East Asian History

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ORIGINATING INSTRUMENTALITY AND THE *CHEN* FAMILY

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Introduction

Hieroglyphic languages seem to preserve pictures of ideas and associations, so that in some cases we can know about connotational relations in those languages which otherwise might go unnoticed. For instance, in Chinese, the third person pronoun was written with the character for a snake [它 = 蛇]. The same phenomenon seems to have been the case for Egyptian hieroglyphics: the third person masculine was written with the sign for a horned viper [*Cerastes cornutus*] (while the third person feminine was a folded cloth).[1] One wonders if there was some reason that the pronoun denoting the Other was written with such a symbolically loaded image.

Such questions can be raised only when one looks beyond the individual words in their referring uses, as historically contingent formations in written language, and attempts to relate the characters systematically in terms of families of meaning, of sound, or of similarities of components used. There have been many approaches to this problem. Many, like Karlgren's phonetic reconstruction of archaic Chinese,[2] are based upon the traditional notion of *xiesheng* 諧聲 relations: that is, most compound characters consist of a radical, to fix the word's significance, plus a phonetic component, said to be meaningless, which indexes a particular sound for all the words which share that element. A phonetic element given different radicals will thus form groups of related if not identical sound families; since differential variation has occurred in these over time, an archaic sound can be reconstructed for several related sounds linked by their phonetic elements, by the comparative method. This gives us an image of language history in terms of incremental variation: weakly directed, to be sure, but only relative to the complex tendencies of phonological shifts; indeed, such research quickly focuses upon the implications of the sound families for the determination of transformations through phonetic links.[4]

[1] 𓆑 : -f, 'he, him, his'; 𓆄 : -s, 'she, her'.

[2] B. Karlgren, "Word families in Chinese," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 5 (1933): 1–120; idem, "Cognate words in the Chinese phonetic series," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 28 (1956): 1–18; idem, *Grammatica Serica recensa* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1957).

[3] See E. G. Pulleyblank, "Some new hypotheses concerning word families in Chinese," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 1 (1973); 111–25; idem, "The ganzhi as phonograms and their application to the calendar," *Early China* 16 (1991): 39–80

[4] E.g. Huang Yongwu, *Xingsheng duo jian huiyi kao* [A study showing that phonetic compounds often are also joined meaning formations] (Taiwan: Guoli Taiwan Shifan Daxue Guowen Yanjiusuo, 1967).

[5] Zhang Taiyan, *Wenshi* [The beginnings of writing] (Taibei: Guangwen Shuju, 1970).

[6] R. A. Stein, *Études sociologiques sur la Chine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953), Introduction, p.xvii.

[7] C. Lévi-Strauss, *The view from afar* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), p.146.

[8] For this discussion see R. Jakobson, *Six lectures on sound and meaning* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), and especially its Preface by Lévi-Strauss (reprinted in Lévi-Strauss, *View from afar*, pp.138–47); R. Jakobson and L. R. Waugh, *The sound shape of language* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1979); C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural anthropology* (New York: Harper Books, 1963), Postscript to chs 3 and 4, pp.81–100.

Another group of researchers aims to discover a strict correlation of sounds with meanings in archaic Chinese.[4] In this project, the actual character may be ignored somewhat in the attempt to find patterns of phonetic symbolism. A similar approach, for example in *Wenshi* 文始 by Zhang Taiyan 章太炎, attempted to trace the derivation for the forms of the character, according to a grid of phonetic transformations, so as to arrive at a very small primordial core of sounds/meanings whose progressive elaboration and transformations developed into the Chinese language we now know.[5] It is a meaning-centered approach to historical variation; the phonetic vehicles are subsumed by the primal values given through the meanings.

It is said of Granet that one of his great achievements in the study of Chinese was that: "Long before one spoke of 'word families' in sinology, he had recognized the signifying character of numerous graphic elements which until then had been considered as purely phonetic."[6] Granet was more than simply a successor to the Rousseauist and Durkheimian tradition of the analysis of folk society in terms of the sacred festivals it organized and the heightened emotions it expressed; also more than the immediate precursor of the Lévi-Straussian analytics of kinship calculus. His proto-structuralist treatment of Chinese myth and thought has had a profound influence upon anthropological structuralism which came to fruition in Lévi-Strauss's *Mythologiques*. Such an approach to language, seeing it as accomplishing its "*petite mythologie,*"[7] would allow us to question, for example, the signifying purport of using the snake as a phonetic in the third person pronoun, but without committing us to an *a priori* identification of sounds and significance. The whole idea of a structural account, having renounced any global association of phonology and semantics, is to uncover, *a posteriori*, local domains where families have been articulated in a meaningful way upon shared phonetic features.[8]

In the present study, no ambitious, language-wide reconstructions will be attempted. Instead, it will be quite sufficient to limit consideration to one or two phonetic elements, and to observe the families of words which are constituted by the addition of different radicals to the phonetic core. The purpose of doing this is not to reconstruct any archaic sounds or to investigate rules of phonological change, but simply to observe the ways that new domains of meaning get formed over time, metaphorically, with the addition of new radicals. If a sufficient number of different words sharing the same phonetic element is found to be systematically related semantically, this will demonstrate the soundness of an approach such as Granet's: that is, it will make the traditional sound-meaning distinction problematic—put it into relief (*Aufhebung*) while not cancelling it out.

The phonetic element under consideration in this study comprises the fifth character of the twelve Earthly Branches calendrical signs, *chen* 辰. Since this is an ancient calendrical sign, the derivative words to be discussed will be seen to deal predominantly with ceremonial values. Later in the paper, the *chen* words will be amalgamated with another group of words which

constitutes a sound family containing words dealing with the division of land. The juxtaposition of these two groups can be justified in terms of the social organization of the early and middle Zhou, which may be roughly characterized as 'feudal'. This configuration produced a distinctive semantic alignment throughout archaic Chinese: for example, the word *xiang* 襄 which most often means "to exorcise" [= *rang* 攘，禳] also means 'to plow' according to *Shuowenjiezi* 説文解字 . Thus the Zhou form of sociopolitical organization saw an equivalence set up between categories of ceremony and of land. Specifically, in the following pages, we will examine an equivalence between division of sacrificial meat and division of land.

The method to be used in this study can be characterized as roughly structuralist. That is, it aims to achieve a reasonable degree of completeness in analyzing the data at hand, and from it to construct paradigmatic sets based on perceived similarities. It attends distributionally to the evidence from the texts it examines (here, principally *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Zhouli* 周禮), and therefore is concerned with accounting for each use within a given text, as well as the compositional context of the surrounding text. Accordingly, at first, this essay undertakes a detailed review of concrete instances and practices, in order eventually to construct a graph, or give a "diagrammatic expression,"[9] of their logical interrelations or operations.

Discussion

Our concerns with the *chen* system begin with a passage of *Zuozhuan* from 589 BC (*Cheng* 成 2):

宋文公卒。始厚葬。用蜃炭。

Duke Wen of Song died. The (practice of) elaborate burial was begun. Clams (and) charcoal were used.

The Du Yu commentary 杜預注 says that clams were burnt to produce charcoal, which was packed around the base and sides of the tomb. The Zheng Xuan commentary 鄭玄正義 to the *Zhouli*, and the Zheng Sinong 鄭司農 commentary to the *Kaogongji* 考工記[10] correct Du's suggestion, saying that clams were burnt to produce limy ash, *hui* 灰, which differs from charcoal, *tan* 炭 . Thus, the tomb arrangement of Duke Wen was criticized for being "elaborate" because *both* limy ash *and* charcoal were being used, whereas either the one or the other alone should have sufficed. These substances, as explained by Zheng Xuan's commentary to the "Controller of Clams" 掌蜃 chapter of the *Zhouli*, were used to seal out or absorb; moisture and prevent it from entering the tomb.[11]

The text of the "Controller of Clams" chapter of *Zhouli* identifies three different types or uses of the clams, for the contribution of which the officials in question were responsible:

(1) Clams packed in graves 以共闉壙之蜃 ;
(2) Clams for sacrificial ceremonies 祭祀共蜃器之蜃 ;
(3) Clams of 'white splendor' (i.e. whitewash) 共白盛之蜃.

[9] C. Lévi-Strauss, *From honey to ashes* (New York: Harper Books, 1973), p.464.

[10] Compiled in Takezoe Kōkō, *Zuozhuan huijian* [Collected notes on the *Chronicles of Zuo*] (1903; reprint ed., Taibei: Fenghuang Chubanshe, 1977), vol.1, *juan* 12, pp.24–5. See also Kong Yingda et al., eds, *Shisanjing zhushu* (Notes and commentaries on the Thirteen Classics), 8 vols (Taibei: Yiwen Yinshuguan, 1979) (hereafter *SSJZS*), 6: 427.

[11] *SSJZS*, vol.3, p.251.

These three applications of clams form a well-balanced, closed set of categories. The last use mentioned is *architectural*, having to do with domestic residences, as well as with temple color schemes. The first use transposes the architectural features common in daily life into the context of the *gravesite*. Taking place in temples, or at outside altars, the second application mentioned *mediates the opposition between living and dead* that the list as a whole establishes. These three domains for the use of clams underlie a typical triad of concerns for the ancient ancestral society: first the ancestral markers, last the architectural features, and centrally the mediating role of the ceremonies. Thus this list is less a sequence of three points than it is an icon of structural mediation. The following discussion will proceed accordingly, leaving the mediating function until last, and concentrating first on the ordered duality of dead and living.

The *Zuozhuan* and *Zhouli* material make it clear that clam shells could be used to make a white substance which was packed into graves, according to well-defined rules of protocol. We may deepen our understanding of this use by noting the other passages which accompany the "Controller of Clams" chapter of the *Zhouli*; the two chapters which precede it are first "Controller of Charcoal" and then "Controller of *Tu* Rushes" 掌荼 . Both these items are associated with combatting moisture, particularly in a tomb setting. They should thus be thought of as an arranged unit of text. The so-called *tu* rushes, as mentioned in *Yili*, (*Jixi*) 儀禮既夕 are used to make cushions for beneath the coffin:

抗木刊。茵著用荼實綏澤焉。

The earth-boards are made of wood stripped of its bark and then hewn into shape. In making the cushions, the outer layer is of *tu* rushes, and within these are wild ginger and water lilies.[12]

The commentaries to *Yili* and *Zhouli* explain that the ginger, lilies, and *tu* rushes are used for their fragrance and absorbency; further, commentaries to the latter say that the *tu* rushes are sewn together with cloth of 'light black color' 緇翦布，謂淺黑色之布 , to make the outer covering. This chromatic specification associates the cushions with the color of charcoal, which is the subject of the first chapter of the three being considered here; charcoal, besides being a non-edible product and a material used for cooking, was also an important substance for controlling moisture. Therefore, it appears that in the course of a discussion of various functionaries of the Officials of the Earth 地官 , the *Zhouli* has clustered together three more positions in a well-ordered way: the first and the third chapters deal with pure black and pure white substances respectively, which, however, are not exclusively used in funerary rites, while the artifact in the middle position is much more exclusively related to funerary practices yet mixes color categories, since various light colors, including white (water-lilies), are contained within a covering of grayish black.

[12] This translation is from J. Steele, *The I-Li*, 2 vols (London: Probsthain, 1917), 2: 103. For discussion of the cushions see Chen Gongrou, "Shisangli, Jixilizhong suojizaide sangzang zhidu" [Funerary customs as documented in Shisangli and Jixili], *Kaogu Xuebao* (1956.4): 80; and Shen Wenzuo, "Dui 'Shisangli, Jixilizhong suojizaide sangzang zhidu' jidian yijian" [A few comments on "Funerary customs as documented in Shisangli and Jixili"], *Kaogu Xuebao* (1958.2): 35–7.

Aside from the important color symbolism involved here, to which we will soon return, there is another clear connection of clams to burial customs in the *Zhouli*. In the "Master of the Outer Territories" 遂師 chapter (again in the Officials of the Earth section), this functionary is said to contribute the required 'Mound Basket' and 'Clam Carriage' for large funerals 大喪⋯共丘籠及蜃車之役 . The 'mound basket' is used for transporting earth to cover the grave pit with the tumulus, and the 'clam carriage' is said to be the large hearse, covered with and dragging willows, as it takes the coffin to the tomb. Interestingly, Zheng's commentary points out that the word 'clam' here is sometimes replaced in the *Liji* 禮記 by *fu* 榑 or *quan* 輇 , which alerts us to some of the possibilities of the phonetic contours of this archaic sound family.[13]

13   *SSJZS*, vol.3, pp.235–6.

Clams Packed in Tombs

Through textual indications in *Zuozhuan*, *Zhouli*, and *Yili*, we have been able to confirm the existence of a system which has to do with ancient funeral observances, consisting of a binary color opposition (black/white), and pertaining to clams, as well as to the product of burnt clam shells (in contrast to charcoal). In turning to archaeological evidence from tomb excavations, it is necessary first to introduce a new term into the discussion. As we will see in more detail later, there is a word *e* 堊 , the meaning of which covers not only whitewash and its application, but also any white-colored earth.

Therefore, when investigating 'clams' 蜃 , we must also pay attention to the term *e*, which refers to any limy substance, including that produced from clamshells. The archaeological record deals mainly in this extended sense, because naturally the excavators do not follow the classical terminology in using *shen* 蜃 for clamshell products, mentioning instead a variety of white clays or limy substances which can be assimilated to the term *e* 堊 . In extending our concerns to this broader term, we are elaborating the phenomena of color symbolism which the texts suggest, rather than strictly dealing with the family of *chen* words, but there is clearly much to be learned about the metaphorical complex by doing so.

Unfortunately, once we leave the conceptual network of the linguistic family, and turn to archaeological evidence, a plethora of variant practices and tomb arrangements confronts us, only some of which correspond to our concerns here. Obviously, we will have to be very selective[14] in using the evidence available; even so, the degree of variation in styles and color-schemes is still substantial, and it is important to provide a clear and realistic account of this situation before examining the data.

It is often pointed out that the *Zhouli* is an idealized late work, and we are used to discovering archaeological materials which bear little resemblance to the highly organized picture presented in this text. This is certainly a relevant aspect of our problem, but the situation cannot be reduced to a simple acceptance or rejection of the account of burial given in the classical

14   Omitted, in particular, is any analysis of alternative methods of burial, such as the stone cist-type burials, or of the historical development of the burial chamber, and the pit-type tomb, into the side-chamber type. Lastly, we will not be able to look into the closely-related problems of the color symbolism displayed on the coffin, in the tomb chamber, and on a number of associated objects.

