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Introduction
The history of the early empires

The place and development of the subject

Up to 1949, western sinologists had concentrated almost exclusively on two periods or aspects of Chinese civilisation, one very early and one almost contemporary. Beginning with the Jesuit scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pioneers in the subject had set themselves two tasks; they needed both to converse in the spoken language and to read China's classical texts. Only fluent command of the dialect of the officials and influential families of Peking would enable them to talk to their hosts on terms of equality; only a familiarity with their hosts' written tradition would demonstrate that the foreigners were men of culture. They therefore determined to learn how to read classical writings so that, in the course of learned conversation, they would demonstrate to their hosts the serious nature of their studies and their good faith in claiming an interest in the products of Chinese civilisation.

The early missionaries thus embarked on the arduous study of the earliest stages of China's philosophy and religion for which information and instruction would be available, and in so doing they necessarily depended on the guidance provided by their Chinese teachers. These latter had been trained to a man so as to satisfy the demands of the imperial civil service; since boyhood they had been imbued with a deep respect for the China which, they had learnt, had preceded the establishment of the first of the empires in 221 BC. Following their teachers' examples, the early fathers directed their efforts to elucidating the texts of those early centuries; they strove to understand the precepts and ideas of China's first recorded thinkers, formulated up to two thousand years before their own time.

Such a precedent laid its mark on the training in Chinese studies which the much more numerous and varied band of western visitors of the nineteenth century received. But by then major changes had taken place, in the growing frequency and complexity of contacts between the countries of the West and the Ch'ing empire, and in the emergence of new demands and new ambitions that the visitors harboured. A new type of foreigner, with different aims and needs, was settling in the missionary houses of the interior, the Legation Quarter of Peking, or the offices and godowns of the Treaty Ports. The

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newcomers were engaged in persuading local officials to allow them to preach the word of God; or they were acting out the niceties of international diplomacy at the capital city; or they were seeking the most favourable terms for the conduct of their business. As consuls or journalists they were also in duty bound to keep the West informed of the state of the country and its prospects. For such men and women a study of China and its culture was of a more practical nature than that which the earlier missionaries had espoused. Their interest lay in the way of life that they saw practised around them, in the institutions and legal prescriptions of the existing government or the opportunities for trade that they espied in China's ports and markets.

In such circumstances attention to the developments of the two thousand and more years that intervened between the Chou period (*c.* 1045–221 BC) and the days of the Dowager Empress (1835–1908) tended to be neglected. As a result western observers were largely oblivious of the greater part of China's imperial history, and the foreign policies adopted by their governments were sadly inhibited by such ignorance. Diplomats accepted the conditions they encountered in the latter decades of the nineteenth century as the norm; they took the apparent weakness of government to be usual, and they saw no reason to suppose that China would be capable of organising cohesive policies, of mustering strength to see them implemented or of acting in full confidence of the glories of the past. There can be little surprise that the emergence of a strong united China in 1949 startled the corridors of power of the western world; for they had not learnt of previous occasions when comparable developments had taken place.

By then a fresh impetus had developed in Chinese studies. Although the greater part of the new effort was being devoted to an assessment of the contemporary scene of the mid-twentieth century, academic circles had at last woken up to the realisation of a basic truth; that if China's history was to be understood at all, the two thousand years of the empires demanded a detailed study and a systematic appreciation; and that without such an appreciation many of the motives and activities of the twentieth century could not be explained satisfactorily. For some fifty years a number of distinguished centres of learning in the West have fostered an interest in such studies, and a review of their achievements is now due. The following pages will be concerned with the attention paid to the history of the Ch'in and Han dynasties, between 221 BC and AD 220, both by western scholars and their colleagues of East Asia. An attempt will be made to summarise their main work and to point to some of the problems that are now calling for research.

The early efforts of the West

Fifty years ago textual and philological enquiries characterised Chinese studies in the West. The magnificent work of scholars such as Couvreur and Legge[1] in

[1] Couvreur (1913) and (1914); Legge (1861–72).

