

THE MUSEUM
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FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

(Östasiatiska Museet)
STOCKHOLM



Bulletin No. 77

SHANG PERIOD BRONZES

Stockholm 2009

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Shang Period Bronzes

Table of Contents

Sanne Houby-Nielsen: Foreword	p. 7
Mette Siggstedt: Preface with Acknowledgements.....	p. 8
Ch'en Fang-mei: A Study of Bronze Artefacts in their Social Context : A Case Study from the Yinxu Period II.....	p. 13
Mette Siggstedt: The Collection of Shang Period Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities: a History.....	p. 48
Ch'en Fang-mei and Mette Siggstedt: The Collection of Shang Period Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities: a Catalogue	p. 75
Bibliography	p. 231
Chinese Characters	p. 247



Cat. no 59.

Foreword

by Sanne Houby-Nielsen

The scale of production of ancient Chinese bronzes is staggering. Anyone visiting the major archaeological museums in China or museums with equivalent collections around the world will be overwhelmed by the huge amount of preserved, exquisite works of art in bronze. This abundance is especially striking when compared, for instance, to the much less known metal art production from the Greek and Roman world. Here decorative metalwork was primarily consumed in the public and private sphere and – unlike China – less often in funerary contexts, for which reason it could be conveniently melted down in troubled times or to satisfy new demands for metal. The collection of Chinese bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (MFEA) is the largest anywhere in the Northern countries. Moreover, the history of the collection is of special interest as it is intimately bound up with the rise of professional Chinese archaeology in the early 20th century. In the years following World War I, with the colonial superpowers in decline, Sweden experienced a financial boom, due partly to a flourishing industry based on rich ore deposits and timber. In this crucial period, several Swedish archaeological expeditions took place in different parts of the world, including China. The philologist Bernhard Karlgren, the geologist Johan Gunnar Andersson, the railroad engineer Orvar Karlbeck, and the Crown Prince (later King Gustaf VI Adolf) shared an interest in ancient China which not only led to the discovery of the earliest then known cultures in China and to seminal research in the linguistic field but also resulted in the foundation of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and to the creation of its important bronze collection. In retrospective, this early scholarly interest in ancient China and Chinese bronzes is seen to have secured in Sweden a lasting academic interest in East Asia,

and in this way to have added world perspectives to the national discourse. The present volume has been jointly authored by the curator of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Dr. Mette Siggstedt, and Professor Chen Fangmei from the National Taiwan University. This is the first time the MFEA collection of Shang bronzes has been published collectively and viewed in relation to recent, well documented archaeological bronze findings, and the majority of the MFEA bronzes may now be said to originate from Anyang, the last Shang capital. In her study of the social use of style at death and burial at this important site, Professor Chen Fangmei draws attention to an indisputable connection between the style of funerary bronzes and the social status of the deceased which throws valuable new light on the MFEA bronzes. With the help of the rich archive material in MFEA, Dr Siggstedt reconstructs the precise circumstances in which the MFEA bronzes came to Sweden and at the same time presents a time picture of the formative years of Chinese archaeology, when treasure hunting, archaeology and antiques dealing often went hand in hand and antiquity laws were only just seeing the light. The MFEA cordially thanks both authors and their colleagues in China for their persistence in completing this publication. Curator Dr. Mette Siggstedt has worked for a lifetime with the Chinese collections in MFEA and the list of her earlier writings – including for this journal – is a long one. The present volume captures her dedication to the subject of Chinese art history through all these years, for which the museum remains deeply grateful.

Sanne Houby-Nielsen, PhD
Director

Preface with acknowledgements

by Mette Siggstedt

The content of this volume of the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (BMFEA)* regarding Shang bronzes was planned in the early 1990s. The Stockholm collection of Chinese Bronze Age bronzes had been published in a long series of articles in the *BMFEA* at a relatively early stage of Western research in this field – most of the material being published before the major Anyang excavation reports appeared. Due to its early publication, the collection came to have a certain impact on early modern bronze research and was therefore interesting as such. At the same time, again due to its early publication, by the end of the twentieth century the information regarding the collection had become quite outmoded. When my old fellow-students from the National Taiwan University – Professor Ch'en Fang-mei and Professor Tu Cheng-sheng (Du Zhengsheng) – suggested that it was time to re-publish the Shang bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (MFEA) in one monograph, and study the material in the light of recent archaeological research, it seemed an excellent idea. The plan was for the catalogue to be co-authored by Ch'en Fang-mei and me, and for the two of us in addition to contribute one article each, showing the bronze collection in a historical perspective and also discussing certain aspects of it from a modern approach.

The plan was warmly supported by the then Director of the Museum, Professor Jan Wirgin, and the project was generously sponsored by the Swedish State Arts Council and the Wenner-Gren Foundations in Stockholm and by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation in Taipei. For all this support at the beginning of the project I tender my deep gratitude.

In 1992 I was granted a scholarship by the Friends of the Swedish National Museum to travel to China and study Shang bronzes *in situ*. For this grant I am deeply grateful. On my subsequent travels in China during the late autumn and early winter that year I met Li Xueqin, Chen Zhenxiang, Chen Zhida, Yang Xizhang and An Zhimin, all of the Chinese Academy

of Sciences, and Ma Chengyuan of the Shanghai Museum. They helped me to analyse the Stockholm collection of Shang bronzes – in the old-fashioned manner of that period I carried a big portfolio of photographs around with me. They all agreed that a great majority of the bronzes in the collection seemed to have come from Anyang – a conclusion fitting well with the information we have on the provenances of the pieces. I have very fond memories of the generous hospitality shown by all these scholars towards a real novice in the field of Shang studies.

After this promising start to the project, obstacles began to appear and an immediate continuation became impossible. Both Ch'en Fang-mei and I ran into a long series of other commitments – exhibitions, lectures, and other projects interrupted our cooperation. After several years during which the project had been dormant, we realized that if our plans were to be finalized before our retirement, we would have to give it some priority. When we re-launched our cooperation, the archaeological material had grown in a most impressive way and the results of all the new excavations and research had to be incorporated in the half-finished catalogue.

This re-awakening of the project had the unfailing support of Dr Sanne Houbj-Nielsen, the present Director of the MFEA, and Dr Eva Myrdal, who is in charge of the *BMFEA*. I want to thank them for their – in my view – quite unrealistic optimism regarding the realization of the project. In the end it bore fruit.

I am also grateful to the staff of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Special thanks must go to conservators Anna and Tore Boström, who assisted the project from its early beginnings, conservator Inger Jonsson and photographer Karl Zetterström, who – despite their heavy workload – have given us all possible assistance in this project.

Deep thanks also go to Dr. Wang Zewen from the Chinese Academy of Sciences, who came as a visiting scholar to the museum for three months early in 2009 and helped to sort out some tricky problems. Thanks

are also due to an anonymous referee, who offered many helpful suggestions.

The catalogue has been aimed at giving a full account of the MFEA's holdings of Shang bronzes, including bronzes from the transition period between Shang and Zhou. The selection might easily be criticized – some smaller and maybe even larger bronzes in the collection have certainly been overlooked and other bronzes might have been excluded. We have not looked, for example, at the large collection of arrowheads in the museum; the lack of provenance would make the study of this material a meaningless exercise. We have, however, included two arrowheads, as a symbolic reminder of this important weapon type.

The catalogue is arranged in three main parts:

- I. Ritual Vessels and Musical Instruments.
- II. Weapons.
- III. Miscellaneous Bronzes (mostly chariot details and mirrors).

The material is arranged according to what we have considered an Anyang perspective: Objects seemingly having an Anyang origin are listed before objects of seemingly other origins. According to the same logic, types of objects characteristic of the Yinxu phases are listed before objects less characteristic of this period. Thus, among the ritual vessels the wine vessels are listed before other vessels, while the dagger-axes are listed first among the weapons.

The catalogue is indebted to all the Bronze Age archaeologists of China, and especially the archaeologists active in Anyang from 1928 and until today. Together they have created a framework for a new understanding of the Chinese Bronze Age, without which this catalogue has not been possible. Due to their efforts we have now a chronological system for the Chinese Bronze Age bronzes, which can be applied even to unprovenanced bronzes. In the catalogue we have decided to roughly follow the relative

chronology often used in recent Anyang archaeology, which dates the finds from the Late Shang in Anyang into four phases: Yinxu Period I, II, III and IV.

As unprovenanced bronzes cannot be dated as exact as the archaeologically excavated pieces – the lack of knowledge regarding stratigraphy and find complexes and especially the lack of possibilities for connecting the bronzes to finds of ceramics, which at the moment can be more precisely dated than the bronzes, form obstacles in making an exact dating. We have therefore chosen to make our chronology somewhat less precise than that of the Anyang archaeologists and have decided to use the following chronology:

Early Yinxu

(roughly contemporary with Yinxu Period I).

Middle Yinxu

(roughly contemporary with Yinxu Period II).

Late Yinxu

(roughly contemporary with Yinxu Period III and IV).

There is general agreement that Yinxu Period II should be dated around 1200 BC, and that Yinxu Period IV ended around 1050 BC, when the Zhou dynasty established itself as a dominant power in northeastern China, but otherwise our knowledge regarding an absolute Shang chronology is rather scant. We have therefore preferred to use a relative chronology in the catalogue.

In other ways too, we have been fairly pragmatic. In our use of terminology, we have not employed the term Shang to define a putative dynasty and its territory; the term is used in a general sense, denoting the early Bronze Age period in east and north China (i.e. excluding the Xin'gan Culture in South China and Sanxingdui Culture in the west).

For practical reasons, the inscriptions are transcribed in a modern pronunciation in *pinyin* and written in modern *kaishu*. This unscholarly practice is a

pragmatic solution when dealing with characters in an English text.

In the two articles introducing the catalogue of the Stockholm collection, the article written by Ch'en Fang-mei discusses the Shang bronzes in their social context, demonstrating how recent scholarship has enriched our understanding regarding the function of these bronzes in a Bronze Age society.

The other article, written by me, relates the history of the bronzes in the collection of the MFEA. It is based on the material in the archives of the MFEA and on literature written by Swedes travelling in China during the period when the bronzes were collected. Here I would like to express my gratitude to Axel Lagrelius' descendants, who kindly allowed me to study the Lagrelius diaries in their private family archive.

A List of characters and a Bibliography are appended at the end. The two appendices are common to both the articles and the catalogue. Here again we have used the *pinyin* system as the general transcription system; in the case of some authors being more well-known in another transcription, we have referred from that spelling to the *pinyin* transcription.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Ch'en Fang-mei for her sustained interest in this long-term project. Without her deep understanding of the Shang material, this publication could never have been realized.

