DEATH IN ANCIENT CHINA

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The Tale of One Man's Journey

BY

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> In the words of Nobel-prize novelist Gao Xingjian when he viewed the ruins of Jinan city: "If there was not this harsh glare of the noon sun and all the ghosts had crawled out, the night markets would no doubt be very lively."[1]
>
> During the Han, Huan Tan 桓譚 (c. 43 BCE-CE 28) observed: "In the capital city of Chu, chariots hub to hub, people shoulder to shoulder, in markets and streets, they push up against each other shouting, fresh of dress in the morning, worn out by evening."[2]

West of the Han River 漢水 and north of the Yangzi River 長江 lie the overgrown mud ruins of the ancient metropolis of Jinan 紀南, now in modern Jiangling county 江陵縣, Hubei province 湖北省. It was also known as Nanying 南郢, Cai Ying 栽郢, or just Ying, "Mount."[3] During its heyday, from the fifth to third centuries BCE, this sixteen-square-kilometer walled and moated city of 300,000 served as the political, economic, and religious center for the state of Chu 楚, a state whose culture emerged out of a synergy of Neolithic Yangzi, Han, and Huai 淮 River stone- and jade-working cultures and northern bronze-making cultures. Trade already established with Yellow River 黃河 Neolithic cultures led naturally to the importing of bronze culture from the north at different points during the Shang 商 (1600-1046 BCE) and Western Zhou 周 (1046-771 BCE) periods. Previous to the rise of Ying, the high culture of Chu was centered to the north, in southwestern Henan; after the fall of Ying to the invading Qin 秦 general Bai Qi 白起 in 278 BCE, the political center—represented by the remaining generations of the royal family—moved farther and farther east until by 223 BCE they were over-

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[1] Gao 2000, 318.

[2] *Xin lun* 新論 (SBBY), 16a. The capital of Chu referred to in the text was the one in E 鄂, the traditional reference for Hubei, versus the later capitals farther east.

[3] The exact location of Ying from the seventh through the sixth centuries BCE is a source of debate; see Gao and Liu 1995, 93-133; Blakeley 1999, 10-12.

come in the eastern capital of Shouchun 壽春, in modern Shouxian 壽縣, Anhui 安徽.[4]

The archaeological site of Ying confirms the existence at one time of a complex and vibrant culture that seems to have reached its most florid state during Chu King Wei's reign (楚王威, 339-329 BCE). Inside its twenty kilometers of thick walls, the city was divided into areas with palaces and temples (in the southeast), elite residences (in the northeast), common residences (in the northwest), markets, workshops for pottery, ornaments, lacquerware and bronze ware, and older non-elite burials (all in the western section). The residents included peoples of mixed status—political elite, military officers and soldiers, merchants, craftsmen, peasants, bonded servants, and slaves—and of mixed ethnicity, people described in Han sources by their styles of hair, clothing, speech, or behavior as either Hua Xia 華夏 (northern), Man 蠻 (southern), Yue 越 (southeastern coastal), or Ba 巴 (western, upper Yangzi valley).[5] Outside the walls, the city was surrounded by farming settlements, craftworking areas, and elite burial grounds. People could travel into the city by boat, chariot, or foot through a system of eight gates, three with canals. Major access to the city was through gates in the southeastern and northwestern sections of the wall. Besides three nearby rivers, residents had access to numerous wells for fresh water and a system of gutters and pipes to flush out waste.[6]

Extensive burial grounds lie within roughly ten kilometers outside the city in all directions. Although no royal tombs have been found yet, the tombs of many rich elite were clustered in the more distant hills, for example, those at modern Jingmen Jishan 荊門紀山 (eleven kilometers to the north), Jiangling Balingshan 江陵巴嶺山 (four kilometers to the west), and Zhijiang Qingshan 枝江青山 (farther west). All of these were liminal areas distant from residences inside the city. Commoners' burial grounds, however, were found all around the city within a distance of about five kilometers—a difference that suggests that the spirits who were more powerful in life may have been considered more dangerous to the living in death. The heads of the deceased in the richest burials during the Warring States period (475-221 BCE) tended to face east, whereas those in commoners' tombs faced south. This distinguishing

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[4] See Blakeley 1999, 13-19; Cook 1995, 241-77.

[5] Gao and Liu 1995, 121-29; see also Peters 1999, 99-115. For a discussion of markers of ethnicity, see Peters 2002.

[6] Gao and Liu 1995, 119-33.

trait of a Chu elite is considered a Chu ethnic marker. It is also found in burial grounds in the Chunqiu-period (790-432 BCE)[7] sites of Xichuan 淅川, Henan, and in Dangyang 當陽, places northwest of Jiangling. Warring States-period elite burials had mounds, whereas those of lower rank generally followed a Chunqiu-period custom of no mounds.[8] The consistent focus on the east allows archaeologists to track the trajectory of Chu culture over time.

The moist climate and clayey soil of this area of Hubei have preserved certain artifacts that elsewhere in China might have perished. While to us the phoenix and tiger designs embroidered on silk, the lacquer bird and dragon drums, the horned tomb guardians, and the hand-written records all express an exotic culture, the obvious trade of ideas and goods and the shards of evidence found elsewhere remind us that much of what we find in Jiangling mirrors culture in other regions of ancient China.[9] People were drawn to the city of Ying from all directions. While trades people and farmers exchanged goods in the markets, the Chu court, like all regional courts, hosted itinerant "guests" (*ke* 客) or "knights-errant" (*shi* 士), men whose knowledge of military, occult, craft, and ritual arts was highly prized.[10] Artifacts and texts from the elite burials reveal a rich, complex cosmopolitan culture, one filled with local color but also in touch with intellectual currents of the times. While Chu tombs preserved brightly lacquered wooden sculptures, the like of which has not been found in Yellow River Valley or Central Plains (Zhongyuan 中原) tombs, they also contained texts that scholars identify as belonging to mainstream or splinter groups of Daoism, Mohism, and Confucianism (Ruism).[11] Besides philosophical texts, fourth and third century BCE

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[7] These dates cover the reigns of sixteen Chu kings. See Loewe and Shaughnessy 1999, 16-17.

[8] Guo 1995, 30, 41-42, 109-21.

[9] For an introduction to Chu culture in English, see Cook and Major 1999. In Chinese, the best introduction is the 12-vol. series *Chu xue wenku* 楚學文庫 published by Hubei Jiaoyu Press in 1995: Gao and Liu (cities and architecture), Gao Zhixi (southern expansion), Guo Dewei (burials), Liu Hehui (eastern expansion), Liu (economy), Ma Shizhi (Central Plains Chu culture), Peng Hao (weaving and clothing), Pi Daojian (art), Zhao Dexin (money), Zhao Hui (cultural background of the *Chuci*), Zhang Zhengming (history).

[10] For an introduction to Warring States thought, see Nivison 1999, and Harper 1999.

[11] Studies of the Guodian bamboo-slip texts and those preserved in the Shanghai Museum, both most likely from the same or nearby tombs in Jingmen 荊門, are numerous: e.g., www.BambooSilk.org; Allan and Williams 2000; Wuhan daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiuyuan 2000; the book series *Xinchu jianbo yanjiu congshu* 新出簡帛研究叢

tombs contained almanacs, divination texts, and tomb inventory texts that reveal another layer of cultural knowledge and religious concern only hints of which have been preserved in transmitted texts.[12]

Through an analysis of the contents and manuscripts found in one richly furnished Jiangling-area tomb belonging to Shao Tuo 邵佗,[13] a Chu court officer, this book shows the way in which the Jiangling tombs reflect a society of layered beliefs. We find conservative burial traditions that can be traced back in time at least to the earlier Zhou culture in the north and northeast, if not farther back to dominant cultures to the east—the middle and eastern Yellow River and Yangzi River valleys. The Chu nexus of economy and power pooled numerous regional influences into what may be seen emerging from the material cultural remains as an exuberant local style—one that reflects both ancient beliefs and contemporary, evolving naturalistic laws. We see that hierarchies of ancestors contended with spirits of the surrounding landscape and were organized along the abstract lines of a ritual calendar sensitive to the cardinal directions, the seasons, and nascent metamorphic systems of cosmic phases of "elements" and "energies." The records of diviners documenting the last three years of Shao Tuo's life reveal the role of the Chu elite (as seen from the viewpoint of their physical and spiritual technicians) in the evolution of early Chinese cosmologies. These records, read in turn within the context of their subject's burial site, provide us a glimpse of a certain local color, or "lewd rites" (*yinsi* 淫祀, as later northern accounts referred to them),[14] and of ancient Chinese beliefs about death generally.

書 published by Hubei jiaoyu, beginning in 2002; and Shanghai daxue gudai wenming yanjiu zhongxin et al. 2002.

[12] The most thorough discussion of this knowledge and of tomb texts and artifacts indicating the sophistication of natural philosophy and occult thought during this period and slightly later is by Harper 1999.

[13] The Chinese graphs representing his name might also be read in modern Chinese as Zhao Ta. The graph *shao* 邵 is an alternative writing for Zhao 昭, the posthumous name of the king from which Shao Tuo claimed descent (and hence derived his name). According to Hubei 1991, the tomb occupant was of the Huabei (northern Chinese) East Asian physical type (vol. 1, 68 and app. 3).

[14] See Cook 1990, 267-81, Cook and Blakeley 1999, 3-4. "Lewd Rites" are explained in the *Liji* as rites to natural deities that are performed by those of inappropriate rank or with the wrong animal (also chosen according to rank) ("Qu Li" *xia* 曲禮,下; *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 1, 1.28a). In later accounts, the term refers to the use of groups of female shamans who dance and beat drums (see the "Chen ji" 陳記, years 584-88, in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 178, 5478; also Hanquan at http://210.69.170.100/s25/index.htm).

The tomb's records also provide information on the social status and role of the deceased and in turn provide a context for understanding the development of cosmological symbolism in early China. For example, the Baoshan records, like Western Zhou records, reflect sensitivity to the dimensions of inside and outside, up and down, the cardinal directions, and time. It seems that boundaries between these dimensions represented dangerous liminal spaces linked with spiritual harm and even death. The design of Chu, Zhou, and Shang tombs as well as the paleographic records of these cultures reflect these sensitivities. Yet, when we compare the Baoshan mortuary evidence with the rituals described in ritual texts presumably known in some form by the time of his death (texts that would not be collated into our received form until centuries later), we find both continuities and discrepancies that may reflect regional variation from a purported standard, an earlier form of that standard, or simply a time when rituals varied. In this sense, fourth century BCE Chu practice was no different from elsewhere during the Warring States period, and was even—as Michael Loewe has remarked for the Han period—a time when people might have harbored mutually inconsistent practices, ideas, and beliefs.[15]

This man of Chu—Shao Tuo—was a member of the elite related distantly through his father to the Chu royal house. As such, he was one of many royal officers who, his divination records note, "entered and exited" (*churu* 出入) the palace and city walls while negotiating government affairs. We know from Western Zhou bronze inscriptions that officials, usually masters of military and ritual arts (*shi* 師), were charged with the dangerous missions of liaison with peoples beyond the capital city walls and its suburbs to aid in the Zhou mission to quell the Four Regions (*sifang* 四方)—the cosmic area surrounding the center, the locus of the king.[16] Besides the obvious danger of contacting tainted spirits among subdued populations (often referred to as "corpses" *shi* 尸, an early graph for *yi* 夷, an eastern people), we know from later texts that exiting a gate required spells of protection against specific demons.[17]

Shao Tuo traveled a great deal during his lifetime, settling land and criminal disputes for the Chu court at Ying, and, according to the divina-

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[15] Loewe 2005, 100.

[16] Examples of these charges are too numerous to list here but are explored in Cook 2005b; see also Cook 2003. On *sifang* as a cosmic plan during the Shang period, see Allan 1991, 74-111. For a discussion of it as a spiritual landscape represented in a terrestrial space, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 2003.

[17] Harper 1985, 479; Harper 1998, 168; Hu Wenhui 1998, 1-4; Cook 2003.

tion text found in his tomb, may have incurred the wrath of any number of gods and demons. He died between the ages of thirty-five and forty and was buried in 316 BCE. Shao Tuo's tomb (Baoshan Tomb 2, in Jingmen), an undisturbed and well-preserved tomb, was discovered in 1986, sixteen kilometers north of Jinan city and two kilometers west of the Baojia River, a tributary to the Yangzi River. The burial ground, which included tombs of people at various levels of social status, was most likely a family graveyard. Shao Tuo claimed a royal heritage descending from the Chu King Zhao 昭 (r. 515-489 BCE), eight kings earlier than King Huai 懷 (r. 328-299 BCE), the king he served as Minister on the Left (*zuoyin* 左尹).[18] Given the quality and quantity of grave goods, the fortunes of Shao Tuo's family peaked with his career. He was buried in the honored center of the graveyard. On either side of his tomb, in tombs with fewer grave goods, were buried his wife, male descendants and the descendants' wives.

Shao's tomb, consisting of multilayered inner coffins nested inside a chambered outer coffin, was buried under a tumulus of eight layers of different colored clays. His body was wrapped in layers of fine clothing and placed inside three coffins tightly bound shut. These inner coffins were placed inside a double-layered wooden house (the outer coffin) consisting of four chambers—one in each direction—covered with a plank roof in a clockwise swirling pattern. Items placed inside each chamber represented different aspects of his needs after death. These items will be discussed in the context of contemporary beliefs concerning death and in the light of such cosmic schemes as the Four Regions, as inherited from the Zhou, and the Yin-Yang 陰陽 Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行) that would fully develop later, in the Han.[19]

The placement of the items in the four chambers of the tomb, each representing a direction or Region, reveals a sensitivity to a system of natural agents or elements that imbued the spiritual force or energy of the Four Regions and the center, making up a cycle of Five Phases or "Processes" (wood, metal, fire, earth, water). This system would by Han

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[18] The office of *yin* during the Western Zhou period was that of a record keeper or archivist inside the court, but was greatly expanded in later times; see Cook 1995.

[19] For the transition of these beliefs from the Zhou up through the Han in terms of political ideology, see A. Wang 2000; but for a detailed analysis of the Five Phase belief system, see Graham 1989, 313-70, and Harper 1999, 860-66. For the translation of *wuxing* as the "Five Processes," see Graham 1989, 325-26, and Chard 1999, 240-41. Useful studies of the *wuxing* system include Granet 1953, Sivin 1967, Major 1993, Kalinowski 1998-99, A. Wang 2000, Li Ling 2000.

times correlate to a binary system of Yang (light/life), with its "award, or accumulated power (*de* 德)," and Yin (dark/death), standing for "punishment, or reduction (*xing* 刑)," as well as to general aspects of time (stars, seasons, and days of the calendar).[20] During the Han period, these directions would each correlate to a divine animal, and in the case of the East and the West, deities that controlled access to "deathlessness."[21] The basic symbolism that evolved associating the East and South with Yang and the West and North with Yin clearly informed the designers of Shao's tomb. Records placed inside his tomb suggest a nascent awareness of the Phases or correlations with the calendar of natural energies, *qi* 氣 or "vapors," which Donald Harper explains as "essential resources of the Earth provided by Heaven for human sustenance."[22] The Baoshan divination text confirms Harper's suspicion that stem and branch calendar correlations for all Five Phases existed in the fourth century BCE and were used by astrologers, calendrical experts, and diviners.[23] The most important records were placed in the northern chamber, the one most associated with death in the Yin-Yang scheme.

Han texts claim that Yin-Yang theory was popularized in northeastern courts by Zou Yan 鄒衍 (305-240 BCE)[24] but had ancient roots, perhaps as early as the Shang period, when the cosmos was viewed as Four Regions, each Region representing a direction and inhabited by a spirit that had to be appeased with the "god sacrifice" (*di* 禘), a sacrifice linked in later ritual texts with ancestor worship. During the Western Zhou period the king conducted court rituals with his back to the north. His supplicants faced him and received his "shadow" or "gift" (*xiu* 休). By Shao Tuo's time (fourth century BCE), the scheme of the Four Regions had lost its political relevance yet retained its religious symbolism. By the end of the third century BCE, the abstract scheme of correlated natural and numerological signs called the Five Phases replaced the static Four Regions scheme. In the Five Phases scheme, the cosmic natural elements flowed in a circular motion and were linked to the signs of the ritual calendar (10 "stem" signs that cycle in combination with 12 "branch" signs to make a 60-day cycle).[25]

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[20] Harper 1999, 861. For the Han concepts of *de* and *xing*, see Major 1987, Kalinowski 1998-99.

[21] For a brief overview of these and their relationship to Han funerary practice, see Loewe 2005, 101-02.

[22] Harper 1999, 863; for a complete discussion see Harper 1998, 69, 77-90.

[23] Harper 1999, 864.

[24] See discussion in Harper 1999, 824-25.

[25] For an explanation of the Four Regions (or Four Quadrates) scheme and its

The symbolism of the directions influenced the layout of Ying city but the concepts of inner and outer space influenced the separation of the living from the dead, civilization from wilderness. We see that markets were located in the northern part of the city, the least auspicious direction, but inside the city walls. The elite lived south of the markets but were buried far outside the city wall. Elite burial grounds are located in the forested hills beyond the city walls: north in the Ji Mountains, west in the Baling mountains, east in the Yutai and Sun mountains, and south in the hills closer to the Yangzi River.

My book focuses on several important bamboo-strip texts. According to these records, placed in his tomb, Shao's duties in the state administration concerned the economic and legal management of local life.[26] For example, his office handled household registration, which affected the collection of taxes and the control of labor. These duties necessitated the arbitration of civil suits,[27] as well as making records of grain and metal allocations. Besides details of his public life, his tomb also included two lengthy personal records that concern his death. The first of these[28] details the efforts of a group of diviners to negotiate with ghosts and spirits over the period of three years to determine which had cursed Shao Tuo, causing his terminal illness. The second text[29] lists the objects that ritualists packed into his tomb as preparations for the journey into the afterlife. Both texts are translated in full in Appendices One and Two and discussed in the main section of this book.

Since the 1970s, scholars have debated the significance of the placing of texts into tombs, as bamboo and silk texts were discovered in a number of tombs, and thus versions of received texts, as well as heretofore unknown texts, were revealed. The most famous examples belonged to the extremely rich underground archive discovered in 1974 in Tomb 3 at Mawangdui 馬王堆 in Changsha 長沙, Hunan—a city whose culture was clearly influenced by that of the earlier Ying metropolis up the Yangzi River. This tomb belonged to a man, who, like Shao Tuo, traveled a great deal during his lifetime.[30] Since this discovery, scholars have pro-

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Shang origins, see Allan 1991. For a discussion of its evolution into Five Phases and the subsequent use in late Warring States and Han politics, see Major 1993, A. Wang 2000. For a description of Warring States-period natural philosophy, see Harper 1999a.

[26] See Chen Wei 1996a, 21-66.

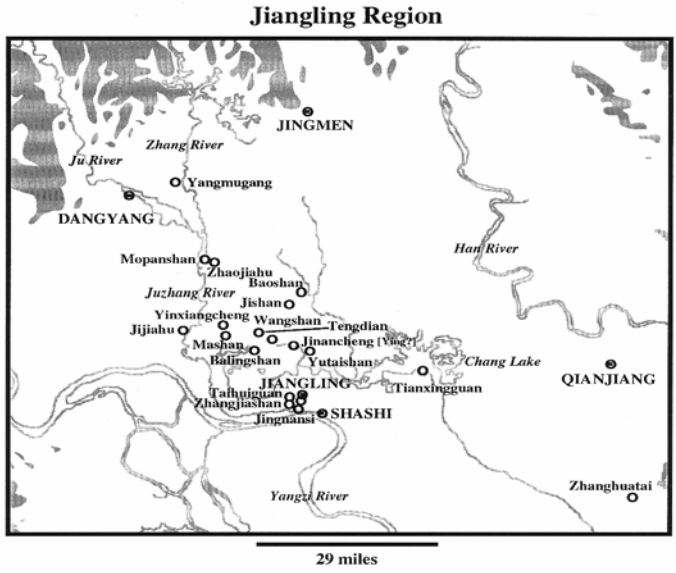
[27] See Weld 1999, 85-95.

[28] Strips 197-249.

[29] Strips 251-440 and a bamboo plaque summary of some of the contents.

[30] This is inferred from the maps in his tomb showing trade and military sites in

posed various theories to explain why the ancient Chinese placed texts in tombs. Those that might apply to the Baoshan case include: (1) texts would be used by the deceased in the afterlife,[31] (2) texts would be used



Map. Jiangling Area Tombs

Designed by Zhong Yin, Tan Xiaodong, and Barry Blakeley at Lehigh University; first published in Cook and Major 1999, 11; published here with permission of Hawaii University Press and the authors.

by other spirits to protect the newly deceased,[32] (3) texts were testimony of the deceased's status and merit, and (4) texts of the deceased could be isolated from the living without destroying them.[33] If we look at the earlier Zhou tradition of "records of merit" (*mieli* 蔑歷 or *fali* 閥歷) cast into sacrificial bronze vessels, which were both stored above ground in temples and below ground in tombs and caches, then tomb texts could indeed have served most of the above functions.[34] Bronze inscriptions

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the region. For lists and discussions of the documents, maps, and texts with illustrations in Tomb 3, see Harper and Riegel 1976, and Lai 2003, 43-48.

[31] Loewe 2005, 107, suggests this was the case for Han tomb occupants.

[32] Lewis 1999a, 17. For a study of the use of bronze inscriptions to form contractual relations between ancestors and their descendants, see Cook 1993; Cook 1997. For Chu bronze inscriptions, see Cook 1990.

[33] Giele 2003, 428-31; Lewis 1999a, 20-23.

[34] See Cook 1993, 1997, 1999, and 2005b. Mittag makes a similar comparison be-

were addressed to the ancestral spirits. They described the accomplishments of the descendant, a gift-recipient rewarded for his merit or service to the royal Zhou mission of controlling the Four Regions. They typically ended with injunctions for proper ritual behavior, promises of continued sacrifices, and prayers for good fortune and long life. Zhou elite like Shao Tuo were buried with the ritual implements, food, clothing, and weapons that were needed in the afterlife.[35] Thus, the texts in Shao Tuo's tombs perhaps represented not only his status and identity in life (and hence his position in the ancestral lineage after death)—the role possibly assumed by the administrative texts, but also a pledge for protection—the role of the divination and inventory texts. In this sense Zhou bronze inscriptions functioned much as Han mirrors did—as "highly powerful talismans."[36]

In Shao Tuo's tomb the texts were scattered in different chambers, each of which reflected separate aspects of his social life—banquets, battles, travel, and personal—that would continue after death. This book suggests that the cosmological beliefs associated with directions or the supernatural Four Regions determined the placement of the three texts (and other items) in the compartments for the use of Shao Tuo during his journey after death. In other words, we can not fully understand the role of these texts outside of their archaeological context.[37] The Tomb Inventory Text (*qiance* 遣策/冊, as denoted by archaeologists), for example, was written after Shao's death and was placed in the eastern and western compartments, the first intended for a feasting ceremony associated with greeting ancestral spirits (a ceremony termed *chao* 朝 or *tiao* 祧), and the second with sending off the spirit of the deceased (a ceremony called *zu* 祖). The western compartment was packed with the equipment he would need to journey into the spirit world. Yang Hua's study of tomb inventory texts carefully divides them into two types—both of which we see in Baoshan. One type, the *qiance*, was recorded on bamboo strips and consists of an inventory of all items displayed during the funeral and intended for burial,

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tween Qin bamboo books in tombs as a form of identity and Zhou "statements of merit" (see Falkenhausen 2003, 287).

[35] See Cook 2005a and 2005b.

[36] Loewe 2005, 104. The mirror inscription translated by Loewe (103) can be broken down into three narrative sections that are very similar to bronze inscriptions. The first section describes the making of the vessel or mirror. The second section is the mantic statement, or "command" (*ming* 命), and the third consists of prayers and blessings.

[37] Giele 2003, 419, emphasizes this point as well.

including items used by the deceased during his life—items donated by guests for the funeral, and items prepared by his family especially for burial. These displays made up the *sui* 襚 funeral ritual. The other type, the *feng* 賵, was usually recorded on boards (termed *fang* 方). It was a subset of the *qiance* and consisted only of gifts (often with the name of the donor recorded). Not all of the items displayed at a funeral were buried in the tomb; some donated shrouds, for example, could even be used by the family for another funeral. This is why, Yang explains, that the items listed in the bamboo-strip inventory texts do not match up to the actual items placed in the tomb, whereas those on *feng* do.[38] Other scholars suggest that the reason for the lack of pairing of the actual items placed in the tomb and those lists was due to the symbolic function of the text as a spiritual ledger, something that functioned much like "numinous vessels" (*mingqi* 明器), tomb equipment made for the funeral and not for human use, and thus an aid to separating the living from the dead.[39]

Yang Hua notes that both types of text were read out loud, but by different ritualists, during the display of goods at the ancestral shrine before being packed into carts and chariots for the funeral parade to the tomb. First the *feng* was read by a ritual officer belonging to the host, or oldest son (*zhuren zhi shi* 主人之史) and then the entire *qiance* was read by a senior ritual officer (*gongshi* 公史).[40] Lai Guolong notes that the audience for the reading included the ancestral spirits,[41] the deceased, as well as the funeral participants. He equates this reading to the "announcement" (*gao* 誥) of the command (*ming* 命) and gifts in the ancestral temples and shrines recorded in Shang and Zhou inscriptions. This is intriguing in the sense that the "announcements" recorded on Western Zhou-period bronzes did list the goods awarded the gift-recipient.[42] The difference is that the Western Zhou-period gift-recipient was alive during the ceremony (although in many cases these inscriptions would be buried with him when he died, or used above ground at memorial feasts) and that the "announcements" also listed the connection of the recipient to the

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[38] Yang Hua 1999 (rpt. 2004, 35-42). He admits that in some cases, particularly by Han times, these were mixed up.

[39] Lai 2002, 67-100. See also Wu Hong's study of the role of funerary art and this "boundary" (1994). This point is also made by Giele 2003, 433.

[40] Yang Hua 1999, 35.

[41] The spirits might have been invoked through the process of wailing and the ritual lighting and extinguishing of the lamp, which Lai shows were also buried with the dead for the spirit journey to the afterlife (Lai 2002, 56-57, 101-26).

[42] Lai 2002, 56-60.

Zhou royal family and his service to the family, functioning as a eulogy both for his ancestors and the Zhou founder kings.[43] None of the texts placed in Shao Tuo's tomb sings of his merits in the eulogistic manner of bronze inscriptions. The administrative and divination texts, on the other hand, might be understood as "reflecting" his merit in that they document his service to the court, as did the Western Zhou inscriptions albeit in less detail. Also, like the bronze inscriptions, which were cast on the eating and drinking surfaces of sacrificial vessels, the gift lists were meant for both the living and the dead audiences, and, as such, functioned as "a declaration and affirmation of the bond between the deceased and the living."[44]

Lai claims that the disjunction between actual items placed in the tomb and those listed in the Inventory Text simply shows the blurring of the visual and verbal realms of human experience, allowing for an imagined afterlife.[45] I would go one step further and suggest that the buried list, which we only assume was the same as the list read out loud, was for use by the deceased to present to officers in the otherworld at various points in his journey to Heaven—the final location of the spirits of properly buried high-ranked ancestors since antiquity. The length of these records, and, according to Yang Hua, even the length of the bamboo strips themselves, represented the rank of the deceased. For this reason, inventory texts are the most common type of text found in tombs from the Warring States to the Han era.[46]

Peter Nickerson has nicely articulated the role of texts in tombs within the context of second century CE Daoist mortuary ritual. He sees them as *mingqi* with an exorcist function. He sees Daoist mortuary ritual as a combined reflection of traditional mortuary ritual ideology and exorcist rites for protecting the traveler. We can see that texts were involved in each stage of the journey of the spirit: separation from the land of the living, transition, and incorporation into the land of the dead.[47] The "Announcement" (*yiwen* 移文, literally a "movement text") to the gods of the "exhausted lifespan" of a particular person functioned like an

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[43] See Cook 2005b.

[44] Lai 2002, 64-65, and his discussion, 56-65.

[45] Lai 2002, 65. Giele 2003, 420-22, remarks that it is never the case that the items listed are all found in the tomb, whether a function of rot or simply nonexistence in the tomb from the beginning.

[46] Giele 2003, 420, 435. Yang Hua 1999, 37, notes that over 24 examples of *qiance* are known, and 7 of these include *feng* boards.

[47] Nickerson 2002, 64-73. This progression of the journey is confirmed by re-

itinerary: "his *hun*-soul will ascend to heaven, his form will enter the earth to dwell," and he will go to such-and-such a tomb site in the local mountains. This text explains the role of texts buried with the deceased: "to wear at the waist the great scriptures, talismans, charts, and declarations… . He is carrying all of these back to the Grand Yin (Taiyin), along with winter and summer clothes, ornaments, and implements, altogether including (such and such) varieties, his pine coffin and the gear used for the funeral and the burial and the preparations therefore." Then the texts placed in the tomb as "talisman" would guide him and order the lower gods "to greet and escort him, to his place of concealment." The texts also served to identify him to the spirits after death and force them to protect and not harm him.[48]

Shao Tuo's administrative and divination texts were placed in the northern compartment—the direction symbolically associated with Registers of the Dead (*siji* 死籍) as early as the second century CE[49] and the direction in which the Zhou deceased often placed the heads of their deceased—with items reserved for him to wear on his person and that he most likely used during his lifetime. The role of texts in Shao Tuo's tomb was probably not much different from that described by Nickerson for the Daoist ritual practiced over four hundred years later. Thus they can be understood in terms of the layout of his tomb (which facilitated the transition phase), and the movement of the spirit, described in Han texts as the *hun* 魂. The movement of the spirit within the tomb before exiting might have been dictated by popular models of cosmic space, such as the Four Regions or Five Phases, mentioned above. The Nine Provinces (*jiuzhou* 九州), a geospatial variant of the Four Regions model described in late Warring States and Han-period texts was used in exorcistic ritual and travel charms linked to sage king Yu 禹. This model, as explained by Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann's work, hints at the directional movement within the tomb, if we accept that the tomb design could be viewed as a rough reflection of this or another variant model.[50]

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cent anthropological work on primary and secondary mortuary rituals; see Chesson 2001, 1-11.

[48] See translation, Nickerson 2002, 65-66; from the Tang-period *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔, compiled by Zhu Faman 朱法滿.

[49] The earliest correlations found in excavated and transmitted texts of the late Warring States and early Han period link the north with winter, cold, blackness, and water (see A. Wang 2000, 110, table 3.2). By the time of early medieval Daoism, north was the location of the Registers of the Dead and south, the Registers of the Living (see Brashier 1996, 134).

[50] Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 2003a, 2003b.

Tomb design should also be considered as an extension of the mortuary ritual practiced above ground before his death. The only hint we have of this ritual for Shao Tuo is in the text that records the divinations and sacrifices created during the three years of his illness and death and in similar records found in contemporary tombs. Such records are quite different from elaborate rules for mortuary ritual recorded in the ritual texts for men of his rank. Yet even the latter texts reflect ancient practices regarding the treatment of the dead and possess a certain sensitivity to the sort of dimensions and directions reflected in the Baoshan material. All of this suggests a cosmological continuum between the Baoshan type of mortuary text and the later, received, texts.

In this book, I argue that once the tomb was closed and the space between the living and the dead formally distinguished, his spirit was presumed to emerge at some point from the inner coffin[51] towards the rising sun, where he would greet ancestral spirits who would guide him on his journey. Then, as he moved about the four compartments of his outer coffin, as he might roam the cosmos, he would gather the implements needed for his dangerous journey outside the tomb or the four wooden chambers of his outer coffin. If the direction of movement was similar to the "route" through Nine Provinces described in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, then after emerging from the center to the east, he would travel north, west, and then south.[52] If the route was similar to the "clockwise 'round tour'" described in the "Yugong" 禹貢 chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書, the spirit would begin in the north then travel east, south, center, west, and last of all in the northwest.[53] The link of the northwest to spirit transformation is made explicit in Han-period cults and tales of Kunlun 昆侖 Mountain—the magical omphalos for spirit transformation in the far northwest—which Sarah Allan linked to the element water and the Yellow Springs 黃泉, the netherworld mentioned in Warring States texts.[54]

Although there seems little question, as described in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, that the spirit would end up in the Heavenly bureaucracy lined up by rank with his ancestors as aides to the High God

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[51] Han-period jade burial suits have a hole at the very top of the head, perhaps as an exit for the spirit (see Riegel 1999, 392).

[52] Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 2003, 50, fig. 2.7.

[53] Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 2003b, map 1. In the "Wangzhi" 王制 chapter of the *Liji* the directions for royal inspection tours were east, south, west, and then north (*Liji Zhengzhu* 4.5a-6a).

[54] Allan 1991, 66. For a discussion of Allan's interpretation of *ya*, see Hwang 1996, 119-42.

(Shangdi), beliefs regarding his exact path and how long it would take him to get there remain unclear to us. There is no hint in Shao Tuo's tomb as to the direction of his ultimate goal, the south or the northwest, a liminal direction linked with death in the ritual texts (see the discussion of this, below, and in Chapter Two). If we presume that he moved to the north, to his personal possessions, after feasting in the east—a mortuary feast, described as *xiang* 享 in Western Zhou inscriptions,[55] and that he did not return to the center, then in that case south, the compartment stocked with chariot pieces and weaponry, would seem to be the direction of his exit from the tomb. Unfortunately, this is difficult to confirm. First, there is nothing in the outer coffin décor or architecture that reflects a gate or exit from the tomb as a whole, and, secondly, not all tombs with similar tomb texts and presumably similar customs packed the chariot and weapons in the southern chamber.

A tomb in Xincai in eastern Henan, for example, was designed in the Four Regions model, the Ya-shape (*yaxing* 亞形), typical of the Shang, for whom the center was clearly the point of communication with Heaven, and the chariots, horses, and weapons were placed in the western compartment. The western chamber of the Baoshan tomb is the thinnest, suggesting the shortest period of occupancy and hence a possible departure point. The Ya-shape, on the other hand, emphasizes the center. It is perhaps significant that even during the Han period, when the ritual text *Liji* was compiled, a room used by the sons of the deceased during mourning was called a "white room" *e shi* 堊室. The word *e* (understood as a variant of *e* 惡 "disgust") is written with the phonetic element *ya* 亞 (over the semantic *tu* 土 "earth"), which might represent both the sound of the word as well as an implied link to the tomb. Through successive rituals of mourning involving communication with the dead, the boys were gradually purified and allowed to participate in regular life.[56] This basic cross décor for tombs and sacred buildings, such as the *mingtang* 明堂 ("The Hall of Light," the stylized Han version of the cruciform, but one linked to correlative natural philosophy rather than to pure ancestral worship), seems to have had something to do with the metaphorical vehicle for transcendence of the spirit. If the tumulus of the tomb was considered an omphalos itself, as Allan claims, then it would make sense that the spirits would emerge out of the center.

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[55] Cook 1997 and 2005b.

[56] *Liji Zhengzhu*, "Sang daji" 喪大記, 13.21a. The room is understood as an unplastered room isolated from the rest of the family.

In the *Shanhaijing* model, surrounding the center were mountains, seas, and finally the Great Wilderness (*dahuang* 大荒), all inhabited by strange beings and spirits.[57] As Shao Tuo's spirit moved through the layers of earthbound spirits up towards the world of ancestral and cosmic spirits, his documents would serve as both identification and tallies, or passes through the Gates of Heaven, much in the same way that later Daoist adepts might have imagined using sacred diagrams or charms (*fu* 符) composed of strange script to enter into paradise through mountains. These documents would also serve, much the same as early bronze inscriptions, as records of the merit he gained as a political officer and the sacrifices and prayers performed to the large pantheon of spirits—the latter perhaps representing unpaid debts on the part of the spirits, due to the fact that they received sacrifice without curing Shao Tuo's illness.

Elaborate tombs dating back to the Shang period attest to the antiquity of the Chinese belief in the afterlife. Divination and sacrifice records equally as old, along with numerous more recent tales of ghosts and spirits, prove a tradition of belief in supernatural influence over the living. Less certain is the antiquity of the belief in travel beyond the tomb. Recently, scholars have debated whether the spirit or soul of the deceased was thought to travel beyond the tomb. Some suggest that, since the world outside the tomb was pictured as dangerous, the tomb was created to act as a "happy home" and a "paradise," essentially a safehouse for the wandering soul of the deceased out of which he would not escape (to potentially harm the living).[58] Others point to classical references of the coffin built to resemble a house or a carriage, and the tomb as a home in the form of a cosmogram.[59]

This book suggests that the generations of Chinese poets and scholars fascinated by Chu songs of wandering spirits (collected by Han emperors)[60] were not in fact fooled by the Han fascination with Yin and Yang, the dark and light forces of nature, into believing that the soul

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[57] *Ibid.,* 45, fig. 2.4.

[58] Wu 1992. This point was emphasized by Edward Davis in his discussion at the panel titled "New Insights from Old Tombs," Association of Asian Studies, Annual Conference, San Diego, 2004. I would note that although I am assuming that the spirits flew out of the tomb and up into the air, it is not impossible to imagine that perhaps they were conceived of as traveling for a while underground as well.

[59] Lai 2003, 41-51, 73.

[60] Schneider 1980; see Sukhu 1999 for the fascination with the *Chuci* as a record of Chu spirituality; for studies of related Qin and later evidence, see Loewe 1979, Loewe 1982, Yü 1964-65, Yü 1981, Yü 1987, and Yates 1997.

was divided into the floating and the corporeal. This book firmly supports the idea of the detachment of an ethereal self from the corporeal as an ancient and enduring Chinese belief. The notion of the soul leaving the body during sleep, illness, or death can also be linked to the astral travels of later Daoist adepts.[61] I argue that Shao Tuo's tomb was equipped for the floating or ethereal soul's journey through the dangerous wilds—land beyond the walls of civilization—and into the world of the spirits. I agree with Lai Guolong that perhaps, as Kenneth Brashier has argued, the precise naming of a dualistic spirit—the Yin spirit of the dead (the corporeal or earthly *po* 魄) and the Yang spirit (the cloudy or ethereal *hun* 魂)[62]—may have been a Han phenomenon. The Baoshan tomb shows preparations for spirit travel beyond the tomb, into the wild and liminal landscapes that bordered the cultivated fields outside of city walls, and, eventually, the deceased ascended into the astral planes as a divine spirit (*shen* 神).[63] My analysis of the contents of the tomb and of the divination manuscript shows the attention that fourth-century BCE ritualists paid to the forces of Yin and Yang. It also reveals a level of awareness among the diviners different from that of the tomb designers, specifically in relation to the cosmological scheme of the Five Phases as evolving from the earlier Four Regions, an evolution described by Aihe Wang as reflecting the change in political models of authority.[64] I also show how the Baoshan material—in the context of other contemporary tombs in the Jiangling, Hubei, area—helps to date the evolution from one scheme to another. It is the author's hope that scholars will use the conclusions of this book to project backwards in time to earlier tombs and their symbolisms.

In Chapter Two, I briefly examine transmitted documentation for mortuary rituals considered the standard for ancient China. I look at the traditional rituals associated with death and dying and the notion of journeying in the afterlife. In Chapter Three, I focus on the burial ritual and the symbolism of the contents of Shao Tuo's tomb, compartment by compartment from the viewpoint that these are items his spirit would use in its flight. In this section, I discuss inner and outer in terms of the creation of a purified space, as well as the protective rituals used to

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[61] See Brashier 1996 for the distinction between soul and spirit, and Schafer 1977 and Major 1999 for the connection with later Daoism.

[62] Harper 1998, 122, notes the importance of the harmonious fusion of Yin and Yang to human life, and the relative insignificance of these two "souls."

[63] Harper 1998, 185; Brashier 1996, 125-58.

[64] A. Wang 2000, 75-128.

maintain a sanctified center, out of which the spirit could transform or communicate with Heaven. Chapter Four returns to the issue of Shao Tuo's death and the three-year record of divination events and sacrifices made to stop the process of his dying. Here I analyze the belief system evident from this text and similar contemporary divination texts. I focus on an unusual painting found on a lacquer box in his personal compartment that I read as a metaphor for Shao Tuo's departure. Chapter Five discusses briefly the supernatural landscape through which Shao Tuo's spirit would journey. Here I also discuss the meaning and function of the tomb guardian figure found in many Jiangling tombs and its role in the spirit's journey. In the Epilogue, I take up the symbolism of tomb architecture and compare the Baoshan tomb with contemporary Chu tombs in the same and other regions as well as with earlier, Zhou, tombs. Finally, I suggest that these manuscripts can provide a better picture of religious practice during the fourth century BCE in the Chu state. They reveal a multidimensional and complex belief system and show that the people of the Yangzi River valley did not belong to a fringe culture but were indeed active members of a vibrant larger Warring States-period culture based firmly within the evolving current of what we understand as Chinese civilization.

My primary source for details about the Baoshan tomb complex is the two-volume set, *Baoshan Chumu* 包山楚墓, written by the Hubei Provincial Jing-Sha Railroad Archaeological Team and published by Wenwu in 1991 (referred to as "Hubei" in the notes).

CHAPTER TWO

DEATH AS JOURNEY IN ANCIENT CHINA

I yoked a team of jade dragons to a phoenix-figured car
And waited for the wind to come, to soar up on my journey.
"Li Sao," D. Hawkes, trans.[1]

China's earliest dictionary (c. 100 CE), Xu Shen's *Shuowen* 說文, explains death with a pun: the word "die" (*si* 死) meant *si* 澌 "exhaust, run out (of life force)," "what is left behind by humans" (*ren suo li ye* 人所離也).[2] A roughly contemporary Daoist definition for life and death explained that being human was the gathering together of life force (*sheng qi* 生氣). Death was the dispersal (*san* 散) of this energy.[3] For the much earlier Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi, death viewed within the continuum of gathering and dispersed energy was simply one point of transition, of metamorphosis.[4] For others, the moment of death represented a "cutting off" (*zhe* 折) of being human and the beginning of being a ghost (*gui* 鬼).[5] To define "ghost," Xu Shen once again resorted to a pun: a *gui* 鬼

[1] Lines 183-84, in Hawkes 1985, 73. The word *li* 離 had many meanings; see Wang Li 2000, 1611-12, and n. 41, below.

[2] Ding Wen shuju 1977, vol. 4, 628-29. See also Ikeda Suetoshi's review of later commentaries (Ikeda 1981). He understands the original graph to represent the bones of an exposed corpse bent in a kneeling position (682-95). From excavated burials, we know that such a position is not common for the tomb "host" (except among the early Qin people in the northwest) but would represent the interred live sacrificial human. Ames 1998, 62-63, translates *si* "to drain dry" and compares it to *wang* 亡 "to flee, escape, perish" which was understood by the commentator Duan Yucai 段玉裁 as "entering into a remote and concealed place."

[3] *Zhuangzi*, chap. 22 ("Zhi bei you" 知北遊), *Zhuangzi jishi*, 320, see Graham 1981, 160; for the date of the chapter as early Han, see Loewe 1993, 57. The word *qi* has many translations, e.g., breath, life force, vapor, and pneumatic energy.

[4] Graham 1981, 23-24.

[5] Liji, "Jifa" 祭法; see *Liji Zhengzhu* 14.2a. Chao 2001, 341-43, points out that *gui* as spirit, *guishen*, is not really evident in Chinese sources until the Chunqiu period (as recorded in *Zuozhuan*), when it could refer to either human or nature spirits. He suspects that the graph for *gui* originally depicted a shaman wearing a mask during rituals in the ancestral temple. Childs-Johnson 1995 also explores this idea.

is what a human "returns to" (*ren suo gui wei gui* 人所歸爲鬼). "To return (home)" (*gui* 歸), according to the *Liji* 禮記, a Han compendium of earlier rituals,[6] many of which seem to date to at least the Warring States period, was "to return to the earth" (*guitu* 歸土). Only when a body has been returned to its home, the earth, could proper sacrifices—the mortuary feasts and tasting food rituals (*xiangchang* 享嘗)—take place in the main shrine (*miao* 廟) or at the sacred plot in the wilderness, the burial site (*zhao* 垗).[7] Those without a proper burial could not receive sacrifices from their descendants, essential to nurturing them through transition and at critical junctures of their spirit journey. They had not "returned home" and thus roamed the earth causing illness and calamity. People who traveled outside of areas cleaned through exorcist rituals risked running into these ill-omened spirits and becoming sick or even dying.[8]

Traditionally, the dispersal of energy after death was also seen as the division of the forces of Yin and Yang, the *po* Yin energy that attached itself to "home" (the tomb) and the *hun* Yang energy that journeyed into the world of spirits. Kenneth Brashier has reviewed doubts by modern scholars as to how pervasive the notion of a divided *hun* and *po* soul was in pre-Han China. He concludes that for many people, particularly by late in the Han, the composite term *hunpo* represented a single entity representing the vital energy stored in the organs of the body. However, he notes that Han-period burials seem to have assumed that part of a person's energy was stored in the tomb and part floated above it or away. While the *hunpo* or "consciousness" might be worshipped at the gravesite, the *shen* "social identity" or "named spirit" was worshipped in the ancestral temple.[9]

According to the Warring States-period anthology of Chunqiu-period tales, the *Zuozhuan*, a person consisted of two types of energy (*qi*): the Yin energy developed in a person upon birth and the Yang energy formed only after the Yin matured.[10] Whether or not this reference is a Han interpolation during the transmission of an earlier text is difficult to

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[6] Loewe 1993, 293-97.

[7] *Liji*, "Jiyi" 祭義, see *Liji Zhengzhu* 14.2a-3a, which explains that 祧 represents both the place of sacrifice (*zhao* 垗) and the type of sacrifice (*tiao* 祧); see below, the notes to the translation of the Baoshan Tomb Inventory Text, app. 2, strip 265.

[8] The 3d-c. BCE *Shuihudi* texts marked days when it would be dangerous to travel. See Yate's discussion and translations (1997, 513-26). For a description of Han ritual activities at the graveside during the period of transition, see Brashier 1996, 152-56.

[9] Brashier 1996, 127, 156-57.

[10] *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 7; in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 365, vi.

determine. According to Donald Harper's research into Warring States beliefs, the Yin and Yang *qi* were, by the fourth century BCE, probably active as medical terms that described the condition of the body and also could be applied to cosmological schemes, but the exact concept of a dual soul is not clear. Instead, human life was understood as composed of *qi* and blood. Drawing from references in the *Zuozhuan* and the late Warring states text of *Zhuangzi*, he notes that Yin and Yang were understood as the two most influential of many vapors.[11] By the third century BCE, Yin and Yang were active cosmological concepts, as documented in one recently discovered Guodian bamboo text fragment, the "Taiyi sheng shui" 太一生水. In this text the four seasons were understood as products of Yin and Yang, themselves products of "spirit" (*shen* 神) and "illumination" (*ming* 明),[12] the products of Heaven and Earth.[13]

These vapors or energies might be understood as the natural forces called "essence" (*jing* 精) or "spirit" (*shen*), which activated the human form (*xing* 形). As Harper has explained, life was envisioned during the late Warring States period as a kind of "spirit illumination" (*shenming* 神明) that "penetrated" (*tong* 通) the body.[14] When one's life *qi* was at its most vigorous (*yang*), the elite descendant would draw down a power (*de* 德) from Heaven, through the ancient kings and his ancestors. This ancient process is evident in the Western Zhou sacrificial bronze inscriptions.[15] Sarah Allan explains that the accumulated essence that makes up life in its most crude form, was perceived as originating from water and from Tai Yi, The Great One. According to the late Warring States *Zhuangzi* chapter "Tianxia," this crude essence could be nurtured through the art of the Dao to become "the numinous and luminous" (Allan's translation of *shenming*), a concept echoed in the Guodian "Tai Yi sheng shui" text.[16] Relevant to our study of death is the notion that at this time the spirit (*shen*) was linked to "earth," which was seen as derived from "water," and

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[11] Harper 1999, 861-63.

[12] Maspero 1933 explained the connection between the word *ming*, death, and spirits. Legge understood *shenming* as a "spiritual intelligence" (Legge 1967, 173).

[13] See Allan's translation, 2003, 261, and Szabó's discussion 2003, 266-67. The original text is found in Jingmenshi bowuguan 1998, 11-14, 123-26.

[14] Harper 1998, 119-22; see also the full exploration of the term *shenming* by Szabó 2003, esp. its relation to *qi* (261). The term *shenming* seems to function like the terms *hunpo* and *guishen*, i.e., as both compounds and separate aspects of a single concept.

[15] Suggested by Harper 1998, 119, and fully explored in Cook 2005b. The concept of *yang* is not mentioned in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.

[16] Allan 2003, 243-45. Both Allan and Szabó translate the term as two separate components, *shen* and *ming*.

that the same word for water returning to its source (*gui*) was used to refer to a person returning to the earth.[17] The flow (*xing* 行) of *qi* (a watery essence) above ground was like that of water on or below the ground—and both represented the natural flow of the cosmos or Dao.[18]

The term *ming* (brightness, illuminated, numinous, transcendent) had since the Western Zhou period been linked with the quality of spiritual essence or life force (*de* 德). The term *mingde* as a personal quality attained through imitation (*xing* 型 "taking on the mold") of one's ancestors continued to be used in bronze-inscribed "records of merit" during the Spring and Autumn period.[19] In inscriptions from the south, annual sacrifices (*si* 祀) were described as *ming* and *de*, as something "corrected" (*zheng* 正), or as "extended into eternity" (*yanyong* 延永). The illuminated *de* received during the sacrifice was via the heart (*xin* 心) during the performance of "awesome decorum" *weiyi* 威儀 (a musical performance of dance and song).[20] Harper suggests that the Warring States term *shenming* represents a state of transcendent personal power and ability through empathetic magic to communicate with "essences" and "spirits" outside of the body as well.[21] Presumably, when this vital radiance wavered or escaped the body for any reason, *yin* or destructive essences and spirits could intrude into the body causing illness and ultimately death. Han texts referred to death as the "release from form" (*jiexing* 解形), a term which Harper links to the Daoist self-cultivation practice of "release from the corpse" (*jieshi* 解尸).[22] The escaped *shen* carried with it the person's identity, an identity that was worshipped in the shrine and that could continue to influence its descendants.

In the recently excavated third-century BCE Confucian bamboo texts originating from the Jiangling region, one titled "Xing zi ming chu" (性自命出) from a tomb in Guodian and one related text titled "Xing qing lun" (性情論) from a Shanghai Museum collection of contemporary manuscripts,[23] we see expressed the idea that the development of "human

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[17] Allan 1997, 43-44, 71.

[18] Allan 1997, 66-70.

[19] Cook 1990, 218-19, 226, 237; Maspero 1933. The Shang people used *ming* to specify early morning. Since the Shang linked their ancestor cults to "suns" or days, the rise of each day was likely a ritually potent time (see Allan 1990, 19-56; Keightley 2000, 17-36).

[20] Cook 1990, 241-47; Cook 1995b.

[21] Harper 1998, 120.

[22] Harper 1998, 124.

[23] Jingmenshi bowuguan 1998, 59-66, 177-84; Ma Chengyuan 2001, vol. 1, 69-115, 215-77.

nature" (*xing* 性) relies on the "life span" (*ming* 命) determined by Heaven (*tian* 天). "Human nature" was an "inner" (*nei* 内) aspect of being alive, whereas the expression of emotion (*qing* 情) was an "outer" (*wai* 外) aspect. It was this emotion that could be moved through music (*yue* 樂) and channeled (like water or *qi*) through the movement or "performance" (*xing* 行) of ritual (*li* 禮), a process that represented the Confucian or Ruist "humanistic way" (*rendao* 人道). Promoters of the Ruist method of self-cultivation argued against the "Heavenly way" (*tiandao* 天道) promoted by believers in fate (the Mohists) or in natural systems (Daoists).[24]

In a Guodian text concerning "The Five Phases" (*wuxing* 五行) we see both "ways" co-opted into what was essentially a Ruist practice of self-deification.[25] In this text, the energies are not referred to as *qi* but by the older term of *de*, a word commonly translated for Warring States texts as "virtue" in the (inner) moral sense, but, in fact, derived from the Western Zhou concept of power handed down by Heaven, through the Zhou kings, to members of lineages who had accumulated merit over many generations through service (outer behavior) to the Zhou king.[26] This Guodian text, which might be classified as promoting the superiority of a Ruist style of *tiandao* over a Mohist or Daoist idea of natural systems, explains the difference between the Human and Heavenly *dao*: all "virtues" ("humaneness" *ren* 仁, "proper decorum" *yi* 義, "ritual practice" *li* 禮, "knowledge" *zhi* 智, "sageliness" *sheng* 聖) were processes (*xing*) that could be categorized as *de* only if internalized ("modeled" or "given form" on the inside, *xing yu nei* 型/形於内), but just "processes" or (outer) "behavior" (*xing*) if not. A person had *de* only if he was able to harmonize all five, but was simply "skilled" or "good" (*shan* 善) if possessing just four (i.e., all but *sheng*). "Skill" was *rendao*, whereas "virtue" was *tiandao*. If the form of humaneness was internal (i.e., inside the "heart" *xin* 心, where it could be processed as "thought" *si* 思 or "intention" *zhi* 志), it was called the process of *de*, if it was not formed inside, it was called "process," "movement," or "behavior" (*xing*).[27] The text goes on to explain the importance first of mastering bell chimes then stone chimes in the cultivation and performance of these "virtues"—a

[24] For a general discussion of the Daoist and the Confucian "way(s)" and their relationship to the spirit, *qi*, and notions of Yin and Yang, see Allan 1997; also Nivison 1999 for a general introduction.

[25] For a historical study of this process, see Puett 2002.

[26] See Cook 1997 and 2005b.

[27] Jingmenshi bowuguan 1998, 29-35, 149-54. See the discussion in Ikeda 2000, 232-33. On the politics of "sageliness," see Puett 2002, 96-144.

performative practice that like the text itself suggests extends all the way back in time to the Western Zhou.[28] In Robin Yate's analysis of the Ruist philosopher Xunzi's writings about music, we see that sound (*yin* 音) was believed to act like vapor in the sense that it could penetrate into the heart and influence the emotions (*qing*) and ultimately human nature (*xing*).[29] The inner energy or *de* according to the Guodian text was controlled by man, even if it ultimately connected to Heaven.

By contrast, in a Daoist text, such as the *Daodejing* 道德經 also found at Guodian, or the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, a Heavenly *dao*—one without ancestral powers to intercede on behalf of descendants—would manifest itself as *qi* in all things (*wu* 物) as part of the natural flow of energy; life, dying, and death were all parts of a metaphoric process—a belief in natural forces or vapors that had much more in common with the Han-period's Five Phases scheme than the traditional Four Regions cosmology nominally maintained by the early Ruists (who imagined themselves as the keepers of Zhou cultural knowledge).[30] Contrary to the Ruists, who were concerned with preserving ritual practices to cultivate their *de* and enact good government, the Mohists ironically preserved the older (or perhaps simply more common and non-elite) notion of baleful *guishen* who must receive sacrifices for the health and welfare of a state and its people. They cleverly used the rhetorical models of the Ruists, the Sage Kings, to explain:

> In antiquity, the Sage Kings knew what the Heavenly Ghosts desired and thus escaped their disgust and sought out what was good for the world. They guided the world's people to practice purification and abstinence, washing their faces and hands and bathing, keeping clean to present the alcohol and grain offerings in sacrifices to the Heavenly Ghosts (*tiangui*). They did not dare to present unclean sacrificial offerings to the spirits (*guishen*) or fail to present fat sacrificial animals and good quality jade staffs and discs, nor to be untimely in their spring and autumn sacrificial rituals, unjust in hearing court cases, unfair in the division of goods, or slovenly in their residences.[31]

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[28] I trace the evolution of this practice in Cook 2005b.

[29] Yates 1997, 502.

[30] See Gong's essay on this process in the Confucian Guodian texts (Gong 2000) and Roger Ames's discussion of life and death as interdependent correlative categories in classical Daoism (Ames 1998).

[31] *Mozi jiangu*, "Shangtong, zhong" 尚同, 中, in Sun Yirang 1991, 50. My reading follows that of Chao 2001, 343-45, which gives examples of this ideology as echoed in the *Zuozhuan*.

The mixed texts and ideologies found in tombs in Jiangling tell us that the educated elite of Chu were familiar with the debates circulating in other local courts at the time and likely followed a variety of practices even within their own elite circles. But when it came to illness, their concerns echoed those of the Mohists. As Donald Harper notes, the Baoshan divination text employed a remarkably antiquated notion of physical well-being, one in which the ancestral spirits along with an array of nature spirits, rather than cosmic vapors or natural processes, were seen as both the causes and the cures for illness.[32] The text recording the divinations and sacrifices made to save Shao Tuo's life includes no philosophizing on the process of living, spiritual cultivation, or how to become a sage. The ritualists were concerned with plugging the gaps in Shao Tuo's performed rituals and purifying his inner being so that his own vital breath or vapor circulated normally and did not "rise" (*shang* 上), a condition that in the Han-period ritual text *Zhouli* 周禮 was associated with coughing and the winter season.[33] This condition is explained by Harper as a reversal of the proper movement of vapor in the vessels, which should ideally move downward like a root into the earth before extending upward to heaven.[34]

The rise of one's vital energy to Heaven instead of down to Earth represented a fundamental upsetting of what makes someone a human. It was also the first step toward becoming a *shen* if the release was controlled or self-willed, a process described in the chapter "Neiye" (or "Inner Training") of the *Guanzi* 管子.[35] The intrusion of too much earthly essence, or *yin*-essence that had congealed into *gui* "a ghost," would upset the *qi* and cause madness, bad dreams, and illness.[36] During the late Warring States period, elite men were trained in the dance and song performance of *weiyi* to nurture their vital *de*, probably by roaming Ruist specialists, but if they became sick they were treated by teams of diviners and shamans or spirit technicians (*wu* 巫).[37]

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[32] Harper 1999, 854.

[33] See the section on the *jiyi* 疾醫 doctors, in *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 3, *j.* 9, 36-43. For the history of the text, see Loewe 1993, 24-32. See also Harper 1998, 148-83, for an account of the occult tradition and magical recipes.

[34] Harper 1998, 81, 125-26, 211, no. 1. In Han medical texts, this condition was cured through cauterization of the "Minor Yin vessel," one of the "vessels of death" (79).

[35] Graham 1989, 100-05; Harper 1998, 119-25; Puett 2002, 109-17.

[36] Brashier 1996, 142-45, notes that if *hunpo* took flight a person became confused but did not necessarily die, at least not immediately.

[37] On these medical and spirit technicians, see the discussions by Zhang Jun 1994, 418-77; Falkenhausen 1995; and Harper 1995, 817.

By the end of the Warring States period, the collapsing Chu polity, which by then stretched over the entire Yangzi River valley east to the ocean (incorporating numerous local cultures, including peoples distinguished as Ba 巴, Wu 吳, and Yue 越), was known as a hotbed of witchcraft. Zhang Jun, in his study of the phenomenon, suggests that the shaman-filled landscape was in fact the remnants of a common culture spread throughout pre-Qin China, but that it was Chu that in accounts of local culture from Han times forward became an icon for superstitious beliefs and *wu* practices.[38] The Song-period *Yueyang fengtu ji* 岳陽風土記, for example, notes the local tendency of the Jing Hu people 荊湖 (modern Hunan) to use shamans and divination to seek the source of a curse, rather than herbs or medicine—a custom attributed to ancient Chu culture.[39]

Shao Tuo's body was cursed by malignant forces and dissatisfied spirits (such as "numinous ancestors" *mingzu* 明祖) that blocked the downward circulation of his *qi* from his heart, causing coughing and fever. The ritual practitioners, who tried to identify the malignant force through divination, as well as bribe it through sacrifices and expel it through exorcism, also tried to control the escape of *qi* through medical and magical methods.[40] It is likely that one method of the *wu* involved controlled spirit travel or other ecstatic methods—dancing, drumming—to call back his escaping spirit as death approached. The notion of spirit flight, either by a shaman or by one who experienced physical death, is best described in a late Warring States song attributed to a Chu official contemporary with Shao Tuo—Qu Yuan 屈原.

This particular song was the "Li Sao" 離騷 (commonly translated as "Encountering Sorrow"—but perhaps, given the contents, more accurately understood as "Departing Sorrow").[41] It gives details of the departure of a powerful spirit from the capricious human world and his journey to the spirit world (via a chariot pulled by dragons to visit the supernatural beings of the Four Regions, but finally entering Heaven through the Kunlun Mountains in the west). Unlike Shao Tuo, Qu Yuan

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[38] Zhang Jun 1994, 418-19; see also Harper 1998, 43.

[39] Zhang Jun 1994, 422-24. The *Yueyang fengtuji* (SKQS edn.) was compiled by Fan Zhiming 范致明 (*jinshi* degree 1100).

[40] For a discussion of methods, see Harper 1998, 148-83; Lo 2002a and 2002b.

[41] Glosses of *li* as *zao* 遭 "encounter" versus *bie* 別 "separate from" date to the Han period. Wang Yi (2d c. CE) understood the title *Lisao jing* as "the path for departing sorrow" (reading *jing* 經 as 徑); see You Guo'en 1982, 3-4.

did not die slowly of illness but took his own life—a much more powerful and aggressive step into the otherworld, as he could now return as a vengeful ghost. After being exiled by King Huai to the Changsha region, south of the Yangzi River, Qu drowned himself in the Miluo River 汨羅江, thus making it impossible to bury his body (and hence better to negotiate with his spirit). We know from the efforts of Shao Tuo's diviners preserved in the divination text placed in his tomb that the curses of drowned people were potent and malignant forces. The spirit flights detailed in the Warring States-period (475-221 BCE) songs associated with Qu Yuan and other songs collected in *Chuci* 楚辭 ("the elegies of Chu," or *The Songs of the South*) during the Han period describe journeys across water in boats and over mountains and rivers in winged chariots, journeys that led to Heaven or to the land of the Immortals. The *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 preserves a contemporary idea about a similar journey to the land of the Immortals on Kunlun Mountain taken by the tenth century BCE Zhou King Mu.[42] Both journeys involve the transition from earthly social disorder to heavenly order after traversing a landscape filled with numerous spirits and famous figures from the past, the likes of whom Shao Tuo may have also expected to meet after his death, as indicated by the number of sacrifices to them during his illness.

The metamorphosis that resulted in the separation of *qi* from the body or from death was a process that began with Shao Tuo's illness.[43] Shao Tuo's dying was chronicled by diviners in the Baoshan divination text (translated in Appendix One). His breath had become shallow and his appetite diminished. Eventually, he could no longer stand. His chest and abdomen, site of the five repositories of vital energies (the viscera), were increasingly in pain and he coughed up his vital breath.[44] During this process, ritualists divined and sacrificed to an array of ancestral, stellar, and earth deities and performed exorcistic rituals against numerous unhappy ghosts, hoping to lift the curses and obstructions that would cause Tuo, as they referred to him, not to live out his natural life span (*ming* 命).

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[42] For a description of the text and a discussion of its date, see Loewe 1993, 342-46. For a discussion of the symbolism in the text and the idea that this spiritual journey of transcendence was created to overcome the inauspicious drowning of King Mu's father in the Han River during an attack on Chu, see Porter 1996.

[43] For illness as one stage in a process of metamorphosis in classical Daoism, see Ames 1998, 65-66.

[44] See below, app. 1. A medical doctor, Claire Hicks, suggested to me, after I described Shao Tuo's symptoms, that he may have suffered from something along the lines of metastasized kidney cancer, as an infectious disease would have killed him much faster.

When a person was about to die or had just breathed his last, attempts were made to resuscitate him (*fu* 復).[45] The ritual was also called *zhaohun* 招魂 ("Summoning the *Hun*-vital Energy"), which is the same name as a song collected in the *Chuci*. While accounts of the performance of *zhaohun* for ordinary elite men in the ritual texts seem to be limited to calling the deceased's name (see below), the song "Zhaohun," by contrast, is a lengthy song of persuasion or enticement of the escaped *qi* or "ethereal soul" to return to the world of the living from the wilderness of the Four Regions. It describes both the efforts to call the soul back but also the process of sending the spirit off. According to the received text of the *Chuci* "Zhaohun," the singers tried first to frighten the *hun* or "spirit" back into the body (not only to bring the patient back to life but also so that, after burial, the spirit could begin its journey properly equipped and from a sanctified space). The singers sang of the dangers along the paths in any of the four geographical directions, up in Heaven, or below in the Land of Darkness. By way of contrast, they described the luxuries possible at home, a palace replete with everything the body might want: jeweled furniture, lovely women, and succulent foods. Finally, if life could not be restored, a farewell party was held. As we know from the feasts described in the earlier *Book of Songs* (*Shijing*) and in inscriptions on sacrificial bronze vessels,[46] these feasts were meant to fill the senses and satiate the appetites of both the living and the dead. Guests played drinking games while surrounded by dancing, singing, and orchestral music. In the song "Zhaohun," the guests, drunk with sensual pleasures and wine, "gave delight to the dear departed." After the party, the scene shifted abruptly from images of domestic pleasures to the stark scene of a lone hunter, referred to as a king hunting in the marshland.[47] The song closed with an admonition, perhaps by the driver[48] of the hunter's chariot, that the king leave before "darkness yields to daylight." The final scene was from far above the earth, a thousand *li* above the rivers and woods.[49] The transition from the scene of a raucous banquet inside the palace to a solitary hunt at night in the wilds can easily be read as a

[45] See Brashier 1996, 138-46, for discussion of attempts to rectify the escaped *hun* and *po*.

[46] Cook 1993 and 1997.

[47] In the *Yili* funeral record, the last set of items placed in the tomb consisted of hunting equipment ("Jixi, ji" 既夕記, *Yili Zhengzhu* 13.31b-32b).

[48] The driver might, in some sense, represent the persona of the ritualist or poet.

[49] Hawkes 1985, 223-30.

metaphor for the journey of the spirit from the tomb, or "home" through the supernatural wilds to Heaven.

In the *Liji*, the transformation of vital breath into a spirit was explained as follows: "Mountains, forests, rivers, valleys, hills, and mounds that could emit clouds, make wind and rain, or cause strange phenomena to appear—all were called spirits (*shen*)."[50] When Confucius' disciple asks what is meant by the term *guishen*, the master replied: "It is vital breath (*qi*), which is most manifest as a spirit (*shen*). As for the *po* (魄, a kind of *qi* linked to the body at birth),[51] it is most manifest as a ghost (*gui*). The unity of the *gui* and *shen* is the epitome of (my) teachings. All that is alive must die, and all that dies must return to earth: this is what is referred to as a ghost. When the bones and flesh are down below in the earthen chamber (*yin* 陰>窨) made (for them) in the wild lands (*yetu* 野土) and their vital breath (*qi*) rises up above it, as a shining glow (*zhaoming* 昭明) smoking upward sorrowfully. This is the essence of all things, the multitude of spirits (*shen*)."[52] Spirits, the *gui* and the *shen*, represented the movement of *qi*, downwards into the earth or upwards into the sky. The fact that the link between *qi* and Shao Tuo's body was unstable during his illness shows that his *hunpo* was already in the process of leaving or, indeed, had already left.[53] In a sense, then, the return of Shao Tuo's body to earth was a ritual process that began before his last breath and physical death.

The care of Shao Tuo's *qi* after it passed from his body, and ultimately his *gui* and *shen*, is reflected in the mortuary rituals recorded in ancient texts. Scholars have reconstructed Warring States and early Han funeral ritual from passages in the roughly Warring States to Han-period ritual texts *Yili* 儀禮, *Liji* 禮記, and *Zhouli* 周禮.[54] While it is unlikely that the

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[50] *Liji Zhengzhu* sect, 23, "Jifa" 祭法, 14.1b.

[51] By the late Warring States period, *po* is understood as corporeal *qi* that appears at birth but after death goes down to the earth; ethereal *qi*, the *hun* 魂, was connected to Yang and to Heaven. Evidence for this notion is found in the *Zuozhuan*, Zhao Gong 7, and the *Liji*, "Jiaotesheng" 郊特牲 ([*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 11, 8.11b], which Chao 2001, 348, accepts as reflecting Chunqiu-period practice).

[52] *Liji Zhengzhu*, "Jiyi" 祭義, sect. 24, 14.10a-b.

[53] See n. 43, above.

[54] Qian Xuan 1996, 597-616, discusses the value of these sources, which he accepts as the standard for all of early China. He usefully combs through the relevant chapters, combines them with relevant quotes in pre-Qin transmitted texts, and provides a comprehensive narrative of what was done when a man of rank (a *shi* 士) died. The most comprehensive description of funerary ritual comes from *Yili* chapters "Sangfu" 喪服, "Shi sangli" 士喪禮, "Jixi li" 既夕禮, and "Shi yu li" 士虞禮 (*Yili Zhengzhu*, *j.* 11-14, or *Yili zhushu*, *j.* 28-43, 152-234, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 1, 1096-178). Lai 2002,

idealized ritual procedures for palliative care, funerals, and burials as described in these texts were exactly the same as those for Shao Tuo, it is likely that basic beliefs concerning the body, the spirit, and the journey to Heaven were quite ancient and shared by those elite who participated to a vast degree in a shared religious culture with roots deep in Shang culture.[55] Of particular interest to this study are aspects of the mortuary rituals which provide some insight into the symbolic role of the layout and contents of his tomb and into the perceived movements of any remaining *qi*: perhaps it was the *po* or bodily *qi* destined to remain in the earth, or an ethereal *qi*/*hun*—or just some aspect of the deceased's identity that was perceived to travel to Heaven—that moved about chambers inside the tomb after burial.