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translating the classical texts had been followed by the young Arthur Waley, exceptional in that he turned his attention to translating poetry of the Han and T'ang periods, and saw some of his work in print by 1918.[2] But even before then one of the earliest ventures of a western scholar to delve into the history of the early empires had begun and borne fruit. This was the work of Edouard Chavannes, whose prime interest had indeed been in the philosophy of the pre-imperial period. But in 1888 he had been persuaded that he would be well advised to turn his attention elsewhere, in view of the impact made on the western world by Legge's work in that subject. Chavannes' monumental translation of forty-seven chapters of the *Shih-chi*, fully annotated, followed with surprising speed between 1895 and 1905.[3] The output of a pioneer who was one of the exceptions of his time, these five volumes were completed in accordance with the highest professional standards; their treatment of the subject may be described as the West's first exercise in analytical criticism of a period of Chinese history. The introduction brought into question the authority or validity of the original work; the translation and notes presented the *Shih-chi* in a manner that would engage the attention and interest of the learned world of the day. Most members of that world had been trained in Greek and Roman philosophy, literature and history; their horizons were being widened by the archaeological discoveries of the Ancient Near East, Egypt and the Mediterranean lands; they were pondering the riches of India's cultural heritage. Thanks to Chavannes they were now able to catch a glimpse of China's *Standard Histories*.

To reach the high standard of his *Mémoires historiques*, Chavannes had been able to call on the fruits of nearly two thousand years of China's own scholarship. This was of particular value in those early days of the West's study of Ch'in and Han history, as it was the *Shih-chi* and the other two histories of the period (the *Han shu* and the *Hou Han shu*) that had inspired comments and annotation, beginning with Ying Shao (*c*. 140 to before 204) and extending in Chavannes' own time to Wang Hsien-ch'ien (1842–1918). The latter's awe-inspiring work[4] (published in 1900) was hardly available to Chavannes at the time when he was translating the *Shih-chi*; but Homer H. Dubs, whose annotated translation of certain chapters of the *Han shu* appeared between 1938 and 1955, did enjoy that advantage.[5] Without decrying the achievements of those two scholars, it may none the less be remarked that they could not have been expected to utilise such work to the full. For the Chinese commentators had been trained during the centuries of the imperial age and they had penned their notes for the benefit of readers who shared the same scholarly background. As yet westerners could hardly be expected to be sufficiently familiar with the whole Chinese tradition to evaluate that background, or to understand the inhibitions imposed on officially sponsored scholarship.

[2] Waley (1918). [3] Chavannes (1895–1905).
[4] See under Pan Ku and Fan Yeh, for Wang Hsien-ch'ien's annotated editions of the *Han shu* (1900) and *Hou Han shu* (1924). [5] Dubs (1938–55).

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Certain aids were beginning to appear, which would both clarify the attainments of the scholars of the Ch'ing period, and bring other material to bear on an understanding of the early empires. Japanese scholars had been far from dormant, producing a number of annotated editions of the early Chinese texts that historians needed to read; teachers at Japanese schools and universities were beginning to be able to call on a number of textbooks on the subject; and several Chinese and Japanese journals were soon to carry essays in historical criticism.[6] Meanwile Japanese adventures on the continent had stimulated work on a few archaeological sites of the Han period, and several illustrated monographs had appeared, for example, on Lo-lang (1930; in Korea) and Ying-ch'eng-tzu (1934; in Liao-ning).[7] Some of China's own scholars, freed from the duty of interpreting history so as to serve the needs of the imperial system, were publishing highly critical articles on textual, historical or philosophical questions in the *Ku shih pien* (1926–41). The Harvard-Yenching Institute's indexes of the three *Standard Histories* appeared in 1940, 1947 and 1949.

The discovery of manuscripts

In the meantime the first accounts were to hand of the fragmentary manuscripts discovered by Sir Aurel Stein during his first two expeditions of 1900–1 and 1907–8. To the great credit of the author, the Trustees of the British Museum and the Clarendon Press, Chavannes' volume of photographs, transcriptions and translations of the thousand wooden strips from the military lines at Tun-huang was published in 1913; Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Chen-yü's work on the same documents appeared in 1914; but the learned world had to wait until 1953 for the posthumous publication of Maspero's work on the manuscripts that Stein had brought to light in his third expedition of 1913–15. Maspero had himself perished in Buchenwald in 1945.[8]

Two subsequent major developments, each bringing new evidence to bear on existing problems, stimulated new research in Ch'in and Han history, both in China and Japan and in the West. The first concerned the discovery of manuscript texts in far greater volume, with more varied contents and in far better condition than the fragments from Tun-huang; the second concerned the evidence of newly exacavated archaeological sites, particularly from 1950 onwards, and the wealth of artifacts that they contained.

