scholars (including I myself) were skeptical about their authenticity. The discovery of three Shang bronze seals by the Anyang archaeological team in 1998, 2009, and 2010 proved definitively that most of the collected Shang seals are genuine.<sup>41</sup> The 1998 seal was found in the remains of an ancient building, whereas the 2010 seal was excavated from a large sacrificial pit (H77). The three excavated Shang seals have square-shaped bases with looping finials. Only one seal presents a *taotie* motif on its seal-matrix face, the second combines animal motifs and emblems, whereas the third one contains only an emblem as its inscription. The emblem found on the seal excavated from tomb M103 was the same as the one seen on three of the four inscribed bronzes excavated from the same tomb and on M94 inscribed bronzes.

Important Shang remains were excavated from the Liujiazhuang-North site, in the southern part of the YinXu protected area, between 2009 and 2011.<sup>42</sup> This site includes buildings, wells, roads, large ditches, tombs, and

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40. On the Wangyukou 2009 discoveries, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, “Henan Anyang YinXu Wangyukou cun nandi 2009 nian fajue jianbao” 河南安陽殷墟王裕口村南地 2009 年發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2012.12, 3–25.

41. For a presentation of those new Shang seals and a discussion about their relationship with the old ones, see He Yuling 何毓靈 and Yue Zhanwei 岳占偉, “Lun YinXu chutu de san mei qingtong yinzhang ji xiangguan wenti” 論殷墟出土的三枚青銅印章及相關問題, *Kaogu* 2012.12, 70–77.

42. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, “Henan Anyang shi Liujiazhuang beidi 2010–2011 nian fajue jianbao” 河南安陽市劉家莊北地 2010–2011 年發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2012.12, 26–42; Anyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo,

pottery kilns. More than one thousand tombs were also discovered, only a minority of which contained ritual bronzes. Generally, these tombs held just a few bronzes, with one emblem appearing on some of the bronzes (as in M20, M88 and M89). Tomb M70 was quite small, but it contained five ritual bronzes, including three with the same emblem (also attested in two other tombs from the same area). This emblem corresponds to the one observed on the bronze seal that was excavated from the H77 sacrificial pit, situated little more than fifty meters from tomb M70. Tomb M44 was also excavated at Liujiazhuang-North, but in 2006. It contained eighteen ritual bronze vessels, of which four were inscribed with three different emblems.<sup>43</sup> Isolated tombs with inscribed bronzes were also reported from other sites: Beixujiaqiao-North 北徐家橋北 (M120, west of Liujiazhuang-North),<sup>44</sup> Xujiqiao-Southwest 徐家橋西南 (M1), Wenyuanlüdao 文源綠島 (M5, M12, M41, M45, M46, M79), Saigejindi 賽格金地 (M13), Yijiayuan 宜家苑 (M33, M20, M88, M89, M94), Bodiuyan 博地苑 (M17),<sup>45</sup> and Tiesanlu 鐵三路 (M89, east to Liujiazhuang-North), close to where one of the most important bone workshops ever discovered was found by modern archaeologists.<sup>46</sup> These discoveries provide new materials to analyze the link between emblems and tombs in Anyang, especially in connection with the question of familial cemeteries and lineage settlements (*zu yi* 族邑) at the Shang capital.

The Anyang team also excavated a sacrificial pit (H2498) inside the courtyard of a large building at Liujiazhuang-North. Three bronze ritual vessels and a ceramic one were excavated from this pit, revealing a quite

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“Henan Anyang Liujiazhuang beidi Shang dai yizhi muzang 2009–2010 nian fajue jianbao” 河南安陽劉家莊北地商代遺址墓葬 2009–2010 年發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2017.6, 4–30.

43. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, “Henan Anyang Liujiazhuang beidi 44 hao mu de fajue” 河南安陽劉家莊北地 44 號墓的發掘, *Kaogu* 2018.10, 22–31.

44. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, “2002 nian Anyang Beixujiaqiao cun bei Shang dai yizhi fajue jianbao” 2002 年安陽北徐家橋村北商代遺址發掘簡報, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2017.5, 4–13.

45. For Xujiqiao-Southwest, Wenyuanlüdao, Saigejindi, Yijiayuan, and Bodiuyan, see Anyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 安陽市文物考古研究所, *Anyang Yinxu Xujiqiao Guojiazhuang Shang dai muzang: 2004–2008 nian Yinxu kaogu baogao* 安陽殷墟徐家橋郭家莊商代墓葬: 2004–2008 年殷墟考古報告 (Beijing: Kexue, 2011).

46. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, “Henan Anyang shi Yinxu Tiesanlu 89 hao mu de fajue” 河南安陽市殷墟鐵三路89號墓的發掘, *Kaogu* 2017.3, 26–36. For the Tiesanlu bone workshop, see Roderick Campbell et al., “Consumption, Exchange and Production at the Great Settlement Shang: Bone-Workshop at Tiesanlu, Anyang,” *Antiquity* 85 (2011), 1279–97.

uncommon ritual practice in Anyang. Three bronzes carried different emblems and ancestral titles.<sup>47</sup>

Outside of Anyang, inscribed bronzes have also been discovered at other Shang-period sites in Henan, Shandong, and Shaanxi. The multiplication of discoveries of late Shang-period sites around Zhengzhou in recent years has modified our perception of the occupation of this region after the collapse of the Zhengzhou royal capital around 1400 B.C.E. For example, fifty-eight Shang tombs were found in 2006 at Xiaohucun 小胡村, in Xingyang 滎陽, a county-level city under the administration of Zhengzhou.<sup>48</sup> Even though looters had reached the site beforehand, archaeologists were able to excavate no fewer than forty-nine bronze vessels from the tombs. On more than twenty bronzes appeared an emblem usually transcribed as 舌. The same emblem is already attested on a few bronzes from Anyang, and also occurs on a bronze cover excavated from Shang tomb M35 at Gaozhuang 高莊, in the western suburbs of Zhengzhou.<sup>49</sup>

In 2008–2009 archaeologists from Zhumadian 駐馬店 excavated an important Shang cemetery at Runlou 潤樓 (Zhengyang 正陽 district). 255 Shang tombs were unearthed. Even though many tombs were looted, thirty-one ritual bronzes were excavated. However, only three bronzes, originating from two tombs, were inscribed: two with an emblem (M71) and one with the same emblem associated with an ancestral title (M229).<sup>50</sup> At the beginning of 2010, Chinese police were able to recover more than one hundred objects illegally excavated from Runlou, but much more is thought to have spread on the antiquities market. A tomb from the Shang period was also looted in 2010 at Guanwangcha 關

47. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo Anyang gongzuodui, “Henan Anyang shi Liujiashuang beidi 2010–2011 nian fajue jianbao” 河南安陽市劉家莊北地 2010–2011 年發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2012.12, 31–33.

48. Jia Lianmin 賈連敏 et al., “Henan Xingyang Xiaohu cun wan Shang guizu mudi” 河南滎陽小胡村晚商貴族墓地, in 2006 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2006 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2007), 50–54; Liang Fawei 梁法偉 and Liu Liangchao 劉良超, “Xingyang shi Xiaohu cun wan Shang guizu mudi” 滎陽市小胡村晚商貴族墓地, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian 2008* 中國考古學年鑑 2008 (Beijing: Wenwu 2009), 279–80; Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan 河南省文物考古研究院, “Henan Xingyang Xiaohu cun mudi Shang dai muzang fajue jianbao” 河南滎陽小胡村墓地商代墓葬發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 2015.1, 3–13, 25.

49. Liu Qingbin 劉青彬 and Liu Yanfeng 劉彥鋒, “Henan Zhengzhou Gaozhuang yizhi faxian wan Shang yicun” 河南鄭州高莊遺址發現晚商遺存, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Jan. 27, 2017, 8.

50. Zhumadian shi wenwu kaogu guanlisuo 駐馬店市文物考古管理所, “Henan Zhumadian Runlou Shang dai mudi fajue baogao” 河南駐馬店潤樓商代墓地發掘報告, *Kaogu xuebao* 2018.4, 457–510. The discovery was presented earlier in Liu Wenge 劉文閣 et al., “Henan Zhengyang Runlou Shang dai mudi” 河南正陽潤樓商代墓地, in 2009 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2009 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2010), 44–48.

王岔 (Zizhou 子洲 district), north of Yan'an 延安 in Shaanxi. Police were able to recover six fine ritual bronze vessels originating from this tomb, one of which was inscribed with an emblem. Such a discovery of Shang bronze vessels in northern Shaanxi is quite exceptional.<sup>51</sup>

A Shang period cemetery was scientifically excavated between 2010 and 2011 at Liujiazhuang 劉家莊, in Jinan city.<sup>52</sup> Most of the seventy-seven tombs were quite modest, with only six containing ritual bronzes. Among twenty-eight bronze vessels, eleven were inscribed, of which eight came from one of the most important tombs (M121).<sup>53</sup> In this grave, the same composite emblem was seen on seven bronzes, indicating the group to which the tomb occupant belonged. The same emblem was also observed on two bronzes from tomb M1572 in the Anyang Yinxu-West zone. It should also be noted that four inscribed halberd blades were excavated at Liujiazhuang from two important tombs (M121 and M122). Their inscriptions consist of a single emblem, so far only attested on halberd blades. Many similar specimens were excavated from Anyang, including seventy pieces from the Houjiazhuang 侯家莊 M1004 royal tomb. All this suggests strong links between Liujiazhuang Shang elite and the royal capital.

New discoveries at two well-known cemeteries were also reported, dating from the late Shang to early Western Zhou periods. The first is situated at Tianhu 天湖 (Luoshan 羅山 district), in the territory of Xinyang 信陽 prefecture-level municipality. The site was mainly excavated between 1979 and 1991, but many materials from the latest campaigns have not yet been published.<sup>54</sup> Tomb M57 was one of the best preserved from the 1991 campaign.<sup>55</sup> It was quite large and contained ten ritual bronze vessels, including only one inscribed with an emblem. This emblem is distinct from the most common emblem found in the

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51. Yulin shi wenwu baohu yanjiusuo 榆林市文物保護研究所, "Shaanxi Zizhou chutu Shang dai tongqi" 陝西子洲出土商代銅器, *Wenwu* 2015.1, 4–12.

52. Jinan shi kaogu yanjiusuo 濟南市考古研究所, "Jinan shi Liujiazhuang yizhi Shang dai muzang fajue baogao" 濟南市劉家莊遺址商代墓葬發掘報告, *Haidai kaogu* 11 (2018), 243–334.

53. For more detailed and better quality pictures of M121 and M122, see Jinan shi kaogu yanjiusuo, "Jinan shi Liujiazhuang yizhi Shang dai muzang M121, M122 fajue jianbao" 濟南市劉家莊遺址商代墓葬 M121、M122 發掘簡報, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 2016.7, 81–119.

54. For a synthetic presentation of the Luoshan Tianhu Shang cemetery, see Hu Jinzhu 胡進駐, *Yinxu wan Shang muzang yanjiu* 殷虛晚商墓葬研究 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue, 2010), 221–25.

55. See Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan, Xinyang shi bowuguan 信陽市博物館, and Luoshan xian bowuguan 羅山縣博物館, "Henan Luoshan Tianhu Shang Zhou mudi M57 fajue jianbao" 河南羅山天湖商周墓地 M57 發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 2016.2, 3–12.



Tianhu cemetery, which is usually transcribed as *xi* 息. The absence of the Tianhu major emblem in the funeral bronze assemblage of a member of the local elite raises the question of the relationship between individuals buried in the same aristocratic cemetery in Bronze Age China. The second well-known cemetery is located at Qianzhangda 前掌大, in the south of Tengzhou 滕州 municipal territory, in Shangdong. Important scientific excavations were conducted between 1981 and 2001.<sup>56</sup> In 2004, local police recovered six bronze vessels that were illegally excavated from a tomb at Qianzhangda.<sup>57</sup> Based on the collected objects and funeral goods left by the looters in the tomb, the grave was dated to the early Western Zhou period. Three bronzes were inscribed with similar dedications to one ancestor (Fu Ding 父丁), concluding with the same emblem. Transcribed as *shi* 史, it is the emblem of the main aristocratic group identified at Qianzhangda.

#### Zhou Inscribed Bronzes

Many inscribed Western Zhou bronzes have been excavated or published during the last ten years. They essentially come from tombs located in aristocratic cemeteries. Although some tombs were found in the Zhou royal domain, in the Zhouyuan 周原 region, or around Luoyang, the majority belong to regional aristocratic cemeteries often related to local political entities.

Among the tombs containing inscribed bronzes from the Zhouyuan region, M19 from Zhuangli 莊李 (Fufeng 扶風 district) should be mentioned.<sup>58</sup> Excavated between 2003 and 2004, the grave, dated to the early Western Zhou period, contained fourteen bronzes, of which only four bore short inscriptions (two dedication formulas, one ancestor name, and one emblem). Unlike the majority of late-Shang period aristocratic tombs from Anyang, the content of the M19 inscriptions is not consistent, nor is the decoration of the vessels themselves. Between 2014 and 2015 archaeologists discovered important building remains, with a complex water supply system and twenty-four aristocratic tombs, some associated with chariot pits, at Hejiacun 賀家村, in Zhouyuan.<sup>59</sup> M11 is

56. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo, *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudì*, 滕州前掌大墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2005).

57. See Tengzhou shi bowuguan 滕州市博物館, “Shandong Tengzhou Qianzhangda yizhi xin faxian de Xi-Zhou mu” 山東滕州前掌大遺址新發現的西周墓, *Wenwu* 2015.4, 4–8.

58. See Zhouyuan kaogudui 周原考古隊, “Shaanxi Fufeng xian Zhouyuan yizhi Zhuangli Xi-Zhou mu fajue jianbao” 陝西扶風縣周原遺址莊李西周墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2008.12, 3–22.

59. See Wang Zhankui 王占奎 et al., “Shaanxi Zhouyuan yizhi kaogu huo zhongda shouhuo” 陝西周原遺址考古獲重大收穫, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Jan. 29, 2016, 8;

one of the rare unlooted tombs with substantial grave goods discovered in this area since 1949. It contained sixteen bronze vessels, including several ones with inscriptions. Some inscriptions mention Xi Ji 昔雞 as the bronze dedicator, who may also have been the tomb occupant. One inscription mentions a gift ceremony, related to a *bin* 賓 hosting ritual, which was preceded by an order from the queen.<sup>60</sup> Considering the inscriptions and the characteristics of tomb M11, many scholars estimate that the tomb occupant was probably a member of the Shang elite who lived inside the Zhou royal domain. Although M30 was looted, it still contained six bronze vessels, of which two were inscribed with simple dedications. Very few Western Zhou tombs from Luoyang have been excavated or published since 2008. One of the exceptions is the early Western Zhou tomb C2M130 from Laochengbei 老城北 street, where five bronze vessels, including one inscribed with a short dedication, were discovered.<sup>61</sup>

In 2012, ancient bronzes were accidentally discovered west of the Zhouyuan region at Shigushan 石鼓山, in Baoji 寶雞. Scientific excavations were conducted between 2012 and 2014. Fifteen tombs were unearthed, and ninety-two ritual bronzes were excavated, including twenty-six inscribed ones.<sup>62</sup> Most of these bronzes came from two important tombs (M3 and M4). The quantity and the quality of the bronzes have drawn the attention of many scholars, especially because of possible comparison with earlier discoveries, like the famous bronze sets excavated from Daijiawan 戴家灣, in the same region, at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>63</sup> The inscribed bronzes are dated from the late Shang to the early Western Zhou periods. Their inscriptions consist

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Zhouyuan kaogudui, "Shaanxi Baoji shi Zhouyuan yizhi 2014–2015 nian de kantan yu fajue" 陝西寶雞市周原遺址 2014–2015 年的勘探與發掘, *Kaogu* 2016.7, 32–44.

