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TEXTS, PERFORMANCE, AND SPECTACLE: THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF MARQUIS YI OF ZENG, 433 B.C.E.

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Abstract

This article analyzes the bamboo strips recovered from the northern chamber of the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (d. 433 B.C.E.). It argues that the strips comprised at least two separate texts that were integral to the organization and performance of the Marquis's funerary cortège. One text lists on individual strips the chariots and horse teams used in the procession, as well as their donors, categorizing them under bureaucratic offices. A second text describes these same chariots one after another, along with their drivers, decorations, and armor. Counting marks next to each of the chariot names appear to have verified the written totals found in the text. This evidence demonstrates that the director of the cortège combined together donated materials from a vast geographic area in order to create a distinctive funerary spectacle that displayed the wealth, status, and power of the Marquis and the state of Zeng. The article further argues that characterizing the Zeng texts as "inventories" (*qian'ce* 遣策)—so often analyzed for evidence of ideas about the afterlife—hardly does justice to the complex role that the texts played in the funeral procession and Zeng royal display. It concludes that this political display function drove the production of the texts and the organization of the funeral, not least because Marquis Yi's heir and Zeng state officials would have wanted to ensure a smooth transfer of power.

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Marquis Yi of Zeng 曾侯乙 (d. c. 433 B.C.E.) was keenly interested, if not obsessed, with displaying his power and wealth. Rulers of all periods and places have shared his concern, but the Marquis's resting place stands out as particularly splendid among excavated tombs of Chunqiu 春秋 (770–475 B.C.E.) and Zhanguo 戰國 (475–221 B.C.E.) nobles.[1] Interring all of his vessels, weapons, and musical instruments, not to mention the Marquis himself along with 21 attendants and a dog, must have been an impressive affair, an elaborate spectacle that required extensive planning and the participation of many officials and dignitaries. We are thus extremely fortunate that scribes recorded the Marquis's funeral procession on bamboo strips, and then placed them in his tomb along with all of the other items. The strips, the earliest excavated texts written on bamboo currently known from China, provide a rare, detailed look at a funeral cortège of magnificent size and splendor.

Though several important studies of the strips have been published, most scholars have ignored them, for understandable reasons: their organization is extremely complicated; the proper strip sequence remains a matter of debate; scattered transcription problems prevent smooth reading; and even successfully transcribed characters elude our comprehension, since they refer to barely known or completely unknown people and places, as well as to details of early Zhanguo material culture that we can only begin to understand.[2] Beyond these

1. Whether or not Marquis Yi's tomb and the items contained therein are typical for his status and region is a complicated question that this essay will not address directly. Extravagant funerals were standard amongst Zhanguo ruling elites. Since the discovery and excavation of Marquis Yi's tomb, however, few have failed to note or to seek explanations for the tomb's opulence and its distinctive bronze vessels and musical instruments. For an overview, see Tan Weisi 譚維四, *Zeng Hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2003). For a discussion of the bell sets and what they tell us about the unique musical culture at the Zeng court, see Robert Bagley, "The Prehistory of Chinese Music Theory," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 130 (2005): 41–90. As this essay was going to press, I was alerted to the following volume, which I have been unable to review: Huang Jinggang 黃敬剛, *Zeng Hou Yi mu li yue zhidu yanjiu* 曾侯乙墓禮樂制度研究 (Beijing: Renmin, 2013).

2. Add to these problems the poor quality of the photographs of the strips in the excavation report. Important scholarship on the strips began with the transcription and study included in the report, Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 and Li Jiahao 李家浩, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi" 曾侯乙墓竹簡釋文與考釋, in Hubei sheng bowu guan, *Zeng Hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1989), 487–531. Subsequent studies include Zhang Tiehui 張鐵慧, "'Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi' du hou ji" 《曾侯乙墓竹簡釋文與考釋》讀後記, *Jiang Han kaogu* 1996.3, 66–75; Ishiguro Hisako 石黑日沙子 "Sōkō itsu bo shutsudo chikkan ni tsuite no hitotsu kōsatsu" 曾侯乙墓出土竹简についての一考察, *Sundai shigaku* 95 (1995), 34–66

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palaeographical issues, however, lies a classification problem: most secondary works, following categories extrapolated from descriptions in the *Yi li* 儀禮 (compiled c. late third century B.C.E.),[3] have identified the strips as a *qiance* 遣冊 ("inventory of sent items" or, more commonly, "inventory") or *fengshu* 賵書 ("funeral gift list"), or some combination of the two.[4] Inventories and gift lists are some of the most common texts we have from Zhanguo, Qin 秦 (221–206 B.C.E.), and Western Han 漢 (206 B.C.E.–9 C.E.) tombs, and scholars have focused on comparing the Zeng strips to such texts in order to detect shared characteristics in the inventory genre. The strips, however, are not an inventory of the

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[translated into Chinese by Liu Xiaolu 劉曉路 in *Jianbo yanjiu yi cong* 簡帛研究譯叢, vol. 2 (Changsha: Hunan, 1998), 1–29]. Ishiguro advanced provocative arguments about Zeng-Chu relations, approaching the strips in a manner that contrasts with the approach of this essay. See Appendix B for a discussion.

The most recent and important work is Xiao Shengzhong 蕭聖中, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng ji che ma zhidu yanjiu* 曾侯乙墓竹簡釋文補正暨車馬制度研究 (Beijing: Kexue, 2011). Xiao's book is based on his 2005 dissertation completed at Wuhan University, and follows publication of several of his articles on the Zeng strips (for a list, see Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 8). Transcriptions given in both the main text and appendix of this essay follow Xiao's transcription (see n. 15 below). Xiao, 8, noted that he was also largely responsible for the fresh transcription and study of the Zeng strips found in Chen Wei 陳偉, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]* 楚地出土戰國簡冊[十四種] (Beijing: Jingji kexue, 2009), 340–73.

3. Dates for the *Yi li*, a composite text, must remain highly tentative. See William G. Boltz's entry on the *Yi li* in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), 234–43.

4. See, e.g., Chen Wei 陳偉, "Guanyu Baoshan Chu jian zhong de sangzang wenshu" 關於包山楚簡中的喪葬文書, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1996.2, 74; Jessica Rawson, "From Ritual Vessels to Pottery Tomb Figures: Changes in Ancient Chinese Burial Practice," *Orientations* 27.9 (Oct 1996), 45; Guolong Lai, "The Baoshan Tomb: Religious Transitions in Art, Ritual, and Text During the Warring States Period" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2002), 30–32; Liu Guosheng 劉國勝, "Chu qiance zhidu shu lüe" 楚遣策制度述略, *Chu wenhua yanjiu lun ji* 楚文化研究論集, vol. 6 (Hubei: Hubei jiaoyu, 2005), 229–40; Constance A. Cook, *Death in Ancient China: One Man's Journey* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 159n.25; and Matthias Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Brill: Leiden, 2013), 27n.6. Important exceptions include the excavation report itself, *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 452–58, which described the strips as primarily an account of Marquis Yi's funeral procession. Ishiguro, "Sōkō itsu bo shutsudo chikkan ni tsuite no hitotsu kōsatsu," 39, carefully noted similarities and differences between the Zeng strips and Chu inventories, and then posited an evolutionary relationship between the two, arguing that the former played a "pioneering" (*senkuteki* 先駆的) role for the latter. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 3, quoted the *Yi li* and then wrote that the strips are a complex combination of the inventory and gift list format, and can be called a "funeral record" (*sangzang jilu* 喪葬記錄). For a clear discussion of distinctions early ritual texts make between *qiance* and *fengshu*, see Yang Hua 楊華, "Sui, feng, qian – jiandu suo jian Chu di zhusang lizhi yanjiu" 襚，賵，遣－簡牘所見楚地助喪禮制研究, *Xueshu yue kan* 2003.9, 50–51.

tomb: they do not itemize individual goods that can be matched with items in the tomb, nor do they mention any of the tomb's musical instruments and bronze vessels.[5] Whether or not the strips were a precursor to later inventories is one possible question to be posed of the documents. This line of inquiry, however, ignores an arguably more important question: what functions did the strips serve in the context of the Marquis's funeral?

This article attempts to answer this question. It begins with a fresh overview of the strips, including their content, format, and presentation. Descriptions on the strips tell us who and what participated in the cortège, and in what manner, valuable information for understanding the material and political import of the procession for the state of Zeng. The article then moves on to a discussion of the organization and performance of the cortège by Zeng state officials and visiting dignitaries. The evidence suggests that the strips comprised two separate texts, which scribes composed in stages in order to first organize and then oversee and verify the procession's execution. The texts are thus both the products and key components of an elite Zeng political spectacle. A subsequent section compares the Zeng texts with select inventory texts in order to argue that the former had as much to do with Zhanguo politics as they did with notions of the afterlife, without denying the intimate links between the two. The director of the procession used the strips within the context of a funerary cortège that functioned in various ways to demonstrate the status, wealth, and power of the Marquis and his realm. We have no shortage of evidence from Zhanguo, Qin, and Han texts attesting to the importance of funerals and processions in early Chinese political culture, and we can surmise that funeral processions were important for ensuring the smooth transfer of power within Chunqiu and Zhanguo states. The strips provide a unique, direct perspective on how ruling houses employed these political spectacles, and demonstrate the key role texts could play in their organization and execution.[6]

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5. Yang Hua, "Sui, feng, qian – jiandu suo jian Chu di zhusang lizhi yanjiu," 54 and *passim*, and Liu Guosheng, "Chu qiance zhidu shu lüe," 236, noted that not all of the items mentioned in texts labeled *fengshu* or *qiance* were necessarily interred in tombs, a point fully supported by the analysis in this paper. Nevertheless, the impulse has been to search for a one-to-one correspondence between items enumerated in a given excavated text and the items from the tomb that contained the text, a method that is clearly not appropriate for the tomb of Marquis Yi (see n. 21 below).

6. Anthropologists continue to debate the difference between "ritual," "performance," and "spectacle." Essays in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, eds. Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben (Lanham, MD:

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Location and Condition of the Strips

The Zeng texts were interred in the northern chamber of Marquis Yi's tomb. Measuring 4.25 (north-south) x 4.75 (east-west) m,[7] the chamber, while the smallest of the four in the tomb, contained a staggering amount of weapons, carriage parts, and horse tack.[8] Excavators found the strips mainly in two piles in the northwest quadrant of the chamber, pressed under piles of lacquer armor.[9] Small numbers of strips were also found scattered towards the middle of the chamber, slightly to the west of the center.

The dimensions, particularly the length, of the intact strips are impressive: 70–75 cm x 1 cm.[10] According to the excavation report of Marquis Yi's tomb, two sets of gaps between characters on the upper and lower portions of the strips indicate that they were bound together before scribes wrote on them.[11] The binding threads had decayed prior to excavation, with many of the strips out of order and broken.