Exploring to the east of Tun-huang from 1927 to 1934, Sven Hedin had come across further remains of the Han lines of defences, at sites known as Chü-yen or Etsingol. Embedded in the walls, or abandoned in the rubbish

[6] *Kambun* editions of the *Shih chi* may be found in *Ni dai kanseki koku jikai* (1919–20), and *Kambun taikei* (1911); for general histories of China, see Ichimura (1939–50) and Wada (1950); critical essays appeared in the *Ku shih pien* from 1926, and in journals such as the *Tōyō gakuhō* from 1911 and the *Tōhō gakuhō* (both Tokyo and Kyoto series) from 1931.
[7] Harada and Tazawa (1930); *Ying-ch'eng-tzu* (1934); *Rakurō* (1934); *Rakurō* (1935).
[8] Chavannes (1913); Wang and Lo (1914); Maspero (1953).

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pits, there survived extensive parts of the documents whereby the Han forces had been controlled and administered. The subject matter of this new material was of the same type as that found at Tun-huang; its form was identical; and the dates mentioned in the inscriptions covered approximately the same period, running from *c.* 100 BC to *c.* AD 100. As at Tun-huang the finds consisted of dismembered parts of documents that had been inscribed on foot long (Han feet: i.e., 23 cm) strips, mainly of tamarisk, but also of bamboo or other woods. Originally such strips had been fastened together by cords thus maintaining the documents in their integrity. When the cords became unloosed or broken, or when they had rotted, the component parts were dispersed, and many of them were snapped into pieces. Two features distinguished these finds from those that Sir Aurel Stein had come across at Tun-huang. In the first instance they were far more extensive, numbering some 10,000 rather than 1,000 pieces; secondly the new finds included two examples of documents which were still intact, with the cords that bound the strips together still fulfilling their function.

Working in the most adverse conditions of war-stricken Ch'ungking, in 1943 Lao Kan published a set of mimeographed transcriptions of these fragments; a printed version followed in 1949, but it was only in 1957 that photographs of the originals became available for study, in publications from Taipei and shortly from Peking (1959).[9] In the meantime the documents themselves had suffered a strange experience, of the type that seems only too frequently to dog the footsteps of unique manuscripts. Early in the 1940s they had found their way to the United States of America, and for some thirty years they languished in the Library of Congress, whose custodians lacked the necessary authority to allow access to scholars. By about 1970 the strips and fragments had been returned to the care of Academia Sinica, Taipei, packed in the very same cases and wrappings in which they had left China some thirty years previously; and at long last they were available for inspection and study by approved scholars, on request.

In the meantime considerable work had been accomplished mainly by Japanese scholars including Fujieda Akira, Mori Shikazō, Nagata Hidemasa and Ōba Osamu, to name but a few.[10] Working on the basis of the published photographs, they succeeded in correcting some of the readings that had been suggested and in solving a number of problems of interpretation, particularly of technical terms. As a result it became possible to start to build a convincing picture of the organisation of the Chinese forces at these remote parts of the Han empire between *c.* 100 BC and *c.* AD 100. It was also possible to suggest how some of the fragments could be assembled together as parts of one and the same original document, and to establish some of the routine procedures

[9] Lao Kan (1949), (1957), (1959) and (1960); *Chü-yen Han chien chia pien* (1959) and *Chü-yen Han chien chia i pien* (1980).

[10] Fujieda (1955); Mori (1975), Ōba (1982) and Nagata (1989) include reprints or summaries of earlier studies.

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whereby official documents were drafted, prepared for despatch and distributed.[11]

These fragments were shortly to be supplemented by even richer discoveries of texts written not only on wood or bamboo but in some cases on silk. It is difficult to overstate the significance of these finds for the history of the period. In the first place, they derived not only from sites in the north-west, such as Wu-wei (Kan-su),[12] but also from graves excavated in the interior of the Han empire, such as Ma-wang-tui (Hu-nan), Chiang-ling (Hu-pei), Shui-hu-ti (Hu-pei) and Yin-ch'üeh shan (Shan-tung); secondly, the subject matter of the newly found documents was often of an entirely different type from that of the strips from the north-west; and thirdly they were for the most part complete, if being sometimes in a rather poor state of preservation. In addition, further work at the site of Chü-yen (from 1972) had revealed even richer finds than those made by Sven Hedin, including a few more examples of multi-strip documents that were still intact.[13]