[15] Regarding the discrepancies between classical descriptions of city designs and the archaeological evidence, J. Meyer, "*Fengshui* of the Chinese city," *History of Religions* 18 (1978): 138–55, at 140–1, offers a similar conclusion concerning the probable effects of geomantic siting constraints.

[16] Suixian Leigudun Yihaomu Kaogu Fajuedui, "Hubei Suixian Zenghouyi mu fajue jianbao" [A brief report on the excavation of the Zhenghouyi tomb at Sui County, Hubei], *Wenwu* (1979.7): 1–24.

[17] Kang Baozhu, "Hebei Pingshanxian Sanjicun faxian Zhanguo mu" [The discovery of a Warring States tomb at Sanji Village, Pingshan County, Hebei], *Kaogu Tongxun* (1958.6): 49–50

text; many other issues are involved. Given that the texts are highly organized, we are still vexed by the problem of where the original materials came from. Also, why were they perceived as suitable for inclusion? In our case, the *Zhouli* material seems to corroborate our *Zuozhuan* passage, while embedding the reference to clams in a complexly structured format of categories represented iconically in the arrangement of textual lines and chapters, as has been argued above. However, the terms *shen* and *e* are vague and require us to differentiate three different kinds of evidence from tomb excavations to compare with the texts: first, methods of burial which involve actual clam shells; secondly, the problems of white in the overall chromatic symbolism of tombs; and thirdly, the use of clays in tomb construction. These three issues are entailed by our adoption of *e* 堊 as a relevant term; they may merge in actual practice, in some places, but are distinct elements and have probably each been variously elaborated in response to different concerns.

There are several reasons why the archaeological record does not reveal in any simple and direct way the classical conceptual patterns being examined here. Archaeological evidence shows numerous local variations of tomb placement, although textual sources suggest uniformity. Also, when looking at the archaeological record, we are dealing to a much greater degree with the play of historical circumstances that led to each particular site. Intervening variables blurred the clear outlines of classical theory in each case: for example, the original color and moisture of the earth at the gravesite; the availability of other kinds of materials, such as alternative fills of ash, gravel, or different colored soil, or of charcoal, river pebbles, sand, or other packing materials. Perhaps this aspect of funerary color symbolism was more context-sensitive than the red-and-black coffin schemes, which are more constant and easily documented. If we see the circumstances of the excavated tombs as 'solutions' to particular problems posed by a site, then permutations of these could plausibly be understood if taken to have been put in place by tomb diagnosticians of specialized traditions of buriers.[15] In addition to these extrinsic factors, there are also intrinsic elements which may or may not be known, such as the wealth, status and circumstances of the individual buried at the site. These considerations might account for the fact that Chinese tomb planning in the first millennium BC does not show the uniformity that the written texts seem to assume in their prescriptions of standards of burial in actual cases and in general.

This much having been said by way of methodological precautions, there follows a review of some of the kinds of information available from ancient Chinese tombs. The arrangement described in *Zuozhuan* in 589 BC corresponds roughly with that of typical Warring States sites, such as the one at Leigudun 壜鼓墩, Suizhou 隨州 (Hubei) from 433 BC.[16] Such tombs are characterized by a wooden tomb chamber surrounded by charcoal and overlaid or surrounded by white clay 白膏泥. Another feature of Warring States tombs is that all feasible methods of protection sometimes seem to have been employed in a single site. Here is a description of Sanji 三汲, Pingshan 平山 (Hebei):

The layer of plowed earth was 40 cm thick. There was a layer of disturbed earth 20 cm thick, which was black and brown colored, in which was mixed a rather large amount of burnt red colored earth through seepage. A layer of *hangtu* 夯土 was 7.4 m thick, each pounded layer 10 to 13 cm thick. The quality of this earth was about the same as in the disturbed layer, except that the burnt red was a little bit less. The charcoal layer was 30 to 40 cm thick. According to the man who had drilled the well [which had penetrated this site]: "In the middle of the charcoal layer was a very thin layer of something colored red" which now has already fragmented into very small pieces. A layer of lime was 3 to 4 cm thick, only on the north-eastern and northern faces of the well wall. The river pebbles formed a layer of 36 to 50 cm thick; on the western, south-western, and south-eastern faces they directly underlay the charcoal. These were natural river pebbles; the large ones were the size of a volleyball, while the small ones were the size of a fist. They were very neatly laid out. Below this is the level of the original earth, which is yellow in color.[17]

This sort of tomb included a little of everything in it, whereas in earlier graves such elements are used individually or in pairs. This can be seen in the following examples.

The exact dating of M 2040 in Houchuan 后川, Shan County 陝縣 (Henan) is uncertain, but in 1959 it was called a Warring States tomb because its construction involved piling rocks and charcoal around all six surfaces of the tomb chamber, and because such construction is a typical Warring States method.[18] However, a 1962 report asserts that the site is either early Warring States or late Spring and Autumn.[19] Elsewhere, such tomb construction, as found for example in M 140 at Liulige 琉璃閣, Hui County 輝縣 (Henan) is recognized as typical of Warring States tombs. The *Lüshi chunqiu, jiesangpian* 呂氏春秋, 節喪篇 contains a passage describing such construction.[20] Although charcoal and stone fill is commonly associated with the Warring States period tombs, it is also found in the Shang period. Small graves in the Shang occasionally show the use of charcoal chips and stone mixed with the dirt (灰土) filled in around the four sides of the outer coffin.[21]

The white clay used so prominently in Mawangdui 馬王堆 and in the Suizhou Warring States tomb is, of course, strongly associated with the graves of that period; however, it is also to be found in the Western Zhou and in the Shang.[22] One tomb in Yiqi 奕棋, Tunxi City 屯溪市 (Anhui), possibly dating to the Western Zhou period, shows some similarity to the features just described in the Sanji, Pingshan (Hebei) site. The bases of both tombs are differentiated according to direction. The Hebei foundation inserts a wedge of lime in the north and north-eastern direction, which separates the levels of river pebbles and charcoal there. The Anhui foundation is a platform of river pebbles, with a flat surface for offerings (93 m in diameter) and an ascending ramp in the north-east section; it was then completely covered over with a massive (1.75 m high) mound of limy clay 白膏泥. A strip of reddish stone 紅色雜花石 was discovered on the southern and western

[18] Wang Shimin, "Shanxian Houquan 2040 hao mu de niandai wenti" [The problem of dating tomb #2040 at Houquan, Shan County], *Kaogu* (1959.10): 262–3.

[19] Gao Ming, "Lüe lun Jixian Shanpiaozhen yihao mude niandai" [A brief discussion about the dating of tomb #1 in Shanpiao Rural Township, Ji County], *Kaogu* (1962.4): 211–15.

[20] 棺椁數襲積石積炭以環其外, cited in Yu Jie, "Zhanguo shidai de muzang xingzhi" [The system of tomb construction in the Warring States period], *Kaogu Tongxun* (1957.4): 93–106, at 94; see Zhu Yongjia, Xiao Mu and Huang Zhimin, eds, *Lüshi chunqiu* [The spring and autumn annals of Mr Lü], 2 vols (Taibei: Sanmin Shuju, 1995), 1: 463(Wang Yunwu et al., eds, *Sibu congkan* [Collected editions of the Four Categories], *juan* 10, p.5; *Sibu congkan zhengbian* [Corrected edition of the collected editions of the Four Categories] [Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1979], 22 [3], p.58).

[21] Zhou Yongzhen, "Yindai muzangxingzhi" [The system of tomb construction in the Yin dynasty], *Kaogu Tongxun* (1955.6): 42–8, at 43

[22] Xinyang Diqu Wenguanhui, Luoshanxian Wenhuaguan, "Henan Luoshanxian Mangzhang Shangdai mudi diyici fajue" [The first season of excavation of the Shang-dynasty cemetery in Mangzhang, Luoshan County, Henan], *Kaogu* (1981.2): 111–18. See the figure below for the layout of Mawangdui M1, adapted from Hunansheng Bowuguan, ed., *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Hanmu fajue jianbao* [Brief report on the excavation of Han tomb #1 at Mawangdui, Changsha] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1972), p.2.
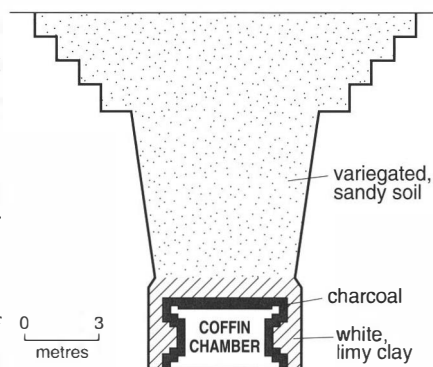
[23] Anhuisheng Wenhuaju Wenhua Gong-zuodui, "Anhui Tunxi Xi Zhou muzang fajue baogao" [Report on excavations of a Western Zhou tomb at Tunxi, Anhui], *Kaogu Xuebao* (1959.4): 59–90.

[24] Beijingshi Wenwu Guanlichu, "Beijing diqu you yi zhongyao kaogu shouhuo" [Another important archaelogical finding in the Beijing area], *Kaogu* (1976.4): 246–58.

[25] Wuzhixian Wenhuaguan, "Wuzhixian zao Shang muzang qingli baogao" [Report on carrying out investigations on an early Shang burial in Wuzhi County], *Henan Wenbo Tongxun* 3 (1980): 38–9.

[26] It is interesting to note that 'red sand' can also be referred to as *chensha* 辰沙.

[27] Henansheng Wenhuaju Wenwu Gong-zuodui, "1958 nian chun Henan Anyangshi Dasikongcun Yindai muzang fajue jianbao" [Brief report on the excavation of a Yin-dynasty tomb at Dasigong, Anyang City, Henan, in the spring of 1958], *Kaogu Tongxun* (1958.10): 51–62.

[28] Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, ed., *Yinxu Fuzi mu* [The tomb of Lady Fuzi at Anyang] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1980): 3.

[29] Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Anyang Gongzuodui, "Anyang Xiaotunbei de liangzuo Yindai mu" [Two Yin-dynasty tombs in north Xiaotun, Anyang], *Kaogu Xuebao* (1981.4): 491–518, at 492.

[30] Zhengzhoushi Bowuguan, "Zhengzhou-shi Minggonglu xize de liangzuo Shangdai mu" [Two Shang-dynasty tombs on the west side of Minggong Road in Zhengzhou City], *Kaogu* (1965.10): 500–6, at 500.

slopes of the pile, but it is unclear whether this was intentionally spread this way, or was the only part left from erosion of the original cover. The sophistication of this tomb is apparent in its complex drainage system, also running north-east to south-west, and in its emblematic reminiscence of the Shang in its bronze inscriptions. The attention to purity in the grade of clay is also commented on by the excavators; nor was any trace of foreign mineral or organic material found in it. This implies that the clays were carefully processed before use in burial.[23]

A final example of Western Zhou tombs, from Beijing, shows the limy clay in thin applications (20 mm) between the outer coffin and the pit walls, and also spread in a layer (5 mm) beneath the coffins. The site may represent the location of the early capital of Yan 燕. Excavators report a rush mat, woven in a pattern like the character for 'human' 人, which was spread underneath the coffin.[24] This detail recalls the mats 茵 of *tu* 荼 rushes in the *Yili* discussed above.

In Shang excavations, the evidence ranges from the early site near Ningguoshe 寧郭公社, Dajiacun 大駕村, Wuzhi County 武陟縣 (Henan), where a level of blue-green and white lime 青白灰石 was laid in a tomb foundation,[25] to the late Shang cemetery at Dasikongcun 大司空村, Anyang City 安陽市 (Henan). In M 1 of this site, a quite elaborate use of clays includes three layers of white clay and sticky mud 白膏泥和粘土混合 mixed and pounded, as well as yellowish-tan clay surrounding the coffin. The base of the northern ramp was specially marked with white clay, as opposed to the unmarked southern ramp, which reminds us of characteristics of the Sanji (Henan) and Tunxi (Anhui) sites. Yellow mud 黃泥 had been smeared onto the top layers of the faces of all four walls. Other tombs in the cemetery, such as M 6, show red clays used to build up the *erceng tai* 二層台 platform and the walls, which were created by a 0.5 m band of white clay smeared on their surfaces. M 6 further shows a typical Shang trait, the use of red sand 硃沙 for a base.[26] In this case, it is piled quite thickly.[27] Many of the Anyang period burials including those at Dasikongcun and Xiaotun 小屯 have this kind of foundation. Lady Fuzi's 婦好 tomb also rested on a thick layer of red sand.[28] It seems that the Shang people at Anyang favored red in laying foundations; for example, in M 18, located in the north of Xiaotun, Anyang, a two-part base was found, with a yellow layer on top and a layer of brownish-red 紅褐 earth underneath.[29] Red sand is also used, in a 1.5 cm. thick strip, beneath a Zhengzhou tomb, M 2.[30]

Although the use of red, particularly red sand for bases, seems to be characteristic of Anyang dwellers and other Shang communities, this trait is not limited to that period. It is neolithic or earlier in origin, and continued on as a strong tradition. A Western Zhou site, Fushan Guoyuan 浮山果園, Jurong County 句容縣 (Jiangsu), which contained eight tombs for persons of common status (small farmers, artisans, etc.), also used red as a base. In this case, all eight tombs were built into a mound of earth; first a layer of red clay was spread directly on the mound without any pit preparation, then a smaller

mound of yellow clay was heaped over each body. This dated from the middle of the Western Zhou.[31] In M2 from Chengqiao 程橋, Liuhe County 六合縣 (Jiangsu), an Eastern Zhou tomb has gray-yellow-colored sandy earth packed into its interior, while around the outside of the pit is ocher-red clay.[32] Finally, a late Spring and Autumn or early Warring States period tomb from the Lieshi Gongyuan 烈士公園, Changsha 長沙 (Hunan) has a filling constructed as follows: the top layer is firmly packed red earth; the middle layer is a thin band of yellow clay; and the bottom layer consists of 2.3 m of mixed red earth and white limy clay.[33] It is not known exactly what the symbolic content of these contrastive color schemes was, but enough examples have been reviewed to indicate that we are viewing a syntax of sorts to an undeciphered funerary code. Some symbolic intention was directing these recurring contrasts of red, white, and yellow. The Changsha pattern developed an especially complex synthesis of such schemes.