AltaMira, 2006), explored the issues in detail, with contributors staking out starkly different positions. This essay refrains from entering these theoretical debates, and indeed does not hesitate to use the dictionary definition of "performance" to describe the actual staging and presentation of Marquis Yi's funeral procession. Nevertheless, its characterization of Marquis Yi's funeral as a "spectacle" is purposeful. Use of the term finds support in Stephen Houston's argument that the large scale and high number of participants and observers in spectacles distinguish them in qualitative terms from smaller-scale "performances," even if both are "marked behaviors" that occur relatively rarely and clearly differ from quotidian behavior (and thus merit inclusion under the larger category of "ritual"). It also finds solace in Houston's general reminder that excessively tight definitions of these terms can lead to confused, even absurd conclusions. See Houston, "Impersonation, Dance, and the Problem of Spectacle Among the Classic Maya," in *Archaeology of Performance*, esp. 135–39. Thanks are due to one of *Early China*'s reviewers for urging me to explore these issues in more detail.

7. *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 14.

8. In the northern chamber alone, excavators unearthed 3,304 weapons and weapon pieces, most of them arrowheads. *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 253.

9. The remainder of this section is based on descriptions found within the section of the excavation report that details the strips, *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 452–53.

10. By comparison, the strips excavated from the 316 B.C.E. tomb of a high Chu official at Baoshan 包山 were 59.6 cm to 72.6 cm. See Pian Yuqian 駢宇騫, *Ben shiji yi lai chutu jianbo gaishu* 本世紀以來出土簡帛概述 (Taipei: Wan juan lou, 1999), 89.

11. The publishers of the excavation report cut up the photographs of the strips in order to fit them on the page, so it is quite difficult to identify these gaps. Chen Wei has noted that the distance between the gaps varies significantly between two different groups of strips, suggesting that they were in fact bound into two different rolls (*juan* 卷; see n. 52 below). Chen did not directly cite a source for these measurements, but they were presumably executed as part of a working group first convened in 2002–3 and dedicated to "comprehensive ordering of and research on Chu bamboo

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The excavators reported a total of 240 strips found in the chamber, not including "blank" strips.[12] Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 and Li Jiahao 李家浩 recombined the broken strips together with the larger, more intact strips, creating a single text totaling 215 strips that they numbered sequentially. References to strip numbers will refer to this sequence of 215 strips.[13]

The Content of the Strips: Describing the Funerary Cortège

Two general characteristics of the strips provide organizational structure. First, the chariots used in the funeral procession are the focus of description throughout. Different sections of the texts detail different features of the chariots (see below), but the group of chariots they refer to is the same.[14] Second, the scribes who wrote the strips conceived of these different features as important categories, since some strips provide tabulations that label and sum them up (see Appendix A for translations of the tabulation strips). Largely following these features, Qiu and Li divided the strips into four categories, labeled A, B, C, and D. Ishiguro further divided groups A and C into subcategories, providing a more nuanced picture of details in content that distinguish strips within these groups (see Table 1). Note that all of these grouping schemes assume that the strips comprised a single text. As will be discussed in the next section, however, markings on the strips and differences in format and calligraphic style suggest otherwise.

Ishiguro's analysis confirms a fact, already mentioned above, that emerges from a close reading of the strips: we can identify the same chariots across strip groups. The strips describe different features of the same chariots. The closest matches are between strips in Ishiguro's group A-I (strips 1–23, 25–29, 32–33, 36–41), group B (strips 122–37),

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strips" (楚簡綜合整理與研究). For this group and its work, see Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shi si zhong]*, 2–3; http://www.bsm.org.cn/html/04/0406kaiti.html (accessed on November 29, 2011).

12. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shi wen yu kaoshi," *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 487. The "blank strips" were perhaps not completely blank, since the excavation report includes a photograph of an apparently broken strip that has no text, but does have a black section-heading blot at the top (further discussion of these blots below). See *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, image 231, strip 215.

13. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 37–148, provided and explained a new sequence based on his reassessment of the strips and evidence from infrared pictures.

14. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 160–62, gave a thorough overview and analysis of how the same chariots appear across different strip groups. Unsurprisingly, there are some exceptions and unanswered questions as to whether or not certain strips describe the same chariot.

Table 1: Strip Group Divisions, following Ishiguro

Strip Group	Sub Group	Strip Numbers	Summary of contents
A	I	1–30, 32–41	Chariot names, names and titles of drivers, descriptions of chariot features (e.g. textiles, weaponry, etc); these chariots can be coordinated precisely with chariots listed in Group B
	II	31, 42–44, 53, 60–70	Chariot names, names and titles of drivers, names and titles of chariot owners (using formula 某之某車), descriptions of chariot features
	III	45–52, 54–59, 71–115	Chariot names, names and titles of drivers, descriptions of chariot features
	IV	115–19	Descriptions and subtotals of nine "road chariots" (*lu che* 路車)
	V	120–21	Subtotals and a grand total of the chariots described in the Group A strips
B		122–41	Chariot names, names and titles of drivers, descriptions of armor on chariots and horses; these chariots can be coordinated precisely with chariots listed in Group A-I
C	I	142–48	Descriptions of horse teams with donors for New Office" (*xin guan* 新官) chariots, with chariot names included; strip 148 tabulates these "New Office" chariots
	II	149–59	Descriptions of horse teams with donors for "Grand Office" (*da guan* 大官) chariots, with chariot names included; strip 159 tabulates these "Grand Office" chariots
	III	160–86	Descriptions of horse teams with donors for chariots, with chariot names included; no tabulation strip identified

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Table 1: Continued

Strip Group	Sub Group	Strip Numbers	Summary of contents
	IV	187–96	List of "road chariots" contributed by various officers and lords; two tabulation strips total up these chariots, with one group described as "畀 road chariots" (*lu che* 路车) and the other as "road chariots."
	V	197–204	List of various 畀 chariots and their donors; strip 204 tabulates these chariots
	VI	205–9	Strips detailing horse teams for chariots, described on the tabulation strips (207–8) as the horses of the "palace hall."
D		209–14	A description of horses with donors and figurines.

and certain strips in groups C-I and C-II. Following one chariot across these groups will help illustrate how descriptions in many of the Zeng strips complement each other. Our guide will be the "grand forward banner chariot" (*da pei* 大旆) driven by an official named Jian 建. We know that the description of Jian's chariot comes on the first strip for two reasons. First, the entry describing Jian's chariot comes immediately after an opening line that provides a composition date for the strips (discussed below). Second, the backside of the first strip contains a title, a paraphrase of the opening line from the description of Jian's chariot. That description begins as follows:[15]

15. Transcriptions and punctuation follow Xiao Shengzhong, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 40–148, with exceptions pointed out in the footnotes. Characters in parentheses, also included in Xiao's transcription, are not found on the strips themselves. They are Xiao's renderings of the immediately preceding characters, which are actually written on the strips. Many, though by no means all, of the items mentioned in the Zeng texts are also found in the texts from Baoshan detailing funerary items. Constance Cook, *Death in Ancient China: The Tale of One Man's Journey*, 211–47, translated the Baoshan texts into English, and wherever possible my translations draw on Cook's work. Information in the footnotes provides justification for the renderings given here. Only rarely do the notes engage in debates surrounding the transcription and interpretation of individual characters. Interested readers are encouraged

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右  [16] (令) 建所  (乘) 大  (旆)：  輪，  ，  (鞎)，  ，[17]， 
 ，  ，  (貘)  ，(豻)

The Director of the Right Jian drove a grand forward banner chariot. It had: red wheels; woven screens of bamboo and leather, with jade pendants[18]; painted hides; silken cords[19]; a tiger-skin bow case with panda-skin fringe; a quiver made of wild dog fur[20]…(end of strip 1)

The description of items carried on Jian's chariot extends to the top of the fourth strip. The passage mentions different fabrics and silks, as well as a wide array of weaponry, including spears and swords.[21] These

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to compare the translations and notes provided here with Xiao's and Cook's comprehensive analyses and references.

Note that the transcriptions do not attempt to recreate the circular blots (what I call "counting marks") that pepper the strips, though they do reproduce the squares of ink that marked off different sections. The blots are quite complicated and evince subtle differences that are difficult to reproduce for a transcription (at least with my own poor graphic and computer design skills). They are, however, fundamentally important for understanding the process by which the strips were composed and compiled for the funeral procession. They are discussed separately and in greater detail in the second section of this article. Xiao's transcriptions render the blots as either circles or ovals.

16. This "Director of the Right" is mentioned on strip 7. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Houyi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 501n.8, noted that the "tallies" (*qi jie* 啓結) of E Jun 鄂君 used *ling* 令 ("Director") interchangeably with the character on the Zeng strips. Various officers mentioned in the Baoshan texts include the character, and the office *you ling* 右領 is found in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳. See He Linyi 何琳儀, *Zhanguo guwen zidian : Zhanguo wenzi sheng xi* 戰國古文字典:戰國文字聲系 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1998), 1147; Liu Xinfang 劉信芳, *Baoshan Chu jian jie gu* 包山楚簡解詁 (Taipei: Yiwen, 2003), 7–8.

17. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 198, noted that this character is not understood.

18. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 42 and 197, cited various scholars and sources, including Wang Guowei 王國維 and the *Er ya* 爾雅, which suggest that *bi* 弼 and *hen* 鞎 refer to protective screens attached to the front and back, respectively, of chariots.

19. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 502n.13, noted that this same word appears in different forms throughout the strips, including *fen* 紛. Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 235, rendered *fenyue* 紛約 as "tied-together ropes."

20. For "panda-skin" and "wild dog," see Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 235. The Wangshan 望山 strips (2.8), describe a bow case made of a similar hide, termed *limo* 狸貘. See Zhang Guangyu 張光裕 and Yuan Guohua 袁國華, *Wangshan chu jian jiao lu: [fu wen zi bian]* 望山楚簡校錄 : [附文字編] (Taipei: Yiwen, 2004), 93.

21. The items recovered from the northern chamber provide a visual and material sense of the different materials described on the strips. It is reasonable to suppose that some of the items contained within the northern chamber were in fact used in the funeral procession. There is no one-to-one correspondence between items listed on the strips and items from the tomb, however, despite efforts to make such matches.

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descriptions are quite detailed; we even read of designs on the pennants flying from Jian's halberds and spears.[22] Group A strips all follow this format, with some variation. They give the name or title of the driver and the type of chariot that he commanded, followed by a list of decorations and weaponry. Some entries (Ishiguro's group A-II) describe a person driving a chariot donated by somebody else.[23] The repeated reference to drivers shows that the strips record the participants and chariots used in the procession itself. They might even loosely follow the order of chariots in the cortège, though we cannot assume that all of them drove along in a single file in the sequence given in the strips.

Moving into the B strips, we find Jian and his grand forward banner chariot, again first in the lineup of entries:

大(旆)：二真楚甲，索 (素)，紫[24]之  (縢)…

[The people in[25]] the grand forward banner chariot wore two sets of Chu armor, painted white,[26] with purple cords… (strip 122)

For example, Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shi wen yu kaoshi," 505n.31, using definitions found in later texts and commentaries, separated the "capped spear" (*jin shu* 晉殳) identified on the strips from the other bladed spears in the tomb. They also found a perfect match between the number of capped spears recovered from the tomb (fourteen) and the number mentioned on the strips. Though the strips mention only nine capped spears, Qiu and Li argued that an additional five must also have held up five double or single banners (*pei*旆) also referred to on the strips that are not paired with a spear. Elsewhere in the strips, however (e.g., strip 2), we read of spears (called just *shu* 殳) that supported banners. There is thus no reason to assume that capped spears necessarily had to support the five spear-less banners. This essay argues against Qiu and Li's central assumption reflected in this example: that the Zeng strips functioned as an inventory of items in the tomb, and thus the figures provided *should* correspond to the number of items in the tomb.