Mette Siggstedt

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I take this opportunity of thanking the following institutions for all their kind assistance to me:

The Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, The National Science Council (Guojia kexue weiyuanhui), and The Graduate Institute of Art History of National Taiwan University (Guoli Taiwan daxue yishushi yanjiusuo).

I also want to express my appreciation to all Anyang archaeologists, both at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica in Taiwan, and at the Institute of Archaeology, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in the P.R.C..

Lastly, I am deeply indebted to the staff of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities for all their assistance during this long period.

Ch'en Fang-mei



Cat. no 7.



Cat. no 12.

A Study of Bronze Artefacts in their Social Context : A Case study from the Yinxu Period II

by
Ch'en Fang-mei

The last 80 years of archaeological excavations in Anyang – the final centre of the Shang culture – have yielded a rich material of bronzes, and as the chronological system of Anyang has become more detailed, the approaches have also become more sophisticated. The new material has resulted in a revision of the art-historical perception of the stylistic development of Shang art – the implications of Max Loehr's famous classification of the Shang bronzes into five styles can now be discussed in the wider framework of the social stratification of this period. The styles were basically seen by Loehr as a phenomenon of an autonomous stylistic development. However, the theory of the five styles as developed in a chronological sequence does not fully account for the complex mechanisms of a stratified society; the distinctions between the styles may not only be chronological, but may also be related to a social stratification.

A new approach to the archaeological material of art-historical type is now under development, looking at the material from the perspective of social art-history. This article will introduce material to illuminate the social aspects of the bronze art and will focus on the following topics:

The issue of the relationship between style and users, i.e. an investigation of a possible relationship between stylistic differentiation and social motivation: as the bronzes constitute the most important objects of the Anyang material culture, a comparison between the tombs and the bronze vessels from the same chronological sequence might serve to indicate the social positions of the users.¹ This comparison

includes the shapes, ornamentation and inscriptions of bronze vessels having different functions. There is also the question whether the stylistic distinctions are related to social distinctions and if so, how these relations are expressed, i.e. how during Yinxu Period II² the stylistic features and technical achievements were exploited to express relations between the tomb occupants, and also between the tomb occupants and the human victims.³

The issue of whether the bronze styles demonstrate an interaction between Anyang and the other regions will also be briefly discussed. Does a comparison with the material of approximately the same date in the neighbouring regions reveal an interaction between the different regions? How can a possible interaction be understood in the context of the Anyang society? Is it possible that an interaction with outside regions left traces in the material culture and eventually played a part in a struggle for social distinction?

At least 36 intact tombs containing bronze vessels from Yinxu Period II have so far been excavated by archaeologists. Compared with the material of Yinxu Period I, the number of tombs containing bronze vessels is much larger, the number of bronze vessels in the

¹ An important problem in dealing with these questions is that most of the excavation reports do not give the position of the tomb occupants, the human victims and the artefacts on the site in any detail. There are, however, a few reports paying serious attention to these circumstances and even when they are not rigorously reported, we can see a general trend of divergence in the tomb ware between the large and small tombs.

² The term "Yinxu Period II" is used by the members of the Anyang Archaeological Team, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and other archaeologists during the excavation process of the Anyang area for a chronological classification of the material (Zou 1964, pp. 37-58, pp. 63-90; Zheng Zhenxiang & Chen Zhida 1985, pp. 27-78; Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1985, pp. 79-102. Hayashi Minao uses the term Dasikongcun Period II (Hayashi 1972, pp. 18-19). The terminology is mainly based on the tombs' stratigraphy and the finds of pottery. There are some divergences among the archaeologists, and, except for the Fu Hao tomb, where evidence indicates that it was the tomb of the spouse Fu Hao of king Wu Ding, the other material can only be approximately dated to the late 13th and the early 12th century B.C.

³ The term "tomb occupant" is here used as a translation of the Chinese term "*muzhuren*" (literally: "tomb owner; tomb host"). The other skeletons in a tomb are termed "human victims".

individual tombs is also larger, and the burial chambers have become bigger. This increase in quantity also implies other changes, such as the development of a layered ornamentation with animal masks in high relief and the appearance of new vessel shapes, like the *fangyi*. These phenomena have already been widely discussed by scholars.⁴

This article sets out to discuss a more neglected aspect of the development – the “social use” of style, claiming that the development from the so-called “Transitional Period Style”⁵ to the establishment of a “Classical Style”⁶ is not just a deterministic development of style, and that the aspect of “social use” should also be taken into consideration.⁷

I. The Social Use of Bronze Vessels

The shape and ornamentation of the bronze vessels of Yin Xu Period II will be studied in an archaeological context, and some of the most common factors will be discussed:

- 1) The number of bronze vessels in the individual tombs.
- 2) The number of bronze weapons in the individual tombs.
- 3) The number of bronze *gu* in the individual tombs.
- 4) The number of bronze dagger-axes in the individual tombs.
- 5) The size of the burial chambers.

By making a survey of these five quantitatively analyzed factors, which taken together offer a cross-section of the hierarchy typical of the Yin Xu Period II burial system, I hope to demonstrate that the style of the ornamentation and the shape of the vessels are related to the status of the tomb occupants, and thus can be seen as a manifestation of the “social use” of the bronzes.

This article will survey 153 tombs from Yin Xu Period II containing bronze and pottery vessels and /or bronze weapons. The material of the 36 tombs con-

taining bronze vessels is classified in four categories according to the amount of bronze vessels found in the individual tombs. Tombs containing only pottery vessels and/or vessels with bronze weapons, but lacking bronze vessels, are all assigned to Category 5.

Among the five factors, “the number of bronze vessels” has been the decisive factor for the classification of the tombs into categories. The number of vessels will be related to the quality of the vessels, and to what the individual vessel might explain in regard to the tomb occupant’s position in an archaeological framework – how much bronze material, technology, manpower and economic capital the owner had at his / her disposal. The thickness, size and fineness of detail of each bronze vessel demonstrate in fact a close relationship to the number of *gu* and *jue*-vessels provided for the deceased, to the size of the burial chamber, and to the number of bronze weapon, not at least the number of bronze dagger-axes. All these facts, as well as the styles of ornamentation and the vessel shapes, offer information concerning the stratification of the society.

1. The Number of Bronze Vessels in Tombs as a Reflection of a Stratification among the Tomb Occupants; a Classification in Five Categories (Tables I, II)

The excavated tombs containing bronze vessels have been classified in five categories, according to the number of bronze vessels contained. Actually, there should have been 6 categories, but due to the lootings of the royal tombs in Xibeigang; no royal tomb has been excavated with its original contents intact. The category of the tombs containing the largest and most elaborate bronze vessels has thus had to be excluded.

In the Western part of the cemetery of Xibeigang there are seven large tombs with four rafts (*mudao*) and one large tomb with one raft. In the eastern part there is also one single tomb or pit with four rafts. Scholars early agreed that this area had been the site of the royal tombs.⁸ Even if all the tombs have been looted and there was no actual proof that this had been the site of the royal tombs, the concentration of tombs with rafts and the size of these tombs, in addition to the character of the artefacts remaining after all the lootings, make it very possible that this really was the site of the royal cemetery. As for the dates of the individual tombs, the scholars hold divergent opinions,⁹

4 Bagley 1987, pp. 28-29; Zheng Zhenxiang & Chen Zhida 1985; Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1986; Yue Hongbin 2006.

5 The term “Transition Period” is used for the period between the end of the Erligang Culture in the Zhengzhou area and the beginning of Yin Xu Period II.

6 The term “Classical” is used here to denote the rich ornamentation in high relief, with layered animal masks, typical of the finest vessels of middle Yin Xu period, approximately contemporary with Yin Xu Period II (Chen Fangmei 1991, pp. 193-207). The term “Classical period” is used to denote the period when this ornamentation was prevalent.

7 Rawson 1997.

8 Gao Quxun 1959.

9 Li Ji 1958; Kane 1975; Hu 1982; Zou 1964; Zhang Guangzhi 1982; Yang Xizhang 1981.

but it is a hypothesis that the large tomb M1001 might have been the tomb of king Wu Ding, i.e. from Yin Xu Period II. The remaining bronze artefacts – *ding*, *jue*, and *gu*-vessels etc.– were mainly found in sacrificial pits.¹⁰ They were mostly in a ruined condition, and cannot be compared with the finds from the Fu Hao tomb. The three magnificent *he*-vessels, now in the Nezu Art Museum in Tokyo are examples of the size and style of the bronzes in this group of royal tombs.¹¹

Category 1:

Category 1 includes tombs with more than 40 bronze vessels. This is the numerically smallest category, only including two tombs: The Fu Hao tomb and Huayuanzhuang M54. The burial chambers are larger than those of the other categories, more than 16 m², and have most human victims – 15 or more. Among the vessels there are at least 9 *gu*, 9 *jue*, and 70 dagger-axes.

At Yin Xu Period II the casting of clan marks, ancestors' names or emblems on the bronze vessels had become common, and the finds in these two tombs include many vessels with these types of inscriptions. On the vessels from the Fu Hao tomb nine different clan names have been found. The inscription "Fu Hao" has been found on 97 items and, this being the most frequent inscription, it has been inferred that Fu Hao was the tomb occupant. According to oracle bone research, a consort of king Wu Ding was thus named.

In Huayuanzhuang M54 the inscription Ya Zhang¹² is the most common – more than half the vessels are thus inscribed, and the tomb has therefore been attributed to a member of a clan named Ya Zhang. As this tomb contained more than 71 dagger-axes and three more weapon types, it has been deduced that the tomb occupant was related in some way to the army, and that the great number of weapons is a reflection of his high status as a military leader.

The owners of these tombs, with their impressive number of bronze vessels – including a large number of *gu* and *jue*, numerous bronze weapons, many human victims and also large burial chambers – must have represented the absolute elite among the tomb owners of the five categories.

Category 2:

This category includes tombs containing more than 8 and less than 24 bronze vessels. This category counts 8 tombs.

Most of the burial chambers are between 10 and 5 m²: Xiaotun M18 is 10.02 m²,¹³

Liujiazhuang North M793 is 8.4 m²,¹⁴

Guojiazhuang M26 is 7.7 m²,¹⁵

Dasikongcun M663 is 6.6 m²,¹⁶

Dasikongcun M539 is 5.96 m²,¹⁷

These tombs contain between 5 and 2 *gu* and *jue*, and between 9 and 13 dagger-axes.

This category also includes a couple of tombs with relatively small burial chambers:

Xibeigang M1022 with a chamber of 1.848 m²,¹⁸

Xiaotun M238 with a chamber of 2.45 m².¹⁹

These two tombs also have few if any bronze weapons. M1022 is a small tomb in the royal cemetery, Xiaotun M238 was probably located in a (or the) palace-ancestral temple zone – the location and the substantial number of bronze vessels indicates that these two tombs might have been related to some larger tomb. The social background of the owners of these tombs is still unclear.