We know that the Han inherited many features that we identify with the earlier Chu culture[56] and that during the Han period the standard care for a dying person involved the creation of a special environment in which death would occur while the body was properly aligned within the cosmos and separated into a purified *yin* space.[57] First they moved the seriously ill to the primary wife's private chamber (a room, *shi* 室) in the back of the house behind the main hall (*tang* 堂) of the house where one usually greeted guests or held ceremonies.[58] There the patient was

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208-30, discusses the formation of these chapters of the *Yili* text and suggests that, given some of the correlations archaeologists have found with Chu tombs, they were formed between the mid-5th and 4th c. BCE. The *Liji* chapters "Sang daji" 喪大記 and "Sangfu daji" 喪服大記 (*Liji Zhengzhu,* sect. 22, *j.* 13; *Liji zhengyi*, *j.* 44-45, 343-58, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 2, 1571-86) give details that slightly vary from the *Yili* accounts. The funerary ritual recorded in these chapters has been summarized along with relevant quotes from contemporary texts by Li Yujie 1991, 97-137; Wu 1992, 112-21; Zhou 1992, 199-214; Qian Xuan 1996, 597-616; and Lai 2002, 208-30.

[55] Chinese-language studies of Shang and Zhou beliefs and rituals are too numerous to list here. Li Yujie 1991 focuses on mortuary ritual, using both archaeological data and transmitted sources. Chao 2001, 150-62, also discusses continuities and differences in the mortuary ritual over time but relies primarily on transmitted textual sources.

[56] See Major 1999, 167-69. For a description of mortuary rituals in the Han using both the ritual texts and evidence from Han tombs, see Loewe 1982 and 2005.

[57] Shao Tuo died at home. As to what was done when an elite man (*shi* 士) died away from home, see "Zaji, xia" 雜記下 in *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 21, 12.13b.

[58] For a reconstruction of the early house plan based on the *Yili*, see Chao 2001, 168. It consisted of a rectangular walled compound with a main gate on the south wall, and a raised area inside the northern end that was roofed. Small roofed rooms, called *shu* 塾, were also built both inside and outside of the left and right sides of the gate in the south. The raised area was divided into *tang* and *shi,* perhaps distinguishing the levels to which guest might penetrate the house. The *tang*, to the south, consisted of a large central room accessible by two sets of stairs from a large courtyard. These

placed by the northern wall with his head facing east, the same direction by which the Chu buried their dead.[59] North was the most *yin* direction, a quality shared with the woman who regularly occupied the chamber. Attendants swept and cleaned both inside and outside the house before visitors came to visit the patient. They then removed any musical instruments used while entertaining the visitors, as the patient "desired quiet."[60] In some cases, the visitors may have held hands with the patient through a window, perhaps a northern window in the east wall or through a special window called a *you* 牖 in the wall that separated the back room from the main hall.[61] When the illness became critical, they laid the patient on the ground as a symbol of returning to the earth. Attendants in charge of "classes of material objects used to distinguish rank (*pin* 品)" changed the patient into court attire and, as death drew near, they placed cotton gauze over his mouth and nostrils to determine when he had stopped breathing.[62] The sons prayed (*dao* 禱)[63] and performed the

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stairs are marked as the western and eastern stairs. Two smaller enclosed *tang* were located to the east and west of the main *tang*. The *shi* area consisted of a central *shi* and two side *fang* 房 accessible by narrow halls behind the eastern and western *tang*. The eastern *fang* had a tiny, more public, space called the "northern *tang*" 北堂 that faced a small door in the northeastern corner of the complex. This plan is not too far distant from the 9th-c. BCE Western Zhou building discovered in Fengchu 鳳雛, Shaanxi (see Rawson 1999a, 391-92), but it has little in common with the clay models excavated from Han-period tombs, which seem to be concerned with multiple-storied houses only some of which are walled. These examples do tend to have the living quarters opposite the main gate with a courtyard in between; see thirteen house variations just found in Henan region tombs, depicted in Zhang Jianmin 2005.

[59] See "Sang daji," in *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 22, 13.1a-2b, and "Jixi, ji" 既夕記, in *Yili Zhengzhu* 13.19a-b.

[60] Music was an expression of joy and thus inappropriate for the dying (one does not listen to music on the anniversary of a parent's death ["Tangong, shang" 檀弓上, in *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 3, 2.3b]), or sing near where mortuary rituals are taking place, "Tangong, shang" 2.4a). Music had the power to conduct *qi* through the emotions (*qing*) and was likely viewed as a powerful force regarding the conduction of *qi*. The proper dance movements in accordance to music were vital to perfecting one's spirit to become a *shen*; see Jao 2000 and Gong 2000. For a brief discussion of Xunzi's belief in the efficacy of music and a similar passage from the Guodian manuscript "Xing zi ming chu," see Goldin 2000, 130-33. A much more detailed discussion of the Guodian phrase is in Shen Pei 2003.

[61] "Yongye" 雍也, in *Lunyu zhengyi* 7, part 6 (*Zhuzi jicheng,* vol. 1, 119). See Qian Xuan 1996, 598.

[62] This account is drawn from "Sang daji," in *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 22, 13.1a-2b, a notation version of which seems to be preserved in "Jixi, ji"; see *Yili Zhengzhu* 13.19a-24b.

[63] According to Zheng Xuan, *dao* is to ask forgiveness from the *guishen* (*Lunyu zhengyi* 8, part 7, *Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 1, 153).

five sacrifices to exhaust their emotions (*qing*) and specialists prayed to the spirits above and below.[64] When the dying one breathed his last, the sons broke out into crying and the wife leaped about wailing.[65] Leaping was an extreme expression of grief (second only perhaps to complete prostration)[66] prescribed at certain moments of mourning ritual along with the baring of the shoulders, binding the hair and waist with bands of rough fibers—all meant as expressions of communication with the spirit.[67] These expressions of grief and the changes of clothing marked successive stages of the mourning ritual.[68]

Studies of mourning rituals in other cultures show that mortuary rituals often marked the transition of the dead to the world of spirits or to a new social identity as a spirit.[69] The rituals in pre-Han China that marked transitions from death through the traditional three-year period of mourning (for an elite male with progeny) ensured the social identity of the deceased—an identity that would eventually link together all aspects of the deceased: the aspects resident in his tomb, in his spirit tablet in the temple, and in Heaven. While the performance and even the names of these transition rituals likely varied by place and time, the Han ritual compendiums provide a sketch that no doubt applied to the Jiangling area. The first set of rituals involved "resuscitation," or "summoning the soul" and preparation of the body.[70]

Accounts vary as to whether the resuscitation ritual took place before, after, or during body preparation. In one account, someone would also immediately grab the ritual clothes the deceased used while alive[71] and

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[64] See "Shu er" 述而, in *Lunyu zhengyi* 8, part 7 (*Zhuzi jicheng,* vol. 1, 152-53). By the Warring States period, the Five Sacrifices (*wusi* 五祀) were most likely to the spirits of the door, the stove, the Central Drainspout or *impluvium* (*zhongliu*), gate, and the well (Zhou 1992, 303). Chard 1999, 238-41, points out that the *Liji* account of the Five Sacrifices probably postdated the 3d-c. BCE.

[65] Mourners should leap three times; also mentioned in the Guodian "Yucong" 語叢 text, hence we know that the custom precedes the Han-era ritual texts (see Chen Wei 2000, 145-46).

[66] See the explanation in the *Liji* chapter "Tangong, shang" (*Liji zhengyi*, sect. 3, 2.2b).

[67] See "Tangong" (*Liji zhengyi*, sect. 3, 2.15b, sect. 4, 3.2a, 4a-b), a section of which explains how leaping and beating the breast are the ultimate expressions of distress, whose successive stages of emotion (*qing*) were: happiness, singing, swaying, dancing, heat, loneliness, lamenting, breast beating, and leaping (*Liji zhengyi*, sect. 4, 3.8a).

[68] The accounts of clothing changes for mourners are varied, and will not be analyzed here; e.g., the *Yili* chapter "Shi sangfu." I suspect that leaping and clothing changes also helped to separate the living from the dead and to protect the living.

[69] See especially the essay by Chesson 2001, 1-11.

[70] See *Liji* chapter "Tangong, shang" (*Liji zhengyi*, sect. 3, 2.21b).

[71] According to the *Liji,*" Sang daji" (*Liji zhengyi*, sect. 22, 13.1a-b) and "Zaji" (*Liji*

climb up to the rooftop from the south and call the deceased's name to the north. He would then fling the clothes down to another person below who would run and place them on top of the deceased. The first person would then climb down from the northwest corner.[72] Although it is clear that the editing of the ritual texts was affected by the correlative cosmological concerns of their Han editors,[73] the relationship of these ritual movements to the Four Directions—a concern clearly evident in buildings and burials since the Shang period—becomes significant when we consider the direction of spirit flight. Clearly, in this ritual account, immediately upon death the aspect, or spirit, of the person that would respond to his name was believed to fly northwards. The North is explained in the *Liji* as a dark region (*you* 幽) filled with *guishen*.[74] On the other hand, the path to Heaven was in the West.

A focus on corners (northwest, versus North or West) in the summoning ritual may reflect a Han concern with Five Phases versus Four Regions cosmology and divination. We find that some Western Han cosmic boards (*shi* 式) indicate that a path radiating from the center (where the Dipper acts as a divinatory dial) to the northwest was the Heavenly Gate, the path to the northeastern corner was the Ghost Gate, the southeastern corner was the Earth Gate, and the southwestern was the Human Gate.[75] Each

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zhengyi, sect. 20, 12.4a, 8b), each item of ritual clothing had a special name that varied according to rank. According to Zheng Xuan (*Liji zhengyi*, sect. 20, 12.8b), the clothing was used to "summon the *hun* and restore the *po*." For a *shi*, an important item was the *quebian* 爵弁, a kind of hat with a flat top that cocked upwards like a small bird, made of reddish-black *que* leather. The complete ritual outfit for a *shi* is described in *Yili zhushu, j.* 2, 6 (*Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 1, 950). It includes the hat, a light red skirt, a cloak with embroidered trim and black belt, and red slippers (see also the discussion by Chao 2001,89-90, 114).

[72] *Yili*, "Shi sangli" (*Yili zhushu* 12, 184-85; *Shisanjing zhushu,* vol. 1, 1128-29); Qian Xuan 1996, 598. In the "Li yun" 禮運 chapter of the *Liji* an abbreviated version is mentioned, but the head of the deceased was placed to the north because the province of life was in the south. They called up to Heaven because the *qi* rose whereas the corporeal *po* (*tipo* 體魄) descended (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 9, 7.3a).

[73] See especially the work on this subject by Peng Lin 1990 and 1991.

[74] In "Tangong, shang," *Liji zhengyi*, sect. 2, 3.3b. A note later in this same chapter claims that earlier, the dead were buried with their heads pointing north because this direction represents "darkness" (*Liji zhengyi*, sect. 2, 3.5a). This has been discovered to be the case in many Western Zhou burials (see examples in Zhouyuan bowuguan 2005).

[75] See examples esp. from Shuanggudui, a review of earlier scholarly studies, and discussion, all by Li Ling 2000, 89-176. The most recent study of the four paths, seen on two different styles of cosmic board, the TLV (with blocked-out corners) and *shi* (with clear paths), is by Xing 2005.

direction was marked with a hexagram, which Lian Shaoming claims reflects the function of each gate: Heaven=exit (*chu* 出), Ghost=death (*si* 死), Earth=enter (*ru* 入), and Human=birth (*sheng* 生).[76] We know that Shao Tuo's diviners consulted hexagrams in their divination, but it is not at all clear how the hexagrams were derived or even interpreted. There is little evidence that the Chu elite in the fourth century BCE adhered to the complex correlative cosmology popular during the Han period, when *shi* boards were popular. Indeed, a look at both the Chu silk manuscript (with trees in the corners and no marked gates)[77] and the classical concern for the Four Directions in Chu tomb construction suggests a basic adherence to a more rudimentary set of correlations: East=Spring, South=Summer, West=Fall, and North=Winter.[78] There is no record of the divination boards being used to divine the direction a spirit might go after death (on the path to Heaven? As a ghost? Or perhaps reborn as a human?),[79] although it is clear that the North and West were directions linked to death and East and South with life, and it is likely that these very basic correlations were quite ancient.

In another account of attempted resuscitation of the corpse immediately upon death, the spirit is called to the northwest only after the preparation of the body and purification rituals. The basic directional

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[76] Lian Shaoming 1987, 34-35.

[77] Xing 2005 notes the basic *ya* 亞 shape of the text and 12 month-spirits with trees depicted in the corners instead of gates. Li Ling 2000, 159-65, 190-216, discusses the preoccupation of the diviner boards, the Chu silk manuscript, and the Day Books with time. I suspect that the 12 spirits, which represent the months on the four sides of the Chu silk manuscript also represented body parts (heart, lungs, stomach, etc.) perhaps reminders of sacrifices (for a clear illustration, see Li Ling 2000, fig. 47). Li Ling 1998, 252, believes that the forms were depictions of animals. The images were clearly multivalent in nature. One cultural aspect of the Chu silk manuscript that scholars should keep in mind is that it was discovered in a tomb in Changsha before 1949, an era when Changsha and not Jiangling was considered the center of late Warring States-period Chu culture. Since then, excavations have shown that Changsha culture was a mix of diverse southern cultures.

[78] Based on the Chu Silk Manuscript, Li Ling 2000, 190, claims that the corners also correlate to colors: NW=green, SE=red, SW=white, NW=black.

[79] Li Ling's list of concerns for divination (Li Ling 2000, 164-65) contains "death" (*si* 死), but in the pre-Qin records that I am familiar with the subject is concerned about predicting his death or, in the case of Shao Tuo, preventing his death. The *Liji*, "Zaji" refers to the use of stalk divination regarding the time and place of the interment and tortoise divination regarding the mourning rituals by shrine officials before the resuscitation rituals (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 20, 12.3b-4a). The same chapter records an invocation of naming (of the mourners) and tortoise divination regarding the funeral (*zangyu* 葬虞) (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 20, 12.14a).

correlations are again reflected in the records on the purification of the body after death and the presentation of food offerings, although slight variations in the timing of events recorded reflect what was likely an even greater diversity in pre-Han practices.[80] According to Han accounts, the attendants moved the corpse back from the floor to the bed (in one account, a mat-covered bed beneath a southern window), removed his clothes and covered the body with a shroud while preparing the bath. Then they put a wedge between the teeth to keep the mouth open for later food offerings and bound the feet to a stool to keep them at the right angle for putting on shoes. Ice was put under the bed.[81] In front of the bed (towards the east in the *Yili* account), they set out dishes of dried meats, minced meats, and sweet wines;[82] beside the corpse they placed items of his daily life and new wine to help give the spirit form, an identity, or "image" (*xiang* 象). The attraction of the wandering spirit to items used by the deceased while alive is seen in the account of the resuscitation ritual, above, where attendants used his clothes to summon his spirit. It is also a factor that will be examined when we look at items of daily or personal use placed in the northern chamber of Shao Tuo's tomb.

The *Yili* and *Liji* accounts are particularly concerned with the exact protocol of visitors according to rank, what clothing they and the hosts should wear at what stage of the mourning, their behavior with the host, the host's behavior towards them, and where they stand during which part of the funeral. These details (which vary slightly in different accounts) will not be elaborated here except to note that the correlations of life and death with the directions, as noted above, seem to be consistent: North and West were linked to Yin and the pollution of death; West was associated with the direction the spirit should go.[83] In the *Yili* account the eldest

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[80] Qian Xuan 1996, 614-16, discusses Warring States controversies over burial style; also Poo 1990 and Riegel 1995. The "Tangong" chapter of the *Liji*, with its question and answer style, seems to be a response to different traditions and accounts in circulation (e.g., *Liji zhengyi*, sect. 3, 2.19, regarding the placement of the food offerings during the *xiaolian* stage of dressing the corpse).

[81] The placement of a basin or *pan* 盤 of ice to preserve corpses during the washing of corpses and during larger funerals in the third month of the year is referred to in the *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 4 (*Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde,* vol. 1, 352); *Zhouli*, "Tianguan, Lingren" 天官, 凌人 (*Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 3, *j*. 10, 69), *Yili* "Shi sangli" (*Yili zhushu,* 36, 189, *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 1, 1133), Zhou Wenbai 1998, 202-03.

[82] See illustration from the Mawangdui banner, Wu 1992, 124. This scene is described in *Yili*, "Shi sangli" (*Yili zhushu* 35, 185, *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 1, 1129). In the *Yili* account, the hall (*tang*) is curtained off.

[83] Although in a passage attributed to Confucius, he chanted the following while

son, the host, climbs the western stairs to a curtained-off hall and faces southeast to command and send off the person who would announce the death. Guests paid their respects to the east of the bed and the host's family was situated to the west (facing east). The wife (and other close female relations in the *Liji* account) faced westward.[84] Other relatives faced north and all wept.[85] Mourning took place in numerous stages involving shifting positions (usually moving up the western stairs and facing east), weeping, bowing, and leaping (or not leaping when specified). Visitors presented shrouds.[86] The *Yili* account goes on to explain that a flag or "inscription" (*ming* 銘)[87] proclaiming that it was Mr. So-and-So's coffin was formed by tying black and red strips of cloth to a bamboo pole. It was first placed behind where the coffin would be on the western stairs and later placed on top of the coffin. To prepare the bath, a pit was dug in the southernmost part of the western steps, and the dirt was piled into a mound beneath the western window. New basins and jars and a grain vessel were set at the foot of the steps. Towels, combs, and bathing clothes were placed in baskets and also set at the foot of the western steps. After the grain was boiled, the water was placed in the basins and taken into the house. With relatives of the deceased standing behind the door, two attendants lifted the bed at an angle so that the water used by two other attendants to wash the body ran down to the foot of the bed into a pan and could eventually be dumped into the pit.[88] The two attendants then trimmed the deceased's mustache, hair, and nails; bound up and pinned his hair; and put on his three layers of grave clothes,[89] covered his face

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circling a burial mound: "While it is fate that the bones and flesh shall return to the earth, the *hunqi* 魂氣 could be anywhere" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.17a).

[84] *Liji*, "Dasang ji" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 22, 13.2a-b); *Yili zhushu*, 35, 185, *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 1, 1129. The *Yili* account has only the wife facing east.

[85] The *Yili* account varies slightly. Relatives are in the "room" (*shi*) with all the women outside the door facing north, and all the men below the "hall" (*tang*) facing north.

[86] See the *Yili*, "Shi sangli" (*Yili zhushu* 35, 185-86, *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 1, 1129-30).

[87] In the "Tangong" chapter of the *Liji* the inscription is defined as a "numinous flag" (*ming mingjing ye* 銘明旌也) created so his son can "recognize" (*shi* 試) him (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.4a).

[88] In the *Liji*, "Fang ji" 坊記 chapter, Confucius explains that the corpse was washed in the *impluvium* (*zhongliu*) (*Liji zhengyi* 51, 393; *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 2, 1621). In one account, the body was washed in the kitchen (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 3, 2.8a). I suspect that the small rooms with plumbing behind the raised hall in the Western Zhou building discovered in Fengchu served both for preparing bodies and sacrificial victims for funerals and sacrifices.

[89] See Wu Hong's illustration of Lady Dai's grave clothes; Wu 1992, 119.

with a black cloth (*zi* 緇), and placed grain or jade in his mouth.[90] All the vessels used in the bath would be buried.[91]

Dressing the body for the grave and the placement of the dressed corpse into the coffin were stages representing the separation of the dead from the living marked by specific terms found repeated in different accounts: "stuffing the corpse's mouth with rice" (*han* 含 or *fan* 飯), the small and large "dressing of the corpse" with displayed sets of grave clothes (*lian* 殮), placing the body in the coffin (*bin* 殯), the feast of separation before a journey (*zu* 祖 or *chuzu* 出祖), and "burial" (*zang* 葬).[92] The changing of clothes and successive layers of clothes or shrouds placed on the corpse after the purification of the body and before the encoffining and burial (itself a process of layers) were, as mentioned above, matched with successive clothing changes by the mourners (accompanied with much hand washing)—all aimed at separating the living from the dead and helping the dead make the transition to the grave.[93] Each stage was also marked with expressions of grief, such as stamping,[94] and with the presentation of food offerings. Boiled and fried grains and dried fish packed into baskets were set near the coffin to attract insects away from the body. In one account, the use of shrouds, curtains, and coffin ornaments, such as feathers, kept the living from feeling disgusted (*e* 惡) by the corpse.[95] Before burial, friends and relatives of the deceased were treated to a midnight feast, with wine, singing, and entertainment.

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[90] Qian Xuan 1996, 290, has compared the *Yili* account of the face covering with some excavated Warring States-period examples and shown the great variety that existed: the face covering of a corpse in Luoyang was silk with jade pieces, while one in Jiangling was a stair-shaped yellow silk with a narrow seam at the top to expose the eyes and several horn-shaped gaps below to expose the jaw. A face covering in the late Western Zhou period Jin Hou tomb in Tianma-Qucun, Shanxi, had a complete jade mask composed of 48 jade pieces sewn onto cloth; see also the face mask from Fufeng 扶風, Shaanxi, in Zhouyuan bowuguan 2005, fig. 49. Shao Tuo's face was covered with a cloth, but the report gives no specifics (Hubei 1991, 68, fig. 50).

[91] Based on the *Yili*, "Shi sangli" (*Yili zhushu, j.* 35-36, 186-91, *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 1, 1129-35), and the *Liji*, "Da sangji" (*Liji zhengyi* 44, 348; *Shisanjing zhushu*, vol. 2, 1576), Qian Xuan 1996, 599-600.

[92] For a simplified list, see "Tangong, shang" in *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 3, 2.12a-b.

[93] It was especially important for the living to change their clothes after the burial (*Liji zhengyi* 2.21a). The layers of clothes displayed during the course of a funeral consist of clothing for "resuscitation" (*fu*), "enshrouding" (*lian*), "sacrificial presentation of offerings" (*dian* 奠), and "display (for burial)" (*xin* 歆) (*Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 11, *j.* 41, 67).

[94] The fact that the stamping is often done in sets of three suggests an exorcist function similar to the Pace of Yu, also done in sets of three when crossing through gates, etc.; see Hu Wenhui 1998, 91-94 and w 233.

[95] *Liji zhengyi* 3.8a-b.

In the *Yili* account, the coffin is moved to the ancestral shrine before burial. An invoker (*zhu* 祝) shouts three times to warn the spirit of the move which was likely done before dawn. Horses and carts transport the coffin, and an accompanying feast employs "numinous vessels" (*mingqi* 明器) as well as beloved objects used by the deceased during his life, musical instruments, weapons, and objects such as a staff (used by one after he mourns the loss of his own parent),[96] hat, and fan. As the funeral procession starts, the gifts are collected and tallied. The farewell feast is held and the list of gifts read out loud. (In another account, however, those who walked with the funeral were gagged and led by artisans with feathers or reeds of white grass.)[97] After the coffin is carried to the burial pit, but before being bound shut, family members cry and present offerings. Three times they call, "We respectfully perform the burial on an auspicious chronogram (a day in the sixty-day ritual calendar chosen through divination)." After the coffin is closed, they cry and present more offerings, which attendants put on carts and carry with the body into the tomb. Unfortunately no account clearly states exactly the disposition of the "numinous vessels," food packets, and other items placed into the tomb. The *Yili* tells us simply that they are set up "at the sides" (*yu pang* 於旁).[98] The sons set up an ancestral altar inside the tomb for the deceased's own presentation of mortuary feasts to his ancestral spirits. Sacrificial foods are placed in the tomb and then other grave goods are added. Laments are sung. After the deceased relatives and friends emerge from the tomb, they sacrifice to the earth and road spirits and, again back in the shrine and house, to the deceased's wandering spirit.[99]

In general, during the three years of mourning, mourners would perform sacrifices at set periods to settle the spirit in the shrine and in Heaven. On one hand, these sacrifices made sure that the souls did not have to stay underground in a region called the Yellow Springs (*huangquan* 黃泉).[100] On the other hand, they also symbolized the gradual release of the mourners from the suffering of the mourning rituals (living at first in a primitive manner: in a hut, with crude clothing and nothing but gruel to eat).[101]

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[96] *Liji*, "Wen sang" 問喪 (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 35, 18.7b-8a).
[97] *Liji*, "Zaji" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 21, 12.16a).
[98] *Yili Zhengzhu* 13.17a.
[99] This account is largely drawn from the *Yili* chapter "Jixi" (*Yili Zhengzhu* 13). Some details can be found in *Liji*, "Sang daji" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 22, 13.9a-15b).
[100] Loewe 2005, 103.
[101] This is described in the *Liji* chapters "Wen sang," "Fu wen," "Jianzhuan," "San-

At each of these feasting ceremonies, the corpse is represented by a personator, presumably a grandson, but referred to directly as "Corpse" (*shi* 尸). The ceremonies, which had different names depending on the time interval represented (e.g., *xiang* 祥 after the first year, and a Greater Xiang 大祥 after the second year with a *dan* 禫 a month later), began on the day of burial and involved a ritual called *yu* 虞, which, according to the Han-period commentator Zheng Xuan, meant "to calm" (the spirit) (*an* 安).[102] According to the *Shuowen*, the word *yu* referred to a mythical animal called *zouyu* 騶虞,[103] which by some accounts was a black and white striped tiger that consumed dead flesh, and by others a phoenix or "spirit bird" (*lingniao* 靈鳥).[104] The *Yili* chapter that describes the *yu* ritual mentions the setting up of a meat sacrifice in which a personator partakes, an action no doubt symbolizing the feeding of the deceased's spirit. No mention is made of tigers or birds.[105] Yet, we might keep in mind the set intervals of mourning, and the role of sacrificial vessels decorated with tigers, dragons, and phoenixes.[106] This was in some sense the consummation of the memory of the corpse, as the deceased's *qi* slowly, over the course of the mourning period, became established in its new identity as a spirit.[107] Less abstract is the role at the "calming" sacrifice of the personator, also called a *yushi* 虞尸, the "corpse" performer of *yu*, as well as the role of the sacrificial victims, also called *yusheng* 虞牲.[108] On the day of the burial, after the personator was set up with the sacrificial meal before him (or her, if the deceased was female), the mourners ceased

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nian wen" (*Liji Zhengzhu* 35-38) and referred to in many other chapters (e.g., "Zaji, xia" *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 21, 12.15a-b).

[102] *Yili Zhengzhu mulu* 4b. A description of this ritual is preserved in chapter "Shi yuli" in the *Yili* (*Yili Zhengzhu, j.* 14).

[103] The earliest textual reference to the *zouyu* is in a hunting song preserved in the "Shaonan" 召南 section of the *Shijing*, Mao no. 25. A burial song called the "Yu bin" 虞殯 is mentioned in the *Zuozhuan*, Ai 11 (*Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 482).

[104] *Shuowen jiezi,* vol. 4, 1348-52. The word *yu* had other usages as well, for example, a *yuren* 虞人 was a person who worked in the forests and marshes, and the *yushi* 虞氏 was a chief of the pre-Xia dynasty of Yu and another term for the sage king Shun 舜 (who according to later myth had a tiger official named *yuhu* 虞虎). Of course, the oldest reading attested in inscriptions is as a sound word representing a sigh of lament or as a loan for a place name, *wu* 吳.

[105] *Yili* chapter "Shi yuli" (*Yili Zhengzhu, j.* 14).

[106] By the late Warring States period, winged dragons and tigers were common motifs; see Li Ling 2004, 87-144.

[107] The *Liji*, "Sang daji," notes that the body cases, cloth bags pulled over the corpse before the formal dressings, were striped black and white along the lower half for rulers and high level officers (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 22, 13.9a).

[108] Liji, "Tangong, xia" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.5a).

wailing, because "the service for the living being was finished and the service for the ghost had begun."[109] The consummation of once living flesh by the symbolic dead, the "Corpse," represents a critical moment in the metamorphosis of the deceased's identity.

The costume of the real corpse and the imitation corpse, the personator—if we knew what it was like—should help us discern the validity of the connection between the sacrifice and the animal, particularly, if we could imagine the funeral march to the burial ground as a kind of parade[110] involving masked exorcists, along the lines of the "leaving" sacrifice (*zu* 祖) described by Mark Lewis for the Annual Exorcism.[111] We might imagine a Chi You 蚩尤-like figure dressed as a tiger with horns, carrying weapons or a spirit-bird figure, something like the death-god, shamanic figure Rushou 蓐收.[112] According to the *Zhouli*, the mourning garments for an elite officer had dark (*xuan* 玄)- and light (*su* 素)-edged garments (*duan* 端).[113] We see some evidence of this pattern in the clothing wrapped around a corpse from the Jiangling area. Although the costume as a whole was not obviously animal- or bird-like in design, the prevalence of black and white stripes, phoenixes, and tiger images is suggestive. The body in Tomb Number 1 at Mashan 馬山 was wrapped in multiple layers of what might described as oversized long sleeved coats. The lapels and cuffs of some of these were striped black and white, and the cloth of the body of the coat embroidered with multi-colored phoenixes dancing on one foot or facing the viewer (a similar style is found on the woman directing a dragon and a phoenix with her hands in a painting from Chenjia dashan 陳家大山).[114] Tigers were embroidered or woven into shrouds

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[109] Liji, "Tangong, xia" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.15b). The shrine holding the spirit tablets was painted black and white when the personator was present at subsequent sacrifices (see *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 11, *j.* 41, 73).

[110] Loewe 2005, 108, notes that the "gestures of respect" offered to the deceased's spirit tablet in the shrine and the offerings "were designed to ensure his well-being"; also that in the case of the Han emperor, these rituals often involved parades that acted as the "symbolical re-enactment of the emperor's last journey."

[111] Lewis 1990, 185-95. A stone figure with a striped tiger-like animal mask but no horns was found in Hebei (see Li Ling 2004, plate 24).

[112] Rushou is mentioned in late Warring States and later texts, linked to Autumn, the harvest, the west, and the *zha* annual exorcism. He seems to be an earth god who punishes (*xing* 刑) for Heaven; see Ding 2001, 7-12; Riegel 1989-90.

[113] *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 11, *j.* 41, 59. The dress is mentioned in the *Lunyu* as worn by a ritualist (*xiaoxiang* 小相), who brings guests in and out of the ancestral shrine and announces the stages of the ceremony (*Lunyu zhengyi, j.* 14, "Xianjin," sect. 11, in *Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 1, 254-57).

[114] See Li Ling 2004, 165, fig. 2; or Cook and Major 1999, 145, fig. 9.1.

along with more abstract dragon-and-phoenix designs. On one finely embroidered example, orange-and-black striped tigers stand out against a pale abstract dragon-and-phoenix design.[115] While it is unlikely that any of these animals—all typical décor on items found in tombs, ranging from clothing, coffins, vessels lacquerware, and music stands—represented the *zouyu* per se, they do clearly show up as animal-conveyances used by poets and kings for their tours of the supernatural cosmos.[116] In Chapter Five, I discuss the role of the hybrid tomb-guardian figure, part tiger, part dragon, often bifurcated into two masked faces with long tongues, and antlers on its heads. I suggest that this figure may have represented the consumption of the dead, the shedding of the deceased's corporeal self, and transmutation into a new winged form.

Shao Tuo's shrouds were not so well preserved, but the imagery preserved on other artifacts in his tomb strongly suggests that while his body was bound tightly within his coffin, some aspect of him was expected to escape and transcend. It is likely that the funeral rituals practiced in Jiangling varied from the accounts in the ritual texts, which seemed to have a relatively northern bias. The *Liji*, for example, notes the regrettable Chu custom of asking important visitors to help dress the corpse (instead of the formal presentation of gift shrouds to the host as advocated elsewhere).[117] On the other hand, many of the objects found inside the tomb—combs, baskets of food, insect pupae, basins, and so forth—correlate well with the ritual described above. What we see also in the layout of the tomb is not only the environment in which Shao Tuo's body was laid to rest, but an environment that prepared his spirit with the necessary equipment—weapons, chariot, food, servants, folding bed, documents—for a long journey, one that likely took three years of wandering before he found his way to Heaven. From the divination text buried with Shao Tuo, analyzed in detail in Chapter Four, we know that the deities of the

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[115] Hubeisheng Jiangzhou dicu bowuguan 1985, figs.1-28. Wooden servants placed in the tomb to accompany the dead were dressed with black and white lapels and a long dress with a phoenix on the front (fig. 31). The same black and white striped material was used to wrap a mirror (fig. 30.2).

[116] See the Chu painting from a tomb in Changsha reproduced in Li Ling 2004, 165, fig. 1, in which a chariot is a dragon. For transcendence in Chu art and writing, see Major 1999, 139-41. For a discussion of similar themes for the Shang and early China in general, see Allan 1991, 124-76, esp. her discussion of the bronze images of the tigers consuming/giving birth to humans (Allan 1991, 149-54, figs. 42a, 43a, 44a-b).

[117] *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.13b-14a. This custom suggests that the robes on the corpse in Mashan were gifts from visitors.

Earth, Heaven, and the Wilds controlled the fate of the living and the dead. In the following chapter, we examine the contents of Shao Tuo's tomb and discuss the symbolism of Inner and Outer in medicine and inherent in the creation of a sacred plot, or burial ground, for the safe burial of the deceased.

CHAPTER THREE

ENTERING THE EARTH

Ancestral spirits were the most powerful forces controlling the fates of individuals in ancient China. Records of divination and sacrifice dating from the second millennium BCE attest to their powers. The natural powers of the cosmos, controlled by the High God (*shangdi* 上帝)—a figure whose identity as either a supreme ancestor or abstract force has inspired a long scholarly debate,[1] were a secondary source of concern. As Shao Tuo's body continued to fail him and large sacrifices to his ancestors seemed to have had less and less value, ritualists focused attention on the earth gods—those who controlled Shao's home, the passageways to the outside, and the outside or "wilds" (*ye*, written in excavated texts as 埜, and in most transmitted texts as 野). Since the period of earliest recorded history, the late Shang period (ca. 1200-1045 BCE), "earth" or "land" (*tu* 土, the ancient graph for which depicted a mound on top of a horizontal line  , sometimes with droplets of liquid on top),[2] has been associated with its worship at the "earth altar" (*she* 社), a potent supernatural force that protected the worshippers from disasters and required animal sacrifices and exorcism rituals.[3] In transmitted textual records associated with the Zhou rule (Western Zhou period, 1046-771 BCE), the security of the Earth Altar was equivalent to the stability of the state, and in tales of the Chunqiu period (772-476 BCE), the Altar's destruction signaled political annihilation. Texts transmitted from the Warring States and early Han periods confirm that the Earth Altar played the role of intermediary between Earth and Heaven; it was a place where ghosts and spirits gathered.

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[1] See K. C. Chang 1976, 156-59.

[2] Some scholars feel that the shape represented a version of the phallic ancestral altar, *zu* 祖, and that *ye* written 埜 was a variant (see Hwang 1996, 345).

[3] Allan 1991, chapter 4; Keightley 2000, 61-65. Kominami 1987 attempts to trace back to prehistorical origins the Earth Altar constructed of a mound of earth and stone with a cosmic tree planted in the center. Ding 2001, 1, 15, claimed that the Shang earth god was female. See also Chao 2001, 315-28, on sacrifices at the earth altar.

By Warring States times, the Earth Altar was also associated with agriculture, the Millet God (Ji 稷), other agricultural gods, and the fecundity of cultivated land—in contrast to the Wilds, or uncultivated land. When a walled settlement (*yi* 邑) or city (*guo* 國) was created that symbolized the center of a new state (within the cosmogram of the Four Regions), an Earth Altar was constructed and water buffalo, goats, and pigs sacrificed.[4] Every political layer or unit of managed land had an Earth Altar—from the state, down through each province (*zhou* 州) and village (*li* 里),[5] to private elite residences (*gongshi* 宮室). Descriptions of such altars during this period vary according to time and place: it was a pile of earth (*feng* 封), a copse of tall trees, a single tree, a single tree in a mound of earth, or a mound of earth with some sort of grass structure on top. Some may have had yards around them or had wooden shrines.[6] In form (but not necessarily in size), they seem to have replicated Warring States-period tombs, built with mounds (also called *feng*), and sometimes planted with trees and surrounded with mausoleum parks, villages, and shrines.[7] In some schemes, Earth Altars were built for the Four Regions and planted with four trees, symbolic of the cosmos as in the Chu Silk Manuscript.[8] It seems most likely that Shao Tuo's diviners sacrificed to a local Earth Altar that reflected either his "province" or his residence. Evidence that the altar was in fact a *zhoushe* is suggested by the plaintive note on the back of the last divination text, no doubt written after Shao Tuo's death, claiming that the diviners could not find the name of the *zhou* (from which the curse originated) (*bu zhi qi zhou ming* 不知其州名). Also, the diviners sacrificed to the earth gods (variously termed Hou Tu, written 后土 or 侯土, or Dizhu 地主) of the Residence and the Wild, clearly understood as representing different jurisdictions from that of the *she*.

According to the *Zhouli*, public sacrifices at the Provincial Earth Altar occurred annually, featured some archery, and involved all the people in its jurisdiction.[9] According to the Baoshan divination record, ritualists

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[4] Wang Shenxing 1988; Chao 1995; Shen Jianhua 1999. See the *Shangshu*, "Zhao gao" and *Yi Zhoushu* "Zuo Luo" chapters on the creation of the city Chengzhou ("the Created Zhou" 成周 versus "Ancestral Zhou" Zongzhou 宗周). For my discussion of bronze inscription evidence for transition of "territory" (*yu* 域) into the later word "walled city, state" (*guo*) as a reference to the city of Chengzhou and its role as the sacred center, see Ke [Cook] 2003a.

[5] *Zhouli*, "Zhou zhang" 州長 (*Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 6, *j.* 22, 59).

[6] Chao 2001, 321, 327-28.

[7] Li Yujie 1991, 170-80. See also Loewe 1999, 86-91, for a brief history of mortuary shrines leading up to Han practice.

[8] Hwang 1996, 330-46.

[9] In "Zhouchang" 州長, *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 6, *j.* 22, 59.

directed prayers and sacrifices to the Earth Altar during the summer exorcism. This correlates well with research by Ding Shan, Chao Fulin, and others indicating that public worship at the Earth Altar was coterminous with the annual exorcism event (*zha* 蜡 or *la* 臘).[10] A province in fourth century BCE Chu would have been a small parcel of land or administrative unit located near the Chu capital.[11] It seems likely that Shao Tuo's diviners worshiped in the *zhou* that was linked to his ancestors, although he conducted business in over forty local *zhou*, including one named for his ancestor Pingye Jun (平夜君之州). His business there was preceded by business in Piyang—a site where a grand sacrifice mentioned in the divination manuscript (Appendix One) was planned. There, the person with whom he dealt was a certain Gu, a name shared by a group of diviners who tried to cure Shao Tuo when he fell sick.[12] Both places could not be far from the *zhou* belonging to the Mo'ao 莫囂 (>敖), a royal lineage, the Ying clan 雁族, and the Shao shang 邵上 family.[13]

Sacrifices to the earth gods of the Residence and Wilds did not necessarily take place during the time of the annual exorcism. Possible locations of such sacrifices that were mentioned in early texts were near the gate of the ancestral shrine and to the right side inside the main gate of the residence. The lord of the house prayed at the Earth Altar and offered meat sacrifices to it when he traveled or in case of natural disasters. Some scholars suggest that by the late Warring States or early Han period the Earth Altar was also called the "Inner Central Earth" (*nei zhong tu* 內中土) or the "Central Drainspout (*impluvium*)" (*zhongliu* 中霤)[14]—a god to whom meat sacrifice was offered and a site where the dead might be washed—and ultimately the more modern Kitchen God.[15] This suggests a link to the spatial deities worshipped in the Five Sacrifices (*wusi* 五祀), which according to a set of five differently shaped wooden slips placed in a basket in the western chamber of Shao Tuo's tomb, consisted of the door (*hu* 戶), the stove (*zao* 竈), the chamber (*shi* 室), the gate (*men* 門),

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[10] See chap. 2, above, n. 48.

[11] Chen Wei 1996a, 86-93, identified 41 in the Baoshan administrative text. Some clearly centered on burials (e.g., the *Xuan Wang zhi zhai zhou* 宣王之宅州), but most seem to be named for officials.

[12] Hubei 1991, strip 181. Chen Wei 1996b, 87. Also, see below, app. 1, VI.1 (strips 218-19).

[13] For Mo'ao, see Blakeley 1999, 56-59. It is unclear if there is any relationship between Shaoshang and the name Shao.

[14] The Qin strips from Shuihudi (*Rishu,* yi 日書, 乙, slip 31) use the term "Inner Central Earth." See Yang 2004, for a study of the different terms used.

[15] Chao 1995, 68; Chard 1980, 151-53.

and the walkway (*xing* 行). According to Chen Wei, gods associated with the chamber or *impluvium* included the Earth God of the Residence.[16]

The Earth Lord of the Wilds, on the other hand, was an earth god that controlled land beyond the walls of the residence and the city and beyond the surrounding area of cultivated fields. Since the uncultivated land in the hills around Jiangling is where the Chu elite buried their dead, it is likely that the Earth Lord of the Wilds was the deity who controlled the family burial ground, which is the site near Baoshan where Shao Tuo was eventually buried. The link between the Wilds and the burial ground is suggested in the *Liji*, which notes that once living beings die, they "return to earth" and are then referred to as ghosts whose "bones and meat" are buried below. "The crypt then becomes the Wild Land."[17] The word translated as crypt was written with the graph used to represent the Yin force, but it is generally understood to stand for a word meaning "shade" or "underground room."[18] The presentation of animal sacrifices to the Earth Lord of the Wild (*ye dizhu* 野地主) suggests that the Chu had some sort of shrine or altar in or near their burial grounds. In Eastern Han, and later, tombs, "tomb contracts" (*muquan* 墓券) or "grave securing writs" (*zhenmu wen* 真墓文) written on blocks or pottery jars were placed in the tomb as proof to a litigious underworld bureaucracy of officials to allow the deceased safe passage.[19] The early Han equivalents, called "*gao di ce* 告地策," were written on bamboo slips—sometimes as part of the tomb inventory texts—to report the burial and its contents to the lord of the underworld.[20] While we cannot clearly reconstruct an underground bureaucracy for fourth century BCE China, we can envision the tomb inventory text as a report to the underworld—perhaps to the Earth Lord and his snake, turtle, and "earth goat" assistants. It is clear from many of the items placed in Shao Tuo's and other Jiangling tombs that the recently deceased human spirits upon burial expected to feast, report to, ward off, and battle a range of supernatural powers.

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[16] Chen Wei 1996a, 165-69, links the God of Fate (*siming* 司命) to the *impluvium* and the God of Disasters (司禍) to the stove. Yang Hua 2004 has explored this connection further.

[17] *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 24, 14.10a.

[18] Zheng Xuan glossed *yin* 陰 as 蔭 "shade," which is a loan for *yin* 窨 "underground room" (see *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 24, 14.10a, and Wang Li 2000, 1094).

[19] Kleeman 1982; Nickerson 2002, 59-60.

[20] Yang Hua 1999 (rpt. 2004, 38).

1. Shao Tuo's Burial

Shao Tuo's tomb was structured to accord with the cosmological scheme of his time, which was the static and square Four Regions pattern overlaid with the moving, circular Five Phases. The former reflected the earth, and the latter the heavens.[21] The Four Regions pattern, about a millennium old, symbolized a square earth with the ego represented by the king positioned in the center. Outside of the center were four "regions" (*fang*) inhabited by non-kin outsiders and forces both human and supernatural that had to be overcome or appeased when one traveled in their region.[22] The complex correlations linking every aspect of time and physical change to Yin, Yang and the rise (*de* 德) and fall (*xing* 刑) of the five natural agents (water, fire, metal, wood, and earth) so popular during the Han period were still in a nascent stage during Shao Tuo's lifetime.[23] An examination of Shao Tao's burial arrangement and the items in his tomb makes it obvious that some of the correlations had ancient origins and were being recombined into new systems rather than invented whole-cloth. The objects placed in his tomb also reveal to us what the ancient Chinese believed were the essentials for travel through a dangerous supernatural landscape.

Shao's head was buried to the East, the direction that in later times would be associated with rebirth, the spring season, the color green, and the wood phase (of the Five Phases). A huge banquet was set in the compartment above his head. On his left side, in the compartment to the South—the direction of life, summer, red, and fire—was packed his military equipment. At his feet, in the compartment to the West—the direction of spiritual quest, autumn, white, and metal—were packed Shao's personal effects for the road. To his right, in the North compartment—the direction of death, winter, black, and water—were packed the items Shao would need to protect himself and to prove his identity and rank when he met the spirits in the underworld, on his journey, or in Heaven. The records of his administrative cases and of his diviners' attempts to

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[21] The idea of the moving *wuxing* versus the static *sifang* is from A. Wang 2000, 75-128.

[22] For details on this early cosmology see Allan 1991, 74-111; A. Wang 2000, 23-74; Keightley 2000. The *fang* received sacrifices along with Earth Altar, *Shijing* "Yun Han" 雲漢 (Mao 258). See the discussion by Chao 2001, 284.

[23] See the discussion in the previous chapter. The idea of a nascent correlative system, clearly evident in the 3d-c. BCE Shuihudi bamboo texts, is drawn from Harper's work (esp. 2001), but taken one step further back in time.

appease the cursing spirit were placed among all the effects of a scholar continuing his trade—a bamboo mat, a low table, a writing brush, and a knife for trimming the bamboo slips—as well as carved ritual objects he would carry on his person to protect him from the cursing spirits.

The tomb functioned as an underground extension of the above-ground sending-off feast—likewise supplied with an orchestra, musicians and attendants (the underground versions carved in wood, with real hair and movable arms), and a large array of food and drink. As the underground palace for the body, the tomb provided the deceased all the necessary equipment for travel away from civilization: horse and chariot pieces, weapons, clothing and grooming articles packed in cases, a collapsible bed, food wrapped in baskets, and religious items essential for protecting the traveler along the way.

Shao Tuo's body, hair pinned with bone and body wrapped in silk, with limbs bound to the body, had been carried westward down an east-facing ramp. On his body were placed five jade circlets and two jade half-circlets—symbols of immortality and prestige.[24] His head was placed to the east and his body was enclosed inside three inner coffins made of cedar and catalpa planks and two outer coffins made of elm planks.[25] The tomb was buried under six layers of different colored clays.[26] The jades, woods, and clays were selected to preserve his tomb and body. The items prepared for the feast and the journey were placed inside of compartments in the outermost coffin built in a swirling pattern around the central burial chamber (see figure 1). In the center, at the bottom of the tomb pit, was an oblong waist pit, a pit dug into the tomb floor under the coffin. A symbol of good fortune and fertility, a young mountain goat (*Capra hircus*) with horns wrapped in silk had been placed in the pit with its head also to the east.[27] The sacrifice of the goat in a pit in the center of the tomb is reminiscent of animal sacrifices to the *impluvium* and to the

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[24] See Childs-Johnson 1998 and 2002, 15-24, 64.

[25] These are not the same specifications as listed in the ritual texts (see Chao 2001, 295-301), but I suspect this is due not only to regional variation but also to the fact that the ritual texts did not really represent standard practice.

[26] According to the "Zuo Luo" 作洛, a late chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* (5.8a-b, sect. 48), the Earth Altar was constructed of "five colors" of earth but these were laid out according to the Five Phase correlations: E=green, S=red, W= white, N=black, Center=yellow. A covering of yellow earth pulled out through a hole drilled in one side is used to cover the tumulus along with a thatch (*ju* 苴) of white grass (*baimao* 白茅).

[27] Hubei, vol. 1, 45-51. Although mountain goats and goat horns have been found at archaeological sites since Neolithic times, and the practice of putting a deer or dog in the wastepit can be traced back to the Shang and Western Zhou periods, in Chu

earth god recorded for Earth Altar sacrifices in the residence and elsewhere. Tales of legal suits being solved by the sacrifice of goats during the annual public Earth Altar sacrifice suggest too that this goat may have served in a similar role in proving the innocence of Shao Tuo before an underworld court.[28] The underground register in the Mawangdui funeral painting shows two "earth goats" (four-legged horned dragon-like white creatures) and a central human-like figure, naked and squat, holding up the ground—a figure which Wu Hong has identified as the Lord of the Earth.[29] Outside this earthly compartment are creatures such as snakes, turtles, and owls.[30] The tomb compartments and their contents were intended not only to keep

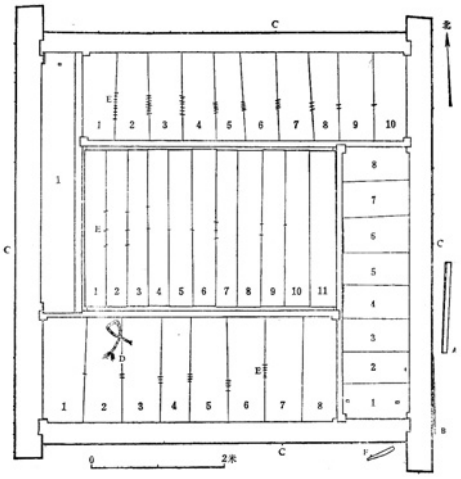

Figure 1. Tomb Compartments
Numbers on the boards are the archaeologists' numbering of boards in each compartment: the central chamber consisted of 11 boards, northern 10 boards, eastern and southern 8, and western 1 (seemingly to suggest that the closer one got to a NW corner and the possible direction of soul flight, the fewer boards needed). The boards were fitted together according to matched sets of notches. The letters indicate woodworking tools left in the tomb. After Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 36.

of the Warring States period, the choice of a goat may have had more to do with its association with good fortune. The *Shuowen* (vol. 4, 311) defines *yang* 羊 as *xiang* 祥 "good fortune." For the popularity of horns in Chu art and as a symbol of fertility, see Dematte 1994, 36-44; So 1999, 45-46; and Major 1999, 132-34.

[28] This tale from *Mozi* "Ming gui, xia" 明鬼, 下 (*Mozi jiangu*, sect. 31, *j.* 8, 144); see Chao 2001, 320-21. There is no evidence yet for the idea of an underworld court during the Warring States period. This is speculation on the role of the earth god as parallel to Shangdi and the hierarchy of royal ancestors up in Heaven, evident in bronze inscriptions as early as the late Western Zhou period.

[29] Wu 1992, 124-25. The figures are also depicted on Lady Dai's inner coffins as the earth god; see Li Zhengguang 2002, figs. 60-94, 98. The animals and humans on her inner coffins are wandering through clouds, perhaps as an indication of the journey to heaven.

[30] For a close-up color photograph of this scene, see Hunansheng bowuguan 1973, vol. 2, pl. 77.

dangerous aspects of the deceased's soul safely underground, but also to aid the metamorphosis of his higher spirit. This metamorphosis involved a journey out of the locked inner coffins, through the compartments, and out into the wilds.[31]

1.1. *The Inner Coffins*

Inner coffins were designed for a trifold purpose. They locked in the dangerous corporeal aspect of the dead, in order to protect the living.[32] They protected the deceased from evil influences by means of images of terrible beasts—monster masks and sharp-toothed dragon heads. Finally, they also provided a means of escape through painted architectural symbols, possibly the cloud-like *hun* or ethereal soul. An alternative vision suggests that the inner and outer coffins, individually or as a set, were envisioned as the base of a chariot—so that the tomb itself acted as the metaphoric vehicle of transport.[33]

Weapons and clothing placed on top of Shao Tuo's inner coffins were no doubt meant for immediate use by the escaping spirit, helping him fill out his form or "likeness" (*xiang*). Silk clothing was placed on the lid of the innermost coffin; on the eastern end of the coffin, a bronze appliqué monster-head (*taotie* 饕餮, a symbol of consumption)[34] seems at an earlier point in time to have held a silk strap from which dangled a jade disk. On the lid were placed a bronze sword with a jade handle, a bronze knife for paring bamboo strips, and some sticks. To the sides, on the south, was a bronze sword with a bone handle, and to the north a bow and arrow set. The sense is that Shao Tuo could immediately outfit himself as both a warrior and a scholar.

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[31] Yang Yi 2004, 58-59, feels that while spirits were clearly conceived by the Chu people as roaming, by the Han period, when *zhenmushou* were no longer used in tombs, spirits stayed inside the tomb.

[32] For a discussion on the importance of "separation" (*bie* 別) of the dead from the living and how grave goods—purposely incomplete or useless—serve this purpose, see Lai 2002, 67-100.

[33] For a discussion of the scholarship revealing the tomb as a "house," see Lai 2003, 43-47, who quotes a passage from *Xunzi*, "Lilun," which describes the tomb as a house but the inner and outer coffins as painted boards of a "carriage" (45). One wonders if the words used typically to represent the boards and screen of a chariot might not also have been used for a bed, certainly a more likely piece of equipment to be found in a room of a "house." However, the presence of actual chariot wheels placed around the inner coffin in early Jin state tombs suggests that, indeed, the image of a coffin as a chariot is not misplaced.

[34] Hubei, vol. 1, 63, ill. 44. For interpretation of this *taotie*-style animal mask décor as a symbol of the metamorphosis of the spirit and its relation to early hunting ritual, see Childs-Johnson 1998.

On the middle-inner coffin, nine layers of silks were draped. The bottom two layers were small lozenge-patterned brocades; the third layer was tied loosely around the second layer; the fourth layer was a net of white and dark brown woven strands binding the second and third layers together; the fifth layer was decorated with embroidered phoenixes; the sixth, seventh, and eighth layers were composed of pieces of smaller coverlets laid out and piled up in layered strips; the ninth and top layer again had embroidered phoenixes. On top of the sixth layer was a round mud seal; on the seventh there were four seals, on the eighth there were three seals—all impressed with the name Fan,[35] perhaps the name of the attendant in charge of clothes or a donor. On the seventh layer were the remains of insect pupae.[36]

The spirit escaped through symbolic windows and doors. The middle-inner coffin had a flat bottom and ends but was rounded on the top and sides, possibly in imitation of a house. On the eastern end architectural symbols of windows and doors were painted in white: on the lid the sign ✕ and on the bottom section the sign ✣ (see figure 2).[37] The top and bottom were sealed with lacquer paint. The whole coffin was painted with black lacquer inside and out and then bound tightly with interlaced hemp ropes with black, tan, brown, and red threads. The coffin was seated on a woven bamboo mat. The innermost coffin was rectangular, with sides and ends interlocking, and was sealed with lacquer. The lid had two double-headed bronze monster faces holding ring handles; each side had two single-headed ring handles; and the ends each had one

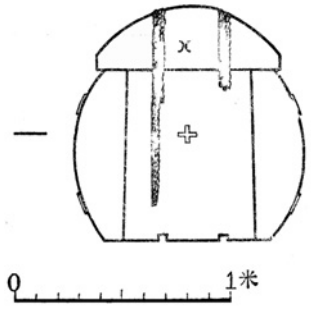

Figure 2. Signs on the Middle Coffin: End View

Inside the central chamber and surrounding the Inner Coffin, the Middle Coffin is tightly bound. This view depicts two disintegrated binds (three layers of rope) and the signs painted in white on the eastern end. After Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 42.

[35] Hubei, vol. 1, 68. The graph is written with the semantic symbol for silk and the graph 女. He Linyi 1998, 562, notes that this is a simplified form of Fan 繁, a name found on Chu seals.

[36] For the description of the inner coffin, see Hubei, vol. 1, 61-68. It is not clear if the pupae were intentionally placed to represent metamorphosis like the traditional cicada décor on earlier bronzes, or if their existence in the tomb was accidental.

[37] See discussion, chap. 3.

single-headed handle. The inside of the coffin was painted with red lacquer and the outside black with yellow and red lacquer phoenixes with gold and silver powder.

The lid and sides altogether had nine panels of abstracted and intertwined light and dark designs, each including four dragons and four phoenixes—the mythical beasts symbolic of spiritual flight. The abstracted phoenix and dragon designs on the eastern and western ends of the coffin represented guarded openings (see figure 3). The eastern end décor consisted of a large ✕ with diagonal paths or lines overlapped by a central ✣ or *ya* shape (somewhat reminiscent of the cosmic *shi* boards). The western end décor formed two concentric circles. In the outer circle six black dragons with sharp teeth and claws[38] were incorporated into the décor. At the very center of the design at each end was an abstract *taotie* or monster mask looking straight out, its jawless mouth open, as if, like a snake, it were threatened and about to strike from its hole. This coffin was also tightly bound shut with a crisscross of rope.[39]

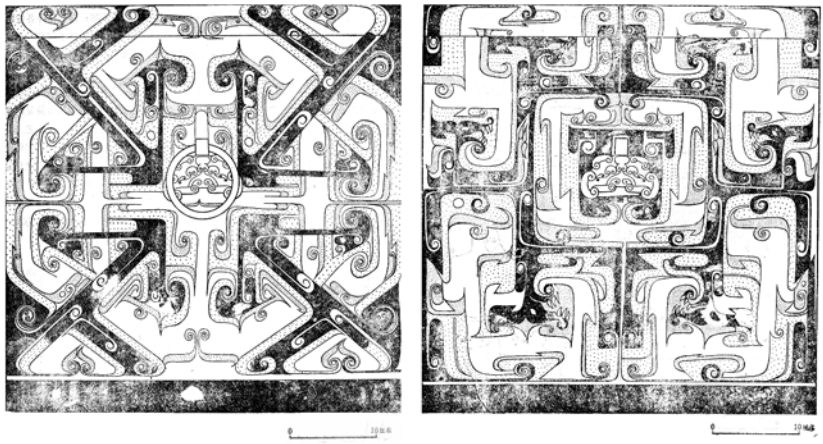

Figure 3. Décor on the Eastern (left) and Western (right) Ends of the Inner Coffin

Detail: Dragon from the western end. After Hubei, vol. 1, figs. 45.b-c.

[38] These dragons, like the monster masks, may have served an apotropaic function.
[39] For the description of the middle-inner coffin, see Hubei, vol. 1, 60-61.

The décor on the Baoshan coffin-ends is similar in design to the brightly colored bases of carved wood used to support sculptures symbolizing transcendence and flight found in the Tianxingguan Tomb 2, dated to around 350-330 BCE. The base in figure 4a uses a red spiral-bird décor somewhat similar to the red spiral dragon décor on the western end of the Baoshan inner coffin. Figures 4b and 4c are square bases designed in concentric circles like the western end, but 4c (following page) marks the diagonals or four paths like the eastern end. Figure 4b is plain with a ring, which may depict mountains. Both of these bases still retain their sculptures, a spirit tree with red stripes in 4b and a bifurcated tomb guardian (*zhenmushou*) with hanging tongues and antlers

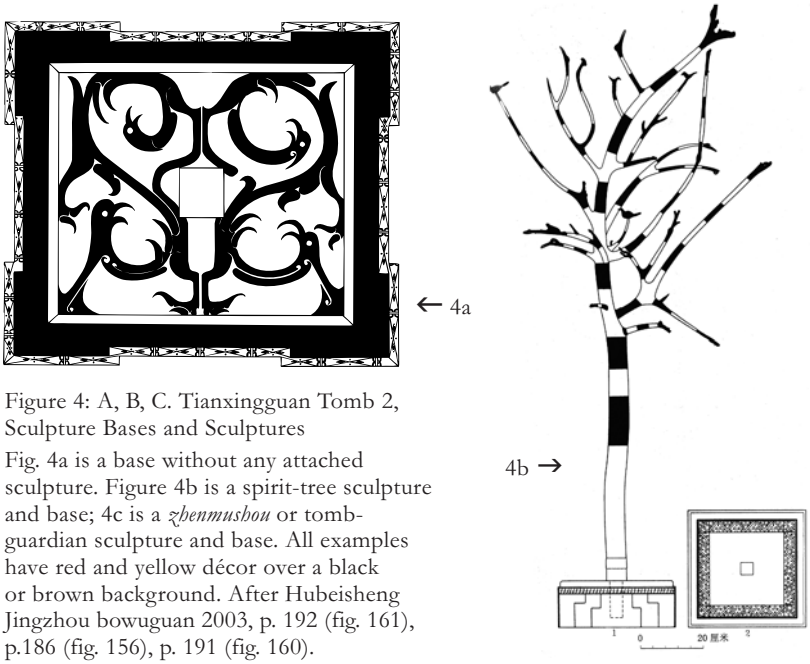

Figure 4: A, B, C. Tianxingguan Tomb 2, Sculpture Bases and Sculptures
Fig. 4a is a base without any attached sculpture. Figure 4b is a spirit-tree sculpture and base; 4c is a *zhenmushou* or tomb-guardian sculpture and base. All examples have red and yellow décor over a black or brown background. After Hubeisheng Jingzhou bowuguan 2003, p. 192 (fig. 161), p.186 (fig. 156), p. 191 (fig. 160).

also with red stripes. These sculptures emerging out of the center of the diagonal and circular designs placed within the square support the idea of a spirit emerging. The notion that the spirit would emerge out of a ring or a mouth is confirmed by the translation of the entire base into a hybrid frog-bird beast with a gaping mouth (figure 5). Spirals of dragon bodies are painted all over the back. The toothed mouth of the base is tiger-like. We will see this theme of consumption repeated in a pig-dragon box depicted in figure 7 and discussed below with vessels from the eastern compartment.

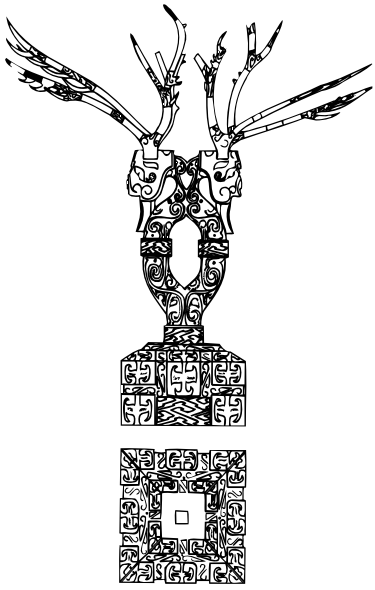

Figure 4c.

Figure 5. Tianxingguan Tomb 2, Frog-Bird Base
After Hubeisheng Jingzhou bowuguan 2003, foldout inset, fig. 163.

1.2. *The Outer Coffin*

The outer coffin[40] consisted of compartments packed with the necessary implements Shao Tuo would need to make his journey. These implements were preserved in the one-and-a-half meters of water that had flooded the tomb over time. Under a layer of floating silk, feathers,[41] and bubbles, the slightly acidic water appeared fairly clear when the tomb was opened. Except for the floating objects, everything seemed to be basically as originally placed. Items were placed in the tomb either whole (such as vessels and weapons), folded (such as beds, stools, and tables), or in parts that symbolized the whole (such as the chariot pieces).

[40] Descriptions of the outer coffin compartments are scattered throughout Hubei, vol. 1, 45-277. Chinese archaeologists prefer to discuss contents in terms of their type—bronze, pottery, etc. I have chosen to unpack each compartment separately as one would a giant suitcase, beginning with the top layer and moving downwards.

[41] Identified as silver pheasant and chicken feathers, see Hubei, vol. 1, 448.

The eastern compartment was called the Dining Room (*shishi* 食室) in the Tomb Inventory Text,[42] and included the feast preparations for the Great Sacred Plot (*dazhao* 大兆), a reference to the underground shrine or tomb.[43] The southern and western compartments held preparations for the journey (*xing* 行).[44] The southern compartment contained weapons and horse-and-chariot equipment, and the western chamber included items for daily use such as food and furniture. The contents of the northern chamber were associated with Shao Tuo's identity and included decorative and protective items of a personal nature.[45] Here the wandering aspect of Shao Tuo would pick up the items necessary to protect him on his journey and to establish his rightful place among his ancestors in the spirit world. Although no records exist to tell us the directions the spirit must travel first, in the transmitted "Zhaohun" song we know that spirits went clockwise from the east, to the south, west, north, and, finally, up into Heaven and down into Earth. We will examine the contents of each compartment that surrounded the central inner-coffin area (beneath the mound of Heaven and in the pit of Earth)[46] in this order.

1.3. *The Eastern Compartment*

The eastern compartment was set for a feast and, according to the Tomb Inventory Text (see Appendix Two), was the ritual repository of "Metal Vessels." It also functioned as a "greeting room" or underground shrine (*tiao* 祧< *zhao* 兆) for the ancestral spirits. The compartment contained wooden figures representing servants, musical instruments, bronze and lacquered wooden vessels (for stews, grains, meat and vegetable dishes, and alcoholic beverages), and baskets packed with foods. The dishes were spiced with ginger, scallions, combined fruits, nuts, and peppers with chicken, pork, water buffalo meat, and fish. They would have been served on low tables to the guests, who in this case were not Shao Tuo's mourners but his ancestral spirits, his patrons and guides into the spirit world.[47] The host of the feast would have been Shao Tuo himself, or the essence of his *hunpo*, which escaped the inner coffins.

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[42] See the Baoshan Tomb Inventory Text and notes, below, app. 2, strip 251.

[43] See strip 265.

[44] See strip 259.

[45] In Wu Hong's analysis (Wu 1992, 135), the northern compartment was equivalent to the "inner chamber" (*qin* 寢 "bedroom") inside the "home" of the outer coffin.

[46] Lai 2003, 47, also points out the model of the round mound as Heaven and the square pit as Earth.

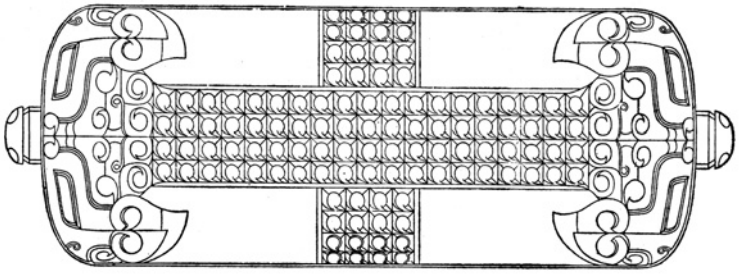
[47] We know that ancestral spirits were the primary guests at feasts described in the *Shijing* and on earlier bronze inscriptions.

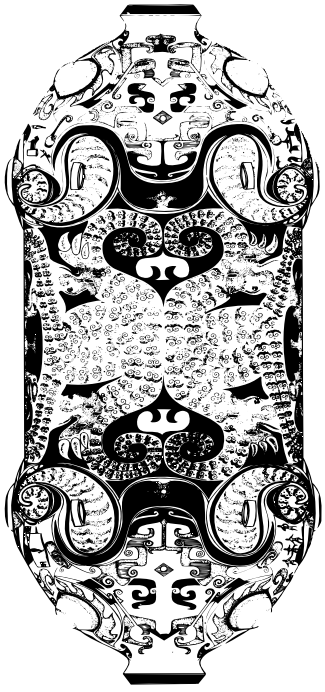
At the top of the eastern compartment floated a large variety of items used in the feast. In the center were two 112-millimeter-high wooden male servants with jointed arms, carved legs, and hair in long braids down the back (figure 6). They had painted-on hat straps and shoes in black and lips painted in red. Their mustaches were fashioned out of wood chips. The faces, necks, and foot areas were pinkish. Since the head and neck were finely carved and the body area roughly carved, these figures were no doubt originally fully clothed. There were also two smaller wooden figures without carved legs, possibly representing female or young male servants. Two others were located in a deeper layer in the center section of the compartment. Three wooden tables, a wooden zither, and a case packed with wine cups floated at one end, and at the other was a large array of bamboo baskets for food. Between these and among the wooden servants floated a variety of lacquer "ear-cup" dishes (small oblong dishes with ear-shaped handles), covered pottery jars, and various implements such as whisk brooms, a bronze ladle, wooden cups, and a bamboo bag. Food and wine had been packed in a variety of large, rectangular, loosely-woven bamboo baskets, and sealed pottery jars placed beneath the table and inside a large bronze caldron. The majority of the bronzes seemed to be placed at the western side of the compartment. The eastern side consisted primarily of layer upon layer of food baskets.

Figure 6. Baoshan Tomb Attendant
Assembled out of separately carved pieces of wood. About 112 mm tall. After Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 170.

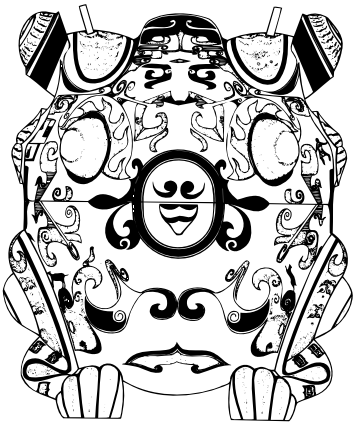
The eastern compartment contained a large number of bronze sacrificial vessels, including eighteen caldrons with four caldron hooks, a steamer, two square-lidded grain vessels (*fu* 簠), two spherical-lidded vessels (*dui* 鐓), six drink-serving vessels (*hu* 壺), two lidded jars (*fou* 缶), two large basins (*jian* 鑒), two shallow basins (*pan* 盤), two box-like containers, a pouring vessel (*yi* 匜), a ladle, and an incense burner. Lacquered wooden vessels, tables, and implements (such as ladles) as well as bovine bones were also mixed in.