Preliminary accounts of these discoveries soon appeared in the Chinese periodicals; and while a number of splendid monographs, with photographs tracings and transcriptions, have been published,[14] it has still not been possible to make all the texts available in this way. They include literary and philosophical works and historical annals; copies of the statutes and ordinances of the kingdom of Ch'in and the Han empire, and legal case-histories; almanacs, and documents that served the needs of divination. There are also manuals of medical practice and military strategy; tables drawn up by astronomers and a few copies of the calendar, the document that was indispensable for all aspects of administration and whose preparation and circulation was a closely guarded prerogative of imperial government.

Some of these manuscripts are copies of literary works for which a received text, with voluminous commentaries, has long weighed down a librarian's shelves. By vindicating their accuracy to an astonishing degree, the manuscripts lend considerable strength to the authority of much of China's early literature. In some cases, such as the two copies of the *Lao-tzu*, where the manuscripts differ from the traditional versions in some important respects, considerable light has been shed on problems of textual transmission.[15] Sometimes the authenticity of a piece of writing that had been suspect has been proved. Of especial value are the copies of texts hitherto unknown to scholarship, such as the philosophical essays that precede or follow the *Lao–tzu*, and that are thought to derive from the Huang–Lao school.[16] Some of the almanacs which were written on wood included information set out in diagrammatic or tabular form. In addition to a few choice paintings on

[11] Loewe (1967), vol. I, chapter 2. [12] *Wu-wei Han chien.* [13] Loewe (1986b).

[14] *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui i hao Han mu* vol. 1, pp. 130–55, vol. 2, plates 270–92; *Ma-wang-tui Han my po shu*; *Yin-ch'üeh shan Han mu chu chien*; *Yün-meng Shui-hu-ti Ch'in mu*; Loewe (1977) and (1981). [15] Henricks (1989).

[16] Jan Yün-hua (1977); for further references, see Loewe (1977), pp. 120.

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religious themes,[17] the finds included the earliest examples of Chinese maps, on wooden boards (dated *c*. 239 BC), proto-paper (180–150 BC) and silk (*c*. BC).[18]

Archaeology

Up to 1939 archaeological work in China had been concentrated on pre-historical and pre-imperial periods. Together with *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*, for long reckoned to be the earliest of man's progenitors, there had been revealed a series of sites of the neolithic ages, distinguished as yet into the two principal groups or stages of Yang-shao and Lung-shan; and the series of eleven tombs at An-yang, with their hoard of magnificent bronzes, was being correctly identified as the cemetery of the Shang–Yin kings. As yet archaeological work had been largely organised without official participation, being sponsored in many cases by persons or organisations that lay outside China, and being led by European or Japanese specialists. In a few notable instances, Chinese palaeontologists and archaeologists such as Tung Tso-pin, Li Chi or P'ei Wen-chung had taken a major part in the work of the 1920s and 1930s. But apart from the illustrated catalogues printed by traditional Chinese collectors and antiquarians, little attention had so far been paid to sites and artifacts of the imperial ages. Bernhard Laufer's work on potteries (1909) and jades (1912), Wilma Fairbank's study of the Wu Liang shrines (from 1941) and Chavannes' investigation of sculpture and inscriptions (1893) formed the principal exceptions, together with the Japanese monographs on the sites which they had excavated.[19]

Two major changes then intervened, the one concerning sponsorship of the work, the other regarding its extent. Resentful of the manner in which some of the rich treasures of jades, bronzes and ceramic wares had already been removed from China to adorn the galleries and museums of both the West and Japan, the new Chinese authorities of 1949 imposed controls to prevent such exports. Responsibility for excavation devolved on a series of committees and other organisations, established either at the capital city or in the provinces. In the early days a few Russian experts were called in to assist; but it was the Chinese authorities who allocated resources and organised the work.

At the same time the scope of archaeological investigation widened beyond expectation. Regional bodies began to undertake work in areas that had so far not been subject to investigation. It was realised that sites which dated from the long centuries after the kings of Chou were well worthy of study, and that the contents that they might yield could be of just as great a value in tracing the

[17] *Hsi Han po hua*; *Ch'ang-sha Ch'u mu po hua*; for paintings of the *Chan-kuo* period see *WW* 1989.10.53.
[18] *KK* 1975.1.53; *WW* 1975.2.35f and 43f; 1976.1, 18f and 24f; 1976.6.20f; 1989.2, 1–11, 12–22 and 31, and plates III, IV.
[19] Chavannes (1893); Laufer (1909) and (1912); Fairbank, Wilma (1972); for the Japanese monographs, see note 7 above.