The bronze inscriptions offer some information regarding the tomb occupants in this category. Some inscriptions indicate a relationship to the royal family, as the inscription "Zi Yu" found in Xiaotun M18. An oracle bone inscription records a "Zi Yu" participating in the sacrifices under Wu Ding and "Zi Yu" might thus have taken part in the sacrifices of the royal house at Wu Ding's time.²⁰ In Liujiazhuang North M793, 6 of the 11 vessels bear the inscription "Ya Jiang". Possibly the tomb occupant was a member of the Ya Jiang clan. This clan was among those contributing inscribed bronze vessels to the Fu Hao tomb. It thus seems possible that this owner too was somehow related to the royal house.

Some of the tomb occupants in this category were surrounded by weapons, and possibly held high military office. In Dasikongcun M663 the body of the tomb

10 Liang Siyong & Gao Quxun 1962.

11 Umehara 1936.

12 It is impossible to ascertain the pronunciation of the inscriptions from the Shang dynasty. For practical purposes the modern *pinyin*-reading is offered.

13 Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, pp. 491-517.

14 Institute of Archaeology, CASS & AMI 2008, pp. 203-215.

15 Anyang Archaeological Team 1998, pp. 36-47.

16 Anyang Archaeological Team 1988a, pp. 865-874.

17 Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, pp. 509-517.

18 Institute of History and Philology, AS 2001, pp. 57-87.

19 Shi Zhangru 1970, pp. 376-401.

20 Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, p.514.

occupant had dagger-axes, spears, axes of the *yue* type and arrows inside the coffin – the weapons were placed at the shoulders, breast, elbows and waist. In Dasikongcun M539 the tomb occupant had three dagger-axes at the right side of his waist. At Guojiazhuang M26 the tomb occupant's head was surrounded by weapons. Of the seven inscribed weapons, five weapons had the inscription 旃. Three vessels with similar inscriptions were excavated in Guojiazhuang Southeast M5.²¹ The text on an oracle bone inscription in an English collection indicates that this character might be the name of a military officer in the entourage of Wu Ding.²²

Category 3:

Category 3 includes tombs with between 3 and 8 bronze vessels – the category includes 13 tombs in all. Most of the tombs are provided with only one *gu* and one *jue*.

Most burial chambers in this category are between approximately 6 m² and 1.9 m² in size, the average being 3.41 m². Only Yinxu Western Section M613 is bigger than 6 m² (6.372 m²).²³ In the relatively large burial chambers the tomb occupants are provided with a number of bronze weapons, indicating that they might have held leading military positions. In M613 the tomb occupant is surrounded by 10 dagger-axes, while in Xuejiazhuang M3²⁴ with its burial chamber of 4.48 m², the tomb occupant is surrounded by 13 bronze dagger-axes, 3 at the shoulders, one at the breast, 4 at the waist, and one at the elbow. Huayuanzhuang East M42, with a burial chamber of 4.16 m², contains 13 bronze dagger-axes, of which 5 items are placed at the owner's shoulder and two weapons are placed at the east side of the head.²⁵

On the other hand, there are also burial chambers of a rather substantial size, such as Xiaotun M17 (with a burial chamber of 4.96 m²), which do not contain a single weapon, and it is plausible to deduce that the tomb occupant here had no relationship to the military system.²⁶ Xibeigang M1005 with a burial chamber of 2.04 m², had 6 bronze vessels, but not one *gu* or *jue*, nor any bronze dagger-axes.²⁷ This might be the special case of a tomb with human victims and tomb

ware attached to some large tomb. Seemingly the social backgrounds of the occupants of this category of tombs were quite mixed.

Category 4:

This category, which includes tombs containing one or two bronze vessels, numbers 13 tombs. Each tomb contains one *gu* and / or *jue*. The number of bronze dagger-axes in each tomb is also very small, the commonest number is just one single dagger-axe; a small number of tombs have two to four dagger-axes.

The average size of the burial chambers is 3.43 m², actually slightly larger than that of Category 3. A typical example of this category is Yinxu Western Section M354, containing 1 *gu*, 1 *jue*, and 1 dagger-axe, the burial chamber being 1.84 m².²⁸

Category 5:

This category includes all the tombs without bronze vessels, 117 tombs in all. It represents the largest number of tombs. The average size of the tombs is 2.23 m², and the tombs are often provided with 1 to 4 pottery vessels. Of the 117 tombs analyzed, 55 tombs have 1 pottery *gu* and/or one pottery *jue*, i.e. almost 50%. Although the occupants were not provided with bronze vessels, some of them were provided with bronze dagger-axes, between one and three in number. The burial chamber of Yinxu Western Section M69 is as large as 4.76 m², but was not provided with a single bronze vessel, only one bronze dagger-axe and three pottery vessels.

If we study how the ornamental style of bronze vessels was used by the different categories of the society in the period of transition from the style of the Transitional period to the Classical style of Yinxu Period II, taking into account that Max Loehr's Styles I-V were all visible already in the Transitional period, we find that the five categories of tomb material clearly reflect the social use of the styles: While certain of the styles were reduced to the point of almost disappearing, other styles grew in importance to become representative of certain categories.

The social importance of the shape and ornamental styles of the bronze vessels and their potential ca-

21 Anyang Municipal Institute 2008, pp. 22-33.

22 Li Xueqin, Qi & Allan 1985, No 593A.

23 Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 130.

24 Anyang Archaeological Team 1986b, pp. 1067-1072.

25 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2007, p.253.

26 Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, pp. 491-517.

27 Institute of History and Philology, AS 2001, p. 9.

28 Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128.

capacity to demonstrate differentiation and/or commonality²⁹ among social groups will be the main topic of inquiry in the next chapter.

2. The increased stratification of society as demonstrated in the increased three-dimensional quality of the animal mask-ornamentation

One of the most important new features in the ornamentation of the Classical period compared to the Transitional period is not only the development of an ornamental style with increased three-dimensional quality of the animal mask, but also – at the same time – a development towards an ornamentation of simplified character. The two trends run parallel:

- 1) The ornamentation of a layered type, with a main motif possessing a three-dimensional quality depicted against a background pattern, i.e. Loehr Styles IV and V, was vigorously developed during this period. The Styles IV and V, which had just started to manifest themselves in the previous phase, now developed into mature styles, becoming characteristic of the Classical period, and were clearly different from the styles of the Erligang period. In contrast to this development, Loehr Styles I, II, and III, with their remnants of the Erligang period styles, almost disappeared (Style I) or were rarely seen (Style II and III).
- 2) In contrast to the rich Styles IV and V with their layered and three-dimensional quality, having a full depiction of the animal mask as their main motif, new and simplified styles with animal masks developed at the same time. These simpler styles were not included in Loehr's system and are still often neglected in the scholarly debate. However, when studying the social use of styles, this is a very important phenomenon. A new feature in these styles – developed at the same time as Loehr Style V – is the elimination of the *leiwei* as a background of the animal masks, the masks now standing out in a three-dimensional quality against an empty background. This style of ornamentation is in this article termed Additional Style VI.

The style was further developed and in the end the only remnant of the animal mask was just a pair of protruding eyes. This style is here termed Additional

Style VII.

In this period a style with simple geometric patterns, seemingly lacking any relation to the animal mask ornamentation, was also in use. In this style the only decoration on a bronze vessel might be a string pattern. This style is here termed “string ornamentation”.

In the same period bronzes without any ornamentation were produced. These totally unadorned bronzes are here termed “unadorned bronzes”. These types of unadorned bronze vessels were produced as early as during the Erligang Period and are also preserved from the Transitional period.

These latter styles – Additional Style VI, Additional Style VII, “the string pattern style” and “the unadorned style” – are major forms of ornamental styles coexisting with Loehr Styles IV and V, being part of the picture of Yin Xu Period II ornamentation. The coexistence of these styles will here be used to demonstrate the social use of bronzes.

The archaeological material from tombs demonstrates that Loehr Style V, with its animal mask designs and layered ornamentation, is especially common in the material connected with the two tombs of Category 1. However, we can see a difference between material from the Fu Hao tomb and the “Ya Zhang” clan-member tomb Huayuanzhuang M54. Among the 43 vessels following the “Ya Zhang clan member” into the grave, there were 31 vessels in Style V, i.e. 72 %. Among the 215 bronze vessels following Fu Hao into the grave, there were 71 Style V vessels, i.e. making up 33 % of all the vessels in this tomb. It is very likely that different social groups contributed gifts of bronzes to Fu Hao's tomb. It is also possible that the human victims were given their own tomb ware.

Among the bronze vessels from tombs belonging to Category 2, some vessels in Style V have been excavated, but they are few in number, and in some tombs they are totally lacking (cf. Table I). In the large tomb Dasikongcun M663, containing 12 bronze vessels, only 3 vessels in Style V were excavated. In the tomb Guojiazhuang M26, containing 14 bronzes, only 2 vessels in Style V were found. Xiaotun M18, containing as many as 24 bronze vessels, did not contain one single vessel in style V. As for Category 3, i.e. the tombs containing between three and eight vessels, only one tomb (Miaopu North M229³⁰) was provided with a vessel in Style V.

Vessels with the layered and three-dimensional or-

²⁹ The term commonality is here used to denote the possession of common features (i.e. shared features) inside one or more categories which sets them apart for other categories.

³⁰ Institute of Archaeology, CASS & AMI 2008, pp. 114-115.

mentation of Loehr Style V are mostly found, then, in the tombs of Category I, thus distinguishing this category from the rest. The occasional occurrence of Style V in tombs belonging to Category 2 distinguishes this category from the Categories 3, 4, and 5.

While vessels in Style V thus are mostly concentrated in the tombs of Category 1, with relatively few vessels in this style excavated in Category 2 and almost none in Category 3, vessels in Loehr Style IV (with the animal mask and background *leiwen* being on the same surface level), being considered as the style being next in complexity to Style V, are common in Categories 2 and 3. Style IV is the most complex style found in the tombs in Category 3 (with only one exception), thus distinguishing Category 3 from the Categories 1 and 2, where Style V occurs alongside with Style IV, and also distinguishing Category 3 from the tombs of Category 4, which are only provided with bronze vessels in the simpler styles.

While the higher strata of the Yinxu population seem to have had a preference for the use of Style IV and Style V during Yinxu Period II, bronze vessels in Style III now appear rather infrequently, and vessels in Style I and II have almost disappeared.