60. For more details, see Huang Jinqian 黃錦前, "Qishan Hejiacun M11 chutu Xiji gui, you mingwen dushi" 岐山賀家村 M11 出土昔雞簋、卣銘文讀釋, *Shaanxi lishi bowuguan guankan* 24 (2017), 73–77.

61. Luoyang shi wenwu gongzuodui 洛陽市文物工作隊, "Luoyang Laocheng Beidajie Xi-Zhou mu" 洛陽老城北大街西周墓, *Wenwu* 2010.8, 4–7.

62. Shigushan kaogudui 石鼓山考古隊, "Shaanxi sheng Baoji shi Shigushan Xi-Zhou mu" 陝西省寶雞市石鼓山西周墓, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2013.1, 3–24. Shigushan kaogudui, "Shaanxi Baoji Shigushan Xi-Zhou muzang fajue jianbao" 陝西寶雞石鼓山西周墓葬發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2013.2, 4–54. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陝西省考古研究院, Baoji shi kaogu yanjiusuo 寶雞市考古研究所 and Baoji shi Weibin qu bowuguan 寶雞市渭濱區博物館, "Shaanxi Baoji Shigushan Shang Zhou mudi M4 fajue jianbao" 陝西寶雞石鼓山商周墓地 M4 發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2016.1, 4–52.

63. See, for example, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, *Baoji Daijiawan yu Shigushan chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi* 寶雞戴家灣與石鼓山出土商周青銅器 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2015).

essentially of emblems and ancestral titles following the Shang tradition, as well as some short dedications. It is hard to find any consistency among the inscriptions, whether at the cemetery level or inside each tomb. That is one of the reasons why some scholars have proposed that these bronze sets are spoils of war. Other scholars, however, have also suggested the possibility of bronze gifts.

Outside of the Zhouyuan and Luoyang regions, other discoveries were reported inside the Zhou royal domain in Shaanxi. An important aristocratic cemetery with horse pits, dated between the middle and late Western Zhou periods, was excavated in 2014 at Taipingbao 太平堡 (Jingyang 涇陽 district), north of Xi'an city. M214 was looted, but it still contained two bronzes, one inscribed with a sixteen-character inscription.<sup>64</sup> At Liuquancun 柳泉村 (Chengcheng 澄城 district), five early Western Zhou tombs, unfortunately looted, were excavated in 2016.<sup>65</sup> M4 still held one bronze *gui* tureen, inscribed with a dedication that is nearly identical to that of a bronze preserved in the Palace Museum collection in Taipei.<sup>66</sup>

Shanxi Province is well known as the territory of the ancient state of Jin 晉, in which many inscribed bronzes have been discovered.<sup>67</sup> But, in recent years, new local polities from Shanxi have come to light. Following looting reports in 2007, an important cemetery was discovered at Dahekou 大河口 (Yicheng 翼城 district), in the territory of the Linfen 臨汾 prefecture-level municipality. From 2007 to 2016, archaeologists excavated more than 2,200 tombs, as well as numerous horse and chariot pits, dated from the early Western Zhou to early Spring and Autumn periods.<sup>68</sup>

64. See Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, “2014 nian Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan kaogu diaocha fajue xin shouhuo” 2014 年陝西省考古研究院考古調查發掘新收穫, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2015.2, 8–9.

65. Weinan shi wenwu lüyouju 渭南市文物旅遊局, “Shaanxi Chengcheng xian Liuquancun Jiugou Xi-Zhou mu fajue jianbao” 陝西澄城縣柳泉村九溝西周墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2017.2, 3–9.

66. M4 also contained a jade object that is identified in the preliminary report as a seal. I would instead consider it a small vessel cover with inside decoration. Most scholars still identify it as a seal, however, including Li Ling 李零, “Fu Hao mu ‘Long niu shiqi gai,’ Jiugou Xi-Zhou mu ‘Long niu yu yin’ ji qita” 婦好墓“龍紐石器蓋”、九溝西周墓“龍紐玉印”及其他, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 2019.6, 71–82.

67. Concerning inscriptions from the Jin state, see, for example, Wu Yiqiang 吳毅強, *Jin tongqi mingwen yanjiu* 晉銅器銘文研究 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue, 2018).

68. See Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo Dahekou mudi lianhe kaogudui 山西省考古研究所大河口墓地聯合考古隊, “Shanxi Yicheng xian Dahekou Xi-Zhou mudi” 山西翼城縣大河口西周墓地, *Kaogu* 2011.7, 9–18; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, Linfen shi wenwuju 臨汾市文物局, Yicheng xian wenwu lüyouju 翼城縣文物旅遊局, and Shanxi daxue beifang kaogu yanjiu zhongxin 山西大學北方考古研究中心, “Shanxi Yicheng Dahekou Xi-Zhou mudi 2002 hao mu fajue” 山西翼城大河口西周墓地

The cemetery includes many important tombs containing ritual bronze vessel assemblages. Many bronzes were inscribed. As the material is still under study, only limited information is currently available. More or less detailed descriptions have been published about tombs M1017 (54 bronze vessels), M2022 (11 bronze vessels), M1 (66 bronze vessels) and M2 (8 bronze vessels), all including numerous inscribed bronzes. As the lineage name of Ba 霸 is quite frequent in bronze inscriptions from Dahekou cemetery, and the M1017 tomb occupant was one of the Elders of the Ba lineage (Ba 伯 霸伯), archaeologists consider that the cemetery probably belonged to the Ba state, unknown from transmitted sources. Another similar case was reported at Hengshui 橫水 (Jiangxian 絳縣 district), in the territory of Yuncheng 運城 prefecture-level municipality, which is today associated with the state of Peng 邰.<sup>69</sup> Inscriptions from Dahekou also revealed relationships between Ba and other lineages or states, like Yan 燕, Peng 邰, or Rui 芮. A 153-character inscription on a *pan* basin relates the case of a woman from the Ba lineage, originating from the Ji 姬 clan, who lodged a complaint against another aristocrat who swore (*shi* 誓) he would give her servants but did not do it. His pledge was recalled by the authorities and an inscribed vessel was cast to commemorate it. A 115-character inscription on a large *yu* 盂 vessel is related to several connected ceremonies commemorated by the bronze, cast at the behest of an Elder of Ba. Other inscriptions concern merit-praising ceremonies (*mieli* 蔑歷) about military achievements.

The Zhou cemetery of Liangdaicun 梁帶村 is situated in the territory of the municipality of Hancheng, in eastern Shaanxi. After looting was reported in 2005, archaeologists identified more than 1,300 tombs and sixty-four chariot pits.<sup>70</sup> Between 2005 and 2009, sixty-four tombs were

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2002 號墓發掘, *Kaogu xuebao* 2018.2, 223–62; “Shanxi Yicheng Dahekou Xi-Zhou mudi 1017 hao mu fajue” 山西翼城大河口西周墓地 1017 號墓發掘, *Kaogu xuebao* 2018.1, 89–140; Chen Haibo 陳海波 et al., “Shanxi Yicheng Dahekou Xi-Zhou mudi de zaici fajue: Ba guo mudi xiancun muzang yijing quanbu fajue wancheng” 山西翼城大河口西周墓地的再次發掘：霸國墓地現存墓葬已經全部發掘完成, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, June 2, 2017, 8.

69. For a presentation of this cemetery and a study, with translations, of many related inscriptions, see Maria Khayutina, “The Tombs of the Rulers of Peng and Relationships between Zhou and Northern Non-Zhou Lineages (Until the Early Ninth Century B.C.),” in *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China*, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017), 71–132. See also Sun Yan, “Material Culture and Social Identities in Western Zhou’s Frontier: Case Studies of the Yu and Peng Lineages,” *Asian Archaeology* 1 (2012), 63–69.

70. See Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, Weinan shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo 渭南市文物保護考古研究所 and Hancheng shi wenwu lüyouju 韓城市文物旅遊局, “Shaanxi Hancheng Liangdaicun yizhi M19 fajue jianbao” 陝西韓城梁帶村遺址 M19

scientifically excavated. The remains were dated between the late Western Zhou period and early Spring and Autumn period. To date, materials have only been partially published. It seems that a minority of tombs contained bronze vessels, and most of those vessels were uninscribed.<sup>71</sup> As the lineage name Rui 芮 was the most often attested in inscriptions from the first excavated tombs, the cemetery was identified as the cemetery of the Rui state. Other inscriptions refer to different lineages or states, like Bi 畢 (M502), Jin 晉 (M300) or Guo 虢 (M18). These inscriptions clearly reflect interstate exchange and especially marriage.<sup>72</sup> Of particular interest is the relationship with the Guo 虢 state, which had its capital in modern Sanmenxia city. Tomb M18 from Liangdaicun contains only one bronze vessel: an inscribed *ding* cauldron which is in fact part of a larger cauldron set found in tomb M2001 from Sanmenxia.<sup>73</sup>

The looted Qin site of Dabaozishan 大堡子山 (Lixian 禮縣 district), in eastern Gansu, was discovered at the beginning of the 1990s and has already been the subject of various studies.<sup>74</sup> 2006 archaeological campaigns revealed the nature of this site, which included not only large

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發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2007.2, 3–22; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, Weinan shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo and Hancheng shi wenwu lüyouju, “Shaanxi Hancheng Liangdaicun yizhi M27 fajue jianbao” 陝西韓城梁帶村遺址 M27 發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2007.6, 4–20; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Weinan shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo, and Hancheng shi wenwu lüyouju, “Shaanxi Hancheng Liangdaicun yizhi M26 fajue jianbao” 陝西韓城梁帶村遺址 M26 發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2008.1, 4–21; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, Weinan shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo, and Hancheng shi Jingqu guanli weiyuanhui 韓城市景區管理委員會, *Liangdaicun Rui guo mudi: 2007 niandu fajue baogao* 梁帶村芮國墓地: 2007 年度發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2010); Sun Bingjun 孫秉君, Liu Jun 劉軍, and Cheng Ruiping 程蕊萍, “Hancheng shi Liangdaicun Liang Zhou mudi” 韓城市梁代村兩周墓地, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian* 2010, 426–27.

71. For a presentation of the Liangdaicun Zhou cemetery and related excavated bronze inscriptions, including some translations, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Newest Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels, 2000–2010,” in *Imprints of Kinship*, 145–48.

72. On the question of interstate marriage during the Zhou period, see Maria Khayutina, “Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (*sheng* 甥 and *hungou* 婚媾) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions,” *Early China* 27 (2014), 1–61.

73. For tomb M2001, see Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所 and Sanmenxia shi wenwu gongzuodui 三門峽市文物工作隊, *Sanmenxia Guo guo mudi (diyijuan)* 三門峽虢國墓地 (第一卷) (Beijing: Wenwu, 1999). An inscribed jade was excavated from Liangdaicun tomb M26, which is also very similar to another inscribed jade excavated from Sanmenxia tomb M2009. See Jiang Tao 姜濤 and Jia Lianmin, “Guo guo mudi chutu Shang dai xiaochen yuqi mingwen kaoshi ji xiangguan wenti” 虢國墓地出土商代小臣玉器銘文考釋集相關問題, *Wenwu* 1998.12, 59–61.

74. See for example Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Mortuary Behavior in Pre-Imperial Qin: A Religious Interpretation,” in *Chinese Religion and Society: Ancient and Medieval*

tombs of Qin rulers, but also smaller tombs, human-sacrifice pits, a pit containing musical instruments (K5), as well as several related buildings.<sup>75</sup> Eleven bronze *yong* 甬 and *bo* 罍 bells were found in pit K5; on the largest *bo* bell was an inscription indicating it was cast for a Prince of Qin (Qin zi 秦子). This twenty-six-character inscription also confirmed that the area of Lixian district was still an important place for Qin rulers in the early Spring and Autumn period.<sup>76</sup>

Between 1986 and 2007, more than 500 tombs dating from the Zhou to the Han period were excavated at Pingdingshan 平頂山, in southern Henan Province. Unfortunately, the site had suffered significant looting. Based on several excavated bronze inscriptions mentioning members of the Ying 應 lineage elite and on the geographical location of this site, it was identified as a cemetery of the Ying state. Several tombs containing bronzes, occasionally inscribed, were published in preliminary reports before 2008.<sup>77</sup> In 2012, the first volume of the archaeological report was published. It describes eighteen tombs dated from the early and middle Western Zhou periods, of which eleven contained bronze vessels (including three tombs containing only fragments).<sup>78</sup> Nineteen of the fifty-one bronze vessels excavated from these tombs were inscribed. The content of the inscriptions is quite varied, including dedications associated with wish formulae or the commemoration of an archery contest.<sup>79</sup> It should

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*China*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), 116–17.

75. See Zaoqi Qin wenhua lianhe kaogudui 早期秦文化聯合考古隊, “2006 nian Gansu Lixian Dabaozishan jisi yizhi fajue jianbao” 2006年甘肅禮縣大堡子山祭祀遺跡發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2008.11, 14–29.

76. For a study of this inscription, as well as other inscriptions probably also originating from Dabaozishan, with translations, see Li Feng, “A Study of the Bronze Vessels and Sacrificial Remains of the Early Qin State from Lixian, Gansu,” in *Imprints of Kinship*, 209–34.

77. For a study of bronze inscriptions related to Ying, including translations and references to pre-2008 publications, see Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Bronzes of Ying and their Inscriptions,” in *Zhongguo gudai qingtongqi guoji yantaohui lunwenji* 中國古代青銅器國際研討會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai bowuguan; Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, 2010), 89–164.

78. Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Pingdingshan wenwu guanliju 平頂山市文物管理局, *Pingdingshan Yingguo mudi I* 平頂山應國墓地I (Zhengzhou: Daxiang, 2012).

79. For a presentation and translation of some of these inscriptions, see Edward Shaughnessy, “New Sources of Western Zhou History: Recent Discoveries of Inscribed Bronze Vessels,” *Early China* 26–27 (2001–2002), 79–82. For a study of archery practice during the Western Zhou period as seen in contemporary bronze inscriptions, see Susanne Adamski, *Die Darstellung des Bogenschießens in Bronzeinschriften der West-Zhou-Zeit (1045–771 v. Chr.): Eine philologische Quellenanalyse* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017).

be noted that the name of Ying is only attested here in two tombs: Ying *shi* 應事 (M229) and Ying *hou* Cheng 應侯冢 (M84). Four other volumes in this monograph series are expected for tombs dating from the late Western Zhou to the Han period. Due to the lack of reference to Ying in later tombs that have already been published, one must be very cautious about considering the entire Pingdingshan cemetery as related to the Ying lineage.<sup>80</sup>

In 2008, the municipal archaeological institute of Nanyang excavated several Eastern Zhou tombs in Nanyang, including tomb M38, dating from the late Spring and Autumn period.<sup>81</sup> M38 contained twenty bronze vessels (eight were inscribed) and two inscribed halberd blades. Inscriptions indicate that these bronzes were cast for the tomb owner She 射, Prince (?) of Peng 彭子.

The walled site of Chenzhuang 陳莊 (Linzi, Shandong), where an inscribed oracle bone was discovered,<sup>82</sup> also revealed an aristocratic cemetery with large tombs as well as chariot and horse pits.<sup>83</sup> Remains date from the early to middle Western Zhou. From 2008 to 2010, archaeologists excavated fourteen tombs, six of which contained bronzes (50 pieces in total). M18 contained one uninscribed bronze vessel together with seven inscribed ones, with dedications indicating that those bronzes were cast for an Ancestor Jia 祖甲 by someone with the lineage name Feng 豐. Most of the discussions about these discoveries concern the identity of

80. For example, the late Western Zhou tomb M257 contained only one inscription (on two bronzes) by Ke Shi 柯史, and the late Spring and Autumn period tomb M301 contained ten uninscribed bronze vessels. See Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Pingdingshan shi wenwuju 平頂山市文物局 and Henan daxue lishi wenhua xueyuan 河南大學歷史文化學院, “Henan Pingdingshan Ying guo mudi M257 fajue jianbao” 河南平頂山應國墓地 M257 發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 2015.3, 9–21; Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Pingdingshan shi wenwuju, and Henan daxue lishi wenhua xueyuan, “Henan Pingdingshan Chunqiu wanqi M301 fajue jianbao” 河南平頂山春秋晚期 M301 發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2012.4, 4–28.

81. Nanyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 南陽市文物考古研究所, “Henan Nanyang Chunqiu Peng She mu fajue jianbao” 河南南陽春秋彭射墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2011.3, 4–31.

82. See above, pp. 6–7.

83. See Zheng Tongxiu 鄭同修 et al., “Shandong sheng Gaoqing Chenzhuang Xi-Zhou yizhi kaogu fajue huo zhongda chengguo” 山東省高青縣陳莊西周遺址考古發掘獲重大成果, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Feb. 5, 2010, 9; Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shandong Gaoqing xian Chenzhuang Xi-Zhou yizhi” 山東高青縣陳莊西周遺址, *Kaogu* 2010.8, 27–34; Zheng Tongxiu, Gao Mingkui 高明奎, and Wei Chengmin 魏成敏, “Shandong Gaoqing xian Chenzhuang Xi-Zhou chengzhi fajue” 山東高青縣陳莊西周城址發掘, in 2009 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2009 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2010), 38–43; Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shandong Gaoqing xian Chenzhuang Xi-Zhou yicun fajue jianbao” 山東高青縣陳莊西周遺存發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2011.2, 3–21.

the dedicatee (Ancestor Jia, who may have been the first Lord of Qi 齊太公), his relationship with Feng, and the nature of the Chenzhuang walled site. A seventy-three-character inscription on two *gui* tureen vessels excavated from tomb M35 commemorates an investiture ceremony for a military official of the Qi state.

Between 2006 and 2008 archaeologists excavated a large tomb at Shuangdun 雙墩, near Bengbu 蚌埠 (Anhui).<sup>84</sup> This tomb, dated between the early and middle Spring and Autumn periods, has a circular pit covered by a tumulus. The pit contained ten accompanying corpses, ceramics, lacquerware, and bronzes, including nineteen bronze vessels, nine *niu* 鈕 bells and several halberd blades.<sup>85</sup> The nine bells, two *fu* 簠 food containers and three halberd blades were inscribed. Most of the inscriptions consist of a dedication made by Bai, Lord of Tongli 童麗君柏. Serious evidence indicates that Tongli should be read as Zhongli 鐘離 (or 鍾離), a small regional state mentioned in several ancient sources such as the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳.

Between 2004 and 2009 archaeologists discovered more than one thousand tombs dated from the Western Zhou to the Tang dynasty in Shengang 沈崗, near Xiangyang 襄陽, in northern Hubei Province. In 2009 they excavated a mid-Spring and Autumn tomb (M1022), which contained nine bronze ritual vessels and one bronze bell.<sup>86</sup> Two different dedications, with wish formulae, can be read on a *ding* cauldron and on the bell. In both cases, the dedicators' family names were scratched out, indicating that the bronzes were probably not cast for the tomb occupant.

Two tombs dating from the late Spring and Autumn period were discovered at Xulou 徐樓, within the territory of Zaozhuang 棗莊 prefecture-level municipality, in southwest Shandong.<sup>87</sup> Both were looted and damaged, but according to the tombs' shape, remaining grave goods,

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84. Anhui sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 安徽省文物考古研究所 and Bengbu shi bowuguan 蚌埠市博物館, "Anhui Bengbu Shuangdun yi hao Chunqiu mu fajue jianbao" 安徽蚌埠雙墩一號春秋墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2010.3, 4–18; Anhui sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Bengbu shi bowuguan, "Chunqiu Zhongli jun Bo mu fajue baogao" 春秋鐘離君柏墓發掘報告, *Kaogu xuebao* 2013.2, 239–82. A monograph was published the same year; see Kan Xuhang 闕緒杭, ed., *Zhongli jun Bo mu* 鐘離君柏墓 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2013). The best quality reproductions of the inscription rubbings are found in the final archaeological report.

85. The tomb also contained more than 2,000 conical shape clay elements identified as figurines in the report.

86. Xiangyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Hubei Xiangyang Shengang mudi M1022 fajue" 湖北襄陽沈崗墓地 M1022 發掘, *Wenwu* 2013.7, 4–19.

87. Zaozhuang shi bowuguan 棗莊市博物館, Zaozhuang shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui bangongshi 棗莊市文物管理委員會辦公室, and Zaozhuang shi Yicheng qu wenguang xinju 棗莊市嶧城區文廣新局, "Shandong Zaozhuang Xulou Dong-Zhou mu faxian jianbao" 山東棗莊徐樓東周墓發現簡報, *Wenwu* 2014.1, 4–27.



and inscriptions, archaeologists consider them to be the tombs of a husband and wife, members of the local elite. Tomb M1 still contained nineteen bronze vessels and four bronze bells, of which five vessels and one bell were inscribed. Some vessels were cast by a Lord of the Song house 宋公, who presented himself as a descendent of Tang 湯, the founder of the Shang dynasty. Tomb M2 contained six bronze vessels (of which at least two were inscribed) as well as weapons. The identification of the family name of the tomb owners is still debated, as well as other family names or state names occurring in the inscriptions, which at least illustrates the complex local political landscape.

Because of important changes in ritual and social practices, inscribed vessels became less common in tombs while the number of inscribed weapons increased during the Eastern Zhou period. In fact, weapons represent the only category of inscribed bronzes in many tombs and cemeteries from that period. For example, between 2002 and 2004 archaeologists from Shandong excavated fifty-two Eastern Zhou tombs containing 162 ritual bronzes and 384 weapons. The only inscribed bronzes were nineteen weapons originating from six tombs.<sup>88</sup> An inscribed halberd blade was also discovered in 2005 in tomb M124 in Huaxinyuan 華鑫苑 district, Nanyang.<sup>89</sup> The tomb, dated to the early Spring and Autumn period, also contained six uninscribed bronze vessels. The inscription indicates that the halberd was cast for someone called “[X] Chen” 臣, but the relationship between him and the tomb owner remains unclear.<sup>90</sup> In 2000, twenty-six Chu tombs were excavated at Caojiashan 曹家山, close to Jingzhou in the region of the ancient Chu capital.<sup>91</sup> Tomb M1

88. See Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Xintai shi bowuguan 新泰市博物館, *Xintai Zhoujiazhuang Dong-Zhou mudi* 新泰周家莊東周墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2014), 482–83. Notice that more than 700 inscriptions on ceramics, partly related to a Warring States official pottery making workshop, were also discovered in the same region, providing information about local ceramic production. See Shandong daxue lishi wenhua xueyuan Kaoguxue xi 山東大學歷史文化學院考古學系, Shandong bowuguan 山東博物館, and Xintai shi bowuguan, *Xintai chutu Tian Qi taowen* 新泰出土田齊陶文 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2014).

89. Nanyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Nanyang Zhifu yamen bowuguan 南陽知府衙門博物館, “Henan Nanyang shi Huaxinyuan xiaoqu M124 fajue jianbao” 河南南陽市華鑫苑小區 M124 發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 2015.3, 22–27.

90. The same can also be said about tomb M126 from Fenshuiling 分水嶺, in Changzhi 長治 region, which contained an undetermined number of uninscribed bronze objects and a halberd blade with an inscription indicating it was made for a Lord (Gong 公), but the report is said to be incomplete. See Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Shanxi bowuyuan 山西博物院, and Changzhi bowuguan 長治市博物館, *Changzhi Fenshuiling Dong-Zhou mudi* 長治分水嶺東周墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2010), 7 and 302–3.

91. Jingzhou bowuguan 荊州博物館, “Hubei Jingzhou Caojiashan yi hao Chu mu fajue jianbao” 湖北荊州曹家山一號楚墓發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2015.5, 24–34.

was among the largest and the best preserved. Grave goods consisted of various objects, including eight uninscribed bronze vessels and one inscribed bronze sword from Yue 越. Its inscription, in bird-writing style (*niaoshu* 鳥書), indicates that it was cast for an unidentified king of Yue. Unfortunately, it belongs to a small group of Warring States Yue-style swords whose inscriptions remain only partly readable even for specialists.<sup>92</sup> Another case of problematic bird-writing style inscription was reported from a looted Western Han tomb excavated in 2009. Tomb M1 from Jiangdu 江都 (Xuyi 盱眙, Jiangsu) was identified as the tomb of Liu Fei 劉非 (169–127 B.C.E.), Prince of Jiangdu and son of Emperor Jing 景 (r. 157–141 B.C.E.).<sup>93</sup> In his grave was found a broken, inscribed Warring States *chunyu* 鎛于 bronze bell. The unreadable inscription was composed of sixty-four bird-writing style characters. Even if some graphs can be identified, the inscription as a whole doesn't make sense. This phenomenon was also observed on other late Warring States-period Yue-style bronzes, where similar pseudo-inscriptions, produced by single-character mold impression, were used as décor.

E 鄂 was an important state in Western Zhou China, mentioned both in transmitted texts and bronze inscriptions. In 2007, a tomb (M4) was excavated at Yangzishan 羊子山 (Suizhou) which contained several inscribed bronzes made for a Lord of E 鄂侯, a title also attested on a bronze excavated at the same site in 1975.<sup>94</sup> The famous late Western Zhou Yu *ding* 禹鼎 inscription commemorates a Zhou military campaign against a rebellion led by a Lord of E who was finally defeated.<sup>95</sup> Hence, scholars believed that E disappeared. But in 2012, archaeologists excavated twenty tombs from the late Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period at Xiaxiangpu 夏響鋪 (Nanyang prefecture-level municipality).<sup>96</sup> More than one hundred ritual bronzes were excavated,

92. See, for example, Dong Shan 董珊, *Wu Yue timing yanjiu* 吳越題名研究 (Beijing: Kexue, 2014), 74–76.

93. See Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎 and Li Zebin 李則斌, “Jiangsu Xuyi Xi-Han Jiangdu wang mu chutu Yue guo niaochongshu chunyu” 江蘇盱眙西漢江都王墓出土越國鳥蟲書鎛于, *Wenwu* 2016.11, 51–58.

94. See Zhang Changping 張昌平, “Lun Suizhou Yangzishan xinchu E guo qingtongqi” 論隨州羊子山新出噩國青銅器, *Wenwu* 2011.11, 87–94. See also Shaughnessy, “Newest Sources of Western Zhou History,” 140–41.

95. See Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions,” in *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscript*, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, 1997), 82–83.

96. Cui Benxin 崔本信, Wang Wei 王偉, and Zeng Qingshuo 曾慶碩, “Henan Nanyang Xiaxiangpu Zhou dai E guo guizu mudi” 河南南陽夏響鋪周代鄂國貴族墓地, in 2012 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* (Beijing: Wenwu, 2013), 60–63; Fang Yanming 方燕明 et al., “2012 niandu Henan sheng wu da kaogu xin faxian” 2012 年度河南省五

of which thirty-eight were inscribed.<sup>97</sup> Inscriptions indicate that these tombs belong to the E lineage, with some tomb occupants being identified as successive Lords of E and their spouses. Inscriptions concerning spouses also provide information about inter-lineage relationships.

Since the discovery in 1978 of the famous tomb of Marquis Yi 乙 from Zeng 曾 (M1) at Leigudun 擂鼓墩, in Suizhou 隨州, scholars have developed a strong interest in this regional polity.<sup>98</sup> As very few transmitted texts refer to Zeng, many specialists believe that Zeng can be identified with another polity mentioned in the same region: Sui 隨. More than forty years after Marquis Yi's tomb was excavated, we now have enough evidence to recover part of this local polity's history thanks to archaeological and epigraphical discoveries.<sup>99</sup> Based on the excavation of Zeng leaders from a cemetery at Yejiashan 葉家山 (140 tombs and seven horse pits were excavated between 2011 and 2013), we can ascertain that a Zeng lineage was established at Suizhou at the beginning of the Western Zhou period.<sup>100</sup> Whereas no cemetery belonging

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大考古新發現, *Huaxia kaogu* 2013.3, 151 and color plates 11 and 12. Cui Benxin and Wang Wei, "Nanshui beidiao zhongxian gongcheng Nanyang Xiaxiangpu E guo guizu mudi fajue chengguo: Dui Xi-Zhou wanqi dao Chunqiu zaoqi E guo yanjiu jiang shi yige tupo" 南水北調中線工程南陽夏響鋪鄂國貴族墓地發掘成果—對西周晚期到春秋早期鄂國研究將是一個突破, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Jan. 4, 2013, 8.

97. See "Gu E guo ceng shi Xi-Zhou suo feng de nanfang daguo hou shuai zhong pan Zhou" 古鄂國曾是西周所封的南方大國後率眾叛周, Sept. 15, 2014 (<http://culture.people.com.cn/n/2014/0915/c22219-25662507.html>) accessed on July 27, 2020.

98. Tomb M2 from Leigudun was excavated in 1981, but the final report was only published in 2008. Unlike tomb M1 which contained 83 inscribed bronze vessels and 65 inscribed bronze bells, M2 contained 61 uninscribed bronze vessels, 36 uninscribed bronze bells, and only one inscribed bronze vessel. The inscription indicated that the vessel was cast for Lord Fan of Sheng 盛君繁. See Suizhou shi bowuguan 隨州市博物館, *Suizhou Leigudun er hao mu* 隨州擂鼓墩二號墓 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2008) 46–47.

99. For an overview of those discoveries, see Olivier Venture, "Zeng: The Rediscovery of a Forgotten Regional State," in *China Across the Centuries: Papers from a Lecture Series in Budapest*, ed. Gábor Kósa (Budapest: Department of East Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, 2017), 1–32.

100. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所 and Suizhou shi bowuguan 隨州市博物館, "Hubei Suizhou shi Yejiashan Xi-Zhou mudi" 湖北隨州市葉家山西周墓地, *Kaogu* 2012.7, 31–52; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, "Hubei Suizhou shi Yejiashan Xi-Zhou mudi fajue jianbao" 湖北隨州市葉家山西周墓地發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2011.11, 4–60; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, "Hubei Suizhou Yejiashan M65 fajue jianbao" 湖北隨州葉家山M65發掘簡報, *Jiangan kaogu* 2011.3, 3–40; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, "Suizhou Yejiashan M28 fajue baogao" 隨州葉家山 M28 發掘報告, *Jiangan kaogu* 2013.4, 3–57; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, "Suizhou Yejiashan Xi-Zhou mudi di'er ci kaogu fajue de zhuyao shouhuo" 隨州葉家山西周墓地第二次考古發掘的主要收穫, *Jiangan kaogu* 2013.3, 3–6; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan,

to the Zeng lineage has yet been discovered for the middle Western Zhou period, several tombs or cemeteries have been identified for the late Western Zhou and early Spring and Autumn periods in multiple locations: Xiongjialaowan 熊家老灣 in Suizhou (two bronze sets excavated in 1970 and 1972); Sujialong 蘇家壘, Jingshan 京山 municipality (one bronze set and more than one hundred tombs excavated between 1966 and 2017);<sup>101</sup> and Guojiamiao 郭家廟, Zaoyang 棗陽 municipality (seven horse and chariot pits and more than fifty tombs excavated between 2002 and 2015).<sup>102</sup> Finally, cemeteries from the middle Spring and Autumn to middle Warring States period have been recently excavated in Suizhou at Yidigang 義地崗 (six tombs excavated in 1994 and 2011),<sup>103</sup> Fengwenta 峰文塔 (fifty-four tombs and three horse pits

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“Suizhou Yejiashan Zeng guo mudi erqi kaogu fajue zai huo dapi Xi-Zhou qingtongqi” 隨州葉家山曾國墓地二期考古發掘再獲大批西周青銅器, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Oct. 25, 2013, 8; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Suizhou shi bowuguan, and Chutu wenxian yu Zhongguo gudai wenming yanjiu xietong chuangxin zhongxin 出土文獻與中國古代文明研究協同創新中心, “Hubei Suizhou Yejiashan M107 fajue jianbao” 湖北隨州葉家山 M107 發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2016.3, 3–40. Good quality color reproductions can also be found in Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館, Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, and Suizhou shi bowuguan, *Suizhou Yejiashan Xi-Zhou zaoqi Zeng guo mudi* 隨州葉家山西周早期曾國墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2013).