All that remains to be done in this brief survey of burial practices is to examine the use of shells in tombs. It is not necessary to go into detail about the common occurrence of clam shells in grave findings. Indications exist from early sites, such as the striking Yangshao tomb M45 at Xishuipo 西水坡, Puyang 濮陽 (Henan), that clam shells were the appropriate material for creating the forms of the mythological creatures depicted on the floor of the gravesite there.[34] Often clam shells were placed in a tomb along with cowry shells 石貝.[35] Clam shells and ornaments were sometimes stamped into a tomb foundation.[36] Interestingly, some Shang tombs of small scale simply have a single cowry in the base;[37] similarly, a Western Zhou tomb has been excavated revealing six cowries packed into its base.[38] However, the most spectacular uses of

[31] Nanjing Bowuyuan, "Jiangsu Jurongxian Fushan Gouyuan Xi Zhou mu" [The Western Zhou tomb at Fushan Orchard, Jurong County, Jiangsu," *Kaogu* (1977.5): 292–7, 340.

[32] 坑內填黃灰色砂土，坑外都屬赭紅色粘土. Wu Shanqing, "Jiangsu Liuhexian Heren Dong Zhou mu" [The Eastern Zhou tomb at Heren, Liuhe County, Jiangsu], *Kaogu* (1977.5): 298–301, at 298.

[33] 白膏泥. Gao Zhixi, "Changsha Lieshi Gongyuan sanhao muguo mu qingli jianbao" [Brief report on carrying out the investigation of #3 tomb with wooden frame, at Lieshi Gongyuan, Changsha], *Wenwu* (1959.10): 65–70.

[34] Puyang Xishuipo Yizhi Kaogudui, "1988 nian Henan Puyang Xishuipo yizhi fajue jianbao" [Brief report on the 1988 excavation at Xishuipo, Puyang, Henan], *Kaogu* (1989.12): 1057–66; see the figure below from Puyang Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui, Puyang Bowuguan, Puyangshi Wenwu Gongzuodui, "Henan Puyang Xishuipo yizhi fajue jianbao" [Brief report on the excavation of the fountain at Xishuipo, Puyang, Henan], *Wenwu* (1988.3): 1–6, at 4.

[35] Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China*, vol.1, *Chou China* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1963): 55 (tomb 2), 56 (tomb 3, Western Zhou), 100 (Eastern Zhou), 111 (late Warring States or early Han).

[36] Luoyang Bowuguan, "Luoyang Longjiagou wuzuo Xi Zhou mude qingli" [Carrying out investigations of five Western Zhou tombs at Longjiagou, Luoyang], *Wenwu* (1972.10): 20–31, at 20–8.

[37] Henansheng Wenhuaju Wenwu Gongzuodui, "Henan Anyang Xuejiazhuang Yindai yizhi, muzang han Tang muzang fajue bao" [Report on an excavation of Yin-dynasty foundations and a tomb, as well as a Tang burial, at Xuejiazhuang, Anyang, Henan], *Kaogu Tongxun* (1958.8): 23–6.

[38] Shaanxisheng Bowuguan, Shaanxisheng Guanli Weiyuanhui, "Shaanxi Zhishan Hejiacun Xi Zhou muzang" [A Western Zhou burial from Hejia Village at Zhishan, Shaanxi], *Kaogu* (1976.1): 31–8, at 32.
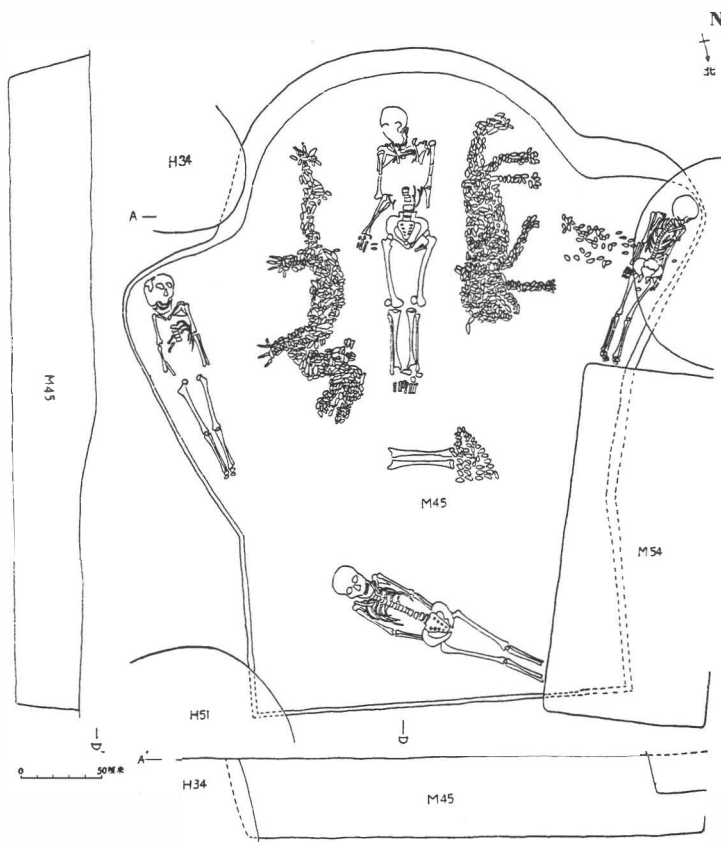
[39] Kushō Waai, "Santō sei Kōken Ryōkō fukin kaizuka ni tsuite" [Concerning the shell mound near Longkou, Huang County, Shandong], *Tōbōgakubō* (Tokyo) 1 (1931): 187–95; Henansheng Wenhuaju Wenwu Gongzuodui, "Henan Shenqiu fujin faxian gudai bangkemu" [An ancient clamshell burial discovered near Shenqiu, Henan], *Kaogu* (1960.10): 16–17; Tōakōkogakkai, ed., *Bokuyōjō* [Muyang City], Tōhōkōkogaku Sōkan, no. 2 (Tokyo: Tōakōkogakkai, 1931); Yu Linxiang, "Gongchengzi beimu" [The shell burial at Gongchengzi], *Kaogu Xuebao* (1958.4): 71–89; Yu Linxiang, "Lüshun Lijiagou Xi Han beimu" [A Western Han shell burial at Lijiagou, Lüshun], *Kaogu* (1965.3): 154–6; Lüshun Bowuguan, Xinjinxian Wenhuaguan, "Liaoning Xinjinxian Huajishan Handai beimu diyice fajue" [The first excavation of the Han-dynasty shell burial at Huajishan, Xinjin County, Liaoning], *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* (1981.4): 75–85; Xinjinxian Wenhuaguan, "Liaoning Xinjinxian Mashan Handai beimu" [A Han-dynasty shell burial at Mashan, Xinjin County, Liaoning], *Wenwu Ziliao Congkan* (1981.4): 86–8.

[40] "Liaoning Xinjinxian Huajishan Handai beimu diyice fajue," p.85.

[41] Ibid.

[42] M 232 in the C–area of Xiaotun seems to contradict this general principle, but only because of the additional construction of H 152 above it, perhaps as an altar for offerings at the tomb; see Shi Zhangru, *Xiaotun, diyiben* [Xiaotun, book 1] (Taibei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1973): 8–12.

shell in burial are found in rather late sites, from the Qin and Han periods, Liaoning, Shandong and Henan.[39] The construction of these tombs is explained in the following passage:

> Shell tombs, also called wooden chamber shell tombs, are those which use the shells of the oyster, clam or sea conch, etc., in constructing the tomb chamber. Their method of construction is first to excavate a pit, and spread shells as a foundation, then to make an outer coffin by erecting boards on four sides. After the burial and the placing of the coffin lid on top, the empty cracks [between coffin and pit] are packed with shells, then covered over with an earth mound.[40]

At some tombs there are round pebbles mixed in with the shells, indicating the fill material was taken directly from the seashore.[41]

Discussion

An examination of reports on actual tomb sites suggests that a wide variety of schemes and methods was available at all stages of the development of the burial of the dead during the Three Dynasties. This perspective allows us to weigh the relative importance of white substances in grave layouts; although not every tomb contains them, it is evident that white substances, including clay and lime, had long, extensive, and specifically delineated roles in ancient Chinese funeral observances. This much at least accords with the indications given in the classical texts. Furthermore, though we do not know the details of the system within which the symbols operated, we can see that enough pathways of metaphor were available to make plausible a broad linkage of some of these white substances and the connotations expressed by the sign *shen* 蜃, 'clams'.

It is worth noting that the distribution of sites tends to reveal a kind of parallel development, in which a florescence of tombs with white clay on all six sides of the outer coffin occurred in the southern area in the course of the Warring States through the Han, while a similar florescence, though on a lesser scale in all respects, occurred slightly later in the shell burials in the north-east; this parallel would have to be seen as dialectical in nature, rather than involving direct borrowing, since the materials are related transformationally.

The examples given here also lend credence to the suggestion made earlier that tombs prior to the Warring States tend to use their foundation materials singly (e.g. a strip of sand, of lime, or of clay) or in pairs (e.g. charcoal–stones, shell–stones, clay–stones, clay–sand, or clay–rush mats), rather than in multiple conjunction (e.g. earth–limestone–charcoal).[42] From a survey of the archaeological record, it appears that white clay or lime was never used with charcoal before the Warring States period. One might be tempted to conclude that the *Zuozhuan* passage refers to the origins of the custom of using the two types of substance together 始厚藏用蜃炭;

another interpretation, more cautious of the complications implied by the word *shi* 始, was given by Zheng Sinong of the Eastern Han, who said that such a burial style was a usurpation of the Zhou king's emblematic privilege. We are not told how Zheng Sinong came to know of this nearly 800 years later. No conclusion can be reached in the absence of evidence from royal Zhou tombs, but Zheng's suggestion may be more nearly correct. Perhaps the white and black pattern discussed in the *Zhouli* and *Liji* was a royal emblem appropriated by Duke Wen of Song. It may be relevant that the Shang were much more closely oriented to the archaic red-based burials, so the black-and-white alternative would have been an open position for the Zhou to adopt. This issue carries important implications for our argument, as we will see. For now, however, it is sufficient to have established the existence of a network of color contrasts in which white substances are known to have operated in tomb foundations. In doing so, the examination of tomb usages of *shen* mentioned in the *Zhouli* is concluded, and our discussion can now move on to the application of *shen* in domestic and temple architecture.

Clams of 'White Splendor'

The "Controller of Clams" chapter of the *Zhouli* specifies 'white splendor' as one kind or one application of *shen*. Commentaries explain that 'bright splendor' refers to the white plaster used to whitewash walls in ancient Chinese buildings. Such a practice is clearly described in the *Erya* "Explaining Palaces" 爾雅釋宮 chapter: "[What is on the] ground is called 'black', [what is on the] wall is called 'white'" 地謂之黝，牆謂之堊 .[43] Here we again encounter *e* 堊 as 'white', which justifies its inclusion in the foregoing section. Not only were white and black the common, recognized colors for interior decoration, they were also customary features in temple decor. From the *Guliang* commentary 穀梁傳 to *Zhuang* 莊 23 of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* we read:

> 秋。丹桓宮楹。禮天子諸侯黝堊。大夫倉士黈 。丹楹非禮也。
>
> Autumn [671 BC]. The pillars of [ancestor] Huan's temple [were painted] red. [According to] ceremony, the king and feudal lords use black and white [for this]. The ministers use green-blue. The officials use yellow. Red pillars are not according to ceremony.[44]

This passage is important, but stands in need of clarification on two points. First, in the commentary to the equivalent passage in *Zuozhuan* it is stated that red pillars were the privilege of the king, and that black and white ones were for the feudal lords.[45] Secondly, in the *Guliang* text, commentaries make it clear that "black and white" does not mean that the pillars were checkered or striped; rather, it seems to mean that the pillars were painted black, while the walls were white.[46] The second point leads to the question of the color of the walls for the temples of the other statuses, since presum-

[43] *SSJZS*, vol.8, p.72.

[44] *SSJZS*, vol.7, p.59.

[45] Takezoe Kōkō, *Zuozhuan huijian* [Collected notes on the *Chronicles of Zuo*] (1903; reprint ed. in 2 vols, Taibei: Fenghuang Chubanshe, 1977), 1: *juan* 3, p.66.

[46] Of course, it is rarely possible to make such simple assertions about the meaning of the ancient texts. An alternative reading would involve discussion of the dialectic of black and white, since it suggests that 'black/white' is a compound with the meaning of 'black'—that is, that 'white' plays only a morphological, not a semantic role here.

[47] Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China*, vol.1, *Prehistoric China* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1959), pp.76–7, 88.

[48] Ibid., p.76.

[49] Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China*, vol.2, *Shang China* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1960), pp.27 (Zhengzhou, Minggong Lu Type I houses with white plaster floors), 42, 103.

[50] Stein's work (R. A. Stein, *The world in miniature* [Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990]) represents a sustained treatment of this theme.

[51] M. Granet, *Études sociologiques sur la Chine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953), pp.221–42.

ably they were neither yellow nor green-blue; perhaps they all followed the same conventional pattern, and were painted white.

Patterns of floor and wall plasterings with lime whitewash are common architectural features of neolithic village homes.[47] Dark floors are also found.[48] The practice of using plaster of lime for walls and for coating limestone sculpture is attested in the Shang as well.[49] The black and white scheme of the Zhou temple, as well as that of houses, could represent all the values which the *Zhouli* terminology 'white splendor' 白盛 brings to it. There is a broad base of linkage with these ancient technologies, some of which themselves seem to have been in positions of special religious value. The connotations of *sheng* 盛 are splendid display, as offering: white rice in a vessel is one important image conveyed. Apparently this sort of ceremonial attitude was generally occasioned by the variety of white substances in the settings which we have seen. Each in its own register, the various expressions engage values of splendor, brightness and glory. The Zhou people would have elaborated their own systems for integrating this field of meaning with their tightly-ranked feudal society. The bi-color funerary temple would therefore belong to that part of the color scheme which fell under the premises of ranked hierarchy giving order to feudal behavior.