Vessels in Style V seem to have become the most appreciated style by the tomb occupants in category 1 and 2, having become a prominent feature of distinction. In the large-scale vessels, rarely seen in the lower categories, such as large *zun*- and *jia*-vessels, ornamentation in Style V is the most common style. However, the shape of the ornamentation might here be adapted to the shape of the vessel and there are small divergences in the execution of this style, resulting in a complex picture of the ornamentation. In the features of the animal mask of the 56 cm tall, square *zun* with the inscription Si Qiao Mu from the Fu Hao tomb, the elements of an animal physiognomy – such as the eye-brows, the horns, the jaw, etc. – are all depicted with a three-dimensional quality. In the 51.9 cm tall, square *zun* from the Huayuanzhuang M54, *kui* dragons are added to the diminished animal ears, a cicada pattern is also added, demonstrating how the Style V animal mask in the Huayuanzhuang M54 often encompasses elements drawn from outside into the framework of the traditional animal mask, deriving details from other types of realistic animal depictions.

Above the animal mask on the foot of the “*gu* with a decoration of a tiger face” from the Fu Hao tomb, there is a *leiwen* in Style IV, enhancing the protruding features of the mask. A *gu*-vessel from the Huayuan-

zhuang M54 has a three-dimensional cicada-pattern above the three-dimensional animal mask, stressing the motif of a double animal theme.

Worth noticing is how the Style V animal mask of the lidded square *hu*-vessel with the inscription Si Qiao Mu from the Fu Hao tomb is adjusted to the square shape – the flanges of the four corners of the vessel form the centre of the animal masks, serving as the nose ridges – a feature not found in the other vessels in the tomb. The pattern shows instead similarities to the *you*-vessel from Xiaotun M331 from the Transitional Period.³¹ The Xiaotun M331 *you* shows on the other hand similarities to vessels from outside the Yinxu area, such as the one excavated in Ningxiang, Hunan.³² This manner of dealing with the animal mask in a rare vessel shape like the square *hu* is an example of the many outlandish sources of the Fu Hao version of Style V.

The square *ding* in Huayuanzhuang M54 is decorated with animal masks, where the nose ridges, tips of the horns, and the lower jaws all have protruding nipples – a feature different from the animal masks found on the rest of the vessels from this tomb, but similar to the ornamentation found on the vessels from Xin’gan in Jiangxi and Sanxingdui in Guanghan in the Sichuan Province. This must be seen as another demonstration of the outlandish sources of the Style V ornamentation. This type of animal mask is very rarely seen on vessels from tombs in the Categories 3 and 4.

In the 36 tombs containing bronze vessels which till now have been excavated, the vessels with geometric string ornamentation and without animal mask ornamentation – a substantial part of the vessels – are concentrated in Category 4. Examples of these tombs – containing only one or two bronze vessels – are Guojiazhuang M289³³ and M247³⁴, Miaopu North M202³⁵, and Yinxu Western Section M354³⁶. Vessels from this category often shows a lack of animal mask ornamentation, or – as a *gu* from the Western Section M354 – are adorned with just a pair of eyes (an example of the Additional Style VII), thus demonstrating only the slightest trace of a relation to the animal mask tradition.

The use of these styles is almost certainly a reflec-

31 Shi Zhangru 1980, p. 9, Pl. 2.

32 Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 4, Pl. 115.

33 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 176.

34 *ibid.*, p.174.

35 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p.337.

36 Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128.

tion of the stratification of society. The social use of Style V seems to have been limited to the uppermost stratum of society; the Styles IV and V did but rarely penetrate down to the layer of Category 4. However, this did not imply that the unadorned vessels and vessels with string ornamentation and other geometric ornamentation were not used by the upper 3 categories, only that the ratio of the vessels in the different styles and shapes varied in the tombs. While the percentage of these kinds of vessels is low in the tombs of the categories 1 and 2, they are dominating in the Category 4. In the Fu Hao tomb there are 5 unadorned vessels and 5 vessels with string pattern. Compared to the 117 vessels in Style IV and 71 vessels in Style V in this tomb, these simple vessels seem insignificant and should not be considered at all representative of the tomb. On the other hand, the simple ornamentation often occurs on vessel types more rarely found in Yinxu Period II, as on some of the *he*-vessels, or on vessel types of recent origin, as the shovel-shaped implement. We find the same trend in Category 2. As for Category 3 (with vessels ranging from three to eight in number), the occurrence of unadorned vessels and vessels with only a string pattern is more frequent, and the trend towards simplification here becomes obvious.

Actually, in Yinxu Period II, while the ornamentation with a three-dimensional animal mask against a background of *leiwen*, characteristic of Style IV and V, dominated among the upper strata of society, the use of the unadorned style and the string pattern geometric ornamentation dominated among the lower strata – a development which progressed with time. It is worth noting that the trend towards simplification, as it is seen in Additional Style VI and VII, might be studied in both the upper and lower strata of society. While the development of the three-dimensional ornamentation of Style V was intimately related to the very top of society (i.e. Category 1 and 2) during Yinxu Period II, the Additional Style VI (i.e. the three-dimensional pattern of the animal mask without a background pattern of *leiwen*) was used by some tomb occupants provided with 6 or more bronze vessels, thus being found in tombs of the categories 1, 2 and 3. Vessels with this simple decoration were found in several of the tombs containing Style IV and V vessels.

The type of ornamentation with a three-dimensional animal mask, but without a background of *leiwen*, frequently occurs on some of the new vessel shapes, as on the *nao*-bells and on bird-shaped *you*-vessels.

It is also found on the relatively rare *yan*-steamers as well as on the extremely common *gu*-beakers. One such example is the Huayuanzhuang M54 (belonging to Category 1) containing three *nao*-bells of different sizes with the inscription Ya Zhang, decorated with animal mask on a plain background. The same tomb contained at the same time 31 vessels in Style V and 5 vessels in Style IV, demonstrating that the interest in animal masks on a background of *leiwen* had not diminished. Dasikongcun M663 (with its find of 12 bronze vessels and thus belonging to Category 2) contained a *nao*-bell with the inscription “Gu” that was decorated in Additional Style VI. The same tomb contained also 3 vessels in Style V and 6 vessels in Style IV.

The Additional Style VI appears on the bird-shaped *you* – a new and rare vessel-shape. One example was excavated in the Miaopu North M229 (containing 6 bronze vessels and thus belonging to Category 3). Features as the animal horns, ears and bird wings are depicted in low relief, with no background of *leiwen*. In the same tomb were excavated one bronze *ding* with ornamentation in Style V and a square *lei* and a *jia* in Style IV. The style of the owl-shaped *you* in Additional Style VI from this tomb contrasts with a richly decorated Style V owl-shaped *you* excavated in the Category 2 tomb Dasikongcun M539 from the same period. M539 is a tomb belonging to Category 2, containing 14 bronze vessels, many of which are richly decorated in Style IV and V. In the same tomb was also excavated a *gu*-beaker in Additional Style VI, demonstrating that during Yinxu Period II the trend of increasing three-dimensionality in ornamentation coexisted with a trend of simplification.

Additional Style VII, with its great ornamental simplification, is represented in tombs in the categories 2, 3 and 4. In Wuguancun M229 (one of the small-scale tombs in Xibeigang belonging to Category 3, probably originally attached to a larger tomb)³⁷ the pattern of protruding eyes (Additional Style VII) is the only style of ornamentation represented on the three excavated bronze vessels. In Xiaotun M17, also belonging to Category 3 — another example of this style was found. It is also the main style of the animal ornamentation on the vessels from tomb Yinxu Western Section M354, belonging to Category 4.

In summary, during Yinxu Period II, Loehr Style IV and V existed side by side with the simplified Additional Style VI and VII, together with the geometric string pattern and the unadorned style. The styles

³⁷ Anyang yigong 1977, pp. 20-33.

seem thus to have been used by the tomb occupants of different social strata for creating distinctions. At the same time the traditional Loehr Style I and II slowly disappeared.

3. Different Features in the Bronze Complexes demonstrating Distinction and Commonality among the Different Social Strata of the Bronze-using Community

During YinXu Period II, new shapes in bronze vessels, not yet seen during the transitional period, appeared, as the *fangyi*, the *zhi*-beaker, the *guang*, the *lei*, the *hu*, the *dou*, the *shao*, the *gui*, the shovel-shaped implements, the *nao*-bells, and the bronze mirrors. Together with the vessel-shapes from the Erligang and transitional periods, as *gu*, *jue*, *jia*, *zun*, *you*, *he*, *pou*, *yan*, *pan* and *yu*, they appear in the Category 1 tombs, which also contain a substantial number of large scale vessels. On the other hand, among the tombs of Category 4 we find very few bronze vessel types, mostly one *gu* and/or one *jue*. Seemingly these two vessel types represented the most basic need of the bronze-using population in YinXu. The number of vessels following the dead into the grave thus spans from 219 vessels to just one item, reflecting the function of distinction that the bronze vessels must have possessed (Tables I, II).

In the four categories of bronze-vessel using categories, we can study the use of traditional and new shapes and styles in the upper stratum of the society, and the interplay of bronze use between these four categories. In the tombs of the very highest stratum, the old and new shapes and styles were represented side by side in the individual tombs, both the traditional and new shapes and styles being embraced by Category 1 and 2. This demonstrates that the tomb occupants in Category 1 and 2 had developed new habits for eating and drinking. The existence of the new vessel types, as the bronze *fangyi*, *guang*, *lei*, *hu*, *shao*, *zhi*, *gui*, *fu*, shovel-shaped implements, mirrors and *nao*-bells in the two uppermost groups of tombs makes an important distinction between the upper two and the lower two tomb categories.

The Fu Hao tomb encompasses all the new vessel shapes (except for the *fu*) – it is the tomb encompassing the greatest number of vessel types. Huayuanzhuang M54, although lacking certain bronze vessel types such as *hu*, shovel-shaped implements, mirrors and *fu*, still contains the shapes *guang* and *yu*. *Guang* and *yu* are vessel types shared by the Category 1 tombs Fu Hao and Huayuanzhuang M54, but rarely found in

tombs of Category 2, 3, and 4. These types of vessels, with a cover and a spout, allowing the contents to be poured, or with a wide mouth and round foot, seem mainly to be found in Category I tombs. These vessels were probably rarely provided in the tombs during YinXu Period II, and this is probably the explanation that *guang* and *yu* till now are rarely represented in old collections and museums.