Sets of dishes for drinking alcoholic drinks were packed into lacquer boxes designed to look like double-headed dragons. The Baoshan version (figure 7a), wrapped in a leather bag, was the same as one from Wangshan Tomb 2.[48] A much more elaborate version is from Tianxingguan Tomb 2 (figures 7b, c). In this version the outward shape is clearly that of a pig, but painted-on décor shows the horned tiger mask of the *taotie* beast with interwined dragon bodies. On the cheeks of this hybrid animal are





← 7b



7c →

Figure 7: A, B, C. Double-headed Pig-Dragon Boxes

Figure 7a (above): top view of the Baoshan box, adapted from Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 82. Figures 7b and c: top and end views of the Tianxingguan box. Adapted from Hubeisheng Jingzhou bowuguan 2003, foldout inset, fig. 123.

[48] *Hubeishen wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo* 1996, 88, fig. 59.

painted small scenes of hunting and feasting, much as we might find on fifth century BCE bronzes.[49] The frontal view of the animal (figure 7c) reveals an image of consumption (with the tongue hanging out within the round porcine nose) that is not unlike the *taotie* emerging through the jade ring at the end of the Baoshan coffin (see figure 3). It also reveals that the hybrid horned pig-dragon shares the frog-like legs of the frog-bird base (figure 5) with the clawed tiger-like feet (compare figure 9). Both figures seem ready to pounce or take off—a theme consistent with the idea of their role as an intermediary to soul flight.[50]

In among the caldrons were three sets of bamboo strips detailing food items donated to the tomb, only some of which seem to correspond to actual items excavated.[51] While the contents of the baskets and jars were not all identifiable or even full, the reported contents do give us an idea of what might have been served at a mortuary feast: water chestnuts, chestnuts, dates, red dates, pears, persimmons, ginger, lotus root, onions, and wild pepper seeds (possibly added for magical purposes rather than taste). Chickens and piglets in pieces were spread out among different baskets and were mixed with other fruits. There were also silk cloth and items, perhaps meant to imitate food, or to be used in serving, such as cogon grass, sticks, floss, and bamboo filaments. The baskets were tightly bound and some had clay seals and tags.[52] The sealed jars were covered with cloths bound shut with coils of rope and clay seals. The contents seemed to be mostly herbal, consisting of sticks, leaves, and various (unspecified) plants. One had a carp skeleton, another 271 plums. Bones of a young water buffalo, mostly from the right side of the animal, were found dispersed among the caldrons.[53]

1.4. *The Southern Compartment*

The southern compartment was filled with military equipment. Weapons included an array of dagger-axes, spears, double-bladed dagger-axes, poles, and arrows. Armor included wooden shields and a number of painted leather shields and body armor. Although an entire chariot with horses was not included, as in Western Zhou period tombs, there was equipment for a hunt. Horse and chariot equipment included painted

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[49] See Thote 1999b.
[50] For the historical role of alcohol in soul flight, see Cook 2005a, 16-27.
[51] Strips 251-58.
[52] These seals and tags are not yet deciphered; see Hubei, vol. 1, table 16, 151-54.
[53] For a discussion of beef as an offering, see Ke [Cook] 2003b.

leather armor (see figure 8)[54] and décor, umbrellas, yokes, bamboo mats and screens, gauze, handles, along with innumerable bamboo or bronze pieces, such as bird and tiger chariot décor, axle covers, horse bridle décor and bits, spike-covered wooden head pieces for horses, buttons, rings, pins, bone and wooden carved cowries, tent hooks, belt hooks, a net, a basket, and other sundries. There was a wooden drum and a bronze chime bell. One of the double-bladed dagger-axes was decorated with silver pheasant and crane feathers. Written on the left side of the horse armor were the names Zhou Gong 胄公 and Ying 嬴, perhaps the names of donors.[55] A horse bit had the words "Heavenly Assistant" (*tianxu* 天胥),[56] suggesting the role of the horse in the spirit journey. Two wooden servants were also included. Bamboo strips listing items donated to the tomb, but not necessarily all of them for this compartment,[57] were found in two different sections of the chamber.

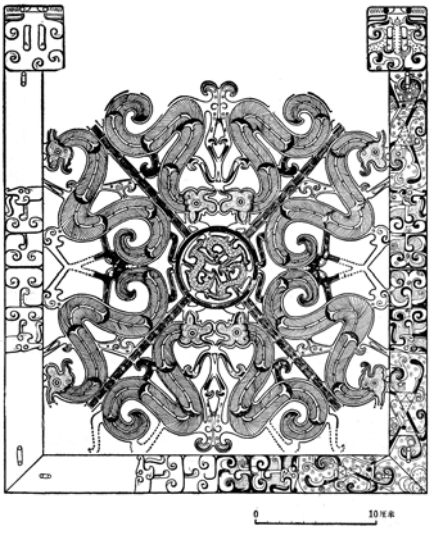

Figure 8. Painted Leather Chariot Décor
35 x 40.4 cm. The décor of bifurcated dragons split by diagonals emerging out of a center ring is consistent with Chu décor on the east end of the Baoshan inner coffin and the décor on the sculpture bases (compare figs. 3 and 4). Adapted from Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 153.

1.5. *The Western Compartment*

The clothing, toiletries, and furniture Shao Tuo would need for his journey were packed into the western chamber. These included weapons (a

[54] Hubei, vol. 1, figs. 152, 153 show chariot armor composed of phoenixes on one and dragons on the other.

[55] The name Zhou was originally written with the 阝 element; see Hubei, vol. 1, 222-23. Ying may have stood for a type of leather, see the Tomb Inventory text, strip no. 269.

[56] Hubei, vol. 1, 243. For the reading of the second graph as *xu*, see He Linyi 1996, 528.

[57] Strips 265-66 list sacrificial vessels for the Great Plot, and 267-77 describe horse and chariot décor. Most of the sacrificial vessels were found in the eastern compartment.

leather shield, spears, spikes, dagger-axes), cloth coverings, shoes, a lacquer toilet case (no contents), woven bamboo fans, tools (iron sickle, axe handle), bamboo mats, a reed screen, a folding bed, bronze lamps, bronze cooking and food storage vessels (a lidded caldron, a round bellied lidded jar, a teapot-like pouring vessel with a lid, and a lidded box), a lacquer painted handle (possibly for a feather fan), a zither, and two egg-shaped stones. Of the seven baskets, three had some remains. One had silk cloth, another had two pairs of hemp shoes, and the third was packed with a hat ornament, pepper seeds, and five wooden tags that said "chamber," "stove," "gateway," "door," and "walkway," areas in his tomb-house that were controlled by spirits just as these same areas of his living residence were controlled.[58] Bamboo strips with text were found in two places. One set of 129 strips was placed on top of two bronze basins, but these were all blank except for one, a piece that seems to have belonged to an administrative document.[59] Another set of six strips consisted of tomb inventory records describing clothing and personal items.[60]

1.6. *The Northern Compartment*

The contents of the northern chamber included items that Shao Tuo could identify from his life above ground. Included were protective ornaments to be worn on his body and carried perhaps also for protection or to bribe spirits during his journey. Most important were the texts which identified him and his lineage as well as the merit he accumulated through service to the court and sacrifice to the spirits during his lifetime.

Objects included two wooden servants, a zither, two lidded bronze jars with handles, one with two handheld bronze lamps[61] and the other with a bronze ladle inside, a bamboo mat, wooden pillows, a stool, fluted bone pins, a wooden tiger (figure 9), a dragon-headed staff with a long tongue (figure 10c), a writing brush, a paring knife, and a small box made of wood, bone, and bamboo with a vertical octagonal shaped wood and bone handle on the lid (no contents).

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[58] See the Divination Text and notes, app. 1. The deities of all areas except the stove were mentioned in the Divination Text. Han tombs included pottery stoves for cooking but earlier tombs simply included large cooking pots. No "stove" or kitchen area in these tombs can be specifically identified. For a discussion of the Five Sacrifices, see Chard 1999 and Yang Hua 2004.

[59] Strip 278.

[60] Strips 259-64.

[61] See Lai 2003, 101-26, for discussion of lamps in tombs and their use to light up the dark northwest in the afterlife.

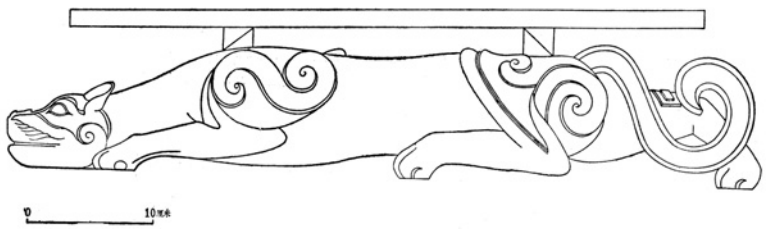

Figure 9. Shao Tuo's Personal Tiger Ornament
After Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 171.

Figure 10: A, B, C. Shao Tuo's Personal Ornaments and Staff
Figure 10a (leftmost) depicts a head ornament of two intertwined hybrid tiger-snakes carved out of horn; after Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 174.2. Figure 10b depicts an ornament possibly also worn on the head with wild animals carved out of wood; after Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 174.3. Figure 10c (the last two, taken together) depicts the bronze head and foot of bamboo staff carried by Shao Tuo in the afterlife; after Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 129.2-3. The head, a horned dragon with teeth and a protruding tongue, is inlaid with gold and silver. The bamboo shaft was painted with black lacquer. The foot has a stylized griffin-like duck with wings outstretched ready to fly. This same duck is depicted in the Wangshan Tomb 2 screen (figure 16, below) catching snakes with its beak and feet.

Of the five baskets in this chamber, four had contents, and three of these (all painted red and black) were labeled. One brown basket held four wooden combs. Of the red and black baskets, one (labeled "Water Chestnuts") simply held pepper seeds glued to the inside, and another (labeled "Feathered Turban Silk") had silk, but the third (labeled "Pendant Basket") contained a number of curious objects, possibly worn by Shao Tuo.[62] These objects included a long jade strip and rectangular jade piece,

[62] For basket tags see Hubei, vol. 2, pl. 47, nos. 3, 4, 5. I follow Chen Wei's reading of these basket tags as loanwords for *ou* 藕, *yupabo* 羽帕帛, and *peisi* 佩笥 (personal communication, 2/18/01). He notes that basket number 59 (not 218 with the tag) actually held the water chestnuts and that earlier readings as "water chestnuts" may be inaccurate. I would suggest that graph on tag 3 might be *ao* 敖, a loan for *jiao* 椒 "pepper."

a fluted bone pin, a hairpiece (composed of fifteen intertwined bunches of hair woven at the ends with silk fibers and glued with lacquer), and peppers. Most interesting are the carved ornaments with possibly an apotropaic purpose: a carved horn of three long intertwined dragons which may have functioned as a head or hat ornament[63] and a carved root with a deer looking back at a seated animal, possibly a monkey or a bear, on a base with two more deer, a bird, and several snakes (figure 10a). From holes drilled into the base of the root, one might guess that this object was also worn. The carved horn head ornament worn with a feathered turban would immediately transform Shao Tuo into the half-animal form of many spirits described in ancient texts (see the discussion in Chapter Five). The multi-animal ornament may have functioned like the small lacquer screens of carved animals discovered in the tombs in Tianxingguan and in Tomb 1 of Wangshan, Jiangling (see figure 14)—a symbol of the wilds and of transformation (see Chapter Five)—or had a role in exorcising demons, much like the animal costumes worn by shamans during the annual exorcism during the Han period.[64]

A round lacquer box, red on the inside and black on the outside, has around the outside a vividly rendered scene of the arrival of guests and the departure of one person in a chariot.[65] On the lid is painted a finely rendered design in red, orange, yellow, light brown, and azure showing abstracted interlocking dragons and phoenixes in two concentric circles separated by a red band.[66] Around the side above a decorative band are five scenes separated by trees outlined in red bands (see figure 11). This painting of guests arriving and a single man leaving may be symbolic of Shao Tuo's departure (see Chapter Four).

Two texts were also placed into the northern compartment, one associated with Shao Tuo's public service as a Chu official[67] and the other

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[63] Thote, in Yang Xiaoneng 1999, 338. Lai 2002, 92-93, suggests that this horn may have been worn on the *xie* cap mentioned in Chu Tomb Inventory texts and feels also that its function was apotropaic.

[64] See Granet 1926, 299-320; Lewis 1990, 191-95. Lewis shows that mythical figure of Chi You 蚩尤 was depicted in tombs with tiger or bear skin, horns, and weapons. This guise was also taken on by shamans in charge of funeral processions in later times. Chi You might have been a possible expression of the *yu* 虞 discussed above, although he does not seemed to be linked to consuming dead flesh.

[65] See Hu Yali 1991, 502.

[66] See Cook and Major 1999, 42, fig. 3.11.

[67] Strips 1-176, including 35 blank strips. The blank strips may have strips prepared for Shao Tuo to use during his lifetime. The text was unfinished when Shao died. Perhaps he was meant to finish them after death or simply have them on hand to show his good intentions.

associated with his personal struggle against terminal illness.[68] Because the latter text is concerned with the advance of death, it might be understood as the first step towards the tomb, the portal to the celestial journey. It also gives details of the cosmic, earthly, and human forces that Shao Tuo probably understood as having impacted his vitality. He had to propitiate them during his lifetime and perhaps expected to meet them in the afterlife; hence he required the equipment to protect him and to appease them.

2. Sacred Space: The Inner and Outer

In the first section of this chapter I surveyed the contents of Shao Tuo's tomb and stated their general roles in the spirit journey. Here I discuss briefly the concept of sacred space in terms of both the symbolism of the tomb and the texts translated in the appendix.

By means of Shao Tuo's Tomb Inventory text, the ritualists explained that the large sacrificial vessels (the "Metal Items," *jinqi* 金器) were to be placed in the Great Ominous Region, or, Sacred Plot (*dazhao* 大兆), a term that refers to burial grounds. Scholars have pointed out that the word for "Sacred Plot" (*zhao* 垗) was written variously and had the meanings of "presenting a large sacrifice for ancestral spirits" (*tiao* 祧) and that of a site where such a sacrifice was presented, as a greeting room for spirits (*zhao* or *chao* 朝, 晁 or "temple" *miao* 廟).[69] The bronze plan (*tu* 圖)[70] for a Zhongshan mausoleum (dating to the late third century BCE) refers to a walled compound of three tombs and associated temples as a *zhao*.[71] In the Han-era edited ritual text *Zhouli*, the "Sacred Plot" is called the *zhaoyu* 兆域, and its design (*tu*), the responsibility of the "Officers of the Tumulus" (Zhongren 冢人), involved divination. Besides the design, they were in charge of the building of the tomb, the divination for the burial, measuring the mound (*qiufeng* 丘封), planting the correct number of trees on it, and counting up the tomb inventory. When it came to the

[68] Strips 197-250, including 3 blank strips. Blank strips were most likely prepared before his death. Unused they were part of this sacred text involving the spirits and hence best entombed with the rest of the spirit naming (and as such spirit invoking) text. Such a text might be considered dangerous to the living. See app. 1.

[69] Chen Wei 1996, 192-97.

[70] A *tu* might only be for a state burial ground (*bangmu zhi diyu* 邦墓之地域); see *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 11, *j.* 41, 88.

[71] Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1995, vol. 1, 398-402.

burial itself, they controlled and performed in the ceremony "announcing the bell-fringed chariot and the 'image man' (*yan luanche xiangren* 言鸞車象人),[72] "weeping while holding an axe,"[73] following the "inauspicious items" (the tomb inventory) into the tomb, magically securing the tomb path and the plot, sealing the entrance, and acting as the Corpse to receive the sacrifices to the deceased at the tomb.[74]

The link between burial, divination, and sacred space is represented by the word *zhao* and its cognates, all written with the phonetic represented by the graph 兆. The primal meaning of *zhao* is omen, or oracle-sign cracks on a tortoise bone. The earliest reference to *zhao* as a burial space is recorded in the *Zuozhuan* narrative, probably compiled around the same time period as Shao Tuo's burial although the purported time of the narrated action, according to the *Zuozhuan* compiler, belonged to the second year of the reign of the last Lu ruler, Ai Gong (r. 494-477 BCE), a time when Lu was at war with Chu. Interestingly, the same record uses the word *zhao*, "omen," confirming that at least by the time of the *Zuozhuan* the two cognates existed as independent words. In the contemporary divination text from Xincai in southeastern Henan (ca. 340 BCE), we see the word *zhao* used in several senses: an omen, a type of jade gift, and a place. While the divination formulas in the Baoshan, Wangshan and Xincai texts are similar, the Xincai text has one phrase using the word *zhao* that is different. Where the Baoshan text might have "(the diviner) divined about it (saying): the long-term prognostication is auspicious (*zhan zhi, heng zhenji* 占之 [曰], 恒貞吉), the Xincai text has: "(The diviner) divined about it (saying): the omen (indicates the tomb occupant is) without blame (*zhan zhi zhao wujiu* 占之兆無咎)." Here the word *zhao* was written, with the graphs 兆 and 卜 (*bu*), the latter being the

[72] The commentaries to this section suggest that the *xiangren* must refer to the grass or wooden servants (*yong* 俑) put in tombs to serve the dead in the afterlife (*Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 11, *j.* 4, 85-86). I suspect that the *xiangren* refers to an image or even the personator who wears the clothes of the dead, which attracted his wandering soul and thus acted as his *xiang*. Lai 2000, 138-39, suggests that it may have been a reference to the banner representing the transformation of the deceased into a spirit as seen in early Han tombs at Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan. Another option might be that this person was the *xiaoxiang* 小相, a ritualist who officiated at "greeting" ceremonies at the ancestral shrine (see above, chap. 2, n. 49).

[73] The axe was probably used for spell making or other magic; see Lewis's discussion of later festivals (Lewis 1991, 159, 202). Lai 2000, 76-85, 127-79, suggests that holding the axe may have represented the "cutting off" of the living from the dead.

[74] *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 11, *j.* 41, 80-87.

most ancient word for an oracle-bone crack and "to divine."[75] The same graph is used to indicate a kind of jade ornament that is used to select auspicious days and is used as a gift to deities (written either *zhaoyu* 卜玉 or *yuzhao* as in 佩玉卜, 擇日於…).[76]

In other cases, the meaning of this graph is not so clear. We see it used as perhaps an omen to mark the results of prayer (*dao* 禱) during the sacrifice of large animals. In another fragment, we see it as representing a process, a nominalized verb possibly referring to the diviner who cracked the bones to create omens: "..the one who divined, did so to speed the payment and prayers (to the deity for good influence) …(*suo zhao zhe yi su saidao* 所卜者以速賽禱...)."[77] While the ancestral deities are often promised payment and prayer-sacrifices for their good influence (*saidao*), the speedy repayment to the deities for good influence occurs as a summation of "all" (*jie* 皆) prayer-sacrifices made to the ancestors.[78] Jade as well as bone was used in divination, as we see in the Baoshan text where "Grand Unity (Taiyi 太一) sees a tiger-jade…(the diviner) took a

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[75] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo comp. 2003, 180-84, 190, 206, 208, 211-12, 219, 220, 223 (lines Jia III.40, 47-48 Yi IV 23, 38; 100, 122 Ling 83, 100, 336, 341, 389, 487, 487, 497). In the Xincai text the words *zhan* 占 and *bu* 卜 were also exchanged in the same formula (compare lines Ling 66-Jia III.234 and 241, Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 196). The Xincai text also has the phrase *zhan zhi yue, heng Zhen ji* (213, Ling 120). Interestingly, this divination text names a divination site, Dongling ("The Eastern Mound"), a possible reference to a burial ground and the surrounding village (209 Yi IV 149-50) Dongling is a site of sacrifice (218, Ling 308). The text also mentions ritualists and people from Western Mound (208 Yi IV 126; 216, Ling 228). Interestingly, it is the turtle divination method of a "Minister of the Mound" (*lingyin* 陵尹) that was chosen in Yi II 25, Ling 205, Yi III 48 and Yi II 27, 203.

Note: Bamboo strip fragments are not in order, but are recorded according to the group (*zu* 組) of the batches or area (*qu* 區) in which they were found. Three batches are mentioned: Jia 甲, Yi 乙, and Ling 零 (random fragments). Groups (I-IV) of numbered strips were found in proximity to one another (see Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo comp. 2003, 167-72, figs. 101-108).

[76] Luo 2005, 90, interprets this as a "patterned jade." However, divination using jade is another possibility. One divination method recorded on a Xincai fragment involved a perforated jade disc *bi* 璧 (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 194 Jia III 181).

[77] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 209 Ling 12; 215 Ling 219. The word *zhao* also denotes a type of jade used in prayer to Chu mythical ancestors (see Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 202, Yi I 17; 203 Yi II 23, Ling 253; 205 Yi III 41; 206 Yi IV 43). There are several tantalizing cognate words using the same graph as phonetic: *tiao* 挑 "to select" and 窕 "bore a hole" (as in a jade with a hole in it for stringing?) or loans such as *diao* 琱 "to refine jade" that might be relevant to this problem but without more evidence it is difficult to demonstrate a phonetic loan.

[78] See app. 1, I.2 (strips 199-200).

jade disk and a tiger shaped jade, selected a good month and day and sent them (to Grand Unity). (He) moreover made a present of a strung jade disc and speedily presented it."[79] Jade was used to alleviate the curses from the nature gods Grand Unity and the Two Sons of Heaven (Er Tianzi 二天子), as well as to repel (and expel) evil.[80] The connotation of *zhao* in both senses (an action or the results of an action) is of communication with the spirits. This applies as well to *zhao* where it refers to both a sacred space and the deified presence of that sacred space. In the Xincai text, the graph has a semantic that indicates a place (邶) rather than the act of divination (卜): "(sacrifice to) Northern Zhao one (pig's worth of) dried meat" (北邶一腊)." Like the deities of other northern sacred sites or of "Burial Hill" (*sang qiu* 喪丘) or Old Ruin (*jiuxu* 舊虛), this *zhao* or "sacred plot" likely had to do with death.[81]

In the *Zhouli*, we see that *zhao* was understood as a sanctified space for burial and *tiao* as the above-ground sanctified space for worship of the spirit tablets (of founder ancestors). Officers were assigned to maintaining the prohibitions for the "outer sacrifices" (*waisi* 外祀) of the *zhao* 兆, "all of which have defined territories" (*jie you yu* 皆有域)—areas explained by the commentaries as tombs (*yingyu* 塋域) with borders made of piled earth (*fengtu* 封土). The job of maintaining or keeping (*shou* 守) the prohibitions (*jinling* 禁令) includes the exorcism and the keeping away of pestilence demons (*li* 厲) during sacrifices. Other officers were assigned to maintain the shrine for the spirit tablets of founder ancestors (*miaotiao* 廟祧) and store away from the site (*zang* 藏) their leftover shrouds that they make available during sacrifices for the Corpse Personator. This officer likewise must keep the shrine clear of pestilence and paint the shrine black (*you* 黝) and white (*e* 堊) in preparation for the worship and then store everything away afterwards.[82]

Chu tombs, with their central chambers surrounded by four storage chambers, accorded to the shape of the Four Regions diagram that

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[79] See app. 1, VI.1 (strips 218-19). Luo 2005, 90, notes that jade discs were attached by strings to sacrificial animals to satisfy the spirit.

[80] Luo 2005, 90.

[81] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 219 Ling 346. Other northern sacred sites are sacrificed to as the possible sources of the patient's illness, e.g. Northern Ancestral Shrine 北宗 (223 Ling 476) or Northern Region 北方 (196 Jia III 239; 204 Yi II 30; 205 Yi III 40; 206 Yi IV 14, 26); for Burial Mound and the group of trees associated with it, see *ibid.* (198 Jia III 325-21); for Old Ruin and the father-spirit associated with it, see *ibid.* (199 Jia III 350).

[82] *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 11, *j.* 41, 68-75, on the "Dian si 典祀" and "Shou tiao 守祧" officers.

Sarah Allan has shown was based on the shape of the tortoise plastron used in divination. The Xincai tomb is a *ya*-shape 亞 just like the large royal Shang tombs discovered in northern Henan province and dated to around 1200 BCE. The Jiangling tombs located to the west in Hubei have the four outer chambers built in a swirling pattern around the central chamber. These tombs are found in burial grounds outside of the metropolitan areas, often in hilly wild regions. While it is clear from the divination texts found in the Jiangling and Xincai tombs that the occupants belonged to an elite stratum of Chu society (the family names of the occupants were linked by marriage and the family names of the diviners involved also overlapped), slight differences in the tomb contents and design suggest that the tomb builders followed regional customs. The Xincai tomb was heavily plundered and items smashed, but we can tell from the remains that, like the Baoshan tomb, the dining room was to the east, and the armory to the south. Unlike the Baoshan tomb, the divination text was found in the armory and not in the northern chamber (which was emptied by plunderers). Also unlike the Baoshan tomb, the armory contained a chariot and the western chamber included eight bodies. One, a 35-40 year old male, may have in fact been the tomb occupant who was thrown aside during the earliest raids of the tomb (possibly in the Han dynasty). The other seven were females around the age of 20, who, judging from the malformation of one of their skulls from a tight band, were possibly servants.[83]

The Chu-influenced tomb of Zeng Hou Yi, dated to about 100 years earlier than the Xincai tomb[84] and located in northern Hubei, up to now has been the latest tomb with large numbers of human victims (also mostly young women, probably food servants and musicians). The Jiangling tombs did not contain human victims. The attendants in the Baoshan tomb were made of wood. The Xincai tomb also contained twenty-five tiny male and female servants roughly carved out of white stone, but these were found at the bottom of the inner coffin chamber of the Xincai tomb, not in the chambers equipped for the deceased's travel. Despite regional differences, from the general design and contents of Chu tombs we can understand that they had two primary functions: (1) the tranquilization of the potentially harmful earthly soul or corporal essence and (2) the preparation of the spirit for flight. The lay-

[83] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 38-46.

[84] Li Xueqin 2004 confirms a much-discussed earlier idea that Pingye Jun Cheng died in 377 BCE at the end of Chu King Dao's 悼 reign.

ers of inner coffins were tightly bound and sealed within an outer coffin by layers of multicolored clay forming a tumulus or mound above the tomb chamber. The chambers of the outer coffin were packed with items for the entertainment of the deceased and his spiritual guests, for the hunt, for travel, and for the deceased spirit to recognize and carry on his person when he departed. Although the inner and outer coffins were tightly sealed, symbolic apertures and chariot pieces represented the journey of the spirit.

The notion of an inner sanctified walled-in space clearly existed since the early Zhou period with the walled center in the midst of the Four Regions.[85] By the late-Warring States to early-Han period, this old pattern was translated into a utopian vision of a perfect government as the division of space into bureaucratic legalistic cells divided into inner and outer layers according to a Five Phases scheme, with the four seasons interlocking around an inner core bifurcated into a Yin-Yang pattern of Heaven and Earth.[86] In either the Four Regions or the Five Phases system, the Inner represented the political center. In the earlier Zhou system, the political center was coterminous with the religious center (the location of the main temple, the *zong* 宗). By the time of the fourth century BCE, there were many religious centers, what the *Zhouli* might refer to as "Outside Ancestral Temples" (*waizong* 外宗), referring to centers of ancestor worship outside of the governing lineage. In a local scheme, the outer temples would refer to the ancestors of a person's in-laws in contrast to one's own, just as outer ghosts referred to their ancestral spirits.

For the Zhou, the word for "inner" (*nei*) represented not a location so much as a process—an entering and a bringing in of tribute (*ru* 入 and *na* 納 were cognate words whose graphs were used interchangeably with *nei* up through the Warring States period) and people from the regions outside the center. The court (*ting* 庭) or shrine hall (*gong* 宮) in which the king held his official ceremonies was officiated by an "Inner Archivist" (*neishi* 内史),[87] an archivist of the records of lineage merit. The archivist and other officials "went in and out" of the space which

[85] See my discussion in Ke 2003a.

[86] This is most clearly laid out in the *Zhouli* text; see Ueyama 1981; Peng Lin 1990. Wang Aihe suggests that the bifurcated core, and indeed the entire shift from the stable Four Regions pattern to the whirling Five Phases pattern, symbolized the political disunity after the fall of the Zhou (A. Wang 2000).

[87] The graphs 史 and 事 were used interchangeably during the Western Zhou period. Hence a *shi* (archivist) was one who served.

the king symbolically occupied as the central omphalos through which he communicated with the spirits who traveled "up and down."[88] While the Zhou king's control over access to the spirits moved with him as he traveled from one sacred space to another, the king in the *Zhouli* was a Daoist paragon of non-action (*wuwei* 無爲) encased in the concentric folds of an unmoving center representing the Inner—his kingdom, his palace, his chambers, and the Repository of Heaven (*tianfu* 天府). The *Zhouli* king relied on a *neishi* as well as a *waishi* 外史 to negotiate the entering and exiting of the many layers of Inner and Outer.

In the Chu divination manuscripts, the business of serving the king is called "*churu shi* 出入事." Originally for the Zhou, the terms most likely referred to the bringing of gifts in and out of a sacred space in which the king officiated over the sacrificial feast for Zhou ancestors; by the time of the *Zuozhuan* chronicle, the record for 630 BCE (Xi year 28) denotes *churu* as an act of obeisance on the part of the subordinate gift recipient. The recipient went out of and back in the king's space three times after his acceptance of the bamboo record of his merit (*ceming* 冊命) and accompanying gifts.[89] Also in the *Zuozhuan*, "going out and in" referred to visits by envoys of one state (e.g., Chu) to another (e.g., Jin, a state to the north of Chu).[90] By the fourth century BCE, it was an idiom referring to an *official* carrying out the king's business. This was Shao Tuo's job and the crossing of boundaries involved some danger. Indeed, third century BCE "Day Books" (texts which govern daily activities according to a Yin-Yang Five Phases scheme) give instructions on passing through gates, such as those of a city or nation. One was required to perform the "Pace of Yu" (an exorcist dance) three times for a safe passage.[91]

The inner and outer dimensions as defined for the king's sacred space were duplicated on a smaller scale for members of the elite. For the Chu elite, there were three layers, the person (*gongshen* 躬身), the rooms of the residence (*gongshi* 宮室), and the outside (*wai*) where business or court

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[88] See in general the work of K. C. Chang, Wu Hong, Liu Yu, Robert Eno, Sarah Allan, and Wang Aihe.

[89] Merit in this case was the defeat of Chu by Jin ruler Chong'er. For a discussion of why *ceming* refers to records of lineage merit rather than to documents of feudal investiture, see Cook 1997.

[90] *Zuozhuan*, Cheng 13, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 235.

[91] Harper 1985, 469; Harper 1998,168-69; Hu Wenhui 1998. For a discussion of possible Zhou links to the Pace of Yu and to the process of sanctification in Zhou ritual and its preservation by Mohists, see Cook 2003a, 2005b.

service (*shi*) took place.[92] When sacrifices to the earth gods of the inside and the outside spaces were made, the inside space was called "the residence" (*gong*) and the outside space was referred to as "the wilds" (*ye*). The inside space consisted of both residence rooms (*gongshi*) and residence walkways (*gongxing* 宮行). To cure the patient of illness, the inside space had to be cleared of malign spirits all the way to the gate. To exorcise the demons from the space closest to the patient, his bedroom, the ritualists first sacrificed to the Earth God of the Residence, then moved outward to the spirits of the walkway up to the Great Gate (*damen* 大門).[93]

The concepts of Inner and Outer also applied to family relations. Ghosts from the wife's family were "outside" ghosts.[94] From the divination text in Shao Tuo's tomb, we see that ancestral spirits of his father's line were sacrificed to as a group, and that sometimes the spirit of his mother was sacrificed to at the same time as his father and his ancestors. But one spirit, the *lian'ao* 連囂 (>敖) of Dongling, was always sacrificed to outside the city wall, as were male relatives who had died prematurely or without descendants. These spirits were considered outside the patrilineal descent line.[95] In an elite mortuary ritual recorded in the *Zuozhuan* for 561 BCE, the relatives from a descent line (*xing* 姓) different from the deceased had to worship "outside," whereas those of the same descent line worshipped inside the ancestral shrine (*zongmiao* 宗廟).[96] If the *lian'ao* of Dongling was worshipped outside the (city or temple) wall because of his different lineage name, then the Chu clearly obeyed a set of social rules similar to those of the Central Plains Chinese that were anecdotally recorded in the *Zuozhuan*.

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[92] The term *neiwai* occurs in a Xincai text fragment in the context of a divination prayer, but the fragment is so small not much else can be understood (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 188 Jia II 40).

[93] See Baoshan strips 199-200, 201-04, 207-08, 209-11, 212-15, 228-29, 232-3 in the appendices, below. The words *da* "big" and *tai* "great" were used interchangeably at this time. The Earth Altar may have been just inside the main gate. Yang Hua 2004 discusses these sacrifices in terms of the performance of the Five Sacrifices.

[94] The Xincai text has a fragment suggesting the danger to the tomb occupant of someone who while "traveling, had an outside death" (…行, 有外喪 …); Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 207, Yi IV 52. The full implications of this are obscured by the fragmentary nature of the text, but it is clear that it was not an auspicious event. The tomb occupant himself seemed to die of a severe illness or fatal injury that affected his upper torso, specifically his back, shoulder, armpit, "heart," bones, and skin with the primary symptoms seeming to be swelling and itching.

[95] See Baoshan strips 209-11, 225, 227, 243 in the appendices, below.

[96] *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 12 *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 275-76; Legge, 454-55.

For the Chu elite, the innermost layer of both the Inner and the Outer (or, Wild) was probably the body, an internalization of political geography.[97] The concept of "entering," with the ancient resonance of gift-giving and sacrifice, persisted in the term for "eating" or "to bring in food" (*rushi* 入食).[98] There was no pre-Qin graphic distinction between the words "inside" and "to enter" now distinguished as *nei* and *ru*. Warring States-period examples use the graph for *ru* to represent the words *nei* "inner" and *na* "to bring in (gifts)."[99]

In the divination texts, the "body" (*gongshen*, or *shen*) was listed, along with the residence as a primary site for exorcist ritual to take place. These inner concerns contrast with Shao Tuo's "outside affairs," which were also a topic of divination. Descriptions by the ritualists of people's afflictions give us some sense of the inner and outer delimitation of the body. In strip no. 58 of the Wangshan text, for example, the self of the patient who was suffering some sort of paralysis was divided into "body and skin" (*shenpi* 身皮) and "thought" (*si* 思), representing the personal Outer and Inner: "(Shao Gu) already has abscesses, causing his heart to flutter to the point that he can not move his mind or his body and skin...."[100] His body and skin represented the outside, and the site of thinking, or mind (*si*), represented the inside. The inside was further defined as the "heart and abdomen" (*xinfu* 心腹)[101] and was associated with the intake of food and the elimination of waste (*bian* 便). Shao Gu could not eat and had diarrhea.[102] Specific areas of pain were determined to be his "chest and upper torso" (*xiongxie* 胸脅)[103] and his "feet and bones" (*zugu* 足骨).[104] These afflictions were caused by unhappy ghosts and spirits that he somehow offended, thus incurring "blame" (*jiu* 咎). Besides satisfying these spirits with food sacrifices and bribing them with jade gifts,[105] ritu-

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[97] See discussion in Lo 2000, 24, 40.

[98] The word *shi* by itself can also mean "to eat"; see Wangshan no. 106.

[99] He Linyi 1998, 1379.

[100] See Wangshang Shang no. 58, Zhu et al., 1996, 238 (notes p. 256, no. 13), and the appendices. Liu Xinfang 1998, 37, reads "he can not move, his whole body is exhausted."

[101] See Wangshang Shang nos. 10-12, and the appendices.

[102] See Liu Xinfang 1998, 37.

[103] The upper torso in the Xincai text was referred to as *ying* 膺 (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 195, Jia III 219).

[104] For the chest and upper torso, see Wangshan Shang nos. 10, 12, Zhu et al. 1996, nos. 37, 51-52 and the appendices. For feet and bones, see Wangshan strip Shang nos. 107-08, Zhu et al. 1996, nos. 38, 39, 41, 42.

[105] It is clear from the Xin Cai divination text that jade was also used to repel the

alists had to expel (*chu* 除) demons from the patient's internal and external spaces and "beat and release" (*gongjie*) the demons caught in them.[106] The inside space of the body—like the home, the temple, or the walled governmental center within the Four Regions—was a space that needed to be ritually cleansed. By the Han period the inner spaces of the body were viewed as a Yin-Yang Five Phases cosmogram.[107] In Shao Gu and Shao Tuo's time, the body, like the tomb, was likely viewed as the center of the Four Regions cosmogram.

The method for cleaning the internal space of the body was the Purification ritual. In the Wangshan divination manuscript (translated in Appendix Three), this ritual is divided into an Inner Purification ritual (*neizhai* 内齋) and an Outer (or Wild) Purification ritual (*yezhai* 野齋). It seems likely that the Outer Purification ritual, like the Outer Earth God, concerned purification before worship in the Wild or at the shrine in the family burial ground outside the walls of the city. Unfortunately the Wangshan manuscript is too fragmentary to get a clear sense of the context for the Outer Purification ritual and where it may have taken place. By the Han period, the Purification ritual was a cleansing ritual performed by the supplicant involving a special diet, meditation, and bathing in grain-infused waters in preparation for sacrifice. The inside and outside then referred to the inside and outside of the body, the *xin* and *shen*.[108] Although there are few details in early texts on this ancient rite, there are some hints that this ritual may have been multilayered, with Inner and Outer not only referring to the body but also Inner and Outer temples.[109]

From the Wangshan fragments, we know that the Inner and Outer Purification rites were performed as part of a ceremonial process to remove "spiritual blame" (*jiu*) and that the diviners divined in order to

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curses of ancestral deities, founder deities, and astral gods; see Luo Xinyi 2005.

[106] Li Ling 2000, 292; Harper 1998, 169.

[107] Lo 2000, 15-16, notes that the early doctor Chunyu Yi (fl. 154 BCE) was concerned with the invasion of Yin into the Yang spaces of Inner and Outer and the Five Phase cosmogram.

[108] Zhu et al. 1996, 267, n. 81, suggests that Inner referred to the residence and Wild referred to outside the city walls.

[109] Chu performance of the Purification ritual (Baoshan nos. 212-15, 218-19) is recorded in the *Zuozhuan* tale of King Ling asking the nature spirits which he first bribed with jade to choose his successor among five sons. The sons perform the Purification ritual before they enter the ancestral shrine to worship (*Zuozhuan*, Zhao 13, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 382; Legge, 650).

obtain the auspicious days to perform it.[110] Both rituals seem to be one of a series performed in the process of exorcising spiritual blame, and were possibly associated with rituals to the earth god performed inside the residence and outside in a burial ground. For example, the Inner Purification was either performed after gifts of jade to the Grand King of the East[111] or after the completion of other sacrifices, such as the *zhai* or *tuo* 𠂤[112] possibly having something to do with words written with the same graphic element, such as the earth god or the royal burial ground (*zhun* 宅), settled administrative regions mentioned in the Baoshan text as associated with Chu Kings Xuan, Wei, and Su.[113] In the Xincai text also, the Inner Purification ritual was performed as part of a series of rituals, with the one recorded just previous as a prayer-sacrifice to the Chu founders and to the Five Mountains. This follows immediately after an "opening" ritual *pi* 闢, most likely a ritual for exorcising baleful influences perceived as occupying a particular space.[114]

There seem to be few early references to the Purification ritual.[115] The word was represented also by the graph 齊 (*qi*, "balance, unify")

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[110] The Wild Purification ritual was performed on days associated with the element metal and the Inner Purification rite was performed on days associated with wood, earth, and metal. Wangshan Shang no. 72, Zhu et al. 1996, no. 156 and appendices. Shang Chengzuo strips, nos. 28, 66, 70, 71 (*ibid.*, nos. 155, 132, 106, 137). For *wuxing* correlations, I follow A. Wang 2000.

[111] Zhu et al. 1996, strip no. 106, and app.

[112] Zhu et al. 1996, 273, n. 106, read this as a type of sacrifice but give no details. It may be a poorly written *ji* 既 found in strip 71 and elsewhere in the Wangshan and in the Baoshan manuscript. It referred to the completion of a sacrificial cycle; see Baoshan strips 201-04 and the back of 202. He Linyi 1998, 105, 524, suggests the graph can be read as *yi* 繹, defined in the *Erya*, "Shi Tian," as "a secondary sacrifice" (*youji* 又祭). Both the words *di* and *zhun* were originally written with the phonetic element *tuo*, possible a variation of *tu* 土 "earth" or *du* 度 "measurement (of land)." The same graph is used as a unit of measurement on the Zhongshan mausoleum plate with the Zhaoyutu, the map of the Sacred Plot for the burial of Zhongshan royalty. Although the suggested reading is *chi*, I suspect *du* was intended but perhaps only as a loan for *chi*. The word *du* and *zhai* are loan graphs for the word "to live" possibly pronounced **dagh* or **drak* (Li Fanggui reconstructions found in Schussler 1987, 135, 811). Li Fanggui reconstructed the word *chi* as **thjiak* (77) and *yi* as **rak* (741).

[113] See Baoshan strips 58, 166, 172, 174, 177, 191.

[114] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 192, Jia III 134 & 108. Oddly, the record of days for each ritual is in order for the first two rituals (day 11 and day 12), but Inner Purification, which is third on this fragment, goes back to "the evening of Gengwu" which would be day 7, either a mistake or almost an entire 60-day ritual cycle later.

[115] For a study of a possible late Western Zhou reference to the purification ritual performed as part of the annual sacrifice to ancestral spirits and recorded on a re-

and later 劑 (*ji*, "measure, a measure") and had itself both an inner and outer aspect. Outwardly, the word could refer to a process of purifying grain wines ranging from unstrained cloudy wines of different aromas to clarified alcohol beverages. The process of balancing different types of wine with the requirements of different sacrifices represented a balance of forces[116] and, by extension, a measured amount or quality. As a representation of an inner attitude, it came to represent an inner balance of forces or thoughts before prayer. We see the word in prayers to the goddess, the legendary Wen Wang Mu, that is, the mother of the Zhou founder King Wen. One example, using the related graph read *qi*, is recorded in *Shijing* ode "Si qi" 思齊 (Mao no. 240), and another example, using the graph read *zhai*, is recorded on a pair of bronze inscriptions made by a Lord of the southern state of Cai for his daughter in marriage in 524 BCE to the King of Wu.[117] In the ode "Si qi," *qi* is read as *zhai* and is used to describe the attitude of Wen Wang's mother towards the Zhou ancestors. It was this model behavior that King Cai's daughter was exhorted to follow when she used the ablution vessels in prayer. The inscriptions of the basin (*pan* 盤) and vase (*zun* 尊) instruct: "to present clarified wine mortuary offerings" (*yinxiang* 禋享) and "in prayer at the numinous Tasting and Ancestral Tablet sacrifices" (*qi ming changdi* 祈明嘗禘) in order "to receive the divine aid without end" (*youshou wuyi* 祐受毋已). Most readings of the *Shijing* poem switch the subject of "Siqi" from King Wen's Mother to King Wen after the first verse.[118] It seems likely that the entire poem describes the ritual behavior of King Wen's Mother while worshipping in the Respected Elders of the Ancestral Hall (*zong gong*).

The extended meaning of the word *zhai* as "pure" or "clean" likely evolved from the use of alcohol for purification in exorcism rituals in the form of a pre-sacrifice libation ritual, or even as a drink for the spirits (and feast participants) during a sacrifice. Like the word *zhai*, the word *yin* 禋, used in the Cai inscription to represent clarified wine, came

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cently discovered bronze inscription, see Cook 2004 and Ke 2003a.

[116] The idea of *qi* as "balance" is seen in the "Yangsheng fang" text from Mawangdui, no. 91, where the Yang and Yin vapors of men and women are conjoined; see Harper 1998, 358, n. 5.

[117] Scholars interpret *siqi* as *sizhai*, which they read as "extremely reverent." See Qu Wanli 1977, 212-13; Ma et al., nos. 587, 589. The word *si* written 思 or 斯 was used before and after adjectives or stative verbs in poetry.

[118] Qu Wanli 1977, 212-13; Waley 1996, 235-36.

to mean pure and clean. Both words (*yin* and *zhai*) were used together in an inscription by the Prime Minister (*xiangbang* 相邦) of the northeastern state of Zhongshan 中山 in 307 BCE. Both *yin* and *zhai* were written with the "wine" semantic 酉 (*you*), suggesting that for the Zhongshan people both words were associated with wine or wine vessels.[119] The two words may have represented two contrasting types of wines, *zhai* being a muddy sweet wine in contrast to *yin* a refined clear wine. Another, more likely, possibility is that *zhai* should be read as *ji*, a measurement or vessel used as a measure for doling out the proper balance of aromatic wines according to the requirements of a particular sacrifice. According to the *Zhouli*, it was the duty of the Wine Corrector (*jiuzheng* 酒正) to regulate the level of wine purification accorded to the sacrifice: a *ji* meaning a balance of aromas could also by extension be a *ji*, a dose or measured amount of wine or medicine.[120] The Zhongshan Prime Minister cast a square wine vessel (*fanghu* 方壺) "to measure out the amount of clarified wine and to be upheld as standard when presenting a feast to the High God and in annual rituals to the Former Kings."

The association of *ji* or *zhai* with measured amounts of wine or medicine may explain the practice of *zhaijie* (齋戒), a cleansing of the heart and body through a restricted diet before worship.[121] Purification of the inside may have been through a restricted diet or perhaps the ingestion of wine that was used by Han times to wash down medicine.[122] It may also have involved the cultivation of a particular frame of mind—a meditation involving the visualization of the spirits, as described in the *Liji* "Jiyi" 祭義 chapter, which divides the practice of *ji* into a focused mind Inside and a dispersed (demeanor) Outside.[123] The Inside or Inner Purification ritual lasted three days, after which the supplicant was

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[119] Later texts suggest that *yin* may also have referred to purification by smoke or cooking. See the Zheng Xuan commentary to *Zhouli*, "Da Zong Bo" 大宗伯, in *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 9, *j.* 33, 38. For translation of the Zhongshan inscriptions, see Cook 1980; Mattos 1997, 104-11. For the tomb report and copies of the inscription, see Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, 1995, vol. 1.

[120] *Zhouli* "Tianguan, Jiu zheng." See the discussion by Sun Yirang on the types of wine and the meaning of "the five *ji*"; *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 3, *j.* 9, 48-51. In the same section of the text which deals with the regulation of medicines, *ji* refers to *jiliang*, a balanced dose which involved the balance of taste and season, see p. 33. This use is also found in "Wushierbingfang" from Mawangdui, see no. 206 in Ma Jixing 1992, 617.

[121] Wang Li 2000, 1781. The Liji records the practice of *jijie* before reporting or serving the spirits, *juan* 1 "Quli" and "Biaoji" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 1, 1.9b, sect. 2, 17.1b).

[122] Ma Jixing 1992, 326.

[123] "*Zhi ji yu nei*, *san ji yu wai* 致齊於內, 散齊於外"; *Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 24, 14.5a-b, 6a.

able to "visualize the one for whom he had purified himself" (*ji san ri nai jian qi suowei ji zhe* 齊三日乃見其所爲齊者). The Outside or Outer Purification ritual lasted seven days and involved a restricted diet, bathing (or at least cleaning the exposed parts of the body such as the hands and face) in grain waters, and sleeping in an Outer bedroom (*waiqin* 外寢).[124] This purification process may have come directly from the use of wine in cleaning and libation, rituals for ancestral spirits that may have descended from those of the Shang period.[125]

Although there is no mention in the Baoshan or Wangshan divination texts of bathing or any ritual involving cleansing the patient's body, it seems likely that the Chu *zhai* involved the presentation of fragrant liquids for libation and ablution in *zun*- and *pan*-style vessels and perhaps the use of them in some sort of religious service to the spirits at altars inside the residential compound and outside in the family burial ground. Since the legend of King Wen's Mother predates the Wangshan text, it is further likely that the purification process involved many layers of inner and outer cleaning.

I now turn to a deeper analysis of the divination text that describes efforts to stop the progress of Shao Tuo's illness towards death, and also an analysis of the lacquer painting depicting the departure of a lone man in a chariot whom I understand as a metaphor for Shao Tuo (see figure 12, Chapter Four). The divination text reveals the spiritual topography that haunted Shao Tuo's daily life and could cause illness. It also provides a glimpse at the ritualists' incipient awareness of the Yin-Yang Five Phases cosmological scheme that would dominate magical thinking less than a hundred years later. While the divination text provides a gateway into the

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[124] Liji, "Yucao" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 14, 9.2b-3a-b).

[125] Chen Peifen 1981, 15, suggests that the *you* ritual, performed for 59 days to different ancestral spirits, may have been a ritual involving consecrating the ground with wine (*lei* 酹); Wang Li 2000, 1494. Li Xueqin 2001, 67-69, understands it as a type of prayer service. On the other hand, Liu Yu suggests that the graph read *you* was used for *yi* (later written as 繹 or 羿) referring to a secondary sacrifice and not necessarily associated with wine. Li Ling identified the *yi* rituals recorded in the Baoshan divination text. They were performed in the summer and spring on days to a series of ancestral spirits later associated with wood, water, or metal and involved the sacrifice of water buffalo and pigs to the ancestors of the patient. The sacrificial animals were variously prepared as food offerings, with wine, or as a soup. It is possible that there was a sensitivity to Yin and Yang balance in the choice of season, day, and presentation style. In any case, the Baoshan *yi* does not seem to involve pouring wine on the ground. (Liu Yu 1989, 500; Li Ling 2000, 286; also see below, notes to app. 1, strips 197-98).

mentality of Shao Tuo and his contemporaries, the painting provides a rare glimpse at the people themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR

SHAO TUO'S DEPARTURE

> I set off at morning from the Ford of Heaven;
> At evening I came to the world's western end.
> Phoenixes followed me, bearing up my pennants,
> Soaring high aloft with majestic wing-beats.
> "See, I have come to the Desert of Moving Sands!"
> Warily I drove along the banks of the Red Water,
> Then, beckoning the water-dragons to make a bridge for me,
> I summoned the god of the west to take me over.
>
> "Li Sao," D. Hawkes, trans.[1]

Shao Tuo's journey into death began when cursing spirits interfered with his vital breath. The conception that misfortunes in life were directly connected to spirits is known from divination texts dating as early as the Shang period (1200-1045 BCE). We know from the Shang oracle bones that difficulties encountered in daily life—no matter whether a toothache, a poor harvest, or an invasion by barbarians—were viewed as omens of displeasure in the spirit world. The world—its Center, Four Regions, Above and Below—was filled with ancestral and natural powers.[2] We can see from transmitted and excavated Warring States-period texts that by the fourth century BCE these omens were interpreted according to more complex and multi-layered belief structures—ones influenced by budding cosmological schemes that shifted the weight of moral authority away from a single center (and worship of the lineage of royal ancestors) towards an abstract heaven filled with the forces of generation and

[1] Hawkes, 1985, 78. Before the persona ascends to Heaven, he catches a last glimpse of his old home, causing his chariot to falter. The sense is that he continues *sans* chariot to join the shaman ancestor, Peng Xian.

[2] See Allan 1991 and Keightley 2000 for details of the Shang physical, mental, and mythical environments. For an example of the exorcism of a curse, see Heji 6057 *zheng* (in Yao and Xiao 1989, vol. 1, 152 *xia*). Exorcisms of curses were often performed in association with hunting, see Li Xiaoding 1974, vol. 2, 589.

destruction.[3] Even so, we can see in the case of Shao Tuo the reflection of the Shang beliefs upon the religious landscape of later times.

Like the famous shamanic poet Qu Yuan, Shao Tuo suffered in the court of the unappreciative Chu King Huai (r. 328-299 BCE). Tuo, as he was often referred to by his diviners, suffered three years of spiritual blame (*jiu* 咎) and died in the end without his team of ritualists discovering the "province" (*zhou* 州), that is, the location, of the ghost or spirit and source of the curse (*sui* 祟). The method for removing curses in the fourth century BCE in some ways had not changed much since the Shang period. In Shang divination records, ancestral anger was appeased with sacrifices of domestic animals and slaves. In the fourth century BCE, ritualists sacrificed domestic animals (no longer humans at this time) and gifts of jade and clothing. Ritualists in both times performed individual purification or exorcism rituals as well as adhering to annual ritual cycles of purification and sacrifice. During the Shang, the source of the curses was sought from among a hierarchy of thirty-one male and twenty female ancestral spirits, spirits whose needs were attended to every ten days in a series of five different sacrifices.[4] In the fourth-century text, the source of the curse might equally be a god representing a cosmic force, a local nature god, an unhappy ghost, or an ancestor from the interconnected lineages of Tuo and of the Chu state.

During the Shang period, it was ancestral spirits that cast "blame" (*jiu*) upon a member of the royal clan. Divinations were then made to determine when that person was at last in a state of "being without blame" (*wu jiu* 無咎).[5] By the time of the Warring States period, when the *Zuozhuan* chronicle of the Spring and Autumn period (770-475 BCE) was written, people could still sicken and die from being in a state of blame, but this state was often attributed to actions that offended Confucian morals,[6] where blame was cast by the entire people of a nation,[7] or the more abstract social rules associated with later Confucianism. Some examples combine Confucian ethos with blame by ancestral spirits and

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[3] For a discussion of the shift in schemes from Four Regions (*sifang*) to Five Phases (*wuxing*), see A. Wang 2000.

[4] See Chang Yuzhi 1987 for details. These Five Sacrifices are different from the household cults, also termed Five Sacrifices, practiced in the Warring States period and later (see Chard 1999).

[5] See Guo and Hu 1978-82, 6032 *zheng*; and other examples in Yao and Xiao 1989, vol. 1, 326.

[6] See *Zuozhuan*, Zhuang 21, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 66.

[7] *Zuozhuan*, Xi 22; Xiang 3, 21, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 119, 255, 294.

ghosts.[8] Even so, divination by either tortoise shell or stalks was necessary to determine the state of blame and its outcome.[9]

The connection between spiritual blame and illness is evident on a pair of late fourth-century BCE jade tablets from the northwestern state of Qin (which was located in the old Zhou territory). These tablets are similar in concern to Shao Tuo's divination text, but the part they played in sacrifices was different. Their context concerns King Hui Wen of Qin (337-311 BCE), who had them inscribed with a prayer to Hua Mountain towards the end of his life.[10] He was suffering from an incurable illness and was afraid he had incurred spiritual blame for having "wiped out the Zhou hereditary house and dispersed the statutes of (Zhou) law."[11] By ending Zhou access to the places (*fang*, literally "regions") for sacrifice, the spirits of the "mountains and rivers" and of the "foremost ancestors of the Five Rites" would not receive the necessary pig sacrifices and jade and silk gifts. King Hui Wen claimed, however, that because of his adoption of an eastern peoples' law he was blameless.[12] Using jade offerings, he announced this to the Great Mountain of Hua and asked that his body, afflicted from the abdomen down to his feet, be restored to health. He then sacrificed rams, a four-horse road chariot, and six humans—three at the Yin and three at the Yang side of the mountain. He promised continued sacrifices once his health was restored.

From the Xincai divination text fragments, we know that spiritual blame and curses can occur separately. The patient may be cleared of blame but not of a curse, or cleared of both. The diviners tested for both

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[8] *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 4, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 257, where a child bride was given an inadequate funeral; Zhao 15, where the *di* ceremony to the ancestral spirits was poorly performed. In the latter case, evil halos appeared as an omen of the spirits' displeasure; Xiang 51, where a man claimed that even though he would die because of someone else's offense (hence become an unhappy ghost), he would not cast spiritual blame upon that person (suggesting a higher Confucian ethic that could supersede the power of the human spirits).

[9] *Zuozhuan*, Wen 18, where a patient's illness and ultimate death were determined by tortoise shell divination; Xiang 9, where a woman who offended Confucian sexual codes claimed no matter how the stalks and *Yi* manual decided her fate, she would die (suggesting again these social rules superseded the power of human spirits). See *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 174, 267.

[10] Deciphered by Li Ling 1999 and Li Xueqin 2000.

[11] The Qin annexation of the symbolic Zhou house, residing in Chengzhou and protected by one neighboring state or another since 771 BC, is recorded in the "Zhou benji" 周本紀 of the *Shiji* (Takigawa 4.85).

[12] This is an obscure reference to his murdering Shang Yang, a Wei lord who originally brought him a copy of the six-chapter legal code of Wei; see Li Xueqin 2000, 50.

among an array of ancestral and nature spirits. In Baoshan and Xincai texts, recently deceased ancestors, the most likely cause of blame, received numerous sacrifices. The spirits most likely to be the source of curses seem to have been the astral god Grand Unity (Taiyi), the Controller of Fate (Siming), the three Chu founder gods (Laotong, Zhurong, and Xue Xiong), Chu King Shao, as well as one's more recently deceased ancestors. Since the occupant of the Xincai tomb, Pingye Jun Cheng (d. 377 BCE), apparently traveled quite a bit, curses were also found to be caused by the spirits of large rivers.[13]

Shao Tuo's spiritual blame likely occurred through his administrative duties to the Chu king. He often had to try criminal cases and may have been responsible for the capital punishment of innocent victims. As a minister of state, he, like the King of Qin, was concerned with wiping out blame for human death. His job, like Pingye Jun Cheng's, probably involved a great deal of travel, and in the course of dealing with local cases, he may also have offended nature deities.[14] The Chu divination text recorded the sacrifices to a number of deities, all of whom may have cursed a passerby.

No divination procedure is recorded on the later Qin jade tablets buried on Hua Mountain. The jade tablets (*gui* 圭) were themselves the vehicle of the prayer or the "announcement" (*gao* 誥). This text functioned as the sacrificial gift to the mountain spirit. Text, prayer and oral pronouncements are also found in the Chu divination texts. In the Xincai divination text, announcements were made by ritualist Shao concerning a Great River and in one case a gift of combined text and announcement were sent to a hierarchy of early Chu kings following gifts of jades.[15] The announcement began with the expression "Oh Alas!" (*wuhu aizai* 於

[13] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 208 Yi IV & Ling 532, 678 and for no-blame no-curse, see *ibid.*, 224 Ling 520; for specific spirits see *ibid.* 202 Yi I 6, 22; 215 Ling 198 & 203; 221 Ling 426, 427. One fragment does claim "great blame" (*ibid.*, 223 Ling 468).

[14] It is quite evident in the Xincai divination text, that the travels of Pingye Jun Cheng were also believed to be the cause of his illness. Not only are his specific travels mentioned but the greatest number of spirits appeased are those of places, particularly places linked to possible burial grounds or with "earth altars," *she* 社 (see Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187-231, esp. 189 Jia III 11, 24; 206, Yi IV 9; 207, Yi IV 55; 208, Yi IV 100 and Ling 532, 678, Yi IV 110 and 117). From the fragments we see also a greater number of horse sacrifices and a concern about death occurring "outside" (*ibid.*, 197 Jia III 270; 207, Yi IV 52).

[15] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 189, Jia III 21, Ling 9 & Jia 23,27; 192, Jia II 134, 108.

唬哀哉) and was followed by a reference to Pingye Jun Cheng as "Little Servant Cheng" (*xiaochen* Cheng 小臣成), an expression similar to that found at the beginning of announcements to ancestor spirits recorded on Western Zhou and later bronze inscriptions. One Xincai fragment suggests that spells or songs were also linked to divination: "(The diviner according to) its song said: 'This day, not yet exorcised, greatly intone, continuously…intoning, anxiously, anxiously, so tied, so bound, in the end by…. (…*yao yue: shi ri wei dui dayan, jiji* X *yan chuo chuo ruo zu ruo jie, zhong yi*…謠曰氏 (是)日未兌 (敓) 大言繼繼⿰言惙惙若組若結終以….).[16] This oral command was likely used to finalize the exorcism of baleful influences or curses. The term "so" or "as such" (*ruo* 若) is also found in Western Zhou period bronze inscriptions before the word "to speak" *yue* 曰, when the king makes an announcement. A study by Wang Zhankui shows that *ruo* was used in the Shang oracle bones, in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, and some transmitted texts (such as the *Shangshu* 尙書) when a representative of Heaven, such as the early kings, was making a statement (*ming* 命) on behalf of Heaven or in the presence of spirits.[17]

In the Chu texts, we see a series of divination events that took place before and after the gifts to the spirits. In the earlier Zhou texts, gift giving came after the gift-giver's announcement about the gift-recipient to the ancestors. It is clear that these ancient practices were continued in one form or another up through the Qin period.

1. The Divination Text

There are two types of divination cycles represented in the Baoshan text: annually scheduled events and emergent, unscheduled events. During an annual summer sacrificial ritual and exorcism, Shao's personal diviners addressed general problems and attempted to clear Shao of spiritual blame through the next year. But at unspecified times during the year, the diviners addressed acute problems, such as Shao's physical illness. Both types were similar in that the results of the divination of one diviner were

[16] Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 189, Jia III 31. It is tempting to interpret *wei dui* as the names of two auspicious hexagrams, Wei (for Wei Ji) and Dui, both in the *Yijing*, but the hexagrams used in the Xincai, Baoshan, and Wangshan texts never seem to be named in the text. For a discussion of ancient spells, see Harper 1985.

[17] Wang Zhankui 1998.

confirmed, changed, and refined by the divination of other diviners using different methods. The process involved the isolation of the cursing spirit through divination that was made evident or "seen" (*jian* 見). Divination was also concerned with what type of sacrifice would satisfy the spirit. In the case of the annual exorcisms, this decision process would span a three-year period. Except in a few cases, it is not always clear when and if the proposed sacrifice was actually performed.

The divination events of diviners were referred to by later diviners as "exorcisms" (*duo* 敓) when confirming (a process that involved *zhuan* 轉 "turning to" or *yi* 迻 "moving to" the exorcism and divination event of a previous diviner) the earlier proposed sacrifices or when setting repayment sacrifices to spirits who presumably gave omens of good fortune. These divination records preserve the actions and words of the exorcism. After proceeding through this complex decision process, a diviner would "release" (*jie* 解) Shao from the curse of a particular spirit or ghost by a method that involved "beating" or "attacking" (*gong* 攻) it by means of his "will" (*si* 思) or his "command" (*ming* 命).[18] The beating of demons perceived as hiding inside the body was a method for curing illness recorded in the *Zuozhuan*.[19] In the Baoshan and other Chu divination texts,[20] the exorcism seems to involve animal sacrifice and word magic, but other texts suggest that drums were involved.[21] Another possibility is that this "beating" or "attacking" involved a procedure that might be classified as an early form of acupuncture. Excavated Qin-period texts dating to a hundred years after Shao Tuo's death define "ghost beating" as "poking" the ghost with arrows made of thorns and chicken feathers shot from a peach-wood bow.[22] Han and later texts mention the use of a needle-like

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[18] This may have involved the use of drums, bells, and screeching, see Harper 1985, 496. The use of music and bells in sacrifice and therapy for the occupant of the Xincai tomb is recorded on fragments of that tomb's divination text (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 192, Jia II 136; 195 Jia III 209; 205, Yi III 63).

[19] Cheng 10, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 230. The Archer Lord of Jin asked a physician from Qin after he dreamed of two *shuzi* ("beings that stand up" 豎子). The physician determined that these demons hid behind Jin Hou's heart and throat and were hence unreachable through the method of *gong*.

[20] Jiangling area Tianxingguan Tomb 1 and Wangshan Tomb 1; see Mi Rutian 1988, 63-64, and Li Yunfu 1995. The former text, which belonged to Fan Sheng, Lord of Diyang 邸陽君番剩, dates to around 340 BCE and is not yet published. The latter text belonged to Shao Gu 邵固, possibly also a descendant of King Zhao; it dates to perhaps a hundred years earlier and has been published, see Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996; Shang Chengzuo 1995; and app. 3, below.

[21] See app. 1, below, n. 18.

[22] Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 212.

"stone" similar to jade called a "medicine stone" (*yaoshi* 藥石) or "piercing stone" (*bian* 砭) that was used to release the "evil blood" (*exue* 惡血) in swollen areas, carbuncles, or ulcerated infections. Stone tomb reliefs from the Eastern Han period seem to depict early doctors administering this technique. Their dress—half man and half bird—suggests a spirit or shaman doctor (dressed like the death-god Rushou).[23]

The calendar of sacrifices and exorcisms kept by the Baoshan diviners reveals the influence of the natural philosophy of Yin-Yang Five Phases, as studied by Donald Harper.[24] Harper explains that between the fifth and third centuries BCE, those who managed the calendars, the officers in charge of the archives and astrology (*shi* 史), synchronized all natural phenomena and human activity. Curing an illness and performing exorcisms, then, involved attention to the fluctuations of the natural forces in accordance with the lunar calendar. Although Harper feels that the Baoshan divination text was created before the period of "correlative cosmology iatromancy," which began late in the fourth century BCE,[25] I believe that the choice of days recorded in the divination events reveals a nascent awareness of natural agents and, perhaps, a correlative system of time, direction, and agent in the Baoshan material.

Within a century of Shao Tuo's death, we know from other excavated texts that the five natural Agents—wood, fire, earth, metal, water[26]—informed every aspect of life. The *Zhouli* account of seasonal ailments and methods for their cure by "ailment physicians" (*jiyi* 疾醫) provide a context for interpreting age-old notions in a correlative manner of "five processes":

> (They) handle the care of illness for the myriad peoples. There are contagious illnesses every season; in spring, there are headaches, summer, itchy scabs, fall, fevers and chills, and winter, coughing and the "rising of vapors." (They) care for them with the Five Tastes, the Five Grains, the Five Herbs and watch over life and death with the Five Vapors, Five Sounds, and Five Senses (watching) if two out of the Nine Apertures change, or three out of the Nine Organs move. Whenever someone is sick, analyze (it according to season) and cure him. If they die in the end, the (physicians) write down what they did and give it to the Master Physician." (*zhang yang wanmin zhi jibing. Sishi jie you liji, chushi you xiaoshouji, xiashi you yangjieji, qiushi*

[23] Hu Houxuan 1984, 28-29; Lo 2002a, 105-11; and Lo 2002b, 208-09.
[24] Harper 1999.
[25] Harper 2001, 103-06.
[26] The "generation" cycle as seen in Shuihudi *Rishu* ("Day Books") and the Chu Silk Manuscript; see A. Wang 2000, 110, table 3.2.

> *you nüehanji, dongshi you sou, shangqiji. Yi wuwei, wugu, wuyao yang qi bing. Yi wuqi, wusheng, wuse shi qi sisheng. Liangzhi yi jiuqiao zhi bian, can zhi yi jiuzang zhi dong. Fanmin zhi you jibingzhe, fen er zhizhi; sizhong, ze ge shu qi suoyi er ru yu yishi* 掌養萬民之疾病. 四時皆有瘧疾, 春時有痟首疾, 夏時有痒疥疾, 秋時有瘧寒疾, 冬時有嗽、上氣疾. 以五味、五穀、五藥養其病. 以五氣、五聲、五色視其死生. 兩之以九竅之變, 參之以九藏之動. 凡民之有疾病者, 分而治之; 死終, 則各書其所以而入于醫師).[27]

Particularly telling are "Day Books" (*rishu* 日書), which detail the auspicious or inauspicious nature of daily actions depending on the calendrical signs for each day and the agent or element influencing that day.[28] In these books, while the cause of illness is still a curse, the prognosis is affected by the agent, which influences the days of the illness. In this system a ritualist could calculate the appropriate action for a king or officer according to this complex correlative calendar rather than relying solely on divination methods. Translated below are selections on illness and cures for illness from a Day Book discovered in a tomb east of Jiangling, across the Han River. The tomb dates to the period when the Qin army, originally located northwest of Chu, had already forced the Chu out of the Jiangling region and continued their march east to destroy all remnants of competing royal houses.[29] According to the text, illness was affected by the particular agent or element in accordance with a particular directional and day sign, one of ten "stem" or twelve "branch" signs of an ancient sixty-day ritual calendar—which correlate, according to Wang Aihe, with the conquest and generation cycles of the Five Phases scheme.[30] Harper feels that the hemerological iatromancy (divination by "stem" and "branch" signs) evident in the "branch" section of this text did not yet reflect a full Yin-Yang Five Phases system as evident in Han texts, but more likely the simpler "Three Unities" (*sanhe* 三合) system, where elements were assigned three branch signs each. The "stem" text, however, did incorporate Five Phases correlations. Clearly, different sets of astrologers and ritualists of the fourth through third centuries BCE followed a variety of systems, none perhaps fully articulated or even prac-

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[27] Tianguan Zhongzai" 天官冢宰, in *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 3, *j.* 9, 36-43.

[28] For a description of the Shuihudi *rishu* and a discussion of its mantic context, see Loewe 1994, 214-35.

[29] The tomb dates to around 217 BCE, just after the Qin conquest of 220. For details of the Chu move east, see Cook 1995.