22. See Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shi wen yu kaoshi," 505n.30 and 506n.31.

23. These strips typically follow the format: X drives the chariot of Y. For example: 哀還馭令尹之一乘車 (strip 63; see below).

24. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shi wen yu kaoshi," 522n.183, wrote that this character can be taken as *bu* 布 (hemp fabric), as does Teng Rensheng 滕壬生, *Chu xi jianbo wenzi bian* 楚系簡帛文字編 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu, 2008), 723. Elsewhere in the Zeng strips (e.g., strip 127), the character is written without the sound component *fu* 父. See also Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]*, 361n.4; Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 99n.3.

25. The strips clearly distinguish between human and horse armor. See Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 99.

26. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shi wen yu kaoshi," 522n.182, wrote that 索 can be understood as *su* 素 (white), and that the character refers to the color of the armor (they cite a commentary to the *Guoyu* 國語). Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo*

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The B strips follow the same chariots in the A strips, though the first five entries in the B strips do not give the names or titles of the drivers seen in the A strips. Starting with the fifth entry, however, we do read names, in the same order as in the A strips. The rest of the B strips follow the pattern seen in the grand forward banner chariot entry, noting the style of armor worn (either Chu or Wu 吳), and their different styles and colors of cording and leather. The strips also give similar descriptions of the horse armor, including their style and materials, and a few other design specifics.

Following Jian into the C strips we come to an entry describing the horse team that pulled his chariot, again right at the beginning:

> 莆之[27]為左驂，慶 (卿) 事 (士) 之  (騮) 為左  (服)，蔡騎之騍為右  (服)，  (鄀) 君之騍為右驂。外新官之駟馬。大旆。
>
> The horse of Pu pulled at the outer left of the team; the roan horse[28] of the Ministerial Officer[29] pulled at the inner left; the piebald horse of Cai Yi pulled at the inner right; the black horse of the Lord of Ji pulled at the outer right. This was the four-horse team of the Outer New Office. It pulled the grand forward banner chariot. (strip 142)

The strip presents three important pieces of information: the names of the donors of the horses that comprise the chariot team; the positions of the horses in the team; and the name of an office to which the chariot team has been assigned. All of this information is important for understanding how the procession was produced and how it functioned as a political spectacle. The following section, which discusses these issues in some detail, will thus revisit the C strips. For now, it is enough to emphasize that all of the C strips continue to take the chariot as the primary descriptive unit. As we will see, this method of

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jiance [shisi zhong], 360, followed this interpretation. The lacquer armor excavated from the tomb is only black and red. If the armor was originally painted white, the color long ago washed away in Marquis Yi's water-logged tomb.

27. The right half of this character is illegible. Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]*, 364, included only a picture of the character and then offered one possibility: *xuan* 騢.

28. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shi wen yu kaoshi," 524n.202, wrote that the right half of the character is an alternate form for *mao* 卯, thus the rendering *liu* 騮.

29. The translation takes *qingshi* 慶事 as 卿事, an official title found in several pre-imperial bronze inscriptions. Most scholars have interpreted the title as 卿士, a Zhou office mentioned in pre-imperial and Han texts. Commentators described the *qingshi* as a high administrative office in charge of government ministries. See Egashira Kō 江頭廣, *Senshin kanshoku shiryō* 先秦官職資料 (Tokyo: Kenbun, 1985), 14. Egashira followed Guo Moruo's 郭沫若 (1892–1978) argument that the *qingshi* was in fact equivalent to the Zhou office of *neishi*内史. The laconic listing of the office on this particular strip can shed no additional light on the matter.

noting donors is quite different from anything known from texts customarily labeled as inventories or gift lists.

Jian and his grand forward banner chariot do not appear in the D strips. They list different groups of like items in a manner very similar to the inventory texts discussed below. The strips enumerate horses and their donors, but their role in the procession remains unclear.[30] They also list what the transcription and editorial team have argued were "figurines" (*yong* 俑). This interpretation has been disputed, however,[31] and excavators did not find any figurines in the Marquis's tomb. It is possible that figurines were placed in accompanying burial pits, but on present evidence it appears that no such pits exist.[32] Finally, two much shorter strips that Qiu and Li transcribed separately from the rest were also found in the tomb[33]:

[illegible]軒之馬甲

Armor for a horse of a battle[34] chariot

Qiu and Li argued that these were tags, which must have been attached to many of the interred items.

The Organization and Performance of the Cortège

The content reviewed above shows that officials and dignitaries honored Marquis Yi with an opulent procession, and scribes described it in detail using a relatively consistent format, noting different features of the overall spectacle. But how was such a procession organized and performed? How might it have been viewed and understood by onlookers and participants? An analysis of the content and a detailed look at the organization and format of the strips can address these complicated questions, if not fully answer them. This section will advance two

30. The donors listed share titles seen in the A, B, and C strips, though many are missing and the number of horses listed on the D strips do not approach the total number of horses given on the Zeng strips. It is possible that the now missing strips indicated the rest of the donated horses.

31. Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]*, 372n.6. It is not precisely clear what sort of "figurines" might have been used in the funeral.

32. A survey of the area around the Marquis's tomb yielded evidence of a Zeng "graveyard," but no evidence of burial pits. See Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, "Hubei Suizhou shi Leigudun mu qun de kancha yu shijue" 湖北隨州市擂鼓墩墓群的勘察與試掘, *Kaogu* 2003.9, 25–32.

33. According to Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]*, 341, the Chu strips task force (see n. 11 above) "discovered" (*faxian* 發現) a third label strip after taking infrared photographs of the strips. For a transcription of this third strip, see Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 130.

34. For this rendering, see Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian zhiwen*, 180. This type of chariot is mentioned in several strips that are labeled [illegible] (see n. 81 below).

points. First, evidence from the strips shows that the director of Marquis Yi's funeral combined materials donated from a vast geographic area, following an organizational logic, in order to create an original funerary spectacle. Second, the organization and format of the strips demonstrate that they in fact comprise at least two texts, which were essential to both the production and performance of this spectacle.

We return to the C strips to address the first point. As noted above, in most cases, we do not know the identity of the horse donors listed on the strips. They are presumably people of considerable importance: note that one of the donors given for Jian's chariot team is the lord (*jun*) of Ji 㠯. We know nothing about Ji,[35] but his name appears repeatedly in the strips as a horse and chariot donor. The following table lists only the individuals who donated chariots, and provides the number of horses and chariots that each contributed:

Table 2: Chariot Donors and the Numbers of Horses and Chariots They Donated (strip numbers given in subscript)

Name	Number of horses	Number of chariots
Administrator of the Left 左尹		1_{31}
Lord of Li 鄒君	$6_{144,\ 149,\ 150,\ 153\ (2),\ 158}$	$5_{42 \text{ and } 197,\ 60 \text{ and } 163,\ 194\ (3)}$
Lord of Ji 㠯君	$5_{142,\ 163,\ 172,\ 173,\ 185}$	$1_{53 \text{ and } 203}$[36]
Ministerial Officer 卿士	1_{142}	1_{62}
Lingyin officer 令尹		1_{63}
Lord of Ming 鄸君		1_{65}
Lord of Pingye 坪夜君	$4_{160\ (2),\ 161\ (2)}$	$3_{67,\ 191\ (2)}$
Lord of Yan 郾君		1_{70}
Lord of Yangcheng 陽城君	$2_{163,\ 166}$	3[37]$_{119\ (3) \text{ and } 193\ (3)}$
Lord of Yang 鄝君	1_{157}	$1_{119 \text{ and } 192}$
Duke of Luyang 魯陽公[38]		$8_{119\ (3),\ 162,\ 195\ (3),\ 198}$
King 王		$3_{187,\ 188,\ 189}$
Prince 太子		$3_{190\ (3)}$
Fu Official 復尹	$2_{162\ (2)}$	1_{160}

35. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 517n.123 only gave details about the transcription of the character. Teng, *Chu xi jianbo wenzi bian*, 636, did not provide instances of the word *ji* beyond the Zeng strips.

36. Assuming that the *yuan xuan* 園軒 chariot given on strip 203 corresponds to the chariot (*che* 車) seen on strip 53 that has a "curved railing" (*yuan xuan*).

37. Two different strips (119 and 193) record that the Lord of Yangcheng gave *luche* 路車, but the record on strip 119 prefaces the word *luche* with the character , which

footnote continued on next page

The table does not list the many people who gave horses but no chariots. Some of those names suggest an even wider array of close relationships between Zeng and other states, including Chu.[39]

Fortunately, among the chariot donors, we can gain some sense of the import of these relationships, since it is possible to identify with some degree of certainty the locations of three chariot donors: the Lord of Pingye, the Lord of Yangcheng, and the Duke of Luyang. People holding these titles are found in received texts, which record that the King of Chu gave them fiefs, where they established themselves as local rulers.[40] A recently excavated tomb, found partially looted, near the village of Geling 葛陵 in Henan 河南, has yielded weapons and strips inscribed with the title "Lord of Pingye" (Pingye jun 坪夜君).[41] Scholars have dated the tomb to the fourth century B.C.E.[42] Even if this is not the same "Lord of Pingye" seen in the strips, the discovery at least enables us to pinpoint the location of Pingye with some certainty. Like Yangcheng and Luyang, it is hundreds of kilometers away from the Marquis of Yi's tomb towards the north and east (see Map 1).

Clearly, the Marquis was important enough to attract dignitaries, or at least goods donated by them, from distant areas (we can only know for sure that the drivers listed in the A strips actually attended

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most scholars have glossed as "to donate" (see Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 99). This table counts these strips as referring to the same set of three chariots, but one could argue that they are two different vehicles, for the following reasons. First, the three *luche* of the Lord of Ge recorded on strip 194 (immediately after those of the Lord of Yangcheng) are not in the tabulation on strip 119. Second, strip 195 tabulates *luche* prefaced by the unknown character while strip 196 tabulates just *luche*.

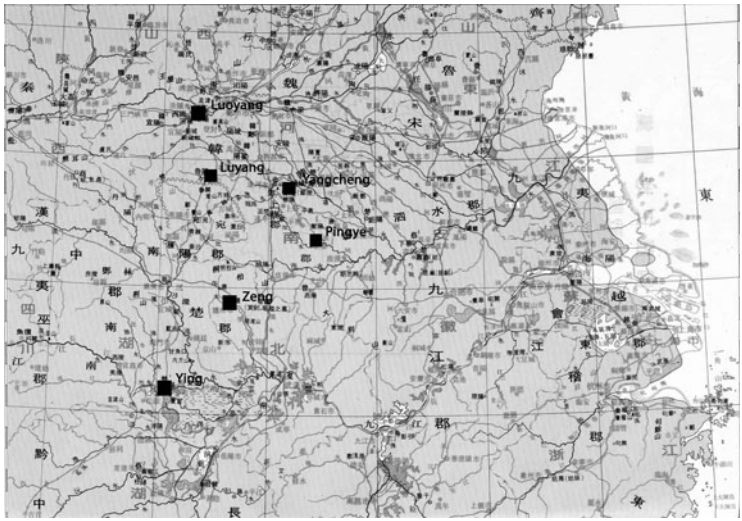
38. I have followed Qiu and Li in taking the Duke of Lüyang 旅陽公 listed on strip 195 as being the same Duke of Luyang seen on strip 162. I have also assumed that a person titled *Lu Gong* 旅公 seen on strip 119 also refers to the Duke of Luyang.