101. See Fang Qin 方勤 et al., “Hubei Jingshan Sulong yizhi kaogu shouhuo” 湖北京山蘇壘遺址考古收穫, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2017.6, 3–39; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Hubei Jingshan Sulong muqun M85” 湖北京山蘇壘墓群 M85, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2018.1, 26–33.

102. The discoveries of 2002–2003 were published in Xiangfan shi kaogudui 襄樊市考古隊, Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, and Hubei Xiao-Xiang gaosugonglu kaogudui 湖北孝襄高速公路考古隊, ed., *Zaoyang Guojiamiao Zeng guo mudi* 棗陽郭家廟曾國墓地 (Beijing: Kexue, 2005). For later discoveries, see Fang Qin and Hu Gang 胡剛, “Zaoyang Guojiamiao Zeng guo mudi Caomenwan muqu kaogu zhuyao shouhuo” 棗陽郭家廟曾國墓地曹門灣墓區考古主要收穫, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2015.3, 3–11; Wuhan daxue lishi xueyuan 武漢大學歷史學院, Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Hubei Jingzhou wenwu baohu zhongxin 湖北荊州文物保護中心, and Zaoyang shi bowuguan kaogudui 棗陽市博物館考古隊, “Hubei Zaoyang Guojiamiao mudi Caomenwan muqu (2014 niandu) M10, M13, M22 fajue jianbao” 湖北棗陽郭家廟墓地曹門灣墓區 (2014 年度) M10 · M13 · M22 發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2016.5, 13–35; Wuhan daxue lishi xueyuan, Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Hubei Jingzhou wenwu baohu zhongxin, and Zaoyang shi bowuguan kaogudui, “Hubei Zaoyang Guojiazhuang mudi Caomenwan muqu (2015 niandu) M43 fajue jianbao” 湖北棗陽郭家廟墓地曹門灣墓區 (2015 年度) M43 發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2016.5, 36–49.

103. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Suizhou shi Zengdugu kaogudui 隨州市曾都區考古隊, and Suizhou shi bowuguan, “Hubei Suizhou Yidigang mudi Zeng guo mu 1994 nian fajue jianbao” 湖北隨州義地崗墓地曾國墓 1994 年發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2008.2, 4–18; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, “Hubei Suizhou Yidigang Zeng Gong Zi Quji mu de fajue jianbao” 湖北隨州義地崗曾公子去疾墓的發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2012.3, 1–26.

excavated between 2012 and 2013),<sup>104</sup> and Handong Donglu 漢東東路 (thirty-nine tombs and two horse pits excavated in 2017).<sup>105</sup> Even though those cemeteries suffered from various levels of looting, numerous grave goods were excavated, including hundreds of inscribed bronzes. Inscriptions provide information about Zeng lineage members names and titles, essentially Lord or Marquis (*hou* 侯) for leaders from Yejiashan, Yidigang, and Leigudun, and Elder (Bo 伯) or Prince (?) (Zi 子) in other cemeteries. Inscriptions from early Western Zhou to early Spring and Autumn consist mainly of short dedications. At Yejiashan, one can also read the name of other lineages (like Yu 魚) or Shang-style ancestral titles (like Fu Xin 父辛), and many emblems (some attested in Anyang during the late Shang period) can be observed. One of the longest inscriptions from Yejiashan (from tomb M2) commemorates ceremonies led by a Zhou king. If the content of dedications from Guojiamiao is quite common, giving essentially the names of dedicators and dedicatees with wish formulas, their layout is often quite irregular, betraying craftsmen who didn't fully master inscription production techniques. These inscriptions contrast with the very conventional eighty-three characters long inscription produced around the same period for the occupant of Sujialong tomb M88. This inscription references the military campaign of Elder Qi of Zeng 曾伯棗 against the Yi from the Huai River region 淮夷. But the difference in layout is even more obvious with the fine design of Zeng bronze inscriptions from the later Yidigang and Wenfangta cemeteries, which is very close to the one attested on bronzes from Lord Yi of Zeng. Here can be found many inscriptions which provide important information about Zeng history. For example, a bell excavated from tomb M1 at Wenfangta has a 169-character inscription that narrates how an ancestor of Lord Yu of Zeng 曾侯與 assisted Zhou kings Wen and Wu in defeating the Shang.

104. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Hubei Suizhou Wengengta mudi kaogu fajue de zhuyao shouhuo" 湖北隨州文峰塔墓地考古發掘的主要收穫, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2013.1, 3–5; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, "Hubei Suizhou shi Wenfangta Dong-Zhou mudi" 湖北隨州市文峰塔東周墓地, *Kaogu* 2014.7, 18–33; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "2013 nian Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo kaogu gongzuo zhuyao shouhuo" 2013年湖北省文物考古研究所考古工作主要收穫, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2014.1, 7–13; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, "Hubei Suizhou Wenfangta M1 (Zeng hou Yu mu), M2 fajue jianbao" 湖北隨州文峰塔 M1 (曾侯與墓)、M2 發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2014.4, 3–51; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi bowuguan, "Suizhou Wenfangta mudi M4 fajue jianbao" 隨州文峰塔墓地 M4 發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2015.1, 3–15.

105. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Suizhou shi bowuguan, and Suizhou shi Zengduqu kaogudui, "Suizhou Handong donglu mudi 2017 nian kaogu fajue shouhuo" 隨州漢東東路墓地 2017 年考古發掘收穫, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2018.1, 34–39.

Nan Gong 南公 was then sent to rule the Yi. When the Zhou royal house began to decline, Zeng turned to the Chu kingdom and assisted Chu in its war against Wu 吳. On another bell from the same tomb, Lord Yu claimed to be a descendent of [Hou] Ji [后]稷, the founding ancestor of the Ji 姬 clan, to which belonged the Zhou royal house. Zeng military assistance to Chu is also mentioned in an incomplete inscription on a bronze bell from tomb M4.<sup>106</sup> For most scholars, those inscriptions provide the historical frame in which Yejiashan, Guojiamiao, Yidigang, Wenfangta and Leigudun materials have to be understood. The fact that Nan Gong is mentioned as an ancestor in Zeng inscriptions from Yejiashan (M111) and Wenfangta (M1) supports the continuity of the Zeng lineage from those different places. However, a few scholars, like Zhang Changping 張昌平, consider that more research is necessary to better understand the history of the Zeng lineage, and that the possible existence of several branches, with perhaps different origins, should not be ignored.<sup>107</sup> Finally, an inscribed halberd blade belonging to a “Great Supervisor of the Horses from Sui” 隨大司馬 was excavated from tomb M21, which also contained several bronzes containing the name of Zeng. Although many scholars consider that this halberd proves the equivalence between Zeng and Sui, Zhang Changping still insists that more materials are necessary to understand the exact nature of the relationship between the two.

Excavated in 2002, tumulus number one at Jiuliandun 九連墩, in Zaoyang 棗陽 (Hubei), contained two vast aristocratic Chu tombs with two large chariot pits. Tomb M2 was unlooted and identified as the grave of the spouse of M1’s tomb occupant.<sup>108</sup> Its size is similar to Baoshan M2 and dates to about the same period (c. 316 B.C.E.). Jiuliandun M2 contained more than one hundred well-preserved lacquer objects, as well as forty bronze vessels. But only a pair of *gui* tureens were inscribed with a short dedication. The identity of the dedicator is still under debate.

In 2017 archaeologists from Shandong were excavating the remains of the ancient capital of the Zhu 邾 state, situated south of today’s Zoucheng 鄒城 city, when they discovered a late Western Han well,

106. A similar discourse is attested in an incomplete inscription seen on an unscientifically excavated bronze bell. See Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, “Zeng hou can zhong mingwen kaoshi” 曾侯殘鐘銘文考釋, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2014.4, 70–73.

107. See Zhang Changping, “Cong wushi nian dao wu nian: Zeng guo kaogu jiantao” 從五十年到五年—曾國考古檢討, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2017.1, 57–67.

108. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Xiangyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 襄陽市文物考古研究所, and Zaoyang shi wenwu kaogudui 襄陽市文物考古隊, “Hubei Zaoyang Jiuliandun M2 fajue jianbao” 湖北棗陽九連墩M2發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2018.6, 3–55.

probably abandoned during the reign of the Xin dynasty (9–23 C.E.).<sup>109</sup> Inside the well several bronze objects were found, including a balance-beam, four weights, and three tablets, all inscribed with an early Xin imperial decree reforming weight and measures. The graphs used in the inscriptions strongly resemble graphs from the First Emperor's decree inscriptions, suggesting Qin inscriptions served as a model.

If bronze was the main metallic support for inscriptions in ancient China, a few inscriptions were produced on other metals. In 2004 a large late Warring States tomb with two access ramps was excavated at Xixin 西辛, Qingzhou 青州 municipality (Shandong).<sup>110</sup> Although it was looted many times, the tomb still contained a few grave goods, including five silver vessels with carved inscriptions that most likely indicated their capacity. More exceptional was the discovery in 2007 of an inscribed iron bridge pillar weighing more than 1.3 tons on the bank of the Shiting 石亭 river, in Guanghan 廣漢 municipality (Sichuan).<sup>111</sup> The inscription, written in *zhuan* 篆 style, provides information about the local commandery name (Guanghan), the ancient name of the river (Luojiang 雒江), the weight of the bridge pillar, and the date when it was cast (96 B.C.E.). Mold fragments were also discovered in the vicinity, indicating that this heavy piece of iron was cast in situ.

Several inscribed bronzes have also been discovered recently outside the course of scientific excavation. For example, tombs were looted in 2009 at Jianjiao 尖角 (Gucheng 谷城 district), in the territory of Xiangyang 襄陽 prefecture-level municipality.<sup>112</sup> Fortunately, the police were able to recover part of the looters' haul, including three Warring States bronze vessels inscribed with similar dedications. In 2006 villagers from Fengxiang 鳳翔 district, Baoji, discovered three bronze vessels from the middle Spring and Autumn period, of which one was inscribed.<sup>113</sup> The nineteen-character inscription was a dedication with wish formula,

109. Shandong daxue lishi wenhua xueyan, Shandong daxue wenhua yichan yanjiuyuan 山東大學文化遺產研究院, and Zoucheng shi wenwuju 鄒城市文物局, "Shandong Zoucheng shi Zhu guo gucheng yizhi 2017 nian J3 fajue jianbao" 山東鄒城市邾國古城遺址 2017 年 J3 發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2018.8, 3–24.

110. Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Qingzhou shi bowuguan 青州市博物館, "Shandong Qingzhou Xixin Zhanguo mu fajue jianbao" 山東青州西辛戰國墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2014.9, 4–32.

111. Li Yingfu 李映福 et al., "Sichuan Guanghan Shiting jiang Han dai tie qiaodun xiangguan wenti yanjiu" 四川廣漢石亭江漢代鐵橋墩相關問題研究, *Kaogu* 2015.9, 101–13.

112. Zhou Ting 周婷 and Liang Chao 梁超, "Hubei Gucheng Jianjiao mudi chutu zhongyao wenwu" 湖北谷城尖角墓地出土重要文物, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2015.3, 38–48.

113. Jing Hongwei 景宏偉 and Cao Jianning 曹建寧, "Shaanxi Fengxiang Xiaosha'ao cun faxian Chunqiu shiqi jiaocang qingtongqi" 陝西鳳翔小沙凹村發現春秋時期窖藏青銅器, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2016.4, 143–44.

preceded by date of the day using the sexagenary cycle. In 2012 one *ding* cauldron and twelve bells dated to the middle Western Zhou period were discovered during earthwork at Wanfunao 萬福垸, Yichang 宜昌 prefecture-level municipality (Hubei). A sixteen-character dedication by a member of a junior branch of the Chu royal family (Chu Ji 楚季) was carved on one of the bells.<sup>114</sup> Even if its context is unclear, this bell is quite important as it constitutes one of the few examples of early Chu inscriptions.

Numerous inscribed bronzes of unknown provenance, preserved in private and public collections, have been published since 2008.<sup>115</sup> Many of these new materials have already been included in the most recent and up-to-date bronze inscription corpus, published by Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽 in 2012 (16,703 items) with a supplement published in 2016 (1,511 items).<sup>116</sup> Unprovenanced materials should of course be considered with caution, especially when they come from private collections, as fake inscribed bronzes are not uncommon on the antiquities market. Notable examples of unprovenanced inscribed bronzes include a Shang *jue* vessel from the Hebei University Museum,<sup>117</sup> four early Western Zhou vessels from the Henan University Museum,<sup>118</sup> and a late Western Zhou *gui* vessel from the Capital Normal University History Museum.<sup>119</sup> Many inscribed bronzes have also appeared in catalogues of private collections, like the Katherine and George Fan collection (37 specimens from

114. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Wuhan daxue lishi xueyuan Kaogu xi 武漢大學歷史學院考古系, “Hubei Yichang Wanfunao yizhi fajue jianbao” 湖北宜昌萬福垸遺址發掘簡報, *Jiangan kaogu* 2016.4, 11–35.

115. For a presentation of some important inscriptions of unknown provenance, see Shaughnessy, “Newest Sources of Western Zhou History,” 150–75 (including a few scientifically excavated examples).

116. Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成, 35 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2012). Wu Zhenfeng, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng xubian* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成續編, 4 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2016). The advantage of Wu’s books lies in the very large number of items, compared to the 12,113 items in the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2007) [hereafter, *Jicheng*], and the fact it provides reproductions of the inscribed objects that are absent from the *Jicheng*. But differences in terms of quality also have to be taken into consideration, which leads us to still prefer the *Jicheng* as the primary reference corpus for the study of bronze inscriptions, with Wu’s corpus a useful complement.

117. Geng Chao 耿超 and Li Wenlong 李文龍, “Hebei daxue bowuguan cang san jian Shang dai qingtongqi” 河北大學博物館藏三件商代青銅器, *Wenwu* 2018.4; 53–54.

118. Huang Jinqian 黃錦前, “Henan daxue wenwuguan cang Shang Zhou qingtongqi” 河南大學文物館藏商周青銅禮器, *Wenwu* 2018.2, 75–80.

119. Yuan Guangkuo 袁廣闊 and Cui Zongliang 崔宗亮, “Shoudu shifan daxue lishi bowuguan cang Xing gong gui” 首都師範大學歷史博物館藏邢公盃, *Wenwu* 2017.3, 82–84.



Shang to Qin),<sup>120</sup> the Meiyintang collection (36 from Shang to Warring States),<sup>121</sup> and the Dong Bo Zhai collection (at least 32 from Shang to Warring States).<sup>122</sup>

## BAMBOO AND WOODEN MANUSCRIPTS

Ancient manuscripts have attracted the attention of Western sinologists more than inscriptions. This interest intensified during the second half of the twentieth century, with important manuscript discoveries like Mawangdui 馬王堆 (1973) and Guodian 郭店 (1993).<sup>123</sup> These sources include technical and literary texts, as well as documents used for official and private activities. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, literary and documentary texts from the Warring States to the Six Dynasties have been found in more than 270 tombs, as well as more than one hundred non-funerary sites.<sup>124</sup> These sources have generated significant academic activity, especially in China.<sup>125</sup> Paul Goldin has recently listed more than 600 works in Western languages on ancient Chinese manuscripts published as of March 2020.<sup>126</sup> The recent creation of a new academic journal in English dedicated to the study of ancient Chinese manuscripts, *Bamboo and Silk*, also adds to the development of the field.