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achievements of the people of China as those of the neolithic, Shang and Chou ages. The new impetus was in part due to reasons that were in no way academic. For as the work of national reconstruction gathered force, so were the builders and engineers, the miners and the farmers lighting more and more frequently on the material evidence of China's past. Faced with the slogan of 'Let the past serve the present', they were in duty bound to report such discoveries to the local committees, who would in turn alert the provincial or central authorities of the higher levels.

As projects for laying down railway lines or establishing irrigation facilities moved on apace throughout the People's Republic, the number of finds that were reported and the sites that were investigated was little less than staggering. The bulldozer and the spade set to work with no considerations of stratigraphy; a high proportion of the evidence that they unearthed dated from the imperial ages, amounting, as it may be estimated, to well over 10,000 graves for Han times alone.

Such were the results of what was basically rescue archaeology, and the ensuing *embarras de richesse* presented its own problems; there were not nearly enough specialists to examine the new discoveries fully; conservation of fragile materials, sometimes requiring control of temperature and humidity, could not always be assured; preparation of catalogues of the finds could involve specialist and skilled labour that simply did not exist (for example, the two royal tombs of Man-ch'eng, Ho-pei, included over a total of 4,200 items);[20] and publication of reports, with the necessary illustrations was costly. All such work was in any case limited by the financial shortages or other problems attendant on the growth of the People's Republic; at best it was subject to interruption or abandonment; at worst to the deliberate destruction of material evidence during the so-called cultural revolution.

Regular reports of these discoveries began to appear in journals and monographs from 1950. As the years passed the inferior standard of the illustrations gave way to line-drawings and half-tones of greater clarity and quality, and eventually to colour plates. Reports were soon showing the results of applying modern techniques, such as radio carbon 14 tests and thermoluminescence, to the newly found artifacts. Quite soon news was forthcoming of graves and their furnishings that could be dated in the Ch'in or Han periods, and at times the occupant of a grave could be identified by name or date. Other work concerned newly found stone monuments and epitaph inscriptions that augmented those studied by antiquaries of the Sung period and later; a few remains of city walls or buildings were identified.[21]

Many of the graves which were now being revealed had been constructed singly, or perhaps for a man and his wife; but in addition a number of sites

[20] *Man-ch'eng Han mu fa-chüeh pao-kao*, vol. 1, p. 450.

[21] Hotaling; Bielenstein (1976); for further reports on Ch'ang-an, see *KK* 1987.10, 937; 1989.1, 33; 1989.3, 261; 1989.4, 348; *KGYWW* 1981.1, 123; for Lo-yang, see *KK* 1990.3, 268; for traces of a city in Fukien, see *KK* 1990.12, 915 and 1990.12, 1107.

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were found which included large numbers of graves, in a site that was doubtless chosen owing to the belief that it would convey numinous blessings on the deceased persons. A different type of cemetery, seen only rarely, consisted of graves laid out neatly in grid fashion, for convicts or criminals, with scant attention to the niceties usually provided for the obsequies of their superiors.[22]

The style and type of graves varied considerably, both in place and in time. Some of the dead were buried in large timber chambers buried deep underground in pits; others were placed in clefts in the rock, or in chambers hewn out therein. Brick built chambers were probably the norm for officials or other leading individuals of the Later Han period, sometimes extending into several compartments and bearing decorations impressed before the brick had dried. From early days, Chinese archaeologists had realised the potential value of examining the assembled groups of such brick built graves. For from such evidence it became possible to draw up schemata which showed the sequences of different designs of the tombs on a secure basis. Thus the 225 Han graves at Shao-kou (Lo-yang) could be set out in six major periods, ranging from the middle of Former Han to the later part of Later Han; and the schemata thus established for the style of these tombs continue to serve as yardsticks for dating tombs found at other sites throughout the country.[23]

Simultaneously the assemblies of large numbers of tombs at one and the same site made it possible to draw up schemata for the artifacts buried with the deceased persons, thus demonstrating the development of artistic and religious motifs and changes in technological skills. Many of the tombs included valuables, of jade or bronze; vessels used for the sacred purposes of prayer or purification; symbols of status that displayed the rank or function of the deceased person; musical instruments to be played for entertainment; equipment that might be needed to maintain a livelihood or ward off enemies; jars that held consumable supplies of food and drink; cases of raiment; and a supply of coins. New criteria thus became available for dating objects of these types.