In sum, consideration of this point suggests that, in a general way, white was frequently used, with some consistency of connotation, in a pattern linking the domestic residence, the funerary temple and the tomb.[50] The special mention of both white and black in the context of temple decor, as well as the confusion about the permissible extent of the schema's distribution throughout higher feudal ranks, indicate the strong appeal this bi-color symbolism retained in classical texts, and perhaps even that its use (along with, in contrast to, red) was a highly contested privilege. In such cases, not only was a symbolism of white substances being brought into play, as is argued here, but also a dual or even tripartite scheme was important. Such a color scheme might be used to align even more decisively the house, the temple, and the grave as a single operational unit. Some details from the *Three Books of Ritual* 三禮 will be examined concerning mourning observances to assess the significance of such a configuration.

Drawing on the brilliant interpretation of Marcel Granet,[51] we can recognize in the complex and extended mourning customs a concern, among others, to *produce* an heir for a deceased head of a family. Because these rites focus their most severe regulations on the inheriting son, Granet has justifiably characterized the process as a sacralizing ordeal, aimed at transforming the son into his father's successor, as the father becomes transformed into an ancestor. Although the entire family participates in ranked degrees (corresponding to concepts of kinship distance and elapsed time since the death), at first symbolically relegated to the category of the dead, then gradually moving back towards the living, it is however the inheriting son who bears

the severest burden, the strongest identification with the dead father, and the most public role in carrying out the ordeal to the end.

When the death occurs, everyone leaves the house. The inheriting son sets up a mourning hut where his subsequent bereavement is under constant public scrutiny. He cannot return to the house until the completion of the mourning ceremonies which result in its ancestral authority being transferred to him. At first, the hut is a simple lean-to structure, without any doors or chinking in the cracks; totally open to view, its only internal furnishing is a pile of earth for a pillow, and some straw for a mattress. This is the period when the corpse is prepared and left lying in state. Only after burial is the door added on and chinking put into the structure; this is done with mud and straw, but only on the inside (既葬柱楣塗廬不於顯者). At the ceremony[52] around the second year a hut of pounded earth can be inhabited (既練居堊室。不與人居) and after the rites of the third year, the soil floor is blackened and the walls are plastered white 既祥黝堊.[53] There is a dialectical pattern deliberately set up in these terms, since *e* 堊 in the first usage means unadorned white earth, and *e* in the second context is elaborated whiteness from plaster which covers the earthen walls. It is remarkable that the final phase of the mourning period begins to approximate the attested residential scheme, signaling a return to life in the condition of one's inheritance. There is also a further possibility, contingent upon the future documentation of Zheng Sinong's claim concerning Western Zhou royal burial methods, that the overall bi-color scheme coordinates with the royal tombs. One may see it as a medium and constant background against which the dying patriarch, and his successor, change back and forth between the poles of life and death, in intermediary steps.

These considerations seem sufficient to establish a general relationship between the situation of the tomb and of the house, expressed in color symbolism featuring white substances. Without suitable archaeological documentation, the additional role of charcoal as a more subtly balanced arrangement in early Zhou symbolism cannot be pursued much further in this paper. Structurally speaking, the position of these two elements on axes of cuisine and burning seems symmetrically opposed: clam shells are a kind of post-culinary resource, the remains of a meal; whereas charcoal belongs to the hither side of the culinary process in two ways: charcoal is (1) a fuel for cooking, and (2) incomplete ashes, thus 'pre-culinary'. Be that as it may, the symbolism of the clam 蜃 is complicated by its relationship, through transformation, to geese and pheasants, which may affect its culinary implications. We will examine more of these latter associations below, but will not try to resolve the specific issue of the coordinated use of white clay and black charcoal in Western Zhou tombs.[54]

[52] The name for this ritual derives from the white silk fabric which could be worn by the mourners conditional upon its completion. For a description of the cooking and bleaching of the fiber, in which *shen* 蜃 is mentioned as a bleaching agent, see *Zhouli*, Officials of Winter, "Dyers" 幌氏 (*SSJZS*, vol.3, p.624).

[53] *Liji, Sang Daji* 禮記喪大記, *SSJZS*, vol.5, p.782.

[54] As we conclude our speculations on the symbol of charcoal, let us anticipate the course of the argument by noting the following ethnographic detail: one kind of item a Taiwanese bride traditionally brings with her to her new virilocal residence is some pieces of charcoal. By what is an apparent application of the paradox of fire and water, the reasoning here is that 'charcoal' (炭 *thôaⁿ*) in the Southern Min pronunciation being homophonous with 'to spread out' or 'to multiply' (湠 *thôaⁿ*, with the water radical), it is thus a lucky symbol with which to initiate the marriage. Throughout our investigation we will encounter other counterpart symbols to the *chen* or clam pole of the system, symbols which have both 'earthy' connotations like charcoal, and associations with flourishing, luxuriance or abundance, as we see here.

Clams for Sacrificial Ceremonies

Our investigations into the architectural usages of 'clams', *shen* 蜃, have led to the recognition of a correlation between domestic architecture and aspects of funerary practice. Moreover, the textual references have already provided associations between these features and the scheme for temple decor; here is one of the loci for the mediating category formulated in the *Zhouli*. To conclude our considerations of *shen*, a further set of *Zhouli* quotations in which the term appears must be cited. This particular case deals with offerings and thus is assimilable to the function of communication between the dead and the living—a function, we may recall, that acts as the central bridge in the structure of the "Controller of Clams" chapter with which we began our study.

The Offices of Heaven 天官 section of the *Zhouli*[55] contains a pair of passages describing the place of clams in the bestiary of sacrificial cuisine. This set concludes a block of passages introducing the Dietary Director, the Stock Attendant, the Inner and Outer Feast Attendants, the Maitre d' (the official in charge of the Inner and Outer Feast Attendants, of cooking vessels, and of the amounts of fire and water supplied), and the various personnel responsible for providing the king with local agricultural products and four types of game: large game caught in nets, fish caught in weirs, 'aquatic creatures' 鱉, and dried meat. Upon closer examination, these latter two descriptions offer a good view of the perceived properties of clams, which belong to the category of 'aquatic creatures'. This is especially so inasmuch as there is a significant opposition expressed here in the relationship of the dried meat component with the features of the 'aquatic creatures'. Let me illustrate this by quoting both passages in full:

鱉人。掌取互物。以時籍魚鱉龜蜃。凡狸物。春獻鱉蜃。秋獻龜魚。祭祀共蠯蠃蚳以授醢人。凡邦之籍事。

腊人。掌乾肉。凡田獸之脯腊膴胖之事。凡祭祀共豆脯薦脯膴胖。凡腊物。賓客。喪紀共其脯腊。凡乾肉之事。

The men who take care of 'aquatic creatures' are in charge of gathering up 'creatures of mutuality' [creatures with paired shells]. They are offered at their due times: fish, terrapin, turtles, clams, and whatever are 'fox-like creatures'. In the spring they contribute terrapin and clams; in the fall they contribute turtle and fish. For sacrificial ceremonies, they furnish all sorts of clams and snails, to give to the people who do mincing and marinating. They are in charge of this whenever the territory is involved in activities of offering.

The men who take care of pemmican are in charge of meat which is dried. Their business is [to provide] the varieties of dried meat from game animals. In sacrificial ceremonies, they offer the varieties of dried meat and whatever is of dried meat type in *dou* vessels. For greeting guests and for funeral observances, they furnish the dried meat needed.

These passages form the last two categories of the ten items for the royal cuisine. The menu is no simple list; it moves by progressive binary oppositions: from those who in varying degrees transform the food for the royal family, to the pivotal (fifth and central) manager of 'fire and water', to the division of agricultural and game resources, and then at last to the various types of food hunted in the wild. The final categories are thus the most extreme, peripheral ones. For this reason, they encode many clues that parallel concerns about transitional states and about exorcism in other areas of Chinese culture. Compare, for example, the above contrasting set with an equivalent pattern in the *Yijing* 易經. There, we find a pair of hexagrams, #18 Gu 蠱 and #21 Shi He 噬嗑, which are opposed in exactly the same terms as the pair of categories 'aquatic creatures' and dried meat.[56]

Hexagram #21 is composed of references to dried meat of various kinds: 噬膚…噬腊肉…噬乾…噬乾肉 ('bites on skin … bites on pemmican … bites on dried gristle … bites on dried meat').[57] On the other hand, the *gu* of hexagram #18, the very epitome of pollution that is identified throughout Chinese history as requiring exorcism, has plenty of derivative associations with aquatic creatures, turtles, foxes and insects. For example, *gu* 蠱 is interchangeable with *huo* 惑 or *yu* 蜮 which is explained as *nai* 能: a 'three-legged terrapin' 三足鱉, which is also called a 'Short Fox' 短狐.[58] In *Zuozhuan*, the text of the Gu 蠱 hexagram includes a mention of foxes (獲其雄狐), which has dropped out of the *Yijing* text.[59] Rather than foxes or 'aquatic creatures', the *Yijing* version of the Gu hexagram seems to emphasize images of decayed meat or grain, and insects, which swarm in the sacrificial vessel in the pictograph; perhaps we see a reflection of the *Yijing* orientation in the *Zhouli*'s mention of 'mincing and marinating' which could well have involved putrification. The *Zhouli* quote also characterizes 'aquatic creatures' as 'fox-like'; Zheng Sinong thinks that this phrase alludes to the proverbial burrowing of foxes in the earth, which is similar to the habitat of clams and turtles. But this coincidence forms only part of the motivating features of the comparison, as can be seen in a passage from the Offices of Autumn in the *Zhouli*. There the *chibo shi* 赤友氏, who are part of a team of ritual purifiers, use "clams and charcoal" (or "powder from burnt clamshells") to expel "fox-like creatures"—hidden, burrowing vermin—from the cracks and crevices of the home 掌除牆室。以蜃炭攻之。以灰毒之。凡隙室。除其狸蟲.[60] Clams seem to have to have been both fox-like and opposed to the fox-like, and thus useful in exorcism.

When the Gu hexagram is mentioned in the *Zuozhuan* in *Xi* 僖 15, its symbolism is said to show an image of autumn. The seasonal references belonging to the last four descriptions of wild food, in the *Zhouli* passage under study here, are laid out in a careful pattern, so that the role of clams and other 'aquatic creatures' is distributed unequivocally in the spring and autumn. Meat from large game caught with nets is specified for winter, for summer, and for autumn/spring (as a unitary concept). The logic of this distribution is very clear: the chapter heading is "Game Personnel" 獸人 ,

[56] More detailed discussion of this configuration can be found in S. Davis, *Jiegou yu lishi: luetan Zhongguo gujingwen de zucheng wenti. Structure and history: remarks on problems in the composition of ancient Chinese classical texts* (Taibei: Wenshizhe Chubanshe, 1995), and idem, *Yuedu Yijing: gudai yuzhouguan de lantu* [Reading the *Yijing*: a blueprint of ancient Chinese cosmology] (Taibei: Jianhong Chubanshe, 1996).

[57] *SSJZS*, vol.1, p.61.

[58] Takezoe Kōkō, *Zuozhuan huijian, juan* 24, p.50; M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1926), p.310.

[59] *Xi* 15; *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.230.

[60] *SSJZS*, vol.3, p.558.

[61] *SSJZS*, vol.3, p.89.

[62] For the fox's close relation to decay in American myth, see Lévi-Strauss, *From honey to ashes*, pp 70–103. For the turtle as 'Master of Decay' in American myth ("it is imputrescible, and it eats decayed matter"), see idem, *The raw and the cooked* (New York: Harper Books, 1969), p.176.

who are said to contribute wolf in winter, deer in summer, and 'game' 獸 in spring/fall. That is, differentiated seasons correspond to differentiated animals, while generalized seasons correspond to animals in general. The second kind of game—fish caught in weirs—was strictly a springtime resource. The 'aquatic creatures', as can be seen in the quotation above, are correlated with equinoctial seasons, clams themselves being provided in the spring, along with terrapins, whereas turtles and fish are provided in the fall. This transitional seasonal status matches that given the Gu hexagram in the *Zuozhuan* account. Subsequent discussions will confirm this point once again.

The arrangement of the culinary categories in the *Zhouli* suggests an opposition of dried (roasted + dried) game meat and raw (raw + dried) shellfish meat, which together form a 'minor' category in relation to the 'major' opposition of game caught in nets and fish caught in weirs. In turn, the category of the raw seems to leave open, by implication, the possibility of putrefaction or fermenting, since the description of 'aquatic creatures' mentions 'the people who do mincing and marinating'. The description in the *Zhouli* of this latter function, *Hairen* 醢人, again mentions using snails and clams, among other meats, for such purposes, while Zheng Xuan notes that batches were steeped in wine and left to sit for one hundred days.[61] Thus there is good reason to interpret 'aquatic creatures' as being associated with both raw and rotten, as opposed to roasted and dried, pemmican. This interpretation matches the evidence from the *Yijing*: the Gu hexagram, in opposition to the dried meat symbolism of the Shi He hexagram, shows affiliation with decay.[62]

Discussion

[63] *SSJZS*, vol.3, pp.299–301.

The foregoing discussion lays the groundwork for investigating the mediating function of *shen* 蜃 at the loci of the temple and the outside altar of the soil. At this point, however, leaving behind tombs and domestic architecture, the terminology of *shen* undergoes a subtle change, and should now be interpreted as *shenqi* 蜃器 'vessels', as was suggested by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 in his commentaries on *Shuowen Jiezi* 説文解字. That this reading is correct will be justified as we proceed. The case to be examined below will complete our review of the *Zhouli* material on *shen*.

The final occurrence of *shen* 蜃 in the *Zhouli* occurs in the Officials of Spring 春官 section, in the chapters called "Ablutions Personnel" 鬱人 and "Sacrificial Chalices Personnel" 鬯人.[63] The affinity between the two chapter headings is clear, since the former contains, in embedded form, the character of the latter. The text says that the men who took care of ablutions were in charge of ablution vessels 鬱人掌祼器. We also learn that this functionary used the same wine as the Sacrificial Chalices Personnel, and that the ablutions 祼事 took place when preparing for ceremonies, when receiving guests, and when jade was moistened 凡祼玉灌之陳之. A pan was used for washing the hands and other materials 凡祼事沃盥. In important

funerary rites, this official lays out the vessels for holding ice and water, and upon burial inters the ablution vessels with the owner 大喪之涊，共其肆器。乃藏共其祼器，遂貍之. In great ceremonials, this official drinks with the 'ranking vessels' along with everyone else 大祭祀與量人受舉斝之卒爵而飲之.[64]

The Sacrificial Chalices Personnel 鬯人 also have various ceremonial functions, such as at the altar wall 社壝 and in regard to door rites 禜門. At each of these locations, the use of particular vessels is specified (罍瓢). At the temple, a vessel named *xiu* 脩 is used. At ceremonies for mountains, streams, and the four directions, *shen* 蜃 is used. For ablutions and dismemberment sacrifices, vessels named *gai* and *san* are used 凡祼事用概。凡䵣事用散.[65] *Xiu, shen, gai* and *san* are all said to be names for vessels. According to Han commentaries, *xiu* should, perhaps, be read *yu* 卣. The latter three may be names of particular *zun* 尊 cups, and some Han commentaries try and explain the word *shen* by analogy with clams: decorative and capable of containing liquid. Others, like Zheng Sinong, replace the word *shen* by *mou* 謀. Once again we see that the archaic sounds involved here can feature a labial or bilabial consonantal preliminary sound, as well as an open vowel ending, such as in *mou* or *fu*.