120. Shouyang zhai 首陽齋, Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, and Xianggang zhongwen daxue wenwuguan 香港中文大學文物館, ed., *Shouyang jijin: Hu Yingying Fan Jirong cang zhongguo gudai qingtongqi* 首陽吉金—胡盈瑩、范季融藏中國古代青銅器 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2008).

121. Musée des Arts asiatiques Guimet, ed., *Trésors de la Chine ancienne: bronzes rituels de la collection Meiyintang* (Paris: Musée des Arts asiatiques Guimet, 2013).

122. Gilles Béguin et al., *Chine de bronze et d'or: Collection Dong Bo Zhai* (Sarran: Musée du président Jacques Chirac, 2011). Note that two identical, forty-six-character early Western Zhou inscriptions were mistakenly considered as possibly inauthentic by the author (me). For a detailed study of these inscriptions, see Dong Shan 董珊, “Yi zun, Yi you kaoshi” 疑尊、疑卣考釋, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 2012.9, 71–80.

123. For the second corpus, see Sarah Allan and Crispin William, eds., *The Guodian Laozi: Proceedings of the International Conference, Dartmouth College, May 1998* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, 2000).

124. For a global overview of these discoveries, see the Manuscripts Database of the Institute of Chinese Studies at the University of Heidelberg, last revision Mar. 30, 2014 (<http://projects.zo.uni-heidelberg.de/manuscript/index.php/>), accessed on July 27, 2020.

125. For scholarship published in China, one can consult, for example, the comprehensive bibliographies regularly published in the journal *Jianbo* 簡帛.

126. See Paul Goldin, “Ancient Chinese Manuscripts: Bibliography of Materials in Western Language,” regularly updated (<https://upenn.academia.edu/PaulGoldin>), accessed on July 27, 2020.

In presenting manuscript corpora discovered or published between 2008 and 2018, I will make a distinction between scientifically excavated texts and those coming from the antiquities market.

### Scientifically Excavated Manuscripts

Ancient literary and documentary texts written on bamboo, wood, and silk are generally excavated from two different contexts: tombs and non-funerary sites. Tombs were where texts were intentionally placed, and where, if specific conditions were met, they could be more fully preserved. On the other hand, materials discovered in non-funerary contexts were generally discarded there and, as a result, are more fragmentary.<sup>127</sup>

### Tomb Manuscripts

#### WARRING STATES

Since the 1942 discovery of the Zidanku 子彈庫 tomb in Changsha, nearly all of the tombs from the Warring States period that contained manuscripts have been situated inside the territory of the Chu kingdom or its satellite states, with important manuscript-tombs concentrated in the Jingzhou area (site of the Chu capital) and Changsha.

In 2009 two tombs were excavated at Dingjiazui 丁家嘴, Wuhan.<sup>128</sup> Tomb M<sub>1</sub> was badly looted, but M<sub>2</sub> still contained a significant amount of funeral goods. Both were among the biggest Chu tombs from the Warring States period ever excavated in eastern Hubei province. Bamboo documents were found in both graves: one single bamboo slip fragment in M<sub>1</sub>, originating from a tomb inventory, and about one hundred slip fragments in M<sub>2</sub>, consisting of a collection of divinatory and sacrificial reports (*bushi jidao jilu* 卜筮祭禱記錄) and a tomb inventory.<sup>129</sup> According to those documents, the M<sub>2</sub> tomb occupant was a lord of Lou 婁君.

Between October 2009 and January 2010, ancient tombs were excavated at Yancang 嚴倉, Jingmen 荊門 municipality (Jingzhou

127. For a large-scale reflection on excavated manuscripts, see Enno Giele, "Excavated Manuscripts: Context and Methodology," in *China's Early Empires: A Re-appraisal*, ed. Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010), 114–34.

128. Li Yongkang 李永康, "Wuhan shi Dingjiazui Zhanguo Chu mu" 武漢市丁家嘴戰國楚墓, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian* 2010, 316–17.

129. Wuhan shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 武漢市文物考古研究所 and Wuhan daxue Lishi xueyuan Jianbo yanjiu zhongxin 武漢大學歷史學院簡帛研究中心, "Hubei Wuhan Dingjiazui M<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>2</sub> chutu Zhanguo zhujian" 湖北武漢丁家嘴 M<sub>1</sub>、M<sub>2</sub> 出土戰國竹簡, *Wenwu* 2015.6, 49–51.

prefecture-level municipality).<sup>130</sup> M1 was a large tomb, with an access ramp (quite similar to Baoshan tomb M2) and associated chariot pit. The tomb had been looted and damaged several times, but it still contained an incomplete tomb inventory consisting of thirteen broken slips.<sup>131</sup> Based on an inscribed bronze halberd blade, archaeologists estimate that the grave was closed in 344 B.C.E. or a few years later.

In 2012, large tombs were discovered at Wangshanqiao 望山橋 (close to Wangshan 望山, where tombs M1 and M2 were excavated in the 1960s and found to contain documents on bamboo). In 2015, archaeologists excavated Wangshanqiao tomb M1, a large tomb with an access ramp that was probably looted as early as the end of the Warring States period.<sup>132</sup> The funeral chamber was situated about ten meters below ground level. In the south compartment were found fifteen fragmentary slips belonging to a funerary list and a collection of divinatory and sacrificial reports. The tomb occupant was an Administrator of the Central Stables (Zhongjiu yin 中廐尹) of the Chu state and a member of the Chu royal family.

In 1992 two Chu tombs dated to the fourth century B.C.E. were discovered at Angang 安崗, in Laohekou 老河口 municipality (Xiangfan 襄樊 prefecture-level municipality). Preliminary archaeological reports and a detailed presentation of the materials were only published in 2017.<sup>133</sup> These tombs were smaller than the ones mentioned above, but they were still equipped with an access ramp, in addition to being quite well preserved and holding rich grave furnishings. Both tombs contained inventories: twenty-one slips and fragments in M1, and four in M2.

The next discovery will no doubt draw the attention of early China specialists. Between 2014 and 2015, the Jingzhou Museum organized salvage excavations of two ancient cemeteries, at Xiajiatai 夏家台 and Liujiatai 劉家台. Because tomb M106 from Xiajiatai was not very large,

130. Song Youzhi 宋有志, “Hubei Jingmen Yancang muqun M1 fajue qingkuang” 湖北荊門嚴倉墓群 M1 發掘情況, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2010.1, 132, and color plates 3–7.

131. Li Tianhong 李天虹, Song Youzhi, and Cai Dan 蔡丹, “Yancang yi hao Chu mu qiance jizai de jiaju yongxi 嚴倉一號楚墓遣冊記載的家具用席,” *Wenwu* 2017.9, 63–69.

132. Jingzhou bowuguan, “Hubei Jingzhou Wangshanqiao yi hao Chu mu fajue jianbao” 湖北荊州望山橋一號楚墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2017.2, 4–37.

133. Xiangyang shi bowuguan 襄陽市博物館 and Laohekou shi bowuguan 老河口市博物館, “Hubei Laohekou Angang yi hao mu fajue jianbao” 湖北老河口安崗一號墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2017.7, 2–37; Xiangyang shi bowuguan and Laohekou shi bowuguan, “Hubei Laohekou Angang er hao mu fajue jianbao” 湖北老河口安崗二號墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2017.7, 38–58; Liu Guosheng 劉國勝 and Hu Yali 胡雅麗, “Hubei Laohekou Angang Chu mu zhujian gaishu” 湖北老河口安崗楚墓竹簡概述, *Wenwu* 2017.7, 59–64.

archaeologists believe it belonged to the lower aristocracy. However, just like Guodian M1, Xiajiatai M106 held several literary manuscripts. The Xiajiatai corpus consists of more than 400 bamboo slips. Preliminary observations indicate that it contains some texts with transmitted counterparts, such as the “Bei feng” 邶風 section of the *Shi jing* 詩經 and the “Lüxing” 呂刑 chapter of the *Shang shu* 尚書. The corpus also contains a divination manual belonging to the daybook genre (*rishu* 日書), which, alongside the one from Jiudian 九店 tomb M56, could be one of the earliest examples.<sup>134</sup>

#### QIN

Tomb M1 from Fangmatan 放馬灘 was excavated in 1986, in Tianshui 天水 prefecture-level municipality (southeast Gansu province). The tomb was quite modest, but still equipped with a funeral chamber containing the coffin and funeral goods. Bamboo manuscripts discovered in the tomb consisted of two daybooks, one containing a resurrection story and the other a text related to early Chinese musical theory.<sup>135</sup> There was also a set of four wooden tablets on which were drawn seven maps of local resources. Based on a date found in one of the manuscripts, Tomb M1 was dated to 239 B.C.E., but different elements seem to indicate that it was probably a bit later. The first monograph dedicated to these materials was published in 2009 with a revised version of the original archaeological report, but it still suffered from many defects.<sup>136</sup> Another monograph published in 2013 provides a more reliable edition of the texts and higher quality photographs of the manuscripts.<sup>137</sup>

#### HAN

Tombs from the Han dynasty containing manuscripts have been found all over the territory of the Han empire, from Yunnan to Korea and from

134. Jingzhou bowuguan, “Hubei Jingzhou Liujiatai yu Xiajiatai mudi faxian dapi Zhanguo muzang” 湖北荆州劉家台與夏家台墓地發現大批戰國墓葬, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Apr. 8, 2016, 8. For early China’s daybook tradition, see Donald Harper and Marc Kalinowski, eds., *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China: The Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

135. For an overview of Fangmatan tomb M1, see Alain Thote, “Daybooks in Archaeological Context,” in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture*, ed. Harper and Kalinowski, 21–25. For a presentation of Fangmatan M1 *rishu* manuscript, see Liu Lexian, “Daybooks: A Type of Popular Hemerological Manual of the Warring States, Qin, and Han,” in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture*, ed. Harper and Kalinowski, 67–69.

136. Gansu sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所, ed., *Tianshui Fangmatan Qin jian* 天水放馬灘秦簡 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2009).

137. Sun Zhanyu 孫占宇, *Tianshui Fangmatan Qin jian jishi* 天水放馬灘秦簡集釋 (Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua, 2013).

Shandong to Gansu. However, due to various factors, concentrations of manuscript-tombs are attested in a few regions, such as the core of the ancient Chu kingdom around Jingzhou and the southern part of the Shangdong peninsula.

Among the important discoveries in the Jingzhou region are Western Han tombs at Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山. Six tombs containing documents on bamboo and wood were excavated between 1973 and 1976 during the Cultural Revolution. But the first complete edition of the texts was published as a monograph only in 2012.<sup>138</sup> This edition also contains information on the archaeological background. The Fenghuangshan corpus is composed of more than 560 slips and ten tablets. Each tomb contained a funeral inventory, two of which were connected with “documents of declaration to the earth” (*gaodi shu* 告地書). M9 and M10 also contained administrative documents about grain loans, field taxes, statute labor, and other matters. Unfortunately, the Fenghuangshan documents were not very well preserved, and the quality of the black-and-white photographs contained in the 2012 volume does not always allow a direct reading of the original documents.<sup>139</sup>

In 2002 Jingzhou Museum archaeologists discovered ninety-four Qin and Han tombs at Yintai 印台, in Shashi 沙市 district, Jingzhou.<sup>140</sup> Nine Western Han tombs contained texts written on more than 2,300 bamboo slips and sixty wooden tablets. This still-unpublished corpus contains various genres: administrative document, calendar, chronicle (*biannianji* 編年記 or *yeshu* 葉書), legal manuscript, daybook, funeral inventory and “document of declaration to the earth.”<sup>141</sup>

At the end of 2004, peasants from the Jingzhou region accidentally discovered several ancient tombs at Songbai 松柏, very close to the Fenghuangshan cemetery mentioned above. The Jingzhou Museum then conducted scientific excavation.<sup>142</sup> Although Tomb M1 was partly

138. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Fenghuangshan Xi-Han jiandu* 鳳凰山西漢簡牘 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2012).

139. A few documents, still in quite good condition, were published separately with high quality color pictures. See Nishibayashi Shōichi 西林昭一 et al., eds., *Kantoku meis-ekisen: 5 Kohoku hen san* 簡牘名跡選 5湖北篇三 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 2009) and Peng Hao 彭浩, ed., *Fenghuangshan Han mu jiandu* 鳳凰山漢墓簡牘 (Wuhan: Hubei meishu, 2002).

140. Zheng Zhonghua 鄭中華, “Jingzhou shi Yueqiao Qin Han mu” 荆州市岳橋秦漢墓, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian 2003* 中國考古學年鑑 2003 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2004), 250–51.

141. Zheng Zhonghua, “Yintai mudi chutu dapi Xi-Han jiandu” 印臺墓地出土大批西漢簡牘, in *Jingzhou zhongyao kaogu faxian* 荊州重要考古發現, ed. Jingzhou bowuguan (Beijing: Wenwu, 2009), 204–8. For daybook fragments from this corpus, see Liu Lexian 劉樂賢, “Yintai Han jian *Rishu* chutan” 印臺漢簡《日書》初探, *Wenwu* 2009.10, 92–96.

142. Jingzhou bowuguan, “Hubei Jingzhou Jinan Songbai Han mu fajue jianbao” 湖北荊州紀南松柏漢墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2008.4, 24–32.

damaged, it still contained many funerary goods, including a set of sixty-three wooden tablets and ten wooden slips. Texts consist of a funeral list, population census, chronicle, calendar, as well as various administrative documents.

In 2007 the same archaeological team also excavated tomb M<sub>1</sub> from Xiejiaqiao 謝家橋 (Jingzhou), dated to 183 B.C.E. according to a “document of declaration to the earth” found in the grave.<sup>143</sup> Xiejiaqiao M<sub>1</sub> was equipped with an access ramp and a 4.64-meter-long wooden chamber. It contained very well-preserved grave goods, including many pieces of fine silk. Apart from the “document of declaration to the earth,” a long funeral inventory was also discovered in the tomb (208 slips), quite similar to those of Mawangdui M<sub>1</sub> and M<sub>3</sub>.

In 2009 a Western Han tomb (M<sub>46</sub>) was accidentally discovered at Gaotai, in the territory of Jingzhou municipality.<sup>144</sup> Most of the funeral goods were looted before archaeologists unearthed the tomb, but it still contained documents written on eight wooden tablets related to accounts of different families.

The site of Shuihudi 睡虎地, in Yunmeng 雲夢 district (Xiaogan 孝感 prefecture-level municipality, Hubei) is quite famous because of Qin tomb M<sub>11</sub>, which was discovered in 1975 and contained the first legal manuscripts and daybooks.<sup>145</sup> In 2006 the Hubei Archaeological Institute and Jingzhou Museum excavated the tomb (M<sub>77</sub>) of a Han local official dated to 157 B.C.E., which also contained several manuscripts. Unfortunately, both the tomb and the manuscripts were damaged.<sup>146</sup> The corpus is made up of more than 2,137 bamboo slips and fragments, as well as 128 wooden tablets. It includes texts like an event calendar (*zhiri* 質日), daybooks, legal manuscripts (including some laws about funerals), literary texts (comprising story-based dialogues like in the *Shuoyuan* 說苑), collected calculation exercises, and various administrative documents.<sup>147</sup>

143. Jingzhou bowuguan, “Hubei Jingzhou Xiejiaqiao yi hao Han mu fajue jianbao” 湖北荊州謝家橋一號漢墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2009.4, 26–42.

144. Jingzhou bowuguan, “Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai mudi M<sub>46</sub> fajue jianbao” 湖北荊州高台墓地 M<sub>46</sub> 發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2014.5, 28–34. Another tomb from the same period (M<sub>18</sub>), containing a funeral inventory and a “document of declaration to the earth,” was already discovered at Gaotai in the 1990s.