39. We read on strip 156, for example, that the "King's grandson Sheng" (*wang sun sheng* 王孫生) contributed one horse.

40. It is difficult, if not impossible, to identify these locations with *absolute* certainty, since borders shifted over time and received texts refer to several individuals with these titles. For different possible identifications of the Lord of Pingye in received and excavated texts, see Shi Quan 石泉, He Hao 何浩, and Chen Wei 陳偉, *Chu guo lishi wenhua cidian* 楚國歷史文化辭典 (Wuchang: Wuhan daxue, 1996), 225. See also Liu Xinfang, *Baoshan chu jian jie gu*, 189. For the Lord of Yangcheng, including his appearance in the *Mozi* 墨子, see Shi Quan, et. al., *Chu guo lishi wenhua cidian*, 173. For a detailed analysis of the Duke of Luyang as mentioned in received and excavated texts, see He Hao, "Luyang Jun, Luyang Gong ji Luyang she xian de wenti" 魯陽君，魯陽公及魯陽設縣的問題, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1994.4, 47–51.

41. Henan Sheng wen wu kao gu yan jiu suo, *Xincai Geling Chu mu* 新蔡葛陵楚墓 (Zhengzhou: Da xiang, 2003).

42. Liu Xinfang 劉信芳, "Xincai Geling Chu mu de niandai yi ji xiangguan wenti" 新蔡葛陵楚墓的年代以及相關問題. Posted on http://www.jianbo.org/admin3/html/liuxinfang01.htm (accessed on January 12, 2012).



Map 1: Location of Luyang, Yangcheng, and Pingye relative to Zeng

and participated in the funeral procession; other dignitaries, including the donors, were likely present, but there is no way to prove this supposition). These people also donated just as many or more chariots than the "king" (*wang* 王) and "heir" (*taizi* 太子), who donated three chariots each. Qiu and Li plausibly claim that these figures were the king and prince of Chu.[43] If they are correct, then we can conclude that these lords from the northeast in total contributed more materials used in the funeral procession of the Marquis than the Chu royal house.[44]

The procession could not have occurred without these donations from nobles, but the director and organizers of the cortège ultimately controlled how they were used. We have already seen that Jian drove a chariot harnessed to horses contributed by several donors. Donors thus did not contribute intact horse teams; the procession director

43. Ishiguro has a much more elaborate theory about the king(s) mentioned on the strips. See Appendix B.

44. Interestingly, however, the three chariots that the king donated are listed on three separate strips, 187–89, while strips describing chariots donated by the prince and the lords give separate strips only for each donor, not individual chariots. This separate treatment on the strips perhaps presents the king and his donations as comparatively more important. No argument is thus made here about the relative importance of nobles versus Chu royalty in the funeral as a whole. In this vein, we should not forget that the King of Chu presented Zeng with a remarkable bronze bell, cast in honor of Marquis Yi and hung with the rest of his bells on the set from the tomb.

mixed and then matched horses to chariots.[45] As seen in the table above, for example, the *Fu* Official contributed two horses and one chariot, but the chariot was pulled by two horses given by the Lord of Pingye. Meanwhile, the *Fu* Official's horses pulled a chariot contributed by the Duke of Luyang. We see the same dynamic in A-II strips that specifically note a chariot driven by somebody other than the owner:

哀立 駿(馭) 左尹之 

Ai Li drove the battle chariot of the Administrator of the Left… (strip 31).

Individual donors appear not to have had much say in how the procession director used the chariots and horses they donated. They certainly did not require that their horses pull their chariots in the procession. Rather, the director and his assistants decided how to combine all of the different items together. The organizers thus planned and controlled the tiniest details of the cortège. Surely there was a logical system or a design scheme behind their decisions, even if it escapes us today.[46]

The tabulation strips in fact do hint at such a system. In the strip describing the horse team pulling Jian's chariot, Jian was characterized as being a member of the "Outer New Office" (*wai xin guan*). A related term appears in the strip tabulating the C-I strips:

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45. Presumably some level of training would have been required in order to ensure that the horses worked well together and could pull the chariot in a safe and aesthetically pleasing manner. How long would this training process have taken? My lack of equestrian experience prohibits a confident answer. Most likely, however, the horses would have already been highly trained, and quite used to pulling chariots in a team. The funeral directors, in other words, would not have started from scratch. Nevertheless, noble viewers of the cortege no doubt understood that these carriages and horses belonged to different lords. The fact that the directors were able to combine them together so effectively must have been a testament to the high level of horsemanship at the Zeng court.

46. My analysis here, of course, assumes that the descriptions on the strips reflect the actual reality of the procession as it was performed in 433 B.C.E. It is theoretically possible that the funeral directors just added names of nobles who in fact neither participated in nor contributed items to the procession, presumably in an attempt to increase the prestige of Marquis Yi's funerary cortège. I believe this is unlikely, however, for two reasons. First, the fact that the Chu king donated such a magnificent bronze bell to Zeng for the funeral proves that Marquis Yi was sufficiently important to attract spectacularly opulent goods across long distances. Second, as discussed more fully below, the Zeng funerary texts were formal documents that had an important public function in the performance of the procession. It stretches credulity to imagine that the Zeng state would publicly proclaim that important nobles donated items when in fact they had done no such thing.

■凡新官之馬六乘

In sum there were six chariots with horses of the New Office. (strip 148)

The difference between the "Outer New Office" and "New Office" is unknown; indeed, the meaning of "New Office" is unclear, as is "Grand Office" (*da guan* 大官) the category under which the C-II strips are tabulated in strip 159.[47] Ishiguro argues that all of the officers listed on the strips are Zeng officials, and that these categories divide up the Zeng bureaucracy. There is good reason to doubt that the strips give sufficient evidence to prove this hypothesis,[48] but we can still surmise that the categories provided a basis for the organization of the procession. For example, the first two C-I "New Office" chariots are also the first two chariots described in the group A chariot entries. The fifth chariot is found under the "Grand Office" category. The organizers clearly did assign particular meanings to chariots and arranged them in a sequence accordingly. If we knew what these categories meant, and if we assumed that the order in which chariots are listed in the A strips followed the order in which they were used in the funeral procession, we might be able to understand the logic behind the organization of the cortège. This appears to be impossible, but the evidence from the strips does at least assure us that such an organizational scheme existed.

Differences in the layout of the strips corroborate this evidence for elaborate planning prior to the procession. The most prominent distinction is between the A and B strips on the one hand and the C strips on the other. The chariot descriptions on the former extend across multiple strips, with each entry separated from the next by a stretch of blank space. Moreover, square black blots extend across the width of the strips either end or begin the A strip entries (the black squares in the transcriptions in this essay indicate these blots). If the scribe had enough room to start a new entry on the same strip as a just completed entry, he would leave a blank space, add a blot, and then start the new entry. If not, he would end the completed entry with a blot and leave the rest of the strip blank (see Figure 1).

This coordinated variation in ending and beginning punctuation, as well as the fact that the chariot descriptions on the A and B strips continue across multiple strips, shows that a scribe composed the

47. The Baoshan strips mention a "New Office" (*xin guan*), giving different posts found within the New Office (in what appears to be a hierarchically arranged list) and even the personal names of office holders. See Zhou Fengwu 周鳳五, "Baoshan Chu jian 'Ji zhu' 'Ji zhu yan' xi lun" 包山楚簡《集箸》《集箸言》析論, *Zhongguo wenzi* 21 (1996), esp. 34.

48. See Appendix B.

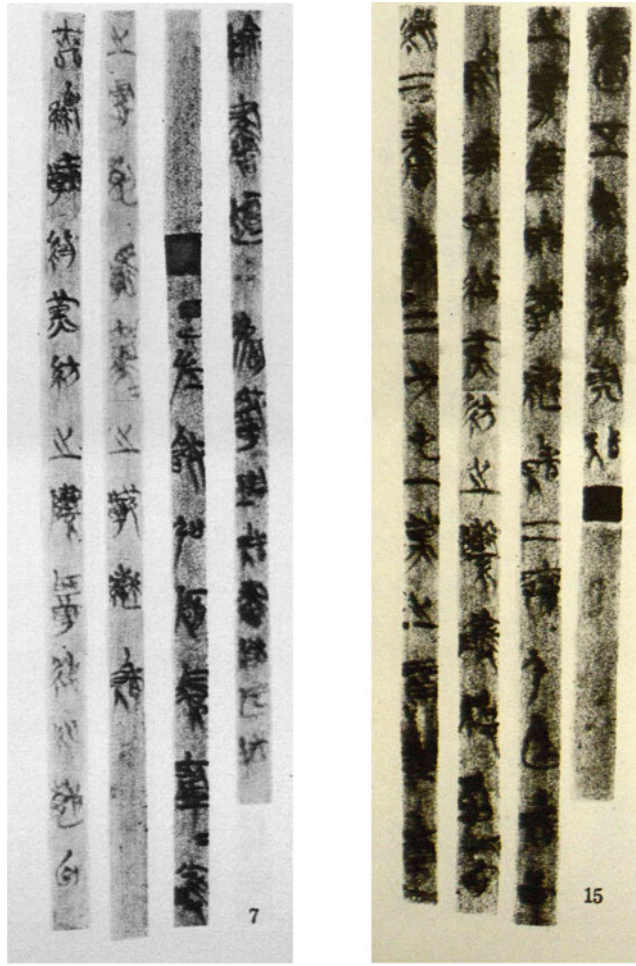

Image after *Zeng Hou Yi mu(ZHYM)*, vol. 2, 171

Image after *ZHYM*, vol. 2, 174

Figure 1. Blots on A Strips (strips read from upper left to lower right)

descriptions of the drivers, chariots, and horses in the procession at the same time.[49]

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49. I am thus more concerned here with what the arrangement of the black blots can tell us about how scribes composed the text. No argument is made about the precise function of the blots as punctuation in the Zeng texts. Square blots of a similar sort are commonly found in excavated texts in the pre-imperial and early imperial

footnote continued on next page

The same cannot be said with certainty of the C strips, since the descriptions of chariot teams do not extend across multiple strips. Scribes fit the horses, donors, and chariot names for each individual chariot onto a single strip. They thus must have composed the C strips separately from the A and B strips. Differences in handwriting between the two further support this division (see Figure 2).[50]

We cannot say for sure which group was composed first. Nevertheless, the format and content of the C strips make them read like a series of planning documents. Chariots and horses, after all, were the basic raw material that the procession director had to work with when he started organizing the cortège. Upon receiving the donated chariots and horses, he must have first decided which horses would go with which chariots. He did this by arranging the horses and chariots together according to the logical scheme discussed above.[51] He also had to assign drivers to chariots. Once he had recorded these chariot team arrangements, he could then put the chariots into a procession sequence and record all of their decorative features, weaponry, and armor. This step must have been last, since as already noted some level of planning and training must have been required to ensure that horse teams would work well together pulling their chariots.[52]

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periods, and serve several different functions. See Guan Xihua 管錫華, *Zhongguo gudai biaodian fuhao fazhan shi* 中國古代標點符號發展史 (Chengdu: Ba Shu, 2002), 62, 67, 71, and 89–90. Guan does not mention the square blots on the Zeng strips, which do indeed appear to be somewhat anomalous, since the marks on the A and B strips equally denote the beginning and ending of chariot entries depending on where the entries are arranged on a given set of strips. They thus function above all to mark off the entries as discrete units (for the benefit of readers?). Elsewhere in the texts, particularly in the tabulation strips, square black blots appear consistently as headings at the start of a line of text, in a manner similar to instances in other excavated texts. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 4, noted only that the square blots either begin or end passages.