[30] A. Wang 2000, 110-12. Harper 2001, 108-12, notes that "stem iatromancy in the Shuihudi manuscripts is based on the correlation of the stems with the Five Phases and on the conquest sequence of the Five Phases."

ticed until the Han period.[31] The following excerpts from two Shuihudi Day Books (A and B) provide a useful context in which to evaluate the Baoshan material.[32] Much of the lore concerning illness, death, spiritual blame, curses, and ghosts is no doubt quite ancient and sheds light on earlier beliefs. Many of the ghosts appear in the Chu divination material. The following list of Stem (top row) and Branch day (bottom row) signs are for reference. The Agent and direction correlates from Day Books are added but, as Wang Aihe has shown, these exact correlations were by no means universally accepted and other manuscripts reveal slightly different sets:[33]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Jia 甲 Wood East	Yi 乙 Wood East	Bing 丙 Fire South	Ding 丁 Fire South	Wu 戊 Earth Center	Ji 己 Earth Center	Geng 庚 Metal West	Xin 辛 Metal West	Ren 壬 Water North	Gui 癸 Water North		
Zi 子 Water North	Chou 丑 Metal West	Yin 寅 Fire South	Mao 卯 Wood East	Chen 辰 Water North	Si 巳 Metal South	Wu 午 Fire South	Wei 未 Wood East	Shen 申 Water North	You 酉 Metal West	Xu 戌 Fire South	Hai 亥 Wood East

For example, from a few slips of a Shuihudi "Expelling" (*chu* 除) text,[34] we learn that on "expelling" days, "a male or female slave who escapes will not be retrieved. If you have a painful[35] sickness, it will not result in death," but on "filling" (*ying* 盈) days, "you can build quarters; penned animals can give birth; you can build a residence; you can be a Sefu 嗇夫 (a type of bailliff); if you have an illness it will be difficult to get up." Many days were associated with omens of death. For example a list states:

> The Zi Day concerns women. There will be a death and afterwards the death of a child. The spiritual blame is located in the canal. The Chou day concerns rats. Afterwards three people will die. Yin Day concerns nets. The spiritual blame is located in Room Four. A warning of fire on the outside. The Mao day concerns meetings. Afterwards a child, an as yet unborn younger brother, will die. [The spiritual blame] will belong to a deceased

[31] See Kalinowski 1998-99 for a discussion of the *xingde* system of rising and falling influences based on the early Han Mawangdui Xingde text.

[32] Harper 2001, 107-12, translates some of these texts. My translations differ slightly from his.

[33] The correlations are from Shuihudi Day Book A, and a Day Book from Fangmatan, as described by in A. Wang 2000, 94-97; for other systems, see *ibid.*, 96-101.

[34] Text from Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 2; from Day Book B.

[35] The word might also be a loan for "swelling," or "serious."

> in-law. ….The Shen day concerns stones. Its spiritual blame is located in Room Two. If a child is born, it will be incomplete. The You day concerns witches.[36] Afterwards a small child will die within three months….

In a text determining the welfare of afflicted people, we see that if they fall sick on Jia or Yi days, they encounter problems from pork and their father's ghost and possibly (poisoning?) from a living person. On the next two days, the father's ghost must be appeased with red-colored meat, a rooster, and wine. However if they are "sick" (*bing* 病) on Geng or Xin days, they will improve on a Ren and get out of bed on a Gui day. If Fever 煩 and Jupiter 歲 are both located in the Southern Region (of the sky), and (Jupiter) is red, then the patient will die on a Fire day. This pattern continues through each set of stem days with varying color, star, and ghost correlations.[37]

In a "Sickness" text in Day Book A,[38] we read:

> If you are afflicted on a Jia or Yi day,[39] it is due to your mother and father having cursed you. For meat (offering), come inside from the east with it inside a lacquer vessel. If you are sick on a Wu or Ji day,[40] it will improve on a Geng day and you'll get out of bed on a Xin day.[41] If you don't get out of bed and Fever resides in the east region and Jupiter is located in the east, and is a green color, you will die.[42] If you are afflicted on a Bing or Ding day,[43] it is due to the grandfather's curse. For red-colored meat (use) a rooster, with wine. If you are sick on a Geng or Xin day, on a Ren day you will improve and on a Gui day recover.[44] If you don't recover, there is Fever to the south. And if Jupiter is in the south and is a red color, you will die. If you are afflicted on a Wu or Ji day, it is from a witch having

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[36] The Shuihudi text defines female magicians as *wu* 巫 and male ones as *xi* 覡, a designation also seen in the *Guoyu* (containing tales of the Chunqiu period). Because *wu* can cause death by cursing, in this book I render the word as "witch." According to a Shuihudi Day Book, a woman may become a witch during the period influenced by the Big Dipper, but if she gives birth, the child will die before three years of age; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 192.

[37] Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 246-47; from Day Book B.

[38] Jao and Zeng 1982, pls. 6-7; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 193.

[39] Wood days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

[40] Earth days; A. Wang 2000, 96

[41] Geng and Xin days are metal days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

[42] Harper 2001, 112-13, understands 'Fever" to represent "an element of iatromantic pathology" that like "Year" (*sui*, which I translate as Jupiter, although Harper believes the Jupiter and Year cycles were distinct) has cyclical positions. I am not convinced that the cycles were so clearly distinguished by all practitioners and suspect that Fever and Jupiter were both astral phenomena and at least spirits. The order of the days represents a generation cycle; A. Wang 2000, 111.

[43] Fire days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

[44] Ren and gui days are water days; A. Wang 2000, 96.

activated[45] grandmother's curse.[46] For a yellow colored [meat] (use) a plain fish only[47] with wine. On a Ren or Gui day, you'll be sick, but on a Jia day improve and on a Yi day recover. You won't recover if Fever resides in the center of the Nation."[48]

The text continues in this same rhetorical fashion substituting a variety of sources of the sickness (such as ghosts in the in-law's family who had died young or were cut off from their mothers), meats used to offer the spirit ("Use dog meat, fresh testicles for white color"), colors, star locations, and, finally, predictions of when and if the patient will die.

Days were even assigned gender, which would make them correlate with Yin and Yang. In a text denoted as the "Days for People,"[49] we read that: "Generally Zi, Mao, Yin, and You days are male child days; Wu, Wei, Shen, Chou, and Hai days are female child days. If you get sick on a female child day, you must wait for a female day to return before recovery. If there is death, then the dead must be buried on a male child day. ..."

In the text for "Visiting People" (*jianren* 見人), different days and directions are accessed for visiting with people "afflicted" (*ji* 疾), and methods given on how to cure them. For example, if you visited them on a Zi day when the eastern direction was auspicious and the west inauspicious, but they became ill on a Chen day, there would be little hope of recovery. But if they had become sick on a Wu day, there would be a good recovery. If you were visiting them because of a death or a birth which occurred on a Shen day, then you must bring black meat from the north. The implicated ghost might be an outer ghost of the great-grandfather generation (i.e., a deceased in-law). Similar injunctions applied to each of the Twelve Branch days with variations in direction and color correlations as well as different possible sources of spectral affliction (these included not only a variety of ghosts from different branches and generations of the family but also witches).[50]

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[45] I understand the term *kanxing* 堪行 as "given rise to and enabled" or "able to make move."

[46] Grandparents were denoted as Royal Mothers or Royal Fathers (*wangmu* or *wangfu*); great-grandparents were denoted as High Royal (*gaowang*) mothers or fathers.

[47] I take *qin* as a loan for *jin* 僅.

[48] The text has "nation" *bang* 邦, possibly a reference to the area of the sky associated with each state, see Pankenier 1999.

[49] Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 37.

[50] Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 42-44; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 245-46; from a Day Book B text.

One strip from a "Sickness" text notes that to cure a patient on a You, Wu, Si, or Yin day, the healer must take the place (*dai* 代) of the patient.[51] This suggests that perhaps the magical operations were done upon the body of the healer in place of the patient, perhaps transferred to the patient's body through some force of magic, the "will" or "command."

The treatment of the dying patient also varied according to the day:

> For one dying on a Jia or Yi day in the third month of spring, to later have happiness, it will come from facing the east. For one dying on a Bing or Ding day, there will be happiness to his east; if he faces west evil will happen to him; the dying must stay put. On a Wu or Ji day, the dying is sent out of the house to the west. If not, there will be death. On a Geng or Xin day, the dying is sent out of the house to the north. If not, there will be spiritual blame. On a Ren or Gui day, the dying will be cursed by Numinous Ghosts. He will receive ill fortune from the east. On a Jia or Yi day of the third month of summer, the dying will receive a premature death from the south or east. On a Bing or Ding day, the dying is sent out of the house to the west; to the south, he'll receive ill fortune but to the east there will be happiness. On a Wu or Ji day, if the dying faces south or west, there will be happiness."

The text continues in the same vein, substituting days, directions, and fates.[52]

The Shuihudi text most concerned with ghosts is the "Spellbinding" text.[53] It lists numerous ghosts and devils that may cause sickness or premature death through spiritual blame and then provides the magical methods for dealing with them. Some were human ghosts who returned to loved ones, or were just "wandering" (*you* 游); some had died prematurely, such as fetuses, victims of crime or wrongful execution, drowning, or were unburied (such as those killed in battle) or "hungry" (did not receive sacrifices from descendants). Other ghosts were nature spirits who took on the form of men—such as Hill Ghosts, Spirit Dogs (who played the incubus), Spirit Insects—or took on the form of animals such as Whirlwinds. Ghosts grabbed people at night, turned into old women carrying children, sneaked into bedrooms, paraded as fireflies (or "Wild Fires" *yehuo* 野火). Many ghosts were violent or howled at night. There were demons, devils, and talking wolves. Perhaps most interesting—given Shao Tuo's symptoms—is the case where if a man finds himself in a room unable to breathe or move, it is due to a Strong Spirit (*zhuangshen* 壯

[51] Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 44; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 247.
[52] Jao and Zeng 1982, pl. 45-46; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 249.
[53] Harper 1985; Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozhu 2001, 212-19.

神)[54] in the room. This was cured by ingesting a fragrant brew of spring water, red pig, horse's tail, and dog's head.

Although this Day Book is almost a century later than the Baoshan divination text, some similarities are evident. Illness was the result of spiritual blame and curse, and illness and death had to be treated in accordance to natural forces, such as Yin and Yang or the directional powers and their color and day-sign correlates. On the other hand, the Baoshan text differs from the Shuihudi Day Book in the sense that, as a divination text, it consists of a series of proposed actions being presented to the spirits for approval, and is not a handbook consulted (perhaps by healers and diviners) for the proper alignment of behavior and time. If we consider the Baoshan divination text as a record[55] of actions taken and the Day Book as a handbook for dictating future action, then the Yi 易, or "Changes," texts might be considered handbooks of signs or "images" (*xiang* 象) associated with numerological divination, and with hexagrams derived from throwing milfoil sticks or dice. Two Yi texts exist today: the well-known *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經, also known as the "Zhou Changes," *Zhouyi* 周易) and the recently discovered version historically associated with the Shang, the "Book of Concealment," the *Guicang* 歸藏.[56] Both texts consist of fragments of old songs linked to named hexagrams. The names of the hexagrams are shared in both texts, but the hexagram types do not always match and the song traditions seem to be entirely different.[57] Although excavated versions of Yi texts and Day Books date to later than the Chu divination texts of the fourth century BCE, it is likely that the early doctors and ritualists who organized, performed, and recorded the divination texts found in the Chu tomb had earlier versions of handbooks of omens and directives for auspicious action to consult.

Yang Hua has compared the dates, divination types, and illness prognoses of early Day Books with those in the Baoshan and Wangshan records and concluded that the Chu diviners very likely used a Day Book of some sort to diagnose the source of the curse and whether it was likely to kill the patient or not.[58] The level of sophistication and complexity in the Yin-Yang Five Phases system evident in the Qin Day Books is not evident in

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[54] An alternative reading is *shangshen* 傷神 "harmful spirit."

[55] For a study of stylistic similarities of the Baoshan text with the Shang oracle bone texts dating almost a thousand years earlier, see Li Ling 1990.

[56] Cook 1998 and 2004; Xing Wen 2000.

[57] See Xing Wen 2000A, 2003; Wang Mingqian 2004; Cook 2004 and forthcoming.

[58] Yang Hua 2003, 568-69.

the Baoshan divination text and does not exist at all in the Yi texts. This suggests different functions for these texts—records versus manuals—as well as an evolution from the Three Unities to the Five Phases system during the fourth to third centuries in the Jiangling region. We have no obvious evidence that the Baoshan ritualists had access to Day Books; their reference to specific hexagrams, however, does suggest their use of an omen reference text or Yi text. Since versions of both Day Books and Yi texts have been found in tombs around the Jiangling region, we know that within a hundred years both types of text were in use. Whether the Baoshan ritualists referred to a text documenting the earlier system of correlations is unknown, but it is not inconceivable given the text-rich environment of the Jiangling area.[59] A study of the Baoshan divination record suggests a less detailed concern with natural influences, one more concerned with the rising and falling influences of Yin and Yang evident in the months or seasons rather than day by day.

Scholars have reconstructed the Chu calendar of months by comparing the Shuihudi (which mentions the Chu system of months) and Baoshan texts.[60] Generally the Qin calendar was ahead of the Chu calendar by three months. If we assume that the new year began in the winter, then the months can be classified by season (see table 1, below).[61] Liu Yuexin, in his study of the Chu Day Book from Jiudian 九店 (also in the Jiangling area), notes the importance of Jupiter's location to the classification of the months: "For the Tenth Month, Quxi (2), and Xiang Month (6), [Jupiter] is in the west. For the Cuan Month (11), Yuanxi (3), and Xiayi (5), [it is] in the south."[62]

A summary of the religious activity by month and day suggests a basic sensitivity by Baoshan ritualists to Five Phases or Three Unities requirements as expressed in the Shuihudi Day Book (see table 2).[63] At the

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[59] The discovery of texts traditionally associated with Confucian and Daoist thought in Jingmen-area tombs (known as the Guodian texts and the "Shanghai slips") attest to elite literacy and to the Jiangling metropolitan area as a magnet of multicultural talents from all over late Warring States-period China.

[60] See especially Wang Hongxing 1991; Liu Binhui 1991; Chen Wei 1996a, 8-9; Li Ling 2000, 279. Chen Wei 1996a, 249, suggests that since the annual exorcism rite took place in the summer month of Xingyi the Chu new year would have begun then. Zhu, Qiu, and Li follow Chen in their analysis of the Wangshan divination manuscript. Li Ling, following Liu Binhui and the Shuihudi order, feels that the Chu new year was in the Dongxi month.

[61] For variant writing of these graphs, see Chen Wei 1996a, 2.

[62] Liu Lexian 1998, 92.

[63] From A. Wang 2000, 93-94, 96, table 3.1. Harper 2001, 109-10, feels that the

Table 1: The Chu Calendar

SEASON	LUNAR MONTH NUMBER, AND MONTH NAME
Spring	1: Dongxi "Winter Eve" 冬夕
	2: Quxi "Bent Eve" 屈夕
	3: Yuanxi "Drawn-out Eve" 援夕
Summer	4: Xingyi "Diminished Peace" 刑夷
	5: Xiayi "Summer Peace" 夏夷
	6: Fangyue "Spinning Month" 紡月, or Xiangyue "Mortuary Sacrifice Month" 享月
Autumn	7: Qiyue "Seventh Month" 七月, or Xiaxi "Summer Eve"
	8: Bayue "Eighth Month" 八月
	9: Jiuyue "Ninth Month" 九月
Winter	10: Shiyue "Tenth Month" 十月
	11: Cuanyue "Stove Month" 爨月
	12: Xianma "Sacrificial Horse" 獻馬

minimum, it seems that balancing Yin and Yang forces may have helped determine auspicious days for divination or sacrifice. Although we can assume that the annual exorcisms were scheduled events and that the illness divination events were emergent, we see nevertheless a seasonal alternation in terms of the correlate element or Agent. Ritualists alternated the "fire" months of summer (when Yang was at its peak) with "wood" and "water" months (when Yin was still influential, such as spring, or at its peak, such as winter). Generally, Yin-influenced days, such as by correlate elements wood, metal, and earth, were chosen for the fire season and a Yang-influenced day, such as by the correlate element fire, was chosen for the winter month. An exception to this seeming attempt to balance Yin and Yang days is evident in the case of the burial date of Dinghai, a fire day and one that had a long tradition of being an auspicious day. It was the most popular day for bronze casting beginning in the late Western Zhou period.[64] Fire days, Ding and Bing, were used either for burial

hemerological system for the 12 branch days "bears no relation to *yin-yang* or Five Phase [*wuxing*] correlations," but that there is a system evident for the stem days.

[64] See Cook 1990, 67-70, "Auspicious Days and Numerological Preferences."

or in mid-winter for animal sacrifices to Shao Tuo's patrilineal ancestral spirits—sacrifices actually performed, not merely those proposed. These may have been considered Yin events requiring the counterbalance of a Yang day. The dates of Shao's death and burial suggest a possible relation to Shuihudi concerns with directions and with dealing with the dy-

Table 2. The Baoshan Ritual Calendar and Five-Phase (*wuxing*) Correlates

SEASON	*Wuxing* CORRELATE	MONTH	DAY	*Wuxing* CORRELATE
318 BCE: Summer	South/Fire	4	Yiwei (#32)	Wood/Wood
317 BCE: Spring	East/Wood	1	Guichou (#50)	Water/Metal
		3	Guimao (#40)	Wood/Wood
Summer	South/Fire	5	Yichou (#2)	Wood/Metal
Winter	North/Water	11	Jiyou (#46)	Earth/Metal
			Bingchen (#53)	Fire/Water
316 BCE: Summer	South/Fire	4	Jimao (#16)	Earth/Wood
		5	Jihai (#36)	Earth/Wood
		6	Dinghai (#24)	Fire/Wood

ing,[65] mentioned above. Shao was buried on a Ding day and faced east. The last entry of the divination text was a Ji day, perhaps also the day of his death. The coffin had entered the tomb with the mourners facing west. Animal sacrifices presented to a succession of ancestral spirits (*yi* 翼 or 翌)[66] were performed in summer on a wood day in year 318, but in spring in year 317 on a water–Stem/metal–Branch day, possibly suggesting an adjustment of the Yin and Yang balance necessary in the choice of the day according to the season. However, a different animal sacrifice presented in the summer of 317 on a wood/metal day would

[65] I thank the late Gil Mattos for having pointed out to me that the word *si* 死 refers to both dying and death and that a person who was "killed" (*sha* 殺) may not be wholly dead.

[66] Li Ling 2000, 286, understands this as a secondary sacrifice, but see my arguments in app. 1, below, n. 23.

seemingly belie such a correlation, unless different sacrifices to different spirits with different animals all required balance. The type of meat presented was certainly an issue considered in the Shuihudi correlations, but such a consideration seems an unlikely level of complexity even for the cosmopolitan lineages of diviners of Jiangling during the fourth century BCE. Directions for activities were not recorded, although sacrifices to the spirit of the south were proposed in the summer, which accords with the Five Phases correlates.

The Baoshan text may be divided into twenty-six records associated with eight different dates or divination events from the years 318 to 316 BCE. Three annual exorcisms consist of three records apiece for the first two years, but include five records for the last year of Shao's life. There are four records during the second year that simply record sacrifices performed and the prayers made. They do not include divinations. Two were performed in the first month of spring on a water day, and two in the winter on a fire day. The exorcisms specifically addressing Shao's failing health during the second year include one record in the spring on a water day, and four records during the winter on an earth day. During the last year of his life, there are five records on the same day as the summer annual exorcism and one the next month, also in summer, all on earth days. The last record of the entire text is a rather sad note written on the back—no doubt after Shao's death—stating that "the name of the district (of the cursing spirit) is unknown." From the tomb inventory text in Shao's tomb, we know that he was buried forty-nine days after the last divination record.

The types of sacrifice, the categories of spirits, and the types of divination used may also have correlated roughly with an early sort of Five Phases scheme. These factors have been coded in table 3 and assembled in table 4, given below. Because of the complexity of the cycle of divination events, I will discuss each section individually and also explain how they relate to the other sections.

Sacrificial offerings sent to the spirits included animals, jades, and clothing. The type of item sent was a reflection of the perceived status of the spirit and the amount of influence he or she may have had in removing Shao Tuo's blame. General categories of animal sacrifice included water buffalo, pigs, goats, dogs, and horses. Black or glossy male animals were reserved for the highest status gods or those perceived to have the greatest influence at the time. The most powerful animal sacrifice was the water buffalo. This was reserved for Chu kings and was

generally served in offering dishes or as a large soup. But in the final year of Shao Tuo's life, five early Chu kings each received a black water buffalo with a fattened piglet. Shao Tuo's patrilineal ancestors (descended from King Zhao) each received black male gelded (hence fat) pigs, but his mother received only the dried meat from a black pig. In the first year, the pigs were served as food dishes with wine. Interestingly, during this first year the father, mother, and the *lian'ao* (the name of a Chu office) of Dongling were singled out: the father would receive dried meat from a black pig made into food offerings and served with wine. The mother was originally slated to simply receive a fattened piglet served as a food offering with wine, but this was upgraded to receiving wine with a dried black pig-meat offering. The *lian'ao* usually received fattened piglets served as food offerings, but, during the last summer of Shao's life, his usual sacrifice was performed outside the city wall and a sacrifice of three ritual robes was added, suggesting that this spirit, perhaps an ancestor from the mother's side of the family (hence on the "outside"), was considered dangerous. During the last year of his life, Shao's most recently deceased three patrilineal ancestors received whole gelded pigs served as food offerings.

Recipients of black or glossy animals were almost always ancestral spirits, although the Earth Lord of the Residence received a black ram during the third divination cycle of annual exorcism for year 318 BCE. In subsequent years, he received male pigs or rams of no specified color. The difference most likely had to do with the type of sacrifice. In the first instance, the black ram was simply a proposed sacrifice (a *ju*) whereas in the spring of 317 a male pig was actually sacrificed to "satiate" (*yan*) him. Later that year, during the annual exorcism, he was repaid (*sai*) with a ram for perceived good influence. During the summer of 316 when Shao Tuo was critically ill, a ram was once again proposed as a sacrifice to the Earth Lord of the Residence. Presumably, Shao Tuo died before this proposal could be carried out and before the Earth Lord's beneficence could be confirmed and repaid.[67]

While the earth gods—Earth Altar, Earth Lord, Earth Lord of the Wilds, and Earth Lord of the Residence[68]—generally received some form

[67] Chen Wei 1996a, 177-79, has charted some of these relationships and noted that the type of sacrifice received by nature spirits is invariant during any single divination event, but can vary among events.

[68] The use of different terminology for the same god may be the result of different scribes. There are too few examples to anchor terminology to any particular scribe.

of animal sacrifice, ritualists repaid them for their beneficence with jade, particularly in the company of other nature spirits also being repaid in jade such as Grand Unity (Taiyi), Controller of Fate, Controller of Disaster, Grand Water, Two Children of Heaven, and Wei Mountain. By using the order of sacrifice as an indication of relative importance within the hierarchy of nature spirits, we may deduce that Taiyi and the Occluded Taiyi (the Yin or cloud covered version)—both celestial spirits—were just above the earth gods in rank. The Controller of Fate and the Controller of Disaster were about equal in rank, judging by the sacrificial meat type and order. Grand Water, the Two Children of Heaven, and Wei Mountain were nature gods likely associated with local landscape features, such as the Yangzi River.

The sixth divination event of annual exorcism of Shao's last year is interesting for the fact that Gu Ji, the most prominent diviner, took over the proceedings. He proposed clothing and goat sacrifices to a series of nature gods who had previously been paid with jade and pigs. This suggests that it is not always known what sacrifice would satisfy a particular spirit at a given time. In the second divination event of the annual exorcism for the previous year, he had paid off the same deities with jade. We see in strips 212-215 (dated to 317 BCE) that the gods Grand Unity, Earth Lord, Controller of Fate, Grand Water, Two Children of Heaven, and Wei Mountain each received a type of jade, and in strips 236-238 (316 BCE) the same spirits received a type of goat.[69] Both events took place during annual exorcisms and both were officiated by Gu Ji. Clothing sacrifices consisted of robes or different types of cap ties, all of which may have conferred rank upon the spirits when they assumed human form.

The term *dizhu* is used in strips 201-04, 206-08, 218-19, reflecting the first two years of the diviners' efforts to cure Shao Tuo, and is used consistently within a single divination event. Although the calligraphy of some events differs slightly from others, I cannot confidently claim this indicates different hands at work.

[69] Chen Wei 1996a, 177-79. In the Xincai text, the Controller of Fate received a deer (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187, Jia I 15, 210 Ling 15).

1.1. *Baoshan Terms for Rituals, Offerings, and Spirits*

1.1.1. *Rituals*

Exorcism

"beating"[70]	*gong* 攻 (beating out the evil influence in the body with some sort of technique—possibly using music and unspoken and spoken commands, *si* and *ming*—or with an implement to pierce and draw blood or fluids out of the body)
"releasing"	*jie* 解 (either releasing the body from the grip of the evil influence or releasing the influence out from the body)
"expel"	*chu* 除 (to cleanse a space of evil influence)

Prayers

"Proposition prayer"[71]	*ju* 舉 (an initial prayer used to propose particular sacrifices to ancestral or nature spirits)
"Succeeding prayer"[72]	*yi* 翌 (a secondary prayer used to confirm sacrifices to a series of ancestral spirits)
Confirmation of prayers	*zhuan* 轉 (proposed in earlier divination events by a different diviner, literally 'turning to'[73])

1.1.2. *Sacrificial Offerings*

Animal[74]

black or glossy[75] water buffalo	*dai niu* 黛牛
black or glossy gelded pig	*dai huan* 黛豢
dried meat of a black pig	*dai xi* 黛腊
dried meat of a pig	*dai shi* 黛豕
fattened piglet	*fei zhong, zhong shi, zhong zhong* 肥豕、豕豕、豕豕
male pig	*jia* 豭
whole gelded pig	*huan* 豢
black ram	*gu* 羖
gelded ram	*fu* 膚
ewe	*zang* 牂
white dog	*bai quan* 白犬
sacrificial horse	*xi ma* 犧馬

[70] See app. 1, n. 18, and the discussion above, p. 84.
[71] See app. 1, n. 36.
[72] See app. 1, n. 23.
[73] See app. 1, n. 42.
[74] Note that besides many of these same sacrificial animals, the Xincai divination text includes horses, bear, and deer sacrifices (Henansheng wenwu kaogusuo 2003, 209-11 Yi IV 143, Ling 15, Ling 71, 137).
[75] See app. 1, n. 25.

Jade

circlet of a jade pendant	*peiyu yi huan* 佩玉一環
small jade circlet	*xiao huan* 小環
pierced jade pendent	*jue* 玦
strung jade disk	*bengpei* 繃佩
jade disk	*bi* 璧
tiger shaped jade	*hu* 琥

Clothing

cap ties	*guandai* 冠帶
cap ties that dangle outward	*peiqu guandai* 佩取冠帶
ritual robes	*yishang* 衣裳

Types of Offerings

"To pay respects to or entertain a deity with food sacrifices, possibly involving invoking the deity's presence"[76] *ke* 恪

"Payment to a deity in return for good influence"*sai* 賽

"To satiate a deity with a food sacrifice" *yan* 厭

"Present prepared dishes to a deity" *ci* 祠

"Payment to a deity by 'sending' jade or clothing" *gui* 歸

"To dismember a sacrificial animal, such as a white dog" *fa* 伐

"To present sacrifices in the form of a mortuary feast" *xiangji* 享祭

Methods of Presentation

"With wine and food"	*jiushi* 酒食
"As food offerings"	*kui* 饋
"As a great soup"	*da zang* 大臧
"Outside the city wall"	*jiao* 郊
"As a mortuary feast"	*xiang* 享

1.1.3. *Spirits*

Ancestral Spirits

King Zhao 昭王 (Chu king who is Shao Tuo's link to Chu royalty, r. 515-489 BCE)

Wen Pingye Jun, Pingye Jun 文坪夜君 (Accomplished Lord or Pingye, Shao Tuo's great great grandfather)

Wu Gongzi Chun 武公子春 (Chun of the Sire Wu line, Shao Tuo's great grandfather)

Simazi Yin, Simazi Zhiyin, Xin Wang Fu 司馬子之音、新王父 (Zhiyin of the Sima line, New Royal Father, Shao Tuo's grandfather)

Cai Gongzi Jia, Xin Fu 蔡公子家、新父 (Jia of the Sire Cai line, New Father, Shao Tuo's father)

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[76] See app. 1, n. 37.

Furen, Xin Mu 夫人、新母 (Wife of Cai Gongzi Jia, New Mother, Shao Tuo's mother)

Dongling *lian'ao* Zifa 東陵連囂子發 (*Lian'ao* Minister of Dongling, a deity outside of the patrilineal line of male ancestors, possible Shao Tuo's grandfather on his maternal side or other powerful influence in his life)

Chu Kings

Lao Tong 老童, Zhu Rong 祝融, Yu Yin 粥飲 (mythical founder kings of the Chu nation, possibly equivalent to nature deities)[77]

Jing Wang zi Yin Lu yi Di Wu Wang 荆王自飲鹿以帝武王 (five kings from "Yin Lu," a.k.a. either Xiong Yi or Xiong Li, to "Di Wu," a.k.a. Xiong Tong or Chu King Wu, r. 740-690 BCE)[78]

Ghosts

Human Harm, Harm	*ren hai, hai* 人害、害
Numinous Ancestors, Ancestors	*mingzu, zu* 明祖、祖
Dead Innocents	*bugu* 不辜
Those without Descendants	*wuhouzhe* 無後者
Those on the Water	*shuishang* 水上
Drowned People	*moren* 沒人
Those Who Died in Battle	*bingsi* 兵死

Nature

Grand Unity	Tai (for Taiyi) 太、太一
Occluded Grand Unity	Shi Tai 蝕太
Earth Altar	She 社
Earth Lord	Dizhu, Houtu 地主、后土
Earth Lord of the Residence 主、宮后土	Gong Dizhu, Gong Houtu 宮地
Earth Lord of the Wild	Ye Dizhu 野地主
Walkway	Xing 行
Residence Walkway	Gong Xing 宮行
Residence	Gongshi 宮室
Grand Gate	Da Men 大門
Controller of Fate	Siming 司命
Controller of Disasters	Sihuo 司禍
Grand Water	Da Shui 大水
Two Children of Heaven	Er Tianzi 二天子
Five Mountains	Wu Shan 五山

[77] See Cook 1994.
[78] See app. 1, nn. 127, 129.

Wei Mountain	Wei Shan 危山
High Hill, Low Hill	Gaoqiu, Xiaqiu 高丘、下丘
South	Nanfang 南方
Sun, Moon	Ri, Yue 日、月
Jupiter	Sui 歲
Ximu Station	Ximu Wei 析木位

From tables 2, 3, and 4 we can see that the twelve diviners used ten different methods of divination depending on the season or the day. In the summer (year 318) on a wood/wood day, diviners Gu Ji, Shi Beishang, and Ying Hui used the methods named *baojia*, *xungui*, and *yangshi* (a mixture of shell and stalk methods, see discussion below). Gu Ji again used the *baojia* in the summer of the next year (317) on a wood/metal day, and the next summer (316) on an earth/wood day. The same method was used by different diviners, Xu Ji, in the Winter on a earth/metal day and by diviner Guan Yi later in the same summer of year 316 on an earth/wood day. This suggests that any particular method can be used by a certain diviner once during a season, and preferably on wood or earth days. On the other hand, diviner Ke Guang used the *changxiao* method (possible a stalk method) in the spring and winter of year 317, but a different diviner of the same surname, Ke Jia, used it in the summer. Perhaps spring and summer seasons, associated with the east and the south, were considered to be Yang, and winter and fall, the north and west, were considered to be Yin and therefore subject to different natural forces. Divination methods *shaobao* and *tongge* (perhaps shell and stalk methods) were used only in the winter. No divinations were recorded on fire days. By far the most active divination period was in the summer at the time of the annual exorcism, perhaps indicating that the best time for getting rid of evil influences was when Yang was at its peak.[79]

It is unclear whether an alternation in divination method had anything to do with Yin-Yang cosmology or even exactly which divination method is meant by the ten different names mentioned: "Protecting Home" *baojia* 保家, "Instructing Turtle" *xunmin* 訓黽, "Centering Stalks" *yangshi*

[79] The Xincai text is too fragmentary to yield a list of diviners, methods, and seasons; some diviners shared surnames with Baoshan diviners (e.g. Gu, Xu, Ying, Guan, although the lead diviner seems to have been from the Peng 彭 family). Some of the same methods are used but also ones otherwise unknown in the Baoshan text. Most curious is the fact that some of the bone and stalk methods are specifically associated with particular Ministers of the Mounds 陵尹 and the warlord of Wei 衛侯 (see Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187-231).

Table 3. Rituals, Offerings, and Deities by Divination Event

DIVINATION EVENT (strip no.)/event no.	RITUAL TYPE In performance order (Chinese term)	OFFERING TYPE (Chinese term)	DEITY TYPE (Chinese term)
Event I: 318 BCE Early Summer, Day Yiwei			
(197-198) / I.1	Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Ghost (Renhai)
(199-200) / I.2	a. Succeeding prayer (*yi*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
	b. Succeeding prayer (*yi*)	Animal (*dai huan*)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
	c. Succeeding prayer (*yi*)	Animal (*dai xi*)	Ancestral (Furen)
(201-04, 202 back)/ I.3	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*gu*)	Nature (Gong Dizhu)
	b. Offering (*ke*)	Animal (*dai xi*)	Ancestral (Xinfu Cai Gongzi Jia)
	c. Offering (*ke*)	Animal (*fei zhong*)	Ancestral (Xinmu)
	d. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*fei zhong*)	Ancestral (Dongling *lian'ao*)
	e. Confirmation of (*zhuan*):		
	i. Succeeding prayer (*yi*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	
	ii. Succeeding prayer (*yi*)	Animal (*dai huan*)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
			Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
		Animal (*dai xi*)	Ancestral (*furen*)
Event II: 317 BCE Early Spring, Day Guichou			
(205) / II.1	Succeeding prayer (*yi*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
(206) / II.2	Succeeding prayer (*yi*)	Animal (*dai huan*)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia
Event III: 317 BCE Late Spring, Day Guimao			
(207-08) / III	a. Offering (*ci*):	Animal (*jia*) Animal (*jia*)	Nature (Ye Dizhu) Nature (Gong Dizhu)
	b. Payment (*sai*)	Animal (*bai quan*)	Nature (Xing)
Event IV: 317 BCE Midsummer, Day Yichou			
(209-11) / IV.1	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (whole *huan*)	Nature (Shi Tai)
	b. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (whole *xi*)	Nature (She)
	c. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*bai quan*)	Nature (Xing)
	d. Confirmation of (*zhuan*): Payment (*sai*)	Animal (*zhong shi*)	Nature (Dongling *lian'ao*)
	e. i. Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Ghost (*mingzu*)
	ii. Exorcism (*chu*)		Nature (Gongshi)

DIVINATION EVENT (strip no.)/event no.	RITUAL TYPE In performance order (Chinese term)	OFFERING TYPE (Chinese term)	DEITY TYPE (Chinese term)
(212-15) / IV.2	a. Confirmation of (*zhuan*): Payment (*sai*)	Jade (*peiyu yi huan*)	Nature (Tai)
		Jade (*xiao huan*)	Nature (Houtu, Siming, Siguo)
		Jade (*peiyu yihuan*)	Nature (Dashui)
		Jade (*xiao huan*)	Nature (Er Tianzi)
		Jade (1*kuai*)	Nature (Weishan)
	b. Confirmation of (*zhuan*): Payment (*sai*)	Animal (*gu*)	Nature (Gong Houtu)
	c. Confirmation of (*zhuan*):		
	i. Payment (*sai*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
	ii. Payment (*sai*)	Animal (*dai huan*)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Zhiyin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
	iii. Payment (*sai*)	Animal (*dai xi*)	Ancestral (Xinmu)
(216-17) / IV.3	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*zang*)	Founders (Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, Yu Yin)
	b. Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Ghost (*bugu*)
Event V: 317 BCE Midwinter, Day Jiyou			
(218-19) / V.1	a. Offering (*yan*)	Animal (*jia*)	Nature (Dizhu)
	b. Payment (*sai*)	Animal (*bai quan*)	Nature (Xing)
	c. Payment (*gui*)	Clothing (*guan dai*)	Nature (Er Tianzi)
(220) / V.2	Same as V.1		
(221-22) / V.3	Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	Ancestral (Xin Wang Fu)
(223) / V.4	Confirmation of V.3 (*zhuan*)		
Event VI: 317 BCE Midwinter, Day Bingchen			
(224) / VI.1	Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	Ancestral (Xin Wang Fu Sima Yin)
(225) / VI.2	Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*fei zhong*)	Ancestral (Dongling *lian'ao* Zifa)
Event VII: 316 BCE Early Summer, Day Jimao			
(226-27) / VII.1	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (whole *huan*)	Nature (Shi Tai)
	b. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*zhong shi*)	Ghosts (*xiongdi wuhouzhe* Zhao Liang, Zhao Cheng, Xian He Gong)
(228-29) / VII.2	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*bai quan*)	Nature (Gongxing)
	b. Exorcism (*gongchu*)		Nature (Gongshi)
(230-31) / VII.3	a. Exorcism (*gong*)		? Nature (curse of Nanfang?)
	b. Payment (*gui*)	Clothing (*peiqu guandai*)	Nature (Nanfang)

DIVINATION EVENT (strip no.)/event no.	RITUAL TYPE In performance order (Chinese term)	OFFERING TYPE (Chinese term)	DEITY TYPE (Chinese term)
(232-33) / VII.4	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*gu*)	Nature (Gong Houtu)
	b. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*bai quan*)	Nature (Xing)
	c. Offering (*fa*)	Animal (*bai quan*)	Nature (Damen)
(234-35) / VII.5	No ritual		
(236-38 / VII.6	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*fu*)	Nature (Tai)
		Animal (*zang*)	Nature (Houtu, Siming)
	b. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*fu*)	Nature (Dashui)
		Animal (*zang*)	Nature (Er Tianzi)
		Animal (*gu*)	Nature (Weishan)
	c. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (2 *gu*)	Founders (Chu *xian* Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, Yu Yin)
		Animal (whole *huan*)	Nature (Gaoqiu, Xiaqiu)
	d. Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Nature (Sui)
(239-41) / VII.7	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*zang*)	Nature (Wushan)
	b. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
	c. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*dai huan*)	Ancestral (Wen Pingye Jun Ziliang, Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Yin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
	d. Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Ghosts (*zu, bingsi*)
	e. Confirmation of VIII.6 (*zhuan*): Record of offering (*xiangji*)	Animal (whole *shi*)	Nature (Gaoqiu, Xiaqiu)
(242-44) / VII.8	Confirmation of VIII.6 (*zhuan*):		
	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*fu*)	Nature (Tai)
		Animal (*zang*)	Nature (Houtu, Siming)
	b. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*fu*)	Nature (Dashui)
		Animal (*zang*)	Nature (Er Tianzi)
		Animal (*gu*)	Nature (Weishan)
	c. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*dai niu*)	Ancestral (Zhao Wang)
	d. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*zhongzhong*)	Ancestral (Dongling *lian'ao*)
	e. Record of offering (*gong*)	Clothing (3 *yishang*)	Ancestral (Dongling *lian'ao*)
	f. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (whole *xi*)	Ghost (*hai*)
(245-46) / VII.9	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*niu*, *shi*)	Founders (five Xing kings from Yin Lu to Di Wu Wang)
	b. Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Ghosts (*shuishang, moren*)
(247-48)/ VII.10	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*xi ma*)	Nature (Da Shui)
	b. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*dai huan*)	Ancestral (Wu Gongzi Chun, Simazi Yin, Cai Gongzi Jia)
	c. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*xi*)	Nature (*she*)
	d. Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Nature (*riyue, bugu*)
Event VIII: 316 BCE Early Summer, Day Jihai			
(249-50) / VIII	a. Proposition prayer (*ju*)	Animal (*fei shi*)	Ghosts (*wuhouzhe*)
	b. Exorcism (*gongjie*)		Nature (Ximu *wei*)

Table 4. Names of Ritualists and Their Methods by Divination Event

EVENT NUMBER	RITUALIST	METHOD
I.1	Gu Ji	*baojia* (shell)
.2	Shi Beishang	*xungui* (shell)
.3	Ying Hui	*yangshi* (stalk)
II.1	Shao Ji	Sacrifice
II.2	Shao Ji	Sacrifice
III	Ke Guang	*changxiao* (stalk)
IV.1	Wu Sheng	*chengde* (stalk)
.2	Gu Ji	*baojia* (shell)
.3	Ke Jia	*changxiao* (stalk)
V.1	Xu Ji	*baojia* (shell)
.2	Ke Guang	*changxiao* (stalk)
.3	Nong Qiang	*shaobao* (shell)
.4	Qu Yi	*tongge* (stalk)
VI.1	Xia Yu and Wei Zhuang	Sacrifice
.2	Xia Yu and Wei Zhuang	Sacrifice
VII.1	Gu Ji	*baojia* (shell)
.2	Chen Yi	*gongming*
.3	Guan Beng	*changling* (shell)
.4	Wu Sheng	*chengde* (stalk)
.5	Xu Ji	*boling* (shell)
.6	Gu Ji	*baojia* (shell)
.7	Chen Yi	*gongming* (stalk)
.8	Guan Beng	*changling* (shell)
.9	Wu Sheng	*chengde* (stalk)
.10	Xu Ji	*boling* (shell)
VIII	Guan Yi	*baojia* (shell)

央筮, "The Long and the Short" *changxiao* 長削 (*shao* 少),"[80] "Uplifting Ascendance" *chengde* 承德,[81] "Little Treasure" *shaobao* 少寶,[82] "Red Onion Grass" *tongge* 彤茖, "Respecting Fate" *gongming* 共命,[83] "Everlasting

[80] See the use of *xiao* for *shao* in the divination text. Yang Hua 2003, 569, suggests this divination type may in fact refer to use of a Day Book.

[81] For *de* as "ascending power" vs. "rescinding power" (*xing* 刑), see Major 1987.

[82] I read *shao* as *xiao* 小, a common loan for this time-period.

[83] The graph 共 is a common loan for the graph 恭.

Numinous One" *changling* 長靈, "Mixed Numinous One" *boling* 駁靈.[84] It is assumed that all the names referred to either tortoise shell (*baojia*, *xungui*, *shaobao*, *changling*, *boling*) or stalk (*yangshi*, *changxiao*, *chengde*, *tongge*, *gongming*?) methods.[85] Since most divination occurred in the spring or summer months, there is no obvious Yin-Yang classification of the methods by season. During the winter methods *baojia*, *changxiao*, *shaobao*, and *tongge* were used, revealing an alteration between shell and stalk method. This tendency to alternate between the two methods is also evident for the summer of year 316 BCE. In either season, the divination sessions begin with a shell method.[86] The stalk method *tongge* was used only once, in the winter, perhaps for the use of a bit of "red" Yang essence during a Yin month.

Three stalk method names provide insight into the divination process. We know that the *yangshi*, *chengde*, and *gongming* methods each resulted in hexagrams displayed in vertical rows of Yin (broken) and Yang (solid) numbers.[87] We know that there were at least two versions of hexagram (*gua* 卦) or Yi texts associated with stalk divination (how the stalks were thrown and the numbers read from the stalks is unclear):[88] the *Zhouyi* (or *Yijing*), associated in Han texts with Zhou traditions, and the *Guicang*, associated with Shang traditions. From excavated manuscripts we know that while they both used a similar set of hexagrams (with some

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[84] The graph for *ling* was written with a 毗 element in the Wangshan and Xincai divination texts. Another popular shell type was the *Mangling* 尨靈 "vari-colored tortoise," sometimes specified as "small" (*xiao*). The diviner Peng Ding 彭定 specialized in this method as well as in the *Boling* method (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 187 Jia I 25; 192 Jia III 133; 193 Jia III 157, 172, and Yi III 19; 195, Jia III 204). Peng Ding also used a method called *Mingluo* 鳴羅 (the *luo* graph seems to include another element, which commentators have deciphered as 月), perhaps loan graphs for a type of grass or stalk, *niaoluo* 蔦蘿 (mentioned as separate types of grass but in the same line of the *Shijing* ode "Kuibian," Mao no. 217). For a discussion of divination methods and specialists in the *Zhouli*, see Loewe 1994, 165-67.

[85] See Peng Hao 1991; For Li Ling's and Chen Wei's views see app. 1, notes on each method. Hu Yali 2002, 71, recently published a slightly different list, claiming that all are shell methods except *dayang, yangshi, chengde,* and *gongming*.

[86] This practice of alternation and seasonal accord is generally consistent with that discovered by Loewe in his study of late Warring States, Qin, and Han practices using shells, bones, and stalks, based on transmitted textual references; Loewe 1994, 166-71.

[87] See Cook 1998; Harper 1999, 853; Li Ling 2000, 251-71.

[88] Ailan and Xing Wen 2004 and Xing Wen 2000b suggest that since hexagram names are not mentioned, the stalk divination type practiced by Baoshan diviners may have been different from those who used the *Zhouyi* or *Guicang* manuals; Loewe 1994, 178, draws from the *Yili* to provide a picture of the divination event.

overlapping names) the accompanying texts preserve variants of different sets of legends. The *Guicang* text was discovered in a Qin tomb not far from the Baoshan region. It is possible that the Baoshan hexagrams were interpreted according to the omen texts or signs (*xiang*)[89] of the *Guicang*, whose lines were drawn from legendary story-cycles preserved in the Chu Silk Manuscript and in later texts,[90] and seem to associate auspicious and inauspicious signs with Yin and Yang. These texts include the deities known as the Controller of Yin and the Controller of Yang, as well as images associated with cosmic birth mythology: the Fusang tree, Fuxi, Nüwa, darkness, and lightness.[91] The *Guicang* also includes images of ecstatic flight and possibly of shamanistic rituals of entertaining spirits with dance and music in a trance—behavior used by modern fortune tellers in China.[92]

While it is unclear what omens the diviners used in their interpretations of the hexagrams, there are a few omens recorded in the Baoshan text indicated by the word "to see" (*jian* 見), which may have been a simplified expression of "to appear" (*xian* 現). In event V.1 in the winter of 317 BCE (translated in Appendix One), Xu Ji used the *baojia* method to divine the presence of a curse. The answer was positive because "The Grand Unity (Taiyi) looks at a tiger-shaped jade"—possibly a reference to astral movements or perhaps their reflection in some divination implement on the ground. Xu Ji used a tiger-shaped jade and a jade disk as part of the exorcism. First he used them to select a good month and day, and then he "sent" them, a ritual process that transferred the jades to the deity, possibly by hanging them upon a sacrificial animal.[93] A second omen is recorded in event V.3 of the same date (this and the next example are translated in Appendix One), in which the diviner Nong Qiang used the *shaobao* method to test the presence of a curse. The answer was positive and he "sees Xin Wang Fu who died prematurely." The diviner Qu Yi then (in V.4) confirms the result and the omen. Seven days later Xin

[89] See Cook 1998; Lewis 1999a, chapter 6; and Cook forthcoming; Li Ling 2000, 260, notes that first a hexagram was derived (*suan* 算) through calculation (*shu* 數), then provided with a symbolic meaning (*xiang*) in the form of text. For a discussion of the rise of *shu* "calculation" in the Warring States period, see Harper 1999a, 822ff.

[90] See these texts, below, chap. 5.

[91] For a discussion of this mythology and the Shang cosmic model, see Allan 1991.

[92] See Morgan 1988; Wang Mingqin 2004; Cook forthcoming. Harper 1999, 866, suggests that shamans (witches or spirit technicians) (*wu* 巫) were increasingly relegated to lower levels of the religious hierarchy during the Warring States period.

[93] Luo 2005, 90.

Wang Fu Sima Yin, Shao Tuo's great grandfather, was presented with a black water buffalo sacrifice. On the same day, another ancestral spirit that died prematurely, Dongling *lian'ao* Zifa, was presented with a fattened piglet sacrifice. Both omens appeared with the use of a method believed to involve a tortoise shell and not stalks.

Traditionally, omens in cracked shells were simply cracks read as either auspicious or non-auspicious. In order to "see" beyond the cracks, the diviner had to have a more sophisticated fortune-telling device. Today we possess divination boards, *shi* 式, that is, a model of the cosmos controlled by Grand Unity (Taiyi), which have been excavated from third-century BCE tombs. Li Ling has shown how the shapes of these boards depicted cosmic models of the Yin-Yang Five Phases scheme used in the Day Books and in southern silk texts with diagrams of the seasons or of Yin-Yang Five Phases that have been found in Changsha, Hunan, tombs (down the Yangzi River from Jiangling, in an area deeply influenced by Chu culture).[94] Although excavated examples of the board date to the end of the Warring States period and later, Li suggests that cosmic models date back as early as Neolithic burials—which were bordered on each side with dragons and tigers formed out of shells—and can be traced up through the 443 BCE lacquer box—with the dragon and tiger pictured in the heavens around the twenty-eight stellar mansions.[95] The dragon-tiger motif continued forward into post-Han records of cosmic board texts, such as the "Taiyi Dragon Head Board Classic" of the Five Dynasties. In a Han silk painting from Changsha, Taiyi is pictured as a horned man riding a dragon, flanked by the Rain Master (in the form of a dragon) and the Thunder Lord (in the form of a tiger).[96] By the Tang period, we find texts for "Taiyi Boards" and "Thunder Lord Boards."[97] The evidence of an astral dragon and tiger motif (common motifs in Chu art) evolving from as early as the Neolithic suggests that our Baoshan omen depicting a perhaps dragon-headed Taiyi looking at a tiger-jade may have been the result of a fourth-century BCE cosmic board manipulation; at least it is a divination type different from cracks in a tortoise shell.

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[94] Li Ling 2000, 127-28, describes a Song dynasty "Taiyi Twelve Spirit (months)" board. For the Chu Silk Manuscript, see Li Ling 1999, 171-76, and for the "Yin-Yang Five Phase" illustration from a silk book of the same name found in the Han-period tomb at Mawangdui, Changsha, see Fu and Chen 1992, vol. 1, 145.

[95] Li Ling 2000, 78-81, 110-12.

[96] Found in Li Ling 1992, 23; and Cook and Major 1999, fig. 9.2.

[97] Li Ling 2000, 113-19, 126-28.

The ritual specialists in the Baoshan text included thirteen diviners who also performed exorcisms. Since the family names of most of these diviners are also found in the administrative records (buried also in the northern compartment of the tomb), we can assume that these were local Chu ritualists, possibly connected to the royal family. While the Baoshan texts do not refer to the specialists by title, judging from regulations preserved in the transmitted ritual texts, they were likely lower ranked *zhanren* 占人 or *buren* 卜人 who worked under a director of divination, a *taibu* 太卜. When it came to Shao Tuo's funeral (not recorded in the Baoshan divination text), control over the ceremonies and divination may have shifted to the *dazongren* 大宗人, *xiaozhongren* 小宗人, and simple *buren* 卜人, who, as Loewe explained, assisted the master of the house in protocol, took charge of particular divination methods, and carried out the divination. However, the numbers of diviners and methods used by the ritualists assigned to Shao Tuo were many more than accorded a *dafu* or *shi* rank in the ritual texts.[98] If we look at the Baoshan diviners with three or more records, we see that although they specialized in particular methods of divination, they performed both the scheduled annual and the non-scheduled exorcisms. The schedule of divinations recorded in the Xincai text cannot be reconstructed as yet from the fragments, but it is clear from the names of methods and diviners that families of diviners who specialized in particular methods were attached to the Chu elite, and traveled with them.

In addition to the diviners, three ritualists (*shiren* 事人) were specifically in charge of managing the offerings (*gong* 貢) and associated prayers (*dao* 禱), but not the divination required to confirm the rituals.[99] One of these ritualists was a member of the Shao family who was charged with making a black water buffalo into a great soup for the royal ancestor King Zhao (who reigned during the fifth century BCE). He also presented offerings of black gelded pigs for Shao's patrilineal ancestors. The other two ritualists handled the sacrifices to Shao Tuo's great-grandfather and the *lian'ao* of Dongling.[100]

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[98] For a discussion on how the roles of diviners overlapped with archivists (or astrologers) and shamans, see Xing Wen 1998; Loewe 1994, 165-67, 177, 180-82, 184. Loewe 1994, 165-67, 177, 180-82, 184.

[99] In the Xincai text, they were also in charge of musical performances involving bells that followed the sacrifice of large animals or "offerings" (*gong*).

[100] Lai 2002, chapter 5, suggests that as relatives they may have performed a "substitution" ritual, i.e. "taking up the position" (*wei* 位) as in the Corpse (*shi* 尸) ritual.

The diviners attempted through a process of elimination to isolate the source of the curse. The spirits and "districts" they searched out reflect the level of their concern for Shao's problems. Over the three years, we see in the annual exorcisms an increasing focus away from Shao's outer problems at court to inner problems with his residence and person. At first, when his ambitions were frustrated and his promotion slow in coming, the diviners exorcised Shao from the curse of Human Harm (possibly a curse put on Shao by a competitor at court or by a ghost). They proposed and confirmed sacrifices to Shao's lineage spirits—King Zhao, four patrilineal spirits including his father, and his mother. They also proposed that animal sacrifices be sent to the Earth Lord of Shao's Residence and to a dead Chu official, the *lian'ao* of Dongling, who must have had some influence over Shao Tuo when he was alive. This proposal would be confirmed the following year, 318, when the sacrifices to Shao's recently deceased parents (confirmed the previous year) were finalized. These diviners refined their prediction of forthcoming happiness to a period of time within the next two months.

Shao's "problems with his person" mentioned vaguely in the first year's annual exorcism became clear by spring of the next year. He was ill. A single diviner sacrificed pigs to the Earth Lords of his Residence and of the Wilds and a white dog to the spirit of the Walkway—focusing on local earth deities possibly offended during Shao's daily movements. This emphasis was continued during the summer annual exorcism, which first addressed the problem with Shao's person and residence as well the issue concerning things "not going smoothly on the outside." Besides sacrifices to the Earth Altar and the Residence Walkway, the diviner proposed sacrifices to the Occluded Grand Unity, the astral spirit Grand Unity when invisible—the cosmic high god in its *yin* form.[101] He then released Shao from the curses of his Numinous Ancestors and cleared his home of evil. The next diviner focused on Shao's problem with "evil in the king's affairs" as well as his eternal "problems with his person." This diviner focused on gifts of jade to cosmic and earth deities such as Grand Unity, the Earth Lord, the Controller of Fate, and the Controller of Disasters, Grand Water, the Two Children of Heaven (tree or water spirits or perhaps dead children),[102] and Wei Mountain (possibly a local sacred moun-

[101] For a discussion of the invisible, or Yin, power of Taiyi (*Yinde* 陰德), see Sun and Kistemaker 1997, 166-67.

[102] See the two demons that killed Jin Hou, n. 19, above.

tain to the west).[103] He repaid Shao's lineage spirits with food sacrifices. The third diviner proposed sacrifices to three mythical founder gods of Chu[104] and exorcised the curse put on Shao by victims or Dead Innocents (perhaps the ghosts of people killed in crimes, or unfairly convicted of crimes and put to death during Shao's administration).

By winter, Shao's illness was again critical. Four diviners tried to isolate the curse. The first suggested that Grand Unity needed more jade. He fed the Earth Lord and Walkway another pig and white dog and sent cap strings (symbols of prestige) to the Two Children of Heaven. He suggested that cooked food be presented at a place named Piyang. The second diviner accepted the sacrificial recommendations for the exorcism but rejected the food presentation, saying that Shao would get better on a Geng or Xin day (both metal days that in the Shuihudi Day Books were often associated with recovery). The third diviner changed this prediction, phrasing it in the negative: Perhaps Shao would be sick until the middle of the month. He also claimed that the curse came from Shao's grandfather and therefore proposed sacrifices to him. The fourth diviner confirmed this and suggested that Shao might be sick until the middle of the month. Seven days later a separate set of ritualists performed sacrifices first to the grandfather and then to the dead Chu official. They prayed that Shao would be blessed with a complete lifespan.

During the last recorded annual exorcism, five diviners dealt with Shao's personal problems, problems in his residence, particularly in his bedroom where by this time he was confined to bed. The first diviner proposed sacrifices to the Occluded Grand Unity to three Shao brothers who died without descendants—a cosmic god and minor, perhaps jealous or hungry, spirits. The second diviner proposed a sacrifice to the Walkway spirit of Shao's residence and then cleared his residence of harmful influences. The third diviner "beat" Shao's curse and sent a gift of cap ties to the spirit of the south. The fourth diviner proposed sacrifices to the Earth Lord of the Residence, the Walkway, and the Grand Gate. The fifth diviner simply confirmed that now there was no spiritual blame, or curses, left.

Gu Ji, the diviner who began the annual exorcisms every other year, also initiated the divination session on Shao's health that immediately followed the annual exorcism. Gu recommended animal sacrifices to all the heaven and earth spirits previously mentioned, to the mythical Chu

[103] See the map of the Jiangling region in Blakeley 1999, 11, fig. I.I.
[104] For their associations with Yin and Yang, see Cook 1994.

founders (cosmic gods), and to the High Hill and Low Hill, presumably local nature gods. Gu ordered these spirits to help Shao walk again and then released Shao from the curse of Jupiter. The second diviner recommended animal sacrifices to the Five Mountains, to King Zhao, and to the four patrilineal ancestors of Shao (these included his grandfather and father). This diviner released Shao from the curses of his ancestors and specifically from those who died in battle, and then confirmed Gu Ji's sacrifice to the High and Low Hills as the appropriate location for the curse.

The third diviner confirmed Gu Ji's recommended sacrifices and added recommendations for sacrifices to King Zhao, the dead Chu official, and to the spirit of Harm itself. This diviner ordered that they stand Shao up and protect and cure him. The fourth diviner recommended a sacrifice to five ancient Chu kings (note a preference for groups of five) and released Shao from the curse of spirits on the water, specifically those of people who had drowned. Finally, the fifth diviner suggested sacrifices to the river god Grand Water, to three of Shao's patrilineal ancestors, and to the Earth Altar. He (or perhaps she) then released Shao from curses of the Sun and Moon and of the Dead Innocents.

Twenty days later a new diviner, using the method usually associated with Gu Ji, asked the shell if Shao Tuo was going to die or not. Could nothing be done? This diviner recommended sacrifices to the spirits of those whose lives had been cut short without descendants and then released Shao from the spirit of a specific Jupiter station, Ximu, commanding that this spirit get behind Tuo and raise him up. As we know, this eleventh-hour appeal to high gods and mean ghosts failed, and Shao died in the summer of 316 BCE, the victim of a curse from an unknown spirit in an unknown region.

There are three types or stages of sacrifice mentioned: the *ju,* the *yi*, and the *sai*. Since *sai* is found in later texts as a repayment sacrifice, scholars generally agree that this sacrifice was to repay a spirit for sending down blessings. The first two types are a little less clear. Li Ling suggests that the *ju* represented an "initial" sacrifice or prayer and *yi* represented the "next" or secondary sacrifice or prayer.[105] That these two work as a set and that there is some sort of system is clear from the text, but there are

[105] Li Ling 2000, 286; Yan Shixuan 2000, 104-05, recently pointed out that the Chu graph (written with 羽 over 能) was polyphonic and could be read as *yi* (一), *neng* (能), or *dai* (代). He feels that in the Baoshan case, it should be *dai* and refers to a diviner's taking over for another. For *ju*, he reads *yu* 與 but does not explain why.

not quite enough examples to prove without a doubt what that system was. From an examination of the first two types in terms of their sacrificial objects (i.e., what spirits are being addressed, mostly a succession of ancestral spirits), it seems that the first stage was actually a proposed sacrifice, a "raising up" (*ju* 舉) of prayer, rather than a record of an actual sacrifice. The secondary prayer seems then to confirm the proposal particularly when ancestral spirits are the objects. Although there are records of actual sacrifices, how these mesh with the proposed and confirmed prayers is difficult to know. Other particularities include the fact that *yi* prayers (and perhaps actual sacrifices) occurred only in the summer of year 318 and in the spring of year 317, whereas *ju* sacrifices occurred in the summer (and once in the winter) of every year. It is possible that the *yi* sacrifices were the continuation of an earlier diviner's work that was not included in these records and that the *ju* sacrifices initiated in year 316 would have been followed by *yi* if Shao Tuo had still been alive. For example, spirits who received *yi* sacrifices in the summer of year 318 and the spring of year 317 included Shao Tuo's patrilineal ancestors, distant lineage founder King Zhao, great-great-grandfather Pingye Jun, great-grandfather Wu Gongzi Chun, grandfather Simazi Yin, and his father Cai Gongzi Jia. His mother received *yi* sacrifices in the summer of 318 but not the following spring. In the summer of year 316, the patrilineal ancestors received a *ju* sacrifice. The type of offering in either case was roughly the same. The *sai* sacrifices to these patrilineal ancestors as well as his mother were recorded in the summer of year 317 with the same sacrificial animal offerings but with slight additions in the presentations. No *yi* sacrifices were recorded for any spirits other than ancestral spirits associated with Shao Tuo's direct lineage. Those lineage spirits and the spirits of the most recently dead (such as the spirits of Shao's mother and father, his grandfather, and an outer lineage spirit, the *lian'ao* of Dongling) seem to have been considered the most likely culprits for Shao's curse and hence received the greatest number of proposed sacrifices (summer) and actual sacrifices (spring and winter).

Recipients of sacrifice included ghosts and distant kings. Ghosts were the spirits most likely to be "beaten" by the diviners in the summer exorcist ceremonies. They included the spirits of people who had died before their time, by ill means, without descendants, or without burial (as with soldiers or drowned people). There were two groups of distant kings—the mythical (Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, and Yu Yin, as given in the preceding list of Baoshan sacrificial and ritual terms), and the histori-

cal (the Five Jing Kings). The mythical group received the same type of sacrifice (goats) as many nature spirits (the Earth Lord, the Controller of Fate, the Two Children of Heaven, the Five Mountains), whereas the Five Jing Kings were offered water buffaloes and piglets as in the case of powerful lineage ancestors. The water buffalo sacrifice was proposed for King Zhao in the summers of 318 and 316 as part of the annual exorcism, and for Shao Tuo's grandfather in the winter of 317 during an acute period of Shao's illness. When it came to the actual sacrifice to his grandfather (and to the *lian'ao* of Dongling) seven days later, pigs were used, despite the fact that the original proposal of a more prestigious offering of water buffalo by diviner Nong Qiang had been confirmed by another diviner (Qu Yi). Except for this winter *ju* ceremony, the only other activity during the winter consisted of food, jade, and clothing gifts to nature spirits.

There seems to be a correlation between season and the source of curses in the Baoshan text, on the one hand, and curses by certain ancestral spirits and ghosts on particular days in the Shuihudi text, on the other. On Jia and Yi days, one's mother and father (meat offering); on a Bing or Ding day, one's grandfather (rooster sacrifice); on a Wu or Ji day, one's grandmother (fish); on a Geng or Xin day, Outside Ghosts and Those Who Died Young (dog meat and testicles); on a Ren or Gui day, Outside Ghosts of People Cut Off from Their Mothers (dried and sliced meat). Although the correlations of divination days with the types of sacrifices are not similar in the two texts, there may still have been some concern to match the meat type proposed to these deities in the Baoshan text with Yin-Yang or other natural agents rather than simply to indicate rank.

Although nature spirits such as animals, whirlwinds, and mounds or hills, are mentioned in the Shuihudi Day Books as sources of spiritual blame and curse, the range of nature spirits mentioned in Baoshan is not reflected in the Shuihudi texts. Nature spirits in the Baoshan text include astral and earth deities. Among the astral deities, there are Grand Unity and its Yin counterpart, the Occluded Grand Unity, Sun and Moon,[106] Jupiter, and the Jupiter station Ximu.[107] Proposals for sacrificial gifts of

[106] I suspect it is the astral bodies of the sun and moon that is indicated and not the stars (see Sun and Kristemaker 1997, 135-36).

[107] This station was located in the Yin 寅 chronogram, the Yan 燕 astral field, and the You 幽 province in northeastern section of the sky (Pankenier 1999, 265).

jade and ritual robes to Grand Unity were made in the summer as part of the annual exorcism, but jade was actually sent during the winter crisis. Pigs were sacrificed to the Occluded Grand Unity also during this time. The Sun and the Moon, Jupiter, and Ximu Station were exorcised like ghosts during the annual exorcism as possible evil influences on the sick Shao Tuo. Cosmic deities, the Controller of Fate and the Controller of Disasters, often received sacrifices at the same time as the Earth Lord. As a team they both received goats, but when the Earth Lord was worshipped separately as during the winter crisis, his hunger was "satiated" with a pig. Earth deities included those of the Earth Altar, the Earth Lords of the Residence and of the Wild, the Walkway, the Residence Walkway, the Residence, the Grand Gate, the Grand Water, the Two Children of Heaven, the Five Mountains, Wei Mountain, High Hill and Low Hill, and the South.

As Shao Tuo's illness intensified so too did the sacrifices to the earth deities—those Yin deities with perhaps the greatest control over his corporeal self. The diviners particularly focused on deities that Shao Tuo may have offended in the course of his daily life around his home, such as the Earth Lord of his Residence, the Residence itself (which had to be cleared of noxious influences), the Walkway of the Residence, the Great Gate, and the Earth Lord of the Wilds. The Earth Altar was most likely his personal Earth Altar possibly composed of a stone pillar or mound with vegetation and placed on the right side inside the main gate of his residential compound.[108] Goats and pigs were sacrificed to the Earth Lords and dogs to the Walkway and Gate. Outside his home, other potentially offended deities included geographical nature spirits such as those of the mountains and rivers. Except for the horse offered to the river spirit, Grand Water, and the pigs offered to the High Hill and the Low Hill, goats and items of ritual clothing were generally offered to the Two Children of Heaven, the Five Mountains, Wei Mountain suggesting a more distant connection to the patient's condition. Again, these rituals were proposed during the summer and carried out during the spring, summer, and winter months.

Attention to individual days in the Baoshan divination record occurred in the dating formula, as mentioned above, and also in the final statements or predictions. During the annual exorcism event of 318, during the first month of summer, ritualists predicted that relief of Shao Tuo's personal

[108] Kominami 1987; Wang Shenxing 1988, 145.

problems and problems at court would occur during "this period" (*qi* 期), presumably referring to the summer season. The next ritualist refined this prediction to either the second or third months of summer. A prediction during the third month of spring in 317 suggested that Shao's problems would be so much better as to have an audience with the king the next month, the first month of summer. Predictions made during the annual exorcism of 317 suggested that Shao would not only achieve happiness during this period but that he would be free of spiritual blame (and curses) for three years and would become famous.

During the winter crisis, predictions were limited to the correct time and place to present sacrifices to relieve Shao's illness. First a Jiayin day (wood/water) was suggested at a place called Piyang, possibly to the east if the Shuihudi scheme was accurate for this period. The next diviner approved the sacrifices along with an exorcism but claimed that Piyang was not a good location. Another diviner suggested that Shao would be sick until a Geng or Xin day (within the next two days), which accords to the Shuihudi scheme of metal days for cures. The next diviner made the prediction less specific and suggested Shao would be sick until the middle of the month (the second month of winter). During the divination cycles of 316, the diviners did not make predictions. Instead they tried to manipulate the cursing spirits to raise Shao back up out of bed and cure him.

In summary, we can see that the Baoshan diviners' sensitivity to time in their regulation of the calendar of divination and in the timing of sacrifice events may represent a consciousness of natural forces that evolved into the sort of Five Phases scheme represented in the Shuihudi Day Books. The pantheon of Chu spirits was vast, yet divination regarding their influences seems to have been focused in the summer season, the time when Yang influence would be strongest. Winter was generally avoided except when acute episodes of Shao's illness forced divination and sacrificial activity. The larger pattern of Yin and Yang influences seemed to dictate the divination calendar and the choice of days, but had little influence on which spirits in the pantheon were addressed—confirming that the Chu worship of these spirits had a longer history than Chu attention to Yin-Yang Five Phase type correlations.

This impression can be confirmed with a comparison of the early fourth-century Baoshan divination text with the slightly earlier Wangshan divination text, discovered in a tomb northwest of the Chu city of Jinan in Jiangling in 1965. The Wangshan bamboo text was among broken bam-

boo baskets in the eastern chamber of the relatively rich tomb of Shao Gu 邵固, possibly a great-grandson of King Dao (r. 401-381 BCE) who lived before or during the reign of King Wei (r. 339-329 BCE)[109]—a generation before Shao Tuo. This text, while extremely fragmentary, reveals the same formulaic structure as the Baoshan text.[110] Many of the divination methods, the sacrifices, the spirits, and even the patient's symptoms are similar to those mentioned in the Baoshan text. The family names of some of the diviners (for example, Ke and Xu) are also familiar from the Baoshan material, suggesting that diviners came from lineages of ritual specialists.[111] The Wangshan text seems to have been written during the summer and winter months of Xingyi (month 4), Cuanyue (month 11), Xianma (month 12). The annual exorcism was performed in summer. During this Yang month of Xingyi, water days were chosen (Guihai, day 60 and Guiwei, day 20). During the Yin month of Cuanyue, fire days were chosen (Bingchen, day 53, and Dingsi, day 54), but so also was a water day (Guichou, day 50). During the Yin month of Xianma, an earth day was chosen (Jiyou, day 46). Shao Gu, like Shao Tuo, suffered from a chest illness, but one that he seemed to feel in his bones. Like Shao Tuo, he was partially paralyzed. The diviners predicted improvement on a Bing or Ding day, both fire days, on an earth day (Jiwei, day 56), and recovery on metal days (Xinchou, day 38, and Gengshen, day 57). Diviners proposed that the Inner Purification ritual (*neizhai* 內齋) be performed on earth (Jisi, day 6), wood (Jiazi, day 1) or metal (Gengshen, day 57) days and the Outer (or Wild) Purification ritual (*yezhai*) be performed on a metal (Xinwei, day 8) day.[112] Sacrifices were recommended on wood (Yichou, day 22) or earth (Jiwei, day 56) days. Although it is difficult to recover much of a system from this extremely fragmented text, there does seem to be a general preference for earth, wood, and water days for sacrifices and fire or metal days for improvement from illness. The inconsistencies,

[109] Some scholars read Shao (written with an additional "heart" element) as *dao* 悼; see Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996, 211-13. During the Warring States period the addition of semantic elements to phonetic graphs was relatively random.