Other types of new bronze vessel shapes, as *fangyi*, *lei*, shovel-shaped implements, *dou*, and *nao*-bells seem to have functioned as a main distinction between the owners of tombs in Category 2 and the owners of tombs in the Categories 3, 4, and 5. As stated above, the owners of the tombs in Category 2 seem to have enjoyed the same new eating and drinking habits as those of Category 1 tombs. The practical function of bronze vessels should here be considered, e.g. the possibility that they might have been used in the same way as pottery *lei*-vessels, which were used as receptacles for fruit pits and kernels. It is thus likely that the bronze *lei* in the tombs belonging to Category 1 and 2 were also used for this purpose. The owners of the tombs Xiaotun M18, Guojiazhuang M26, Dasikongcun M539, Xiaotun M238, Liujiashuang North M793, and Guojiazhuang M5 all seem to have considered this vessel as a necessity in after-life. They also chose to be provided with the square, house-like lidded vessel known as *fangyi*. Scholars from the Song dynasty believed these vessels were receptacles for wine, but as self-naming vessels are all lacking, this vessel type has not got a specific name. Features such as the heavy lid and square foot of this vessel type and the surface often being fully covered by ornamentation in Style IV and V make these vessels fit very well into the style of the new vessel shapes found in the tombs belonging to the Categories 1 and 2. We thus find *fangyi*-vessels in Guojiazhuang M 26, Dasikongcun M663, Xiaotun M238, Liujiashuang North M793, and Xibeigang M1022.

At the same time, bronze containers for serving food, such as the *gui*, start to appear. The owners of tombs Xiaotun M18, Guojiazhuang M26, Dasikongcun M539, Xiaotun M238, and Guojiazhuang Northeast M5 have all been provided with this kind of bronze vessel.

Another new type of vessel – the shovel-like utensil – sometimes shows traces of ash. The utensil might have been used for the collecting of ash after cooking, and might have been used during the preparation of hot food. The owners of the tombs Xiaotun M18, Guojiazhuang M26, Dasikongcun M539, Liujiashuang

M793 and Guojiazhuang M5 have all been provided with this type of implement.

Another interesting fact is that many of the tomb occupants belonging to Categories 1 and 2, including Guojiazhuang M26 and Dasikongcun M663, have been provided with sets of three bronze *nao*-bells, each set being made up of bells of different sizes.

On the other hand, even if some of the new vessel types might appear in tombs belonging to Category 3, most of the vessels excavated in tombs belonging to the Categories 3 and 4 are of the traditional types. These are vessel types also frequently found in the Categories 1 and 2, the most common being *gu*, *jue*, and then *ding*. Of the 36 excavated tombs in these four categories, 34 tombs have *jue* and *gu*. The fact that these two vessel types are so common in all four categories demonstrates that the vessels filled a basic need in the bronze-vessel-using community. These bronze vessel types are found already in the Erligang Period, but it is first during Yinxu Period II that the types became a basic demand in the bronze-using society.

After having provided the most essential bronze vessels, i.e. *gu* and *jue*, the food vessel type *ding* came next in importance in all the four categories during Yinxu Period II. This is also a bronze vessel type with traditions going back to the Erligang period.

The other traditional vessel types, such as *zun*, *you*, *he*, *yan* and *pan* are mostly found in the tombs belonging to Categories 1 and 2. The *yan*-steamers were found not only in the Category 1 tombs Fu Hao and Huayuanzhuang M54, but also in Category 2 tombs Xiaotun M18, Guojiazhuang M26, Dasikongcun M539, and Guojiazhuang Southeast M5.

The *you*-containers with handles were not only found in the Fu Hao tomb and Huayuanzhuang M54, but also in the Xiaotun M18, Dasikongcun M539, Xiaotun M238 and Xibeigang M1022. The vessel type *zun* is only found in the Category 1 tombs Fu Hao and Huayuanzhuang M54 and in Category 2 Xiaotun M18 – the tomb in Category 2 containing most bronze vessels. The traditional vessel type *he* has only been excavated in the Fu Hao tomb.

Thus it is clearly demonstrated that the owners of the tombs belonging to Category 1 and 2 were not only embracing vessel shapes of the new types, but were also great consumers of the vessel shapes of traditional type. The great number of bronzes in each tomb permitted a catholic taste in bronzes.

4. Styles of square and round vessel shapes and the expression of social stratification

Yinxu Period II, with its improved technology, produced a number of large and heavy square vessels, as large *fangding*, *fangjia*, and *fangzun*, etc., and also a type of *yan*, composed of three round cauldrons on a square, stand-like steamer. These vessels seem to have expressed social distinctions between the tomb occupants – in particular the finer distinctions between the occupants of the tombs in Category 1 and 2 – more clearly than the traditional round vessels might have done. The vessel type for steaming – *yan* – already existed in Yinxu Period I, but the type in which the vessel is divided in two parts (a steamer and a cauldron) and the type with three cauldrons on a square steamer represent a new development. The *yan* in two parts allowed greater flexibility, while the *yan* with three cauldrons permitted a much larger amount of liquids in the vessel. A *yan* with three cauldrons was also much more efficient, as the heat inside the square steamer, passing through sieves, steamed the content of the three vessels at the same time. This elaborate cooking utensil was found, together with two other types of *yan*, in the Fu Hao tomb, all the vessel types having traces of soot. The traditional and new types were obviously used side by side. Due to tomb lootings, we do not know if this type of complicated steamer was also provided for the royal tombs; what we can see is that this vessel type was not provided for the occupants of the smaller-scale contemporary tombs in Category 2, nor for the other Category 1 tomb Huayuanzhuang M54.³⁸ Although the vessel type *yan* was found in tombs as M54, and in the Category 2 tombs Xiaotun M18 (with a burial chamber of 10.02 m²),³⁹ and Dasikongcun M539 (with a burial chamber of 5.96 m²),⁴⁰ the steamers were all of the traditional type. Evidently new technology and new shapes were developed on the basis of the former traditions with the support of the royal house. The new type sponsored by the royal spouse Fu Hao, being unique in shape, clearly had a special significance and might have been seen as a representation of a monopolized life-style, distinguishing her from persons of somewhat lower status.

The *fangyi* (“square vessel”) and the square versions of the vessel types *ding*, *jia*, and *zun* were all novelties embraced by the uppermost strata of Yinxu. During Period I most of the large tombs were provided with only one round *ding*, but during Period II

38 Anyang Archaeological Team 2004c, p. 11.

39 Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, p. 496.

40 Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, pp.509-511.

large, square *ding*-vessels were added to the traditional round *ding* in the large tombs. The square Si Mu Xin-*ding*, with a height of 80 cm, was found in the Fu Hao tomb, and the Si Mu Wu-*ding* (now in the collection of the National Museum, Peking) with a height of 113 cm is – according to tradition – also came from Anyang. The casting technology in these vessels must be considered more advanced than that of the 54.5 cm high, square *ding*-vessel excavated in Xin'gan, Jiangxi. In the production of the latter, the legs had been cast separately from the body,⁴¹ a casting method similar to that of the large, square *ding* from the Shang city in Zhengzhou.⁴² The Si Mu Xin- and Si Mu Wu- vessels were on the contrary cast in one process, legs and body being manufactured at the same time. To preserve the even thickness of the walls, the legs had to be left open.⁴³ This type of large *ding*, with its advanced technology and impressive visual appearance, is not found in any of the tombs of Category 2, and while two square *ding* were excavated in the Category 1 tomb Huayuanzhuang M54, their size was more modest, one vessel having a height of 32.3 cm, the other 36.4 cm. Probably the technology of casting this type of large, square *ding* came from foundries sponsored by the royal house and members of the highest military aristocracy, and it was most likely monopolized by members of this elite⁴⁴ as a way of distinguishing themselves from the tomb occupants of Category 2 and 3, who only possessed round *ding*-vessels.

It should not be overlooked that the Fu Hao tomb contains, in addition to the large square *ding*, a great number of smaller, round *ding*-vessels with pillar-shaped legs, like the ones which were found in tombs of the Category 2, as Dasikongcun M539 and M663. The round *ding*-vessels from the period often have flanges and a layered decoration with animal masks, as vessels from the Fu Hao tomb and in Dasikongcun

M663. The style continues until Period IV, as the *ding* found in Yin Xu Western section M907 demonstrates.⁴⁵

During Yin Xu Period I, *jia*-vessels with round body and T-shaped legs were provided in the large tombs. More than ten vessels of this type have been excavated from tombs dating from Yin Xu Period II, but it seems that during Period II the type no longer satisfied the craving for distinction harboured by the occupants of the tombs in Category 1. A new type of square, large *jia*-vessel was created for this elite. Square *jia*-vessels have until now only been found in the Category 1 tombs of Fu Hao and Huayuanzhuang M54. These rare vessels have cast inscriptions; the vessels in the former tomb has the legend "Fu Hao", the *jia* in the latter tomb is inscribed "Ya Zhang". The post caps and handles are decorated, and there are flanges not only on the body, but also on the post caps. The occupants of these tombs shared the same technology and material signifiers, giving them distinction in comparison to occupants of smaller tombs, but the number and size of the square vessels demonstrate their relative position. The Fu Hao tomb contained three square *jia*-vessels, basically of the same shape and with the same decoration, making up a set, while M54 contained only one square vessel. The heights of the *jia*-vessels in the Fu Hao set were 68.8, 67.6 and 67 cm; in M54 the *jia* was 66.8 cm high.⁴⁶

The large, round *jia*, whose body is divided in a neck and a belly, seems also to have been used for giving distinction to the tomb occupants of burial chambers larger than 10 m². This type is found in burial chambers as the Fu Hao tomb, belonging to Category 1 and Xiaotun M18, which is the largest tomb belonging to Category 2. However, the round *jia*-vessels in the Fu Hao tomb are clearly distinct from the one found in M18 in their height, weight and in having

41 Jiangxi 1997, p. 260.

42 Li Jinghua 1999, pp. 112-130.

43 Hua Jueming 1986, pp. 90-100.

44 The Buffel *ding* and Deer *ding* in the large tomb Xibeigang M1400 (Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1970, Pl. 25-32) are still more advanced in their decoration than the Si Mu Xin *ding*, not limited by the additional approach of the Erligang style. As the decoration of the four walls of the body is cast by the sectional mould method, each wall forms its own ornamental field. M1400 is difficult to date, due to the tomb having been plundered, but judging from the method by which the two large, square *ding* have been manufactured, and the development in its decoration, they might be somewhat later than the Si Mu Xin *ding* and the Si Mu Wu *ding*.

45 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, No 72.