50. Note, for instance, the slanted orientation of characters on the C strips compared to those on the A strips.

51. The presence of binding string gaps on the strips is relevant here. As noted above, the excavation report described regular gaps on the strips between characters, suggesting that the strips were bound before scribes wrote on them. The presentation of the photographs in the excavation report makes it difficult to discern such gaps. Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]*, 340, noted that the distance between the two gaps on strips 1–141 (groups A and B) is 40 cm or greater, while the distance on the C strips describing the horse teams is only 35–37 cm. He concludes that the strips were divided into two separate rolls (*juan* 卷). These observations thus accord with the argument advanced here.

52. See n. 46 above.

Image after *ZHYM*, vol. 2, 223

Figure 2. Format of the C Strips

A closer look at the A and B strips that describe the procession reveals marks that not only further distinguish these strips from the C strips, but also demonstrate that scribes marked the A and B strips after they had completed the descriptions of the drivers, chariots, and horses. A series of oblong, ovular dots that occur only on A and B strips, the marks are not regularly shaped like the square blots found on the A strips. As seen in the close-up of strip 13 (Figure 3), they often have tails at the bottom, left by the trailing end of the scribe's brush stroke.

Image after *ZHYM*, vol. 2, 173

Figure 3. Counting Mark on Strip 13

Moreover, unlike the square blots, the marks are irregularly spaced within the text, crammed in between the characters and occasionally touching them. A scribe must have applied such inconsistently rendered and applied dots after the text was already written. Since they almost always lie next to the name of a chariot driver or the name of the chariot itself, they seem to be counting marks that note individual chariots. Possibly, the same scribe who made the counting marks finished by writing up the tabulation strips that come at the end of the A and B strip groups.

Indeed, differences in format and character size between the A and B tabulation strips and the main text show that the tabulations were written at a different time and perhaps by a different scribe (see Figure 4). Certain portions of the A and B tabulation strips in particular were likely written after a scribe had composed the entire text and after the counting marks had been added. These are the two "grand total" (*da fan* 大凡) statements that come at the end of the A and B tabulation strips, after a breakdown of the different subcategories of chariots and armor. The A strip "grand total" tabulation will serve as an example:

■ 大凡四十乘又三乘。 至紫（此）。

In total there were 43 chariots. They came here. (strip 121)

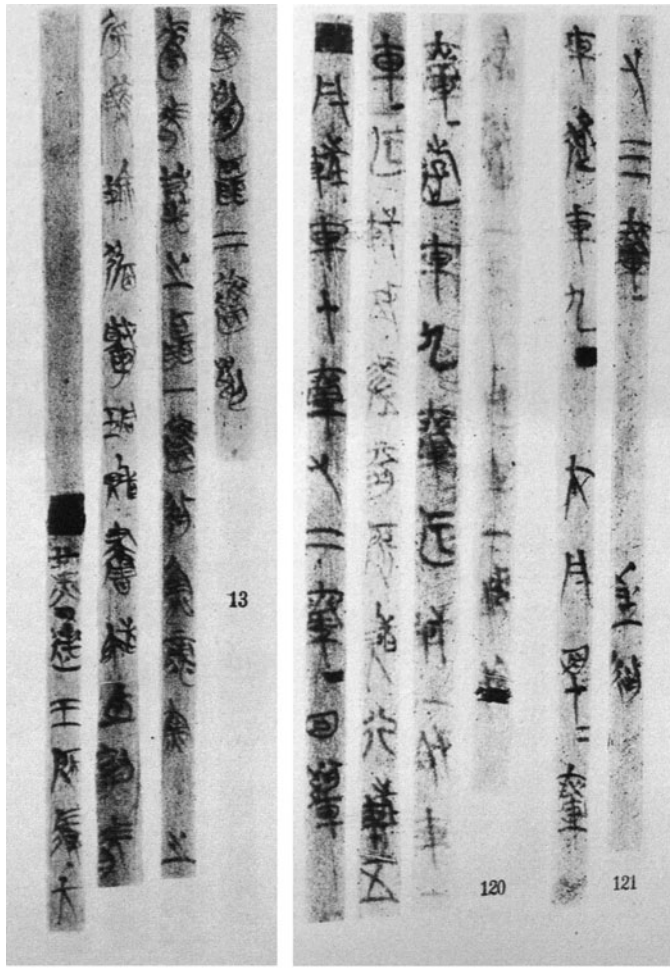

Image after *ZHYM*, vol. 2, 173 Image after *ZHYM*, vol. 2, 207

Figure 4. Comparison of character size and spacing between A-I strip and A-V tabulation strip

These "grand totals" are not seen in the C strips. They are obviously less discriminating than the careful notations of subcategories that immediately precede them. Their lack of specificity matches the oblong tallying marks of the A and B strips in spirit and execution, supporting the idea that a different scribe recorded both after the main descriptions of the drivers, horses, and chariots on the A and B strips were composed. The final statement on the grand total A tabulation strip, *zhi ci* 至紫, is crucial for understanding how the stages of composition fit into the

performance of the procession itself. "Here" could presumably refer to Zeng, but it cannot refer merely to the Zeng polity, since the preponderance of evidence from the content and format of the strips shows that the A and B strips were composed after the chariots and other items had already been donated, and after the cortège director had reorganized them. "Here" must therefore refer to the funeral procession grounds or even to the tomb itself.[53]

We are now in a better position to understand the opening statement on the first strip, which describes when and how the text was composed.

> 大莫  (陽)為適𨒗之春，  (八月)庚申  (胄)  執事人書入車。
>
> On the *gengshen* day of the eighth month of the year when the Great Mo'ao Yang Wei went to Fu in the spring, the armory officer recorded the chariots that were received. (strip 1)

The differences between the A and B strips on the one hand and the C strips on the other demonstrate that the armory officer could not have written all of the Zeng strips at the time of the procession. Moreover, the great detail of the chariot entries discussed in the previous section would have been impossible to record as the procession passed by. Incorporating all of the observations made above, a more likely scenario for the production and performance of the cortège is as follows: after the director of the funeral procession received all of the donated chariots and horses (this must have taken some days, if not weeks), he and his organizing team combined them into chariot teams, taking time to train the horse teams as needed. Once these teams were complete, scribes recorded them on the C strips; these were the "received chariots" and together constituted the first text. The armory officer then recorded these received chariots in the desired order, carefully noting all of the important items and decorations on each chariot in the A strips and the armor on the B strips. Then the procession was executed. While it went on, a scribe (perhaps the armory officer himself or somebody

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53. Still, it was the arrival of the chariots that the scribe emphasized, since he wrote the characters *zhi ci* quite large and placed them towards the bottom of the strip, separate from the rest of the text (see Figure 4; *zhi* and *ci* are the last two characters on the bottom right of strip 121). An alternate reading of the phrase is possible: *zhi ci* 致此, or "These were presented." In this case, *zhi* would refer to the chariots themselves and the items that they contained, and the tabulation would refer to the procession as it was planned and organized, before the actual performance. This reading does not affect the basic idea, however, that the Zeng funeral directors used the strips to organize and verify the myriad participants and components of the procession. Thanks are due to an *Early China* reviewer for alerting me to this alternative interpretation.

else) sat to the side, with the A-B text unrolled in front of him.[54] As each chariot passed by, he made a mark next to the appropriate entry, verifying its participation in the Marquis's cortège and by extension the accuracy of the descriptions of fittings, weaponry, and armor. When the procession was over and the chariots had arrived at the funeral procession grounds or the tomb, he counted up his marks and added the "grand total" tabulations, closing with a note that the chariots "went there" (*zhi ci* 至紫). The scribe thus tabulated and verified not just the number of chariots but also the performance of the chariots and drivers in the cortège. "This happened," they say. The texts became a testament to the organization and execution of the entire procession, and the presence of all of the donated chariots, horses, and opulent materials, as well as the participation of officials and dignitaries.

Inventories, Gift Lists, and the Zeng Texts

Why did the procession directors write these strips and use them to verify the performance of a ceremony at the Marquis of Zeng's funeral? Surely there were a variety of motivations, practical, political, and religious, including beliefs about the afterlife. Comparison with texts commonly understood as inventories or gift lists, which often do show an explicit concern with the afterlife, however, suggests that this final concern is not as prominent in the Zeng strips. The inventory and gift list textual genres are now well established in studies of excavated texts from Zhanguo, Qin, and Han, and details of such finds are common in archaeological reports.[55] In the 1950s, archaeologists who first began to analyze excavated texts enumerating lists of goods immediately identified them as the bamboo slips (*ce* 策) described in the "Ji xi" 既夕 chapter of the *Yi li*. The *Yi li* says that scribes recorded ritual items that were donated and interred with the tomb occupant, and that the

54. The A and B strips together would have been a *very* long text and perhaps a bit unwieldy for one scribe to mark as the chariots went by. Two scribes could have sat in front of the unrolled text, however, making separate marks on the A and B sections.

55. For a recent example containing images and a transcription of portions of an inventory, see 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, 36 (image) and 41 (transcription). Liu Guosheng, "Chu qiance zhidu shu lüe," provided an overview for pre-imperial inventory texts. Writing in 2001, Hong Shi 洪石, "Dong Zhou zhi Jin dai mu suo chu wu shu jiandu ji qi xiangguan wenti yanjiu" 東周至晉代墓所出物疏簡牘及其相關問題研究, *Kaogu* 2001.9, 59–69, counted 37 tombs, from Zhanguo to Jin, that have yielded inventories. A helpful table at the end of the article provided summary information on these texts, along with citations of relevant studies and transcriptions.

resulting text was also interred during the funeral ceremony. In the introduction to his 1955 study of the slips excavated from an early- to mid-third century B.C.E. Chu tomb at Yangtianhu 仰天湖, Shi Shuqing 史樹青 collected many of the relevant passages from the classical literature and commentaries on tomb inventories.[56] The picture they provide can be summarized as follows: 1) the inventories recorded both the items that were interred with the deceased, whatever their provenance, and those items that were given (*feng* 賵) to the deceased and his family by others; 2) these texts were read out loud during the funeral ceremony, taking special care to note the combined tabulations of the items; 3) the interment of funerary goods and reading of the inventory were necessary to act properly according to principles of ritual propriety (*li* 禮).

Shi and subsequent scholars have convincingly argued that certain texts do follow parts of this model. The Yangtianhu strips, for example, list a variety of items that were presumably originally in the tomb (it had been looted prior to excavation). The strips provide specific amounts for each item, and strip 18 (see Figure 5), though badly damaged and fragmented, shows what appears to be a name and the start of a list of textiles.[57] Quite possibly, this strip enumerated all of the items that the listed person contributed to be interred with the deceased.