[110] The formulaic nature of the Baoshan text is discussed by Li Ling 1990, and more recently by Hu Yali 2002.

[111] The methods listed for the Wangshan Xu and the Baoshan Xu have different names.

[112] The Xincai text records the performance of the Inner Purification ritual on the eve of a Gengwu day (Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, 192 Jia III 134, 108).

however, do suggest that the Wangshan bamboo text accorded less with a later Yin-Yang Five Phases system than did the Baoshan text.

We do see a consistency between the two texts in the hierarchy of spirits and sacrifices. The same triad of sacrifices—*ju*, *yi, sai*—was used to propitiate similar ancestral spirits (including, King Zhao, sires of Pingye and Dongling, and his father), Chu Founders (Zhu Rong, Yu Yin, Lao Tong), ghosts (such as Innocent Victims, Numinous Ancestors), nature spirits associated with civilized places (such as the Earth Altar, Earth Lord of the Residence, and the Walkway), nature spirits associated with the wilds (such as the Mountains and Rivers, the Great Water, and the Two Children of Heaven), and cosmic spirits (such as Grand Unity and the Controller of Fate). Spirits associated with the earlier Four Regions (*sifang*) system seem more in evidence. Sacrifices were proposed to directional (or astral) spirits such as the South, the Northern Altar (Beizong 北宗), The Royal Child of the North (Wang zhi Beizi 王之北子), and the Great King of the East (Dong Da Wang 東大王).[113] The existence of a King in the East suggests his opposite, the Royal Mother[114] of the West attested in later texts, but in fact the west is not mentioned in either the Wangshan or the Baoshan texts.

By comparing the Baoshan divination material with the later Shuihudi Day Book and the earlier Wangshan divination text, we can see an evolving tendency to calculate ritual events according to changes in patterns of abstract natural forces. In each text, attention by ritual specialists to the effect of the rising and falling influences of Yin and Yang on human health and behavior is evidence suggesting that this aspect of Warring States-period natural philosophy had deep, perhaps very ancient, roots. However, no matter how abstractly or in what detail the rising and falling influences were calculated, the actual sources of illness still had names and perhaps faces.

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[113] Some scholars link references to the Great King of the East, the Holy King 聖王, and Zhao Wang into a hierarchy equivalent to King Jian, King Sheng, and King Dao; see Peng Hao 1988, 68.

[114] We know from the Shuihudi text that the title *wangmu* referred to a grandmother spirit.

2. The Lacquer Painting

The painting of guests arriving and a single man departing depicted on the lacquer box found in the northern compartment of Shao Tuo's tomb consists of five scenes (figures 11, 12). The scenes can each further be divided into three categories according to their direction of movement: left, right, and static—figures face to the left, to the right, or with their backs toward the viewer. Willow trees all seem to blow to the right, perhaps the east if the viewer is imagined as facing north (as would a supplicant at court) or west if the viewer faces south (the position of a ruler and the direction of "up" on ancient Chinese maps). For the sake of discussion, I will assume the painting was "read" like an ancient Chinese map, the viewer faced south, and the wind blew toward the west—although, in point of fact, since the painting was circular, it is in some sense directionless. I understand the trees to function as scene breaks. From the changing leaves and the migrating geese, the season is autumn.[115]

There are five figures in the static scene (figure 12a), possibly a scene depicting the departure of the man dressed in white or yellow (the third person from the left, with hat straps hanging down his front)[116] in the center facing right (west). To his right facing him are two figures, possibly his wife (suggested by the looped coiffure and fuller dress) and an attendant.[117] To the viewer's left (but on the central figure's right side) are two figures with their backs to the viewer: these are perhaps his sons or other important figures. Over the heads of each set of figures are sets of two flying birds, all flying left (east) against the wind. This static sending-off bears some resemblance to those depicted in the upper registers inside the house structures of Han funeral paintings at Mawangdui and Jinqueshan 金雀山,[118] although the clothing and hats of these funeral scenes are quite different from the Baoshan scene. In the Mawangdui depiction (see figure 13) we see that the two kneeling figures wearing light blue and

[115] Cui Renyi 1988, 72-73.

[116] One point against the argument that the painting depicts mourning is a line in the *Liji* that states that straps do not hang down on mourning caps (*sangguan bu lü* 喪冠不緌; "Tangong, shang"; *Liji Zhengzhu* 2.4a). The fact that this was an issue brought up in the *Liji* suggests the lack of a uniform standard.

[117] According to many passages concerning funeral rites in the ritual texts, the women should stand to the west of the body facing east, and the men to the east of the body facing west. This accords with the painting.

[118] See Li Ling 2004, 168, fig. 4.

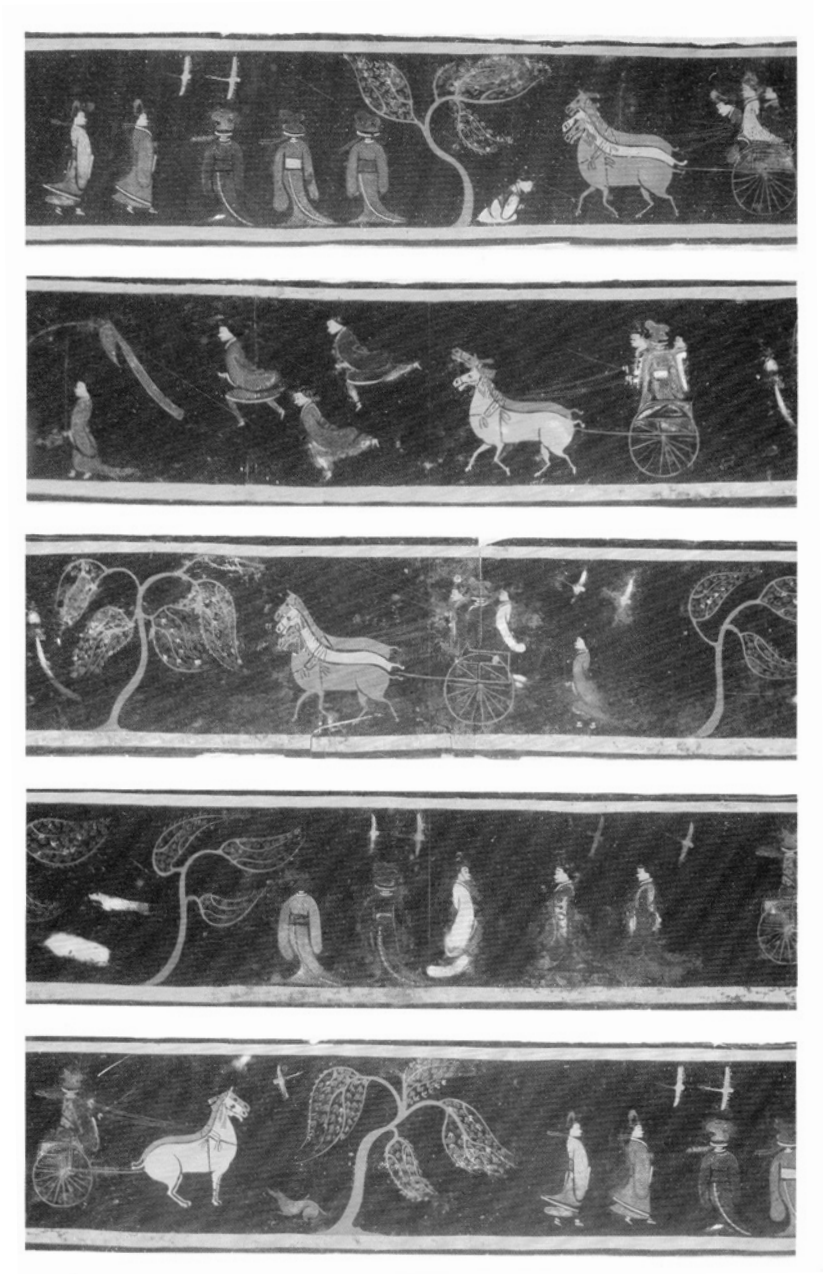
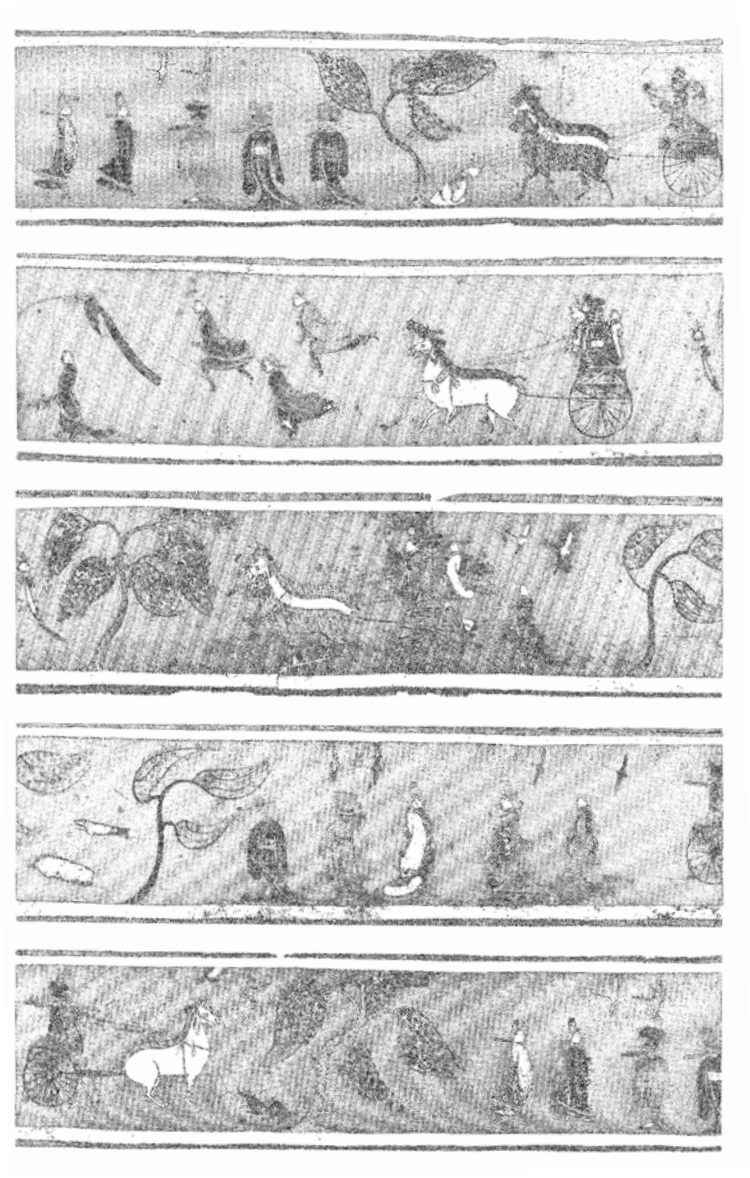


Figure 11. Departure Ceremony on Round Lacquer Box

(The accompanying alternative version of fig. 11, on the facing page, has been digitally edited to bring out various fine details.)

Originally with figures painted in blue, black, and yellow or white against a dark background. The robes have a red or red-and-black striped trim. Belts were black or



white. Caps were black or blue. Horse ornaments were blue. The horses were shades of red or brown as were the tree trunks and chariots. The tree leaves were blue and white. Skin tones were the same as the lighter horses. After Hubei, vol. 2, color plate 8. The painting is around the lid of a round lacquer box. Abstract winged dragon designs of red, blue, and yellow decorate around the sides of the bottom and on the top of the lid. The bottom of the box has a mountain décor somewhat similar to the spirit-tree base seen in figure 4b, above.

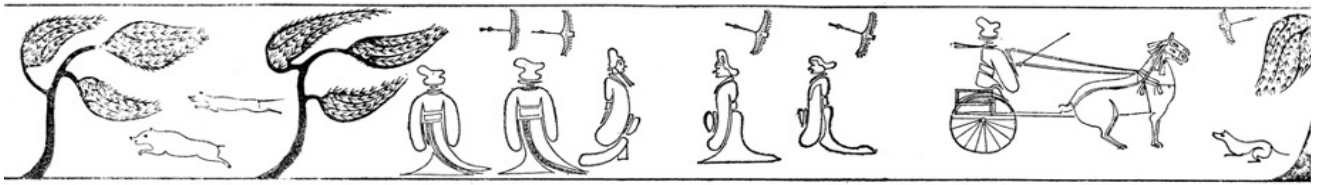


Figure 12A. Static View and Hunting Scene from Round Lacquer Box.

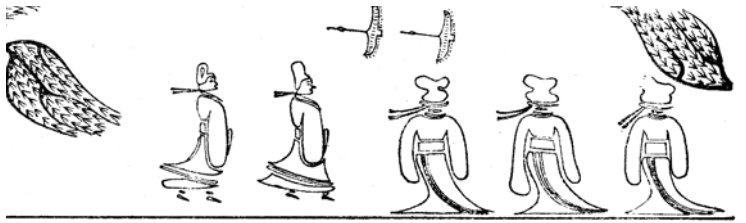


Figure 12B. Scene to Right of Static View

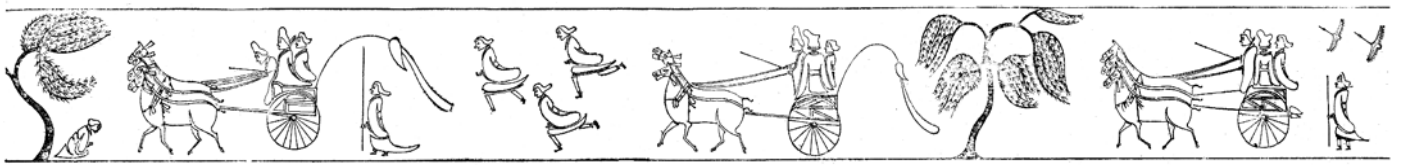


Figure 12C. Scene of Guests Arriving

Figures 12a-c are after Hubei, vol. 1, foldout.

red robes had small black hats and three female figures standing behind the deceased, Lady Dai. The only headgear for the women was a spray of flowers or herbs dangling out in front of their foreheads. The clothing was not funeral clothing (described in the ritual texts as made of plain colored roughly woven fibers); indeed, Lady Dai's outfit was patterned with swirling clouds and small figures over a bright red, reminiscent of the paintings on her coffin.[119]

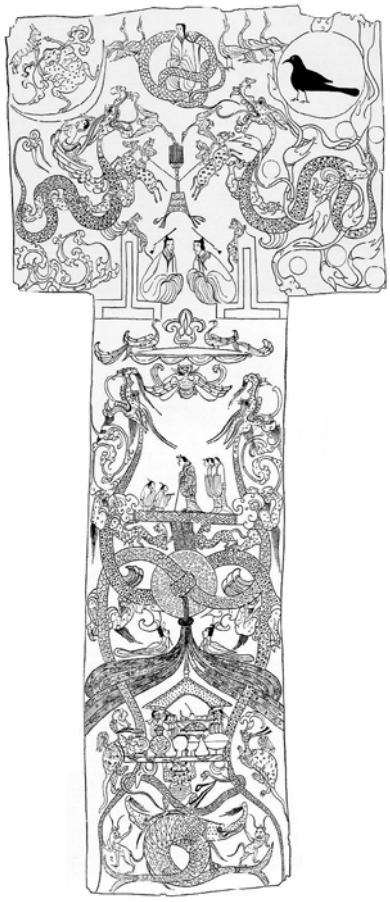


Figure 13. Han Funeral Painting from Mawangdui
After Hunansheng bowuguan and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1973, fig. 38.

The depiction on a vessel of people engaged in a ceremony was created over a century earlier than Shao Tuo's burial. Bronze vessels with inlaid or incised multi-register scenes depicting people engaged in hunting, religious ceremonies, battles, and other scenes (some including supernatural beings) were made during the fifth century BCE both to the north, in Houma 侯馬, Shanxi, and down the Yangzi, in Jiangsu.[120] These were widely distributed and clearly known to the Jiangling artists. Snippets of similar scenes were painted onto the cheeks of the double-headed dragon lacquer box from Tianxingguan (see figure 7b). Both the Tianxinguan box and the round pictorial Baoshan box are distinct from the earlier tradition in that neither is made of bronze and both were stor-

[119] See Hunan bowuguan et al. 1973, pl. 76. For her coffin, see, for example, pl. 27. Her actual costume did not have small creatures on it, see pls. 80-252.
[120] Thote 1999b.

age not service vessels. Alain Thote suspects that the southern Yangzi incised vessels of hammered metal, being much easier to produce and transport (in contrast to the more conservative Houma tradition), were used for other ceremonies besides ancestral sacrifices, and in this sense might be considered precursors of the Jiangling boxes.[121] Nevertheless, the Baoshan box represents a pictorial tradition we see more commonly in Han tomb art.

Hunting scenes, exorcism scenes, and scenes of processions in chariots, carved onto blocks in Han tombs or, more rarely, painted onto lacquerware or silk, are common features of Han tomb décor.[122] The mixture of supernatural, historical, and everyday events as depicted in Han tombs supports Wu Hong's idea of the tomb as a "happy home" out of which a ghost would have no desire to travel. This painting in the Baoshan tomb, while perhaps a precursor of the more complex tableaus of Han tombs, can only be read within the context of contemporary and local tombs. Perhaps it is simply a depiction of an important event in local history, set into the tomb to remind the deceased of his rank and identity. Certainly, the hats[123] and costumes in the Baoshan painting, like those in the sending off scene for Lady Dai, do not seem funereal in nature—except perhaps the central departing figure that is in white. The figures are dressed as if they were sending their master off on a trip.

In figure 12a, to the right of the gathering is a single man (with hat and straps blowing left) in a chariot (facing west) holding the horses in check. This man with his back to the viewer may represent the waiting chariot driver. A solitary dog[124] is crouched before the still chariot, and a solitary bird above the dog flies towards the right (west). The presence

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[121] Thote 1999B, 22. Thote also notes (24) the use of imagery in common with the middle Yangzi River Valley culture, such as birds perched on top of objects and horned hybrid creatures with a bifurcated body.

[122] For lacquer examples, see Li Zhengguang 2002, figs. 21, 22, 114, 130, 131; and Fu and Chen 1992, 62 (reprinted in Cook and Major 1999, 134, fig. 8.6). In paintings on silk, see Fu and Chen 1992, 32-33; for stone examples, see Liu et al. 2005, 131, 136 (1.9), 258, 271; Kaifeng dichu wenguan 1983, 40-56; Nanyang Handai hauxiangshi xueshu taolun bangongshi 1987, 83, 89, 91, 97, 221-23, 273; Wang Leiyi 1989, 134-39, 147, 154, 170-72.

[123] The hat of the central figure may be a military style hat (see Sun Ji 1991, fig. 11-8) unless it is simply a sideways view of the high-crowned lopsided hats worn by the other figures. I can find no other record with a name for this style of hat.

[124] The color of the dog in the photograph would seem to be blue, but this may be due to color leeching from the tree leaves. The color for the bird overhead is similarly difficult to discern. Other birds are white, but this one and the two over the heads of the woman and her attendant are bluish.

of the dog suggests that the man departing, like the poetic persona in the closing scene of the "Li Sao" poem, will go on a hunt (perhaps after greeting the guests).[125] The bird, the only one in the entire painting flying to the right or west, may represent the eventual flight of the hunter. At the far left, separated by windblown trees, are symbols of the hunt: a white dog chasing a white boar.[126]

Coming just right of the static scene of figure 12a, separated by a tree not so windblown, are depictions similar to those in the static scene but with the addition of another figure with his back to the viewer and with the central figure and his chariot driver missing (figure 12b). Two figures, dressed in blue and yellow (or white) robes and wearing hats with hanging straps, are walking in the same direction as the solitary man in the rightmost position of figure 12a, described above. He moves to the right (west) and towards the group of three standing men. Two of these three seem to wear the same dress as the standing men in the static scene of figure 12a, suggesting that they are either the same people in a different time (after the solitary man has departed) or different people of the same rank in the same time (part of the same party as those in the static scene). The third of the three, placed in the center, has the same blue color of robe as the figure to his right and the front figure of the walking pair (but with a distinguishing white belt), suggesting they are of similar rank—perhaps brothers. The straps from their hats fly in the same direction (to the left, east) as two birds overhead. The birds, like all other birds in the painting except the solitary bird in the static scene described above, fly east. This scene most likely depicts the greeting party for the guests arriving in three chariots described below.

To the left of the hunting scene (at the left end of figure 12a) and to the right of the scene with the greeting party (figure 12b) is placed a connected scene of guests arriving (depicted as follows, figure 12c). The high and relative status of the guests is evident from the varying number of horses and attendants and from the type of chariot décor

[125] Cui Renyi 1988, 74, feels that the man is mounting his chariot to go meet the guests.

[126] Cui Renyi 1988, 73, claims that since dogs and pigs are domestic animals this scene places the entire painting next to a residence. Based on this, he feels that the fleet of chariots is arriving at the residence. The pig (probably a boar, given what seems to be hair on its neck) and dog, however, are running through the woods, much like other wild and supernatural animals in Han hunting scenes. A white boar may have been considered to have supernatural qualities. In a Han-era variation of this painting, it is a boar (see chap. 4, n. 14, below).

and hat style. The guests arrive in three chariots with attendants on foot and are greeted by a kneeling figure (in white or yellow, possibly mourning clothes) depicted at the far left. This figure kneels before the only tree in the painting that bends to the left (east) suggesting a difference in time and space between the scenes depicting the arriving guests and the scenes depicting the send-off and greeting parties described above. In each chariot there are three figures, the driver and two passengers. The first chariot to arrive is a three-horse chariot. The driver bends forward as if in greeting, and two other figures, a smaller one (with no hat) behind another (dressed in yellow or white[127] and with a tall cap) all face forward. Under a trailing plume at the back of the chariot is a person (with no hat and carrying a tall staff) followed by three runners. The second chariot (also trailing a large plume) is a two-horse chariot with the same number of occupants but with the central figure (with a blue cap and robe) facing away from the viewer. No attendants follow; there is only a scene division of a rather static tree, suggesting no division of time and space between the scene of guests arriving in two chariots and the guests arriving in a single chariot.

Between the static tree and the windblown trees with the running pig and dog comes the final chariot of the arrival scene. It has three horses like the first chariot. This third chariot contains a driver, attendant, and a rider dressed in black with a blue cap with his back facing the viewer as in the second chariot. This third chariot has no plume and the head decoration of the horses hangs down rather than sticking upward, as is the case with the other two chariots. However, like the first chariot, behind this chariot there is an attendant holding a staff. But unlike the first chariot attendant, this last one has two birds flying overhead. All—chariots, birds, attendants—are moving to the left (east), the same direction as the first two chariots and quite likely represent members of a single large party of guests of different rank and relationship to the deceased.

This subject of the painting on the Baoshan, Tomb Number 2, round lacquer box is a precursor of one of many typical scenes found carved into stone tomb tiles or blocks[128]—scenes described by Michael Loewe in

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[127] It is difficult to determine the color. Hu Yali 1991, 501, claims it is yellow.

[128] D. Liu 2005, 380-82, points out that the Baoshan picture fits the Han genre and notes especially a Han-period painted mirror which includes a hunting scene with a wild boar. Elsewhere two figures play *liubo*. He describes them as scenes of secular life and therefore distinct from the mythological scenes. However, in Han depictions of *liubo* games often immortals are the players. It was a popular game in the pattern of a "cosmic diagram" and linked to divination (see Bower 2005, 369-71).

his study of Han funerary practice as "intended to ensure the deceased a safe, smooth, and speedy passage to their destined ends." These scenes depict mythological tales, ritual performances, "the recitation of a prayer designed to bring about the desired end; or they might show a newly arrived soul reaching the company of those who had gone before."[129] These pictures, he notes, like the mirrors and other objects and texts placed in Han tombs, served not only to amuse, remind, and aid the deceased in the afterlife but also as guides to their appropriate position in the comprehensive Yin-Yang Five Phases system.[130]

The Baoshan painting on one level may simply represent an important event in Shao Tuo's political life and hence be a status symbol essential for establishing his rank in the spirit world. The choice of color and the style in the clothing and caps, the vivid blues and mournful whites and blacks, may simply have represented official garb or have been special to local funerals. On another level, the painting may also symbolically represent the deceased's setting off on a journey into the wilds to "hunt." As in the *Chuci* song of departure, the hunt was a metaphor for the *hun*'s movement away from home into a borderland before flight into heaven. Although it is difficult to be sure of directions in a circular painting, it is possible to understand that the departing man and the arriving guests are coming from and going to opposite directions. If we understand that the spirit headed west (leaving the residence), the arriving guests would be coming from the east, the direction of the Shao Tuo's tomb ramp and the chamber set for the feast. If we take tombs and residences as reflections of each other, then these guests could be arriving to present gifts at his funeral, indicated perhaps by the addition of apotropaic feathers and staffs to the procession.[131]

Abstract images of flight—dragons and phoenixes—frame the painting around the box. As in most Chu tombs, Shao Tuo's coffin and other tomb equipment were also decorated with dragons and phoenixes,[132] the mythical beings that pulled the *hun* persona in the "Li Sao" up to

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[129] Loewe 2005, 102.

[130] Loewe 2005, 103, 107.

[131] In a tale preserved in the "Tangong, xia" chapter of the *Liji*, a ruler, upon approaching a funeral, employed a shaman to dispel the evil (*e* 惡) with a peach-wood brush and dagger-axe (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.5a).

[132] For the bird as intermediary to the supernatural, see Childs-Johnson 1989. For a survey of phoenix imagery in Chu art, see Li Zhaohua 1991. For a depiction of a man with wings, tail feathers, and bird feet riding a phoenix in the Tianxingguan tomb, see Jingzhoushi bowuguan 2001, 19, fig. 39; see fig. 17, below.

heaven.[133] Shao Tuo's tomb, which was both "home" and a chariot, was packed and ready for his departure. Judging from the amount and types of goods packed into his tomb, the journey was perceived to be long and arduous. He would require food, jade, and clothing offerings, charms, and weapons to deflect the many unhappy spirits, ghosts, and demons that populated the supernatural landscape. The painting functions as a metaphor for Shao Tuo's departure from the tomb into the wilds.

[133] Dragons and phoenixes were standard equipment for spirit quests and sky travel in Han and later tales. One example is the Han tale of Western Zhou King Mu who traveled to the western paradise of Xiwangmu, Grandmother of the West. (On "wangmu" used to refer to one's deceased grandmother, see n. 46, above.)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE AFTERLIFE

> And then, ordering peers of Zhuanzhu to attack these beasts with bare hands, the King of Chu then drives a quadriga of tamed hippogriffs, rides a chariot of carved jade. Waving withy pennants on fish-barbel staffs, trailing banners studded with luminous moon pearls, he raises a cock-halberd pointed and sharp. On his left is the carved Crow Caw bow, and on his right are strong arrows in a Xia quiver.
>
> "Rhapsody of Sir Vacuous," D. Knechtges, trans.[1]

Songs such as "The Summoning of the *hun*" ("Zhao hun") suggest the occurrence of a flight after death to unfamiliar and frightening borderlands filled with foreign peoples[2] and hybrid monsters. Before Shao Tuo's burial, the diviner Wu Yang called to the soul that fled with the patient's body "to the earth's far corners." He attempted first to frighten it back with descriptions of the horrors to be found in the east, the south, the west, the north, up in Heaven and down in the Earth. The diviner then tried to entice the soul back from the Four Regions and from Above and Below, with a picture of a luxurious home, where a chariot awaited to take him to a feast fit for a king. Towards the end of this summons and after a game of *liubo* 六博 (a cosmic game of natural forces, no doubt linked to divination), the diviner, who might as well be describing the funeral feast, noted that the guests had settled down with wine and song to "give delight to the dear departed." After this last chance to return (no doubt before the tomb was sealed), the diviner formally sent off the spirit. It

[1] This passage is from the beginning of section II, see Xiao Tong 1987, 63. Written by Sima Xiangru around 150 BCE to describe the Yunmeng hunting park associated with lore about the king of Chu.

[2] The "Wangzhi" chapter of the *Liji* has a similar passage describing the barbarians of the various regions. This passage describing the Yi, Man, Rong, and Di of the east, south, west, and north, probably rhymed and may have been part of a common song (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 5, 4.10a-11b).

"stood on the marsh's margin and looked far out on the distance" and set out in a team of chariots—as if on a royal hunt—off to the south.[3] While the version of this song collected during the Han period and preserved in the *Chuci* may not be exactly like the diviner's summons during the fourth century BCE in Jiangling, the directions of the soul's movement suggest a link to earlier Chu traditions. If we read the movements in the song in terms of funeral tradition we might understand the soul's meeting with the Earth God in the Land of Darkness to represent the burial of the body (along with the *hunpo*). We would know then that when the spirit first left the body it traveled east (source of the rising sun and the direction the heads of the Chu deceased faced), then followed the Yang trajectory westward (perhaps in half-snake form, as the deceased is depicted in the Mawangdui funerary banner of circa 168 BCE) via the south before arriving in the cold north. Besides the Four Regions,[4] the spirit also traveled to heaven and into earth. This pre-burial cruise of the soul was a metaphor for the post-burial journey of the spirit—in this "Zhao hun" version, to the south (instead of to the west as in the "Li Sao") at sunrise.

David Hawkes pointed out this song's intertexual links with other magical or spiritual landscapes preserved during the Han period, such as those in the *Shanhaijing* (*Classic of Mountains and Seas*)[5] and chapter 4, section 15 of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (compiled under the sponsorship of the Han prince of Huainan): "a type of literature in which terrestrial and mythical geography blend together."[6] John Major describes the topography as "the shadowy region where the terrestrial plane meets the dome of the heavens, the realm of the cosmic pillars and the gods that dwell among them."[7] The dangerous nature of this landscape and of Heaven itself as described in the "The Summoning of the *hun*" song leads Wu Hong to argue that the purpose of the tomb was to provide the dead a safe and happy home, one that simulated paradise and involved no travel into unknown regions beyond the tomb. Wu's analysis of early Han funerary banners discovered in the Changsha tombs of Mawangdui (tombs

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[3] Hawkes 1985, 223-30.

[4] Allan 1991 first pointed out that the Four Quadrates (Four Regions) represented the supernatural landscape.

[5] Carnes 1980, table IV, shows the different types of beasts divided up by direction. For a discussion of magical geography, see Dorofeeva-Lichtmann 1995, 58, 87.

[6] Major 1993, 190.

[7] Major 1993, 205

associated with post-Warring States-period Chu culture, which traveled downriver from Jiangling into the ancient Dongting Lake region and into modern northern Hunan province)[8] rejects the notion held by many other scholars, namely, that the spirits of the dead (Lady Dai, or her son in a second painting) are depicted riding their own dragon tails through a celestial space of stars and mythical beings on their way to the moon.[9] His analysis of the paintings on the outside of Lady Dai's inner coffins, however, suggests a journey through clouds filled with magical beings, but a journey contained within the tomb.[10] This journey represents a dangerous time. It is perhaps the time period described by Confucius in the *Liji* when the *hunqi* is everywhere, and nowhere (*ruo hunqi ze wu bu zhi ye, wu bu zhi ye* 若魂氣則無不之也, 無不之也),[11] in a sense lost for perhaps as long as three years for people of rank who must make it all the way to Heaven. Wu notes, "[T]he first or outermost coffin separated her from the living; the second coffin represented the underworld in which she was protected by spirits and auspicious animals; and the third coffin was transformed into an immortal land."[12] He explains that the scenes in the painting represent dualistic images of the deceased: the underworld and Heaven, the deceased as a wrapped body at the funeral sacrifice and the deceased as recognizable and named spirit in the otherworld. He rejects the notion that the scenes represent a narrative of transcendence, but believes that they represent the idea of the deceased's continued existence in the paradise contained in the coffin.[13]

This is an intriguing idea if we consider the evidence of the coffin or tomb as a metaphorical carriage going on a metaphorical journey to paradise (in the case of Han times) or Heaven (more likely the destination before the proliferation of the Daoist immortality cults so popular during the Han period). In other words, perhaps the ancient Chinese did not believe that spirits literally journeyed outside of the tomb and that the preparation of horses and carriages in tombs since the Shang period, or armies in the case of the First Emperor of Qin, was all to guard

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[8] See Cook and Major 1999, esp. Major's chapter 8.

[9] Wu 1992, 121-27.

[10] Wu 1992, 128-34. Loewe 2005, 103, makes the observation that clouds depicted around the edges of Han mirrors buried with the dead "formed a passage way by which the dead were to be brought to their appropriate positions within this comprehensive system [i.e., the paradise inhabited by immortal beings]."

[11] From "Tangong, xia" (*Liji Zhengzhu*, sect. 4, 3.17a).

[12] *Ibid*., 134.

[13] Wu 1992, 122-27.

against the dangers inherent underground rather than to carry them up to Heaven. But the texts are clear, Heaven, where the ancestors resided, was up (*shang* 上), not below. The Baoshan evidence likewise suggests that while one or some aspects of the soul were contained by the tomb, others, what we are calling the spirit, did escape. I believe, as do most scholars, that the Mawangdui painting does in fact represent transcendence and a journey out of the tomb.[14]

The Mawangdui paintings basically consist of three registers, or scenes (see figure 13): one at the bottom with the deceased as corpse surrounded by attendants at a sacrifice, one in the middle with the deceased standing and surrounded by attendants, and one at the top with the deceased transformed into a demi-dragon and flying, like the mythical moon goddess Chang E, towards the moon. Each scene is surrounded and separated by monsters, spirits, and mythical beings. The first two scenes are enclosed by two intertwining dragons in a shape that scholars claim to represent a wine vessel (*hu* 壺).[15] Separating the larger upper register, which all scholars agree represents Heaven, is a pair of guarded gates. While most accept that what is placed below the gates must represent the underworld, interpretations of the first two scenes bounded by the wine-vessel shape vary.[16] I suspect that the first scene of sacrifice with the corpse represents the deceased in the inner coffin. This scene is surrounded by watery creatures of the underworld and is supported by a grinning earth god with snake companion. Above this scene, in the center of the vessel, are depicted jades, cloth, and spirit animals much as we would find either painted on or attached to the coffin in the tomb. The second scene, then, could be understood in one of two ways. It might depict the sending off ritual in funerals as suggested by the analysis of the Baoshan painting above, an earthly simulacrum of the underground scene. Alternatively, it could represent in narrative fashion the deceased having emerged from the coffin into the outer coffin, the compartments of the house-like tomb. In either case, a spirit animal—a man-faced bird—acts as a guide to the next scene, that is, out of the vessel or tomb, through the gates (represented by upside down "T" shapes) into Heaven and the spirit world. There the two dragons which formed the vessel or tomb fly free of the

[14] This conjecture has been inspired by Loewe's seminal study published in 1979.

[15] See a review of Shang Zhitan and Loewe, among other scholarship, in Wu 1992, 125.

[16] Wu 1992, 124-25.

deceased, one under the moon entangled with spirits, and one under the sun entangled with the Fusang tree of life.[17] I suspect that the vessel may double as a dragon chariot with the lid functioning as an umbrella over the head of the deceased who stands on a wheeled platform and is surrounded by clouds. The idea of the tomb as carriage was likely quite ancient. Early Western Zhou tombs with the outer coffin built over a chariot or with chariot wheels placed on either side of the outer coffin have been discovered in the Chucun burial ground in Shanxi province;[18] moreover, Confucius was asked by a relative of a recently deceased acquaintance if he would give him a chariot to act as an "outer coffin" (*guo* 椁).[19] While one aspect of the deceased, such as that termed the earthly *po* in some texts, may have remained with the body in the underworld, there is no question that some other aspect of the deceased's identity, such as that termed the cloudy *hun* in some texts, journeyed beyond the tomb up through the gates to the spirit world.[20]

Images of flight on Shao Tuo's coffin are not as concrete as those of the Mawangdui tombs (dated to around 168 BCE). Except for the ferocious dragon heads at the ends of his coffins, the winged patterns of phoenixes and dragons on his coffin are basically geometric and abstract in nature. The décor on the inner coffins of the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi (d. 433 BCE) discovered in Suixian, Hubei, is not so abstract, however, and allows us to understand more deeply the role of the inner coffin. The inner coffin of Zeng Hou Yi is covered with panels dividing the surface into architectural spaces: windows, doors, and walls covered with intricate paintings of monster-faced guardians in rows, raptors or geese in open array, intestine-like patterns of interlaced dragons and phoenixes, birds and snakes, and monsters whose bodies (like Han depictions of creator spirits Fuxi and Nüwa) consist of intertwined snakes.[21] These images

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[17] See Fu and Chen 1992, 19-25.

[18] Zou Heng 2000.

[19] *Lunyu zhengyi*, "Xianjin" 先進, in *Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 1, sect. 11, 240.

[20] For a discussion of the inconsistent textual evidence for *hunpo* as a single or divided entity, see Brashier 1996. In later times, there is evidence for belief in more than two souls, particularly as interrelated cosmological, calendrical, and divination schemes became more complex. The Chu interest in bifurcation in its religious art as well as the obvious tendency towards multivalent symbolic and numerical systems supports not only a split soul, such as the *hun* and the *po*, but the possibility of more spirits connected to a single physical entity particularly as the Chu moved later in time farther east, absorbing local variations of shared beliefs.

[21] See the analysis by Thote 1991. For a discussion of Chu founder gods and their relation to Fuxi and Nüwa, see Cook 1994. Guo Dewei 1995, 268-73, links these figures to characters in the *Shanhaijing*.

were precursors to the dragon-headed musician and warrior snake-eaters and the *qi* ("energy, vapor")-cycling phoenixes on the Mawangdui inner coffin and to the monster-face birds and animals on the paintings discussed above. In the case of the Zeng Hou Yi coffin, the doors were on the sides and the windows on the ends.[22] On the Baoshan coffin, like the Mawangdui examples, doors are not evident but abstract windows might be determined at the ends. Both the Mawangdui and Baoshan inner coffins included the décor of a round jade disk (*bi*). The Mawangdui example was painted on the foot end of the inner coffin whereas the Baoshan example had an actual jade disk suspended at the head end of the inner coffin. The painted white ✣ and ✕ signs on the head end of the Baoshan outer inner coffin (see mention above, in relation to figure 2) may indicate an extension of the window décor (in a cross design at the head and a square design at the foot) through both layers of inner coffins. The addition of architectural features of the inner coffins supports Wu Hong's notion of the coffin as "home." On the other hand, the fact that these features are doors and windows also supports the notion of movement, of the need to enter and to exit and to move beyond the "home."

Shao Tuo's head and tomb faced east, the direction of the rising sun and moon. The feast for greeting ancestors (counterpart to the sending-off feast, *zu* 祖) was prepared in the eastern compartment. It seems that east was the initial step in Shao Tuo's journey. By the end of the fourth century BCE, when the cosmology of Five Phases had begun to replace the older Four Regions scheme, we see that the eastern direction was imbued with the symbolism of birth and rebirth.[23] Myths in texts noted for their shadowy magical landscapes, such as the *Shanhaijing*, *Huainanzi*, and *Chuci*, can be categorized according to their association with geographical directions and the Four Regions scheme.[24] In the east was the "spirit tree" (Fusang) upon which the ten suns perched.[25] This tree was connected to trees in the other three directions by the underground world of the dead, the Yellow Springs, a place inhabited by turtles, dragons, and fish-like creatures.[26] The four trees pictured at the corners of the

[22] Thote 1991, 36. For Mawangdui, see Hunan 1992, 4-5, 13, 15. For Baoshan, see Hubei 1991, vol. 1, 64-65, vol. 2, fig. 19. Thote 1991, 168-69, argues that the inner coffin designs at Mawangdui do not represent windows.

[23] A. Wang 2000, 75-92.

[24] See Allan 1991, esp. chapter 2.

[25] The ten suns may have represented the ten-day Shang week, each day governed by one of the ten signs of the ancestral spirits; see Allan 1991; Keightley 2000.

[26] Allan 1991, 29.

late Warring States cosmological text (the Chu Silk Manuscript discovered in Changsha) suggest the currency of this belief near the time of Shao Tuo's burial.[27] The spirit-tree of the west, symbolizing the direction of the setting sun and moon, is likely represented by the tree sculptures buried in the northwestern corner of Tomb 2, Tianxingguan, Jiangling (see figure 4b). Heaven—or the sky above the earth—was the counterpart of the underworld and had its own river of eternal flow, the Silver River (Milky Way), associated in later Daoism as an actual path traveled by immortals, sometimes accessed through the omphalos in the west, Kunlun Mountain.[28] The east, then, was associated with timelessness and the birth of time; the west, by contrast, was associated with the death of time, but consequently, also timelessness. The pictures of the deceased in the Mawangdui paintings show the deceased as immortal spirits riding their dragon tails facing the moon (source of the elixir of long life) but positioned at the top of the paintings eternally caught between the sun and the moon (see example in figure 13). It is likely that Shao Tuo's ritual and funeral practitioners were familiar with the metaphors of flight and ecstatic travel, if not the legends of spirit world. It seems equally likely that Shao Tuo's *hun* was envisioned as escaping the tomb to the east and rising with the Sun and Moon to travel west.

Comparison of Baoshan Tomb 2 belonging to Shao Tuo with Wangshan Tomb 1 belonging to Shao Gu provides further evidence of role of the tomb equipment.[29] Shao Gu's tomb was simpler than Shao Tuo's: it was basically divided in half with the majority of the preparations for the feast in the larger eastern compartment and his inner coffin and traveling equipment in the western half. His double-layered inner coffin was placed in the northern section of the western compartment and the chariot pieces, horse ornaments, and weapons in a section to the south. Inside the innermost coffin, he lay with his head to the east with a jade disk placed at his crown. To his sides were bows and arrows and one of a number of swords made by King Goujian of Yue (r. 496-65 BCE).[30]

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[27] For a translation of the Chu Silk Manuscript, see Li and Cook 1999, 171-76. For a copy of the illustrations, see Barnard 1972. A. Wang 2000, 107-09, notes that while the manuscript represents the traditional *sifang* structure, it does so in terms of seasons and time, not regions, hence linking it to fluid cosmic movement, like the operation of the *wuxing*. For an analysis of the manuscript and figures as a calendrical diagram possibly associated with cosmic boards (*shi*), see Harper 1999, 845-46.

[28] Schafer 1977; Porter 1996, 89.

[29] He was a short man similar in type to modern northern Chinese and died when he was 30 years old; Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996, 223, 230.

[30] A copy of the inscription is found in Ma Chengyuan 1990, 371-72.

Window patterns were carved into the lid of his innermost coffin. To his left in the compartment to the south, in among the paraphernalia for the hunt (symbolized perhaps by a painted lacquer screen of jumping and slithering phoenixes, birds, deer, frogs, snakes, and serpents, see figure 14), were also musical instruments—a drum and a zither. In the eastern compartment—centrally placed in among a vast array of bronze, lacquer and pottery vessels, dishes, and tables—was a painted lacquered double-headed long-tongued masked beast with antlers. This

Figure 14. Lacquer Screen from Wangshan Tomb 1

This screen includes six depictions of two griffin-like ducks catching snakes. On each half of the screen one bird is shown from the left, right, and top views. In each depiction, snakes are caught with their beaks. To the sides of the ducks leap spotted deer with antlers. Beneath the center-facing pair of ducks sit two frogs, perhaps representing a single frog if we understand the two halves of the screen to be reflections of each other. The bottom rim of the screen is crawling with large serpents and the upper rim with a mountain-like décor, suggesting lower and upper earthly realms between which the animals romp. After Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996, fig. 66.

beast or monster, commonly referred to as a tomb guardian ("Protect-Tomb Beast" *zhenmushou* 鎮墓獸), is one of many found in elite tombs around Jiangling.[31]

Examples are seen in figures 4c, above, and 15, facing. The former, from the south-facing tomb of Tianxingguan 2 (belonging to the wife of an earlier generation of Chu official of the Fan 番 family), was placed in the northwestern corner of the western compartment along with a spirit-tree and drinking and feasting vessels. This tomb had no northern compartment at all (chariot paraphernalia and weapons were placed in

[31] Notably, Shao Tuo's tomb did not have one. According to Yang Yi 2004, 54, over 300 examples have been found that belong to the pre-Qin period.

the western compartment, and the feasting vessels, musical instruments, and a *liubo* game in the eastern and southern compartments). The latter example, from the east-facing tomb of Wangshan Tomb 1, was placed in the eastern compartment, the only compartment, except for a narrow southern compartment, with weapons, tables, umbrellas and other equipment for the journey. The eastern compartment, like the Baoshan tomb, represented the banquet room. It is significant that in either case, the *zhenmushou* sculpture is linked to the passage of the soul out from the body (into the eastern compartment) or out from the tomb (from the northwestern corner).

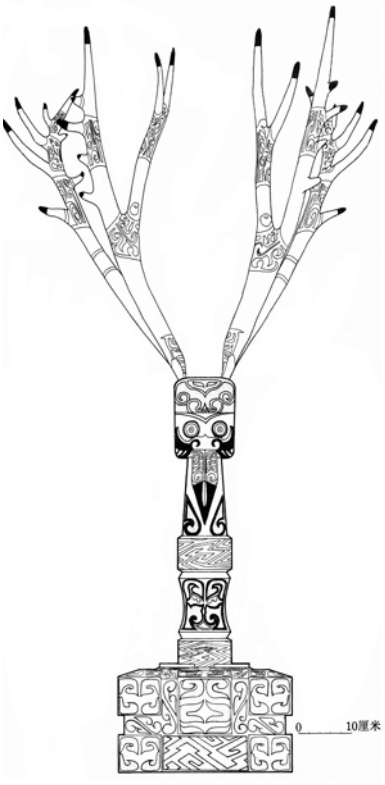

Figure 15. *Zhenmushou* Tomb-Guardian Sculpture from Wangshan Tomb 2

Front view of bifurcated sculpture. Note the similarity to the contemporary Tianxingguan Tomb 2 *zhenmushou* (shown in fig. 4c, above). After Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996, fig. 99.

Scholars have debated the meaning of the tomb-guardian beast for many years, suggesting numerous overlapping and sometimes related representations: a mountain spirit,[32] an earth god (*tubo* 土伯),[33] a spirit guide (*mingjing* 銘旌),[34] a dragon travel guide for the spirit,[35] a guard or warrior, a death demon, or a demon queller, an underworld guide or guard, a spirit in the process of transformation, the spirit of a shaman, a war god, an ancestor tablet, or a dragon totem.[36]

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[32] After horned creatures described in the *Shanhaijing*.

[33] After a horned creature with a long tongue described in the *Chuci*, "Zhaohun"; Tang 1982. Erkes 1939 understood Tubo to be the Chinese god of death.

[34] Peng Hao 1988.

[35] After long-tongued dragons embroidered on Chu silks.

[36] Zhang Jun 1988, 62-126; Guo Dewei 1995, 197-98; Pi Daojian 1995, 104; Hu

Li Jiahao suggests that it is a spirit figure evolved from a drum called Earth Cricket (*tulou* 土蝼) in Chu tomb inventory texts. This figure is described in the *Shanhaijing* as an animal with four horns that lives in the western mountains and eats people. Elsewhere it was associated with the north.[37]

Pi Daojian, in a recent study of Chu art, summarizes the way in which the *zhenmushou* figure evolved, based on over 400 examples from Jiangling burial sites in Yutaishan.[38] These examples are coterminous with the rise and fall of Chu influence over the Jiangling metropolitan area—the time period ranging from the mid Spring and Autumn period to late in the Warring States (from the seventh to fourth centuries BCE). The material used for the image was a carved wooden block with antlers inserted into the top.[39] The design is tripartite: a square wooden base, a long-necked wooden head rising out of the center of the block, and deer antlers inserted into the crown of the head. Over time the form bifurcated into a Janus-like curving pattern, with two heads and four antlers. The incised décor and facial features became less abstract at the beginning of the Warring States (fifth century BCE). Painted body details such as scales and cloud patterns were added, suggestive of the dragons described in *Chuci* songs. Jenny So links the more concrete figurations of this beast to the early Warring States hybrid warrior-figures on the coffin of the Archer Lord of Zeng and to the horned snake-eating deity for Month 12 (last month in the year, the end of winter) painted on the Chu Silk Manuscript.[40] Yang Yi suggests that the *zhenmushou* was purposely set at the head of the deceased to help the spirit emerge from the coffin and then transport the spirit to the land of the immortals.[41]

Michael Loewe studied the *zhenmushou*, or "Antler and Tongue," figures in a seminal essay on the nature of hybrid creatures and their religious role as intermediaries between the worlds of man and beast. He linked the Chu examples to the tales of half-man half-beast flesh-consuming creatures depicted in the *Shanhaijing*, a text he suggests likely described sets of ancient paintings.[42] These figures, seen replicated in other paintings, such as the month deities on the Chu Silk Manuscript, the Zeng

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Yali 2001; Yang Yi 2004, 54-55. For a summary of scholarship up to 1994, see Loewe 1994, 38-54.

[37] Li Jiahao 1998, 16-17, the term is found in the Xinyang tomb inventory text strips 2-018, 2-03.

[38] See also Dematté 1994.

[39] A bronze beast figure was found in a tomb in Xinzheng, Henan.

[40] So 1999.

[41] Yang Yi 2004, 55.

[42] Loewe 1994, 38-54, esp. 41.

Hou Yi and Mawangdui coffins, and elsewhere are interpreted by him and other scholars as symbols of transformation from a mortal to an immortal existence.

Elizabeth Childs-Johnson's studies of the composite images that make up the monster-masks often carved in ancient jades and cast into bronzes show an evolution from an earlier hunting imagery that represented metamorphosis from the human to the god state through hybrid animal forms, used possibly in shamanistic rituals involving ecstatic flight.[43] She shows how the Zhou-period jade figurines picturing winged fetal-like men with bird masks and animal features represented shamans in the act of transformation so that they could better traverse a wild territory filled with beasts (as depicted on the surfaces of bronze sacrificial vessels).[44] We find a Chu version of these early Zhou forms in the Tianxingguan Tomb 2 burial: a bird man carved out of wood stands on the head of a bird with outstretched wings. This red, yellow, and blue 66-cm-high painted sculpture was originally set into a base or perhaps held in the hand. This figure was found in the eastern chamber along with the mortuary feast preparations and the musical instruments. Curiously, the *zhenmushou* in this tomb was discovered in the northern section of the western chamber along with a "spirit-tree" (a carved antler-like branch with birds and beasts painted with red stripes).[45] The placement of symbols of transformation or transcendence in the northwestern corner of the tomb reinforces the idea that the *zhenmushou* or "Antler and Tongue" hybrid figure played a key role in the movement of the spirit beyond the tomb.

Basic physical aspects of the *zhenmushou*—its long tongue and antlers—not only link it to other images of flight (trees, birds) but to the consumption of flesh, either of the mortuary sacrifice as suggested by Loewe and others, or, as I would suggest, of the corpse itself. Paola Demattè suggests that a hanging tongue symbolized death (as one might find on a corpse) while antlers symbolized life, potency, and flight (as they grow, fall off, and are renewed).[46] John Major also sees in the hybrid forms, many of which are pictured eating snakes, a phallic potency that when combined with "animal power" could also symbolize "the shaman's state of spiritual transformation."[47] He links Chu depictions of the hunt

[43] Childs-Johnson 1994, 1995, and 1998.

[44] See her forthcoming book "Metamorphic Imagery in Ancient China."

[45] Hubeisheng Jingzhou bowuguan 2003, 184-87, M2:102 and M2:240, ills. 156, 160.

[46] Demattè 1994, 388-96. Antlers were used as wings on wooden phoenix statues, see *ibid.* 393.

[47] Major 1999, 132-33.

in funerary art with "the rituals of exorcism and sacrifice" and notes that ritual hunts by state rulers, particularly during the Han period when Five Phases cosmology was strongest, became symbols of properly ordered seasons and calendars.[48] The emergence of the deceased soul from its decadent body into the symbolic hunter clearly required the aid of hybrid beasts. The fact that these beasts could consume dead flesh and fly was no doubt critical to the transformation process. The antlers may also symbolize the protective function of the *zhenmushou* as it accompanied the soul through the wilderness.

Mark Lewis has suggested that the antlered creature may represent Chi You (蚩尤), a complex mythical character used as a guardian and evoked during funeral processions and annual exorcisms. He notes also that earthly wrestling matches between warriors wearing horns simulated the cosmic match between the ancestor god, the Yellow Emperor (黃帝), representing cosmic order, and Chi You, representing chaos. As a suppressed demon, Chi You then became a minister of the Yellow Emperor playing the role of shaman or exorcist.[49] Michael Loewe suggested (concerning the Han-period reenacted battle) that Chi You represented a repressed political order and the conflict between water and metal, agriculture and metal-working.[50] While we cannot be sure that these meanings fit the pre-Han Chu context, the use of images of the horned creature to tame wild forces—worshipped as a "cult hero" in Han times—can be traced back to the Chu.[51]

An inscription found on the wooden base of a *zhenmushou* figure dating to about 600 BCE provides yet another layer of interpretation, one that we can connect to various other items worn and carried by Shao Tuo's spirit and placed into the northern compartment. This particular wooden figure was found in a Spring and Autumn period east-facing tomb in the elite Chu burial ground of the Wei family in modern Xichuan, Henan, and bears the inscription:[52] "The *zuyi* of Jun Cuo of Hua[53] of the Junior Line of the Zeng House" (曾仲化君痤之且埶).

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[48] Major 1999, 134-35.

[49] Lewis 1990, chapters 4 and 5. The association of Chi You with metallurgy may conflate this spirit with Zhu Rong, a Han fire god and mythical Chu ancestor (see Lewis 1990 and Cook 1994).

[50] Loewe 1994, 236-48.

[51] Loewe 1994, 242-43.

[52] Cao Guicen 1992b; Li Ling 1993. The original text has not been published. Li Ling 1999, 146, identified Hua as a place in or near Xichuan, Henan, in the upper Han river valley.

[53] Li Ling suggests this is a Zeng woman who married into the Wei family. Tomb

The discovery of Zeng-owned objects in a Chu burial ground is not unexpected, as the two groups intermarried and lived side-by-side in southwestern Henan and northwestern Hubei up through Warring States times. The east-facing Chu tomb to which I refer belonged to a young woman, possibly Jun Cuo of Zeng, and the wooden figure belonged to her father.[54] Li Ling, who provides the transcription, suggests that the last two characters are the name of the beast itself.[55] The graph 且 in inscriptions is typically read as "ancestor, sending-off ritual" *zu* 祖 or "altar table, chopping block" 俎. A number of readings is possible, but none particularly revealing. If the term began with "ancestor" then, given the flexibility of possible readings for the second graph, the name might be read as *zuyi* "Ancestor Yi," *zushe* "ancestor base" (祖設) or even *zuzhi* "Ancestor Administer, Director of Sending-off ritual" (祖執).[56] The word *yi* is explained by the *Shuowen* as "to plant (grains)" (and sometimes written 藝) suggesting *zuyi w*as a plant, like a spirit-tree. Planting grains or trees suggests, in turn, a link to the mythical Zhou ancestor and god of agriculture, Hou Ji and ultimately the earth god and altar (*she* 社, an unlikely loan since it was anciently pronounced with a *-ag final instead of *-at, as with 設), upon which trees were planted. The word *she* 設 as a noun might refer to something that is set up for display or as a trap (for animals). It could also refer to equipment prepared for battle or a journey. The word *zhi* is usually used as a verb meaning to catch or administer. As a noun it might refer to a close associate. The Tianxingguan Tomb 2 placement of the *zhenmushou* with a spirit-tree supports the link between the two, the importance of their shared wooden and antler-like natures to their roles in the tomb, as well as the reading of the name of the beast itself as something along the lines of a plant.

We do know, at least, that the Zeng *zhenmushou*, a hybrid tiger-faced dragon-bodied figure with long tongue and antlers, was associated with

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1 may have belonged to her husband, Ke Huang of the Wei family. I transcribe the graph as *cuo* based on my reading of a similar graph in Wangshan strip no. 58. The graph for Hua was originally written with the 阝 element

[54] Her personal name is unknown. A set of bells in her tomb belonged to a Shou, a son of (the place) Hua 化子受, possibly her father. Tomb 1 belonged to Ke Huang of the Wei family, most likely her husband; see Cao Guicen 1992a; Li Ling 1993.

[55] Li Ling 1993.

[56] Qiu Xigui 1998; 2002, 25, n. 29, has shown that *yi* was often used for *she*. The word *zhi* was graphically similar to *yi*, phonetically homophonous with another reading of the graph. Without a copy of the original inscription it is impossible to make a judgment.

ancestral spirits by its location among bronze sacrificial vessels and musical instruments. The fact suggests its having a role in the spirit feast that was set out in the compartment that the deceased's spirit most likely first visited. Because mortuary feasts were mentioned in the context of ancestor worship in bronze inscriptions of this period,[57] we can assume that the feast was prepared for the deceased young woman either to greet her ancestors, or as a simulacrum of the sending-off feast that took place in the shrine. If her father was already dead, then the invocation of his name and the familiarity of objects such as the bells may have served to guide his spirit to the feast. Perhaps these ancestral spirits had a role in guiding the deceased in her new role, and the wooden figure (a symbol of metamorphosis—as defined by Childs-Johnson—and change) had a role in helping her transform into the hybrid form of a spirit (a safer form in which to travel the wilds). In this sense, the figure functioned like the later spirit guide or "name banner" (*mingjing*) described in the *Liji* as banner identifying the deceased and giving them an image (*xiang*).[58] As a guide, with its *taotie*-like face and long tongue, perhaps it acted also as the *zouyu* beast described in Chapter Two that consumed dead flesh.

It is striking that Shao Tuo's Baoshan tomb did not have a *zhenmushou*. Shao instead was provided a dragon-headed staff with a protruding tongue (see figure 10c). Short bird-headed staffs have been found in tombs since the Western Zhou period and occur in the Xincai Chu tomb. A staff used in the funeral of a father was called "dried stalk crutch" (*chazhang* 苴杖) and was made out of bamboo.[59] In other Chu tombs, such as Mashan Tomb 1, a dragon figure, carved out of a dried root with legs like bamboo and covered with snakes, frogs, dragons, and phoenixes, took the place of a beast figure in the eastern compartment.[60] These dragon-like figures may have functioned like the staff in the fundamental sense of acting as an aid for movement. Shao Tuo was so physically disabled by the time of his death that perhaps a crutch was believed more appropriate than an animal. On the other hand, the staff may have had demon-quelling or dragon-controlling powers, as suggested by the painting on a zither in Xinyang Tomb 1 of a robed figure holding a leaf-shaped staff before an upraised dragon. The notion of demon-quelling through hunt-

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[57] Cook 1993, 1996, and 1999.

[58] Peng Hao 1988; Wu 1992, 116-17, understands the Mawangdui painting to be a Name Banner; Zhou Wenbai 1992, 227-28.

[59] *Yili* "Sangfu"; see discussion by Ping Shaolong 1991, 505.

[60] Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 1985, fig. 43; see also Cook and Major, 167.

ing with bows and arrows is depicted elsewhere on the zither,[61] as it is on the Mawangdui inner coffin (where pale "earth goats" or horned goat-like dragons cavort among the clouds, shooting and fighting birds, snakes, and other enemies with a variety of weapons).[62] These images suggest a role protective of the wandering spirit. We return then to the problem of the name of the dragon-like figure found in the early Chu tomb in Henan. If we take the graph to be 苴 referring to the nature of the beast, a dried root, then we are left with the idea that *yi* (or a loan) referred to the beast itself, something that could be planted or grasped and which like a staff could aid in the movement of the deceased as well as quell (or trap) demons.

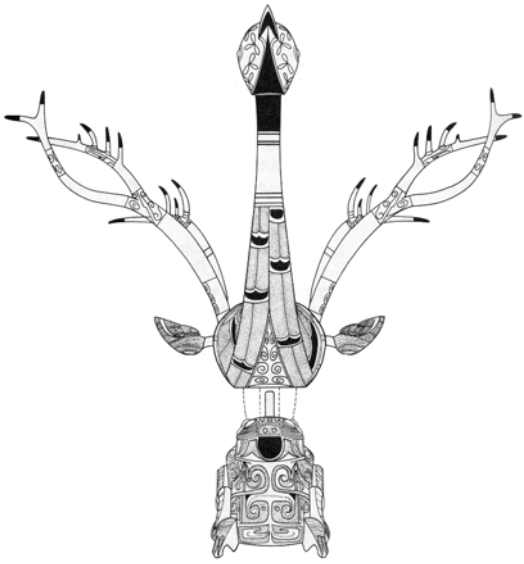

Figure 16. Bird Taking Off from Crouching Tiger
Front view; 117 cm high; red and yellow lacquer painted over wood with antlers. The bird arches its head upward. It has two sets of wings, one of antler, and one lower set of wood (here greatly foreshortened). The tiger is crouched, tail and head up. Howling, it is ready to spring. After Hubeisheng Jingzhou bowuguan 2003, fig. 157.

Shao Tuo was equipped with carved animal ornaments (worn perhaps on his head like antlers) and his dragon staff; he was also clothed in phoenix-covered silk garments. The hybrid nature of his ornaments and clothing symbolizes transformation, as do *zhenmushou* statues and two specific sculptures from the eastern compartment of Tianxingguan Tomb 2. One (possibly a drum stand) depicts the same phoenix/duck/griffin-like bird taking off from atop a tiger crouched like a frog (figure 16). His

[61] Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1986, fig. 2-3; also Cook and Major, pl. 1, fig. 8.5

[62] They also play musical instruments and ride spirit dragon-horses. Besides these goat-like dragons, there are people, birds, geese, and tigers depicted (see Hunansheng bowuguan, vol. 1, 15-24).

tail is up and he is read to pounce, just as the bird is ready to fly with its antler wings. The other sculpture shows a hybrid bird-man riding on top of the bird (figure 17).

Figure 17. Bird-Man Flying on a Bird

Side view; 65.6 cm high; red, yellow, and blue outlines over a black lacquered wooden sculpture. Probably originally set into a base, such as one of those depicted in figure 4, above. After Hubeisheng Jingzhou bowuguan 2003, color pl. 43.

Besides bird imagery, there is also the symbol of a flying chariot. Shao Tuo would have ridden a feather-decorated chariot. Although four chariots are listed in the Tomb Inventory Text, they were represented only symbolically in the tomb as pieces.[63] The chariots mentioned in the text include a high-sided chariot, a leading war chariot, a guard chariot, a chariot or cart with spokeless wheels, and a good luck chariot. The text claims that the chariot with painted leather sideboards was "for the burial." Chen Wei suggests that the chariot or cart with spokeless wheels was for actually carrying the coffin,[64] so the first chariot may have carried grave goods, perhaps the feasting vessels and food baskets. The second chariot was equipped with clothing and hunting equipment—bags for carrying animals as well as for weapons—and was most likely the chariot Shao Tuo would ride for the hunt. It is this chariot and its contents that are summarized on

[63] Perhaps as with the bent dagger-axes found in late Western Zhou tombs, the descendants did not want to give ghosts the power to move or do harm.

[64] Chen Wei 1996a, 184-85, 187.

a bamboo plaque placed in the northern compartment with Shao Tuo's personal articles. The "good luck" chariot decorated with feathers and silks may have been the chariot intended for his ascent into heaven.[65]

The image of the chariot as the conveyor of the deceased in his passage to Heaven is reflected in the Four Regions layout of the tomb. It was also reflected in the late Warring States-early Han game board and instrument used to calculate auspicious time, the "canopy and chariot," *kanyu* 堪與. This instrument is also known as a *shi* board (mentioned in Chapter Two) and likely related to the *liubo* chess-Parchesi-like gameboards and the TLV mirrors (found in tombs of this same time period). Generally the design was a partitioned square with diagonals with concentric registers of décor, a design it shared with the coffin ends and sculpture bases discussed in Chapter Three (see figures 3 and 4). The divination instrument for calculating time consisted of a moveable round plate in the center of a square. This round plate, "the canopy," symbolized Heaven and the square board, "the chariot," symbolized Earth. The layout of this instrument reflected the contemporary idea of the cosmos as a "Canopy Heaven" (*gaitian* 蓋天).[66]

The fact that Shao Tuo's tomb, square on the bottom and round on top, and the layout of its contents symbolized geomantic coordination reveals a concern with the cosmic positioning of the tomb between Heaven-and-Earth and its role as a vehicle for transport to Heaven. In some sense Wu Hong and other scholars are right. The journey to Heaven and across time occurred metaphorically within the symbolic cosmos of the tomb, one governed by Taiyi (Grand Unity) in his Yang and Yin forms up above and by the Lord of the Earth below. But it is in the nature of a symbol to be but a reflection of the larger perceived reality; the chariot pieces within the chariot tomb within the chariot cosmos.[67] There is no question that soul flight required the symbolic or "real" leaving of the earth. It traveled, like the sun and moon, a chariot or a bird, and moved from tree to tree westward, through "the Gate of Darkness,"[68] and into the void of Heaven.

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[65] See Kong Yingda's commentary to the *Liji*, discussed in app. 2, n. 145.

[66] Major 1993, 32-43; Loewe 1994, 112-20.

[67] See Porter 1996, 69-75, discussing mythical symbols with regard to the "image" or "sign" (*xiang*) in divination, where the divination text or implement of manifesting the cosmos is cosymbolic with the cosmos itself.

[68] From John Major's translation of *Huainanzi*, chap. 4, "The Treatise on Topography," sect. vi, "Beyond the Nine Provinces" (Major 1993, 162).

The movement of time was a critical concern for the Chu. As Deborah Porter noted for the mythic cosmic tour of King Mu, the transformations evident in hybrid animals represented time's passage, particularly with regard to seasonal cycles, and were marked with drums or musical performances.[69] Chu mortuary evidence confirms both points. The hybrid animals are linked by their antler imagery to drums and trees (which like bird migrations mark the passage of seasons, such as we see in the painting analyzed in Chapter Four). We know from the divination strips that season and the calendar were critical aspects of the performance of sacrifices to the spirits. The coordination of an auspicious time for the performance of a ritual event in an auspicious space is a basic element of ancient Chinese religious practice datable back through the Shang period.

The symbolism of flight in Shao Tuo's tomb—dragons, phoenixes, and chariots—confirms the Chu (and perhaps general Warring States period) belief in travel of the transcendent spirit after death. For the Chu elite, the journey to Heaven seemed to begin with the movement inside the tomb—visits with familiar objects, preparation for setting off, and performance of a feast for ancestral spirits. The deceased then rides out of the tomb, leaving behind the attendants and his corpse, following his spirit guide through barbarous lands filled with wild animals and monsters. Finally he ascends—either in a chariot, on a horned dragon, or as a horned dragon—into the astral landscape of ancestral spirits and cosmic deities.

The travel of the spirit found its earthly counterpart in tales of ancient kings and sages who traveled west to find immortality, enlightenment, and then, much much later, in Buddhist texts. The dangers encountered were numerous and varied by name in different texts written at different times and places. The beasts and people they encountered, like the spirits and ghosts in the Shuihudi Day Book, were often not what they seemed. Beasts were really ghosts and people were really beasts. They talked, cursed, and changed form. Many in the *Shanhaijing*, for example, were described as in a hybrid state, neither beast nor man. They had to be fought, bribed, or transformed. Shao Tuo's ritualists began this process during his illness. The record of three years worth of sacrifices and prayers to the spirits and ghosts considered most likely to harm Shao Tuo was buried with him as proof that consequently many spirits owed

[69] Porter 1996, 79.

something back. This debt then could be carried into the otherworld as a form of protection against the spirits but also perhaps as a method of winning their approval and help during the difficult journey (should his personal dragon fail him).

The natural wilds were also dangerous. To the west of Jiangling were high mountains. The Yangzi River cut through them just south of Jiangling, and the Han River, to the east of Jiangling, swung north and then west into mountains. Covered with forest and emerging out of the semitropical southern lands, these mountains were no doubt filled with various types of cat, bear, snake, boar, and ape. They were also inhabited by peoples who had been pushed to the fringes of Chinese civilization by the expanding Han societies. Their ancient customs and odd dress no doubt made them seem half-human to the elite of Jiangling. So, the physical journey to the west, no matter whether Shao Tuo traveled in the natural or the supernatural realm, was rife with peril.

Where exactly his spirit resided once he had made it up to Heaven is unknown. The ancestral spirits since ancient time seem to look down at their living descendants from "up above." They were depicted as bright, shining, and greatly "manifest" with light (*pixian* 丕顯) like stars or "luminous" (*ming* 明) like the sun and moon. The transformed spirit in the Mawangdui painting, likewise, was up among the stars (although represented as part snake). It seems likely that ancestral spirits were envisioned, like many later Daoist spirits, as moving among the stars, if not actually being stars.