145. A new study of the Shuihudi M<sub>11</sub> legal manuscripts was published in 2018. See Ernest Caldwell, *Writing Chinese Laws: The Form and Function of Legal Statutes Found in the Qin Shuihudi Corpus* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018).

146. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Yunmeng xian bowuguan 雲夢縣博物館, “Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi M<sub>77</sub> fajue jianbao” 湖北雲夢睡虎地 M<sub>77</sub> 發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2008.4, 31–37.

147. Xiong Beisheng 熊北生, Chen Wei, and Cai Dan 蔡丹, “Hubei Yunmeng Shuihudi 77 hao Xi-Han mu chutu jiandu gaishu” 湖北雲夢睡虎地 77 號西漢墓出土簡牘概述, *Wenwu* 2018.3, 43–53. On the concept of the “event calendar,” see Chen Wei, “Event

Tomb M1 from Huxishan 虎溪山 was excavated in 1999, and a preliminary report was published in 2003.<sup>148</sup> The grave contained many texts and documents on bamboo slips. The official edition of this corpus had not yet been published by 2018, but a transcription with color photographs of twenty-two slips from two texts was published in 2010.<sup>149</sup> These texts are a collection of cooking techniques and a hemerological manuscript called *Yanshi wusheng* 閻氏五勝.

As explained above, the Suizhou region belonged during the Warring States period to Zeng, a satellite state of Chu. A Western Han tomb containing manuscripts was discovered in this region at Kongjiapo 孔家坡 in 2000.<sup>150</sup> In 2014, an ancient cemetery was found at Zhoujiazai 周家寨, in Suizhou's Zengdu 曾都 district. Tomb M8 from Zhoujiazai was one of the largest tombs.<sup>151</sup> It contained numerous and well-preserved grave goods, including 566 bamboo slips and fragments and one wooden tablet. On the tablet was written a "document of declaration to the earth," dated from 140 or 134 B.C.E. The bamboo slips belong to a long daybook manuscript, similar to the one excavated from Kongjiapo tomb M8 but in better condition.

Many Han tombs containing literary and documentary texts were discovered in the past in the Shandong peninsula. One of the most famous is probably tomb M1 from Yinqueshan 銀雀山, Linyi 臨沂 prefecture-level municipality, from which many ancient manuscripts were excavated in 1972, including the *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 and the *Sun Bin bingfa* 孫臏兵法. Although those two texts were published in 1985, many others (almost entirely in bad condition) remained unpublished until recent years. In 2010 a second volume was published, comprising several texts

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Calendars' in the Early Imperial Era: A Re-Assessment," *Bamboo and Silk* 1.2 (2018), 446–68.

148. See Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Huaihua shi wenwuchu 懷化市文物處, and Yuanling xian bowuguan 沅陵縣博物館, "Yuanling Huxishan yi hao Han mu fajue jianbao" 沅陵虎溪山一號漢墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2003.1, 36–55. For a brief overview of the Huxishan M1 discovery, see Harper and Kalinowski, *Books of Fate and Popular Culture*, 77.

149. See Zhang Chunlong 張春龍, "Huxishan Han jian xuan" 虎溪山漢簡選, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 9 出土文獻研究 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2010), 46–48. Note that twenty of these bamboo slips were also published in a book for calligraphers with enlarged color photographs; see Nishibayashi Shōichi 西林昭一 et al., eds., *Kantoku meisekisen: 2 Konan hen san* 簡牘名跡選. 2 湖南篇二 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 2009), 4–27.

150. For the Kongjiapo tomb, see Thote, "Daybooks in Archaeological Context," 29–34. For a presentation of the Kongjiapo *rishu* manuscript, see Liu Lexian, "Daybooks: A Type of Popular Hemerological Manual," 70.

151. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Suizhou shi Zengduqu kaogudui, "Hubei Suizhou shi Zhoujiazai mudi M8 fajue jianbao" 湖北隨州市周家寨墓地 M8 發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2017.8, 3–21.

like the *Lun zheng lun bing zhi lei* 論政論兵之類, which includes parts previously integrated with the *Sun Bin bingfa*; the *Yinyang lingshi zhanhou zhi lei* 陰陽、令時、占候之類, a collection of various divination methods; the *Tang Le* 唐勒, a *fu* 賦-style rhapsody; and fragments of medical and mathematical texts.<sup>152</sup>

In 2011, a Han cemetery was discovered at Tushantun 土山屯, in the district of Huangdao 黃島, Qingdao 青島 prefecture-level municipality. M6 and M8 were the largest tombs, containing numerous well-preserved grave goods and funeral inventories written on wooden tablets.<sup>153</sup> Between 2016 and 2017, a new excavation campaign was undertaken, resulting in the discovery of 125 Han tombs.<sup>154</sup> One unidentified document on fragmentary bamboo slips was unearthed from tomb M164. Twenty-three documents on wooden tablets were found in several other tombs, including nine funeral inventories, two visit cards, and some administrative documents related to Tangyi prefecture 堂邑縣 which was situated in the north of Nanjing prefecture-level municipality. Three documents are dated to the first year B.C.E.

Haiqu 海曲 is situated in the suburb of Rizhao 日照 city, in the south of the Shandong peninsula. Several Han tombs containing documents were discovered there in 2002. M106 was the largest tomb, and its funeral goods were well preserved.<sup>155</sup> It contained four uninscribed wooden tablets and a calendar copied on thirty-nine bamboo slips. This calendar concerns the year 87 B.C.E. and includes many hemerological notations.<sup>156</sup> Funeral inventories on wooden tablets were found in tombs M129 and M130.<sup>157</sup>

152. Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 銀雀山漢墓竹簡整理小組, *Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian* (er) 銀雀山漢墓竹簡(貳) (Beijing: Wenwu, 2010).

153. Qingdao shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo 青島市文物保護考古研究所 and Huangdaoqu bowuguan 黃島區博物館, "Shandong Qingdao shi Tushantun mudi de liang zuo Han mu" 山東青島市土山屯墓地的兩座漢墓, *Kaogu* 2017.10, 32–59.

154. Qingdao shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiusuo, Yantai shi bowuguan 煙臺市博物館, and Huangdaoqu bowuguan, "Qingdao tushantun muqun" 青島土山屯墓群, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Dec. 22, 2017, 4.

155. Shandong sheng wenwu baohu yanjiusuo, "Shandong Rizhao Haiqu Xi-Han mu (M106) jianbao" 山東日照海曲西漢墓(M106)簡報, *Wenwu* 2010.1, 4–25.

156. For pictures and explanations related to this document, see Liu Shaogang 劉紹剛 and Zheng Tongxiu, "Rizhao Haiqu jian Han Wudi houyuan er nian shiri yanjiu" 日照海曲簡《漢武帝後元二年視日》研究, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2010), pl. 7 and 49–59.

157. See Liu Shaogang and Zheng Tongxiu, "Rizhao Haiqu Han mu chutu qiance gaishu" 日照海曲漢墓出土遣策概述, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 12 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2013), 202–12.



The prefecture-level municipality of Lianyungang 連雲港, in Jiangsu, is situated just south of Shandong Province. Many well-preserved Han tombs were discovered in this region in the past, including some with official documents like tomb M6 from Yinwan 尹灣, in Donghai 東海 district.<sup>158</sup> The neighboring district of Haizhou 海州 was the site of several discoveries. In 2002, archaeologists conducted salvage excavation of two Han tombs, M1 and M2, but the second was already badly damaged.<sup>159</sup> Tomb M1 enclosed four coffins, one containing one very well-preserved female body, similar to the famous Mawangdui M1 “Lady Dai.” Thirteen wooden tablets were also excavated from this tomb, including visit cards and two funeral inventories. A new discovery of Han documents was reported in 2018 in Haizhou district. Related tombs were found at Zhangzhuang 張莊, in Shuanglong 雙龍 village.<sup>160</sup>

Outside of Jingzhou and the south Shandong peninsula, several other discoveries of Han literary and documentary texts were announced between 2008 and 2018. In 108 B.C.E. the Han empire established the Lelang commandary 樂浪郡 in modern Pyon-yang region, where thousands of Han tombs were excavated. A document on a wooden tablet was excavated by Japanese archaeologists in the 1930s, during the colonial period. In the 1990s, North Korean archaeologists excavated a Han tomb at Jeongbaekdong 貞柏洞 (tomb no. 364). It contained a partial copy of the *Lun yu* 論語 on bamboo slips, as well as administrative documents on three wooden tablets, including a local population census dated to 45 B.C.E.<sup>161</sup>

158. See Michael Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China: Companion to “A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods”* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

159. Lianyungang shi bowuguan 連雲港市博物館, “Jiangsu Lianyungang Haizhou Xi-Han mu fajue jianbao” 江蘇連雲港海州西漢墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2012.3, 4–17.

160. For a brief and laconic report, see Lianyungang shi bowuguan, “Jiangsu Lianyungang Haizhou Zhangzhuang faxian gu muzang qun” 江蘇連雲港海州張莊發現古墓葬群, Sept. 6, 2018 ([http://kaogu.cssn.cn/zwb/xccz/201809/t20180906\\_4556063.shtml](http://kaogu.cssn.cn/zwb/xccz/201809/t20180906_4556063.shtml)) accessed on July 27, 2020.

161. Lee Sungshi 李成市, Yun Yong-gu 尹龍九, and Kim Kyung Ho 金慶浩, “Heijō Teihakudō sanrokuyōngō fun setsudo chikukan *Rongo nitsuite*” 平壤貞柏洞三六四號墳出土竹簡《論語》について, trans. Hashimoto Shigeru 橋本繁, *Chūgoku shutsudo shiryō kenkyū* 中國出土資料研究 14 (2010), 110–49. Enlarged pictures can be found in Lee Sungshi, Yun Yong-gu, and Kim Kyung Ho, “Pingrang Zhenbaidong 364 hao mu chutu zhujian *Lun yu*” 平壤貞柏洞 364 號墓出土竹簡《論語》, trans. Liu Simeng 劉思孟, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2011). Both articles are revised translations of an article published in Korean in *Mokkan koa munja yonku* 木簡과 文字연구4 (2009) (not seen by the author). For a presentation and a reflection in English on the *Lunyu* manuscript, see Hans van Els, P., “Confucius’s Sayings Entombed: On Two Han Dynasty Bamboo Lunyu Manuscripts,” in *Confucius and the Analects Revisited*, ed. Michael Hunter and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 152–86. On the official documents, see Yun Yong-gu, “Heijō shutsudo ‘Rakurō-gun shōgen yonen kenbetsu

Construction of an important gas pipeline in northwest China led to the excavation of two Western Han tombs with manuscripts. Dating to the first century B.C.E., the tombs were excavated in 2008 and 2012 at Shuiquanzi 水泉子, in Yongchang 永昌 district, Jinchang 金昌 prefecture-level municipality (Gansu). Tomb M5 contained more than 1,400 wooden slips and fragments, on which were written a partial version of the *Cangjie pian* 倉頡篇 (based on seven-character sentences) and a daybook.<sup>162</sup> The largest tomb in the cemetery, Tomb M8 was composed of three wooden chambers: one for two coffins and part of the grave goods, and two for the rest of the grave goods.<sup>163</sup> On one coffin was placed a calendar on thirty-five wooden slips corresponding to the year 56 B.C.E.<sup>164</sup>

In Chengdu, at Laoguanshan 老官山, four Western Han tombs were discovered between 2012 and 2013 because of earthwork related to the construction of city subway Line 3. Although traces of looting were observed, the tombs still contained numerous funeral goods, including many well-preserved objects made of organic matter like wood, bamboo, and silk<sup>165</sup>. About fifty wooden tablets and tablet fragments relating to both penal practices and mantic and sacrificial practices were excavated from tomb M1. But more attention has been paid to tomb M3 where several manuscripts were excavated (736 bamboo slips and fragments). Manuscripts includes one official ordinance about measurement standards and eight medical texts about various diseases and therapies.<sup>166</sup> The burial also contained a wooden, lacquered medical figurine with

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toguchi-bo' kenkyu" 平壤出土「乐浪郡初元四年县别户口簿」研究, trans. Hashimoto Shigeru, *Chūgoku shutsudo shiryō kenkyū* 13 (2009), 206–35.

162. Gansu sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 甘肅省考古研究所, "Gansu Yongchang Shuiquanzi Han mu fajue jianbao" 甘肅永昌水泉子漢墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2009.10, 52–61. Zhang Cunliang 張存良 and Wu Hong 吳紅, "Shuiquanzi Han jian chushi" 水泉子漢簡初識, *Wenwu* 2009.10, 88–91. More slip fragments are reproduced in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2010), pl. 1–4.

163. Gansu sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Gansu Yongchang xian Shuiquanzi Han muqun 2012 nian fajue jianbao" 甘肅永昌縣水泉子漢墓群 2012 年發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 2017.12, 39–54.

164. For a presentation of this calendar with small, black-and-white pictures of all the slips, see Zhang Cunliang, Wang Yong'an 王永安, and Ma Honglian 馬洪連, "Gansu Yongchang xian Shuiquanzi Han jian 'Wufeng er nian liri' zhengli yu yanjiu" 甘肅永昌縣水泉子漢簡“五鳳二年曆日”整理與研究, *Kaogu* 2018.3, 94–103.

165. For an archaeological report, see Chengdu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 成都文物考古研究所 and Jingzhou wenwu baohu zhongxin 荊州文物保護中心, "Chengdu shi Tianhui zhen Laoguanshan Han mu" 成都市天回鎮老官山漢墓, *Kaogu* 2014.7, 59–70.

166. For a detailed presentation of the medical manuscripts, see Zhongguo zhongyi kexueyuan Zhongguo yi shi wenxian yanjiusuo 中國中醫科學院中國醫史文獻研究所, Chengdu wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan, and Jingzhou wenwu baohu zhongxin, "Sichuan Chengdu Tianhui Han mu yi jian zhengli jianbao" 四川成都天回漢墓醫簡整理簡報,

meridian lines and points, as well as annotations painted on it, similar to the one found at Shuangbaoshan 雙包山 (Sichuan). All manuscripts are dated at the latest to the reign of Wu Di (r. 141–87), with some perhaps dating back to the Qin–Han transition.

The tomb of the Marquis of Haihun (Haihun hou 海昏侯), at Nanchang, Jiangxi, was one of the most important archaeological discoveries in China in recent years. The tomb, which was part of a large funerary complex, is exceptional in many aspects.<sup>167</sup> With about 300 square meters, the wooden chamber is more than thirteen times larger than M<sub>3</sub> from Mawangdui. The chamber contained more than three hundred gold ingots of various forms and about two million coins (equivalent to more than ten tons of bronze). “Antiquities” were also discovered in this tomb, among them an early Western Zhou inscribed bronze vessel. The importance of this tomb is also related to the status of its owner, Liu He 劉賀 (92–59 B.C.E.), who reigned as emperor for twenty-seven days before being removed and given the title of Marquis of Haihun. His tomb contained several manuscripts (5,000 bamboo slips and fragments), which are in quite bad condition. Fragments of well-known texts, such as the *Lunyu*, the *Li ji* 禮記, the *Xiao jing* 孝經, and the *Shi jing* 詩經 have already been identified, but the very nature of those texts is still unclear. There is also a manuscript on hemerological techniques associated with *Zhou Yi* hexagrams. Finally, 200 wooden tablets, including official documents and labels for funeral goods were excavated from this tomb<sup>168</sup>.

Similar labels were excavated in 1993 at Wangchengpo 望城坡 (Changsha), from the tomb of someone who was probably a member of the Changsha kingdom royal family, and who died around the middle of the second century B.C.E.<sup>169</sup> More than one hundred labels were

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*Wenwu* 2017.12, 48–57. Enlarged black-and-white photos of eight slips can be found in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 16 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2017), pl. 1–4.