The strips from tomb no. 2 at Wangshan 望山, Hubei, dated to the late fourth to early third century B.C.E., provided a much longer and more intact example of an inventory and gift list text. Excavators found the strips in the side chamber of the tomb, and though most were broken, a few intact strips measured 64 cm x 0.6 cm. They list three chariots, followed by enumerations of textiles and vessels. There is also some evidence that the strips separated out the listed goods into categories:

> …(strip broken) 金器：六貴鼎，又（有）盍（蓋）。四（盈），又（有）盍（蓋）。二卵缶，又（有）盍…
>
> …Bronze items: six covered *ding* vessels; four covered *yuan* vessels; three covered *luan fou* vessels…[58] (strip 46)

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56. Shi Shuqing, *Changsha Yangtianhu chu tu Chu jian yan jiu* 長沙仰天湖出土楚簡研究 (Shanghai: Qun lian, 1955), 2–3. Shi explicitly stated that he began to study the strips in order to verify (*zhengming* 證明) the descriptions of the *qiance* found in the *Yi li* and its commentaries.

57. Shi Shuqing, *Changsha Yangtianhu chu tu Chu jian yan jiu*, 30. Note that Shi claimed that the third character on the strip is the person's title (*gong* 公). Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Wangshan Chu jian* 望山楚簡 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1995), 133n.156, adopted the same interpretation.

58. Transcription and punctuation follows Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jian ce [shisi zhong]*, 289. Characters in parentheses are glosses of the immediately preceding characters, which are transcriptions of the original characters on the strips.

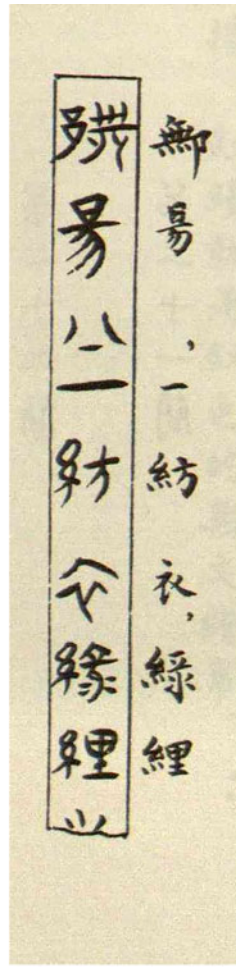

Image after Shi Shuqing 史樹青, *Changsha Yangtianhu chutu Chu jian yanjiu* 長沙仰天湖出土楚簡研究 (Shanghai: Qun lian, 1955), 30.

Figure 5. Strip 18 from Yangtianhu

Unfortunately, because the strip is broken, it is impossible to tell whether or not it gave a specific function for the goods categorized under "bronze items" (*jin qi* 金器).

A more intact example of an inventory text comes from tomb no. 2 at Baoshan 包山, dated 316 B.C.E., the largest and richest of five tombs excavated there. The inventory text had been separated into four different sections, each placed in one of the tomb's four chambers. The sections list items that were indeed found in the tomb, though not

necessarily in the same chamber as the text that mentions them.[59] Each section begins with a heading that appears to designate the function of the listed items: "bronze items for the grand burial ritual" (大兆之金器),[60] "bronze items in the dining room" (食室之金器),[61] and so on. The Baoshan inventory thus constitutes an intact example of an inventory text with goods categorized by function. It also provides evidence that the funeral ceremony included items for the burial donated by participants:

苛鄗受：一箸（笴），鼢（豹）韋之盾，二十鉄（矢）…

Ke Fu donated: One bamboo quiver with a sable skin cover, and twenty bronze arrowheads…[62] (strip 277)

This strip and a multi-sided "board" (*du* 牘), composed of joined bamboo strips, record items that were "donated" (*shou* 受) by participants in the ceremony.[63] This strip and board thus constitute the gift-list (*fengshu* 賵書) portion of the Baoshan inventory text. It is on the basis of these two different types of texts that scholars have made distinctions between inventories and gift lists.[64]

All of these texts share two elements: a) lists of individually enumerated items that were buried with the tomb occupant; b) the names of people who appear to have donated items that were either used in the funeral ceremony, buried in the tomb, or both. Moreover, the Baoshan text, and quite possibly the Wangshan text, divided the goods into functional categories. The Baoshan categories suggest both ritual functions

59. See Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 47–63; Lai, "The Baoshan Tomb," 41 and 49–50.

60. Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 225, rendered the line, "Metal Items for the Great Sacred Plot"; see 63–77 for a detailed explanation.

61. Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 212. The inventory from Xinyang 信陽 also lists the "implements" (*qi*) under categories, though they are quite different from those in the Baoshan text. Henan sheng wenwu yanjiu suo, *Xinyang Chu mu* 信陽楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1986), 128–29.

62. Transcription and punctuation follows Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu zhanguo jiance [shi si zhong]*, 121. Characters in parentheses are glosses of the immediately preceding characters, which are transcriptions of the original characters on the strips. My translation reflects Chen's annotations, and differs somewhat from Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 241.

63. Chen Wei, "Guan yu Baoshan Chu jian zhong de sangzang wenshu," 73–74, glossed *shou* 受 ("to receive") as *shou* 授 ("to give"), as did Wang Yin 王穎, *Baoshan Chu jian cihui yanjiu* 包山楚簡詞彙研究 (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue, 2008), 80–81. Chen argues that the strips record the donor names.

64. Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 10–11, provided a succinct analysis of work by Yang Hua 楊華 on this topic. See also Chen Wei, "Guanyu Baoshan Chu jian zhong de sangzang wenshu."

important for the funeral ceremony and uses that would be important for the tomb occupant in the afterlife. These characteristics do not completely conform with the textual and commentarial understanding of the inventory and gift-list texts summarized above. The importance of "ritual propriety" (*li*) as a motivating factor for the production of the texts is a moralistic interpretation of their function, and it is difficult to discern evidence from the texts themselves that they were read aloud. Nevertheless, these problems aside, the characteristics seen in these texts generally support their inclusion in the inventory and gift-list textual genres.

Moreover, inventories and gift lists probably were an important aspect of Zhanguo, or at least late-Zhanguo, funerary ceremonies and ideas of the afterlife. On the evidence of the Baoshan inventory, Guolong Lai has argued that the inventory and gift-list texts reflect a major change in conceptions of the afterlife. People in Zhanguo times, according to Lai, believed that the soul of the deceased lived on, that ritual actions were required to provide for the afterlife of that soul, and that surviving descendants were eternally bound to perform these rituals. The funerary inventories and gift-lists were an important part of perpetuating the bond, since they connected the living and the dead together in a scheme of ritualized communication, display, and exchange.[65] Constance Cook went further, arguing that the Baoshan inventory text was "for use by the deceased to present to officers in the otherworld at various points in his journey to Heaven."[66]

These arguments, however, cannot fully apply to the Zeng strips. Their lists and verifications, not to mention their focus on chariots, drivers, and horses, do not point only to ritual concerns associated with beliefs about the afterlife. We of course do see donors in both the Zeng strips and the gift-lists, and it is true that the Zeng strips describe many items that were found in Marquis Yi's tomb. Moreover, it is quite plausible that Zeng officials buried the two texts in the northern chamber at least partially for the benefit of the deceased Marquis; perhaps his spirit was meant to have access to the texts and, by extension, the procession that they recorded and verified. Nevertheless, categorizing the strips as "inventories" or "gift lists" in the same vein as those from later periods obscures the complex role that the Zeng texts played in the Marquis's funeral. As demonstrated in the previous section, the Zeng texts are the products of a complex planning process for the Marquis's funeral procession that involved Zeng officials and dignitaries from a wide geographic area. The texts were in no way

65. See Lai's introduction to "The Baoshan Tomb."
66. Cook, *Death in Ancient China*, 12.

meant to be an accounting of what was actually interred in the tomb, and we do not learn much from them about specific funerary rituals and offerings, nor functional categories that point to an explicit concern with sending the Marquis off on his journey through the afterlife. They are rather the products and integral components of producing and performing a political spectacle, one to which the Zeng state and other states devoted significant material resources. The Zeng texts do share some characteristics with the inventory and gift-list texts. Categorizing the strips as "inventories," however, ignores the particular role that they played in the Marquis's funeral, and cannot shed light on the function the strips had in documenting the organization and performance of the funeral cortège.[67]

The Zeng Texts and Political Spectacles in Early China

This essay has emphasized the differences between the Zeng texts and tomb inventories, both descriptions in received texts and excavated examples, in order to demonstrate the integral role the strips played in the performance of a Zeng state funeral procession. The evidence from the Zeng texts shows that Marquis Yi's powerful political peers contributed high-status material goods, especially horses and chariots, to the funeral, which Zeng state officials manipulated in order to produce an original funerary spectacle. Political aims were at least as important as beliefs about the afterlife in organizing, performing, and documenting the procession. What were these aims, and what role did the Zeng texts play in realizing them?

Many political motivations must have driven the planning and performance of Marquis Yi's cortège. We hardly need to list them, since funerals and funeral processions were indeed part of the normal course of elite Chunqiu and Zhanguo political life (see Figure 6).[68] The death of a

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67. The Zeng strips might not be the only excavated records of a funeral procession that should be distinguished from inventories and gift lists. The summary of a text labeled by archaeologists as a *qiance* from Tianxingguan 天星觀, tomb 1, describes a document that appears to share some characteristics with the Zeng strips. See Hubei sheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan, "Jiangling Tianxingguan yi hao Chu mu" 江陵天星觀一號楚墓, *Kaogu xuebao* 1982.1, 109. Unfortunately, a full transcription with photographs of the Tianxingguan strips has not been published.

68. For a quick and clear illustration of the importance and regularity of funerals in Chunqiu inter-state relations, see the tables compiled from the *Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋) in Newell Ann Van Auken, "Could 'Subtle Words' Have Conveyed 'Praise and Blame'? The Implications of Formal Regularity and Variation in *Spring and Autumn (Chun qiu)* Records," *Early China* 31 (2007), 47–111. There is a growing body of work on elite

footnote continued on next page

ruler of Marquis Yi's wealth and status would necessarily have required an impressive funeral. Ritual texts, however, suggest a more concrete motivation for Marquis Yi's procession: ensuring a proper transfer of power to the Zeng heir. Even though the strips do not mention him, we must imagine that Marquis Yi's heir participated in the preparation and execution of the Marquis's cortège.[69] Some received texts provide detailed descriptions of the heir's role in these activities. A long passage from a chapter of the *Li ji* 禮記 (compiled as late as first century C.E.), "Za ji shang" 雜記上, for example, details how the heir of a deceased ruler was meant to receive goods donated in the ruler's honor. The passage describes how an envoy and his entourage, sent by a lord of a different realm, are to announce themselves to the heir's officers and present their gifts. One passage details how an assistant to the envoy should offer over a chariot and horse team, outlining a scenario that presents striking parallels with the evidence from the strips:

> 上介賵，執圭將命，曰：「寡君使某賵。」相者入告，反命曰：「孤某須矣。」陳乘黃大路於中庭，北輈。執圭將命。客使自下，由路西。子拜稽顙，坐委於殯東南隅。宰舉以東。
>
> The principal assistant to the envoy presents the chariot and horses. Carrying a jade tablet he announces his message: "My lord has sent so-and-so to present this chariot and these horses."
>
> The officer retreats within to report the message to the heir, and returns with his message, saying: "Our bereft heir so-and-so awaits you."
>
> They present the *dalu* chariot with *huang* horses in the center of the courtyard, with the yoke shaft pointing north. Holding the jade tablet, the principal assistant shows the message to the heir. The attendants to the envoy lead the horses to the western side of the chariot. The heir gets down on his knees and bows his head down to the ground. The principal assistant sits and places the jade tablet at the southeast corner of the coffin. The steward takes it up and places it to the east.[70]

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funerals during the early empires. See, e.g., Michael Loewe, "State Funerals of the Han Empire," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 71 (1999), 5–72; and Gao Chongwen "Shi lun xian Qin liang Han sangzang lisu de yanbian" 試論先秦兩漢喪葬禮俗的演變, *Kaogu xuebao* 2006 (4): 447–72.