CHAPTER SIX

EPILOGUE

For Shao Tuo, it may have been his diviners and the keepers of his calendar, rather than the tomb designers, who were most steeped in the early symbolism of Five Phases. Shao Tuo's tomb, like the Chu Silk Manuscript, was oriented according to the symbols of a traditional cosmological scheme,[1] but the texts reveal, as scholars have shown for the Chu Silk Manuscript, a notion of fluid cosmic movements and an emphasis on temporal correlation inherent in the Five Phases system.[2]

The directional aspect of either the Four Regions or Five Phases is mostly missing from the Baoshan divination text. The Tomb Inventory text, on the other hand, does provide some hints of directional correlation with Yin and Yang influences. For the "Dining Room," the eastern compartment that would correlate to spring and the element wood, the text lists metal sacrificial food vessels and implements as well as a variety of baskets filled with dried, steamed, and roasted birds, fish, fowl, and pig meats, along with honey, sweet grains, and various onions and fruits.[3] The strips describing the clothing and furniture for "Traveling" (found in the western and northern compartments) were actually placed in the southern compartment, associated with summer and fire. The metal and wooden sacrificial vessels, implements, tables, and stools for the "Great Sacred Plot" (the tomb itself) are described on strips placed in the eastern section of the southern compartment but actually seem to relate to items placed in the eastern compartment. Military items—chariot and horse décor and weapons—are described on strips placed in the southwestern section of the southern compartment. Most of the military equipment was placed in the southern compartment, which accords with the concept of the south as linked to fire. Only one strip with writing, perhaps a stray, and two blanks were placed in the western compartment (it is interesting

[1] According to Allan 1991, Shang tombs reflected the Four Regions; see also A. Wang 2000, 39-46, and Keightley 2000, 82-84.

[2] A. Wang 2000, 112.

[3] For a summary of fruits and vegetables found in Chu tombs, see Lin Qi 1988.

that the early Wangshan tomb of Shao Gu had no western compartment at all). This compartment, filled with food and furniture, seems not to have had any special correlation to metal or Yin. In some sense, it is just an extension of the more personal northern compartment. The administrative and divination texts were placed in the northern compartment, as was a bamboo plaque summarizing the strips that described the military items. Clearly, the eastern and southern compartments, both Yang compartments, were considered the most auspicious directions for the Tomb Inventory Text. The texts found in the northern compartment, the most Yin and associated with winter and water, appear to have been for Shao Tuo's personal testimony to the spirits of his identity, the merit accumulated during his lifetime, as well as the powers invoked to protect him. Overall, Five Phases correlations do not seem to have informed the tomb construction.

In his survey of Chu tombs, Guo Dewei notes that elite tombs in the Jiangling area tended to face east.[4] Divination and tomb inventory texts have been found in the highest-ranking tombs in the family burial grounds of Baoshan, Wangshan, and Tianxingguan in the Jiangling region and in Xincai, in southeastern Henan. The Baoshan tomb complex in Jingmen consisted of five tombs roughly aligned north to south. The earliest and the most southerly but the highest ranking, that of Shao Tuo, was located farthest east. Wang Shan tombs, including two large tombs, had ramps facing east. The complex of five large mounded tombs at Tianxingguan (referred to locally as the "Five Mountains") arches east to west along the northern rim of Chang Lake. The tomb farthest east, belonging to Fansheng, Lord of Diyang (d. circa 361-340) is the largest. Although the ramp of his tomb faces south towards the lake, the emphasis on the east is still clear.[5] The Xincai tomb belonging to Cheng, Lord of Pingye (d. circa 340), also faced east. There seems to have been a strong Chu belief in the east as the most auspicious direction in which to begin the move into the afterlife, a concept that fits neatly with later Yin-Yang Five Phases associations.

The fourth-century BCE Jiangling area tombs and texts associated with Shao Gu and Shao Tuo reveal a world in transition—moving from the certainty of a clear Four Regions scheme to a world of Yin-Yang natural agents, one not yet settled into a clear Five Phases scheme. In addition to the concept of these dark and light (positive and negative) forces, we

[4] Guo Dewei 1995, 30.
[5] Guo Dewei 1995, 114-20.

have touched upon another bifurcated concept that informed the tomb construction, the journey beyond the tomb, and even the nature of the deceased's relations to his spirits and to his own body. This is the concept of Inner and Outer, one that can be traced back to the early Zhou period and one that represented the movement of oneself at death from the deepest inner core out through the many walls of body, coffin, and tomb into the Wild. Each step involved protective measures against the invasion of one's self by destructive agents. The spirit emerging from the tomb was particularly vulnerable and, like the hunter or warrior, had to be protected by a chariot and magic.

By the fourth century BCE, religious practice in the Jiangling region of ancient China was a complex affair combining ancient practices of ancestor worship with an expanding pantheon of natural forces. Records of the sacrifices and prayers by diviners reveal a busy annual calendar concerned with expelling evil from sanctified inner spaces. Physical sites of ritual began to evoke a mimesis of metaphorical inner ritual spaces. Ancient rituals of purification were in the process of evolving their inner meditative counterparts. While we dare not label such practices by the names of later high religions, such as Daoism, the local roots of some later cult practices can clearly be traced back to the Jiangling region.

The Baoshan and Wangshan texts and tombs—through their design and contents—allow us an unparalleled glimpse of the multi-layered and evolving nature of early Chinese belief. Some of these rituals, such as exorcism to remove evil spirits causing illness, can be traced forward to modern times.[6] Others, such as the practice of equipping the tomb for spirit flight—particularly by the antiquated method of dragon and phoenix chariot—are lost in modern China. So, too, gone is the naïve image of a cosmos reducible to a one-dimensional wheel of revolving natural forces. On the other hand, the idea that human spirits perpetually inhabit another dimension is found among people even in post-industrial societies.[7] We hear of modern day ritualists who "channel" or act as "mediums" to "parallel universes." Modern science has erased the natural spirits of antiquity that inhabited every thing and every place and replaced them with sub-atomic size energies operated by the laws of quantum mechanics.[8] The anthropomorphized and animal forms of these ancient energies,

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[6] See Strickmann 2002.

[7] For a discussion of the ubiquitous concept of ghosts from ancient times to the present in China, see Poo 2000, 4.

[8] See the ruminations of Templeton 2000, 76-79.

preserved in our museums as relics of primitive religion, act as poetic reminders for us now of the human need for visions into the unknowable present and future. Death, for the ancient Chinese, was a colorful passage into the timeless present.

APPENDIX ONE

BAOSHAN DIVINATION TEXT

The texts here (strips 197-249) contain variant graphs and compound, or joined, graphs (*hewen* 合文), that is, cases of two graphs written as one. Some occurrences of these matters are discussed in the notes, below. For the sake of readability and printing practicalities, all transcriptions are given in modern characters. For a closer examination of each graphic variant, please see the excavation report (Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui 1991b, vol. 1, 364-99); the separate volume by the same authors (*Baoshan Chu jian*); and Chen Wei 1996a, 231-42. The earliest transcription was by Hubei, but in the last several years Chen Wei, Li Ling, and others have provided corrections. These latter are incorporated in the transcriptions, below.

For the purposes of analytic presentation and for correlation with references in my notes and in Tables 3 and 4, the bamboo strips for the Baoshan Divination Texts, below, are grouped in the following way. Each subsection corresponds to a single year; in that year there occurred "divination events," marked here with numbers, such as "I.1" or "V.2." A "divination event" occurred on a single day and usually involved a single question, but in some cases it involved more than one diviner and method.

Phonetic reconstructions of words created by Li Fanggui are signified by the sign "L*" and placed inside brackets (see Schuessler 1987).

Images of the original bamboo strips are adapted from Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui 1991a, plates LXXXVIII-CIX. Although the majority of them are relatively clear, many of the photographic backgrounds had become darkened with age, making reproduction here difficult. Thus some of these images have been edited to reveal a bit more of the graphs on the bamboo strips.

In some cases where a graph was written with a variant semantic element but the meaning is uncontested, I simply have transcribed using the modern graph. Otherwise, I follow the Hubei transcription by Liu Binhui 劉彬徽, Peng Hao 彭浩, Hu Yali 胡雅麗, and Liu Zuxin 劉祖信.

Event I: 318 BCE Early Summer

Strips 197-198; I.1

宋客盛公邊聘於楚之歲，刑夷之月，乙未之日，酤吉以保家爲左尹佗貞：自刑夷之月以適刑夷之月，出內事王，盡卒歲，躬身尙毋有咎？占之，恒貞吉，少有憂于躬身，且志事少遲得。以其古敓之，思攻解于人害。占之：尙吉，其中有喜。

During the year when the Song guest,[1] Sheng Gong Bian, paid an official visit to Chu,[2] on the month[3] Xingyi,[4] and the day Yiwei [32],[5] Gu Ji[6] used

[1] The word *ke* "guest" referred to an official retainer from another state.

[2] This event is unknown in the transmitted literature.

[3] The graphs for *zhi yue* constitute one compound graph. These are marked in the original with two little lines to the lower-right of the graph. In later strips such graphs are sometimes written in compound form, sometimes not. The case is similar with *zhiri*, which is not written in compound form in this strip, but is in some later strips.

[4] The original graphs for this month are written with the phonetic element *xing* 刑 and a semantic *tian* 田 underneath; and *yi* 夷 was written as *shi* 尸 (a common graph used for *yi* in inscriptions) with a 示 element. The Yunmeng Qin strips version has transcribed *xingyi* 刑夷. In the *Zuozhuan* (Zhuang 4 and Huan 12; in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 49, 196), it was transcribed as *jingshi* 荆尸. It is the first month of summer. There is controversy over whether this month or Dongyue 冬月, the first month of spring, was the first month of the lunar year. Liu Binhui shows how the Chu months named in the Baoshan text match with those mentioned in the Yunmeng Qin bamboo text (see Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui 1991b [hereafter referred to as Hubei],

the *baojia* method[7] to prognosticate for *zuoyin*[8] Tuo:[9] From Xingyi month up to[10] the next Xingyi month, while going in and out (of court) to serve the king, by the end[11] of the year, will his person[12] not have incurred any [spiritual] blame?[13] (Gu Ji) divined about it: the long term[14] prognosis is auspicious, yet (Tuo) seems to have some personal concerns,[15] hence the matters he intends (to accomplish) are somewhat slow to come about. (Gu Ji) performed an exorcism to get at its source.[16] He willed[17] and beat

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vol. 1, 537-42; see also Wang Hongxing in Hubei, vol. 1, 529-32; Li Ling, 2000, 273, 279), which indicates that the lunar year began in Dongyue. Chen Wei 1996a, 16-20, argues that that annual sacrifice must have begun in the first month of the lunar year and that the Chu year must have begun in summer rather than spring.

[5] Day 32 in the sixty-day ritual cycle used since the Shang period; see Keightley 2000, 37-39.

[6] The diviner's name was written with the semantic element *min* 皿 underneath the phonetic *gu*. Shao Tuo had a number of dealings with members of the Gu clan; see strips 3, 162, 170-73, 176 *passim* in the legal text; Hubei, vol. 1, 349-64; Chen Wei 1996a, 206-31.

[7] Hubei, vol. 1, 52, n. 339, reads *baojia* as *baoshi* 苞蓍, a type of stalk divination. Li Ling 2000, 281, suggests that *baojia* may have been similar to *baogui* 寶龜, a type of plastromancy.

[8] There were a number of *yin* officials in the Chu government with a large range of functions; see Cook 1995 and Blakeley 1999.

[9] Tuo's full name is Shao Tuo, a descendant of Chu King Zhao (r. 515-489).

[10] Hubei, vol. 1, 364, originally transcribed the graph as *geng* 庚. Chen Wei 1996a, 231, transcribes this graph as *di* 帝, which he reads as *shi* 適 ("to go to") based on the E Jun Qi tally readings. Li Ling 2000, 280, transcribes the archaic graph with a 言 over a 京, read as *jiu* 就 in the phrase 自 ...就... ("from A to B"). I follow Chen.

[11] Chen Wei 1996a, 152-53, and others interpret *zuisui* to refer to *jisui* 集歲 (as it is written later in the text), a sacrifice performed at the end of one year and the beginning of the next. He Linyi 1993 and Xia Lu 1993, 83, read this as *yi* 易 ("to change"). Li Ling 2000, 280, understands the line as the fulfillment of one year up through to the end of the next year,. I follow Li here.

[12] The graphs for *gongshen* are written as a compound graph.

[13] The word *shang* 尙 was sometimes written with the "heart" 心 element. The word *shang* is commonly found in divination questions, so I read it as in the sense of "ought he have," "perhaps he has," or "will he have." The word *you* 有 is uniformly written 又 throughout the manuscript. I have substituted the regular form for reading clarity.

[14] The word *heng* can mean "constant, persevering, the usual." A line in the *Lunyu*, "Zi Lu" (*Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 1, sect. 13, 295), reads: "Southerners have a saying: 'If a man is without perseverance (*wu heng* 無恒), he can't be a medicine man (*wuyi* 巫醫).'" Since *heng* here modifies the prognostication, I take it to mean "in the long term," the larger prognosis, in contrast to smaller immediate concerns.

[15] These concerns may refer to problems at work or those concerning his illness.

[16] The word *gu* 古 is read as *gu* 故 ("source, cause"). The word here translated as "exorcism" is written in a number of ways throughout the text, making it clear that "exorcism" was in a sense the same word as "curse" but used in reverse, that is, against the ghost. The primary phonetic 兌 (pronounced *dui, yue*, or *rui* in modern Chinese) is found with a variety of semantic elements (攵, 月, 忄, 礻) and is used both as transi-

the (the ghost),[18] releasing (Shao Tuo) from human harmful influences.[19]

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tive verb and noun. As a noun it is used in the place of *sui* 祟 ("curse"); see strip no. 235; Zeng Xiantong 1993, 416; Kong Zhongwen 1997, 587-89. The verbal form *zhui* [L*tju∂dh] appears as early as the oracle-bone inscriptions as a sacrifice to ancestors to remove curses that Luo Zhenyu associated with Chu divination; see Li Xiaoding 1974, vol. 3, 0927-32. Itō and Takashima 1996, vol. 2, 78-79, follow Wang Guowei's interpretation that this was *nai*, a sacrifice involving smoke, although they do not find Wang's arguments fully convincing. The verbal form of the graph has been a source of controversy. Li Ling 1990, 83, reads as *duo* 敓 [see *tuo* 脫; L*thuat] ("to get rid of") based on the appearance of the phonetic element 兌 in the Shuihudi Day Book texts: 兌不祥 ("get rid of the inauspicious [influences])" and 兌明組(詛)不祥 ("get rid of the spectral [influences] and curse the inauspicious [influences])"; I find Li's readings convincing. In a recent publication, he further explains that the word was written as *duo* 奪 ("to force") in classical texts and was defined in the *Shuowen* with the graph 敓 ("to remove by force"); Li Ling 2000, 277, 283. He shows how the same graph can be read *duo* in the Baoshan administrative text where person A forcibly removed his wife (presumably from the home) (strips 93, 97), and suggests that evil was removed through *rang* 禳 "a sacrifice to expel evil influences" (see Karlgren 1972, no. 730g). I follow Li Ling's suggestion that this was an exorcism ritual. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 352, suggests that the word was *shui* 說 [L*sthjuat], based on the phrase in the *Zhouli*, "Chun Guan, Da Zhu" (explanations of the sacrifice names are from Zheng Xuan's commentary): 掌六祈以同鬼神示: 一曰類. 二曰造. 三曰禬. 四曰榮. 五曰攻. 六曰說 "(The Grand Invocator 大祝) handles the six prayers used to unify the spirits: 1. *lei* sacrifice (to the High God), 2. *zao* (灶 "stove") sacrifice (to ancestral spirits), 3. *hui* sacrifice (to nature spirits to exorcise illness and premature death), 4. *rong* sacrifice (*ying* 縈 or 營 to astral and earth spirits to overcome natural disasters), 5. *gong* sacrifice (by beating the drum and chanting to nature spirits), 6. s*hui* sacrifice (invocations to nature spirits) (*Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 14, *j.* 49, 2-5).

[17] The graph is read by Hubei, vol. 1, 53, n. 353, in the verbal sense *gui* 鬼 ("to make sacrifices to ghosts"). Chen Wei 1996a, 31-32, and Li Ling 1995, 76, read it as *si* 思 in the sense of "to wish" as found in the *Shijing* and the early Western Zhou oracle bones (see also Lin Xiao'an 1999, 21), or "to command." I follow Chen and Li.

[18] Peng Hao reads these two words as the single term *guigong* 鬼攻, based on the *Zhouli* passage on drummers, *guren* 鼓人: "with a road drum, drum at the ghost feast" (Hubei, vol. 1, 560; see *Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 6, *j.* 23, 85). The *Zhouli* commentary (see n. 16, above) suggests that 攻 referred to the use of drums in prayer. See also *Xunzi* 21.8, where foolish people beat drums and boil piglets to cure illness (Knoblock 1988, vol. 3, 109). The word *gong* is written also as 工 in the Baoshan text, a variant that appears in Chu bronze inscriptions meaning 貢 or 恭 ("to present offerings"). Li Ling 2000, 292, notes that *gongjie* 攻解 , like *gongduo* 攻奪 and *gongxu* 攻敘 (for *gongchu* 攻除), used later in this text, all referred to exorcism. The word *gong* was a method for dispelling illness-causing demons; see the *Zuozhuan*, Cheng 10, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 230. Harper 1998, 169, notes that a graph he reads as *si* in the Mawangdui medical manuscripts refers to "exorcistic beating." I suspect it refers to the same word. In manuscript MS I.E.125, Harper 1998, 263, translates a passage where a patient is being treated for an illness caused by his parents and son, presumably dead, and "the officiant hits the patient twice seven times" and commands the patient to rise and the inguinal swelling to desist. For comparison to Shao Tuo's illness, see slips 242-44, below.

[19] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 354, suggests a reading as the sage god Great Yu 大禹. Chen Wei

(Gu Ji) divined about it: "It is still auspicious.[20] During this period[21] there will be happiness."

1996a, 173-74, understands it as a loan for *hai* 害 "harmful influences or presences." Human harmful influences might be understood as curses put on Tuo by other living or dead people. Li Ling 2000, 293, notes that *hai* is written in a similar manner in the Chu Silk Manuscript and the Shuihudi *rishu* text.

[20] Hubei and Chen Wei both read the graph *shang* 尙 (written here without the "heart" semantic) as *dang* 當. Transmitted texts have no examples of either *shang ji* or *dang ji* but the *Zhouyi* "Xiang" text for hexagram 12 (Pi 否), line 5 (九五) does have the phrase 大人之吉, 位正當也: "As for the big person's auspicious fortune, it is positioned just right." This is used in contrast to bad fortune (*xiong* 凶) where a person is 位不當也 "not positioned correctly" (see the Xiang text for line 3 of hexagram 10 (Fu 覆). Another possible reading for *shang*, however, might be *shang* 商 as in hexagram 58 (Dui 兌, line 4): 商兌未寧, 介疾有喜 "In calculating the measure of pleasure (兌>說>悅), [the diviner] is not yet assured; as for illness [介>疥 "scabies"], there will be happiness." There are various readings for this sentence, see Gao Xiang 1984, 332-33; Chen and Zhao 2000, 516-18. Given the Baoshan texts, we might instead understand *dui* 兌 to stand for a type of exorcism, see n. 16, above. The word *jie* 介 might also be read as "large," as in a major illness.

[21] Possibly referring to the month or the season.

Strips 199-200; I.2

宋客盛公邊聘於楚之歲，刑夷之月，乙未之日，石被裳以訓卼爲左尹佗貞：自刑夷之月以適刑夷之月，盡卒歲，躬身尙毋有咎？占之，恒貞吉，少外有憂，志事少遲得。以其古敓之。翌禱於邵王，哉牛，饋之。翌禱文坪夜君、邵公子春、司馬子之音、蔡公子家，各哉豢，酒食。翌禱於夫人，哉腊。志事速得，皆速賽之。占之：吉，享月、夏夕有喜。

During the year when the Song guest, Sheng Gong Bian, paid an official visit to Chu, on the month Xingyi, the day Yiwei, Shi Beishang prognosticated for *zuoyin* Tuo using the *xunmin* method:[22] From Xingyi month up to the next Xingyi month, by the end of the year, has his person not incurred any [spiritual] blame? (Shi Beishang) divined about it: the long term prognosis is auspicious, yet it seems that (his affairs) outside are in trouble and what he aimed to accomplish has been slow to come about. (Shi Beishang) performed an exorcism to get at its source. (Shi) performed secondary prayers[23] to King Zhao[24] with a black water buffalo[25]

[22] Most likely a type of plastromancy; Li Ling 2000, 281. However, the graph for *min* was written with wood semantic element 林 on top which could be confused both with the grass semantic 艸 and a type of stalk divination.

[23] Li Ling 2000, 286, reads the original graph written as *neng* 能 with a *yu* 羽 element on top as *yi* 翼, for 翌 ("next [day, month, year]"), taking the phonetic as *yu* [L*gwjagx]; whereas *yi* was [L*r∂k] not *neng* [L*n∂ŋ; 態 *gwj∂m]. Li 2000, 286, notes that the graph also appears in the E Jun Qi tallies and understands the word to refer to "next year's sacrifice." Hubei, vol. 1, n. 359, reads it as *si* 嗣 [L*sdj∂gh] ("successive

and set it out as a food offering. (Shi) performed secondary prayers to the Accomplished Lord Pingye, Chun of the Sire Wu line, Yin of the Sima line, Jia of the Sire Cai line[26] with a black gelded pig[27] for each and with wine and food. (Shi) performed secondary prayers to (Shao's father's)

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generations"), which fits well with the sacrificial object, the successive generations of Shao Tuo's patrilineal ancestors. However as the sacrifices to ancestors do seem to occur in cycles whereby they are first initiated or proposed (*ju*), then seconded (*yi*), and finally recompensed (*zhai*), I follow Li Ling and read an *yi* sacrifice as a secondary or follow-up sacrifice.

Neng does have the sense of sacrifice or prayer, as in *nengfu* 能福 (in an early Western Zhou bronze inscription) and *neng shi guishen* 能事鬼神 (in the *Shujing*). For the former, Guo Moruo explains *neng* as a loan for *hong* 宏 ("great" [L*gwrə̂ŋ]) (Zhou Fagao et al. 1974, 10.1321), but it is more likely that the archaic graph was a simplified version of *yi*. The graph was confused with 嬴 *ying* [L*riŋ], most likely a loan for other words read *ying* meaning "to present as offering" or representing a type of sacrifice used in prayer to astral and nature deities in the *Zhouli* (see n. 16, above). In the same *Zhouli* passage the prayer sacrifice *zao* was recorded as requiring sacrificial animals and big drums. E. Childs-Johnson in the unedited version of her 1995 article related the *yi* graph to the use of animal masks by shamans during the Shang and Zhou period to invoke ancestral spirits (see also 1998, and her recent manuscript).

[24] Zhao is written Shao, proving that Shao Tuo's surname was really Zhao and derived from Chu King Zhao (r. 515-489 BCE), Shao Tuo's ancestor. I use Shao in this manuscript simply to avoid confusion for readers familiar with other Baoshan scholarship.

[25] Hubei, vol. 1 (n. 361), explains *zhi* 戠 [L*sthjə̂k] (and the graphic variant in strip 222) as equivalent to *te* 特 [*də̂k], with the meaning of "single, one." This reading follows Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 268, for the Wangshan divination manuscript. Li Ling 2000, 290, follows Hubei but notes also the occurrence of *te* as a reference to a male or three year old animal. Since strip 248 uses the *yi* ("one") to enumerate sacrificial animal offerings and a number of the animal terms seem to indicate maleness and age, then another reading seems likely. In the Zeng Hou Yi tomb inventory text, strip nos. 54 and 81, the graph *zhi* appears with the graph *yi* 翼 as a compound graph and is understood as a complex form of *dai* 戴, read as *dai* 黛 "black" (Hubeisheng bowuguan 1989, vol. 1, 515, n. 108). In a Western Zhou bell inscription, *zhi* in a compound graph with the element 共 underneath and is read as *chi* 熾 "gleaming," a description of the horns or knobs on the face of the bronze bell (Ma Chengyuan 1988, vol. 2, 192-93).

For the use of wild buffalo and domesticated oxen in Shang ancestor worship, see Childs-Johnson 1998, 23-26. For an exploration of the use of oxen in Chu sacrifice, see Ke Heli 2003b.

[26] For a discussion of *wen* "accomplished" as an epithet for ancestral spirits, see Cook, 1990, 105-07. Pingye, Wu, and Cai were all place names. The titles *jun* "Lord" and *gong* ("[deceased-] elder, Sire") represented powerful members of the political elite of those places. The diminutive *zi* ("child, son") represented that the person was a direct descendant of those members. The personal names of these ancestors of Shao Tuo were Liang-"Good," Chun-"Spring," Yin-"Sound," and Jia-"Home." Zhao Tuo's mother remains nameless. Each name is followed by a punctuation mark, a single dash, on the lower right of the last graph in the names.

[27] See Chen Wei 1996a, 175-76.

wife[28] with dried meat from a black pig.[29] If (Shao's) intended matters are quickly achieved, all (sacrifices) will be quickly repaid.[30] (Shi) divined about it (saying): "Auspicious. During a Xiangyue[31] or a Xiaxi (month), there will be happiness."

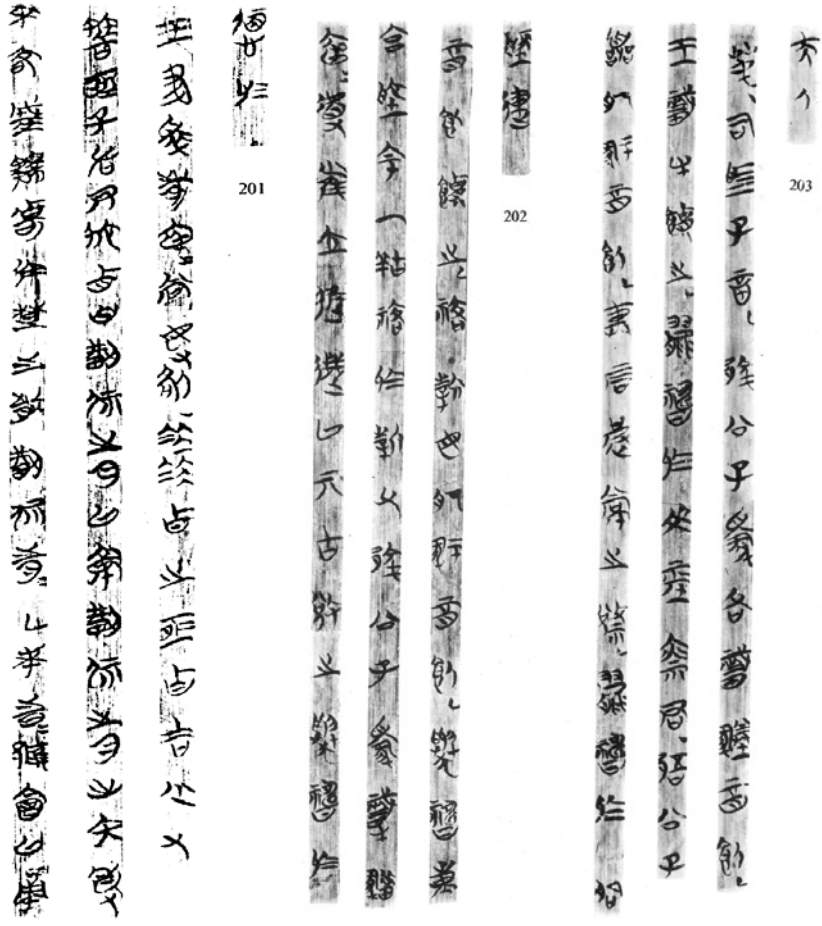
[28] This is a reference to the wife of Cai Gongzi Jia, Shao Tuo's mother, not his own wife. In strips 201-04, sacrifices are performed to Cai Gongzi Jia, referred to as New Father, followed by sacrifices to New Mother.

[29] The word read *xi* was written with the semantic element 豕 and the phonetic 昔. Li Ling 2000, 290, suggests that this was dried pork.

[30] Regarding, *sai* 賽 as in *saidao* "repayment prayer," Hubei, vol. 1 (n. 370), notes the *Shiji* "Fengshan shu" passage 冬賽禱祠 "In winter, perform the sacrifice of the repayment."

[31] The graphs for Xiangyue are written as a compound graph. After the word *ji* "auspicious," the scribe placed a punctuation mark.

Strips 201-203 (see overleaf for 204 and 202-back)



Strips 201-204 and 202-back; I.3
宋客盛公邊聘於楚之歲，刑夷之月，乙未之日，應會以央筮爲子左尹佗貞: 自刑夷之月以適刑夷之月，出內事王，盡卒歲，躬身尙毋有咎? 661666>611611占之，恒貞吉，少有憂於躬身，且爵位遲踐。以其故敓之。舉禱於宮地主，一羖；恪於新父蔡公子家，戠腊，酒食，饋之；恪新母，肥豕，酒食；舉禱東陵連囂，肥豕，酒食。專石被裳之脫，翌禱於昭王戠牛，饋之；翌禱文坪夜君、郜公子春、司馬子之音、蔡公子家，各戠豢，酒食；夫人，戠腊，酒食。應會占之曰：吉，至九月喜爵位。[space] 凡此市也，既盡迻。 [back] 新父既成。[space] 新母既成。

During the year when the Song guest, Sheng Gong Bian, paid an official visit to Chu, on the month Xingyi, the day Yiwei, Ying[32] Hui prognosticated for the sire, *zuoyin* Tuo, using the *yangshi* method: From Xingyi month up to the next Xingyi month, while going in and out (of court) to serve the king, by the end of the year, has his person not incurred any [spiritual] blame? Hexagram Yu turns to Hexagram Dui.[33] (Ying Hui) di-

[32] The graph for *ying* was written with the semantic element indicating a place name 阝 and no "heart" element as found in the modern form.

[33] The scribe (clearly a different one than for the previous two sections) added a punctuation mark after *jiu* and before the hexagrams. The hexagrams are written side by side as a single graph and read from right to left. The second hexagram is broken into two groups of three sixes and eights representing broken or Yin lines and ones representing unbroken or Yang lines, hence 661666 is Yu 豫 no. 16 in the transmit-

vined about it: the long term prognosis is auspicious, yet there is some concern regarding his person, moreover[34] his promotion in rank[35] is slow. (Ying Hui) performed an exorcism to get at its source. (He) performed the proposition prayer[36] to the Earth Lord of the Residence with one black ram. (He) brought offerings[37] and prayed to New Father[38] Jia of the Sire Cai line with dried meat from a black pig, wine and food, and presented food offerings.[39] (He) brought offerings and prayed to New Mother with

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ted *Yijing*, but is Jie 介 in the *Guicang* (see Wang Hui 2003, 81). Line 5 in the *Yijing* refers to a prognostication about illness, to prevent the subject from dying for a long time. The *Guicang* omen concerns a yellow bird. 611611 corresponds to Dui 兌, no. 58 hexagram in the *Yijing*. Line 4 also refers to illness getting better. In the *Zuozhuan*, the second hexagram is used to specify the changing lines of the first hexagram; see Rutt, 154-55, 173-201, for a discussion of examples in *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*. Yin lines 2,5, and 6 of Yu changed to Yang lines in Dui.

[34] The graph for *qie* is written with a common variant, an added "tiger" 虎 above, with a 又 below instead of the 几.

[35] The word *jue* is written with the graph for *que* 雀.

[36] Hubei reads the basic graph 與 [L*ragx], often written with a 止 semantic element underneath, as *ju* 擧 [L*kjagx], an animal sacrifice offered to the king mentioned in the *Zhouli*, "Tianguan, Shanfu": *wangri yiju* 王日一舉 "on the day for kings, present one *ju* sacrifice." The commentary explains that *wangri* either as a dawn court feast or as a reference to *shuowang* 朔望, the dark phase of the moon. *Ju* is explained as *shasheng shengzhuan* 殺牲盛饌 ("killing a sacrificial animal and filling [sacrificial vessels] for eating") (*Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 2, *j.* 7, 83). Li Ling 2000, 286, suggests that it is the initial sacrifice offered to the gods with the *saidao* "repayment" offered later. In the *Shijing*, Daya ode "Yunhan" (Mao no. 258), which bemoans a situation of drought and famine, we read "*mishen buju* 靡神不擧" ("There are no spirits who have not been given sacrifices"). A parallel line in the next verse further supports the Hubei reading of *ju* as a sacrifice: "*mishen buzong* 靡神不宗" ("There are no spirits who have not been respected in the temple"). I understand it as a proposed sacrifice; n. 23, above.

[37] Hubei reads *ke* 恪 [L*khak] "to pay respects to (a deity)." Western Zhou bronze inscriptions often used the variations of the graph for *ge* 各 (read as *ge* 格 [L*krak] "to come, make come") to describe the movements of the king (into the temple) or the spirits (up and down). It appears in the term *zhaoge* 昭各 ("to illuminate and bring down"), as verbs referring to the use of the bronze vessel or bell to bring joy and happiness to the ancestral spirits. It is seen in later texts written as *jia* 假 (see the Xing *zhong*, of late-middle Western Zhou period, Ma Chengyuan et al. 1986-90, vol. 3, 192, no. 267, and 193, no. 268). The Baoshan graph has the semantic element 示, typically an indication of religious activity, which in the context involves the presentation of animal sacrifices. This meaning is also suggested by the *Shijing* phrase "*lai jia lai xiang* 來假來饗" ("bring on the animal offerings [for recently deceased ancestors?], bring on the feast [for all spiritual and mortal guests])" (Mao no. 302, "Lie Zu," in the Shang Song section). I understand *ke* here to refer to paying one's respects to the deity with animal sacrifices.

[38] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 379, reads *xin* as *qin* 親 ("closely related"). It referred to a new, recent, or "close" ancestors.

[39] The scribe punctuated the text with a backwards style comma after each set of food sacrifices (I use semicolons or periods).

a fattened piglet,[40] wine and food. (He) performed the initial sacrifice and prayed to the *lian'ao* of Dongling[41] with a fattened piglet, wine and food. Turning to[42] Shi Beishang's exorcism, (he) presented secondary prayers to King Zhao with a black water buffalo and food offerings; presented secondary prayers to Accomplished Lord Pingye, Chun of the Sire Wu line, Yin of the Sima line, Jia of the Sire Cai line each with a black gelded pig, wine and food; and to the wife with dried meat from a black pig, wine and food. Ying Hui prognosticated and said: "Auspicious. In the coming ninth month [Tuo] will enjoy a promotion." Generally these are (the exorcism prayers of) Fu [43] which have already been completed in turn. [The sacrifice] to the New Father is already complete. [The sacrifice] to the New Mother is already complete.

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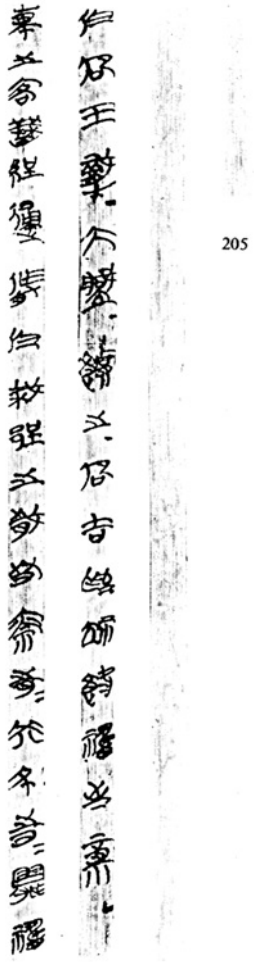
[40] This line is followed by a backwards comma style of punctuation. Hubei, vol. 1 (n. 381) reads the original graph as *shi* 豕 with either the element 干, defined in the *Shuowen* as a three-year-old pig. Chen Wei 1996a, 176, reads the graph as *zhong* 豕, which he claims is a pig less than one year old. He suspects that the terms *feizhong* 肥豕 (strips 201, 225), *zhongshi* 豕豕 (strips 209, 227), and *zhongzhong* 豕豕 (strip 244) all refer to the sacrifice that I translate as "fattened piglet." In every example, except strip 227, the recipient is the *lian'ao* of Dongling, possibly a male relative outside of Shao Tuo's direct male ancestral lineage. In strip 227, the recipients are Shao Tuo's brothers.

[41] Dongling is a place name and *lian'ao* an office title. For the discussion of a Dongling dagger-axe discovered at E Wang city in southern Hubei, see Cook 1990, 508.

[42] The graph written with the element 車 with the element 廾 underneath is generally left without a modern transcription. Scholars suggest that it functions like the word *yi* 迻 "to move," found later in the text, and refers to "enacting" rituals begun earlier by other diviners (see Zeng Xiantong 1993, 418-19; Liu Xinfang 1998, 35; Kong Zhongwen 1997, 59; Chen Wei 1996a, 155-59). I suspect that the graph might be read as 專 (*chuan* or *zhuan*) ("to transmit, move onward, turn around"), or as the *Shuowen* explains for 轉 z*huan*, "to move in succession (*yun* 運)." The graph in an older form is found in a similar position in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions when a new topic is introduced. See, for example, the Shi Cai *ding* where the king, after proclaiming Shi Cai's merits, turns then to a narration of his own merits (Ma Chengyuan, 1988, vol. 3, 135). For an example in Shang oracle bones, see Lin Xiao'an 1999, 15.

[43] This is a complex graph consisting of a "bamboo" element 竹 over a phonetic, either *shi* 市 or *fu* 市 over a 示 element. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 384, claims that *cai* 采 [L*tsh∂gx] is the phonetic and that the word should be understood as a type of *bian* 遍, a comprehensive sacrifice to all spirits. Chen Wei 1996a, 159, understands this to be the name of a diviner (perhaps read Shi or Fu?) whose sacrifices and prayers were initiated in a month earlier in 318 BCE before the Baoshan records begin. The cycle of his work was completed by Ying Hui in Xingyi month. I follow Chen.

Event II: 317 BCE Early Spring



Strip 205; II.1

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，冬夕之月，
癸丑之日，翌禱於昭王，戠牛，大臧，饋之。
邵吉爲蒞，既禱至福。[space]

During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying,[44] on the month Dongxi, [45] the day Guichou (50), (the ritualist) performed the secondary prayer to King Zhao with a black water buffalo, making a great minced meat soup and a food offering of it. "Have Shao Ji make

[44] Possibly a reference to the city Ying in Jiangling; see Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 248.

[45] Li Ling 2000, 279, considers Dongxi to be the first month of the year. Chen Wei 1996a, 5-7, argues that Xingyi is the first month and Dongxi towards the end of the year. He places strips 205-206 after strips 216-17, but before strips 218-19, which fall between the divinations and records of sacrifice and the divinations regarding Tuo's illness. I leave them in the original Hubei order for ease of reference to the original strips.

sacrificial preparations,[46] and, when finished with the prayers, good fortune will arrive."[47]

[46] The graph for *li* was written with the semantic element 示 in this line and as 位 in strip 224. For the reading of *li* as 蒞 (to prepare sacrificial offerings), see a similar reading in the late Warring States period Chu inscriptions of E'ling Jun (see Cook, 1990, 556-58). Shao Ji was probably a relative of Shao Tuo. Lai 2002, chapter 5, reads the word *li* as *wei* claiming that Shao Ji acted in a ceremony in which he acted as a magical substitute for Shao Tuo, something along the lines of the Corpse ritual.

[47] In this strip, there are three compound characters: *zhiyue, zhiri,* and *zhiniu*. The scribe punctuated the phrase that mentioned the continued prayers to King Zhao with short dashes after *zhiniu*, *dazang*, and *kuizhi* and with a backwards comma at the end of the strip (after *fu*). The scribe punctuated the next strip (no. 206) with short dashes after each name and after *kuizhi* but a fatter dash (rather than a backwards comma) at the end of the strip.

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Strip 206; II.2

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，冬夕之月，癸丑之日，翌禱於文坪夜君、邵公子春、司馬子之音、蔡公子家，各戠豢，饋之。邵吉爲蒞，既禱至福。[space]

During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying, on the month Dongxi, the day Guichou, (the ritualist) performed the secondary prayer to the accomplished Lord Pingye, Chun of the Sire Wu line, Yin of the Sima line, Jia of the Sire Cai line, with a black gelded pig each and made food offerings of them. "Have Shao Ji make sacrificial preparations, and when finished with the prayers good fortune will arrive."

Event III: 317 BCE Late Spring

Strips 207-208; III

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，遠夕之月，癸卯之日，苛光以長削爲左尹邵佗貞：病腹疾，以少氣，尙毋有咎。占之，貞吉，少未已。以其古敓之。祠於野地主一豭、宮地主一豭；賽於行，一白犬，酒食。占之曰：吉。刑夷且見王。[space]

During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying, on the month Yuanxi,[48] the day Guimao (40), Ke Guang using the *changxiao* method[49] prognosticated for *zuoyin* Shao Tuo: as for his infirmity, the symptoms are in his abdomen, along with shortness of breath. Could there still be no cause for blame? (Ke) divined about it: the prognosis is auspicious, but something is not fin-

[48] Chen Wei 1996a, 1-9, takes this as the last month of the year. Li Ling 2000, 279-80, takes it as the third month.

[49] Li Ling 2000, 281, reads it as 長則 and takes it to be a type of plastromancy.

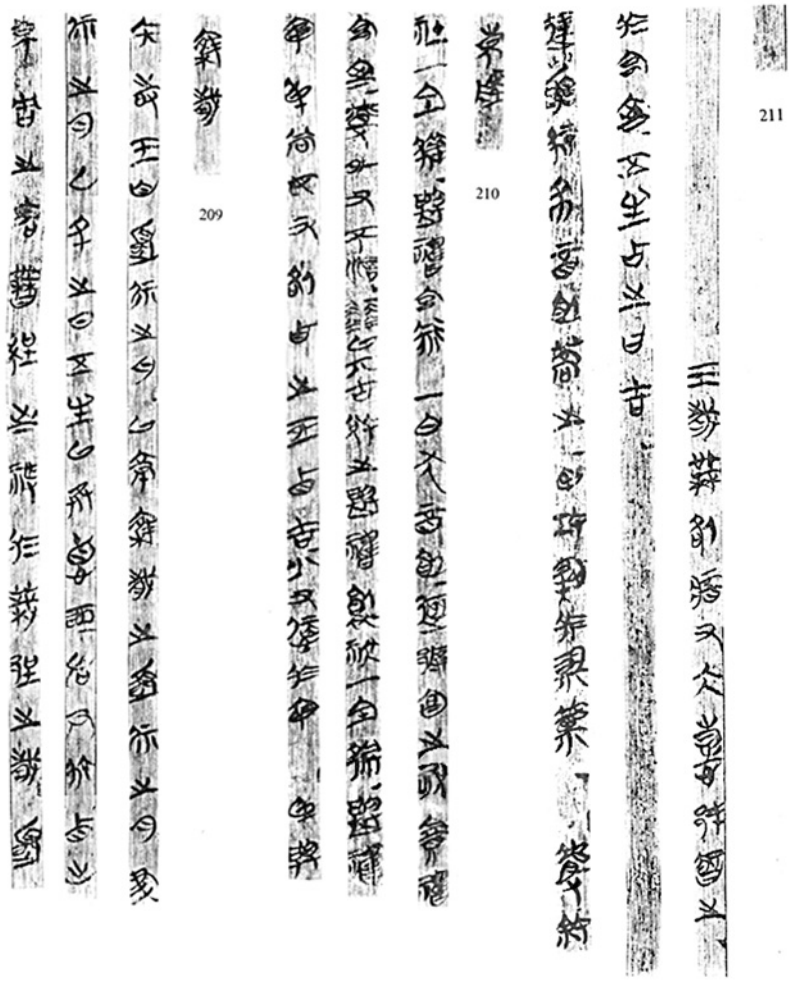
ished. (Ke) performed an exorcism to get at its source.[50] (Ke) sent sacrifices[51] to the Earth Lord of the Wilds of one male pig, and to the Earth Lord of the Palace of one male pig; (Ke) performed the repayment sacrifice to the Walkway with one white dog,[52] wine and food. (Ke) divined about it saying: "Auspicious. In Xingyi (month) (Tuo) will then have an audience with the king."

[50] The graph *duo* 效 here is written with a 示 semantic.

[51] Hubei, vol. 1 (n. 395) takes the graph written with 厂 around the phonetic 孖 (子 [L*tsj∂gh]) to be 孖 a loan for *jian* 薦 [L*dzi∂nh] ("prepared dishes"). The word *ci* 祠 [L*sdj∂g] is phonetically closer and has some graphic similarity. It is unlikely that *ci* refers to a spring sacrifice at this time. Kong Zhongwen 1997, 583, notes that *ci* is found with *sai* 賽 in the *Zhouli* and *Shijing* and hence may have referred specifically to food offerings presented as repayment to deities for good fortune.

[52] The graphs for *baiquan* are written as a compound graph. The scribe punctuates with a dot after the end of each sacrifice (after both *gu* 豭 and after *jiushi*) and at the end of the entire entry.

Event IV: 317 BCE Midsummer



Strips 209-211; IV.1

東周之客許郢至胙於栽郢之歲，夏夷之月，乙丑之日，五生以丞德爲左尹邵佗貞：出內侍王，自夏夷之月以適集歲之夏夷之月，盡卒歲，躬身尙毋有咎？占之，恒貞吉，少有憂于躬身與宮室，且外有不訓。166811>666811 以其古敗之。舉禱蝕太，一全豢；舉禱社，一全腊；

舉禱宮行，一白犬，酒食。迭應會之祝，賽禱東陵連囂，冢豕，酒食，蒿之。思攻解于明祖，且除於宮室。五生占之曰：吉 [space] 三歲無咎，將有大喜，邦知之。[space]

During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift[53] of ritual meat at Zaiying, on the month Xiayi,[54] the day Yichou (2), Wu Sheng prognosticated for *zuoyin* Tuo, using the *chengde* method:[55] while busy serving the king from one Xiayi month to the next, by the end of the year, has his person perhaps incurred any [spiritual] blame? (Wu) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious but with some concerns regarding his person and home, moreover things outside (his person and home) are not going smoothly. Hexagram Sun moves to Hexagram Lin.[56] (Wu) performed an exorcism to get at its source. (He) performed the proposition prayer to Occluded Grand Unity[57] with a whole gelded pig. (He) performed the proposition prayer to the Earth Altar (spirit) with a whole[58] pig's worth of dried meat. (He) performed the proposition prayer to (the spirit of) the Residence Walkway with a white dog, wine and food. (Wu) moved on to Ying Hui's exorcism and performed the repayment sacrifice and prayed to the *lian'ao* of Dongling with a fattened piglet, wine and food, presenting it outside the city walls.[59] He willed and beat the (the ghost), releasing (Shao Tuo) from Numinous Specters,[60] and

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[53] This scribe used the word *zhi* 至 for 致 ("to bring forward [gifts]") instead of *gui* 歸.

[54] Li Ling 2000, 279, claims this is the fifth month, the middle of the summer.

[55] Li Ling 2000, 281, suggests this is a stalk method.

[56] Yang line 1 in *Yijing* hexagram 41 (Sun 損) changes to a yin line in no. 19 (Lin 臨). The hexagrams are written with a very slight break between each trigram. The bottom trigram for each is the same and written with an 8 instead of a 6 (as recorded by Hubei). There do not seem to be any clear omens related to illness in the *Yijing* text.

[57] Chen Wei 1996a, 161-62, explains that Shi Tai referred to Taiyi when the star associated with the god was not visible. The graph for *tai* was written with an added 示 element.

[58] The graph for *quan* was written with the 工 element instead of the 王 element. This is a common simplification in this text.

[59] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 409, reads the word written with either the grass or bamboo element (*gao* 篙 [L*kagw] or *hao* 蒿 [L*agw]) as a loan for *jiao* 郊 [L*kragw] ("sacrifice outside the walls of the city"); see also He Linyi 1998, 292. For the use of *hao* as a loan for *jiao* in the Shang oracle-bones, see Li Xueqin 1998a, 189-94.

[60] For *ming zu* (where *zu* is for 詛), see n. 16, above. Both *ming* and *zu* were written with the 示 element.

(Wu) removed[61] (the curse) from his home. Wu Sheng divined about it saying: "Auspicious, for three years you will be without [spiritual] blame, and will have great happiness, and the nation will know of it."[62]

[61] The reading of the original *xu* 敍 as *chu* 除 is accepted by Li Ling 2000, 292, after an unpub. 1992 ms. by Liu Zhao.

[62] This section is the work of yet another scribe, one who does not use compound characters. In the phrases before the hexagram, he punctuated with a small dash after "auspicious" (*ji*) and "residence" (*gongshi*) but a hook-like period after the word *xun* right before the hexagrams. He punctuates again after each sacrifice (after the words *huan, xi, jiushi* and *jiaozhi*) and after the words *mingzu*, *gongshi*, and "auspicious" (*ji*).

Strips 212-215; IV.2

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，夏夷之月，乙丑之日，酤吉以保家爲左尹佗貞：出內侍王，自夏夷之月以適集歲之夏夷之月，盡卒歲，躬身尙毋有咎？占之，恒貞吉，少有惡於王事，且有憂于躬身。以其古敓之。迻古市，塞禱太、備玉一環；侯土、司命、司禍，各一少環；大水，備玉一環；二天子，各一少環；危山，一玦。迻應會之祝，塞禱宮侯土，一羖。迻石被裳之祝，至秋三月，塞禱昭王，戠牛，饋之。賽禱文坪夜君、郜公子春、司馬子音、蔡公子家，各戠豢，饋之。賽禱新

母，戠腊，饋之。酤吉占之曰：吉。[space] 太、侯土、司命、司禍、太水、二天子、危山既皆成。 [space] 期中有喜。 [space]

During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying (317 BCE), on the month Xiayi, the day Yichou, Gu Ji prognosticated for *zuoyin* Tuo using the *baojia* method: while busy serving the king from one Xiayi month to the next, by the end of the year, has his person perhaps incurred any [spiritual] blame? (Gu) divined about it: the long term prognostication says auspicious but with some evil[63] affecting the king's affairs as well as some concerns regarding his person. (Gu) performed an exorcism to get at its source. (He) moved on to the former Fu's (exorcism) and performed the repayment prayer to Grand (Unity) with one circlet of a jade pendant; to Earth Lord,[64] Controller of Fate, and Controller of Misfortune, each one small jade circlet; to Grand River, one circlet of a jade pendant;[65] to the Two Children of Heaven,[66] each one small jade circlet; to Wei Mountain,[67] one pierced jade pendant piece. (Gu) moved to Ying Hui's exorcism and performed the repayment prayer to the Earth Lord of the Residence with one ram. (Gu) moved next to Shi Beishang's exorcism and up to the third month of Autumn performed the repayment prayer to King Zhao with a black water buffalo and made food offerings of it; the repayment prayer to the accomplished Lord of Pingye, Chun of the Sire Wu line, Yin of the Sima line, Jia of the Sire Cai line with a black gelded pig for each and

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[63] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 412, reads the original *ya* 亞 as 惡.

[64] The title for Earth Lord (*boutu*) is written 后土 in the *Chuci*, "Zhao hun," where, according to Wang Yi's commentary, it refers to a god of the underworld (see Yuan Ke 1985, 165).

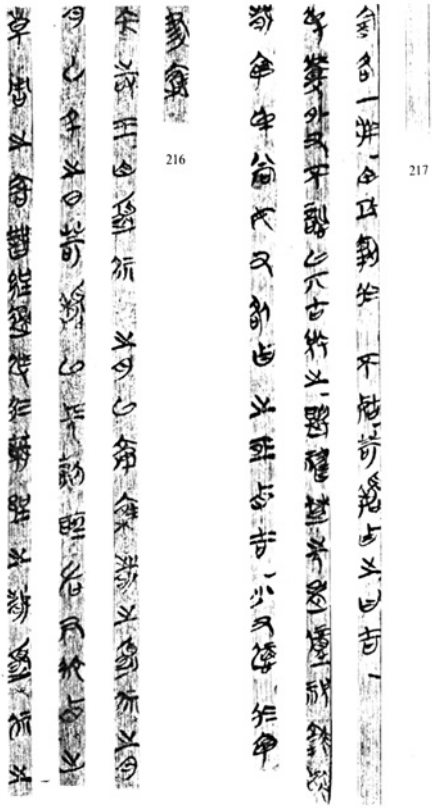
[65] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 413, reads *beiyu* as *peiyu* 佩玉.

[66] Because the Er Tianzi appear in the text between water and mountain spirits, it is likely that the "Two Children of Heaven" are nature spirits (see Chen Wei 1996a, 169-70). In the *Zuozhuan*, Cheng 10, in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, vol. 1, 230, the two demons that caused illness were called Er Shu 二豎; in the *Huainanzi* there are the Er Huang 二皇 (10.12b) and Er Shen 二神 (7.1a) who represent Heaven and Earth, Yang and Yin (see Yuan Ke 1985, 6).

[67] The original graph for this mountain is transcribed by Chen Wei 1996a, 170, 233, as *wei* 危 with either a "mountain" (山) or "human" (人) semantic to the left, as it is on this strip. There is a spirit named Wei 危 mentioned in the *Shanhaijing*, "Hainei xi jing," who assisted a man named Erfu 貳負 to kill a spirit with a snake body and human head. Erfu was tied up and hobbled in Shushu 疏屬 mountain, possibly in Shaanxi province. In other versions, Wei was exiled to the mountain (see Yuan Ke 1985, 158-59).

made food offerings of it; the repayment prayer to New Mother with dried meat from a black pig and made food offerings of it; Gu Ji divined about it and said: "Auspicious." [The sacrifices to] the Grand Unity, Earth Lord, Controller of Fate, Controller of Misfortune, Grand Water, the Two Children of Heaven, Wei Mountain have all been completed. "During this period there will be happiness."[68]

[68] The scribe in this section may be the same as in the previous section, except that the substitution of *zhi* for *gui* in the first line of the previous section is curious. As in the previous section, the scribe did not use any compound graphs. He punctuated with dashes after "spiritual blame" (*jiu*) and "auspicious" (*ji*) in the first half but with a triangular period after the phrase *yi qi gu tuo zhi*. In the section where Gu Ji turned his attention to Fu's exorcism, the scribe punctuated with a dash between the phrase "each one circlet of jade (to the Earth God and Controllers of Fate and Disaster)" and ends Fu's section with a large upside down tadpole like comma before recording Gu Ji's work with Ying Hui's exorcism. Dash-like punctuations in the Shi Beishang section separate the sacrifices to King Zhao, the patrilineal ancestors, and the mother as well as the individual names of the patrilineal ancestors. There is a space after "auspicious" instead of a dash, but dashes are found after each name in the list of spirits that follow and after each of the final phrases regarding the completion of their sacrifices and their bringing happiness.



Strips 216-217; IV.3

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，夏夷之月，乙丑之日，苛嘉以長削爲左尹邵佗貞：出內侍王，自夏夷之月以適集歲之夏夷之月，盡卒歲，躬身尙毋有咎？占之，恒貞吉，少有憂於躬身，且外有不訓。以其古敗之。擧禱楚先老童、祝融、粥飲，各一牂。思攻解於不辜。苛嘉占之曰：吉。

During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying, on the month Xiayi month, the day Yichou, Ke Jia prognosticated for *zuoyin* Tuo using the *changxiao* method: while busy serving the king from one Xiayi month to the next, by the end of the year, has his person perhaps incurred any [spiritual] blame? (Ke) divined about it: the long term prognosis is auspicious but with some concerns regarding his person, moreover things outside are not going smoothly. (Ke) performed an exorcism to get at its source. (He) performed the proposition prayer to Chu founders Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, and Yu Yin[69]

[69] Yu is originally written with the "woman" 女 semantic and two 虫, one on top of the other as in the phonetic for *rong* in *Zhu Rong*. Li Xueqin has shown how the name stands for the mythical Chu ancestor Yu Xiong 鬻熊 mentioned in the *Shiji* (*xiong* is a Qin substitute for the Chu title *yin*). Based on the fact that the Baoshan version of the name was written with a graph featuring the "woman" semantic, I earlier theorized

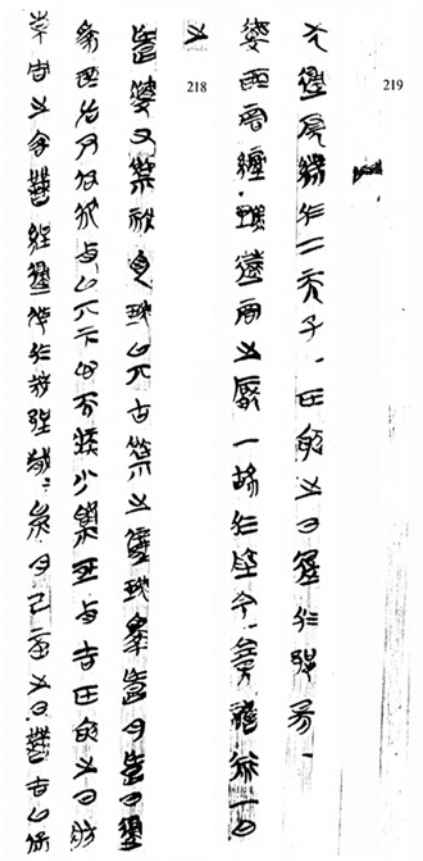
with a ewe each. He willed and beat (the ghost), releasing (Shao Tuo) from the Victims.[70] Ke Jia divined about it and said, "Auspicious."[71]

that this figure might in fact be a goddess, such as Nügua (see Cook 1994, where I discuss Li 1988). An argument against this idea would be the fact that when the diviners sacrificed to Shao Tuo's recently deceased ancestors, his mother was mentioned separately after the patrilineal ancestors.

[70] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 426, and Li Ling 2000, 293, read *gu* 辜.

[71] Once again this section has no compound graphs. Punctuation begins and ends after the words "auspicious." In between the dashes follow the phrase *yi qi gu tuo zhi*, after the sacrifice to the three Chu gods, and after the beating of the Bugu ghosts.

Event V: 317 BCE Midwinter



Strips 218-219; V.1

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，爨月，己酉之日，許吉以保家爲左尹邵佗貞：以其下心而疾少氣。恒貞吉，甲寅之日，病良瘥，有祟，太見琥。以其古敓之。壁琥擇良月良日歸之，且爲商繃備速商之；厭一豭於地主；賽禱行，一白犬；歸冠帶於二天子。甲寅之日，逗於郢易。

During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Cheng, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying, on the month Cuan,[72] the day Jiyou (46), Xu Ji used the *baojia* method to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Zhao Tuo regarding his [illness], which had gone below the heart and afflicted[73] [him] with shortness of breath.[74] The long term prognosis is auspicious, and

[72] This month is equal to the eleventh month, called *cuanyue* in the Yunmeng strips.

[73] *Ji* can also refer to symptoms of an illness and to something happening quickly (perhaps palpitations?).

[74] *Qi* is written with the phonetic *ji* 既 [L*kji∂dh] and the semantic element "fire" 火.

on a Jiayin day (51) the infirmity will improve and heal,[75] but there is a curse. The Grand (Unity) sees a tiger-jade.[76] (Xu) performed an exorcism[77] to get at its source. (He) took a jade disk and a tiger shaped jade, selected a good month and day, and sent them (to Grand Unity). (He) moreover made a present[78] of a strung jade disc and speedily presented it. (He) satisfied the Earth Lord with one male pig;[79] performed a repayment prayer to the Walkway with a white dog; sent cap strings to the Two Children of Heaven. "On a Jiayin day present cooked food sacrifices[80] in Piyang."[81]

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[75] The original graph has the phonetic *qie* 且 [L*tshjagx] and is understood by Hubei, vol. 1, n. 428, Chen Wei 1996a, 154, and others as a loan for 瘥 read *chai* or *cuo* [L*tshrad] ("to get over an illness"). Hubei elsewhere reads a variant as 阻 "to stop" (Hubei, vol. 1, n. 428 and n. 462). Li Ling 2000, 285, suggests it is a loan for *cuo* 瘥 "cured."

[76] I wonder if this might describe the position of the Taiyi star, perhaps its movement to the west? Or perhaps the use of a divination board with Tai Yi acting like the Big Dipper as a indicator of omens.

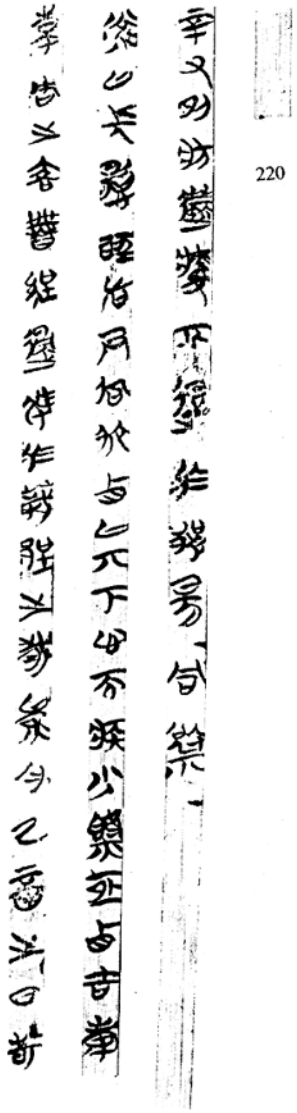
[77] The words "curse" and "exorcism" are written exactly alike, but in this section both with an added 示 element.

[78] The word *shang* should be read as 賞 ("to present").

[79] For *jia* 豭, see Chen Wei 1996a, 176.

[80] Chen Wei 1996a, 33, notes that 逗 (豆 [L*dugh]) in the *Fangyan* is a dialect word that Guo Pu reads as *zhu* 住. Chen consequently reads the graph written with the semantic element 言 and the phonetic 豆 as *zhu* 註 [L*t(r)jugh], which he explains as the behavior of the upper class to the lower class. Li Ling 2000, 203, suggests that it is a type of exorcist ritual, possibly read as *dou* 鬥 "to struggle with" (see strip 42 where Hubei reads the graph written with the semantic 心 and the phonetic 豆 as 鬥) to be performed at a certain place where evil resides. He makes the point that in the last entry, when it is clear to the diviners that Zhao Tuo is dying despite their efforts, the record notes that the location of the evil is in the end unknown. The phrase *jidou* 集脰 appears repeatedly at the end of late Warring States-period Chu bronze inscriptions, where it is read as *jichu* 集廚 by Zhu Dexi and Qiu Xigui 1973, a title for a ritual food service officer, in charge of preparing the sacrifices to be presented in that particular vessel (see Cook 1990, 523-55; Cook 1995, 264-69).

[81] A Chu place name that appears also in Shao Tuo's administrative records. The graph read *pi* is written exactly like *ying* 郢 but the "王" element was replaced with a "疋" element. This scribe used one compound graph (*zhisui* in the first line) and very little punctuation. He put dashes after Earth God, Two Heavenly Children, and at the very end.



Strip 220; V.2

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，爨月之月，己酉之日，苛光以長削爲左尹邵佗貞：以其下心而疾少氣。恒貞吉，庚辛有閒，病速瘥，不逗於郢易，同悅。

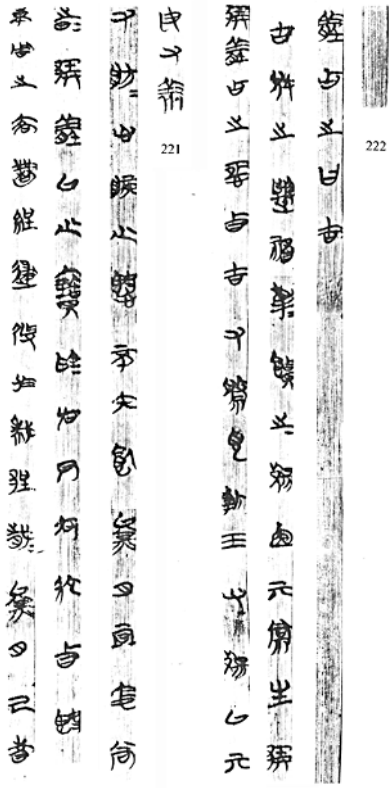
During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying, Cuan month, Jiyou day, Ke Guang used the *changxiao* method to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Zhao Tuo regarding his [illness], which had gone below the heart and afflicted [him] with shortness of breath. The long term prognostication is auspicious. "On a Geng

or Xin day there will be improvement.[82] The sickness[83] will quickly heal. Do not present cooked food sacrifices in Piyang. Perform the same exorcism (as before)."[84]

[82] Geng and Xin days are mentioned in the Shuihudi Day Book as metal days, good for recovering from illness (see A. Wang 2000, 111). Li Ling 2000, 284-85, notes that *you jian* appears in the Qin Day Book text as "better" and is noted in the *Fangyan* as a southern Chu term.

[83] The phonetic element for *bing* in this graph is *fang* 方. The graph is followed by the double dash to show that it is repeated. This is also the case in strip no. 223 in the following section.

[84] Chen Wei 1996a, 156, suggests this refers to all the exorcisms performed that day. The scribe for this section may be the same as for the last. There is almost no punctuation except at the end after Piyang and after "exorcism" (written the same as *sui* "curse" and *tuo* "to exorcise" in the last section). This section was translated only slightly differently in Harper 2001, 104.



Strips 221-222; V.3

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，爨月之月，己酉之日，弄羌以少寶爲左尹邵佗貞：既有病，病心疾，少氣，不內食。爨月期中尙毋有恙？弄羌占之：恒貞吉，有祟。見新王父殤。以其古敃之。擧禱，戠牛，饋之。殤因其嘗生。弄羌占之曰：吉。

During the year when the Eastern Zhou guest, Xu Ying, presented sacrificial meat at Zaiying, on the month Cuan, the day Jiyou, Nong Qiang[85] used the *shaobao* method[86] to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Shao Tuo: his infirmity is advanced, the nature of his infirmity is an affliction of the heart, shortness of breath, and loss of appetite. During Cuan month, could there be no sickness? Nong Qiang divined about it: the long term prognosis is auspicious, but there is a curse.[87] It appears to be the New Royal Father who died prematurely. (Nong) performed an exorcism to

[85] For typographical convenience I transcribe this diviner's name according to the graph's probable phonetics. Nong was originally written with the semantic element 阝, and Qiang with the elements 羊 above 月 and 壬 (also a possible phonetic).

[86] Li Ling 2000, 281, takes *shaobao* as a type of plastromancy.

[87] While "curse" is written with the same elements as in the previous section, the writing style is different, indicating a different scribe. This scribe distinguishes between the words for "curse" (*sui*) and "perform an exorcism" (*tuo*) by adding the 示 element only to the word "curse." This is done also in the following section, strip no. 223.

get at its source. (He) offered the proposition prayer (to the New Royal Father) with a black water buffalo, making food offerings of it. "Those who die prematurely rely upon the tasting sacrifice[88] of sacrificial animals."[89] Nong Qiang divined about it saying, "Auspicious."

[88] Following bronze inscriptions from this period, I read the graph written 尚 over a 示 element as *chang* 嘗 ("tasting ritual"). It is not clear whether it refers to an autumnal sacrifice at this time or not.

[89] The graph *sheng* 生 is read as 牲.

Strip 223; V.4
屈宜習之，以彤茖爲左尹邵佗貞：既有病，病心疾，少氣，不內食。尙毋有恙？占之：恒貞吉，有祟見。專弄羌之脫。屈宜占之曰：吉。

Qu Yi repeated it and, using the *tongge* method, prognosticated for *zuoyin* Zhao Tuo: the infirmity has advanced. The infirmity is a heart affliction,[90] with shortness of breath and loss of appetite. Could there be no sickness? (Qu) divined about it: the long-term prognosis is auspicious, but there is a curse apparent. Turning to Nong Qiang's exorcism, Qu Yi divined about it saying, "Auspicious."[91]

[90] The heart *xin* might also generally refer to the chest.
[91] The only punctuation in this section is at the very end, after "auspicious." The scribe seems to be the same as for the previous section.

Event VI: 317 BCE Midwinter

224

Strip 224; VI. 1

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，爨月丙辰之日，攻尹之貢執事人夏與衛妝爲子左尹佗擧禱於新王父司馬子音，戠牛，饋之。臧敢爲位，既禱至命。

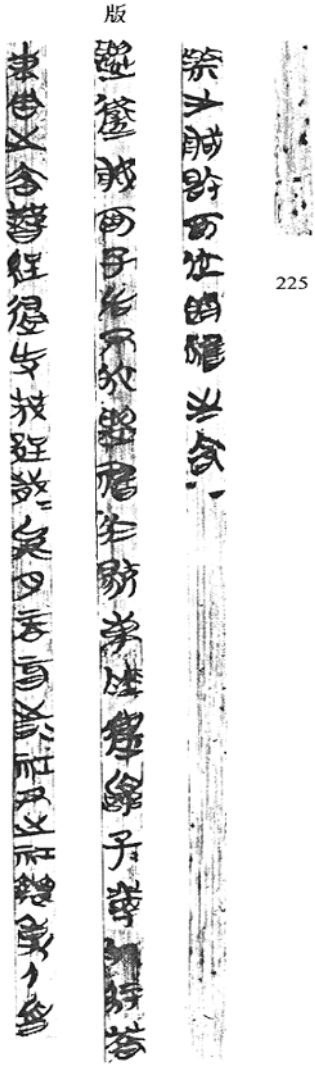
During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying, Cuan month, Bingchen day (53), the offerings of the *gongyin* [92] were put in the charge of the ritualist Xia and

[92] *Gong* in *gongyin* and in *gong* "to present sacrifices" is written 工 with a 示 element

Wei Zhuang to offer a proposition prayer on behalf of the son, Zuoyin Tuo, to New Royal Father Sima Yin with a black water buffalo made into food offerings. Zhuang dared make the sacrificial preparations; finishing the prayers, (he) brought about (a complete) lifespan.[93]

(as for the graph 貢 on both strips) instead of 攻 as in no. 224. This is common in Chu bronze inscriptions as well.