In adding this material to the material discussed in the above, two salient points stand out. Both sets of information are closely involved with rites of ablution; the vessel called *shen* is used in making liquid offerings to the archaic gods of the natural environment. Commentators tried to justify this role of *shen* vessels by pointing out the close relation between clams and water. So the ablutionary function of *shen* emerges here. Secondly, since *shen* is a short-hand for *shenqi* 蜃器 (vessels), there is widespread speculation throughout the commentaries that clam shells were used directly to decorate the vessels. So in commentary to this passage one reads that *shen* refers to 'clam patterns' 蜃彩. Other versions hold that large shells themselves were used to serve meat. Whether these are accurate reports or not, they tie in with a common theme of adornment, which is the other important feature we can register from the material just reviewed.[66]

In proposing that the feature of adornment be included in the connotations of *shen*, mention must also be made of the other ornamental uses which can be attested for clam shells and associated products. The Song commentary to the *Erya* "Explaining Fishes" 爾雅釋魚 section, quotes the *Yueling* 月令 and explains:

> 孟冬之月。雉入大水為蜃，其小者名珧，一名玉珧，
> 可飾佩刀削。

> In early winter, pheasants enter the great waters to become clams. Small ones are called *yao*, or jade *yao*. They can be used to adorn knives and sheaths.[67]

This type of decoration, of course, is commonly found archaeologically. Shell and mother-of-pearl contribute a very large portion of materials for craft purposes. Cheng Te-k'un lists the following functions for shell artifacts in the

[64] This last detail is reminiscent of *lü chou* 旅酬 in *Zhongyong* 中庸, 19 (*SSJZS*, vol.5, p.886) and *Zuozhuan, Xiang[nm]* 23 (*SSJZS*, vol.6, p.605), which takes place when greeting guests.

[65] It is argued that these are all vessel names, but no mention is made of the coincidence of the word *xiu* 脩 with the dried meat of the same name. In a similar way, *shen* 蜃 also means *shen* 脤 'sacrificial meat'. *San* 散 and *bi* 䵣 are closely associated in meaning. We could therefore speculate that *gai* 概 may have something to do with *gai* 溉 'ablution', thus giving weight to the reading of *guan* 祼 rather than *mai* 埋 as Zheng Xuan suggests in the commentary. Thus here the names of meat-offerings each are transposed to the liquid offerings contained in the cups so named.

[66] The two themes of ablution and decoration again go back to the *Yijing* patterns. If hexagrams #18 Gu and #21 Shi He represent meat which is 'aquatic' (either raw or decayed) and that which is specially dried after roasting, then hexagram #20 Guan 觀 is the single locus of ablution (灌) related to ritual action: 盥而不薦 'the washing is performed but not yet the offering'. Furthermore, hexagram #22 is Bi 賁 'adornment'. (See *SSJZS*, vol.1, pp.59–63; also Davis, *Structure and history*, and idem, *Yuedu Yijing*.)

[67] *SSJZS*, vol.8, p.166.

[68] Cheng Te-k'un, *Shang China*, p.127.

[69] Ibid., p.42.

[70] Ibid., pp.126–7. See illustration below, from Hu Qiaomu et al., eds, *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu* [The great Chinese encyclopedia] (Beijing: Zhongguo Dabaike quanshu Chubanshe, 1991), vol.39, pt 2, p.856.
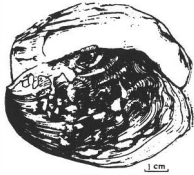
[71] Cheng Te-k'un, *Shang China*, p.211.

[72] Ibid., p.127.

[73] *SSJZS*, vol.4, p.32.

[74] *SSJZS*, vol.8, p.166.

[75] From the Han, we know that young men who participated in Nuo 儺 exorcisms were called *zhenzi* 侲子.

Shang: (a) weapons; (b) tools; (c) ornaments; (d) currency; (e) inlaid material.[68] To supplement this list, we might mention utensils: cooking vessels are sometimes found containing clam shells, presumably having been used as spoons.[69] The category of inlaid material in the above list is based on the common finds of loose pieces of shell or mother-of-pearl, which had been cut and inlaid into some perishable material. The archaeologist mentions that the shells of Lamprotula, a type of fresh-water Unionid which produced thick mother-of-pearl layers, are found in great number in Shang sites, having been brought in from the Yangzi river valley.[70] Collections of mother-of-pearl are found buried in caches in Xiaotun (Area C, M 274, 282, 351).[71] Some Shang mother-of-pearl was made into cowries, the shape of the shell being imitated in great detail.[72]

Clamshell ground into plaster had other decorative uses beyond the architectural ones already mentioned. For example, the *Yili Shiguanli* 義禮 士冠禮 contains a detail from the capping ceremonies, referring to the young initiate's attire in summer:

素積白屨。以魁拊之。

Plain white belt and shoes made white by applying the lime of the clam shell.[73]

In the ceremonies marking the young man's coming of age, black and white contrasts play an essential part in the ritual messages woven into the costumes. This particular quotation is especially interesting, since the word used figuratively for 'lime of the clamshell', *kui* 魁, is ordinarily understood as 'leader' or 'chief' (although *Erya* "Explaining Fishes" also uses *kui* 魁 to mean 'clam'[74]); the term is significant in mythology in several connections. The application of plaster to the shoes may be compared with the Shang word 脈, with a foot radical, meaning 'motion' or 'energetic movement'.[75]

We have already encountered *shen* 蜃 as having some sense of meat offerings. In the previous case, however, the *Zhouli* grouped *shen* under the name of 'aquatic creatures' 鼈, which was a secondary sub-category of game meats, elaborated relative to dried meat. There are other reasons for associating sacrificial meat of the general category with the word *shen*. In *Shuowen*, a word for sacrificial meat is *shen* 脈, and is explained as follows:

社肉盛之以蜃。故謂之脈。

Meat for the altar is presented splendidly displayed in *shen* vessels, so it is called *shen*.

This passage from *Shuowen*, associating *shen* 蜃 and *sheng* 盛, fits precisely the formula for white substances of the architectural category of the *Zhouli*. It is also apparent that the word *shen* 蜃 here is used in the sense of vessels of some sort for offering meat at the sacrificial altar. So the *Shuowen* definition ties together several independent lines of investigation, once again reinforcing the concept of splendor and display as a main component in the connotations of this sound family. Since the semantic axes converge on the symbol of meat

in the mediating function of sacrifice, our investigation may proceed to explore the terminology for sacrificial meat offered at the altar.

There can be no question about the tightly organized symbolic nature of categories in ancient Chinese society. Colors, for example, were apparently apportioned out in highly prescriptive ways, in order to accomplish status differentiation in feudal ranks. Yu Weichao and Gao Ming have documented examples of such coordinations in the quantity of vessels allowed in ritual sets at various levels of the hierarchy, showing clearly the numerical basis for such rankings.[76] Everything known from the literature of the Han and pre-Han tells of similar attention to emblematic detail throughout the cultural inventory. Sometimes it is difficult to decide how much of the unbelievably complex code of sumptuary items was in fact carried out at the time, and how much was elaborated upon by later 'theoreticians' (called 'ritual grammarians' by Granet[77]), in collections such as the *Zhouli* compiled in the Han, under the influence of a syncretistic cosmological calculus. Naturally, there were far fewer administrative categories to work with in Western Zhou, and less compulsion to order the cosmos in an all-inclusive table of correlations. But the same overall patterns of order were employed.

The *Zuozhuan* presents a vivid picture of the institutional arrangements of sacrificing meat at the altar of the soil 社. By all accounts, the right to receive meat from such sacrifices was qualitatively equated with aristocratic descent and ties to land, while the amount taken away from the altar each time signified quantitatively the degree of investiture with respect to the center of feudal authority. The passages reviewed below present the implications of these distributional transactions with the sacred meat as part of the charter for the social identity of the individual.

The *Zuozhuan* depicts the sacrificial meat called *shen* 脤 in a militaristic light, as though a theory of differentiated names and functions of sacrificial meat had grown from a practice of sharing meat from the altar. But beyond any militaristic associations it may have had, or taken on, the distributive role of this pattern is evident in the many instances of gifts or presentations which occurred between different levels of diplomatic personae of the confederated states, as documented in the *Zuozhuan* itself. The sharing of meat in various degrees concretely defined the network of family and alliance affiliations, and constituted a practical focus for regular intercommunication. This must have been carried on in substantial proportions at local levels, and have extended on a large scale throughout north and central China during the Spring and Autumn period.[78]

The first reference to *shen* 脤 (*Min*閔 2, 660 BC) has clear military associations:

帥師者受命於廟，受脤於社。

Those who lead armies receive their orders from the temple, and receive their *shen* meat at the altar of the soil.[79]

These are general meat provisions for military use. The ceremony at the altar

[76] Yu Weichao and Gao Ming, "Zhoudai yong ding zhidu yanjiu" [Research into the regulations concerning use of *ding* caldrons during the Zhou dynasty], *Beijing Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue Shehui Kexue ban)* 1 (1978–79): 84–98; 2: 84–97; 3: 83–96.

[77] Granet, *Études sociologiques*, p.123.

[78] Naturally, such activities were not limited only to the Spring and Autumn period, but actually had a very long precedent from Shang times. Speaking of the Shang king, Keightley has said: "A significant part of his redistributive activities, in fact, probably involved the sharing of large quantities of sacrificial meat with retainers, combining personal hospitality with religious sanctions and economic sustenance." (D. Keightley, "The late Shang state: when, where and what?" in *The origins of Chinese civilisation*, ed. D. Keightley [Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1983], pp.523–64, at 553.)

[79] *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.193.

[80] Li Xuanbo, *Zhongguo gudai shehui xinyan chugao* [A preliminary draft of new research on ancient Chinese society] (Beijing: Laixunge Shudian, 1941), pp.16–17, 38–42.

[81] *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.460.

was probably the same as the process called *jiang* 將, following the reading given by Li Xuanbo, which is expressly linked to the action of the general (*jiang* 將) taking the meat before a battle.[80]

The introductory formula in the previous context leads up to a well-known exposition of both the military and the ritual functions of sacrificial meat in the next example from the *Zuozhuan* (*Cheng* 13, 578 BC):

> 公及諸侯朝王。遂從劉康公，成肅公，會晉侯伐秦。成子受脤于社。不敬。

> The duke [of Lu] and other feudal princes attended the king's court. Then followed [the king's relatives] Duke Liu Kang and Duke Cheng Su. Met the duke of Jin to attack Qin. Chengzi received the *shen* meat at the altar of the soil. He was disrespectful.[81]

As foreshadowed in the previous quotation, the Ji 姬 group and their allies gather at the Zhou capital to receive orders at the temple. Then the representatives of the king's family are given the honor of retrieving the meat from the altar. (From various commentaries one may gather that the *Shuowen* writes *chen* 脹 for *shen* 脤, and that it is presented in a clamshell 蜃).

> 劉子曰。吾聞之。民受天地之中以生。所謂命也。是以有動作禮義威儀之則。以定命。能者養以之福。不能者敗以取禍。是故君子勤禮。小人盡力。勤禮莫如至敬。盡力莫如敦篤。敬在養神。篤在守業。 國之大事在 祀與戎。祀有執膰。戎有受脤。神之大節也。

> Liuzi said: "I have heard it stated: In order to live, the people receive that which is in the middle of heaven and earth. This is what is called 'orders'. It is this to which we have recourse to move and create the principles of Ceremony, Rightness and Awe-inspiring Outer Appearance. This is how we fix solidly our 'orders'. Those who are capable nourish this [acquisition] and achieve blessing thereby; those who are incapable are defeated by drawing catastrophe from it. For this reason, the Lordly Person works hard at Ceremony while the inferior people expend their energies to the utmost. For working hard at Ceremony there is nothing more important than respect, and for expending energy there is nothing more important than great-hearted sincerity. The source of respect is in nourishing the spirit. The source of sincerity is in cleaving to one's function. The important affairs of state are sacrificial ceremony and warfare. Sacrificial ceremony has its offering of *fan* meat. Warfare has its receiving of *shen* meat. This is the great articulation of spirit.

This passage is a clear rendition of ancient views on the social and spiritual form and function of sacrificial ceremony. Note that 'nourish' 養 finds its way into the exposition twice, with opposing objects for each usage; this is a key to understanding the import of these words in relation to the topic of sacrifice. This statement differentiates in passing two kinds of meat exchanged at the altar, namely *fan* 膰, or roast meat, and *shen* 脤, meat which is raw. When

the word *fan* is written with the fire radical 燔 (*fan*), it refers to the actual application of fire to the meat, thus fixing the locus of burning offerings to the gods and ancestors.[82] The passage implies that all important affairs of state will be accompanied by some form of meat sacrifice and distribution. In doing so, it places the opposition of burnt and raw meat at a distinctly secondary level, relative to the general point of the argument about the importance of sharing meat at the altar. The words *shen* and *fan* are very suitable rhetorically, but they are vague. Rather than being unconditional opposites, the two instead seem hierarchically related, so that *shen* is the more inclusive term. This is apparent in the next example.