Previously it had often been impossible to authenticate objects said to be of the Ch'in and Han periods, proudly exhibited though they were in the museums or in the collectors' catalogues. One of the more important differences to note is the new confidence with which newly reported discoveries can be accepted as being genuinely derived from an identifiable site. Of the large number of sites of the Ch'in and Han periods, some have been of little less than spectacular significance owing to the new types and the quantity of the evidence that they have yielded. They have included Ma-wang-tui (Hu-nan; *c*. 168 BC), known not only for the library of fifty-two items but also for the successful preservation of the body of the Countess of Tai for 2000 years; Man-ch'eng (Ho-nan; *c*. 113 BC), whose cliffs contained the tombs of

[22] *KK* 1974.2, 2, plates IV, V. [23] *Lo-yang Shao-kou Han mu.*

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the King and Queen of Chung-shan, with the first known examples of jade suits used for the burial of the highest in the land; Shih-chai shan (Yün-nan; *c.* 108 BC) whose highly decorated drum-heads have revealed something of the religious, musical and military activities of the non-assimilated peoples of that region; Holingol (Inner Mongolia *c.* 160–70), whose murals painted a vivid picture of official and military life at a somewhat remote distance from the capital city; and I-nan (Shan-tung; perhaps *c.* AD 250) whose subterranean tomb had been laid out in palatial style, with a rich profusion of carving that embellished the pillars.[24] Perhaps the best known and most widely publicised of all such sites is that of the tomb of the First Ch'in Emperor (died 210 BC). Here a series of trial pits that were opened up at the perimeter of the surrounding park disclosed the presence of the army of terra-cotta figures, several thousand strong. Neither that tomb nor those of any of the Han emperors, many of which have been identified, have been excavated fully.[25]

Preliminary reports of these discoveries appeared in journals such as *Wenwu*, *Kaogu* and *Kaogu xuebao* which were published in Peking. Since 1979 English abstracts or translations of some of the articles have been published in *Chinese Studies in Archaeology*; and three regional journals have provided room for further discussion.[26] In due course fully documented and illustrated reports followed for the more important sites and finds. For readers who do not wish for detail, several separate volumes are devoted to giving short summaries of China's new archaeological work and discoveries, written in encyclopaedic style.[27]

The support of other disciplines and the value of scholarly exchanges

Along with the discovery of manuscripts and archaeological finds, progress achieved in other aspects of Chinese history and in other disciplines has had a marked effect in stimulating advance in the study of the Ch'in and Han periods. For the pre-historic period, work by scholars such as Cheng Te-k'un, Chang Kwang-chih and Yüan K'o in anthropology and mythology has shed a light on the background to which many aspects of Han religious practice must be related.[28] There has followed a deeper understanding of Han poetry, and mystical or religious literature, such as parts of the *Ch'u tz'u*, and

[24] *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui i hao Han mu*; *Man-ch'eng Han mu fa-chüeh pao-kao*; *Yün-nan Chin-ning Shih-chai-shan ku-mu-ch'ün fa-chüeh pao-kao*; *Ho-lin-ko-erh Han mu pi-hua*; Tseng Chao-yü (1956).

[25] Of the many reports on the First Ch'in emperor's tomb, see Lederose and Schlombs (1990); for Former Han imperial tombs, see Liu Ch'ing-chu and Li Yü-fang (1987). For a report of excavations carried out at the site of the tomb of Han Ching-ti, see *WW* 1992.4, 1f.

[26] *Jiang Han kaogu*; *Kaogu yu wenwu*; *Zhongyuan wenwu*.

[27] *Hsin Chung-kuo ti k'ao-ku fa-hsien ho yen-chiu*; *Wen-wu k'ao-ku kung-tso san-shih nien*; *Chung-kuo ta pai-k'o-ch'üan-shu: k'ao-ku-hsüeh*. For an analytical account of the artifacts, see Hayashi (1976).

[28] Cheng Te-k'un (1933); Chang K.C. (1983); Yüan K'o (1960) and (1985).

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