[93] The scribe for this section and the next (no. 225) are clearly the same person. There is a tendency to write in compound graphs (*jiri* in both, *jisui* in the second) and the script is more compact. Neither section is punctuated except at the very end of each section with a triangular period.



Strip 225; VI.2

東周之客許郢歸胙於栽郢之歲，爨月丙辰之日，攻尹之貢執事人夏與衛妝爲左尹佗舉禱於殤東陵連囂子發，肥豕，蒿祭之。臧敢爲位，既禱至命。

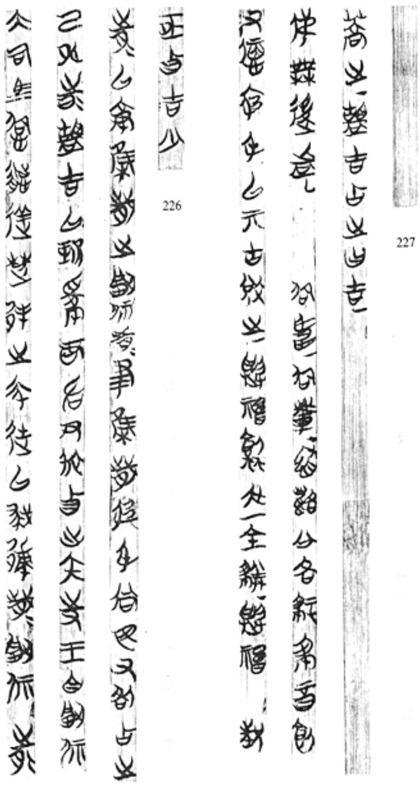
During the year when the guest from Eastern Zhou, Xu Ying, presented a gift of ritual meat at Zaiying, Cuan month, Bingchen day, the ritualist Xia and Wei Zhuang, charged with presenting the *gongyin* offerings, offered a proposition prayer on behalf of Zuoyin Tuo to Fa,[94] of the

[94] Li Ling 2000, 290, reads the original graph written with four 止 with a cross shape between them, as *fa*. This is attested in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. I understand the *zi* 子 of his name, Zifa, to refer to his being a "son of" a hereditary Chu official line.

Dongling *lian'e* line, who died prematurely; (they used) a fattened piglet and presented it as a sacrifice outside the city wall.[95] Zhuang dared make the sacrificial preparations; finishing the prayers, (he) brought about a (complete) lifespan.

[95] See n. 59, above.

Event VII: 316 BCE Early Summer



Strips 226-227; VII.1

大司馬悼愲逘楚邦之師徒以救郙之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，酤吉以保家爲左尹佗貞：出內侍王，自刑夷之月以適集歲之刑夷之月，盡集歲，躬身當有咎？占之，恒貞吉，少有憂[于]躬身。以其故敓之.舉禱蝕太，一全豢；舉禱兄弟無後者 [space] 邵良、邵乘、縣貉公，各冢豕，酒食，蒿之。酤吉占之曰：吉。

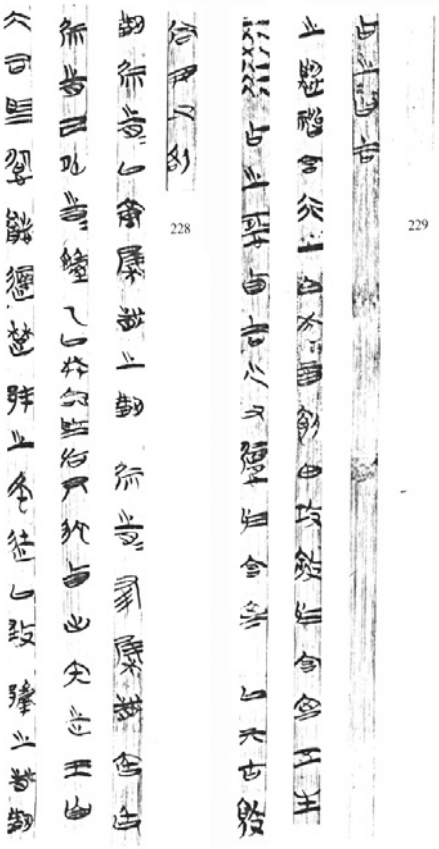
During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu,[96] on Xingyi month, Jimao day (16), Gu Ji used the *baojia* method to prognosticate on behalf of *zuoyin* Tuo: while busy serving the king from one Xingyi month to the next, at the end of the year, would his person perhaps incur any [spiritual] blame? (Gu) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious, but there are some concerns regarding his person. (Gu) performed an exorcism to get at its causes.

[96] An event recorded in the *Zhanguoce*, "Zhaoce," 20.2a: Nao Hua 淖滑 rescued Yan 燕. Fu (甫 [L*pj∂gx]) is believed to be a loan for Hao (亳 [L*hmagwh]), another name for Yan. Nao Hua is also mentioned in the *Zhanguoce*, "Chuce," 17.3a. For dating, see Xu Shaohua 1989.

(Gu) offered the proposition prayer to the Occluded Grand Unity with a complete gelded pig; offered the proposition prayer to the brothers without descendants Shao Liang, Shao Cheng, and Xian He Gong[97] with a fattened piglet for each, wine and food, and presented them outside the city wall. Gu Ji divined about it saying: "Auspicious."[98]

[97] Close male relatives, perhaps brothers, of Shao Tuo's who died without sons. I follow Li Ling 2000, 290, reading 貉 as *he*.

[98] The scribe for this section tends to write the words *zhisui*, *zhiyue*, and *zhiri* as compound graphs. He begins to punctuate only after the phrase *yi qi gu tuo zhi* and then after the sacrifice for Tai Yi, to separate the names of the brothers, after the sacrifice to the brothers and at the very end after "auspicious." There is a hook-like comma and a space before the brothers are named.



Strips 228-229; VII.2

大司馬悼愓迭楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，陳乙以共命爲左尹佗貞：出內侍王，自刑夷之月以適集歲刑夷之月，盡集歲，躬身尙毋有咎？166116>165866。占之，恒貞吉，少有憂于宮室。以其故敃之。擧禱宮行，一白犬，酒食。思攻除於宮室。五生占之曰：吉。

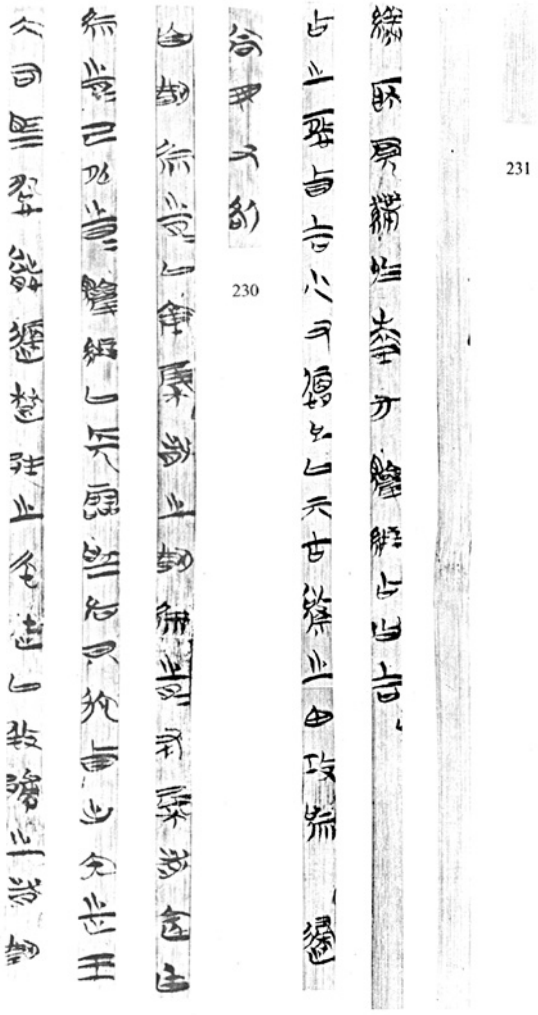
During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Chen Yi used the *gongming* method[99] to prognosticate on behalf of *zuoyin* Tuo: while busy serving the king from one Xingyi month to the next, at the end of the year, has his person perhaps incurred any [spiritual] blame? Hexagram Gu goes to Hexagram Bo.[100] (Chen) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious but with some concerns regarding the home. (Chen) exorcised it according to its cause. (Chen) offered the proposition prayer to

[99] Li Ling 2000, 281, takes *gongming* to be a stalk method.

[100] Yang lines 4 and 5 of *Yijing* hexagram 18 (Gu 蠱) became Yin lines in hexagram 23 (Bo 剝). The sixes are written almost as downward slants. There seems to be no effort to distinguish trigrams. The hexagram 166116 is called Yi 亦 in the *Guicang*. Neither text seems to preserve lines related to illness.

the House Walkway with one white dog, wine and food. (Chen) through his will beat (the curse) and removed it from the house. Wu Sheng[101] divined about it saying, "Auspicious."

[101] It is unclear why Wu Sheng would perform Chen Yi's confirmation divination here. The calligraphic style has once again changed. There is no punctuation at all except for the compound graphs of *zhiyue* or *zhiri*.



Strips 230-231; VII.3
大司馬悼憚迋楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，觀繃以長靈爲左尹佗貞：出內侍王，自刑夷之月以適集歲刑夷之月，盡集歲，躬身尙毋有咎？占之，恒貞吉，少有憂也。以其古敓之。思攻祟，歸備取冠帶於南方。觀繃占曰：吉。

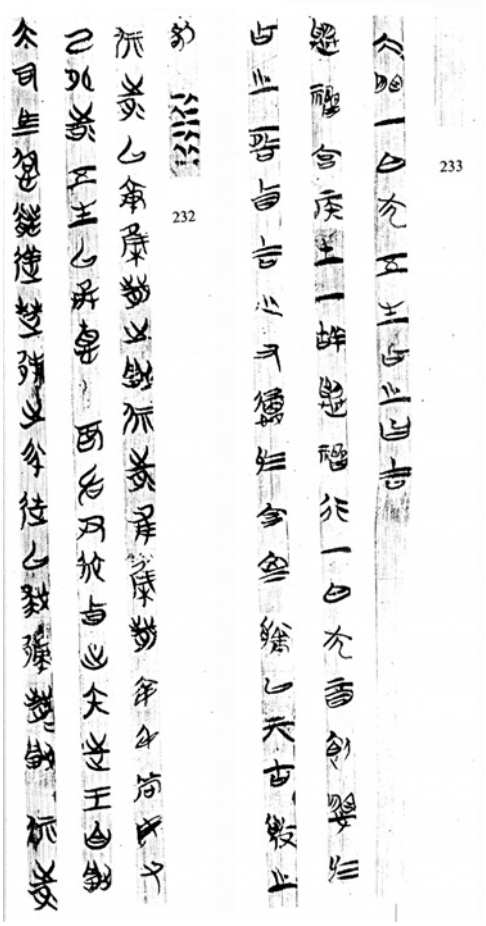
During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Guan Beng used the *changling* method[102] to prognosticate on behalf of *zuoyin* Tuo: while busy serving the king from one Xingyi month to the next, at the end of the year, has his person perhaps incurred any [spiritual] blame? (Guan) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious, but with some concerns.

[102] Li Ling 2000, 281, takes this as a type of plastromancy.

(Guan) performed exorcism to get at its cause. (Guan) willed and beat the curse,[103] sending the selected cap and belt[104] to the South. Guan Beng divined saying, "Auspicious."

[103] The words "to exorcise" and "curse" are both written with the 示 element but *sui* ("curse") has been simplified a bit. This is clearly the same scribe as the section above. The calligraphic style is the same, the same graphs appear as compound graphs, and there in no punctuation except at the end.

[104] Wearing the cap and belt was official garb and could be a term for an official. However, in this case, since the South, like the North in other divination texts (e.g., Wangshan no. 86) was a spirit that required sacrifices and since we see clothing sacrificed elsewhere in this text (strip 244), I believe that it is not an official that is being sent to the South (which would be an odd break in this highly formulaic text) but clothing accessories being sent to a spirit.



Strips 232-233; VII.4
大司馬悼憚迋楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，五生以丞德爲左尹佗貞：出內侍王，自刑夷之月以適集歲刑夷之月，盡集歲，躬身尙毋有咎？611661>161161。占之，恒貞吉，少有憂于宮室寢。以其古敃之。舉禱宮侯土，一羖；擧禱行，一白犬，酒食；閱於大門，一白犬。五生占之曰：吉。

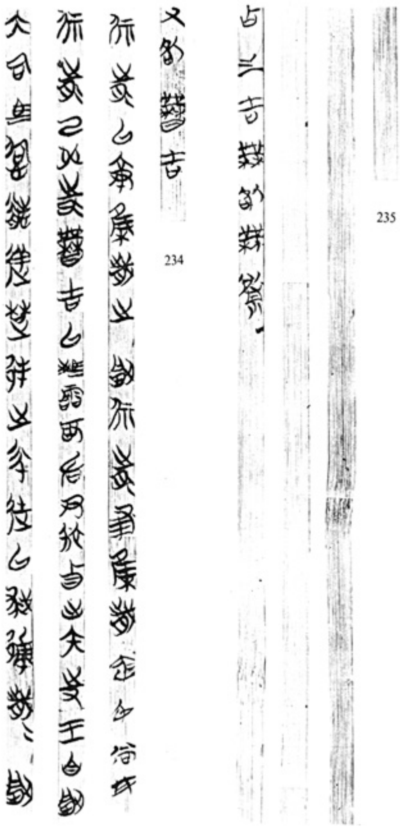
During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Wu Sheng used the *chengde* method[105] to prognosticate on behalf of *zuoyin* Tuo: busy serving the king from one Xingyi month to the next, at the end of the year, has his person perhaps incurred any [spiritual] blame? Hexagram Sui goes to Hexagram Li.[106] (Wu) divined about it: the long term prognosis is auspicious, but

[105] Li Ling 2000, 281, takes this as a type of stalk divination.
[106] Yin lines 1 and 4 of *Yijing*, hexagram 17 (Sui 隨) became Yang lines in 30 (Li 離). Yang line 2 of Sui became a Yin line.

with some concerns regarding his bedroom[107] at home. (Wu) performed exorcism to get at its source. (Wu) offered the proposition prayer to the Lord Earth of the Palace with a ram. (Wu) offered the proposition prayer to Walkway with one white dog, wine and food, and presented it outside the city wall. (Wu) performed a slaughter sacrifice[108] to the Grand Gate with a white dog. Wu Sheng divined about it, saying, "Auspicious."

[107] I follow the reading of this graph given in Xu Zaiguo 1998, 83.

[108] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 458, reads the graph written with a 門 semantic over the element 戈 as simplified for *fa* 閥, a loan for 伐 "to dismember." Shang oracle bone inscriptions recorded dismemberment sacrifices (see Itō and Takashima 1996, 252-54).



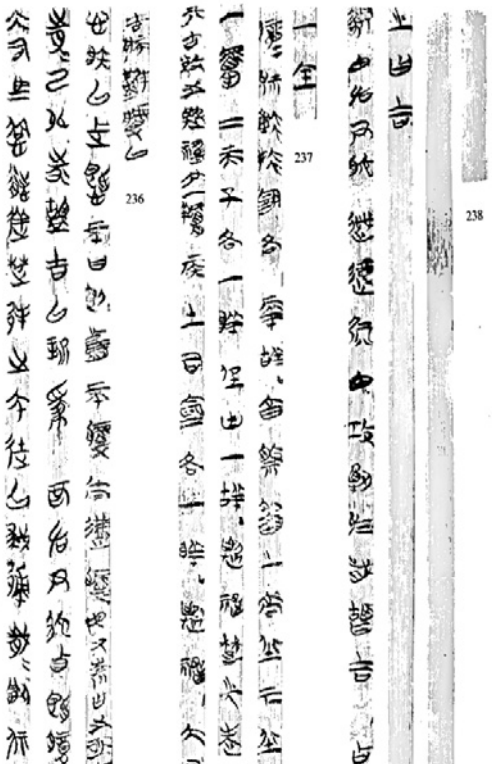
Strips 234-235; VII.5

大司馬悼愲送楚邦之師徒以救郙之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，許吉以駁靈爲左尹佗貞：出内侍王，自刑夷之月以適集歲刑夷之月，盡集歲，躬身尚毋有咎？許吉占之，吉，無咎，無祟。

During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Xu Ji used the *boling* method[109] to prognosticate on behalf of *zuoyin* Tuo: busy serving the king from one Xingyi month to the next, at the end of the year, has his person perhaps incurred any [spiritual] blame? Xu Ji divined about it (saying): "Auspicious, there is no blame and no curse."[110]

109 Li Ling 2000, 281, takes *boling* to be a type of plastromancy.

110 "Curse" is distinguished from "exorcise" by the addition of the 示 element. In this section as in the previous two sections, there is no punctuation except to indicate the compound words *zhiyue* and *zhiri* and at the very end of the sections.



Strips 236-238; VII.6
大司馬悼愒迋楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，酟吉以保家爲左尹佗貞：既腹心疾，以上氣，不甘食，舊不瘥，尚速瘥，毋有祟？占之，恒貞吉，疾難瘥。以其古敗之。舉禱太，一膚；侯土、司命，各一牂。舉禱大水，一膚；二天子，各一牂。危山，一羖。舉禱楚先老童、祝融、粥飲，各兩羖，享祭篙之；高丘、下丘，各一全豢。思左尹佗迖復尻。思攻解於歲。酟吉占之曰：吉。

During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Gu Ji used the *baojia* method to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Tuo: already his abdomen and chest are afflicted, with coughing[111] and no appetite.[112] He hasn't gotten better in a long time, yet for a speedy recovery[113] is there nothing to be done? (Gu) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious, but the affliction is difficult to heal. (Gu) performed exorcism to get at its source. (Gu) offered the proposition prayer to the Grand (Unity) with one gelded ram; to Lord Earth, Controller of Fate with one ewe each; offered the

[111] It is possible that "rising *qi*" might refer instead to a fever. Coughing or gasping for breath would seem to be a likely step after "lessening of *qi*" which I take to mean a shortness of breath or light panting (see also Chen Wei 1996a, 154).

[112] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 461, suggests the category of foods called *ganshi* might be "fragrant" foods. Chris Cullen (personal communication, May, 2000) suggested reading *gan* as a verb "to like." This makes the sentence grammatically parallel to strip 223, which can be translated literally "does not ingest food."

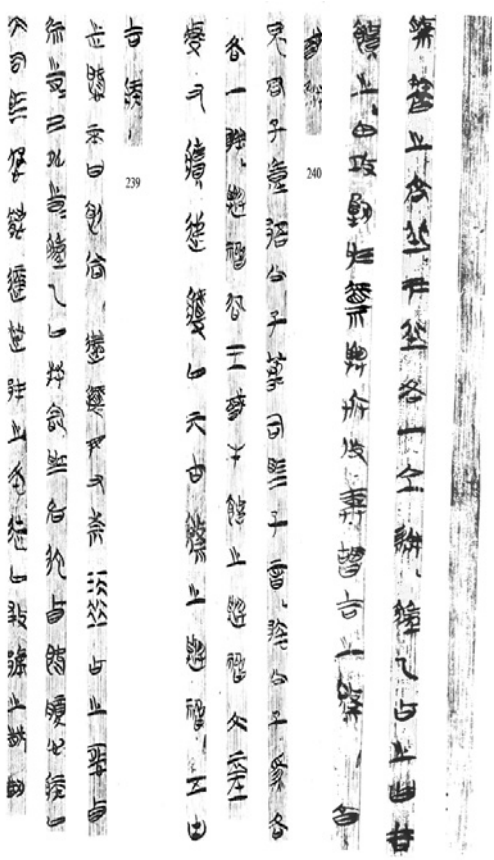
[113] I follow the transcription in Chen Wei 1996a, 154, 237.

proposition prayer to Grand River with one gelded ram;[114] to the Two Children of Heaven with one complete ewe each; to Wei Mountain with a ram. (Gu) offered the proposition prayer to Chu founders Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, and Yu Yin with two rams each, presented them as a mortuary feast sacrifice outside the city wall. To the High Hill and the Low Hill, each one whole gelded pig. (Gu) willed that *zuoyin* Tuo could move around[115] and willed and beat (the ghost), releasing (Tuo) from Jupiter. Gu Ji divined about it saying, "Auspicious."[116]

[114] Chen Wei 1996a, 176, reads the graph written 膚 with the 羊 semantic as 羬 ("castrated ram").

[115] The words *yifuchu* "move and return to (his) place" seem to refer to movement forward and backward. Shao Tuo was probably bedridden by this point.

[116] The scribe for this section is the same as for nos. 232-33, above. Both sections have the very florid style most evident in the graph for 曰 towards the end of each section. Punctuation in the section is minimal but a downward hook-like comma is found at the first three sets of sacrifices. One set being to Tai Yi, Houtu, Siming, another to Da Shui, Er Tianzi, Wei Shan, and the third to Chu gods. The compound graphs include *zhisui*, *zhiyue* and *zhiri*. Harper 2001, 105-06, has translated this section with slight differences.



Strips 239-241; VII.7
大司馬悼惕迭楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，陳乙以共命爲左尹佗貞：既腹心疾，以上氣，不甘食，尙速瘥，毋有祟？166861>111661　占之，恒貞吉，疾弁，有遺，遞瘥。以其古敗之。舉禱五山，各一牂；舉禱昭王，戠牛，饋之。舉禱文坪夜君子良、郜公子春、司馬子之音、蔡公子家，各戠豢，饋之。思攻解於祖與兵死。惠酟吉之脫，享祭篙之；高丘、下丘，各一全豕。陳乙占之曰：吉。

During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Chen Yi used the *gongming* method to prognosticate for *zuo(yin)* Tuo: already the abdomen and chest are afflicted, with coughing, and no appetite. Still for a speedy recovery, is there nothing to be done? Hexagram Yi goes to Hexagram Wu Wang.[117] (Chen) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious, but the affliction has changed (for the worse); there is decline[118]

[117] Yin lines 2 and 3 of *Yijing* hexagram 27 (Yi 頤) turn into Yang lines in 25 (Wu Wang 无妄). They seem to be written with a hint of sensitivity to the different trigrams.

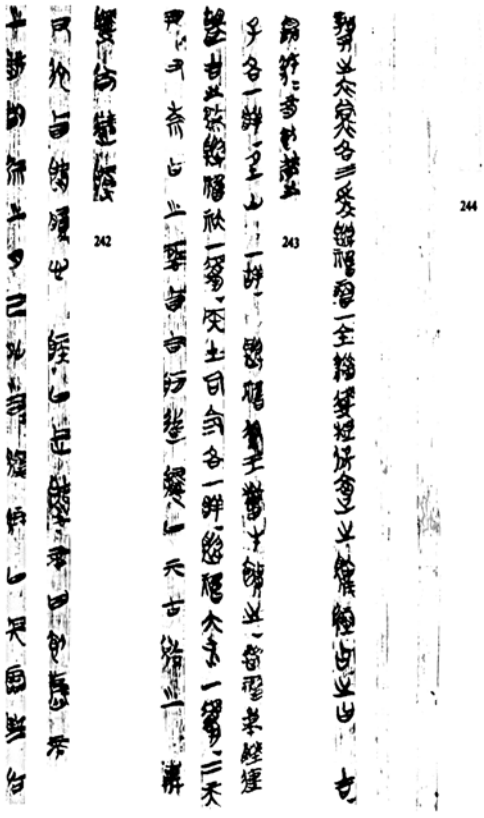
[118] This word is originally written with 官 (possibly as phonetic) over 貝 and under a "sickness" element 疒. Hubei, vol. 1, 58, n. 473, takes 官 as the phonetic and reads *nie* 孽 [L*ŋjat]. Schuessler 1987, 442, suggests that this word means "retribution, punishment"; Karlgren 1972, no. 289g, simply defines its as "calamity." Li Ling

and (the infirmity) is slow to heal. (Chen) performed an exorcism to get at its source. (Chen) offered the proposition prayer to the Five Mountains with one ewe each. (Chen) sacrificed and prayed to King Zhao with a black water buffalo and presented it as food offerings. (Chen) offered the proposition prayer to Liang, of the Accomplished Lord of Pingye's line, to Chun of sire Wu's line, Yin of the Sima line, Jia of the Sire Cai line with a gelded pig each and presented them as food offerings. (Chen) through his will beat (the curse) and released (Tuo) from the ancestors and those who died in battle. Turning to Gu Ji's exorcism, (Chen) presented mortuary sacrifices and sacrifices outside of the city wall. To the High Hill and the Low Hill, (he used) a whole[119] gelded pig each. Chen Yi divined about it and said, "Auspicious."[120]

1993, 83, reads *qian* 譴 [L*khjianh] "a punitive affliction given to someone by a god as a chastisement," but in his 2000 reading, he simply notes that the illness has become more serious (Li Ling 2000, 285). Chen Bingxin and Li Lifang 1998, 76-77, read the phontic as *gui* as in 歸 which as a loan for 遺 or 紐 (written 省 over a 貝 with a 亻 element in the bronze inscriptions) has the meaning "to decline," according to *Shuowen*, 76-77: definition for the related phonetic 阜.

[119] The graph for *quan* was written with the 工 element instead of the 王 element.

[120] The only punctuation is for compound graphs *zhiyue* and *zhiri* and three small backwards commas to separate three sacrificial events: one to the Five Mountains, one to all the patrilineal ancestors including King Zhao, and one to High Hill and Low Hill. The graphs for *tuo* ("to exorcise") are written with the 示 element.



Strips 242-244; VII.8

大司馬悼惕迸楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，觀繃以長靈爲左尹佗貞：既腹心疾，以上氣，不甘食，舊不瘥，尚速瘥，毋有祟？占之，恒貞吉，病遞瘥。以其古敗之。專酟吉之悅，舉禱太，一膚；后土、司命，各一牂；舉禱大水，一膚；二天子，各一牂；危山，一羖；舉禱昭王，戠牛，饋之；舉禱東陵連囂子發，冢冢，酒食，薦之，貢之衣裳各三稱。舉禱害，一全腊，且桓保俞之。觀繃占之曰：吉。

During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Guan Beng used the *changling* method to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Tuo: already the abdomen and chest are afflicted, with coughing and no appetite. He hasn't gotten better in a long time, still for a speedy recovery, is there nothing to be done? (Guan) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious, but the infirmity is slow to heal. (Guan) performed an exorcism to get at its source. Turning to Gu Ji's exorcism, (Guan) offered the proposition prayer to the Grand (Unity) with a gelded ram, to Lord Earth and Controller of Fate with a ewe each. (Guan) offered the proposition prayer to the Grand River with one gelded ram; to the Two Children of Heaven each with a ewe; to Wei Mountain with one ram. (Guan) offered the proposition prayer to King Zhao with a black water buffalo, presenting it as food offerings. (Guan) offered the proposition prayer to the *lian'ao* of Dongling

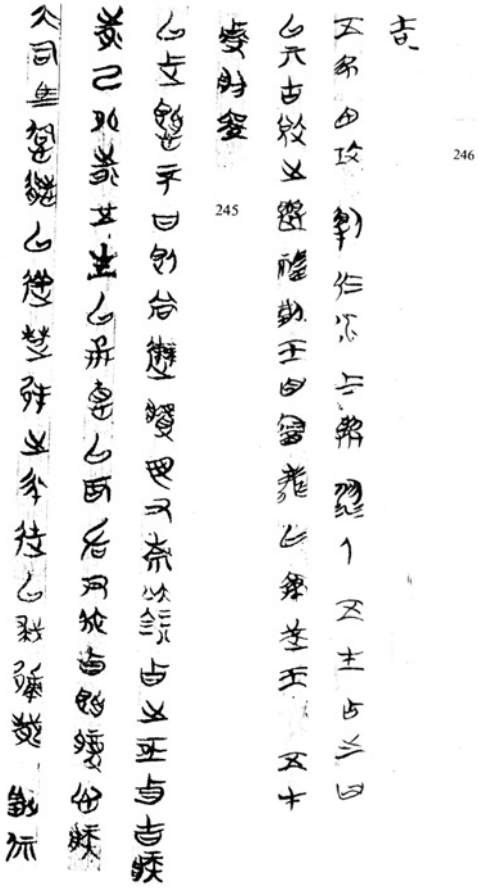
Zifa with a fattened piglet,[121] wine and food, and offered them outside the city wall with three sets of ritual robes.[122] (Guan) offered the proposition prayer to Harm with a whole pig's worth of dried meat, so then [these spirits] will stand (Tuo) up,[123] protect and cure him. Guan Beng divined about it and said, "Auspicious."[124]

[121] See n. 40, above.

[122] Hubei reads the complex original graph (章 on the left with 夂 over 貢) as a variant graph for *gong* "to 貢 offer up in sacrifice." I suspect the word specifies a type of robe, but I use Hubei's interpretation for the interim.

[123] The graph *dou* 梪 [L*dugh] is most likely a graphic variant of *shu* 尌 or 樹 ("to place upright, raise up to stand"). The graphic elements 豆 and the left hand element of *shu* were commonly used interchangeably (see Karlgren 1972, nos. 118f and 127e-h.).

[124] The scribe used one compound graph (*zhiri*) and a repeat (*zhongzhong*). He punctuated after six sacrificial events and at the end of the section: Tai Yi; Houtu and Si Ming; Da Shui; Er Tianzi; Wei Mountain; King Zhao.



Strips 245-246; VII.9

大司馬悼惕迸楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，五生以丞德爲左尹佗貞：既腹心疾，以上氣，不甘食，尙速瘥，毋有祟？661118>816111 占之，恒貞吉，疾弁，病甚。以其古敓之。舉禱荆王自飲鹿以適武王，五牛，五豕。思攻解於水上與沒人。五生占之曰：吉。

During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Wu Sheng used the *chengde* method to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Tuo: already the abdomen and chest are afflicted with a shortness of breath and no appetite; still for a speedy recovery, is there nothing to be done? Hexagram Heng goes to Hexagram Xu.[125] (Wu) divined about it: the long term prognostication is auspicious, but the affliction has changed (for the worse) and his infirmity has become more serious.[126] (Wu) performed an exorcism to get at its

[125] Yin lines 2 and 6 in *Yijing*, hexagram 32 (Heng 恒) become Yang lines in 5 (Xu 需), and Yang line 3 becomes a Yin line.

[126] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 484, follows the *Shuowen* reading of the graph 甚 as *shen* 沈 "to deepen, become more serious."

source. (Wu) offered the proposition prayer to the Kings of Jing from Yin Lu[127] up to[128] King Wu[129] with five water buffalo and five piglets. (Wu) willed and beat (the ghost), releasing (Tuo) from the (spirits) On the River and of Drowned People.[130] Wu Sheng divined about it and said, "Auspicious."[131]

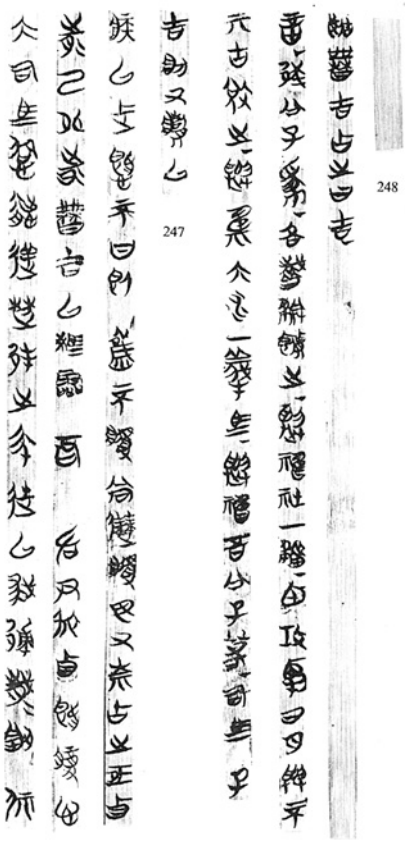
[127] The graph for *jing* 荆 was written with the phonetic *xing* 刑 over a semantic "field" 田. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 458, reads the first king as Yin Yi 飲繹, namely, King Xiong (熊) Yi in the *Shiji*. Chen Wei 1996a, 172, suggests that the king is Yin Li 麗, Xiong Li, the grandfather of Xiong Yi according to the *Shiji*.

[128] Chen Wei 1996a, 231, reads the graph *di* 帝 (Hubei transcribes 庚) as *shi* 適 "going to" (see n. 10, above).

[129] The Chu King Wu (Xiong Tong 通) reigned from 740-690 BCE.

[130] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 488, reads the original graph with 氵 and 勿 over 水 as *mo* 沒 ("to sink in water"), hence these spirits would be the ones of drowned people.

[131] The only punctuation is a dash at the end of the section and marks for the compound graphs for *zhisui*, *zhiyue* and *zhiri*. Harper 1999, 855, has translated these two strips as well. The primary difference is that he translates *duo* 敓 as an "elimination rite."



Strips 247-248; VII.10

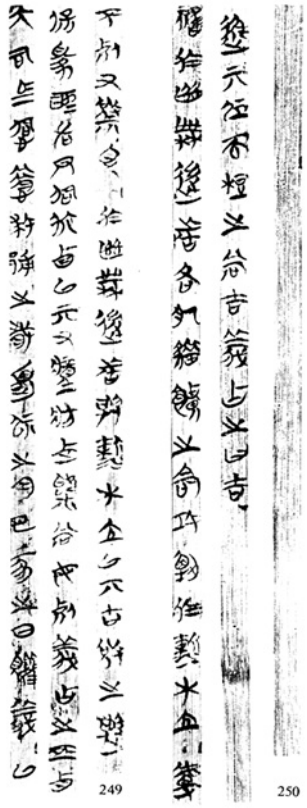
大司馬悼惕迭楚邦之師徒以救鄀之歲，刑夷之月，己卯之日，許吉以駁靈爲左尹佗貞：既腹心疾，以上氣，不甘食，舊不瘥，尙速瘥，毋有祟？占之，恒貞吉，疾有遺。以其古敗之。舉禱大水，一犧馬；舉禱鄀公子春、司馬子音、蔡公子家，各戠豢，饋之；舉禱社，一腊。思攻解日月與不辜。許吉占之曰：吉。

During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua led the Chu national army to save Fu, on Xingyi month, Jimao day, Xu Ji used the *boling* method to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Tuo: already the abdomen and chest are afflicted with a shortness of breath and no appetite. He hasn't gotten better in a long time, still for a speedy recovery, is there nothing to be done? (Xu) divined about it: the long term prognosis is auspicious, but the infirmity is causing decline. (Xu) presented an exorcism to get at its source. (Xu) offered the proposition prayer to the Grand River with one sacrificial horse. (Xu) offered the proposition prayer to Chun of the Sire Wu line, Yin of the Sima line, Jia of the Sire Cai line with a gelded pig each and presented them as food offerings. (Xu) offered the proposition prayer to

the Earth Altar with one pig's worth of dried meat. (Xu) willed and beat (the ghost) releasing (Tuo) from the Sun and the Moon and the Victims. Xu Ji divined about it saying, "Auspicious."[132]

[132] The scribe whose style is similar to that of the previous section (nos. 245-46) used the same compound graphs and punctuation after the phrase *yi qi gu tuo zhi*, after sacrifice events to Da Shui, to the patrilineal ancestors (with punctuation between each name as well), to Earth Altar, and at the end of the section. Most interesting is the manner in which he simplified the word "to pray" *dao* in its first occurrence on no. 248 but not afterwards.

Event VIII: 316 BCE Early Summer



Strips 249-250; VIII

大司馬悼惵救郙之歲，夏夷之月，己亥之日，觀義以保家爲左尹邵佗貞：以其有重病，上氣，尙毋死？義占之，恒貞，不死，有祟見于絕無後者與漸木立。以其古敗之。舉禱於絕無後者，各肥豬，饋之。命攻解於漸木立，且尾其尻而桓之。尙吉。義占之曰：吉。

During the year when the Grand *sima* Nao Hua saved Fu, on Xingyi month, Jihai day (36), Guan Yi used the *baojia* method to prognosticate for *zuoyin* Zhao Tuo: with regard to his having a critical[133] infirmity and coughing, might he still not die? Yi divined about it: the long term prognosis is that he won't die, but there is a curse visible among those whose lives were cut off without descendants and (the spirit of) Jianmu Station.[134] (Guan) offered the proposition prayer to those whose lives were

[133] The graph, originally written 癑. The phonetic 童, can be a loan for *zhong* 重 ("serious") and the graph could be a loan for *tong* 痛 ("painful"), or *zhong* 腫 ("swelling"). Since *shen* has been used in strip 246 to describe the "deepening" or increased seriousness of the condition, I translate his condition here simply as "critical."

[134] The spirits of those whose lives have been cut off without descendants are the three brothers mentioned in strip 227. Zeng 1993, 45, reads Jianmuwei as Zan-

cut off without descendants with a fattened piglet each and presented it as food offerings. (Guan) commanded and beat (the ghost), releasing (Tuo) from (the spirit of) Ximu Station, so then (the spirits) would go behind[135] him and raise him up. "Still auspicious." Yi divined about it and said: "Auspicious."[136]

muwei 暫木位, the spirit that occupied a temporary plaque put up to represent it. I suspect that like Jupiter which had to be exorcised in strip no. 238, it is a celestial spirit. One of the stations of Jupiter is called *ximu* 析木; see Pankenier 1999, 265. The word *jian* can mean "sink into serious illness," so perhaps it is a pun here (Wang Li 2000, 622-23).

[135] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 492, reads the graph written 尾 with the movement 辵 element as *wei* ("behind") in the tomb inventory text strip no. 25. I take it here as a verb "to get behind." The statement then would mean to literally "go behind where he is located." For *ju* as location, see Liu Lexian 1996.

[136] This section may have been written in a hurry. The statement at the beginning which indicates the year has been abbreviated. There are no compound graphs. The only punctuation mark is at the very end. The word "curse" and "to exorcise" are distinguished by the addition of a 示 element to "curse."

Back of strip 249
(A non-divinatory event expressing difficulty in locating the spirit-cause.)

不知其州名。

The name of the district is unknown.

APPENDIX TWO

BAOSHAN INVENTORY TEXT

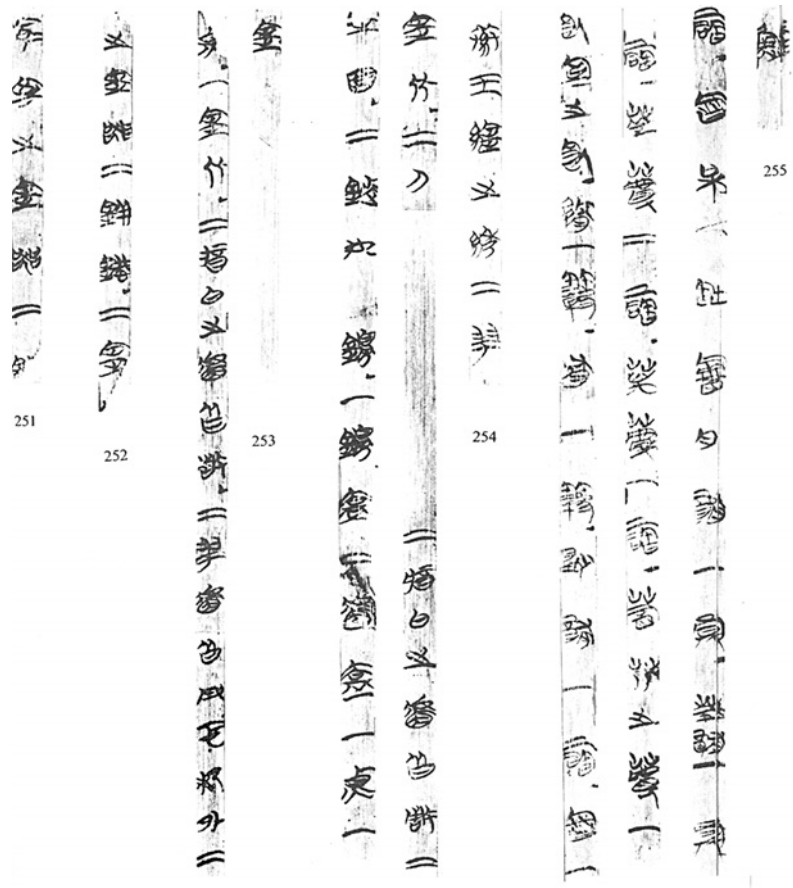
Note: Commas in the Chinese version represent the text's original punctuation. Compound graphs (*hewen*) are marked in the original with two commas together. I did not include these, but write out the two characters. I have made a number of adjustments in the Hubei transcription to reflect later research.

Images of the original bamboo strips are adapted from Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui 1991, plates CX-CXXI. Although the majority of them are relatively clear, many of the photographic backgrounds had become darkened with age, making reproduction here difficult. Thus some of the images have been edited to reveal a bit more of the graphs on the bamboo strips. In some cases where a graph was written with a variant semantic element but the meaning is uncontested, I simply have transcribed using the modern graph. I describe a number of variations in the footnotes. Interested readers are encouraged to consult the Hubei transcription, Chen Wei 1996a, and Li Ling 2000. The Hubei transcription is by Liu Binhui, Peng Hao, Hu Yali, and Liu Zuxin. There are occasional differences between their commentary and the tomb report with regard to readings and matching objects mentioned in the Inventory Text with those found in the tomb.

1. Bamboo Strips 251-277

Strips 251-258

These strips were found in the eastern tomb compartment and seem to relate to items in this chamber.



Strip 251

食室之金器二釦☐ [broken]

Metal Items in the Dining Room: Two [metal vessels…]

Strip 252

[broken] 之金器二鉼鍖，二金 [broken]

Metal Items in the ...: Two small vases,[1] two metal....

Strip 253

[broken] 鼎，一金比，二醬白之觳皆彫，二髹觳皆彤中漆外二金 [blank to broken end]

... caldron, one metal ladle,[2] two jars for grain mash[3] each engraved, two bowl type jars[4] each red on the inside and (black) lacquer on the outside (with) two metal [ladles?]...

Strip 254

[broken] 金圈，二鈁四籩，一籩盍二觳盍一鼎一金比，二刀 [blank space] 二醬白之觳皆彫二素王金之綉二髹

metal cups, two grain vessels(?),[5] four metal serving dishes,[6] one metal

---

[1] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 496, reads 鉼鍖 as *pingying* 瓶罃 and suggests they refer to a pair of small-mouth short-necked vases in the eastern compartment but do not refer to an illustration number. Chen Songchang 1995, 393-94, suggests a reading of *pingxing*, which is also the reading by the excavating archaeologists in Hubei, vol. 1, 105. They identify the vessels with either two plain *hu* with drooping shoulders, see vol. 1, 105, fig. 64, vol. 2, pl. 30.4, or two straight-neck flat-shouldered *hu*, see 105, fig. 65, vol. 2, pl. 5.4.

[2] The graph stands for 匕, a ladle. Archaeologists found 6 bronze ladles; Hubei, vol. 1, fig. 69.2, vol. 2. pl. 34.3.

[3] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 498, understands *jiangbai* 醬白 to refer to the colors of the vessel. He Linyi 1998, 705, notes that *jiangbai* was also written as 漿白. If we understand *bai* as a reference to white colored grain rather than just the color white, then this vessel was perhaps for holding a fermented grain mash (see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 524, where *bai* is understood as referring to rice). Hubei, vol. 1, n. 498, reads the graph written with the element 虍 over 角 a loan for *hu* 觳, which the *Shuowen* defines as a horn-shaped wine drinking cup, and the *Guangyun* defines as a vessel for animal fat (see He Linyi 1998, 338). Li Tianhong 1993, 89, reads the graph as a variation of graph for *lu* 爐, a vessel for heating. It seems that neither Hubei's nor Li's explanation fits the usages. Guo Ruoyu 1994, 72, reads it when it appears in a similar phrase in the Xinyang Zhangtaiguan tomb inventory texts strip 2-07 as *tan* 罈, a jar. The graph occurs in Baoshan strip 253 as a reference to decorated containers and in strip 254 as a modifier describing a type of container. Chen Songchang 1995, 395, suggests that word may refer to a style of *hu* wine vessel; see also n. 7, below. See Hubei, vol. 2, fig. 31, for jar like metal *hu* and *fou* vessels of various decor found in Baoshan tomb 2. For descriptions of the *fou*, see Hubei, vol. 1, 106-08, especially the 4 *niu fou* described by the archaeologists in Hubei, vol. 1, 108, fig. 66.4, vol. 2., pl. 31.3.

[4] This graph stands for *yu* 盂.

[5] This vessel is a mystery. Hubei, vol. 1, 369, transcribes the right-hand element as 麥 but it looks more like 步.

[6] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 503, claims that since the original graph had a metal semantic

serving dish style wine vessels,[7] two jar style wine vessels one caldron style and one with a metal ladle, two knives, two containers for grain mash both engraved and both with plain yellowish gold colored[8] decor and both with bowl-like style.[9]

Strip 255

食室之食，脩一籯，脯一籯，鷃醢一缶，蜜一缶，蔥菹二缶，韭菹一缶，茜蒘之菹一缶，蜜梅一缶，蜜肉醢一盒，**栽**醢一盒鮓

Dining Room Food: one basket[10] of spiced dried meat, one basket of sliced dried meat,[11] one jar of wren[12] mincemeat, one jar of honey,[13] two jars of scallions,[14] one jar of chives,[15] one jar of water chestnuts,[16] one

---

element 金 that the serving dishes were four bronze *dou* type vessels, round bowls on high stands. The Hubei archaeologists note four *he* vessels found in the tomb; Hubei, vol. 1, 108, fig. 68.2, 3, 4, 5; vol. 2, pl. 32.2, 6. One, item 2:90, was covered.

[7] Chen Songchang 1995, 394-95, follows Qiu Xigui's identification of the word 榼 in Han tomb inventory texts as a reference to a flat *hu* vessel, a vase for alcohol. Chen suggests that the word in the Baoshan text may have referred to a *dou* style *hu* vessel, perhaps a round vase on a stand. If the Hubei archaeologists are correct then the graph 盍 referred to the cover (蓋), see previous n.

[8] The graph 王 is read as 皇. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 505, reads *jin* 金 as a loan for *jin* 錦 "brocade." I suspect that when a word such as 金 is written with a semantic element 糸 (as it often appears in the Tomb Inventory text) it refers to the color rather than to the substance of the item.

[9] I have taken the last two phrases beginning with 二 to be descriptions of the vessel. This follows the original punctuation.

[10] The original graph has the 竹 and 欠 semantic elements around the phonetic 章. (If we took *zhang* as the Chu phonetic, then according to Li Fanggui's (Schuessler 1987, 814) *Shijing* rhyme-based reconstruction, the final would be *-*ə*ng with a palatalized initial *tj-, placing the pronunciation possibly later in time). I take it as variant of 籯. Hubei reads the graph as a loan for 洋 described in the *Shuowen* as a basket for packing cups in. Here, Hubei, vol. 1, n. 506, explains, it is a basket for packing dried meat. I would argue that this word is part of this phrase found at the end of strip 256 (and not part of the next strip; see Hubei). For descriptions of the sixty nine square or rectangular baskets with different patterned designs (now mostly consisting of yellow, black, and brown colors; some red was found on baskets found in the northern chamber) found in the tomb, see Hubei, vol. 1, 150-63. The majority were located in the eastern compartment.

[11] The word *fu* 脯 was written with the phonetic 夫 over the semantic 月.

[12] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 508, explains the bird written 鳥 with the phonetic 少 to be 鷃 which according to the *Shuowen* was also called a *jiaoliao* 鷦鷯. The graph for clay jar is 缶 written with a "stone" element 石.

[13] For the transcription of the graph for "honey" (*mi*), see He Linyi 1993, 60, and Li Tianhong 1993, 89.

[14] The graph for *cong* 蔥 is written with a 兇 phonetic and a "grass" ⺾ semantic. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 509, notes that the *Zhouli*, "Tianguan, Suiren," discusses the use of various types of onion in mincemeats. The general term for the plant type was *zu* 菹; in

jar of honeyed plums, one container of honeyed meat mincemeat, one container of sliced meat mincemeat, one container of dried fish mincemeat,[17]

---

the Baoshan text it and all forms of 且 are typically written in the middle of the 虔 semantic. The *cong* was a scallion type of onion.

[15] The graph for *jiu* 韭 was written with a phonetic 臼 between the 艹 and 内 semantics. Liu Xinfang 1992, 74-75, notes that the word represented *jiu* was written with the phonetic 九 and the 艹 semantic in Han bamboo strips from Linyi 臨沂.

[16] Hubei, vol. 1, 511, reads the graphs 茜蓏 as 蕕瓜, for 調瓜, a name for an aquatic grass. Liu Xinfang 1992, 74, explains that the first graph refers to a plant that grows in watery areas and the entire term stands for *diaohu* 調胡, the grain of an aquatic plant, also called a *ling* 菱, a water chestnut kernel.

[17] The graph 莪 was perhaps a loan for 胾, a sauce made of dried meat. In slip 256 the 才 element is replaced with the 禾 element. I suspect that they are variants of one graph representing meat cut up in slices, or diced into a sauce (Hubei, vol. 1, n. 514, n. 518). The right hand side of the graph with the fish element is a little unclear. Hubei did not transcribe this graph. My use of *zha* is a guess.

Strip 256

一盒，膝一盒，曹一害，藕立一盒青金之糸□□四□糗，四簋食，**栽**魚一籥 [blank space to end]

one container of plain dried meat,[18] one lidded (container) for dregs,[19] one

[18] The original graph for *su* is composed of the 酉 and 爪 semantic elements around the phonetic 糸.

[19] Hubei, vol. 1, 369, did not transcribe these graphs. I read the first graph as a variant of *cao* 曹 (a loan for 糟?) and the graph following the numeral one as a type of container which I read as a variant of *hai*, a loan for *gai* 蓋.

container of lotus root (?),[20] four? [containers?] decorated in green and gold, four woven containers of dried grain, [21] one basket of sliced fish.

Strip 257

食室所以食箕冢脯二箕，脩二箕，蒸豬一箕，炙豬一箕，蜜飴二箕，白飴二箕，熬雞一箕，炙雞一箕，熬魚二箕栗二箕

Baskets[22] for Eating which are in the Dining Room: two baskets of sliced dried piglet meat, two baskets of spiced dried meat, one basket of steamed[23] pork, one basket of roasted[24] pork, two baskets of honey sweets, two baskets of rice sweets, one basket of fried[25] chicken, one basket of roasted chicken, two baskets of fried fish, two baskets of chestnuts,

Strip 258

梪二箕，凫茈二箕，荀二箕，椹二箕，芰二箕，姜二箕，蒜一箕，諄梨二箕，檮脯一籠，僻死一籠，炙雞一籠，一籠死

two baskets of white-stone pear,[26] two baskets of *fuci* root,[27] two baskets of bamboo shoots,[28] two baskets of mulberries,[29] two baskets of water

---

[20] The graph read as *ou* is the same as *jiu* except that the "grass" ⺾ semantic element (see n. 15, above) was exchanged for a "water" 氵 element.

[21] I suspect that the original scribes erred in punctuation. They punctuated after *qiu* ("dried grain"), putting "four baskets food" together, which does not make much sense. However since at least three graphs just previously are obscured, the entire passage remains unclear. I suspect the graph 食 [L*rj∂gh] was a loan for 史 [*L*sr∂jg], a Baoshan graphic variant for 笥 ("basket") [L*sj∂g] (see Zhang Guiguang 1994, 75-76). The original graph for 籠 was composed of 竹 and 攵 semantic elements above and below an element that likely consisted of a phonetic element 鹵 or a 虜 simplified to a 卜 over a 日.

[22] This basket name (usually) written with the semantic 竹 over the phonetic *gong* 共 [L*kjung] makes the word similar in pronunciation to the basket name 籠 in strip 255 (see n. 10, above) with the phonetic *gong* 工 [L*kung]. I suspect we are dealing with two methods of writing the same word. This type of variation occurred in the Divination Text as well.

[23] The original graph for *zheng* was written with a simplified 登 (癶 over 旦) phonetic over the "fire" 火 semantic.

[24] The original graph for *zhi* consisted of the phonetic 石 between the semantic elements 厂 and 火.

[25] The word *ao* was original represented by the phonetic 囂 usually with the "fire" 火 semantic.

[26] See Hubei, vol. 1, n. 528.

[27] A black edible root about the size of a finger that produces purple sprouts; see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 529.

[28] The phonetic in the original graph was a double 身 (under a "grass" element); see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 530.

[29] The graph for *shen* is written with both the 木 and the ⺾ semantic elements.

chestnuts,[30] two baskets of ginger,[31] one basket of water chestnut leaves?, two baskets of dried pears,[32] one basket of hammered dried meat, one basket of *pisi* bird,[33] one basket of roast chicken, one set of baskets.[34]

[30] Liu Xinfang 1992, 77, reads the original graph *ji* 集 (with 艹) as *ji* 芰, another term for 菱角 ("water chestnuts"), the kind found in both Baoshan tombs 1 and 2 and in the Zeng Hou Yi tomb.

[31] The original graph for *jiang* consisted of the phonetic 彊 under a "grass" element.

[32] The graph for 梨 was written with simply the phonetic 利 and no semantic element.

[33] Possibly a type of large wild duck called also a *gusi* 鵠鵌; see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 61. The Baoshan scribes wrote the word *pisi* as 僻死 (with the latter graph written with an added 月 element).

[34] The second graph in the term 簠死 must be a loan word for a word of similar sound [L*sjə̂j?] as found above, n. 21, possibly also for *si* 笥 ("basket"). It seems, then, that there were at least two scribes: one dictating and the other transcribing.

Strips 259-264

These were found in the northern section of the southern compartment and seem to relate to items found in the western and northern compartments. The scribe for these strips wrote in a much tighter hand resulting in more words per strip than the previous strips in this text.

Strip 259

相尾之器所以行一桂冠組纓，一生糸□之厭，二狐睪，二紫韋之帽，一會觀之笏，一魚皮之屨，一裝襏，二緹婁，皆纁純，一巾簠六巾，一緯粉，四椑，一簠，一貴梳又金綉縞囊，一縞席 [broken]

Items used for Traveling placed in the Compartment's Back:[35] one *xie*-skin cap[36] with cap strings, one funeral cap[37] with green [and gold?], two fox shin covers,[38] one purple fur hat, one fan handle for show,[39] one pair fish skin shoes, one set inner knee covers, two pair leather shoes both with dangling[40] silk trim, one towel[41] basket with six towels, one wrap

[35] Chen Wei 1996a, 192-93, claims that this refers to the northern or "back" compartment. He bases this idea on Gao Zhi (unpub. conference paper), who takes the phonetic of the original graph (written with a 沙 under 尾) to be *shao* 少 and hence a possible loan for *shao* 稍 ("far end, back").

[36] The original graph for "cap," *guan*, was written without the 寸 semantic. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 539, reads *gui* 桂 [L*kwig] as a loan for *xie* 獬 [L*grig], an animal skin men-

around turban, four combs in one basket, one painted[42] comb with gold embroidered white silk pocket, one white silk mat[43] ... [original phrase may be incomplete]

---

tioned in the *Huainanzi* used for caps by the Chu people. Liu Xinfang 1992, 75-76, points out that the hat was also called a *xian guan* 鮮冠, as in *Mozi* ("Gong Meng"), which describes the Chu King Zhuang as ruling while wearing the cap tied with strings, as well as a red cloak and broad gown (*Mozi jiangu* 12, sect. 48, in *Zhuzi jicheng*, vol. 4, 173). The animal was referred to variously as *xianbei* 鮮卑, *xixiao* 犀魈, *xiangui* 鮮規, a thin-waisted supple-necked goat or sheep with horns whose fur was used for belts by nomadic peoples such as the Donghu (Xianbi) or Xiongnu. The hat may have been in a horn shape.

[37] Liu Xinfang 1992, 77, suggests that Shao Tuo may have required a funeral hat because he had not finished mourning for one or both of his parents. The original graph is written with a 糸 element.

[38] The graph 生 likely stands for 青. The next graph is difficult to decipher; it is perhaps a color word, such as 金 written with a 糸 element. The *Shuowen* explains 褋 as 綁 "shin covers"; see Liu Xinfang 1992, 72.

[39] The graph 會 is read as 繪. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 544, reads the original graph (written with the 角 semantic and the 昜 phonetic) as 盪, a vessel for traveling and identifies it as item 390 in the western compartment. Liu Xinfang 1992, 71-72, reads it as 笏, a feather fan hung at the waist during formal occasions, and identifies it with item 407 (see Hubei, vol. 2, fig. 90.4) or other fans found in the western compartment.

[40] The word *xuan* written as 縼 is also found in the Yangtian Inventory text strip 10. The *Yupian* defines it as *xuanzhuisuo* 縣縋索 "a dangling cord" (see Guo Ruoyu 1994, 118; and Wang Li 2000, 944). I suspect it is a loan for *xuan* 縣 ("dangling"). Hubei, vol. 1, n. 530, reads it as a loan for *zuan* 纂, which they understand as a braid of multicolored threads. The same phrase appears in strip 271 and the plaque (line 1) where it seems to refer to a fringe along chariot sideboards.

[41] The graph for *jin* 巾 is written with the *jin* 堇 phonetic and the 糸 semantic element.

[42] The graph 貴 was written with a 木 element.

[43] The word "mat" (*xi*) was written with a "bamboo" semantic 竹 over the phonetic 石.

Strip 260

曲幢，一釒⧄，一凴几，一丩床又策一箕又干枅，一羽翣，二竹翣，一敍革，一寑鏷，一角⧄，一竹梳金囊，一⧄，一缶，一奠弓，一紛繪夬卣，一沐⧄，二房，四失，一⧄[broken]

twisted leather [straps?], one metal [?], one stool,[44] one retractable bed with slats, one woven screen with wooden poles?,[45] one feather fan, two bamboo fans, one [leather?],[46] one bedroom mat, one horn shaped [washing vessel?],[47] one bamboo comb with gold thread pocket, one [washing vessel?], one jar,

---

[44] The original graph for *ping* 凴 was written with a 朋 phonetic and 亻 and 土 semantic elements.

[45] I suspect that this item may refer to the woven reed screen and poles that were intended to go around the bed, see the description in Hubei, vol. 1, vol. 1, 92.

[46] This item is difficult to decipher. The first graph, written 敍 is a mystery. According to relatively late sources quoted in Morohashi's *Dai kanwa jiten* (vol. 7, 565, 568, 570), a similar graph with numerous variants could mean "to get rid of" or 'to scratch.'

[47] The graph, perhaps 盥, appears twice in this strip and is difficult to decipher.

one Zheng[48] bow, one painted quiver?, one vessel for washing the head?, two small metal altar tables,[49] four arrows, one [? weapon]…

Strip 261

一縞衣賭膚之純，樂成之純亡裏靈光之綉，一臭柜鍬，一戈，二圣⊠，一几 [broken]

One white silk robe with red thread trim[50] and trim from Lecheng,[51] no lining and with numinous bright embroidery, one *juqu* bird,[52] one dagger-axe, two? , one table...

Strip 262

[broken] ⊠，二燭鍾，一白獸金純，一縞席綠裏金純，二籃⊠金純，一貂青之表紫裏綉純金純素金綉

...two lamp tomb servants, one white wild animal[53] skin with gold trim, one white silk sheet with a green lining and gold trim, two baskets, ...gold trim, one sable[54] and green cape with purple lining, embroidered trim, gold trim, and white and gold embroidery.

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[48] The word *dian* is the phonetic in the word *zheng* 鄭 (Hubei, vol. 1, n. 560).

[49] See strip 266.

[50] The word *du* 賭 ("to see," originally written with the 見 semantic element) must be a loan here, possibly either for *zhe* 赭 ("red") or perhaps *zhu* 豬. The graph *fu* ("skin") might be a loan for *lu* 纑 ("trim") or 臚 ("skin"). The Hubei transcription is mistaken; see He Linyi 1998, 517.

[51] Lecheng was a place name in use for several districts established during the Han period in Hebei and Henan. The name was likely in use before the Han period as well.

[52] The first graph was written with a 金 semantic element and a 具 phonetic. The second graph stands for the graph 渠. The *juqu* bird is a quail-like bird with long legs, long tail feathers, a sharp beak, greenish-gray back, white underside. and a black ring under its neck. It was said to cry while it flies and sway while it walks. As there were no birds discovered in the western compartment, Hubei, nos. 103 and 104, suggests that maybe one of the two bronze birds found in the eastern compartment was a *juqu* bird (Hubei, vol. 1, n. 562).

[53] The original graph for the word "wild animal" (*shou*) was written with a 毛 semantic element.

[54] The original graph for the word "sable" (*diao*) was written with a 鼠 semantic and a 勺 phonetic element.

Strip 263

裏結無之純，一秦縞，之白裏皇金之純，二鑑，二緒，一會，二骨梢，一柯縞之緯，一金鈔，一寢席，二俾席，一跪席，二莞席皆又綉，一生綍冠，一圩綍冠皆衛 [broken]

....lining with trim from Guwu,[55] one white lining of Qin silk with bright gold trim, two mirror basins,[56] two stands,[57] one lidded box,[58] two bone strips,[59] one sheet of softened fine white silk,[60] one metal knife,[61] one bedroom mat, two mats for praying,[62] one mat for squatting, two reed mats all with embroidery; one cap of finely

[55] The word *gu* might refer to a type of grass or natural thread, but the term *guwu* is unknown. I suspect it was a place name.

[56] Not included in the tomb (Hubei, vol. 1, n. 565).

[57] The graph was a loan for *du* 堵, found in the *Liji*, "Liqi," referring to a stand (Hubei, vol. 1, n. 566).

[58] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 567; see vol. 2, fig. 32.3 and 4, following the *Shuowen*, reads *hui* as a type of *he* 合 and notes the bronze *he* 盒 packed with four smaller *he* found in the eastern compartment.

[59] For the reading of "strips," see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 568.

[60] The word written 柯 is explained in the *Guangya*, "Shi qi," as *lian* 練, silk which is softened through boiling (Morohashi, vol. 8, 1021).

woven raw silk,[63] one cap of finely woven hemp,[64] all with flaps.[65]

Strip 264

[broken] 一栗叉籠，一冠籧，二革园

...one chestnut[66] with basket, one hat basket, two leather roundels.

[61] Hubei reads *chao* and *xiao* 削.

[62] In the Mawangdui Tomb Inventory, this type of mat is called a *pixi* 辟席. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 572, explains that this is a loan for *miexi* 篾蓆, a woven bamboo mat. Liu Xinfang 1992, 72, explains that there were three types of mats: for sleeping, praying, and squatting. This one was for praying. The original graph for "mat" is 笞.

[63] Hubei, vol. 1 n. 575, reads *fu* 綍 as *hu* 縠, thin and finely woven (fiber). For a sample hat, see Sun Ji 1991, 235, fig. 584.

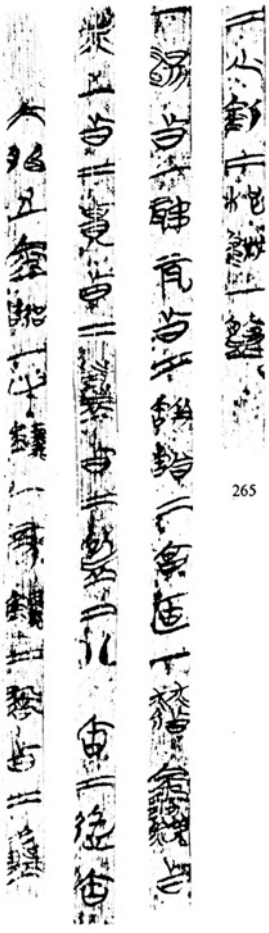
[64] The graph 圩 is read as 芧.

[65] Hubei, vol. 1 n. 577, suspects *wei* might be *wei* 幃, either a hanging pocket for fragrance or a hanging cloth such as an apron or curtain (see Wang Li 2000, 266). Illustrations of Han-period hats suggest that a small curtain or flap may be indicated; see Sun Ji 1991, 234, fig. 58.3.

[66] I suspect *li* is incorrect or a loan here for some sort of hat decoration. The original is not clear.

Strips 265-266

These strips were found in the eastern section of the southern chamber and seem to relate to items found in the eastern compartment. The scribe in charge of transcribing this section wrote in large open graphs and used little punctuation.



Strip 265

大兆之金器一牛鑐一豕鑐二喬鼎二盛薦之鼎二貴鼎二蒸鼎二監二卵缶二迅缶一湯鼎一貫耳鼎二缾觚二享簋一液碗鼎二少勺二椹錢一版盤，

Metal Vessels for the Great Sacred Plot:[67] one round basined caldron for beef and one round basined caldron for pork,[68] two tall legged caldrons,[69] two caldrons for filling with cooked food offerings,[70] two caldrons for food offerings,[71] two caldrons for steaming, two mirror basins,[72] two round matching jars with lids,[73] two drinking jars,[74] one soup caldron,[75] one caldron with loop ears,[76] two metal cylinders,[77] two grain ves-

[67] For a discussion of this term, see chap. 2; Hubei, vol. 1, n. 579; and Chen Wei 1996a, 192-97.

[68] See Hubei, vol. 1, 98. For the "beef caldron," see vol. 1, fig. 56.2; and vol. 2, pl. 27.3. For the "pork caldron," see vol. 1, fig. 56.1. Inside the "singed beef caldron" were water buffalo bones including 1 right scapula, 4 right ribs, and 2 vertebrae.

[69] For the 2 *shengding* in the tomb, see Hubei, vol. 1, 97-98, fig. 57.1; vol. 2, pl.

sels for mortuary feasts,[78] one bowl-style caldron for liquids,[79] two small ladles,[80] two full cups,[81] one basin,[82]

5.1, and fig. 27.1. Inside one was the singed upper half of a water buffalo, the front-right leg bone.

[70] The graph 貴 is read as *kui* 饋.

[71] Hubei, vol. 1, 98-102; vol. 2, figs. 28-29, notes that there are 14 lidded round caldrons in the tomb that divide into roughly 6 styles. Some show evidence of use and one had six water buffalo vertebrae (item no. 2:109).

[72] The graph 監 is read as 鑑. Hubei identifies these as items 2:119 and 2:96; see vol. 1, 108, and the first *jian* pictured in fig. 67, and in vol. 2, pl. 32.1.

[73] Liu Xinfang suspects that the *luanfou* referred to a pair of *dui* vessels (items no. 2:175, 2:168). Hubei thought *luan* ("egg") was a loan for *guan* 盥 ("libation") and the vessels referred to were two small-mouth round-bellied jars found in the northern compartment (items no. 2:898, 2:391).

[74] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 588, reads *xun* as *zhuo* 酌. In the main text of Hubei (vol. 1, 106, fig. 66.1, 66.2; vol. 2, pls. 31.1, 31.2), archaeologists equate item no. 2:289 with the *luan fou* and item no. 2:426 with the *xun fou*. Inside item no. 2:426 was a bronze ladle.

[75] Hubei claims the soup caldron corresponds to item no. 2:390 pictured in vol. 1, fig. 56.3; and vol. 2, pl. 29.3.

[76] Possibly Hubei, vol. 2, fig. 28.1 (item no. 2:106).

[77] The graph 筒 ("metal container") was written with the phonetic 同 and the semantic 缶.

[78] For two *fu* vessels, see Hubei, vol. 1, 102, fig. 61.

[79] While the two graphs that describe this caldron are legible, their meaning is uncertain. The first graph appears to have the phonetic *yi* 亦 [L*rak] (two of these phonetics were written over a 鼎 with a condensed 亻 to the left), which could possibly be a loan for *ye* 液 [L*ragh] ("liquid"). The second graph might have the same phonetic or perhaps *yuan* 元 [L*ngjan] with semantic elements *ji* 祭 ("sacrifice") and *jin* 金 ("metal"). One possible transcription might be *wan* 剜 ("to scoop or pick out"), which has a graphic variant with a metal element 鎫 (see Morohashi, vol. 11, 625). A more likely candidate would be *wan* 碗 ("bowl").

[80] The graph for ladle or spoon (*shao*) was written with a 金 element. Archaeologists found 1 spoon; see Hubei, vol. 1, 110, fig. 69.1; vol. 2, pl. 34.2.

[81] The graph 錢 is read as *zhan* 盞. Hubei claims these are the two, round spherical lidded vessels called *dui*; see Hubei, vol. 1, 105, fig. 63; vol. 2, pl. 30.3.

[82] Archaeologists discovered 4 bronze basins; Hubei, vol. 1, 108-09, figs. 67.2-4; vol. 2, pls. 33.1-5.