46 It is worth noting that the inscriptions on the tomb goods of the Fu Hao tomb are greatly varied, having different origins. In contrast to the three large square *jia*, there is also a small, square *jia* with cover, only 21 cm high, i.e. approximately one third of the large *jia*-vessels. It is covered with ornaments on a fond of *leiwen*, but the main decoration is not in high relief. Also, there is no inscription. Its origin is quite unknown to us. This type of small, square *jia* is also found in the Xiaotun M238 (R20409) with a burial chamber of 2.45 M2, and in the small tomb Xibeigang M1022 (R1114, R1113). Maybe the small *jia* in the Fu Hao tomb belonged to a human victim?

inscriptions.⁴⁷

The *jia* K-12202 (Cat. no 28) in the MFEA, with a height of 49.6 cm, is similar in the shape of its post caps as well as in the decoration of an animal head on its handle to the *jia*-vessels without inscription in the Fu Hao-tomb, while bearing fewer resemblances to the *jia*-vessel from Xiaotun M18. It is quite possible that the MFEA *jia* was made for a member of the same social class as Fu Hao. The X-ray photos of the MFEA *jia* show that the 11.2 cm high post has an inner core, connected with the core of the 7.4 cm high post cap by a tenon and mortise construction. Hua Jueming has a theory that the casting mould of the 48.4 cm high round *jia* from the Fu Hao tomb was made up by 6 section moulds for the body, 3 section moulds for the legs, one for the top, 3 inner cores for the legs, one section mould for the bottom, and an inner core for the body. Thus according to his theory there were inner cores for the post caps, the body, the handle, and the legs, while the body and the post caps were separately cast.⁴⁸ The MFEA *jia* should thus have been cast in the same manner as the Fu Hao *jia*.

The relationship between the square *zun*-vessels and the size of the burial chamber was quite similar to the case with *jia*. Large, round *zun*-vessels were regularly included in the large-scale Yinxu Period I tombs containing more than 10 bronze vessels. In the large tombs of Period II, as the Category 2 tomb Xiaotun M18 containing 24 bronze vessels, the round *zun*-vessels were still patronized by the tomb occupants. However, this type obviously did not fully satisfy the taste of the tomb occupants of the very large tombs, as the two tombs Huayuanzhuang M54 and the Fu Hao tomb of Category 1. In M54 one square *zun* was excavated, signifying the tomb occupant's social status. In the Fu Hao tomb altogether 10 *zun*-vessels were excavated, including three square *zun*. The find includes two owl-shaped *zun*, two round *zun* with the inscription "Si Qiao Mu", two round *zun* with the inscription "Zi Shu Quan" and one round *zun* without inscription, one square *zun* with the inscription "Fu Hao",

and two square *zun* with the inscription "Si Qiao Mu". The square *zun* with the inscription "Fu Hao" is 43 cm high and weighs 25.15 kg; the large, square *zun*-vessels inscribed "Si Qiao Mu" are 55.6 cm and 56 cm high and weighs 31 kg and 32 kg, respectively.

The *fangyi* was another new shape under the elite patronage of the tomb occupants of Categories 1 and 2. The vessel type has mostly been excavated in tombs yielding ten or more bronze vessels. Apart from the Category 3 tomb Huayuanzhuang East M42, the vessel type has been excavated in Category 1 tombs Fu Hao and Huayuanzhuang M54 and in Category 2 tombs such as Guojiazhuang M26, Dasikongcun M663, Xiaotun M238 and Liujiashuang North M793. The vessel shape is also represented in the Category 2 tomb Xiaotun M238, which despite its small burial chamber – 2.45 m² – contained as many as 12 bronze vessels, and in Xibeigang M1022 – with its still smaller burial chamber of 1.84 m² – containing 10 bronze vessels and thus also classified as a Category 2 tomb. Among the 36 tombs containing bronze vessels from the Yinxu Period II, *fangyi*-vessels were found in 8 tombs, i.e. only 24%. Among the 153 tombs excavated from Yinxu Period II, the type is found in approximately 5% of the tombs.

The surface of the *fangyi* with the inscription "Yuan" in the MFEA (OM-1971-0016, Cat. no 038) is covered with ornamentation in two layers, while flanges run along all the sides of the vessel. Along the foot is a pattern of *kui* dragons, the animal mask on the body having ears constituted by *kui* dragons of the same type, while at the side of the mask there are perpendicular *kui* dragons. This is a special type of ornamentation, quite similar to that of the *fangyi* found in Xibeigang M1022, and reflecting the taste for the new fashion in bronze style of the occupants of those 5% of the tombs containing *fangyi*. The "Yuan *fangyi*" has the same inscription as a square *lei*-vessel in Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, and a *you* in the Freer Gallery. Among the 12 bronze vessels excavated in Guojiazhuang M26, the find includes both a *fangyi* and a square *lei*. The *fangyi* from M26 has the same inscription as a *jue*, a *gu* and a shovel-like utensil from the tomb. The square *lei* from the tomb has no inscription, but has the same type of ornamentation as that on the MFEA *fangyi*. This find from Guojiazhuang M26 shows the type of tomb in which the MFEA *fangyi* originally might have belonged.

Another fact worth noting is that as many as 5 *fangyi* were found in the Fu Hao tomb. Although they demonstrate the same taste as that of the other

47 Large, round *jia*-vessels:

Tomb	Inscription	Height (cm)	Weight (kg)	Publ.
Fu Hao tomb: Round <i>jia</i> (857)	Si Qiao Mu	65.7	20	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, p. 69
Fu Hao tomb: Round <i>jia</i> (860)	Si Qiao Mu	66.5	20.5	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 70
Fu Hao tomb: Round <i>jia</i> (1197)	Ya Qi	61.2	14.7	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 70
Fu Hao tomb: Round <i>jia</i> (861)	Ya Qi	61.8	15.5	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 70
Fu Hao tomb: Round <i>jia</i> (317)	Zi Shu Quan (damaged)	25.2	3.8	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 70
Fu Hao tomb: Round <i>jia</i> (782)	No inscr.	42.1	5.5	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 70
Fu Hao tomb: Round <i>jia</i> (781)	No inscr.	48.4	6.8	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 70
Xiaotun M18: Round <i>jia</i>	No inscr.	28.2	2.5	Anyang Archaeological Team 1981
MFEA K-12202: Round <i>jia</i>	Chen	49.6		

48 Hua Jueming 1986, pp. 114-116.

fangyi, the *fangyi*-vessels in the Fu Hao tomb are distinguished by their height and their number. Interesting in this connection is the occurrence of a “paired *fangyi*”. The interior of this unique vessel is divided into two entities, allowing two types of liquids to be stored in the vessel at once. The exterior of the vessel resembles a long building – the lid meeting the body in what seems like a row of end-tiles. The size and the unique form with its flamboyant decoration make this vessel a splendid example of conspicuous consumption. Compared with the *fangyi*-vessels from the other tombs, it demonstrates that the spouse of the royal house shared the taste for the *fangyi*-vessels with the other tomb occupants of Categories 1 and 2, and thus this vessel type was used to distinguish these strata from the majority of tomb occupants in the Yinxu Western section, who were not provided with *fangyi*-vessels. On the other hand, the uniqueness of the “paired *fangyi*” made a further distinction, setting the royal spouse apart from and above the other occupants of *fangyi*-vessels.

Shovel-shaped bronze utensils, until now not found in any tombs from Yinxu Period I, have been excavated in the Category 1 tomb of Fu Hao and in 5 tombs belonging to Category 2: Xiaotun M18, Guojiazhuang M26, and the Dasikongcun M539, Liujiashuang North M793, and Guojiazhuang Southeast M5. Of the 153 excavated tombs, only 3% thus contained this type of vessel, while in the other 147 tombs the tomb occupants did not use the type. The six excavated shovel-shaped objects have quadrangular receptacles, on the left, right and back there are low walls, on the back is a hollow handle. On the object from Xiaotun M18 there are traces of soot, indicating that the object has been used in connection with the heating of food.⁴⁹ However, it is impossible to tell from the archaeological material whether the type might have borne a relationship to other types of vessels used for heating food or whether it had a unique function.

The shovel-shaped objects are mostly quite plain, compared to the rich, layered ornamentation of other vessel types with a longer history. The size seems to have been related to the category of the tomb and the size of the burial chamber. The shovel-shaped utensil from the Category 1 tomb of Fu Hao, with its burial chamber of 22.4 m², is 36.5 cm long, while that from the Category 2 tomb Xiaotun M18, with a burial chamber of approximately 10 m², has a length of 30.5 cm, and those of the tombs with burial chambers of

a size between 10 and 5 m², i.e. the two Category 2 tombs Guojiazhuang M26, with a burial chamber of 7.7 m², and Dasikongcun M539, with a burial chamber of 5.36 m², have a length of 27.3 cm and 24 cm, respectively.

The shovel-shaped object in the MFEA (K-14824; Cat. no 66) is 36.5 cm long, i.e. the same length as that of the one from the Fu Hao tomb.⁵⁰ On its handle is ornamentation in low relief and also lines in sunken relief, depicting an animal mask, while the handle of the Fu Hao shovel is adorned with a decoration in sunken relief only, showing a mask and an inscription. On the shovel-shaped object from Xiaotun M18 the only decoration is an animal mask in relief on the handle. On the shovel-shaped vessel in the MFEA there are carbonized fragments of the mat in which it was wrapped, showing that special care had been taken when placing it in the tomb. This type of vessel has not been found in the large royal tombs in Xibeigang, but as those tombs have been looted, this fact is of little significance. Judging from its size and ornamentation, the MFEA-vessel might originally have come from this type of tomb. Worth noticing is that this new type of shovel-shaped utensil, excavated in finds consisting of wine vessels, cooking and steaming vessels and food containers and demonstrating novelties in the life-style, is in Anyang limited to tombs belonging to Categories 1 and 2.

In the large tomb in Xin’gan, Jiangxi, which is contemporary with Yinxu Period II or somewhat earlier, a similar type has been excavated, only the shape being slightly different – the walls being lower and the opening of the receptacle slightly curved.

5. The New Evaluation of Vessels in Sets

Above I have discussed the “rarely seen” or exclusive types, which were manufactured by the most advanced technology, contained a high metal value, and displayed special shapes and ornamentation. We have here seen how material culture to an increasing degree expressed social stratification, emphasizing the “to have” and “not to have” conditions among these strata, demonstrating a striving for exclusiveness and

⁴⁹ Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, p. 503.

⁵⁰ Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 63:2-3.

Tomb	Size of burial chamber (m ²)	Length of shovel-shaped object (cm)
Fu Hao Tomb	22.2	36.5
Xiaotun M18	10.58	30.5
Guojiazhuang M26	7.71	27.3
Dasikongcun M539	4.785	24
K-14824		36.5

distinction.