167. For a preliminary report, see Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 江西省文物考古研究所, Nanchang shi bowuguan 南昌市博物館 and Nanchang Xinjianqu bowuguan 南昌市新建區博物館, “Nanchang Xi-Han Haihun hou mu” 南昌西漢海昏侯墓, *Kaogu* 2016.7, 45–62. An exhibition catalogue was also published in 2016 with many color photographs, including a few pictures of bamboo slips and wooden tablets. See Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Shoudu bowuguan 首都博物館, *Wuse xuanyao: Nanchang Han dai Haihun houguo kaogu chengguo* 五色炫耀—南昌漢代海昏侯國考古成果 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin, 2016).

168. For an overview of the bamboo-slip texts, see Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan 江西省文物考古研究院, Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文獻研究所, Jingzhou wenwu baohu zhongxin, “Jiangxi Nanchang Xi-Han Haihun hou Liu He mu chutu jiandu” 江西南昌西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土簡牘, *Wenwu* 2018.11, 87–96.

169. Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 長沙市文物考古研究所 and Changsha jiandu bowuguan 長沙簡牘博物館, “Hunan Changsha Wangchengpo Xi-Han Yuyang

discovered, with some referring to only one good, and others referring to sets of goods probably packed together.<sup>170</sup>

In concluding this discussion of Han manuscripts found in tombs, a recent discovery should not be omitted. In 2017 archaeologists excavated for the first time manuscripts from an ancient tomb in Shanxi Province.<sup>171</sup> Tomb M6 was situated in the Taiyuan region among other Han tombs. While not in perfect condition, the organic matter was quite unusually well preserved, including many lacquered wooden objects and about 800 mostly fragmented wooden slips. According to preliminary descriptions, the content of those manuscripts seems to be limited to medical recipes. The identity of the tomb owner is still unclear, but he probably died during the middle Western Han period.

### DOCUMENTS FROM NON-FUNERARY CONTEXTS

During the first half of the twentieth century, all ancient documents from non-funerary contexts (i.e., not excavated from tombs) were found in the desert regions of northwest China. Since the end of the twentieth century, however, several discoveries have been reported from other regions, especially in ancient wells.

In 2012 three small fragments of Warring State Chu documents on bamboo slips were found in well J67 at Gaotai 高台, Jingzhou, about one kilometer south of the city wall of the Chu capital. It was the first time such documents were found in this context in this area. These fragments seem to belong to administrative documents, and one probably concerns a complaint procedure.<sup>172</sup>

Several similar discoveries were reported in Hunan, in what would have been the southern part of Chu. In 2014 more than one thousand bamboo slips and fragments were excavated from well J1 at Xiangxiang 湘鄉, 65 km southwest of Changsha.<sup>173</sup> This unpublished corpus

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mu fajue jianbao” 湖南長沙望城坡西漢漁陽墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2010.4, 4–35.

170. Another practice attested in a Han tomb from Ningxia province consisted of writing the contents of a bamboo basket directly on the basket itself. See Wang Renfang 王仁芳 and Chen Xiaobi 陳曉樺, “Ningxia Zhongwei Changle Han mu 2012 nian kaogu fajue” 寧夏中衛常樂漢墓 2012 年考古發掘, in 2012 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2012 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2013), 112.

171. Hu Jian 胡健, “Zhongguo Huabei diqu faxian zhenxi muzhi Han dai jiandu” 中國華北地區發現珍稀木質漢代簡牘, Nov. 5, 2018 ([http://kaogu.cssn.cn/zwb/xccz/201811/t20181105\\_4769948.shtml](http://kaogu.cssn.cn/zwb/xccz/201811/t20181105_4769948.shtml)), accessed on July 27, 2020.

172. Jiang Lujing 將魯敬 and Liu Jianye 劉建業, “Hubei Jingzhou Gaotai Zhanguo gu jing qun J67 chutu Chu jian chutan” 湖北荊州高臺戰國古井群J67出土楚簡初探, *Jianbo* 12 (2016), 29–33.

173. Luo Qiangwu 羅強武, “Hunan Xiangxiang faxian san yan jing guwenhua yizhi: chutu jiandu duo wei zhengui de Zhanguo wanqi zhengfu dang’an” 湖南湘鄉發

contains administrative documents written in Chu script, dating from the Warring States period and concerning several local administrative divisions. In 2013, salvage excavation was conducted at Tuzishan 兔子山, in Yiyang 益陽 prefecture-level municipality, of the remains of an ancient walled city founded during the Spring and Autumn period. Sixteen ancient wells were excavated, eleven of which contained ancient documents on wood and bamboo. Preliminary reports tally about 13,000 documents and fragments dated from the Warring States to the Three Kingdoms.<sup>174</sup> The future publication of such a corpus will be of great interest for local history of this period.

The discovery of documents in Liye 里耶 well J1, on the western border of Hunan province, has already attracted the attention of many sinologists.<sup>175</sup> This large well was found in the center of a walled city where was established the Qianling 遷陵 prefecture government during the Qin dynasty. It was probably located close to office building. It contained about 36,000 bamboo slips and wooden tablets (mostly fragments), more than 17,000 of which were clearly written. With a few exceptions written in Chu script, all documents were produced by Qin administrators between 221 and 208 B.C.E. A fragmentary census register (24 slips and fragments) was also discovered in pit K11, about sixty meters north of J1. The ongoing publication of the Liye corpus has already provided about 4,000 documents.<sup>176</sup> The coordinated publication of annotated transcriptions by specialists at Wuhan University also offers a valuable and reliable basis for further research on administrative, economic, and social history.<sup>177</sup>

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現三眼井古文化遺址—出土簡牘多為珍貴的戰國晚期政府檔案, Feb. 25, 2015 (<http://chinesearchaeology.net/cn/xccz/20150225/49335.html>), accessed on July 28, 2020.

174. See Zhang Xingguo 張興國 et al., “Hunan Yiyang Tuzishan yizhi 2013 nian fajue shouhuo” 湖南益陽兔子山遺址2013年發掘收穫, in 2013 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2013 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2014), 72–75; Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yajiusuo 湖南省文物考古研究所 and Yiyang shi wenwuchu 益陽市文物處, “Hunan Yiyang Tuzishan yizhi jiu hao jing fajue jianbao” 湖南益陽兔子山遺址九號井發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 2016.5, 32–48.

175. For an overview and discussion of this corpus, see Robin Yates, “The Qin Slips and Boards from Well No. 1, Liye, Hunan: A Brief Introduction to the Qin Qianling County Archives,” *Early China* 35–36 (2012–2013), 291–329.

176. See Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Liye Qin jian (yi)* 里耶秦簡(壹) (Beijing: Wenwu, 2012); Hunan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Liye Qin jian (er)* 里耶秦簡(貳) (Beijing: Wenwu, 2017); Liye Qin jian bowuguan 里耶秦簡博物館 and Chutu wenxian yu Zhongguo gudai wenming yanjiu xietong chuangxin zhongxin Zhongguo renmin daxue zhongxin 出土文獻與中國古代文明研究協同創新中心中國人民大學中心, eds., *Liye Qin jian bowuguan cang Qin jian* 里耶秦簡博物館藏秦簡 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2016).

177. See Chen Wei, ed., *Liye Qin jian du jiaoshi (diyi juan)* 里耶秦簡牘校釋(第一卷) (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue, 2012); Chen Wei, ed., *Liye Qin jian du jiaoshi (di'er juan)* 里耶秦簡牘校釋(第二卷) (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue, 2018).

Many Han-period materials coming from the northwest desert regions were published between 2008 and 2018. It is especially the case for documents from Jianshui Jinguan 肩水金關, in Gansu Province, which were discovered in 1973 but published only in those recent years.<sup>178</sup> About 11,000 documents and fragments were excavated from this site that concern both the administrative organization of the military defense system of the Han empire and the daily life of people involved in this system.

A smaller corpus was discovered in 1986 at Diwan 地灣, in the Juyan area. It includes more than 700 documents and fragments produced between 81 B.C.E. and 27 C.E.<sup>179</sup> The fortified site, where the Jianshui company 肩水候官 was established, was first excavated by a Sino-Swedish archaeological team in 1930. More than 2,300 documents and fragments were discovered and later published in *Juyan Han jian* 居延漢簡 (see below), with a few fragments that can be joined together with pieces from *Diwan Han jian*.

The main part of the so-called Dunhuang Han *jian* 敦煌漢簡 was excavated at the beginning of the twentieth century by Aurel Stein and is preserved in the British Library. It was initially published by Edouard Chavannes and Henri Maspero, in 1913 and 1953 and completed in 2007 in a book edited by Wang Tao, Hu Pingsheng, and Frances Wood.<sup>180</sup> In 2016, more than one hundred new fragments were published as an article, consisting mainly of wooden slip shavings.<sup>181</sup> Many fragments of practice copies of the *Cangjie pian* can be found in this corpus.

Excavated between 1990 and 1992, the more than 23,000 slips and fragments from Xuanquan, near Dunhuang, constitute the most important corpus of Han documents discovered in the northwest region since

178. Gansu jiandu baohu yanjiu zhongxin 甘肅簡牘保護研究中心 et al., eds., *Jianshui Jinguan Han jian* 肩水金關漢簡, vols. 1–5 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2011–2016).

179. Gansu jiandu bowuguan 甘肅簡牘博物館, Gansu sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所, and Chutu wenxian yu Zhongguo gudai wenming yanjiu xietong chuangxin zhongxin Zhongguo renmin daxue zhongxin, ed., *Diwan Han jian* 地灣漢簡 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2017).

180. Wang Tao 汪濤, Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, and Wu Fangsi 吳芳思 (Frances Wood), *Yingguo guojia tushuguan cang Sitanyin suo huo weikan Han wen jiandu* 英國國家圖書館藏斯坦因所獲未刊漢文簡牘 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu, 2007).

181. This supplementary corpus was in fact published two times within the same year. See Zhang Cunliang 張存良 and Ju Hong 巨虹, “Yingguo guojia tushuguan cang Sitanyin suo huo Han wen jiandu weikan bufen” 英國國家圖書館藏斯坦因所獲漢文簡牘未刊部分, *Wenwu* 2016.6, 75–79; Wang Tao, Hu Pingsheng and Wu Fangsi, “Yingguo guojia tushuguan cang Sitanyin suo huo weikan Han wen jiandu buyi shiwen” 《英國國家圖書館藏斯坦因所獲未刊漢文簡牘》補遺釋文, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 15 出土文獻研究 15 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2016), 320–29. The second publication includes better quality color pictures.

the 1980s.<sup>182</sup> Before the publication of the official edition of this corpus, some materials had already been published in the 1990s, and new ones also appeared in various works between 2008 and 2018.<sup>183</sup>

In southern China, Changsha stands out as a place where many important discoveries of documents from the Han through the Three Kingdoms have been concentrated. In 2014 archaeologists discovered several Western Han wells where about one hundred documents (still unpublished) were found.<sup>184</sup> In 2010, more than one thousand Eastern Han documents were excavated from a pit (J1) due to the reconfiguration of the May First Square 五一廣場 in Changsha.<sup>185</sup> Between 2010 and 2011, 171 Eastern Han documents were excavated from nine wells at Shangdejie 尚德街, a small street close to May First Square.<sup>186</sup> These different corpora contain administrative documents, but also occasionally private letters and even visit cards. But of all the discoveries of ancient documents made at Changsha, none exceed Zoumalou well J22, also situated in the same area. More than 100,000 documents and fragments on wood and bamboo from the Three Kingdoms period were excavated at Zoumalou in 1996, with a significant portion of the documents concerning granaries. Their publication began in 1999 and was still ongoing in 2018.<sup>187</sup>

Between 2003 and 2004 archaeologists from Hunan Province also excavated Three Kingdoms-period documents from ancient wells at

182. For an introduction to this corpus, see Yang Jidong, “Transportation, Boarding, Lodging, and Trade along the Early Silk Road: A Preliminary Study of the Xuanquan Manuscripts,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 135.3 (2015), 421–32.

183. For an annotated transcription of a large selection of Xuanquan documents, see Hu Pingsheng and Zhang Defang 張德芳, *Dunhuang Xuanquan Han jian shi cui* 敦煌懸泉漢簡釋粹 (Shanghai: Shanghai guiji, 2001). For recent publications of new documents, see Zhang Defang, “Dunhuang Xuanquan Han jian zhong de ‘Dayuan’ jian yiji Han chao yu Dayuan guanxi kaoshu” 敦煌懸泉漢簡中的“大宛”簡以及漢朝與大宛關係考述, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 9 出土文獻研究 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2010), 140–47.

184. See Li Dan 李丹, “Changsha xian qiannian Changsha gu chengqiang: chutu Xi-Han jiandu jin 100 mei” 長沙現千年長沙古城牆：出土西漢簡牘近 100 枚, Dec. 29, 2014 (<http://history.sina.com.cn/lzcx/whrd/2014-12-29/1005113742.shtml>), accessed on July 28, 2020.

185. After a selected publication in 2015, the formal publication of this corpus began in 2018. See Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Changsha Wuyi guangchang Dong-Han jiandu xuanshi* 長沙五一廣場東漢簡牘選釋 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2015); Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Changsha Wuyi guangchang Dong-Han jiandu (yi)* 長沙五一廣場東漢簡牘 (壹) (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2018); Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Changsha Wuyi guangchang Dong-Han jiandu (er)* 長沙五一廣場東漢簡牘 (貳) (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2018).

186. Changsha shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Changsha Shangdejie Dong-Han jiandu* 長沙尚德街東漢簡牘 (Changsha: Yuelu, 2016).

187. See Zoumalou jiandu zhenglizu 走馬樓簡牘整理組, ed., *Changsha Zoumalou Sanguo Wu jian: zhujian* 長沙走馬樓三國吳簡：竹簡, 8 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu, 2003–2018).

Chenzhou 郴州, more than 270 km south of Changsha.<sup>188</sup> More than 900 wooden slips and fragments were excavated from well J10, whereas J4 contained 140 wooden slips and fragments.<sup>189</sup> This corpus consists mainly of administrative documents concerning population, local administrative divisions, cultivation, animal husbandry, and taxes, as well as official ritual practices (to Sheji 社稷 and Xiannong 先農).

Lastly, the discovery of a few fragmentary documents dated from the Han period has been recently reported in Sichuan. The site of Chengba 城壩 is situated in Dazhou 達州, a prefecture-level municipal territory in eastern Sichuan. Between 2014 and 2018, archaeologists unearthed the remains of an ancient walled city.<sup>190</sup> Fifteen documents and fragments on bamboo and wood were excavated, some dating from the second half of the first century B.C.E. Aside from official documents and private letters, fragments of the *Cangjie pian* have also been reported.

Even if this most recent discovery is quite modest, it confirms the possibility of finding ancient documents in non-funerary contexts in a quite broad geographical area in China. As the habit of using abandoned wells as trash pits was quite common in ancient times, the discovery of documents in pits predating the Warring States period seems also to me highly possible.

### Texts and Documents from the Antiquities Market

The discovery of ancient texts and documents by happenstance or due to looting is not new in China, but it seems that it is only at the end of the twentieth century that a real market of ancient Chinese manuscripts emerged in Asia. It has two sad consequences: it encourages both tomb looting and the production of fake manuscripts.<sup>191</sup> However, none can today ignore the important corpora that are now preserved by the most

188. For a preliminary archaeological report and presentation of documents from well J10, see Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Chenzhou wenwuchu 郴州文物處, “Hunan Chenzhou Suxianqiao yizhi fajue jianbao” 湖南郴州蘇仙橋遺址發掘簡報, *Hunan kaogu jikan* 8 (2009), 93–117.