266

Strip 266

一鉈一合鬳，木器一廣梍一昃梍柮一
楮梍柮一宰梍柮一大房一小房二沐一
房丙二賭二祈五皇盤西享豆四皇豆一
食桯金足 [blank to end]

one pouring vessel,[83] one three legged steamer.[84] Wooden Vessels: one broad table,[85] one narrow[86] table, one table for grains,[87] one table for stew,[88] one large altar table,[89] one small altar table, two washing vessels,[90] one altar table handle,

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[83] The graph 鉈 is read as *yi* 匜. Archaeologists discovered 1 bronze *yi* vessel; Hubei, vol. 1, 110, fig. 67.5; vol. 2, pl. 34.1.

[84] The steamer is identified in Hubei, vol. 1, 102-03, fig. 60; vol. 2, pl. 30.1. The stand is three legged. The word *qiu* 合, also written 厹, is found in the *Shijing*, ode "Xiao rong" (Mao no. 128), to describe the triangular nature of a spear blade.

[85] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 596, reads the graph as *duo* 柮, short pieces of wood, as a wooden table. Liu Xinfang 1992, 60, follows He Linyi 1998, 893-94, who reads the graph 梍 as *xi* (later written as with the phonetic 徙 with a 木 element), an altar table. For illustrations of tables found in the tomb, see Hubei, vol. 1, 126-33; vol 2, fig. 38-39.

[86] For the reading of 昃 as 陝, see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 597.

[87] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 598, suggests that the table was perhaps made out of grain stalks.

[88] The graph *zai* was originally written with a 力 element. For the reading as "stew" (written 宰 with a 艹 element), see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 599.

[89] An altar table for half an animal carcass, see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 600.

[90] In Hubei, vol. 1, 102, archaeologists read the original graph, *mu* 沐, as graphic loan for 鉢 and a loan for *yu* 鋊 ("caldron hooks"); see fig. 59 and n. 602. This seems

two implements picking up food,[91] two piercing implements,[92] five yellow basins, four high footed serving cups for mortuary feasts, four yellow high footed serving cups, one food tray with metal feet.[93]

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an unnecessary scholarly circumlocution to match the tomb artifacts with the Inventory. Liu Xinfang 1992, 73, shows that washing vessels inscribed with the words *guan* and *yu* have been found in other Chu tomb sites. He notes that *guan* were for washing hands, *yu* for washing the body, and *mu* for washing the head.

[91] The original graph looks much like the fourth graph on strip 261 only with the 者 on the left and the 見 on the right. Here it must be a loan, possibly for *zhu* or *zhuo* 箸 or 橥, a utensil for chopping or eating food (the word eventually referred to chopsticks, but there is no evidence of chopsticks in tombs of this time period).

[92] It is clear *qi* "to pray" [L*gj∂d] must be a loan. In the *Zhouli*, "Xia guan, Xiaozi," it was used for the word *gui* 刲 [*khj∂t], meaning to pierce a sacrificial animal for a blood sacrifice (*Zhouli zhengyi*, sect. 16, *j.* 57, 73).

[93] See Hubei, vol. 1, n. 604.

Strips 267-277[94]

These strips were found in the southwestern section of the southern compartment and seem to relate to items found in the western compartment. The calligraphy and lack of punctuation are similar in style to those on strips 265 and 266.

267

268

Strip 267

大司馬悼愲救郙之歲享月丁亥之日左尹葬用車一乘軒生絧之綎酟薦之純酟薦之幬絧酟薦之綏絭組之縛紫

The year that Grand *sima* Nao Hua saved Fu, Xiang month, Dinghai day, one high-sided chariot[95] was used for

[94] Li Jiahao 1993 suggests that the text flows better if we consider strip 272 as following strips 267 and 268, and strip 271 as connected to strips 276, 269, and 270. Chen Wei 1996a, 187-88, feels that strips 269 and 270 belong in the war chariot section (with strip 271) and strip 272 belongs with the high-sided chariot section. I have retained the Hubei order for easy reference to the published text.

[95] For the reading of *xuan* 軒, see He Linyi 1993, 63. For a discussion of it as a

the *zuoyin*'s burial, the side boards[96] in green[97] silk with trim from Gu Feng, the axle[98] wrap from Gu Feng, the boarding ropes from Gu Feng, thin white silk cloth with bindings,[99] purple

Strip 268

發紃約紫鞎鞅紃縫集組之輅經貂尾維緦粉㕣貂長靈光之組翟僉一紡害丹黃之緾綪綢紗見組之靈

coffin ropes,[100] tied together ropes,[101] purple leather cover for the chariot box-front and leather horse breast strap with appliqué,[102] gathered and tied crisscross chariot pulls,[103] sable bindings tied to an armor bag of multicolored silk threads,[104] sable covered bow case[105] with numinously radiant ties, pheasant feather chariot apron,[106] one spun cloth umbrella

screened-in chariot used by nobles, see Chen Wei 1996a, 183, 188.

[96] Hubei reads graph 綎 as *cheng* 裎, a type of long unlined robe, suggesting that it was material for wrapping the chariot front. In Han times the umbrella pole was called a *cheng* (written 呈 with a 木 element) or *gong* 杠 (see Sun Ji 1991, fig. 29). Since it is in green silk, I suspect it was a loan for *ting* 綎, meaning "chariot sideboards."

[97] The graph 生 as in earlier strips stands for 青. In this case, it was written with a 糸 element.

[98] Zhang Guiguang 1994, 78, 74, transcribes this graph as 輚, and explains that it is a word for axle.

[99] The word represented by the graph 絭 (*juan* ["ties"); see Wang Li 2000, 919) is used in the plaque text (line 3) in the same phrases, but the graph has an added 舟 element. I suspect it represented the word for "rope" *sheng* 繩. Wang Li 2000, 976, points out that the phonetics *zhuan* 耑 and *zhuan* 專 were interchangeable, and that the word represented by the graph 縳 was also written *juan* 絹, a thin white silk (*ibid.,* 941).

[100] The original graph is the same as found as part of a personal name in strip 225; Li Ling 2000, 290, reads it *fa* 發 [L*pjat] (see app. 1, n. 94, above). The graph 撥 (*bo* [L*pat]) is a loan for *fu* 紼 ("ropes for pulling the coffin") (*Liji*, "Tangong, xia"; see Wang Li 2000, 394).

[101] For *xun* see Wang Li 2000, 910; for *xun yue*, Hubei, vol. 1, n. 614, suggests these were ropes made of multi-colored silk ties.

[102] The original graph for *feng* 縫 is written with the 奉 phonetic and the 糸 semantic element (see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 617).

[103] The original graph for *lu* 輅 is written with the phonetic 客 and the 艹 semantic element. The term *luoqing* 絡輕 is found in the Tianxingguan inventory text strip 4607. Meanings of word *luo* include "ropes, net" (Morohashi, vol. 8, 1050). He Linyi 1998, 489, reads *qing* as a loan for *jing* 經 ("weave, the warp of a fabric, lengthwise"). The graph 茖 is also an alternative writing for 格 or 輅 ("the cross beam used for pulling a chariot") (see Morohashi, vol. 6, 309; vol. 10, 1014).

[104] I read this six-word phrase as describing one decorative feature. The original graph for the second word is written with 尾 with 糸 and 止 elements. Hubei transcribe it as 䋷, a rare word for "knot" (see Morohashi, vol. 8, 1113), but *wei* 尾 is the correct

cover[107] with red and yellow patterns, axle ends[108] in green silk with satin and gossamer strings.

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transcription (see Karlgren 1972, no. 496k; see also He Linyi 1998, 1230, 1236). In strip no. 266 we see how the graph 梶 was read *xi* (see n. 85, above). He Linyi 1998, 894, reads the graph here as *xi* also but takes it as a loan for 纚, a piece of silk used to bind the hair (see also Wang Li 2000, 943). Since a sable knot does not make much sense, I suspect that in fact it is a tassel made from the animal tail. Hubei does not transcribe the fourth. It is written as 維 with a 心 element underneath. I read it as *wei* ("to tie"). The fifth character (written with the phonetic 𠔃 and the semantic element 旻) is explained as a decoration of five-colored threads (see He Linyi 1998, 1188, 1230), which suggests that the sable tails were part of a decorative fringe. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 618, explains only the last two characters as *fen liu* 粉綹 "multicolored threads and patterned hemp threads" (see also He Linyi 1998, 164, who explains *liu* 綹 as *qu* 絇 read as *jiu* 鳩, with the phonetic 九 [L*kjg∂wx]). The same word appears in the following strips written with the phonetic 𠔃 and the semantic element 羽, and in strip 273 it is written with the element 韋 (a common alternative for the "leather" semantic 革). The same phonetic appears in the word *gao* 橐 [L*k∂gw], a bag for storing armor, bows and arrows (Wang Li 2000, 529), a meaning that seems to fit each usage better than *liu* ("patterned hemp strings").

[105] For *zhang*, Hubei, vol. 1, n. 619, reads *chang* 韔 ("cloth covering the *gong* 弓"), found in *Shijing*, ode "Xiao rong" (Mao no. 128). The word *gong* can either refer to the ribs of a chariot umbrella or to a bow. In this case, it would seem to refer to a bow case, compare with slip 272, below.

[106] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 620, reads *di* as 翟 ("pheasant feathers," originally written with semantic elements 米and 阝) and 僉 (originally written with the 車 element) [phonetic L*skhljam?] as a loan for *chan* 襜, a chariot or an apron for the front of a funeral cart (see Wang Li 2000, 1221). Since *di* is written with the 阝 element, He Linyi 1998, 314, claims that it is a surname. A funeral cart apron with a pheasant design seems most likely. In strip 276, 翟 was written with the 糸 semantic.

[107] The graph following *fang* 紡 is difficult to decipher. Hubei transcribes it as a phonetic 或 between the elements 宀 and 曰, but this is not terribly convincing, particularly as they are not able to explain its meaning. The Xinyang tomb inventory text strip 2-04 has the combination *fanghe* with *he* written in a somewhat similar fashion. This graph is transcribed by He Linyi 1998, 900, as a 割 phonetic under a 竹 element and read as *he* 盍, a loan for 蓋 ("cover"). In the Xinyang case the term seems to refer to a chariot umbrella cover of spun material. Guo Ruoyu's 1994, 69, transcription of the Xinyang graph as the phonetic 剛 under a 竹 element and reading of it as 䈥, which he explains a kind of rope used on the chariot, is less convincing. The Baoshan graph is somewhat unclear but is closer to sloppily written versions of *he* than to any rendition of *huo* (compare Baoshan 83, 138, 143). For Baoshan versions of 害, see strips 95, 122, 152, and possibly 260, above.

[108] Wang Li 2000, 1393, 1621, defines *ling* as wood on a lattice frame. During the Han period, a *feiling* 飛軨 consisted of ties wrapped around the very end of the axle after the linchpins; see Sun Ji 1991, 114, fig. 29.

Strip 269

其上載絑箐一百攸四十攸翠之首旌中干絑縞七各車戟綅羽一旮其市朮五旮鑿三旮一桯有毛之首一和贏虡之首胄綠

The (chariot) carries on it a red flag[109] with 140 strips[110] and kingfisher feathers[111] on top, an animal tail flag[112] center pole with ten red and white silk, seven three-sided lances,[113] a chariot double-bladed dagger-axe with black and white feathers,[114] one three-sided lance with its cover and cord,[115] five three sided lances with barbs,[116] three three-

[109] The graph for flag was originally written with the semantic 竹 element over the phonetic 青. It is read as *jing* 旌.

[110] He Linyi 1998, 206-07, reads *you* as *tiao* 條.

[111] The graph read as *zu* 箠 was written with the elements 辛 (understood here as a simplification of the phonetic 卒) and 首 under a 竹 element.

[112] The original graph for 旌 has a double 火 element on top (likely a mistake for 竹) instead of the more typical 方 to the side.

[113] Hubei transcribes the phrase "seven three-sided lances" as "ten *ge*." The same line in the plaque (line 2) has the correct form. "Ten" was probably a mistake for "seven" and *ge* a graphic variant of *qiu*. Both *ge* and *qiu* are written in the original with the 竹 element (for the similarity of 七 and 十 graphs, see He Linyi 1998, 1098, 1375).

[114] Hubei reads the original graph (written 帚 or 彗 with a 戈 element) as 綅, a loan for *xian* 纖 ("black and white warp and woof"; from a commentary to the *Liji* on the term *qinguan* 綅冠, Hubei, vol. 1 n. 626; see also He Linyi 1998, 1416-7; Wang Li 2000, 925). Compare strip 273.

[115] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 628, reads as the original graph (written 市 under a 竹 element) as 巾, referring to "wrapping," and the graph 朮 as "skin of a variety of hemp stalk." This reading seems unlikely given the phrase 二旮皆朮 in strip 273. He Linyi 1998, 1471, reads the first graph as *fu* 市 ("covering") and the second graph as 絨 ("rope") (*ibid.*, 1998, 1243).

sided lances, one umbrella pole[117] with feathers on top, one (set of) armor[118] of blended short haired animal (skins)[119] with helmet,[120]

Strip 270

組之繩御右二鼎象虖皆之首冑紫繩一彫鼓一緅絾之㕣一彫缶一鐃妟組之綏二䵎鞁靈光之纀 [blank to end],[121]

rope of green strings, on the driver's right two (sets of) red (dyed) elephant hide[122] armor each with a helmet,[123] purple ropes, one decorated drum,[124] one light red gathered bag,[125] one decorated drumstick,[126] one *nao*-bell[127] with a tassel tied on,[128] two rope reins[129] and a numinously radiant head ornament.[130]

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[116] Compare Hubei, vol. 1, n. 629, and He Linyi 1998, 1343. He Linyi's transcription is clearly correct. He points out that *cuan* was later written as *zuan* 穳.

[117] Hubei does not explain the graph that I translate as "umbrella pole." A similar graph is found in the Xinyang tomb inventory text strip no. 220 where Guo Ruoyu 1994, 90, reads it as *ting* 桯 ("stool"). An alternative reading is *ying*, the name for the lower joint of umbrella pole (see Wang Li 2000, 488). See also n. 96, under strip 267, above.

[118] Hubei and He Linyi read the graph 虖 as *jia* 甲 ("armor"; [L*krap]). Hubei, vol. 1, n. 635, explains it as a kind of armor. It is found in the Yangtian Inventory text slip 39 to describe a type of *yi* ("outerwear, cloak"). Versions of the graph are found in the Baoshan administrative text strip 81 where it is used with *bing* 兵 ("weapons") and in the Zhongshan bronze inscriptions where it is found in combination with *zhou* 冑 ("helmet"), where it has been explained by Zhu Dexi and Qiu Xigui 1974 as *jia* (see Hubei, vol. 1, n. 128; He Linyi 1998, 1380-1381). It is an old graph that can be found in early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions where it is explained as an archaic variant for *gao* 皋, tiger-skin armor (Ma Chengyuan 1988, vol. 3, 42-43).

[119] The same phrase 嬴虖 is found in the bamboo plaque text of the Baoshan inventory text. In this strip, the first character is read as *luo* 蠃 [L*gluarx] ("short-haired animal"). In the plaque version, the word is replaced with *long* [L*ljung] ("dragon"), also a loan for "black and white, variegated" (Karlgren 1972, no. 1193). A version of *luo* may be the graph written with red lacquer paint onto the left side of horse armor found in the tomb, see Hubei vol. 1, 222.

[120] The combined graph *zhi shou* when in front of *zhou* "helmet" must be read as a modifier "of the head," rather than suggesting that it was a helmet with animal-skin armor on top. See the phrase at the beginning of strip 270 where it follows *jie* "all" (Hubei, vol. 1, n. 636).

[121] The strip here has a nick carved out in the same shape as a comma, see nick-like brush marks in 265, 266, and perhaps 269. Nicks indicate where there were once strings holding the bamboo strips together into a book that unrolled.

[122] The phrase *dingxiang* (the first graph is a phonetic loan 鼎 and the second a complex form for "elephant skin" written with two 象 elements with a 革), like *he-luo*, above in strip 269, must describe the armor. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 635, claims *xiang* is for 象 ("elephant"). He Linyi takes the first character as a loan for *ding* 頂 "top of the head" (1998, 794), however I believe that the descriptive word *cheng* 赬 ("red"), a color used to describe fish tails and clothing, is more likely (see Morohashi, vol. 10, entries 37008 and 37016, 825, 827-28). The words *ding* and *he* (strip 269) were also words for bells, but this interpretation does not seem to fit here.

[123] For leather armor found in the tomb, see Hubei, vol. 1, 216-19.

[124] The original graph that I read as "drum" was written as 𪜈. In the equivalent line in the plaque text (line 3), the graph is written with the 至 phonetic. He Linyi 1993, 63 reads the first version of the graph as having the phonetic 專 and as a loan for *tuan* 槫, another name for a chariot used to carry the coffin. If we read the semantic element as a variant of 車, we might read this graph as the word *zhi* 輊, a low-slung chariot or the ends of the yoke shafts (He Linyi 1998, 1089). The problem with either reading is the lack of the measure word for chariots, *cheng* 乘, as well as the context. This is clearly an item associated with an armor bag and decorated chassis-board ropes on the vanguard chariot, the *zhengche*, and not a separate chariot at all. Following some of Guo Ruoyu's readings for Xinyang strip 2-03, where we find a somewhat similar line with the graph for *gu* ("drum") written almost exactly like the Baoshan graph except for a slight difference in the bottom of the phonetic element. I would read the Xinyang phrase as 一彫鼓, 二桴 四橐, 一緅盟(明)之柜(匱) ("one decorated drum, two drum sticks, four bags, one gathered numinous [cloth] case"); for readings of individual graphs, see He Linyi 1998, 247; Guo Ruoyu 1994, 66-68, 89; and nn. 125, 126, below.

[125] This phrase appears also in the plaque text (line 3) but the second word is written as *qiu* 緅 [L *tshj∂gw] and seems to mean "gathered or wrinkled (pattern), crepe" (He Linyi 1998, 228-29). The first graph [L*tshjugx] can mean light red, purplish red, or green and red (see He Linyi 1998, 387; Guo Ruoyu 1994, 79-80; and Xinyang strips 2.6, 2.7, 2.12, 2.15, 2.19, 2.24, 2.29).

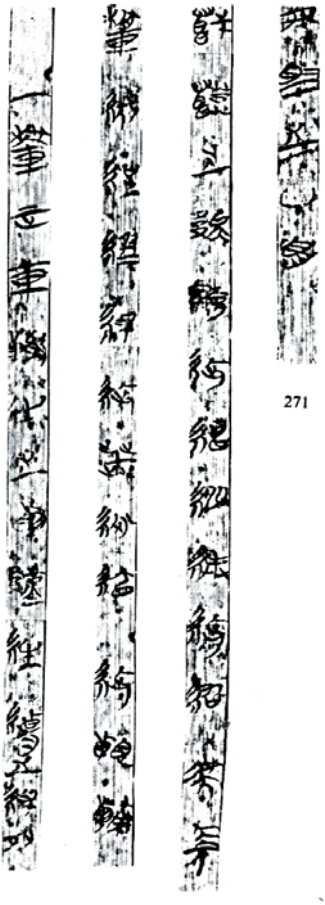
[126] The original graph has the phonetic 缶and the semantic element 木. In the plaque text (line 3) *fou* [L*pj∂gw] is written with the phonetic *fu* 复 and the semantic element 木 [L*bj∂gwh, bj∂kw]. He Linyi 1998, 255, 247, following the *Shuowen*, understands the first variant as "knife case," and the second *fu* as 輹, which Wang Li 2000, 1406, explains as ropes tied on to the axle and the wooden piece between the chassis and the axle. However, if we understand that a drum is involved, as in the Xinyang line read in n. 124, above, this graph should be read as *fu* 桴 ("drumstick").

[127] One *nao*-bell was found in the southern compartment, see Hubei, vol. 1, 112-16.

[128] He Linyi 1998, 973, suspects the graph written 晏 with the 糸 semantic element was a variant of *ying* 纓 as it is often found in combination with *zu* 組 ("ties"). The word *sui* is written 𡍮 in the Xinyang text and as 綏 in the Yangtian strips. Guo Ruoyu 1994, 81, 90, 119, reads the former as 綬 "ribbon, cord," the latter as "ties" and the combination 組綬 as "tassels."

[129] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 639, reads the two graphs (the first originally written with the phonetic 黽 between the elements 宀 and 日 and the second with the phonetic 皮 with the 韋 element) as *chaopi* 鼂鞁. The graph *chao* is seen in the *Chuci* as a loan for 朝 [L*drjagw], but Hubei suggests here it might be a loan for *he* 貊 "badger" [L*tj∂gw]. He Linyi 1998, 732, prefers to read this word simply as *min* 黽, a frog-like reptile. In strip 273, *min* is written with a 曰 underneath. However, from the plaque text (line 3) where the same expression appears but with 糸 semantic elements, I suspect that 黽 was for *sheng* 繩 ("rope"), which seems to be written in a variety of ways in this text. Hubei reads the second graph is read as *pi* ("skin") in strip 172 but as *bei*, a word for horse reins (see Wang Li 2000, 1628) in strip 270. See also the plaque text, line 3. "Reins" seems most sensible in context.

[130] The word *pu* 纀 [L*buk, *puk] is read as *pa* 帕 [L*prak] by Hubei, vol. 1 (n. 640) and as *pu* 幞 by He Linyi (1998, 1467). Wang Li 2000, 268, explains the latter as a head wrap with four strings, two dangling behind and two used to tie the wrap to the head. See strips 272, 276, 277, plaque (line 3).



271

Strip 271

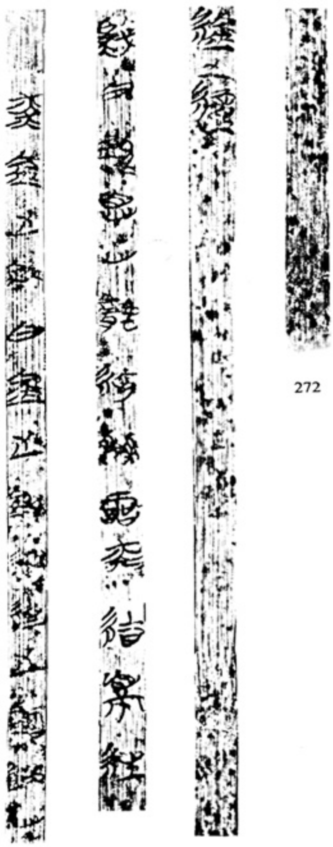
一乘正車象牛之靳青綢之純多棼絨綖纘純紫發紛約紫鞎鞅犴貘之鞦軒紫紳紃縫紫旮虎長四馬之冂面

One leading war chariot:[131] water buffalo-skin yokes[132] with green silk trim, side boards with ties of multicolored silk threads gathered (together) as a hanging fringe, purple coffin ropes, tied together ropes, purple leather cover for the chariot box-front and leather horse breast-strap, wild dog and panda-skin horse cruppers,[133] purple armor bag bound together with purple cords, tiger-skin covered bow case, four horse armor masks,[134]

[131] In the Zeng Hou Yi Tomb inventory texts, the chariot was called a *zhengche* 政車 (see Chen Wei 1996a, 183-84).

[132] For "yokes," see He Linyi 1998, 1322; Wang Li 2000, 1627.

[133] This phrase also appears in the plaque (line 1) clearly referring to the same objects but the scribes used different graphs. I read the first two words as "wild dog and panda skin" 犴貘 (For the first word, *an*, see He Linyi 1998, 993; for the second, *mo*, see He Linyi 1998, 721, and Wang Li 2000, 1319. He Linyi errs in reading the second word in the plaque phrase; it is clearly a loan). The first graphs in both this and the plaque version have the phonetic 干 but the semantics are different, 鼠 here and 雾 in the plaque. The second graph differs in both elements. Here the phonetic is 莫 but in the plaque it is 白, which are probably homophones [*mo* L*mak; *bo* L*prak]. The semantic elements used for the second word are 鼠 here and 韋 in the plaque. The graphs in the second two-graph combination after the *zhi* 之 that I read as "horse cruppers" 鞦軒 are also written with different graphs in the two versions. In both versions they use the semantic 韋 but the phonetic elements vary. For the first word, the phonetic is difficult to discern. Hubei, vol. 1, n. 645, reads 爨 here and 維, with 虍 above for the plaque. He Linyi 1998, 1070, has 繁 here and 維 with 夾 above for phonetics here and in the plaque, and claims



272

Strip 272

赤金之鈦白金之銍紮組之軨鈦臼鑋白金錫面毛紫拜靁光結首綪金之童

red metal linchpins,[135] white metal shaft-ends,[136] axle endpins bound with ties, a three-sided[137] lance with barbs, white metal tin mask,[138] a three-sided lance with a tail (?),[139]

that the word here stood for a soft leather tie. I think that both are variants of *qiu* 秋 [L*tshj∂gw] (see He Linyi 1998, 228, for similar graphic variants; compare variants for *cuan,* He Linyi 1998, 1342-3) and that the word should be 鞦, a leather strap that goes around the horse's rump (see Wang Li 2000, 1632). The second word in this set is written with the phonetic 安 here and the phonetic 干 in the plaque. Here it is understood as *jian* 靬, dried leather or an item used around the rear of a horse (see Wang Li 2000, 1626; and He Linyi 1998, 995, 966, 1472).

[134] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 647, reads *kan* 凵 as *ye* 鍱, a thin plate of pounded metal. He Linyi 1998, 1455, reads *kan* as 坎 [L*kh∂mx] ("pit"), and suggests that it was a loan for *wan* 錽, a horse's head ornament (see Wang Li 2000, 1531). The phrase is similar to ones found in strip 276: 四馬之首冑 and in the plaque (line 3): 四馬皓面. I suspect the graphs for *kan* and *hao* 皓 are both abbreviations or, in the case of *kan*, partial graphs of the graph for *zhou* 冑, which appears in a number of variants; see examples strips 269, 276 and elsewhere in the plaque. The term *zhoumian* 冑面 most likely refers to the same item as *shouzhou* 首冑. For an illustration of horse armor, see Hubei, vol. 1, 223. There is a leather wrap around the mask but no ornament in this illustration.

[135] See Wang Li 2000, 1512. Since 金 here is written without the 糸 element, I read it as "metal."

purple arrow tips (?),[140] numinously radiant knotted head decor,[141] a green and gold chariot flag.[142]

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[136] He Linyi 1998, 1089, explains that 銍 should be read as *zhi* 輊, the ends of the yoke-shafts. Wang Li 2000, 1396, defines *zhi* as a chariot with a low sloping front, used in contrast to a *xuan* 軒, a chariot with a high front. He Linyi's reading is more appropriate to the context.

[137] The word *jiu* 臼 is a phonetic loan here for *qiu* 舊; compare strip 269 and 277.

[138] The *xi* 錫 was also the name of a strip placed in front of the horses face; see Sun Ji 1991, 114, ill 29.

[139] Compare with strip 269. The original graph here has a 骨 semantic element. I suspect it was a loan for 矛 or perhaps 旄. In strip 277 it is written with the 戊 phonetic.

[140] The word *bai* 拜 can mean *ba* 拔, a term for the end of an arrow (Wang Li 2000, 356). See also strip 276.

[141] Hubei transcribes the original graph as 首 over the element 巾. He Linyi 1998, 196, explains the item as a kind of towel. Guo Ruoyu 1994, 70-71, transcribes a similar Xinyang example as 幅 and explains that it is a kind of cloth for covering sacrificial vessels. I suspect that in fact the element was not 巾 but 不, which acted as a phonetic [L*pj∂g] (see examples of *bu* in He Linyi 1998, 116) and that it referred to the same word as 紼 in strip 270 above (see also strips 276, 277, and the plaque, line 3). I suspect it was a head decoration for a horse somewhat similar to that pictured in Sun Ji 1991, 114, fig. 29. The hair on the top of the horse's head was bound and stood up in a sort of pigtail. There may or may not have been a cloth involved.

[142] The original graph, written with the phonetic 童 and the 糸 element, is clearly a loan (in strip no. 276 only the phonetic is used). If the reading "green metal" is correct (versus "green and gold"), then it is likely a loan for *zhong* 踵 ("chariot shaft back"). However, the semantic element may suggest that the word represented a cloth item in which case the word *chuang* 幢, a chariot flag made of feathers, or a curtain, may be indicated (see Wang Li 2000, 268). See also strip 277.

273

Strip 273

一乘韋車象牛之靳縞純韔發報鞅韇韋㕣虎長翟僉白金之釱其上載黸青高首二戟縵羽二㕣二巿皆朮九㕣二爨皆縵二㕣 [blank to end]

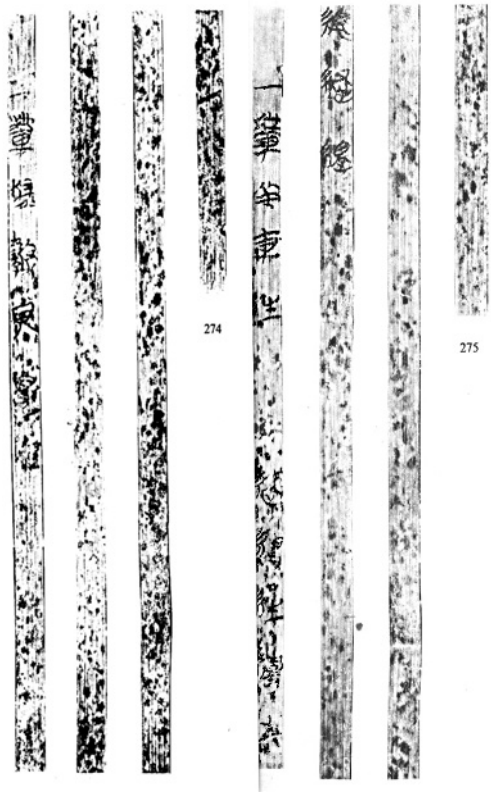
One guard chariot:[143] water buffalo-skin yokes with white silk trim, coffin ropes, leather cover for the chariot box-front and leather horse breast strap, a multicolored leather armor bag,[144] tiger-skin bow bag, a pheasant-feather chariot apron, white metal linchpins. To carry on it, a black[145]-feather flag with white feathers on top,[146] two double-bladed dagger-axes with black and white (feathers), two three-sided lances and two covers all with cords, nine three-sided lances, two lances with barbs both with black and white (feathers), two three-sided lances,

[143] The two graphs for "guard chariot" were both originally written with 車 elements. For the chariot, see Chen Wei 1996a, 184.

[144] The graph 韇 was originally written with a 革 element. The phonetic 㕣 was written with a 韋 element here and a 糸 element in strip 270. I read these as representative of the word 櫜 rather than the simpler, more common, 㕣; it was written with a 羽 element on top, representing a "three-sided lance" (see n. 104, above).

[145] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 651, reads the complex (and unclear) graph, originally written with a 鼠 and 宀 over 攸 over 貝, as a loan for *shu* 黸 ("black"); also written 儵.

[146] The original graph is 高 with a 毛 element, which Hubei, vol. 1, n. 652, claims refers to "white feathers."



Strip 274

一乘楯攫轂貝☐☐ [blank to end]

One chariot with spokeless wheels:[147] cowry (?)

Strip 275

一乘羊車綪☐二綾綢青綢之綿緆 [blank to end]

One good-luck chariot:[148] green [?],[149] two patterned gauze?[150] silks, green silk roll with painted multicolor threads,

[147] The original graph for *gu* 轂 was written with 孛 and 木 and 支 elements. This was the chariot used to carry the coffin, see Chen Wei 1996a, 184-85, 187.

[148] The graph 羊 stood for 祥. Kong Yingda explains in his commentary on *xiangche* in the *Liji*, "Quli, shang," that it is an ordinary chariot used in daily life placed in the tomb as a "cloud-soul chariot (*hunche*)" (*Liji zhengyi* 3, 215, in *Shisan jing zhushu*, vol. 1, 1253). Chen Wei 1996a, 186-87, suggests that it was Shao's personal chariot used during his lifetime. He suggests that the other chariots were used for carrying the burial goods.

[149] The graph 綪 here and in strip 272 might represent the word *qian*, a kind of red, but I suspect not, because 青 is used in similar combinations.

[150] Except for the element 糸, the graph is unclear. Hubei, vol. 1, 370, transcribes the phonetic as *chui* 垂, which was easily confused with *ling* (see Guo Ruoyu 1994, 115). See strip 267 for a similar graph with 麥.

276

Strip 276[151]

臼毛紫拜靈光之童靈光之結首二馬之錫
四馬之首胄翟僉白金之釱赤金之銍綮組
之靈之釱軦韓 [blank to end]

three-sided lance with tail decor, purple arrow-ends, numinously radiant chariot shaft-back, numinously radiant knotted head decor, metal face ornaments[152] for two horses, head armor for four horses, pheasant-feather chariot apron, white metal linchpins, red metal shaft-ends with dangling ties on the ends, hand drums?,[153] tied boarding ropes, one (set of) multicolored silk threads,

[151] Chen Wei 1996a, 188, argues that strip 276 belongs with the war or guard chariot records.

[152] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 657, transcribes the phonetic as 見. I suspect it is 易 and the word is *xi* 錫; compare strip 272.

[153] The compound word *xupi* is written 楚裨 on plaque 1 (line 2) and was pronounced similarly to 胥 *sjag (or 楚 [L*tshrj∂gx]) 卑 *pjig. I have found two possibilities: 1) *xupi* 胥紕, also written *xipi* 犀毗 and *shibi* 師比, was a belt-hook popular among Xianbi and Donghu peoples during the Warring States period (Morohashi, vol. 9, 300); 2) two small hand-drums, the *tao* 鞉 [L*dagw] and *pi* 鼙, were used during summer prayer sacrifices to the mountains and rivers (see *Liji Zhengzhu*, "Yueling," 5.12a). Since this section lists items carried in or on a chariot or horse, I tentatively translate "drums" for *xubi* here. For a possible example of the *tao* drum with a handle found in Baoshan Tomb 1, see Hubei, vol. 2, pl. IX.3.

277

Strip 277

苛郙一簮貂韋之冒二十鈇一臼戍絭組之迂二綪綢之童靈光之結首一紅一絭組之緅二翠矛一缶一勾一絸組綏一縲二馬之祇二鑑

Ke Fu received one slivered bamboo[154] sable-skin cap,[155] twenty bronze arrow heads,[156] one three-sided lance with tail decor,[157] hanging flag decor[158] of bound ties, two green silk chariot flags, numinously radiant knotted head-decor with one bundle,[159] one (set of) strings of bound ties, two kingfisher-feather

[154] Hubei, vol. 1, n. 659, suggests that the original graph written 昔 with a 竹 element be read *ce* 籍 ("to lance"). He Linyi 1998, 587, reads *zuo* 筰, a quiver made of split bamboo. I take *zuo* to modify "cap."

[155] The graph for "skin" was originally written with elements 歺 and 韋 (a common alternative for 革). Hubei, vol. 1, 371, transcribes *mao* for "cap" and He Linyi 1993, 63, transcribes *dun* 盾 ("shield"). Although the upper-left strokes of the graph do not seem to be drawn out as with other examples of *mao* (strips 131, 138, 269), Hubei's transcription seems more likely.

[156] The original graph has a 金 semantic element. For the reading of "arrow head," see He Linyi 1998, 1151.

[157] The graphs with the 骨 element and either the 毛 [L*magw] or 戊 [L*mugh] phonetic likely represented the same word, possibly 旄 . See strip 272.

[158] For the reading of 迂 as *liu* 斿, see He Linyi 1998, 215.

[159] Hubei, vol. 1, 371, transcribes 紝, which He Linyi 1998, 525, suggests is for *cha*, written 宅 with a 金 element, as found in the plaque (line 3), where it stood for

covered lances,[160] one covered jar?, one hook?,[161] one coffin pall?,[162] tail decorations for two horses, [163] two mirrors.[164]

"metal shaft ends" *zhi* 銍. The word *cha* referred later (from Tang times onward) to a decorative metal item hung at the belt that reflected one's rank in society (Wang Li 2000, 1521). I suspect the graph here is a loan for *tuo* 紽, a bundle of fibers.

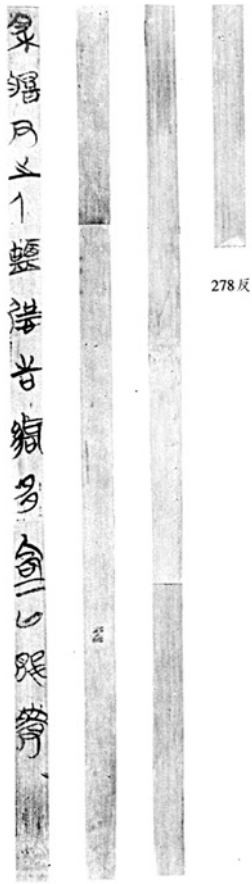
[160] See strip 269. See He Linyi 1998, 257 and 1160. See Hubei, vol. 1, 204, for examples.

[161] This graph is difficult to decipher. The right-hand side looks somewhat like a badly formed 勾; compare Xinyang examples of 鉤, esp. strip 2-27, where it accompanies a caldron vessel (Guo Ruoyu 1994, 97, 99). Another possibility is that the right side should be 尹 or 貝.

[162] He Linyi 1998, 997, reads this graph as *jian*, also written 繭 "cocoon." I suspect it is a loan for *qian* 輤, a decorative cloth that goes on top of a coffin (Karlgren 1972, no. 1250d; Wang Li 2000, 1400).

[163] See He Linyi 1998, 329.

[164] These may have referred to actual basins used as mirrors, or to bronze mirrors (round and square bronze mirrors were found in the northern compartment).



Strip 278 reverse

This strip was found on a bronze basin in the southern section of the western compartment. A light comma at the end separates the text from the rest of the strip, which is blank. Chen Wei places this strip at the end of the administrative documents.[165]

集脰尹之人酤強告呀多命以晏乘

Gu Qiang, person (under) the Ji kitchen officer reported that Ya[166] was ordered numerous times to take to the saddle and ride.[167]

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[165] Chen Wei 1996a, 231. Weld 1999, 85, describes this section of the documents as "file notations of cases" of certain officials during the year 317.

[166] For transcriptions of the names, see He Linyi 1993, 60. He reads the graph as originally written as 肉 over a 木, a graphic variant for *rou* 柔 and loan for You 鄾, a place once north of Xiangyang, Hubei. I suspect that the graph 集 was in fact meant and may have represented an end of the year sacrifice. It is likely that since *dou* can be read as *chu* 廚 ("kitchen") that this is an official in charge of food sacrifices, similar to *jidou* 集脰 (*jichu*) found elsewhere in Chu inscriptions; see Cook 1995. In the Baoshan administrative texts there is a *dadouyin* (strip 139), a *douyin* of Zhengyang (strip 173), and a *jidou* (strip 194). The name Ya was written with an added 糸 element.

[167] The last two words are difficult to decipher. Both were originally written with the 貝 element. The graph 安 is found in the Suixian tomb inventory texts for *an* 鞍 ("saddle"), which in the combination 鞍車 He Linyi 1998, 965, explains as meaning to ride a chariot. We find the combinations 女乘 (the latter graph sometimes written with the added 車 element) in Xinyang and Wangshan tomb inventory texts (see He Linyi 1998, 558), referring to a "mount" (see He Linyi 1998, 146).

Strip 440-1

This strip was among a pile of blank strips in the northern compartment. The content is similar to administrative strips 1-18.[168]

440—1

[Broken] 古☐口等

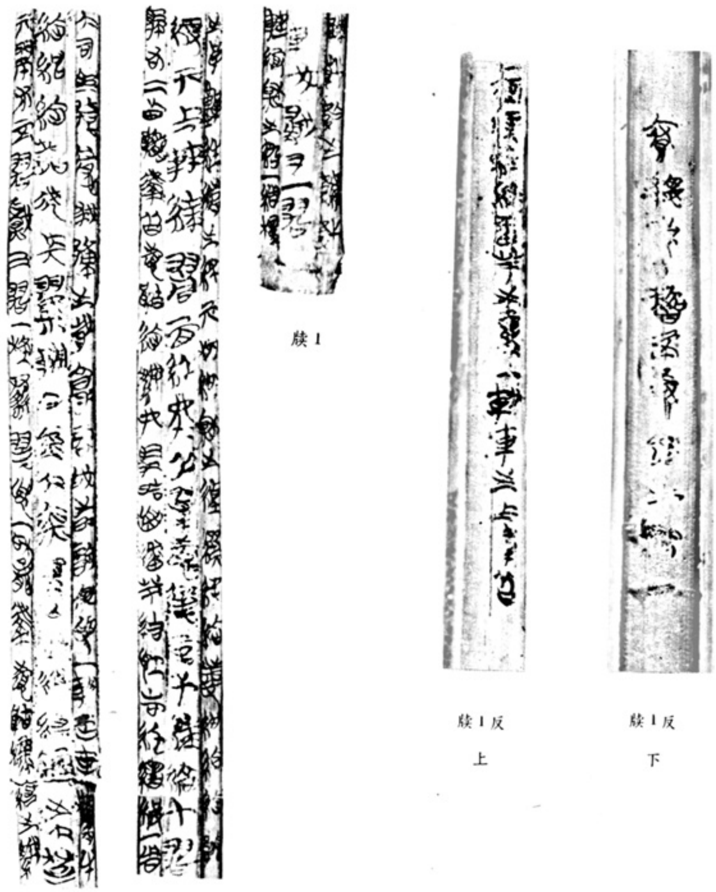
Gu Shi?[169]

[168] The "Collected Register [Investigations]" section; Weld 1999, 85.

[169] Possibly a name, see strips 9, 13; and Hubei, vol. 1, n. 37, which claims the second word refers to a Qi bamboo text, but does not explain.

2. Bamboo Plaque

This plaque made of a split bamboo was found in the northern compartment. There is no punctuation. Much of the content is repeated from strips 267 onward but uses different graphic variants and a different arrangement of the phrases. Generally the scribe for this section seems a poor copyist.



Front side of plaque, three lines of text:

(1) 大司馬悼愲救郙之歲享月丙戌之日害寅受一分正車象牛之靳青綢之純其多紛秋之綎繏純紫發紛約紫韔鞅犴貘之鞦軒

(2)紫紳紫㕣虎長翟輪白金大赤金之釴絭組之靈之大楚綼其上載絑箁百攸四十攸翠之首毛中干絑縞七各車必綅羽一㕣

(3) 其市朮五㕂爨三㕂一梩有毛首一和龍𧇾之首由綠組之綦御右二鼎象𧇾皆之首冑紫綦四馬皓面繙芓皆頂告紑繩皮一彫鼓緅秋之㕂一彫㚆

(1) In the year that Grand *sima* Nao Hua saved Fu, Xiang month, on Bingxu day (23), Hai[170] Yin gave one leading war chariot[171] with water buffalo-skin yokes with green silk trim, side boards with ties of multi-colored silk threads gathered (together), hanging trim, (2) purple coffin ropes, tied together ropes, purple leather cover for the chariot box-front and leather horse breast-strap, wild dog and panda-skin horse cruppers, purple armor bag bound together with purple cords, tiger-skin covered bow case, a pheasant-feather chariot apron, white metal linchpins and red metal shaft-ends with dangling ties on the ends, hand drums.[172] The (chariot) carries on it a red flag with 140 strips and kingfisher feathers on top, an animal-tail center pole with red and white silk, seven three-sided lances, a chariot double-bladed dagger-axe[173] with black and white feathers, one three sided lance with (3) its cover and cord, five three sided lances with barbs, three three-sided lances, one umbrella pole with[174] feathers on top, one (set of) armor of blended short-haired animal (skins) with helmet,[175] rope of green[176] strings, on the driver's right two (sets of) red (dyed) elephant-hide armor each with a helmet, purple ropes[177] four horse-armor masks[178] with numinously radiant knotted head ornament[179]

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[170] The graph is not clear but it looks like a combination of 害 and 司.

[171] I take *fen*, originally written with a 車 element, as an alternative measure word to *cheng* for chariots. He Linyi 1998, 1359, suggests that perhaps it referred to the use of fragrant wood.

[172] See strip 276. For the pheasant-feather chariot apron, see also strips 268, 273. For the phrase "red metal linchpins and white metal shaft-ends" see strips 272, 273. From comparison with strips 272, 273, 276, we can assume that *cha* 釓 must be *zhi* 銍.

[173] The graph 必 was for 戟.

[174] The word *you* 有 is written here as 豸 and 攵 under a 曰.

[175] The word 冑 is written here as 由 with a 糸 element.

[176] See strip 269.

[177] See strip 270.

[178] See strips 271, 276.

[179] The two graphs 繙芓 are poor copies of graphs for 靈光; see similar phrases in strips 270, 272, 276, 277.

with nine bundles,[180] rope reins,[181] one decorated drum with one light-red gathered bag and a decorated drumstick[182]

Upper side of reverse side of plaque:
一☐綀組綏繙芋之童一分車之上☐皆
One (set of) hand drums? with tassels, numinously radiant chariot flag,[183] one chariot on which are... all... .

Lower side of reverse side of plaque:
府執事☐不☐☐之☐
The (person) in charge of storage ... .

[180] See the phrase on strip 277 and discussion in n. 159, above. The use of a numeral before *tuo*, as in strip 277, makes more sense than the word *gao* 告 [L*k∂kw] here. I suspect *gao* was a loan for *jiu* 九 [L*kj∂gwx] ("nine").
[181] See strip 270.
[182] See strip 270.
[183] See strips 272, 276.

APPENDIX THREE

WANGSHAN TOMB 1 DIVINATION TEXT

The following transcription is adapted from Shang Chengzuo (1995). I have made some changes in Shang's punctuation and transcription based on the Baoshan text. The repetitive nature of the text allows one to fill in some missing characters (placed inside brackets). A transcription by Zhu Dexi, Qiu Xigui, and Li Jiahao of strip fragments in a different order is available in appendix 2 of Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1996. Strip 93, below, likely belongs to an administrative text.

1. [Broken] [長客困芻] 聞王於[栽郢之歲， 刑] 夷之月，癸亥之日，禱於[broken]

[During the year when Kunchu, a guest from [?]-chang] visited the king at Zaiying, on Xingyi month, Guihai day, a prayer sacrifice to….[1]

2. 舉禱於宮地、融各一牂 [broken]

offered a proposition prayer to the Residence Earth God and Rong[2] present one ewe each…

3. 以其古敃之，賽禱於楚 [broken]

performed an exorcism to get at its source, performed a repayment sacrifice to Chu [King or founder spirit]…

4. [Broken] [爲] 邵固貞出內侍

[a ritualist used some divination method] to divine for Shao Gu about his service to

5. 王，自刑夷以 [broken]

the king, from one Xingyi month to (the next Xingyi)

6. [Broken] 又憂於躬身與宮室，且又 [其志] [broken]

…(still) has concerns regarding his person and residence, as well as (his intended goals)…

7. [Broken] 毋又咎，貞 [broken]

…Is it that he (still) has spiritual blame. (the ritualist) divined…

8. [Broken] 刑夷以痤，尙毋以其古，又大咎，以速瘥

…(to) Xingyi month he has been suffering, could it be that he has somehow incurred great spiritual blame? In order to speedily cure it….

9. [Broken] 無大咎，疾遲，又祟。以其古敃之，塞禱北子，肥豢，酒食 [broken]

…(the ritualist divined and determined that although) there is no great spiritual blame, the affliction has been slow to heal. There is a curse. He performed an exorcism to get at its source. He performed a repayment sacrifice (to) the North Child with a fat gelded pig, presented it with wine and food…[3]

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[1] See Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 238.

[2] Shang notes that the original graph is similar to the graph for *rong* ("meld") in the name of Chu god Zhu Rong, found in the Chu Silk Manuscript.

[3] See Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 244.

10. [Broken] 以不能食，以心惡，以便胸脅疾，以速瘥，毋以其古，又咎，占之

…and so cannot eat, his heart nauseous,[4] his bowel and torso afflicted. Could it be that he could still be speedily cured and not somehow have incurred blame? (The ritualist) divined it (saying)[5]

11. 咎貞吉，疾少遲瘥，又咎，少又憂於 [broken]

With regard to spiritual blame, the prognosis is auspicious, but the affliction is somewhat slow to heal so there is spiritual blame and some concerns regarding….

12. [Broken] 不見福，毋以古敓之，速☐其胸，禱之速瘥賽瘥

… do not see good fortune.[6] Could it not be exorcised to get at its source? to quickly (cure) his chest, pray for speedy recovery then repay the recovery.

13. 速瘥速賽之速瘥

A speedy recovery requires the speedy recovery payment.

14. [Broken]蓍爲邵固貞，既痤以惡心不內食，尙毋爲大咎，占之曰 [broken]

…(the ritualist) uses a stalk method to divine on Shao Gu's behalf: he already (suffers from) abscesses with nausea and no appetite. Could it not be a great spiritual blame? (The ritualist) divined about it and said…[7]

15. [Broken] 疾 [broken]

…affliction…

16. [Broken] 疾尙 [broken]

..affliction, still …

17. [Broken] 乙亥之日，苛憑 [broken]

…on an Yihai day, Ke Ping (used X method to divine on Shao Gu's behalf)

18. [Broken] 苛憑 [broken]

…Ke Ping…

---

[4] The graph for *e* is written variously, sometimes with the phonetic 不 or 女, which suggests the possibility that the word is not *e* but *fu* 腹 ("abdomen").

[5] See Zhu Dexi et al.1996, 240; Liu Xinfang 1998, 37.

[6] See Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 240.

[7] See Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 238, 253-54.

19. [Broken] 歸鼰占之曰：吉，丙丁有閒 [broken]
…Gui Qu divined about it saying, auspicious, on a Bingding day there will be improvement…

20. [Broken] 占之曰：吉
…(Gui Qu?) divined about it saying, auspicious.

21. [Broken] 冬占之曰：吉
…Dong[8] divined about it saying, auspicious.

22. [Broken] 吉，不死，占之曰：吉 [space] 山川
…(divined about it saying) auspicious (Shao) will not die. (The ritualist) divined about it saying, auspicious. (spirits of the) Mountains and Rivers.

23. [Broken] 公祖 [broken]
…Sire ancestral (spirit)…

24. [Broken] 卒坪樂。思功解於下之人。不壯死 [broken]
…Pingye. (The ritualist) through his will, beating (the ghost), and released (Shao) from those People Below. "He shall not die" …[9]

25. [Broken] [長客困] 翳聞王於栽郢之歲，刑夷之月，癸未之日，隈 [broken]
On the year when (the guest from …[?]-chang, Kun)qu, visited the king at Zaiying, on Xingyi month, Guiwei day, Wei.

26. [Broken] [長客困翳] 聞王於栽 [郢之歲] [broken]
(On the year) when (the guest from ….chang, Kunqu,) visited the king at Zai(ying)….

27. [Broken] 甲子之日[broken]
…on a Jiazi day…

28. [Broken] 己巳甲子之日內齋
….on a Jisi or Jiazi day, perform the inner purification ritual…

---

[8] The graph for the name is composed of 虎 over a 冬 and 虫. I arbitrarily chose Dong as the phonetic.

[9] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 246, reads 卒 as 殺 The meaning is uncertain. I take *yue* 樂 as a loan for *ye* 夜, as in the Chu place-name. I read *zhuang* as an abbreviation for *jiang* 將 .

29. [Broken] 齋 [broken]
…purification ritual…

30. [Broken] 齋 [broken]
…purification ritual…

31. [Broken] 己酉之日，苛憑以其未又爵位，尙速得事，占之：吉，己日將又喜於志喜於事

On a Jiyou day, Ke Ping divined about his not yet having rank, (asking) shall he speedily achieve the affairs (he wishes): "Auspicious, on a Ji day there will be happiness for his ambitions and for his affairs."

32. [Broken] 喜之[X]
…happiness for him…

33. [Broken] 志事，以其古敓之，享歸備玉一環東大網，舉禱宮行一白犬，酒食，

…(some concerns with regard to his) ambitions and affairs. He performed an exorcism to get at its source. He performed a mortuary feast and sent a jade pendant semi-circlet to the Great King of the East and offered the proposition prayer to (the spirit of) the Residence Walkway with one white dog, wine and food…

34. [Broken] 己酉之日， [broken]
…on a Jiyou day…

35. [Broken] 以其未又爵位，尙速得事，占之：吉，將得事少有

…(the ritualist) divined about his not yet having rank, (asking) shall he speedily achieve the affairs (he wishes): "Auspicious, he will achieve the affairs (he wishes) but there is a slight...

36. 憂於躬身與宮室，又祟，以其古敓之 [space] 公主既成。

concern regarding his person and his residence. There is a curse. He performed an exorcism to get at its source. The ritual to the Sire Lord is already complete.

37. 將又喜於躬身與 [broken]

There will be happiness with regard to his person and (his residence)…

38. 速得事 [broken]
speedily achieve the affairs (he desires)…

39. [Broken] 削爲邵固貞走趣事王大夫 [broken]
…(the ritualist used the *chang*) *xiao* method to divine for Shao Gu, who, running about serving the king and the Grandees…

40. [Broken] 王昭王各備玉一環，東陵公備玉一環，賽禱於宮地主一豭貜鼁 [broken]
(sent to Sheng Huan) King, King Zhao a jade pendant semi-circlet each; for Sire of Dongling a jade pendant semi-circlet; perform a repayment sacrifice to the Earth Lord of the Residence with one male gelded pig. Qu...[10]

41. [Broken] 吉，太一牉，后土、司命各一羖，大水一環，擧禱於二天 [broken]
..auspicious; to Grand Unity (send) one ewe, to the Lord Earth and the Controller of Fate, one ram each; to the Grand Water one jade semi-circlet; perform the repayment sacrifice and prayers to the Two (Children of) Heaven….[11]

42. [Broken] 擧禱於太一環，后土、司 [broken]
… offered the proposition prayer to Grand Unity with one jade semi-circlet; to the Lord Earth and the Controller (of Fate)…

43. [Broken] 司命豕 [broken]
…(sacrifice to) the Controller of Fate a pig….

44. [Broken] 擧禱於北子 [broken]
… offered the proposition prayer to the Northern Child

45. [Broken] 一少環，擧禱於東陵 [broken]
…(present) one small jade semi-circlet, offered the proposition prayer to Dongling…

46. 王之北子各豕，酒食，篙之。思攻解於宮室 [broken]
to the Northern Child of the King (and…) a pig each, with wine and food, present outside the city gates. (The ritualist) through his will beats (the spirit) and releases (Shao Gu) from Residence (spirit's curse).

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[10] See Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 243. I suspect that 貜 was a graphic variant for *huan* 豢.
[11] See Liu Xingfang 1996, p. 35.

47. [Broken] [長客] 困芻聞王於栽郢之歲，爨月，癸丑[之日] [broken]
The year that the guest from [?]-chang, Kunqu, visited the king at Zaiying, Cuan month, Guichou day….

48. [Broken] 癸丑甲寅 [broken]
…on a Guichou or Jiayin day…

49. 昏爨月之 [broken]
at dusk Cuan month's…

50. [Broken] 之。雚 [broken]
…it. Guan… .

51. [Broken] 雚受習之以 [broken]
…Guan received and repeated (X's exorcism) to…

52. [Broken]爨月，丙辰之日，登昔以少 [broken]
…Cuan month, Bingchen day, Deng Xi used the *shao* (*bao* method)…

53. 爨月丁巳之日爲邵固舉禱東大王、聖 [broken]
Cuan month, Dingsi day, (the ritualist) for Shao Gu offered the proposition prayer to the Great King of the East, Sheng…

54. [Broken] 王，各戠牛，饋之。翌禱先君東陵公戠牛，饋 [broken]
…(sacrifice for….) king, a black water buffalo each, present as food offerings; a secondary sacrifice and prayer to Former Lord Sire of Dongling with a black water buffalo, presented as food offerings….

55. [Broken] 爲邵固舉禱大夫之日，並舉禱行，白犬；翌禱王孫桑豕
…for Shao Gu offered the proposition prayer to the day of the grandee (?) and at the same time[12] offered the proposition prayer to the Walkway with a white dog; a secondary sacrifice and prayer to Royal Descendant Sang with a pig…

56. [Broken] 舉[禱]栽陵君肥豕，酒食；舉禱北子肥豢，酒食，速瘥賽之
…offered the proposition prayer to the Lord of Zailing with a fat pig and wine and food; offered the proposition prayer to the Northern Child with a fat gelded pig and wine and food, for a speedy recovery and (the ritualist will) repay (the spirits) for it.

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[12] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 244, 271, here have "present a *ju* sacrifice and prayer to the private shaman of the Grandee."

57. [Broken] 死，又祟，以其古敓之, 舉禱太備玉一環，侯土、司命各一少環，大水備玉一環，歸鬿

…(not) die, but there's a curse. Perform an exorcism to get at its source, offer the proposition prayer to Grand Unity with one pendant jade semi-circlet, to the Earth Lord and the Controller of Fate, one small jade semi-circlet each, to Grand Water one pendant jade semi-circlet; Gui Qu…

58. [Broken] 鬿既痤以心脣然不可以動思與身皮

……(Gui) Qu (used the *baojia* method to divine on Shao Gu's behalf): he already has abscesses, so that his heart flutters to the point that he cannot move his mind or his body, his skin … .[13]

59. [Broken] 歸鬿以保家爲邵固貞既心惡以塞善便 [broken]

…Gui Qu used the *baojia* method to divine on Shao Gu's behalf: he is already nauseous so that he is blocked and has diarrhea …..[14]

60. [Broken] 保家爲邵固貞既心[broken]

…*baojia* method to divine on Shao Gu's behalf; already his heart…

61. [Broken] 少遲瘥，以其古敓之。專歸鬿之祝，舉 [broken]

…but it is a little slow to heal. (The ritualist) performed an exorcism to get at its source and then turned to Gui Qu's exorcism and offered the proposition prayer to…

62. [Broken] 歸

Gui

63. 鬿以 [broken]

Qiu used (a divination method)…

64. 己未又間，辛丑且 [broken]

On a Jiwei day there will be improvement, on a Xinchou day recovery

65. [Broken] 辰間庚申

….on X-chen day improvement, on Gengshen day

66. 乙丑之日賽禱先君戠牛，己未之日毛 ，庚申內齋 [broken]

on Yichou day, perform a repayment sacrifice and prayer to the Former Lord with a black water buffalo; on Jiwei day perform the X-sacrifice, on Gengshen day perform the inner purification ritual…[15]

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[13] See Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 238, 256.

[14] See Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 239, 256.

[15] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 224, 273. For the "X-sacrifice," see my discussion, chap. 3, p. 73, n. 112.

67. [Broken] 乙丑之 [broken]
..on an Yichou day…

68. 賽禱於東大 [broken]
perform a repayment sacrifice and prayer to the Great (King) of the East….

69. [Broken] 昏歸玉於東 [broken]
at dusk return a jade to (the Great King of the) East….

70. [Broken] 歸玉東大王，己巳內齋 [broken]
…return a jade to the Great King of the East. On Jisi day perform the inner purification ritual.

71. [Broken] 祭廄，甲戌己巳內齋
…sacrifice is complete, on a Jiaxu or Jisi day perform the inner purification ritual.[16]

72. 辛未之日野齋。以其古敫之。許他占之曰：吉，因以黃靈習之同祝。聖王、昭王既賽禱。己未之日賽禱王孫卓
On a Xinwei day performed the outside purification ritual. He performed an exorcism to get at its source. Xu Ta divined about it saying, "Auspicious." He thereupon used the *huangling* method to repeat (X-diviner's earlier exorcism) and perform the same exorcism. The repayment sacrifice and prayers to the Sage King and King Zhao are completed. On a Jiwei day, (Xu Ta) performed the repayment sacrifice and prayer to Royal Descendant Zhuo…[17]

73. 許他以少 [broken]
Xu Ta used the *shao* (X-method)….

74. [Broken] 聖王、昭王既 [broken]
…(repayment sacrifices to) the Sage King and King Zhao are completed.

75. [Broken] 聖王、昭王、東陵公，各戠牛，饋祭之；速祭公主豢，酒食。占之：咎。恆貞 [broken]
…(sacrifice to) the Sage King, King Zhao, the Sire of Dongling, with a black water buffalo each, and present in sacrifice as food offer-

[16] The graph for *ji* is written as *jiu* with a 示 element; Zhu Dexi et al 1996, 244, 273.
[17] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 242.

ings. Quickly sacrifice a gelded male pig to the Earth Lord with wine and food. (The ritualist) divines about it (saying), "(There is) blame. The long term prognosis…"

76. [Broken] 公既禱未賽 [broken]
The prayer sacrifice to the Sire (of Dongling) is complete but the repayment sacrifice has not yet been completed.

77. [Broken] 既饋 [broken]
already presented as food offerings…

78. [Broken]日月饋東陵公 [space] 嘗酒甲戌 [space] 祭廄☐☐ [space] 祭
to the Sun and Moon, prepare food offerings, to Sire of Dongling… [space] prepare a tasting ritual and wine, on Jiaxu day, the sacrifice was complete...sacrifice[18]

79. [Broken] 月饋 [broken]
…Moon, prepare food offerings…

80. [Broken] ☐於東陵公、坪、北子、行☐☐
…to the Sire of Dongling, Ping, Northern Child, the Walkway…

81. 敃非祭祝 [broken]
perform an exorcism; it is not a matter of sacrificing to Zhu (Rong)…

82. [Broken] 嘗祭☐ [broken]
tasting sacrifice…

83. [Broken] 於先 [broken]
…to the Former…

84. [Broken] 先君 [broken]
…Former Lord…

85. [Broken] 於父蔡(?), 舉新父，舉不辜，舉明祖，舉☐南方，又祟於害見
…to Father Cai (?); offered the proposition prayer to New Father; offered the proposition prayer to Those Innocent Victims; offered the

[18] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 243, 270-71.

proposition prayer to the Numinous Specters; offered the proposition prayer to the South. There is a curse visible in Harm [19]…

86. [Broken] 邵固貞：恒貞吉，不死，又祟⍰北方，又祟 [broken]
…for Shao Gu prognosticate: "The long term prognosis is auspicious. He will not die but there is a curse (in) the North. There is a curse…

87. [Broken] 以新父 [broken]
with New Father…

88. [Broken] 太舉大公 [broken]
…(sacrifice to) Grand Unity; offered the proposition prayer to Great Sire…

89. [Broken] 公備玉一環 [broken]
(sacrifice to X-) Sire with one jade pendant semi-circlet

90. [Broken] 恒貞吉，又見祟。以其古敓之。黃靈占[之] [broken]
…the long term prognosis is auspicious but there is a curse evident. (The ritualist) performed an exorcism to get at its source and divined (using) the *huangling* method…

91. 齊客蹟果聞 [broken]
(The year when) the guest from Qi, Ji Guo, visited (the king)…

92. [Broken] 於栽郢之歲，獻馬之月，範集志以 [broken]
The year when (X visited the king in) in Zaiying, Xianma month, Jiyou day, Fan Jizhi using (the Cangjia method prognosticate for Shao Gu)…[20]

93. [Broken] 其古以冊告範集 [broken]
...its cause, using bamboo strips to report it, Fan Ji...

94. 獻馬之月[broken]
on Xianma month...

95. 獻馬之月，己酉之日，苛憑蓍爲邵固貞既 [broken]
on Xianma month, Jiyou day, Ke Ping prognosticated for Shao Gu using the stalk method: already....

---

[19] A place in the night sky?
[20] See Strip 1 in Zhu Dexi et al.1996, 237-38.

96. [Broken] 以保家爲邵固貞出內侍王 [broken]
...used the *baojia* method to prognosticate for Shao Gu: while going in and out serving the king, ...

97. [Broken] 爲邵固貞出內侍王自見
... prognosticate for Shao Gu: while going in and out serving the king, from seeing..

98. [Broken] 以保家爲邵固貞既⿰⿰氣以 [broken]
... used the *baojia* method to prognosticate for Shao Gu: already… breath..

99. [Broken] 家爲邵固貞既 [broken]
... (used the *bao*) *jia* method to prognosticate for Shao Gu: already

100. [Broken] 遲瘥 [broken]
..slow to heal

101. 又遺遲瘥 。以其古敃之。擧 [broken]
.....there is decline, slow to heal. He performed an exorcism to get at its source and offered the proposition prayer to....

102. 又祟。以其古敃之。擧 [broken]
There is a curse. He performed an exorcism to get at its source and offered the proposition prayer to....

103. [Broken] 擧禱北宗一環，擧禱坪一豭⿰⿰⿰社。以其古
… offered the proposition prayer to the Northern Ancestor with one semi-circlet of jade; presented an initial sacrifice to Ping with one male pig…Earth Altar. He (performed an exorcism) to get at its source.[21]

104. 飲各一牂 [broken]
[sacrifice of Lao Tong, Zhu Rong and Yu] Yin each one ewe[22]

105. [Broken] 坪既禱，楚先既禱 [broken]
The prayer sacrifice to Ping is already complete. The prayer sacrifice to the Chu Founders is already complete.[23]

106. [Broken] 以心惡不能食以 [broken]
he is nauseous and cannot eat...

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[21] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 244.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.* For Ping, they have *lai* 來.

107. [Broken] 聚便足骨疾，尙毋死，占之：恒貞吉不死 [broken]
his bowels contracted and his feet and bones are afflicted. Shall it be that he will still not die? (The ritualist) divined about it: "The long term prognosis is auspicious. He will not die...."[24]

108. [Broken] 骨疾，尙毋 [broken]
...bones afflicted. Would it be that he will not...[25]

109. 又遺，又見祟。宜禱 [broken]
There is decline. There is a curse evident. Present a meat and prayer sacrifice to...[26]

110. [Broken] 適集歲之刑
....(from one Xingyi month to another) at the end of the year

111. [Broken] 適集歲之
...at the end of the year...

112. ☐壬申☐既☐ [broken]
...on a Renshen day,...already...

113. [Broken] 死，占之曰：吉
(Shall he not) die? (The ritualist) divined about it and said: "Auspicious."

114. [Broken] 占之曰：吉 [broken]
(The ritualist) divined about it and said: "Auspicious."

115. 占之曰：吉 [broken]
(The ritualist) divined about it and said: "Auspicious."

116. [Broken] 死，占之 [broken]
…(not) die. (The ritualist) divined about it....

117. [Broken] 死，占之☐☐享☐☐☐☐ [broken]
(not) die. (The ritualist) divined about it...mortuary feast offerings….

118. 死☐ [broken]
...die...

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[24] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 420.
[25] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 240, read it "head" not "bones."
[26] Zhu Dexi et al. 1996, 240, 262-63.

119. [Broken] 之曰：吉 [broken]
...(divined) about it and said: "Auspicious....

120. [Broken] 之曰：吉 [broken]
...(divined) about it and said: "Auspicious....

121. [Broken] 占 [broken]
...divined...

122. [Broken] 吉 [broken]
...auspicious...

123. [Broken] 吉
...auspicious...

124. [Broken] ☐貞吉不☐爲☐☐ [broken]
(the long term) prognosis is auspicious. He will not (die). For....

125. 吉，不死 [broken]
...auspicious. He will not die...

126. [Broken] 吉，不
...auspicious. He will not...

127. [Broken] 死 [broken]
...die...

128. [Broken] 酒食 [broken]
...with wine and food...

129. [Broken] 饋之 [broken]
as food offerings...

130. [Broken] 禱☐ [broken]
...sacrifice and prayer...

131. [Broken] [先]老童、祝[融] [broken]
...(sacrifice to the Chu founders) Lao Tong, Zhu Rong, (and Yu Yin)...

132. [Broken] 皇類 [broken]
...yellow grain offering...

133. [Broken] 五十之日☐☐祭馬☐☐☐ [broken]
...on the fifteenth day.....sacrifice a horse...

134. [Broken] 日所可以齋 [broken]
on (X) day, perform the purification ritual where he...

135. [Broken]日☒☒ [broken]
on (X) day.....

136. [Broken]祭 [broken]
...sacrifice...

137. [Broken] ☒乙丑 [broken]
...on Yichou day...

138. [Broken] 乙亥
...on Yihai day

139. [Broken] 辛未 [broken]
...on Xinwei day...

140. [Broken] 未壬申 [broken]
on a X-wei or Renshen day...

141. [Broken] 己 [broken]
...on Ji-X day...

142. [Broken] 子 [broken]
...on X-zi day...

143. [Broken] 聞 [broken]
...visits...

144. 乙丙少 [broken]
On a Yibing day, some...

145. [Broken] 壬癸，大又祟 [broken]
...on Rengui day. In Grand Unity, there is a curse.

146. [Broken] 以其 [broken]
... (perform an exorcism) to get at its (source)...

147. [Broken] 古敫 [broken]
…perform an exorcism (to get at its) source

148. [Broken] 思攻 [broken]
(the ritualist) wills and attacks (the ghost releasing Shao)...

149. [Broken] 既 [broken]
...already...

150. [Broken] 瘥又 [broken]
...(slow) to heal, there is (a spiritual blockage)...

151. [Broken] ☐瘥
...heal

152. [Broken] 之未
...about it. Not yet...

153. [Broken] ☐ 二卑 [broken]

154. [Broken] 不☐ [broken]

155. [Broken] 夕☐ [broken]

156. [Broken] 又[broken]

157. [Broken] 毋 [broken]

158. [Broken] 作 [broken]

159. [Broken] ☐丙 [broken]

160. [Broken] 長 [broken]

161. [Broken] 春 [broken]

162. [Broken] 以☐ [broken]

163. [Broken] 以 [broken]

164. [Broken] 靈 [broken]

165. [Broken] ☐☐☐ [broken]

166. [Broken] ☐ [broken]

167. [Broken] ☐☐ [broken]

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