In *Zuozhuan* (*Zhao* 昭 16, 527 BC) a scene is recorded in which Zi Chan 子產 defends his compatriot Kong Zhang 孔張 against critics, by lauding his high credentials:

孔張君之昆孫子孔之後也。執政之嗣也。為嗣大夫。承命以使周於諸侯。國人所尊。諸侯所知。立於朝而祀於家。有祿於國。有賦於軍。喪祭有職。受脤歸脤。其祭在廟已有著位。

> Kong Zhang is the descendant of Zi Kong, older brother of one of our lords. He inherits a position in government. He is a hereditary minister. He bears orders to carry out the Zhou regime over the feudal princes. He is esteemed by nobility in his state. The feudal princes know of him. He stands at court, and conducts ceremonies of sacrifice at home. He has a rank in his state, and a share of the military corvée. In funerals and sacrifices he has a role. He receives *shen* meat and brings back *shen* meat to the altar. He has a prominent position for himself at sacrifices at the temple.[83]

Zi Chan here was presenting the essential conditions for belonging to the aristocracy in ancient China. This is how the aristocratic individual defined himself.[84] Participating in the sharing of meat sacrifices was one basic

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[82] For the identification of *fan* 燔 and *liao* 燎 in oracle bone script, see Li Xiaoding, *Jiagu wenzi jishi* [Collection and explanation of oracle bone characters], Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo Zhuankan, no.50, 8 vols (Taibei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1970), vol.6, pt 10, p.3147.

[83] *SSJZS*, vol.6, pp.826–7.

[84] An example from *Mencius* [6 A: 4; *SSJZS*, vol.8, p.193] shows the internal structure of the relationship of personal identity and meat:

告子曰：食色性也。仁內也。非外也。義外也。非內也。孟子曰。何以仁內義外也？

曰：彼長而我長之。非有長於我也。猶彼白而我白之。從其白於外也。故

謂之外也。

曰：異，於白馬之白也。無以異於白人之白也。不識長馬之長也。無以異於長人之長與？且謂長者義乎？長之者義乎？

曰：吾弟則愛之，秦人之弟則不愛也。是以我為悅者也。故謂之內。長楚人之長，亦長吾之長。是以長謂悅者也。故謂之外也。

曰：嗜秦人之炙，無以異於嗜吾炙。夫物則亦有然者也。然則嗜炙亦有外與？

Gaozi said, "By nature we desire food and sex. Humanity is internal and not external, whereas righteousness is external and not internal."

Mencius said, "Why do you say that humanity is internal and righteousness is external?"

"When I see an old man and respect him for his age, it is not that the oldness is within me, just as, when something is white and I call it white, I am merely observing its external appearance. I therefore say that righteousness is external."

"There is no difference between our considering a white horse to be white and a white man to be white. But is there no difference between acknowledging the age of an old horse and the age of an old man? And what is it that we call righteousness, the fact that a man is old, or the fact that we honor his old age?"

"I love my younger brother but do not love the younger brother of, say, a man from the state of Qin. This is because I am the one to determine that pleasant feeling. I therefore say that humanity comes from within. On the other hand, I respect the old men from the state of Chu as well as my own elders. What determines my pleasant feeling is age itself. Therefore I say that righteousness is external."

"We love the roast meat of Qin as much as we love our own. This is even so with respect to material things. Then are you going to say that our love of roast meat is also external?" (Translation from Wing-tsit Chan, *A source book in Chinese philosophy* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973], p.52.)

The schema of the argument for interactive interpretation of identity proposed by Mencius can be sketched as follows:

1) Gaozi raises the issue of the locus of human identity, and defines the opening categories: (humanity/righteousness, inner/outer)

2) His example: righteousness = age/color (of people/of things) = outer

3) Mencius replies: things → animals; age/color (of animals/of people) = righteousness?

4) Gaozi: righteousness → humanity; people (us/them)

5) Mencius: people → roast meat; roast meat (our/theirs) = inner/outer?

The dialog focuses on examples progressively closer to the self, concluding with a question to indicate the indeterminacy of personal and social identity in terms of inner and outer influences.

85 春秋經, *Ding* 定 14, 496 BC. See *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.983 and Takezoe Kōkō, *Zuozhuan huijian*, vol.2, *juan* 28, p.41.

86 Supreme irony! Suppose we knew that in the *Yijing* the locus of burnt offerings (or autumnal thanksgiving rites) was at hexagram number 56 (Fire on the Mountaintop, *lü* 旅, a term interchangeable with *lu* 爐 'stove' and therefore sometimes used with the sense of 'black' as in *Zuozhuan*, Duke Xi 28). Here in the *zuozhuan*, in Confucius' 56th year, we have a laconic reference to the system of meat offerings. We might then suspect that the failing Zhou monarchy was deploying its sad débacles in subtle, harmonic coordination with the bittersweet lifetime of the Paradigm Man, Kongzi, as seen through the *Chronicles of Zuo based on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, which Confucius said was the work best-suited to let other people understand him. This coordination might be so unusual as to have escaped the notice of later generations of commentators, but still be widespread and systematic. Thus, elsewhere, we have at Kongzi's 50th year (compared with the *ding* 鼎 hexagram at *Yijing* #50), the story of the flubbed Di 禘 ritual, at Kongzi's 30th year (compared with the water and fire hexagrams at *Yijing* #29--#30) the multiple references to fire and water; there is as well the matter of the cluster of symbolism, much of it with shocking and archaic motifs, in the years of the conception and birth of Kongzi: the violent dismemberment to the four quarters, the very archaic hunting magic for regenerating game from bones, the unusual religious formula featuring the old god Di, the bizarre theme of the ice-bed beneath the earth, etc. For such a coordination to be possible, the idea of the received *Yijing*, in pre-Qin construal, being a model of an individual's life-trajectory would have to be demonstrated. S. Davis, *Jiegou yu lishi*, is a preliminary account of some aspects of and more evidence for this intriguing phenomenon.

87 *SSJZS*, vol.3, p.278.

privilege of the ruling class. The expression 'receives *shen* and brings back *shen*' refers to the processes of mutual reciprocity involved in the exchanges of offerings at various levels of society; Du Yu's commentary states that 'receives *shen*' means that the feudal lord calls upon him to share the meat with the ministers, whereas 'brings back *shen*' implies that when the ministers have meat sacrifices they call upon him to share some with the lord. Such an institution, probably more flexibly organized than in Du's picture, was evidently operating on a regular basis, quite independently of specific military considerations. Commentators did not overlook the textual inconsistencies here, and explain that *shen* was not only used in the context of sacrifices at the outside altar 祭社 in preparation for warfare. They appeal for corroboration of this point to one further passage, to which we now turn.

The final mention of *shen* 脤 in *Zuozhuan* actually occurs in the *Spring and Autumn* classic itself.[85] By some accounts, this date marked the fifty-sixth year of Confucius's life; in this year, the Zhou king managed one final time to send *shen* meat to Lu 魯.

天王使石尚來歸脤。

The heavenly king had Shi Shang come and bring *shen* meat.

The commentary observes: 天王使止于此 "Passages saying 'The king had someone do something' end with this."[86] It is also explained that, although 'bring back *shen*' appears only this one time in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, there were ample opportunities during the regular visits from the king's delegates for such exchanges to have been practiced. Since the Zhou shared the patronym Ji 姬 with the state of Lu, regular exchanges were commonly carried out; as the *Zhouli* records, "Make the states of brothers intimate through the ceremonies of sacrificial meat [literally: 'of *shen–fan*']" 以脤膰之禮親兄弟之國.[87] In this passage and in the previous one, it is strongly argued that *shen* 脤 was any kind of sacrificial meat, and not only for the altar of the soil. Commentaries to the above passage from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* cite with approval Zheng Xuan's position regarding the *Zhouli* quotation:

脤膰社稷宗廟之肉也。

Shen–fan is meat for the altar of the soil and for the ancestral temple.

With this last passage, the complicated edifice of terminological distinction just reviewed has crumbled; all the militaristic imagery of the altar of the soil versus the ancestral temple, battle versus sacrifice, and *shen* versus *fan*—these can all be collapsed into a broader pattern which was more routine and kinship-linked, and lacked such elaboration. There is no question here of deciding which picture is more authentic. Either way, the concept *shen* as a general term retains the same categorical orientation consistent with the system under study here. In summary, *shen* as a general term can encompass the word *fan* 膰 and be used for any type of meat offering; *shen* as an elaborated concept, on the other hand, finds its place here in a military

context, as the counterpart to the non-military sacrifice *fan*. This more specific usage of *shen* in opposition to *fan* is accomplished along the axis of raw versus burnt. *Shen* once again is aligned towards the category of raw things, in contrast to a complex of factors closely associated to fire.

These balanced complications of the system of sacrificial mediation are put in better perspective by comparing the related term *zuo* 胙 which in one of its meanings is used in a similar way as *shen* in its encompassing sense. By reviewing the two terms' connotations side-by-side, there appear sufficient similarities to allow us to complete this assay of the three functions from the *Zhouli*, with certain conclusions about their broader implications for the metaphorical structure. *Zuo* 胙, like *shen*, comprises the meat substances "entering" and "returning" through the mediating function of the system whose opposing poles are defined by the house for the living, and the tombs for the dead. The circulation of meat between groups sharing the same type of altar rights was given an expressly sacred motivation, by the tenor of the names of the meat [see diagram].

Zuo 胙 in the *Zuozhuan* is used to mean sacrificial meat, in the same general sense as *shen* could have. However, *zuo* can also have a more inclusive usage still, to mean both the wine and the flesh of sacrifice, for example:

太子（申生）祭於曲沃。歸胙於公。

Prince (Shensheng) sacrificed at Quwo. Brought back the wine and meat to the duke.[88]

The formula of 'bring back sacrificial offerings' has already been encountered, meaning to accept a certain share and to present it back to an immediate family or altar group. An example of the opposite conveyance also occurs in *Zuozhuan*:

進胙者莫不謗令尹。

Among the nobility, there were none who did not slander the chief minister.[89]

Here, 'nobility' is defined by the criterion of access to the shared meat sacrifices, the class being literally expressed as 'those who bring meat and wine in'. This denotes the process of presenting meat to be shared out ceremonially. So we have seen verb expressions for 'receive meat', 'bring back meat' and 'present meat'.

In examining passages from *Zuozhuan* on handling *shen* and *zuo* meat, we have been able to observe the importance accorded to the privilege of doing so within the feudal scheme. Under the feudal regime, of course, a broad spectrum of measured privileges was distributed to individual lineages for various reasons, and these patterns had wide implications for the families carrying them out. But the point of this investigation is to demonstrate some critical links between these feudal practices, in terms of the metaphors contours of which have been outlined here. Most important, we can now appreciate the centricity and ubiquity of regular exchanges of meat in the aristocratic economy, and more readily see that the network of such

88 *Xi* 4, 656 BC. See *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.204.
89 *Zhao* 27, 515 BC. See *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.909.

胙
脤 = 胙   酒 wine
膰 meat   脤
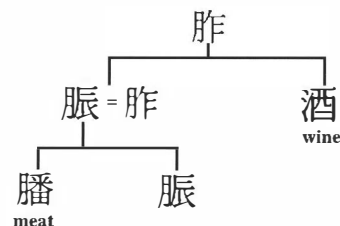
[90] *SSJZS*, vol.5, p.245.

[91] See M. Granet, *The religion of the Chinese people* (1922); trans. Maurice Freedman (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1975), pp.46–53, 72–80; J. Friedman, "Tribes, states, and transformation," in *Marxist analysis and social anthropology*, ed. Maurice Bloch (New York: Wiley, 1975).

exchanges was formed in a kind of parallel process with the basic patterns of land dispersion. As just mentioned, these two dimensions are certainly not the only factors involved in understanding Zhou feudal society, but the sharing out of land seems to be a fundamental consideration of any kind of feudalism, and the sharing of meat would seem for several reasons to be one of the most common and actively pursued concrete metaphors involved in expressing and maintaining the feudal order. While such a metaphor was formulated as a mediating principle between man and the sacred/ancestral, ("those who are capable are nourished by achieving blessing thereby ... the source of respect is nourishing the spirits"), it in fact was also a strong organizing factor in socioeconomic reciprocity among different groups of the living

From the point of view of the family of *chen* words, the dialectic of land, meat, living, and dead presents a very coherent organization (see figure below):
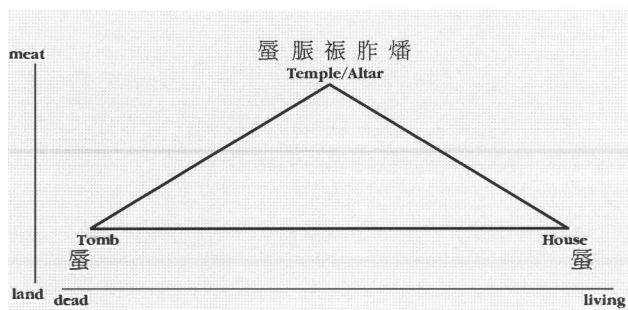

In this diagram, the horizontal plane represents the direct line of inheritance, in terms of ties to land, as well as the plot of land occupied by the tomb of the ancestor; the vertical dimension moves toward the locus of mediation between the two lower terms, and forms the node of interaction between an individual branch or lineage and other groups. At an early period of Chinese feudalism, this cluster of metaphors expressed a principle which later became codified in *Liji* in the "Regulations of the King" 王制:

天子社稷皆大牢。諸侯社稷皆少牢。大夫士宗廟之祭，有田則祭，無田則薦。

The king always uses large sacrificial animals at the altar of the soil. The feudal lords always use small domesticated animals at the altar of the soil. As for the sacrificial ceremony [to heaven] at the temples by the ministers and officers, if they possess land, then they may sacrifice [and offer]; if they have no land, then they [merely] offer.[90]

It is worth noting that the king and feudal lords by definition have land at their disposal; their sacrifices are listed at the altar of the soil in this quotation. The ministers and officers also have sacrificial functions, contingent on land connections, but in this context these functions are located at the temple, offered to heaven. Land becomes an issue as a criterion for revering heaven only at the ancestral temple, not at the altar of the soil. This kind of inversion in detail may be a consequence of an event which took place in an earlier formation of urban society, when the earth altars 社 of the people became representative of the political authority of the urban centers.[91] Although the above passage seems to indicate a concept of property ownership, reflecting its Han-dynasty source, the ties to territory involved in this structure need not be ones of ownership, and indeed were not conceived that way until

profound changes during the Eastern Zhou took place: the developments of a widespread monetary exchange system and an elaborate bureaucracy, the disintegration of power in social and ritual terms, so that authority caame to be exercised directly over revenue-producing lands rather than over groups of people invested on the lands, and the appearance of a legalistic attitude regarding governing.[92] The metaphorical structure which is the subject of the investigation, though neutral in respect to the mode of connection to the land, was evolved under the influence of the earlier, ritualistic and socially-based system. Thus the complex institutionalized processes of sacrificial meat exchange, at fixed ◀quantities, mediated degrees of authority to dispose of territories. In this light, it is understandable that a word such as *zuo* 胙, usually denoting the meat or wine of sacrifice, could also be used as a verb to mean the king's performance of investiture:

天子建德。因生以賜姓。胙之土而命之士。

> The king establishes the virtuous. He follows their particular mode of life in bestowing the lineage name, invests them with land and names them with the local clan name.[93]

To complete the comparison of *shen* and *zuo*, which has allowed the context of sacrificial meat in ancient China to be seen more clearly, it is instructive to consider the make-up of the characters themselves. *Zuo* 胙 comes from *zha* 乍, which is a word often found in bronze inscriptions in the sense of *zuo* 作 'to make', 'to create', mainly referring to the manufacture of bronze vessels. In the oracle bone script, the graph is a picture of a man sitting with a tool in hand, making something : 㞡 (*jia* 甲 5113)

This strong connotation of creative energy (cf. "to move and create the principles of Ceremony, Rightness and Awe-inspiring Outer Appearance" (有動作禮義威儀之則) provides a very important point of similarity with the words in the *chen* family. This point will become clearer as the discussion continues.