189. For a presentation with transcriptions and black and white pictures for all documents from J4, see Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Chenzhou wenwuchu, “Hunan Chenzhou Suxianqiao J4 Sanguo Wu jian” 湖南郴州蘇仙橋 J4 三國吳簡, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 7 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2005), 152–68.

190. See Tong Fang 童芳, “Sichuan Quxian chutu Han dai zhumu jiandu” 四川渠縣出土漢代竹木簡牘, Sept. 20, 2018 ([http://kaogu.ccssn.cn/zwb/xccc/201809/t20180920\\_4564184.shtml](http://kaogu.ccssn.cn/zwb/xccc/201809/t20180920_4564184.shtml)) accessed on July 28, 2020.

191. For cases of fake manuscripts and their characteristics, see Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, “Lun jianbo bianwei yu liushi jiandu qiangqiu” 論簡帛辨偽與流失簡牘搶救, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 9 出土文獻研究 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2010), 76–108. For an example of a “pretend” Warring states manuscript containing a copy of a section of the *Zuo*



prestigious Chinese academic institutions and that contribute, through their publication and research, to a profound renewal of early China studies. As these manuscripts have already attracted the attention of many scholars, and because many studies have already been published about them in Western languages, I will here limit myself to very general information. For readers unfamiliar with these materials, further references will be found in works mentioned in the footnotes.

The “Chu Silk Manuscript,” now conserved in the Freer Gallery of Art of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, is the earliest example of a Warring States manuscript bought from the antiquities market. Discovered in 1942, it has been published several times. In 2017, Li Ling proposed a new edition of this manuscript, along with an edition of two other (possibly more) unpublished fragmentary manuscripts that were excavated together.<sup>192</sup> In this book he supplies high quality pictures, new transcriptions, new commentaries, and some notes about the discovery and early studies concerning these manuscripts.<sup>193</sup>

The Shanghai Museum Warring States manuscripts were bought on the Hong Kong antiquities market in 1994. This corpus, written on more than 1,200 bamboo slips, is mainly composed of philosophical texts. Since the first volume was published in 2001, Shanghai Museum editors have inaugurated a new, high-level standard for manuscript reproduction and transcription. Volumes seven (2008), eight (2011), and nine (2012), which were published during the period of this review, contain texts related to Confucius and to important historical figures from early Western Zhou and later Chu history.<sup>194</sup> One text concerns divination by turtle shell (*Bu shu* 卜書).<sup>195</sup> In total, sixty-two texts from the Shanghai collection have been published, and at least one more volume is still expected.

It was in July 2008 that Tsinghua University received a set of around 2,500 bamboo slips and fragments, probably corresponding to more

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zhuan 左傳, see Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, ed., *Zhejiang daxue cang Zhanguo Chu jian* 浙江大學藏戰國楚簡 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue, 2011).

192. Li Ling 李零, *Zidanku boshu* 子彈庫帛書 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2017).

193. For a translation of this volume, see Li Ling, *The Chu Silk Manuscripts from Zidanku, Changsha (Hunan Province)*, Vol. 1: *Discovery and Transmission*, trans. and ed. Lothar von Falkenhausen (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2020). For another recent and synthetic presentation of the manuscripts in English, see Li Ling “The Zidanku Silk Manuscripts,” in *Books of Fate and Popular Culture*, ed. Harper and Kalinowski, 259–77.

194. Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, ed., *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, 9 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2001–2012).

195. For this text, see Marco Caboara, “A Recently Published Shanghai Museum Bamboo Manuscript on Divination,” in *Coping with the Future: Theories and Practices of Divination in East Asia*, ed. Michael Lackner (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 23–46.

than 1,700 complete slips, from a generous donor. The manuscripts were dated to around 300 B.C.E. Tsinghua's corpus is characterized by the significant presence of texts related to the *Shang shu* tradition (including *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書), like *Jin teng* 金滕, *Yue ming* 說命, and *Feng Xu zhi ming* 封許之命.<sup>196</sup> It also contains some technical texts like a divination manual (*Shifa* 筮法) and a multiplication table (*Suanbiao* 算表). Between 2011 and 2018, eight volumes were published. The whole collection will likely include seventeen volumes.

In 2015, Anhui University received a set of 1,167 Warring States bamboo slips. Until 2018 only general information about this corpus and a few pictures were published.<sup>197</sup> In these slips, the editors have already identified fifty-eight poems from the "Guofeng" 國風 section of the *Shi jing*, texts related to the history of Chu or to ancient philosophy (*zhuzi* 諸子), and other poems close to the *Chu ci* 楚辭 tradition. Finally, some texts belong to different mantic traditions, like oneiromancy (*zhanmeng* 占夢) and physiognomy (*xiangmian* 相面).

In 2011 a donor offered Wuhan University 129 Warring States bamboo slips (including 10 uninscribed). According to preliminary reports published across different media, the slips consist mainly of divinatory and sacrificial reports.<sup>198</sup>

The main portion of the Yuelu Academy's 岳麓書院 corpus of Qin manuscripts was purchased on the Hong Kong antiquities market in 2007. It was completed in 2008 by the gift of some extra slips from the same origin. The manuscripts consist of 2,174 slips and fragments (essentially bamboo slips, with a few wooden ones). They mainly contain legal texts, with also some calendars (for years 220, 213, and 212 B.C.E.), a text about oneiromancy, a collection of calculation exercises, and a kind of vademecum for good officials.<sup>199</sup> Between 2010 and 2017, five volumes have already been published.<sup>200</sup>

196. For an overview of the Tsinghua corpus, see Liu Guozhong, *Introduction to the Tsinghua Bamboo-Strip Manuscripts*, trans. Christopher J. Foster and William N. French (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

197. For a general presentation of the corpus, see Huang Dekuan 黃德寬, "Anhui daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian gaishu" 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡概述, *Wenwu* 2017.9, 54–59. For the *Shi jing* poems in particular, see Xu Zaiguo 徐在國, "Anhui daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian *Shi jing* shi xu yu yiwen" 安徽大學藏戰國竹簡《詩經》詩序與異文, *Wenwu* 2017.9, 60–62.

198. See Xia Jing 夏靜, "Zhanguo Chu jian rucang Wuhan daxue" 戰國楚簡入藏武漢大學, *Guangming ribao* 光明日報, January 16, 2013, 9.

199. For an overview of the Yuelu corpus, see Ulrich Lau and Thies Staack, *Legal Practice in the Formative Stages of the Chinese Empire: An Annotated Translation of the Exemplary Qin Criminal Cases from the Yuelu Academy Collection* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 11–14.

200. See Zhu Hanmin 朱漢民 and Chen Songchang 陳松長, ed., *Yuelu shuyuan cang Qin jian* 岳麓書院藏秦簡, 5 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu, 2010–2017). Note: Chen Songchang took over as sole editor after vol. 3.

Peking University possesses two sets of ancient manuscripts, one from the Qin period and another from the Han. The Qin corpus was offered to Peking University in 2010. It consists of more than 760 bamboo slips, and it also includes a few wooden slips and tablets, four bamboo tablets, and one wooden stick for writing exercises. We find here: calendars (years 216 and 214 B.C.E.), calculation exercises, a vademecum for good officials, some administrative accounts, a few literary pieces, a text about resurrection, and texts related to the *rishu* tradition.<sup>201</sup> The Han corpus was received by Peking University in 2009. It contains more than 3,000 bamboo slips and fragments dating to the first half of the first century B.C.E. These manuscripts include partial copies of the *Daode jing* 道德經 and the *Cangjie pian*, as well as other literary texts and several texts related to different divination practices and traditions, like *rishu*.<sup>202</sup> The first five volumes were published between 2012 and 2016. Three other volumes are expected.<sup>203</sup>

## REVISED EDITIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

In addition to the many new materials published between 2008 and 2018, scholars have also benefited from high quality revised editions and transcriptions, which also needs to be underlined.<sup>204</sup>

The Center of Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts of Wuhan University is the most active institution in China in the field of reediting ancient manuscripts. Important funding was given to this Center by the Chinese government to promote two major re-editing (and research) projects: one on

201. For a general introduction to Peking University Qin manuscripts corpus, see Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文獻研究所, “Beijing daxue cang Qin jiandu gaishu” 北京大學藏秦簡牘概述, *Wenwu* 2012.6, 65–73. The same issue of *Wenwu* also contains specialized articles on this corpus, and several pieces were also published later. See, for example, Zhu Fenghan, “San zhong ‘Wei li zhi dao’ ticao zhi Qin jian bufen jianwen duidu” 三種“為吏之道”題材之秦簡部分簡文對讀, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 14 出土文獻研究 14 (Shanghai: Zhongxi, 2015), 1–7; Chen Kanli 陳侃理, “Beijing daxue cang Qin jian yongzuo wenshu chushi” 北京大學藏秦簡備作文書初釋, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 14, 8–14; Tian Tian 田天, “Beida cang Qin jian Za zhu fang jian-jie” 北大藏秦簡《雜祝方》簡介, in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 14, 15–22.

202. For an overview of the Peking University Han manuscript corpus, see Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo, “Beijing daxue cang Xi-Han zhushu gaishu” 北京大學藏西漢竹書概說, *Wenwu* 2011.6, 49–55. The same issue of *Wenwu* also contains specialized articles about this corpus. For an introduction in English, see Christopher J. Foster, “Introduction to the Peking University Han Bamboo Strips: On the Authentication and Study of Purchased Manuscripts,” *Early China* 40 (2017), 167–239.

203. Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo, ed., *Beijing daxue cang Xi-Han zhushu* 北京大學藏西漢竹書, 5 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2012–2016).

204. For the Chu Silk Manuscript’s revised edition, see above p. 49.

Chu manuscripts and one on Qin manuscripts. The Chu project started in 2003. Under this framework, Wuhan's team first published a synthetic update of annotated transcriptions of fourteen Chu manuscript collections (including Baoshan 包山 M2, Guodian 郭店 M1, Changtaiguan 長臺關 M1, and Jiudian 九店 M56).<sup>205</sup> Then, separate monographs were planned with not only updated transcriptions and annotations, but also high-quality, black-and-white photos of all bamboo slips (sometimes different from the original editions, sometimes with infrared pictures). The first two volumes of this collection, containing Guodian M1, Geling 葛陵 M1 and Changtaiguan M1, were published in 2011 and 2013.<sup>206</sup> The Qin project was launched in 2008. In 2014, revised transcriptions were published for major Qin manuscript collections excavated from seven tombs, including Shuihudi M11, Zhoujiatai M30, Longgang M6, Fangmatan M1.<sup>207</sup> This seven-volume edition provides high-quality, enlarged pictures of each slip or tablet.<sup>208</sup>

For the Han dynasty, the most successful effort in recent years is the revised edition of the Mawangdui M3 and M1 manuscripts by Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 and his team at Fudan University, which was published in 2014.<sup>209</sup> The seven-volumes work furnishes high-quality color photographs of texts and documents on silk and bamboo, as well as updated transcriptions and annotations. It definitively replaces the original editions from the 1980s and 90s for the manuscripts excavated in 1973 and the funeral lists recovered in 2004. Furthermore, some of the Mawangdui texts, including the *Zhou Yi* 周易 and its commentaries, are here systematically edited in full for the first time. Great attention was paid by the editors to codicological examination of the manuscripts, which allows us to understand original aspects of the manuscripts to a previously unreached level of precision.

205. Chen Wei, ed., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance (shisi zhong)* 楚地出土戰國簡冊（十四種）（Beijing: Jingji kexue, 2009). Note that both the Chu and Qin projects each include a series of research monographs not cited in the present article.

206. See Wuhan daxue Jianbo yanjiu zhongxin and Jingmen bowuguan, eds., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance heji (yi): Guodian Chu mu zhushu* 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集（一）：郭店楚墓竹書（Beijing: Wenwu, 2011） and Chen Wei and Peng Hao 彭浩, ed., *Chudi chutu Zhanguo jiance heji (er): Geling Chu mu zhujian, Changtaiguan Chu mu zhujian* 楚地出土戰國簡冊合集（二）：葛陵楚墓竹簡、長臺關楚墓竹簡（Beijing: Wenwu, 2013）.

207. Chen Wei, ed., *Qin jiandu heji* 秦簡牘合集（Wuhan: Wuhan daxue, 2014）. For an overview of this book, see my review article in *Early China* 39 (2016), 255–63.

208. A second revision of the transcription and commentary (with no photographs) was published as Chen Wei, ed., *Qin jiandu heji: Shiwen zhushi xiuding ben* 秦簡牘合集：釋文注釋修訂本, 4 vols. (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue, 2016).

209. Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Han mu jianbo jicheng* 長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成（Beijing: Zhonghua, 2014）.

Founded in 2013, the Collaborative Innovation Center of Excavated Documents and Chinese Ancient Civilization 出土文獻與中國古代文明研究協同創新中心 gathers specialists from nine of the most renowned institutions in the field.<sup>210</sup> A project was launched under this framework to undertake an updated and complete publication of all the manuscripts from Yinqueshan tombs M1 and M2. It will include the publication of many as yet unpublished fragments, as well as the republication of manuscripts already published (like the *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 and the *Sun Bin bingfa* 孫臏兵法), with new high-quality photographs of all the bamboo slips (including infrared ones).<sup>211</sup>

An important work on a new edition of Han documents excavated from northwest China has been recently conducted at the Institute of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica. It resulted in four volumes published under the title of *Juyan Han jian* 居延漢簡, with extensive use of infrared photography to reveal nonvisible or unclear characters. These books contain mainly documents from Juyan excavated between 1930 and 1931, preserved at the Institute of History and Philology.<sup>212</sup> The fourth volume also includes a few documents from Lop-Nor (Luobupo 羅布泊), Dunhuang, and Wuwei 武威, as well as materials from Juyan scattered in various institutions like the National Central Library, the National Library of China, and the Nanjing Museum.

## CONCLUSIONS

Excavated texts are already considered today by all sinologists as ordinary and central sources for the study of early China. In recent years, we have seen in western scholarship both the development of highly specialized studies of these texts and significant growth in their use in disciplines like history, literature, linguistics, philosophy, and religious studies. In this article I have given a general overview of excavated texts from early China, including inscriptions and manuscripts, discovered or published between 2008 and 2018. I hope this review will be useful

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210. Namely Tsinghua University, Peking University, Fudan University, Chinese Renmin University, Sun Yat-sen University, Jilin University, Anhui University, Hunan University, Capital Normal University, Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage and the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

211. See Guo Sike 郭思克, "Yinqueshan Han mu jian du yan jiu ji baohu zhengli" 銀雀山漢墓簡牘研究及保護整理, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Feb. 13, 2015, 6; Xu Xiuli 徐秀麗, "Shandong bowuguan jiakuai tuijin Han jian pucha" 山東博物館加快推進漢簡普查, *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, Sept. 25, 2015, 1.

212. Jiandu zhengli xiaozu 簡牘整理小組, ed., *Juyan Hanjian* 居延漢簡, 4 vols. (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2014–2017).

for young scholars looking for emerging fields of research, as well as for more advanced scholars who may have missed one or two recent discoveries or publications. To provide updated information, we should consider proposing a regular biennial survey to *Early China* readers in the future.

## 近出甲骨文、金文、簡帛資料（2008年～2018年）

風儀誠

提要

在 2008 年至 2018 年間，不僅出土了大量的先秦兩漢甲骨金文與簡帛，其中部分也已經正式發表。這些珍貴的資料包括：上百片甲骨文與金文；三十件以上經科學發掘的竹簡古書；上千件科學挖掘的私人和官方文書；以及超過七十件從拍賣市場買來的竹簡古書。本文聚焦於考古來歷清楚的文物，針對這些已經—或是肯定在不久遠的將來—重塑古代中國研究領域的資料，提供一個整體性的回顧。

**Keywords:** inscription, manuscript, epigraphy, archaeology

甲骨文, 金文, 簡帛, 考古