In contrast to the exclusiveness of the “rarely seen” types discussed above, there is also during YinXu Period II a basic “core group” consisting of the bronze vessel types *gu* and *jue*, possessed by a majority of the users of the bronze vessels. Among the 153 excavated Yin tombs from the period, 36 tombs – only 24% of the total number – contained bronze vessels. Among these tombs as many as 33 tombs contained bronze *jue*- and/or *gu*-beakers. This means that as much as 92% of all the tombs with bronze vessels contained a bronze *gu* and / or a bronze *jue* (Table 1). Thus we can see the dominant position of the types *jue* and *gu* among the bronze vessels in the large-scale as well as the small-scale tombs. These two types of wine vessels seem to have been considered the bronze vessels most necessary for the tomb occupant to possess in after-life. If the means for making metal vessels were lacking, the *jue* and *gu* might be substituted by pottery vessels. Among the 153 excavated Period II tombs in Anyang, tombs with pottery *gu* constitute 48% of the total, as do the tombs with pottery *jue* – i.e. almost one half of the tombs. Thus we can see that among those tomb occupants in Anyang during Period II who could barely afford to have tomb ware, about one half chose to include pottery *gu* and/or pottery *jue*. From the large number of tombs containing pottery ware, and from the tombs provided with bronze vessels, we learn that in the stratification of the material culture in the tombs, pottery *gu* and pottery *jue* were far more widely distributed than bronze vessels of the same shape, but also that *gu*- and *jue*-vessels of bronze were far more widely distributed than the other bronze vessel shapes. These vessels obviously expressed a social stratification, from pottery *gu* and *jue* to bronze *gu* and *jue*, with the type of bronze ornamentation as a further sign of social distinction (Table 2).

On the other hand, still more popular than the pottery *jue* and *gu* were the pottery *dou*-vessels, being found in 48% of the Period II tombs. Pottery *dou*-vessels are most common in finds including only pottery, but are also found in finds including wooden objects (Table 3).⁵¹ However, the *dou*-vessel type was very rarely transformed into a bronze shape. A remarkable fact is that while pottery *dou*-vessels are found both in tomb complexes and settlement areas, pottery *jue* and *gu* are rarely found in the excavated YinXu settlements from the period.⁵² Does this contrast, and the

fact that the bronze *jue* and *gu* constitute an important core in the tombs with bronzes as tomb ware, have a special significance? Did these types of vessels (i.e. *gu* and *jue*) accompany in-migrating groups to Anyang to become part of the local culture during Period II, gradually presenting themselves as the first preference to the tomb occupants with bronzes as tomb ware? These problems should be pursued further. What seems certain today is that the two vessel types *gu* and *jue* constituted some sort of core in the bronze culture of Anyang during YinXu Period II.

The shape of the popular vessel type *gu* is of great significance. The shape with its everted mouth, splayed foot and tube-shaped belly is well suited for lifting and pouring. The tall, narrow shape on the other hand is not fit for the storage of solid substances. The *gu* belongs, together with the *jue*, to the smallest bronze vessel types of the period and was a type of vessel which could be used by different categories in society. It could not be made too high, as this would make it impractical to lift, and also difficult to pour from. Thus, the average height of this vessel type is about 25-28 cm. This applies to all the *gu*-beakers from category 1-4, from the Fu Hao tomb and downwards, the only exception being four *gu*-beakers (of a find of altogether 9 *gu*) from the Huayuanzhuang M54, which attained a height of 35.4 cm.⁵³

As the differences in size between the *gu*-beakers are not so manifest, the differentiation in ornamentation seemingly gained great importance for the expression of social stratification. We see distinctions in the quantity of surface-filling ornaments, the addition of flanges, the style of ornamentation – all these factors could be related to the expression of a social stratigraphy. We see this most clearly in the beakers from Category 2 tombs with burial chambers larger than 6 m. However, the Category 2 tomb Dasikongcun M539 already contains *gu*-beakers without flanges and with ornamentation in Additional style VI (i.e. animal masks without a background of *leiwen*), Liujiashuang North M793 (belonging to the same

53 Anyang Archaeological Team 2004c, Pl. 4:6.

Four *gu*-beakers in the MFEA – OM-1974-0089 (Cat. no 17), K-14804 (Cat. no 16), OM-1974-0094 (Cat. no 15), and OM-1977-0035 (Cat. no 13) – are 38.9 cm, 33.5 cm, 31.1 cm, and 30.2 cm high, respectively. The beakers are thus rather tall compared with the average *gu*, a couple of them being comparable in height to the 35.4 cm tall beaker from Huayuanzhuang M54 with the inscription “Ya Zhang”. The four MFEA beakers, with their layered ornamentation and use of flanges, might have been made for patrons with a social background similar to that of the tomb occupant of M54.

51 Shi Zhangru 1969, pp.51-82.

52 Du Jinpeng.

category) contains a *gu*-beaker lacking flanges and having an ornamentation in the Loehr Style III, while a *gu* from the Category 3 tomb Xiaotun M17 is sparsely decorated and lacks flanges. The *gu* from the Category 4 tomb Yinxu Western Section M354 (with a burial chamber of 1.848 m²) is only 14.5 cm tall and not only lacks flanges, but has utterly simple ornamentation of the Additional Style VII type with only a pair of eyes protruding.⁵⁴ This *gu* is thus quite different from the *gu*-beakers found in the burial chambers larger than 6 m², which have a fully decorated surface, are provided with flanges which in some instances continue up on the neck, and decorated with animal masks in high relief. The most obvious difference between small- and large-scale tombs, however, concerns the number of bronze vessels in the tomb. This difference in the number of vessels attracted the interest of scholars quite early on.⁵⁵ A full hierarchy is demonstrated here: From the Category 1 tombs of Fu Hao with 53 *gu*, and Huayuanzhuang M54 with 9 *gu*; the Category 2 tombs of Xiaotun M18 with 5 *gu*, and Guojiazhuang M26 with 2 *gu*; the Categories 3 and 4 tombs containing only one bronze *gu*; and down to the Category 5 with only pottery *gu*. We see here a clear illustration of the distinctions between the vessel users, demonstrating the full scale of how the number of vessels in one tomb could express the tomb occupant's place in the Yinxu Period II social stratification.

The increasing number of vessels of the same type, organized in visually impressive sets, might thus have been one way of expressing the tomb occupants' social position. A detailed study of the vessels and casting moulds reveals that no vessels are exactly identical.⁵⁶ As they were the results of handicraft, there would always be some difference in height, thickness, ornamentation, and inscription. However, we can still clearly see the intention of making a set.⁵⁷

The sight of these sets of beakers must have had a certain effect on the viewers – one beaker for each individual, the beaker being lifted high, the clan name of the occupant cast below the foot. It was perhaps not only the effect of the sheer amount of vessels one looked for, the set of drinking utensils might also

have been a representation of the number of followers who should provide some kind of company in the next world. If so, a set was an indirect representation of the network of the tomb occupant and the material culture he or she hoped to embrace in the next world. This feature is clearly demonstrated in the richest-provided tomb of all, namely the Fu Hao tomb with its 219 bronze vessels. The contrast between these 219 bronze vessels and the many tombs containing no bronze vessels is striking in a manner never seen before. As for the bronze *gu* and *jue*, the basic vessels in the Category 4 tombs, where at most one item of each type was provided in the individual tomb, the Fu Hao tomb had 53 bronze *gu* and 40 *jue*. The *gu*-beakers can be classified according to four different inscriptions, possibly representing four different groups of different social standing: 22 *gu* with the inscription "Fu Hao", 11 *gu* with the inscription "Si Qiao Mu", 10 *gu* with the inscription "Ya Qi", and 10 *gu* with "Zi Shu Quan". Even the 40 *jue* can be classified in the same manner according to their inscription: 12 *jue* with the inscription "Fu Hao", 9 *jue* with the inscription "Si Qiao Mu", 9 *jue* with the inscription "Ya Qi", and 9 *jue* with the inscription "Zi Shu Quan". Fu Hao demonstrates her social distinction by possessing these bronze vessels – the most common among the bronze vessels found in tombs from Yinxu period II – in a larger number than is found in any other tomb. Her network is also demonstrated by her possession of four different sets, consisting of approximately ten vessels each, related to different social groups. No matter whatever the conclusion the specialists in oracle bone inscriptions and literary studies may come to in their long-time discussion as to Si Qiao Mu and Fu Hao was one and the same person,⁵⁸ the *gu*-beakers with 4 different inscriptions might have originated in four groups of different social position, and the use of the approximate unit of ten in the organization of the sets may have borne some deeper relation to Fu Hao and her network.

In Huayuanzhuang M54, also belonging to Category 1, there are 9 *gu*-beakers, 4 of which bear the inscription "Ya Zhang"; in Xiaotun M18, belonging to Category 2, there are 4 beakers with the same inscription. This kind of set numbers of *gu* and *jue* might have been related to the number of people having some relation to the tomb occupant. When only one bronze *gu*-beaker could be afforded, the wish of having more beakers might be fulfilled by pottery

54 Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128, Fig. 13:2.

55 Zheng Zhenxiang & Chen Zhida 1985; Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1985; Liu Yiman 1995, pp. 395-405.

56 Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1964.

57 Hua Jueming has analyzed the *gu*-beakers from the Fu Hao tomb and came to the conclusion that the main motif was basically the same, while the background showed some variations. Hua Jueming, 1986, p. 131.

58 Cao 1993.

substitutes. In Xiaotun M17, belonging to Category 3, the single bronze *gu* was complemented with a pottery *gu*. In Xuejiazhuang M3 and Yinxu Western section M613, belonging to the same category, and M354, belonging to Category 4, we find the same phenomenon. In the Category 5 tombs in the Yinxu Western section the tombs are only provided with pottery *gu* and *jue*, demonstrating the social distinction in the use of sets of vessels.

Gu-beakers were often accompanied by *jue*-vessels into the tomb. The use of *jue* as tomb ware seems to have been quite similar to that of the *gu* and the sets of this vessel type will thus not be discussed here.

II. The Social Use of Bronze Weapons

There is also a clear relationship between the number of vessels, the size of the burial chamber and the objects attached to the body, especially the weapons – their number, size, material, decoration and types (cf. Table II). Here again a social stratigraphy is expressed. A fact worth noting is that in the tombs of Yinxu Period II the ratio of bronze weapons finds is very high compared to the finds of other types of objects, only lower than the pottery vessels, which are the artefacts most commonly found in tombs (occurring in 86 % of the tombs). In the 153 excavated tombs, bronze weapons were found in 60 tombs, i.e. 39 % of all the tombs – a much higher ratio than that for the bronze vessels, which have been found in 24 % of the tombs.

In other words, if the tomb occupants of Yinxu Period II had the economic power to provide bronze objects for after-life, they seemingly felt a great need for bronze weapons. In Period II, when the bronze vessels could be substituted with pottery ones, the tomb occupants still felt the need to be protected by weapons made of bronze. The weapons are very often found on or very close to the body of the deceased, whether the tomb occupant or the followers. Among the weapons the dagger-axes (*ge*) seem to have been deemed most desirable. Among the 60 excavated tombs containing bronze weapons, dagger axes have been found in 60 tombs, i.e. 100% of the tombs containing bronze weapons (39% of all the tombs) (Table 4).