Land and Sky Extensions

At this juncture, the survey of the family of *chen* 辰 words goes beyond the problems of *shen* 蜃/脈, and of the three functions of clams from the *Zhouli*. The next cluster of terms to be reviewed has to do with instrumentality and creative energy, this time put in relation not to splitting and handling meat, but instead to managing the land in the process of agriculture. The word *nong* 農 is the common term for agriculture. In its oracle bone form (a), this character shows a forest over *chen*; the bronze inscriptions (b) and (c) of *nong* may show something like a field, or people (hands) sharing a field:

(a) 㞋 (前 5.48);   (b) 㞋 (史農觥);   (c) 㞋 (郜公鼎)

[92] L. Vandermeersch, *Wangdao*, 2 vols. (Paris: École Français d'Extrême-Orient, 1980), 2: 236–64.

[93] *Zuozhuan, Yin*隱 8, 715 BC. See *SSJZS*, vol. 6, p.75.

[94] Quoted in Li Xiaoding, *Jiagu wenzi jishi*, vol.2, pt 3, p.840.

[95] See ibid., vol.8, pt 14, pp.4349–57.

[96] Gao Hongjin, *Zhongguo zilie* [The origin and development of Chinese characters] (1964; reprint ed., Taibei: Xingtai Chubanshe, 1967), pp.24–5.

[97] E.g. Qinghaisheng Wenwu Guanlichu Kaogudui, and Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo, Qinghaidui, "Qinghai Yuedu liuwan yuanshi shehui mudi fanying chu de zhuyao wenti" [The main issues posed by the finds from the primitive society cemetery in Liuwan, Yuedu County, Qinghai Province], *Kaogu* 6 (1976): 365–77, at 371, [M 503]; Chinese Academy of Science, Archaeology Research Institute, Anyang Team, "1972 nian chun Anyang Hougang fajue jianbao" [A brief report on the excavation at Hougang, Anyang, in the spring of 1972], *Kaogu* 5 (1972): 8–19, at 13 [H2: 44, 53, and 56] (Figure 6).

[98] W. Eberhard, *The local cultures of south and east China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p.291.

One account of the oracle bone form is as follows:

楊樹達曰。甲文農字從辰從林。從林者,初民之世森林遍布,營耕者於播種者之先者,必先斬伐其樹木也。辰者蜃也。淮南子所謂摩蜃而耨也。

Yang Shuda said: "*Nong* in oracle script derives from *chen* and from 'forest'. The reason it derives from 'forest' is that in the time of the early peoples, forests were thick and widespread, and before any sowing and planting could be done, preparation for plowing had to occur, by first cutting down the trees. The reason it derives from *chen* is that *chen* is a *shen* [clam-shell]. This is as written in *Huainanzi*, 'scrape with the clamshell and hoe'." [94]

The quotation from *Huainanzi* may be taken as meaning that the shells were used as hoes, or that axes made from shells were used in de-barking the trees, to kill them as a preliminary step to swidden burning. Yang Shuda apparently follows the latter, quite plausible, reading. In support of the former possibility, it may be pointed out that *nou* 耨 means 'to hoe' and *hao* 薅 means 'to weed', both containing the *chen* 辰 element.[95] Gao Hongjin believes that the original meaning of *chen* 辰 is *nou* 耨.[96] As has already been mentioned, shells were common raw materials for tools, and shell-tools are often found in tombs and elsewhere with holes drilled for hafting.[97] One particular connection of clamshells to the word for agriculture cannot be singled out as 'the original one', but rather a number of indications exist that reveal the archaic importance of clam shell in an instrumental mode for clearing and hoeing fields. In addition to the considerations just adduced, it is also possible that lime from shells or other sources was used, in tandem with charred dung, as an application with fertilizing and/or weed-killing properties.[98]

Since we are now in a position to identify an agricultural sector in the classification of words of the *chen* family, it is appropriate to appeal to another cluster of words to clarify our perspective on certain connotations of *chen* pertaining to land, just as we have learned more about meat-sharing patterns by considering the meaning of *zuo* 作 in relation to *shen* 脤. Through the latter exercise, the feudal significance of splitting and sharing meat was discussed, including an instance of the word for sacrificial meat being used to refer to feudal investiture. Now, this theme of investiture can be directly confronted in a new set of concepts. In the *Zuozhuan*, the actions denoted by this family of terms are spoken of twice, both times as having happened in the revered past. The first instance occurs in 636 BC, when the Zhou king threatens to mobilize the Di 狄 barbarian tribes to attack the recalcitrant Ji 姬-group state of Zheng 鄭; a minister bearing the interesting name of Fu Chen 富辰 (otherwise not identified; he appears two years earlier with a similarly conciliatory message) speaks to the king of the compelling integrity of the Zhou feudal system:

昔周公弔二叔之不咸。故封建親戚以藩屏周室。

In the past, the Duke of Zhou worried about the disharmony of the two

uncles. Therefore he invested his family with land to make a hedge for the Zhou house.[99]

Following this statement is a long list of the states instituted by the Zhou arranged according to the Zhaomu 昭穆 order. This is a critical passage for understanding the Zhou feudal regime. Kong Yingda's commentary explains that the words translated as 'make a hedge for' have a very precise meaning:

藩屏者分地以建諸侯。使與京師作藩屏扞也。

'To make a hedge for' means to split up land and establish the feudal lords on it, to make them act as a hedge or protective screen along with the royal troops.

A second quotation from *Zuozhuan* repeats the phrase; it is apparently a kind of formula having to do with the feudal origins of the Zhou:

昔武王克商，成王定之，選建明德以藩屏周。

In the past, King Wu was victorious over the Shang, and King Cheng consolidated the victory by choosing and establishing bright virtue, to make a hedge for the Zhou.[100]

Although this formulaic phrase is closely associated with descriptions of the first Zhou feudal investiture, it also appears in contexts which remove it from its specific historical reference and give it a general, theoretical sense, pertaining to the feudal order. Poem 222 in *Shijing, Xiaoya, "Cai Shu"* 詩經 小雅采菽 describes the scene of feudal lords all gathering together at the king's capital:

樂旨君子　　殿天子之邦
樂旨君子　　萬福攸同
平平左右　　亦是率從

Oh, happy princes,
Who support the son of heaven's land!
Oh, happy princes,
In whom ten-thousand blessings unite!
Spreading out this way and that,
In an orderly and uninterrupted fashion,
To the left and right,
And leading followers along …[101]

This feudal formula, being very important to the Zhou sense of self-identity, was repeated several times in various contexts, and since each occurrence uses different characters for the words given in the *Shijing* as *ping ping* 平平 , we thus have at our disposal a very fertile domain for establishing a linguistic family. When the *Zuozhuan* repeats this poem,[102] the line reads: 便蕃 左右 . When quoted by the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 it is written as 便便 . With equivalences established between 藩–便–蕃–平 , it is not difficult to compile a table of substitutions with such words throughout the classical corpus, as follows:[103]

[99] *Zuozhuan, Xi* 24; see *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.255.

[100] *Zuozhuan, Ding* 4, 506 BC. See *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.947.

[101] *SSJZS*, vol.2, p.502.

[102] *Xiang* 11, 562 BC. See *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.547.

[103] Details can be found in Takezoe Kōkō, *Zuozhuan huijian*, vol.2 *juan* 15, p.27.

104 Karlgren, "Cognate words in the Chinese phonetic series," p.70.

105 Ibid., #265b.

便 — 平 — 辨 — 變 — 蕃
bian   ping   bian   bian   fan

Three considerations are relevant when considering this word family: (1) It has been elaborated in the context of feudal investiture symbolism, which includes (2), a common semantic component dealing with dividing 辨, or balancing equally divided portions 平, or marking off divisions due to a newly altered state 便 or 變. Finally, (3) the quotation from the *Shijing* shares with the *Zuozhuan* formula an emphasis on concern with organizing protective flanks of followers (亦是率(帥)從), with borders involved in differentiating one's own domain from others 蕃, and with imagery of vegetative growth and reproductive transformation which is at the same time protective 蕃, 藩. In view of these similarities of connotation, the word *fan* 藩 from the *Zuozhuan* investiture formula should be added to the list:

便 — 平 — 辨 — 變 — 蕃 — 藩
bian   ping   bian   bian   fan   fan

Here are Bernard Karlgren's reconstructed archaic sounds as given in his *Grammatica Serica Recensa*:

辨	*b'i̯an/b'i̯än	變	*pli̯an/pi̯än
平	*b'i̯ĕng/b'iwɒng	便	*b'i̯an/b'i̯än

For 番, the upper element 采 (*b'an/b'an) was originally like 平. Karlgren notes[104] that these are cognate with, but not identical to, 辨:

番	*p'i̯wăn/p'iwɒn	蕃	*b'i̯wăn/b'iwɒn
		藩	*piwăn/piwɒn
潘	*p'wân/p'uân	燔, 膰	*b'i̯wăn/b'iwɒn
播	*pwâr/puâ	敏, 繁	*b'wân/b'uân
皤	*b'wâr/b'uâ		(loans for 蕃 in *Shijing*)

Phonologically speaking, the inclusion of the labio-dental fricative /f/ initial sounds with the labial stops /b,p/ is a normal phenomenon, since labio-dental fricatives split away from the labial initials (in palatalized stems with the third-grade 三等 vowels) only in Tang or pre-Tang times. Interestingly, the terms *fan* 燔 and *fan* 膰 in the category of roast meat would be given an initial sound identical to the others. In the *Guangyun* 廣韻, the terms for meat offerings fall together with 蕃 and 藩 in the even tone (平聲[上]元 family, third grade 三等), whereas the verb *bo* 播 'to sow' appears in complementary distribution with this group, with regard to its final (陰陽對轉，去聲，過 family). Clearly there is an extended network of phonetic resemblances operating here to express concepts pertaining not just to dividing, specifically dividing and bounding territorial domains, but also to agricultural work and its luxuriant organic base. In the same network should be placed *fan* 繁 'tangled', 'luxuriant', 'to reproduce' (= 蕃)[105] and probably *fen* 分 'to divide' as well. Therefore, in terms of the sound families being isolated here, a continuum of internal connections can be demonstrated, extending from the cases dealing

with splitting meat to agricultural activities and processes carried out on the land, to splitting the land itself. Thus:

ALTAR   AGRICULTURE   LAND

蜃 裖 脹 膰 燔   農 耨 薅 蕃 播 繁   藩 辨 變 平 便 分

Such an equivalence corresponds to a major premise of Chinese feudal society; as described here, these families are mutually engaged linguistic attractors. Although the ideographic terminology is generalized and varies widely in the set of cognate verbs of abstract division and dividing land, this second linguistic family clearly shows its connection with the categorical alignment of the family of *shen* or *chen* words by extending itself along this axis into the domain of sacrificial meat. Moreover, the idea of *sheng* 盛 as "flourishing display" in most of these expressions should not be overlooked. The cluster of *chen* words under the node of agriculture thus represents an intermediary expression of the feudal premise, in the sector dealing specifically with human labor, whereas the portion beyond this node encompasses either pure vegetative growth or institutional apportioning of territory, constituting the major part of the second group of words. If we try to integrate this dimension into the graph previously established, the resulting distribution might be as follows (see diagram):

The tri-cycle comprising the points Agriculture—Temple/Altar—House/Tomb represents the domain of human activities, whereas beyond agriculture a path extends into an infrastructure of natural or social categories directly in terms of land itself, as just explained. The position of this latter node to the upper right indicates that it

remains linked with the categories in the register below it of house and tomb, which similarly pertain to land apportioning, but only on a local or domestic scale. In other words, the activities of splitting meat at the altar still function in this model as mediating, though now the mediating function can be described as ranging over both macro- and micro-levels of the division of territories in the feudal economy.

In order to complete the upper portion of the model, it is only a matter of noticing the counterbalancing celestial phenomena included in the words related to *chen* 辰, which are clearly seen in the term itself. This would occupy the top left corner, as follows (see diagram):

A number of points of specific loci of the symbolism of everyday life in ancient China have thus been assembled into a model which attempts to integrate these data while accounting for their salient features in terms of position in a structure. Before trying to explain and manipulate this model, we should examine more closely the information provided by the celestial symbolism of *chen* 辰.
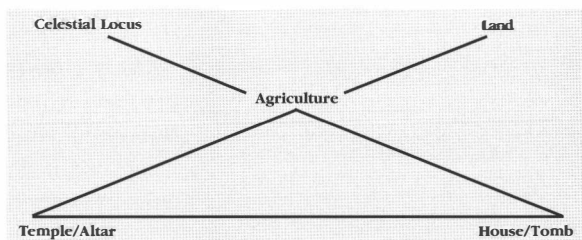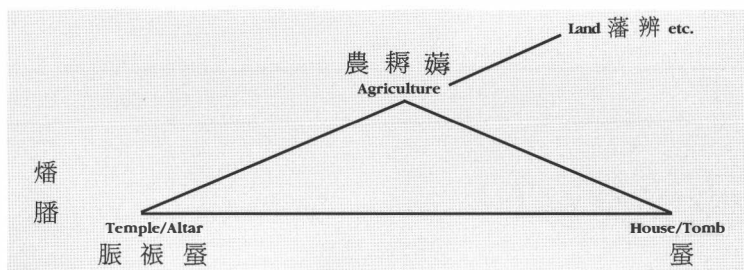
[106] Tong Kin-woon, *Shang musical instruments*, PhD diss., Wesleyan University, Ann Arbor, Mich. (University Microfilms International, 1983), p.66.