69. Ishiguro has argued that the texts do mention the Zeng heir, though this essay maintains that the evidence is inconclusive. See Appendix B.

70. *Li ji jijie* 禮記集解, ed. Sun Xidan 孙希旦 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2007), 1078–79 ("Za ji shang" 雜記上).

By humbly accepting the gifts from the envoy, the heir expresses his somber respect for both his deceased ruler and the recognition given to him by the envoy's ruler. All of the horses and chariots donated to Zeng for Marquis Yi's procession must have been received in some formal manner. Even if the "Za ji shang" passage cannot be used as a reliable description of how Zeng officials received donations, it does remind us that the Zeng heir was probably involved in the donation ceremony, not to mention the procession itself.[71] Indeed, many examples from even further beyond the spatial and temporal boundaries of mid-fifth century B.C.E. Zeng confirm that the pomp and circumstance of a ruler's burial were often for the benefit of a successor, who usually played an important role in all related ceremonies.[72] For both the anonymous heir in the *Li ji* passage and the Zeng heir, the contribution of chariots and horses by dignitaries was not just homage to the deceased but also acknowledgement of the heir's legitimacy as the new ruler, and thus an expression of confidence in the longevity of the Zeng state. The authors of the *Li ji* passage, the organizers of Marquis Yi's cortège, and the participating officials were all keenly interested in ensuring political stability via an orderly transfer of power.

The strips tell us a more complicated story about the importance of the donations for Zeng, however, than the *Li ji* passage would lead us to believe. The latter emphasizes above all *how* the donations are to occur, and how the various actors are meant to comport themselves. It provides detailed protocol for the presentation of the items, their placement, and even the statements that the donating and receiving parties are required to make. We read nothing, however, about what the heir and his officers are supposed to do with the chariots and horses after the various donation ceremonies are complete. The attendants must have unhitched the horses from the chariot yoke in order to array them on the western side of the chariot, but we do not read explicitly that the horses and chariots are to be separated permanently for the

71. There is some evidence from two tabulation strips (207 and 208) that the horses and chariots were received at particular offices in Zeng. Would the heir have attended donation ceremonies at both of the offices? With dozens of chariots and even more horses to receive at multiple locations, he would have been quite busy. See the translations and notes in Appendix A.

72. Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1960), documented the elaborate funerary rituals and procession of Francis I (r. 1515–1547), which included highly regulated appearances and protocol for the heir, Henry II (r. 1547–1559). During the Han, the imperial court sent envoys to funerals staged for the Liu 劉 ruling family kings (*zhuhou wang* 諸侯王). The envoys wrote elegies for the monarch, donated clothing and goods, and installed the deceased's heir as king.

funeral cortège. The Zeng texts tell us, however, that this is exactly what happened for Marquis Yi's procession. The *Li ji* passage describes how items for a funeral are to be properly exchanged between donors and recipients. On the strips, we read only the names and titles of the donors, not how they donated the items. The strips tell us only about the process by which Zeng funeral directors combined items from high status donors together to create the procession. The strips do not record details of protocol, but rather demonstrate the control Zeng officials exerted over opulent items donated from afar. This contrast between the *Li ji* passage and the Zeng strips is a good example of the strikingly different perspectives that received and excavated texts can bring to the same phenomenon. In this case, the Zeng strips provide direct insight into the strategies, motivations, and official processes that rulers and elite officials brought to funerals and processions. Whether or not Zeng officials followed rules of protocol along the lines of those seen in the *Li ji* passage, the Zeng texts demonstrate that their primary concern was to create and carefully document a splendid funeral procession that displayed the wealth, status, and power of Marquis Yi.[73]

The Zeng texts also provide an important illustration of the active role texts played in ensuring that Chunqiu and Zhanguo processions were executed correctly, and thus fulfilled their potential as political spectacles. As argued above, the strips were a testament: they documented the process of organizing donated goods into a grand procession, and verified the performance of that procession. The counting dots and totals on the strips demonstrate that it was important to verify that Marquis Yi's procession went off correctly, according to a scheme that effectively displayed the importance of Zeng and the Marquis, and demonstrated the legitimacy of the heir. With stakes this high, it was important to ensure for the benefit of all involved that the procession was executed properly. The Zeng texts provided that assurance. We see texts playing a similar role in a treatise written centuries later: "Yufu zhi" 輿服志 (Treatise on Chariots and Robes), completed by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. c. 306 C.E.) and eventually appended to Fan Ye's 范曄 (fl. 389–446 C.E.) *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (compiled c. 440 C.E.).[74]

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73. In this light, the Zeng strips also provide a fruitful contrast to meditations on limiting the consumption of resources and display of material wealth, a common theme in Zhanguo political philosophy. See Michael Nylan, "On the Politics of Pleasure," *Asia Major* 15.1 (2001), 73–124.

74. For a detailed discussion of the authorship and content of the "Yufu zhi," see B.J. Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han: Their Author, Sources, Contents, and*

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行祠天郊以法駕，祠地、明堂省什三，祠宗廟尤省，謂之小駕。每出，太僕奉駕上鹵簿，中常侍、小黃門副；尚書主者，郎令史副；侍御史，蘭臺令史副。皆執注，以督整車騎，謂之護駕。

When traveling to give offerings to Heaven at the suburban altar, the emperor uses the *fajia* procession.[75] When giving offerings at the Temple to Earth or at the Bright Hall, reduce the number of chariots by thirteen. When giving offerings at the ancestral temple, make further reductions. These are the *xiaojia* processions. Every time they go forth, the Grand Coachman[76] drives at the head of the procession (*lubo* 鹵簿), assisted by the Regular Palace Attendant and the Minor Attendant of the Yellow Gates. The Director of the Secretariat is assisted by a Palace Clerk. The Attending Secretary to the Imperial Counselor is assisted by the Foreman Clerk of the Orchid Terrace. All of them are in charge of recording the procession in order to inspect and regulate the chariots and horses. This is called monitoring the procession.[77]

The parallels with the Zeng strips are striking. According to the "Yufu zhi," recording (*zhu* 注) the procession is necessary in order to "inspect and regulate" (*du zheng* 督整) the order and arrangement of chariots and horses. The assisting clerks thus played a key role in the procession, even if the passage tells us little about how and when they did their recording. Regardless, the passage emphasizes that certain officials were charged with ensuring that the proper order and protocol for a given procession were properly followed. The Zeng texts, and the scribes and officials who produced them, served exactly the same function, even if the strips do not explicitly articulate the required order of the chariots and horses. Whether or not the order outlined in the "Yufu zhi" was actually followed all of the time in imperial processions is of course impossible to say.[78] Equally, we cannot say whether or not the organization of the Zeng funeral cortège followed an established protocol always used for Zeng funerals, or if the director of the procession

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Place in Chinese Historiography (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 227–68. Sima Biao based his work on previous treatises of a similar nature by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–92 C.E.) and Dong Ba 董巴 (c. 220 C.E.).

75. Earlier in the treatise, the author defines the *fajia* as a type of procession with 36 attending chariots, all of them driven by those at the rank of *daifu* 大夫. See *Hou Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), 29.3649.

76. Translation of titles follows Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han, and Xin Periods (221 BC–AD 24)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

77. *Hou Hanshu*, 29.3650.

78. Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han*, 266 and *passim*, emphasized that the rules in the "Yufu zhi" were primarily prescriptive rules "honored in the breach," and just as much a response to the political and intellectual conditions of late Eastern Han as a reflection of actual practice.

created it specifically for Marquis Yi's ceremony. We can safely conclude, however, that both the author of the "Yufu zhi" and the Zeng cortège director were well aware of the power of processions as spectacles that displayed wealth, status, and power. Written records and texts that organized and documented the procession, such as those recovered from the tomb of Marquis Yi, were necessary to effectively employ that power.

Appendix A: Translations of Tabulation Strips

Strips 120–21

■凡輦車十乘又二。  （乘車），四  車，囝軒，攻（工）差（佐）坪所賠行輦五乘。遊車九乘，囝軒，一敏（畋）車。一槅  （轂）。一王僮車。一轉輨

…車。（路)車九。■[79] 大凡四十乘又三乘。┃至紫。

In total there were 12 broad[80] chariots. There were four battle chariots[81] with curved railings[82]; five swift broad chariots built by the artisan

79. In his transcription, Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 179–80, indicated a mark that did not differ in size or placement compared to the section heading blots, even though the photographs of the strips indicate that the mark here is different. The smaller size and placement shown here are meant to more accurately suggest the shape and arrangement of the mark on the strips, and to differentiate it from the section heading blots.

80. Most scholars have interpreted these twelve chariots as *guangche* 廣車. For overviews of the *guangche* and related terms, see Qiu and Li, "Zeng Houyi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 513n.78; Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzhen,* 182–83. Qiu and Li gave references suggesting that *guangche* could just be large chariots useful for transporting goods, while Xiao called it a war chariot. The Zeng strips contain several chariot names with the character *guang*: *guangche* 廣車, *shaoguang* 少廣, *chengguang* 乘廣, and *xingguang* 行廣. References to *guangche* are scattered throughout classical texts; most commentators have glossed them as "military chariots" (*bingche* 兵車) at the head of chariot formations. See, e.g., *Zhou li* 周禮, "Che pu" 車僕; Liu Xingjun 劉興均, *Zhou li ming wu ci yanjiu* 周禮名物詞研究 (Chengdu: Ba shu, 2001), 39. Other excavated texts, including the Tianxingguan 天星觀 inventory, refer to chariots labeled *guang*. See Tan Rensheng, *Chu xi jianbo wenzi bian*, 1184–85.

81. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 179–80, reviewed three different kinds of chariots labeled in the Zeng strips. Noting that the character is unattested in early texts, Xiao speculated that it refers to the sound made by the so-called "simurgh bells" (*luan ling* 鸞鈴) attached to the "simurgh chariots" (*luan che* 鸞車), both of which are seen in pre-Han and Han texts. Xiao admitted, however, that Chen Wei's argument that the character should be read as *zhan* 棧 is also plausible. Descriptions of these chariots in the Zeng strips indicate that each had distinct decoration and weaponry.

82. Strip 203 gives 囝軒 as the name of a chariot, but Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 179, noted that this same chariot is described more fully in strip 53 from

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assistant Ping[83]; nine touring[84] chariots with curved railings; one hunting chariot; one chariot with decorated hubcaps[85]; one royal *tong* chariot[86]; one covered chariot[87] [end of strip 120]…chariot; and nine road chariots.[88] This makes a grand total of forty-three chariots. [long gap in strip] They came here. [end of strip 121]

Strips 140–41[89]

A-I, which clearly describes something on a chariot. Both Xiao and Qiu and Li noted this variation in meaning. Strip 120 clearly refers to a feature of the chariots, rather than a chariot name.