[107] Ibid., p.68.

Whereas the upper right position of the structure presents features dealing with the division of space, its pendant to the upper left conveys a sense of marking off temporal periods. In an investigation of ancient Chinese musical instruments, Tong Kin-woon expresses a belief that the original meaning of the character *chen* was 'time'.[106] Tong disagrees with scholars who explain *chen* as a clam, a clamshell, or an agricultural instrument, since according to him they have been influenced by later 'evolved meanings'; instead, Tong claims to see in the oracle bone character 㑚 , a standing musician with outstretched arms striking a hanging *qing* 磬 [stone chime]. Although this reading is not supported by existing scholarship, and fails to account for variant forms of the character which clearly do not conform to Tong's analysis—e.g. 㑚 㑚 㑚 㑚, the rationale for his interpretation of *chen* as 'time' is probably correct, and provides useful information about the semantic network being developed here. Tong cites an oracle-bone inscription, *Cun* 存 1.1716: 貞戠吉辰 ("We shall perform a *zhi*dance. Is that an auspicious time?"), and a passage from *Erya, Shixun*: 釋訓: 不辰。不時也 ("Not *chen* means 'not timely'"); from these sources, he concludes that *chen* was used in oracle script with the meaning of 'appropriate time'.[107] Since he sees a man striking a *qing* stone chime in the graph, he explains the meaning in terms of a signal sounded on the *qing* at sun-up, to summon farmers to the field. This signal could have been struck upon a hanging ploughshare. The triangular *qing*, indeed, is often distinguishable from the primitive ploughshare of the Shang only by differences in the holes drilled, which indicate whether the stone was to be hung or mounted on the frame of the plow. Through these associations, *chen* took on a temporal meaning.

The dictionary meanings of *chen* 辰 confirm this basic conclusion. *Chen* means the sun, or time measured by the sun's motion. It also means the early morning hours, and in this sense can be written with a sun above it, *chen* 晨. This is how Tong knows the agricultural signal was sounded at sun-up. The so-called 'three *chen*' refer to the sun, moon, and stars, the three heavenly lights. 'Three *chen*' may also mean three key stars: a pivotal star in the Big Dipper, a star in Orion, and perhaps Antares. These are all ancient traditions; the star which is perhaps Antares, in particular, was the object of intense attention and fear, as seen in the latter half of the *Zuozhuan*, which shows the development of a complex system based on the star's movement, along with that of Jupiter. It is also named 'Fire' 火 or 'Shang Star' 商星 and is located in the Heart Sector 心宿 of the Dragon Constellation in the eastern sky.

If *chen* 晨 denotes the beginning of a day, one can be assured that a word of the *chen* family is used to denote the beginning of a year. *Shuowen*, trying to prove that *chen* 辰 'means' dragon 龍 (since its position in the twelve Earthly Branches corresponds to that of the dragon in the twelve calendrical animals), uses *chen* in the sense of *zhen* 震 to describe the thunderous return of *yang* in spring, after winter hibernation. *Chen* and *zhen* are signs of the eastern region, hence their shared connotation as the source of origination.

Zhen 震 itself means 'thunderous shock' and is linked with meteorological conditions. It is closely related to the seasonal imagery of the transition from winter to spring, at which time 'the Startling of Hibernating Creatures' 驚蟄 occurs.

We have already seen indications of the connection of clams or 'aquatic creatures' to the equinoctial seasons, in the "Aquatic Creatures" chapter of *Zhouli*, and in the analogous imagery of the Gu hexagram in *Zuozhuan* and *Yijing*. There is further evidence of this seasonal significance yet to consider. This is contained in the various calender books, such as *Yueling, Xiaxiao-zheng* 夏小正 in *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 and parts of *Lüshi Chunqiu*. Such texts use certain specially valorized animals as markers to plot the rhythm of the categories of the year, as they 'enter' and 'emerge' in balanced cadence. Generally speaking, such markers involve the transformation of one order of the cosmic bestiary into an opposing order; for example, certain birds signal the emerged category of warm weather, which 'enters' the ground, and the waters in winter in the form of insects and other concealed species. These in turn await the explosive release of their energy in the early spring. Although this is a wide-ranging scheme, clams and other shelled animals play an important overall role; a passage from the *Yueling*, already quoted, singles out the clam in transformational relation to pheasants:

孟冬之月…雉入大水為蜃。

In the early months of winter, … pheasants enter the great waters and become clams.[108]

Yueling also asserts:

季秋之月…鴻鴈…入大水為蛤。

In the late fall months … wild geese … enter the great waters to become clams.[109]

As mentioned above, this is a generalized scheme, and we need not go into the details of its design, except to notice the linkages between aquatic clams, and flying pheasants and geese. The problems of the symbolism of swallows and sparrows would take us too far afield here, but they too form a sub-system of birds with very important seasonal significance.

These considerations make it apparent that a substantial amount of celestial symbolism is incorporated into the words of the *chen* family. Especially to be emphasized in this regard is the aspect of transition which is conveyed by some of these words. Their seasonal affiliations are inevitably transitional periods between the agricultural growing season and the dead season. *Zhen* 震 in particular is deeply linked to the time of year in which the life-force begins to manifest itself openly. Such an event is depicted as explosive, shocking, percussive. It is therefore well-suited to play the role of bringing about dramatic transformations in the states of affairs with which this system is concerned.[110]

When coupled with other radicals, the *chen* 辰 component continues to articulate concepts which by now are familiar to us. For instance, the word

[108] *SSJZS*, vol.5, pp.340–1.

[109] Ibid., p.337. These statements need comparison with *Lüshi Chunqiu* and *Guo yu,* which claim that sparrows 雀 enter the ocean and become clams, and with *Dadai Liji,* which claims that 'swallows' 玄鳥 become hibernating creatures 蟄.

[110] For elaboration of this point see R. Needham, "Percussion and transition," *Man* 2 (n.s., 1967): 606–14. Also, idem, "Blood, thunder and mockery of animals," *Sociologus* 14 (1964): 136–49, provides comparative background for connections of thunder and sacrifice.

111 *Zuozhuan, Yin*5: 入而振旅. See *SSJZS*,
   vol.6, p.59.

112 *Xi*28: 振旅。凱以入于晉. See *SSJZS*,
   vol.63, pp.275–6.

113 Tong Kin-woon, "Shang musical instru-
   ments," pp.37–8.

114 Ibid., p.38.

115 *Zhuang* 28; see *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.177.

116 Gao Hongjin, *Zhongguo zilie*, p.204.

117 *Xi* 15; see *SSJZS*, vol.6, pp.229, 234.

118 *Zhao* 23; *SSJZS*, vol.6, p.878.

zhen 振 'to arouse', when used in the compound *zhen lü* 振旅, means a triumphant display of a victorious army returning home.[111] A second reference from *Zuozhuan* specifies that the orderly formation of martial splendor was accomplished by music.[112] This is another indication of a connection of *chen* and cadence.

The word *zhen* 震 is not found in the oracle bone vocabulary. What is found there, besides *chen* 辰 itself, is the word 赈 with a foot radical, which is no longer used in modern Chinese. The glyph was written 𝌆, with a foot below and dots around to indicate random motion. It was used as a verb. Tong Kin-woon, taking it as equivalent to *zhen* 振, interprets it as "to perform", citing the oracle bone inscription *Tun Nan* 236: ⼘ ⼞ 𝌆 ⾖ ["Should we perform the drum?"].[113] Indeed, *zhen* 振 is cited several times in the classics with a similar meaning,[114] notably in a passage of the *Zuozhuan* where a prince from Chu, wanting to seduce [*gu* 蠱] his brother's widow, 'performs' or 'dances' in her presence a military dance:[115] *zhen wan* 振萬. It is supposed that *zhen* 震 later came to take the place of 赈 in the sense of 'to move violently',[116] while *zhen* 振 was substituted for the sense of 'to perform'. So what was earlier expressed as basically foot-power in stamping later merged with and disappeared into the the stronger paradigmatic concept of sudden origination, thunder.

In the evidence at our disposal from the *Zuozhuan*, it is clear that *zhen* 震, like the star named *Chen* 辰, was an object of fear and mantic interpretation. In 645 BC, lightning struck the temple of Yi Bo: 震夷伯之廟。罪之也. The *Zuozhuan* text explains that this happened in order to punish the secret plottings of Yi Bo's clan.[117] In 519 BC, an earthquake killed a man in Lu 魯 named Nan Gongji 南宮極震. This disaster was justified as a punitive sign by reference to similar events immediately following the fall of the Western Zhou.[118] It is clear that the *chen* family could take on a menacing aspect and interfere dramatically with human life.

The foregoing considerations therefore provide ample reason for defining a sector of the model to be specifically devoted to celestial symbolism as a pendant to the component which deals with dividing land. Also, *zhen* 震 in the celestial component undergoes a complex interaction with the lower left mode, the locus of the temple and altar offerings. When *zhen* appears in the inferior register which is the domain of humans, it is the manifestation of the celestial there. On the other hand, the temple and altar offerings originate in the sphere of human activities, and move upward to reach the celestial. Thus there is a balanced exchange of symbolic items either reaching upwards or coming downwards on the left-hand side of this model (see diagram).

Concluding Remarks

In the early Song work *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記, compiled by Li Fang 李昉 and others, there is an interesting little story of a struggle between two *shen* 蜃 on the shore.[119] The *shen* emerge from the water and fight each other, in bovine form. The locals, having made a deal with one party, anticipate their emergence by drumming, and resolve the combat by firing arrows at the other *shen*. This story in many ways parallels myths which feature a similarly-located battle, directed against *qiu long* 虯龍 dragons, or Chi You 蚩尤, who was said to have the head of a cow. Through military might, these monsters were successfully prevented from emerging from the waters. Kui 夔, in the *Shanhaijing* tale,[120] was also taken at the water's edge to be killed and skinned for the making of a drum: in this version Kui was said to resemble a cow. Apparently, in an analogous way, *shen* continued to be perceived as a threat at the same locus, since clams are known as being responsible for sending visions or illusions from the bottom of the sea to baffle and delude humans. We have already seen the use of *kui* 魁 to substitute for *shen*. The network of mythological connections involving clams could undoubtedly be further investigated.

This review of the symbolism featuring clams reminds us that clams in archaic China were not only 'good[s] to eat' but also 'good[s] to think'. Once selected and fixed within a cultural system, their tangible properties constituted one component of a semiotic code, and had ramifications throughout the symbolic network. We now have a basis for outlining some of the ways these properties, and the concrete procedures of their utilization as a natural resource, took on symbolic value. One major constellation of features involves fire and water, black and white, and cooking. There is a paradox of fire and water noticeable in the phenomena we have examined. With shells from water creatures providing substance, their use for combatting moisture implies fire: the shells are sometimes burned. Undergoing further liquification and drying, the processed shell can appear in architectural schemes (white versus black); otherwise, the burnt shell can be contrasted with charcoal (also white versus black). Opposition is seen not only in terms of white and black colors, but also engages a common axis of pre-culinary versus post-culinary items. Hard outer shells correspond to the latter category; the soft internal meat, on the other hand, forms its own culinary structures in terms of the raw (tending to the decayed) and the cooked (roasted, burnt). So a wealth of symbolic potential finds its objective correlate in these basic facts, in line with crucially important categories of the ancient culture. There are further semantic contributions in terms of hardness and shape, which have linked the clam shell to symbolisms of instrumentality. Furthermore, their very early adoption as ax and/or hoe occasioned their integration into problems of artifactuality, creative origination, and singularity, not to mention the original duality of the bivalves' natural state. With all this in mind, it should not be surprising that the significance of clams shows very deep and widespread

[119] Li Fang et al., *Taiping guangji* [Broadly miscellaneous notes from the Taiping period] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986), vol.3, *juan* 118, pp.826–7.

[120] Bi Yuan, ed., *Shanhaijing* (*fu tu*) [The classic of mountains and rivers, with illustrations] (Taibei: Qiye Shuju, 1977), chap.14, p.93; *Sibu Congkan*, B.66–7; *Sibu Congkan Zhenghian*, 24 (2): 64–5).

structural features commonly articulated with other major social and metaphorical systems of archaic China.

It is striking, too, that in the *chen* model built up here, agriculture falls into a centrally mediating node. Here, the *chen* words all take on a markedly different pronunciation. Furthermore, a key signifying element in the auxiliary family is *pan* 番, which of course also has a strong agricultural focus. Taken together, these components reflect a widespread, common perception about ancient agricultural work. The original form of *pan* 番 was written as shown here from the Pan Hu 番壺: 𩵋 ; as seen from its derived term *fan* 蹯 it means 'animal's foot'. *Shuowen* says that the element meaning 'field' 田 simply looks like the hoof part; even so, it is odd that so many other characters which incorporate this element symbolize 'sowing', 'hedges', 'luxuriant vegetation', and so forth. The association of the *chen* family with singularity in terms of an ax or hoe made of shell suggests an analogous point about the word *pan* 番. Wen Yiduo's insight about the Zhou origin myth—the myth that Jiang Yuan 姜嫄 became pregnant with the Zhou high ancestor Hou Ji 后稷 (whose name shares with Kui 夒 the component *guai* 夊, 'to walk with dragging gait') by stepping in the giant footprint of god—is that this myth reflects a method of farming by tramping.[121] Whether this was accomplished through 'hoof-power' or through foot-power, with hoof or hoe, tilling and sowing of fields depended on repeated forceful impulses of single, penetrating objects thrust into the soil. At its simplest expression, this comes down to *one foot* puncturing and *dividing* the *soil*. The major part of this essay has been concerned with permutation and elaboration of this schemata or 'diagrammatic expression' in a variety of contexts.

The import of this investigation has been to establish an alternative approach to the question of sound families in ancient Chinese, by examining the metaphorical ramifications through which a single element, a so-called 'phonetic' sign, enters into the complications of a form of life. It suggests that to speak of the radical as a 'determiner of meaning' implies that it further specifies a semantic domain which, at least on some occasions, is already given in advance. Although the results of this demonstration claim only a limited generality, they regain in concreteness what they give up in nomothetic range. What further extensions are possible on the basis of such an approach must be decided case by case, certainly. There are plenty of indications that there is more to be learned about ancient Chinese thought by doing so.

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