83. It is unclear who this person is or why he is significant. Ping could refer to a place name, since the same title is seen in strip 144, group 24 (*yi si* 乙四) from the cache found in the Lord of Pingye's 坪夜君 tomb at Geling 葛陵 village in southeast Henan. See Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Xincai Geling Chu mu*, 209. That strip reads: "…in the ninth month, on the day *jiashen*, the assistant artisan followed the lord's command and obtained *zhenling*…" (九月 甲申之日 攻差以君命取真靈). It is impossible to demonstrate any relationship between this artisan assistant and the one listed on the Zeng tabulation strip. Indeed, the duties of the two seem quite different: the former appears to be obtaining a plant for divination, while the latter has constructed chariots. Regardless, it is highly interesting that the tabulation strip mentions the chariot maker. Five horse teams attached to *xingguang* chariots are included in the "Grand Officer" tabulation, strip 159 (see below).

84. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 176–77, related the *you* 斿 (遊) chariot to *Zhou li* commentaries, which mention a *mulu* 木路 chariot and a *tianlu* 田路 chariot, which kings are said to have used in travels and hunts through the countryside. The word *youche* itself seems relatively clear without such references.

85. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 183–84, noted other scholars have argued that a similar character in the Baoshan corpus refers to a hearse.

86. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 519n.153, argued that this term refers to a chariot outfitted with spectacular hubcap blades such as those found in the northern chamber of Marquis Yi's tomb. For a picture, see Wenwu chuban she and Guangfu shuju, *Zhanguo dixia yue gong* 戰國地下樂宮 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1994), image 89.

87. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 184, argued that this term is another name for the *bixuan* 俾軒 chariot, which supposedly had a special type of umbrella held up by a curved pole.

88. Scholars of the Zeng strips, including Xiao and Qiu and Li, equate these road chariots (*lu che* 路車) with the "five road chariots" (*wu lu* 五路) mentioned in the *Zhouli*. The *Zhouli* says that the king (*wang* 王) rides a different type of road chariot in each season. I see no connection between this hierarchical classical formulation of the road chariots and the road chariots described in the Zeng strips. We see references to many different types of road chariots in the Zeng strips, and many different people, none of them kings, rode them. See notes below for explanations of the various tallies of road chariots.

89. The ovular marks printed here are meant to reflect the rounded shape of the blots found on this strip. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 106, depicted the marks as square blots, equivalent to the other square blots found on the strips (and discussed in the essay above). The strip photographs, however, show markings that are smaller and different in shape than the square blots.

…[90]□[91]所賠● 十真叁= （又五) 真。[92]大凡卒= ● (六十) 真又三（四）真。

…□所賠卅（？）鴟（匹）之甲。大凡仆 (八十) 馬甲叁 (又六) 馬之甲。

…made fifteen armor sets.[93] In total there were 64 armor sets. [end of strip 140]

…made thirty horse armor sets. In total there were 84 horse armor sets. [end of strip 141]

Strip 148

■ 凡新官之馬六乘。

In total there were six chariots with New Office horse teams.

Strip 159

■ 凡大官之馬六乘。

In total there were ten chariots with Grand Office horse teams.

Strip 195

遊 (旅) 旚公之 逄 (路)車三乘，屯麗。 凡 𠂤 逄 (路)車九乘。

There were three road chariots from the Duke of Lüyang with a team of black horses.[94] In total there were nine 𠂤 chariots.[95]

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90. Ellipses here and below indicate sections of strips that were broken off.

91. This blank square and those below indicate single unreadable characters.

92. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 106, indicated a full square in his transcription, rendering this mark in the same manner as the section heading and ending blots. In fact, this particular mark is smaller and more rounded than the section blots. The same is true for the other rounded dot indicated in the transcription of this strip. See *Zeng Hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, image 214.

93. Though the strip is broken, the incomplete opening statement seems to refer to the craftsmen who made the armor, similar to the mention of the assistant artisan in strip 120 (see n.84 above).

94. Most studies of the strips take this *lü* 旅 to be a variant of *lu* 魯.

95. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Houyi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 521n.175, argued that the character means "to donate" (*feng*). If true, one wonders why only certain chariots are singled out as being "donated," since other strips clearly indicate donated chariots without this word. The available evidence is slim, since the character is not found in any other excavated manuscripts. See Tan Rensheng, *Chu xi jianbo wenzi bian*, 724. The placement of this tally is curious, as well, since it refers to chariots described as 𠂤車 in strips immediately prior to strip 195, yet still comes after mention of the Duke of Luyang's chariots, which are tallied on strip 196 (see below).

Strip 196

…■凡  (路)車九乘。

In total there were nine road chariots.[96]

Strip 204

■ 凡  車: =（車），  =（車）  =（車）八乘。

In total there were eight chariots, including broad chariots, *bi* chariots, and hunting chariots.

Strip 207

■凡宮廄之馬與  [97]十乘 入於此  官之  (中)。

In total there were ten chariots with horse and ?[98] teams from the Palace Hall. They were received here at the Office.[99]

Strip 208

■凡宮廄之馬所入長 之 (中)五乘。

In total there were five Palace Hall horse and chariot teams that were received at Changhong.

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96. Both Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 66, and Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 529n.263, argued that strip 196 totals the three chariots given by each of the lords of Yangcheng, Gu, and Luyang, described on strips 193–95.

97. This character is unknown, but likely refers to a type of horse, perhaps a mule. See Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 125.

98. Qiu and Li, "Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen yu kaoshi," 529n.267, noted that this character is unknown, but probably refers to a type of horse. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 125, followed He Linyi's 何琳儀 suggestion that it might be an early form of *luo* 騾 (mule). The character is not seen in the horse donor strips. The role these animals had in the procession remains unclear.

99. The duties of this office are unknown. It is quite significant, however, that the strip gives a total for chariot teams being "received" at an office. The office might have been one of the bureaus in which the organization and recording of horse and chariot teams for Marquis Yi's procession occurred. Other explanations have been offered, however. Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, cited in Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]*, 371n.93, argued that *guan* 官 should be read as 棺 (coffin), suggesting that the strips recorded the actual placement of chariots in the tomb of the Marquis. Chen Wei, *Chu di chutu Zhanguo jiance [shisi zhong]*, 371n.94, suggested that this and the name in strip 208 referred to the names of the burial pits where the horse and chariot teams were buried. Thus far, no evidence of burial pits has been discovered (see n. 33 above).

Appendix B: Zeng-Chu Relations and the Zeng Strips

Ishiguro Hisako has advanced strong arguments about Zeng-Chu relations based on the Zeng strips; a brief overview of her ideas will offer a contrast with this essay's approach and illustrate the limitations of the strips as a source. Her general point that the strips mention officials and donors from both Zeng and Chu and thus provide insight into relations between the two states is helpful. She makes two specific claims that deserve greater scrutiny, however. First, she argues that whole strip groups can be identified as listing either "Zeng" or "Chu" officials. Second, she says that the word "king" (*wang* 王) refers in one case (strips 187–89) to the King of Chu and in another case (strip 54) to the King of Zeng (the heir), demonstrating a difference between the internal and external presentation of the Zeng state, with the Zeng ruler using "Marquis" in formal settings and "King" in "daily" (*nichijō* 日常) situations that would be unseen to the King of Chu.

At least three problems with this analysis can be identified. First, as Ishiguro herself frequently allows (e.g., 63n53), the strips never use "Zeng" or "Chu" to mark geographic identity, so we cannot be sure of our identifications of titles.[100] Second, there is no reason to suppose, as Ishiguro does, that if the "king" on strip 54 were the King of Chu, his status would have to have been more clearly demarcated from other titles. As this essay has shown, only C strips (which do not include strip 54) attempt to distinguish the status or identity of officials by listing them on separate strips. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the *wang* 王 on strip 54 was a chariot donor, not a driver, and not necessarily a "king."[101] Finally, the picture in the excavation report of strip 54 shows a badly smudged character, illegible to this author, where *wang* is supposedly located.[102] It hardly bears mention that it makes little sense to assume the strips record "daily" practice (a concept quite difficult to define), or that Chu scribes and officials could not have seen the strips. The procession itself was hardly a "daily" occurrence: this essay has shown that the strips were an integral

100. On this point, Egashira Kō, *Senshin kanshoku shiryō*, 4, noted that several states during Zhanguo, not just Chu, employed officials with the title *yin* 尹.

101. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 81, noted only that the statement 王魚軒 on strip 54 "seems to indicate a *yuxuan* chariot that came from *wang*" (似是指出於"王"的"魚軒"), without speculating on the identity of this *wang*.

102. Note that the drawn reproduction of the strip in Zhang Yuguang 张裕光, et al., *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhu jian wen zi bian* 曾侯乙墓竹簡文字編 (Taipei: Yi wen, 1997), 280, simply reproduced *wang* without giving any dashed lines to note smudged or rubbed off portions, as is done elsewhere in the volume. Xiao, *Zeng Hou Yi mu zhujian shiwen buzheng*, 81, rendered the character as *wang*, without comment.

part of a highly formal and regulated procession, the staging of which involved a large number of organizers and scribes. The strips themselves must have been handled and seen by many people, some of whom could have hailed from beyond Zeng's borders. If the authors of the strips used *wang* to refer to the Zeng heir, a Chu envoy at the procession would have been able to figure this out.

The strips thus do not easily yield detailed evidence for the specific dynamics of Zeng-Chu relations. They use a date marker commonly employed on Chu strips (see translation above), but little can be deduced from this fact. This essay, by showing how the funerary procession was organized and performed, and the role of the strips in the procession, has the specific aim of showing how the Zeng ruling house used the procession and the texts to effectively display its power and ensure a proper transfer of rule. This information might be used to help us imagine, in a general way, how Zeng-Chu relations played out in the context of a political spectacle, even if the details remain elusive.

曾侯乙出殯中的文件以及葬禮的炫示作用

何祿凱

提要

本文探討曾侯乙墓北室所出土的竹簡，主張竹簡應分屬至少兩個不同的文件類別，而這些文件在曾侯乙出殯儀式的組織與表演中扮演關鍵性的角色。一份文件以官署名為範疇，將出殯儀式中的車馬與車馬的贈送者條列於個別的竹簡上。另外的一件將同樣的車馬括駕馭者，裝飾與甲冑連續地描寫在竹簡上。在第二件每個車馬紀錄開端的旁邊有黑點，大概用來統計與證實文件裡的車馬總數。由此推理，出殯的主任將來自各地贈送的車馬融合在一起，建構獨特的喪葬場面，而這樣炫示曾侯乙和曾國的財富，身份與權力。本文進一步強調，若是將這些文件視為平常用來分析死後概念的“遣策”(inventories)，就無法說明這些文件在出殯與增國儀式上扮演甚麼樣的角色。最後，結論文件的描寫以及出殯的組織基於這種政治性的炫示功能 之下，或許因為曾侯乙的後嗣與增國官人想要確保政治權力的順利傳承。

Keywords: Warring States, Excavated manuscripts, funerals, Marquis Yi of Zeng, tomb inventories
戰國史, 簡牘, 葬禮, 曾侯乙, 遣冊