As a rule, the larger the tomb, the more numerous the weapons. However, the weapons do not only increase in number, they also become bigger and more ornate, with added inlays of turquoise. There are also more weapon types included in the large tombs. Dagger-axes in the classic style of Yinxu develop from the dagger-axes in a basic shape of the Erligang Culture. These weapons might have been provided to

show off a social position. Some of the tombs richly endowed with weapons might have belonged to people with a special relation to warfare.

There was a massive increase in the number of dagger-axes in the tombs compared to those of Yinxu Period I, when a relatively large tomb contained 5-6 dagger-axes. There is often a clear relationship between the number of weapons in a tomb and the category to which it belongs and the size of its burial chamber.

Tombs with 10 or more dagger-axes as a rule also contained a certain number of bronze vessels. The Category 2 tombs Guojiazhuang M26 (with a burial chamber of 7.71 m²) contained 10 dagger-axes, Dasikongcun M663 (with a burial chamber of 6.6 m²) contained 11 dagger-axes, and Dasikongcun M539 (with a burial chamber of 5.96 m²) contained 13 dagger-axes, while the Category 3 tombs Yinxu Western section M613 contained 10 dagger-axes, Huayuanzhuang East M42 (with a burial chamber of 4.16 m²) contained 13 dagger-axes, and Xuejiazhuang M3 (with a burial chamber of 4.48 m²) contained 13 dagger-axes. A large number of dagger-axes have thus mostly been found in burial chambers larger than 4 m². The largest amount of dagger-axes has been found in the Category 1 tombs (which also have the largest burial chambers) – Huayuanzhuang M54 contained 71 dagger-axes, the Fu Hao tomb contained 95 dagger-axes. The twelve tombs containing 1-4 dagger-axes mostly belong to the Categories 4 and 5. The burial chambers of ten of these tombs have a size between 1 and 3 m².

Thus, of the 153 excavated tombs, tombs with more than 50 weapons belong to Category 1, tombs containing 5 to 9 weapons belong to Category 2 and 3, tombs containing 1 to 4 weapons belong to Category 4 and 5 (cf. Table 5).

The desire for including dagger-axes seems to have been strong, and even if some of the dagger-axes used as tomb ware were too thin and light to have had any function as weapon, they contribute to the picture of dagger-axes as being an important category of tomb ware during Period II. Many of the dagger-axes are inscribed, and it is possible that these weapons were connected with people of military status⁵⁹ or otherwise related to warfare, as in the case of the Fu Hao tomb (Fu Hao being of a female commander besides being a royal spouse) and the Huayuanzhuang

⁵⁹ Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 166; Liu Yiman 2002, pp. 70-71.

M54, belonging to a man of the Ya Zhang clan.

As the number of dagger-axes in a tomb increased, the number of types also increased. The types with square and curved tangs from Period I continued to flourish during Period II. The softly rounded contour of the curved tang is now often interrupted by a realistically represented bird's beak. The surfaces of the tangs are also in many cases decorated with turquoise inlay. During this period, dagger-axes with shaft-holes, rarely seen in finds from Period I, also become common. These types are well represented in the MFEA collection. K-11342 (Cat. no 85) and OM-1974-0356 (Cat. no 86) are examples of dagger-axes with curved tangs; HM-1967 (Cat. no 73) with the inscription on the tang is an example of a dagger-axe with straight tang, while K-11323 (Cat. no 99) is an example of a dagger-axe with shaft-hole. The dagger-axe K-11323 has an undeciphered inscription on the tang. In Xibeigang M1001 a 33.6 cm long dagger-axe with the same inscription has been excavated, and in Xibeigang M1004 as many as 70 dagger-axes have been found, ranging in length from 23.8 to 34.3 cm, and all carrying this inscription.⁶⁰ The measurements of K-11323, which is 23.7 cm long, tally closely with this group. Dagger-axes with shaft-holes and the same inscription have also been found in Xiaotun E16⁶¹ and in the YinXu Western section M737, which has a burial chamber of 4.13 m² and is dated to YinXu Period III.⁶² Is it possible that these weapons had some connection with the guards of the royal house?

The dagger-axe K-11090-041 (Cat. no 96) in the MFEA collection has a striated pattern on the tang and a marked median crest. Its length of 25.5 cm and its shape are quite similar to those of a dagger-axe found in the Category 1 tomb Huayuanzhuang M54⁶³ – a tomb where 42 dagger-axes with shaft-holes were excavated. The striated pattern on the tang resembles the pattern of a jade dagger axe found in the Fu Hao tomb.⁶⁴ Is it possible that this pattern, found in these exclusive tombs, might have carried a special significance?

The dagger-axe was the main weapon type during YinXu Period II, found in 100% of the excavated tombs containing bronze weapons. During this period there were otherwise many changes in the weapon types. Weapons rarely seen in Period I, such as axes of the

yue type,⁶⁵ bow-shaped implements, spears, and knives with upturned points appear in the tombs, although not as frequently as the dagger-axes (cf. Table II). Bow-shaped implements have been found in 15 %, spears and *yue* axes in 12.13 % of the tombs; the knives with upturned points are only found in 4.9% of the tombs. Except for the spears and bow-shaped implements, these relatively rare weapon types are mostly found in burial chambers measuring 5 m² or more, belonging to Categories 1, 2 and, in singular cases, 3. There is thus a clear relationship between these weapon types and the categories to which the tombs belong (cf. Table II).

The amount of weapon types provided for the burial chamber might have been employed as a means of social distinction. Some of the tomb occupants might have had an early connection with foreign territories and been buried with weapon types from those areas (this will be discussed later). Otherwise high status seemingly could be expressed in the size, fineness of detail, and ornamental motifs of the weapons. It seems that there was a predilection for the rare types in the largest tombs, combined with an extensive use of the more common weapon types also found in the smaller tombs.

The phenomenon is well illustrated by the weapons found in the Category 1 tomb of Fu Hao. Among the 4 *yue* axes with a “Fu Hao”-inscription, 2 axes are more than 39 cm long and weigh 9 kg. One of these axes is adorned with the pattern of a human head enclosed by two tigers, the other with that of a dragon with one head and two bodies. The size, the inscription and the unique motifs make these axes stand out. However, the two *yue* axes in the *Fu Hao* tomb with the inscription “Ya Qi” are only 24.4 cm long and weigh 1.2 kg. The blades are decorated with a *kui* dragon, forming a widely open mouth embracing the upper part of the blade.⁶⁶ We find the same motif on a *yue* type of axe, found in the Category 2 tomb Dasi-kong M25 (with a burial chamber of 5.96 m²), having the length of 22.5 cm.⁶⁷ The same motif is found on the two *yue* axes K-11432 and K-14135 (Cat. nos 128-129) in the MFEA, with the length of 21 and 23 cm respectively.

As many as 7 *yue* axes were found in the Category

60 Liang Siyong & Gao Quxun 1970, pp. 154-157.

61 Shi Zhangru 1972.

62 Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 188.

63 Anyang Archaeological Team 2004, fig. 12:1.

64 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Color Plate 17:1, 18:1.

65 Yang Xizhang 1993.

In a find in Sanjiazhuang, dated to Period I, one small, quite insignificant *yue* axe has been excavated (Anyang Archaeological Team 1981).

66 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 69:1.

67 Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, pp. 509-517.

1 tomb Huayuanzhuang M54, being of three different types. One axe is more than 40 cm long, and has the inscription “Ya Zhang”. The asymmetrical blade is decorated with two birds with protruding beaks, depicted back to back, and two dragons, also depicted back to back and with protruding tails.⁶⁸ The *yue* axe K-11327 (Cat. no 127) in the MFEA is decorated in the same style, but is much smaller, only 24 cm and the ornamentation has been simplified.

The Huayuanzhuang M54 included also 5 *yue*-axes, 20.5 cm in length, forming a group with similar ornamentation – the tangs are decorated with animal masks in turquoise inlay, the blades with whirl-circles above hanging blades with cicada pattern. A similar decorated *yue* axe was found at the left side of the waist of the tomb occupant in the Category 2 tomb Dasikongcun M663 (with a burial chamber of 6.6 m²).⁶⁹ This type of *yue* axe continued into Yinxu Period III and IV,⁷⁰ and seems to have been the most long-living type of the *yue* axes. The same type is also represented in the MFEA in the axes K-11090-036, HM-1962, K-14136 (Cat. nos 131-133).

In Huayuanzhuang M54 an *yue* axe of a more peculiar shape has been found, with a big, round hole on the blade and turquoise inlay on the tang.⁷¹ In the Category 5 tomb Guojiazhuang M63 (with a burial chamber of 4.42 m²), the same type of *yue* axe, but without ornamentation, was found together with a dagger axe.⁷² Most of the excavated *yue* axes were found in rather large tombs yielding ten or more dagger-axes, as Dasikongcun M25 and M663.

The spears present a similar pattern.⁷³ Spears appeared sparsely during Period I, but became more common in tombs containing many dagger-axes during Period II.⁷⁴ The number of spears in these finds seems often to be proportional to the number of dagger-axes. These weapons are the two types that may be found in large amounts in individual tombs. During Yinxu Period II the finds of spears seem to be concentrated to Category 1 and 2 tombs, which have

a certain quantity of weapons. Judged from the finds, it seems that the use of spears in combination with dagger-axes was of quite recent date. The Category 1 tomb Huayuanzhuang M54 contained 76 spears in addition to its 71 dagger-axes, the Category 2 tombs Guojiazhuang M26 (with a burial chamber of 7.7 m²) contained 11 spears and 10 dagger-axes, Dasikongcun 663 (with a burial chamber of 6.6 m²) contained 7 spears and 11 dagger-axes, Yinxu Western section M613 (with a burial chamber of 6.37 m²) yielded 2 spears and 10 dagger-axes, Dasikongcun M539 (with a burial chamber of 5.96 m²) contained 1 spear and 13 dagger-axes. In tombs with burial chambers smaller than 5 m² and belonging to Category 3 and below, spears are very rare. There are also examples of tombs containing several dagger-axes, but no spears. It is quite remarkable that the Fu Hao tomb, which contained 91 dagger-axes, did not contain a single bronze spearhead. On the other hand, the Fu Hao tomb contained 3 jade spearheads. Nor did the Category 2 tomb Xiaotun M18, in which 9 dagger-axes were found, contain any spears. The occupants of these two tombs are believed to have been women. Is it possible that bronze spears were not considered suitable as gifts for the after-life of high-ranking women during Yinxu Period II?

Spears excavated in the Category 1 tomb Huayuanzhuang M54 belong to two different types. One type has an almost triangular blade with a tubular socket, to ease the insertion of a wooden shaft. On both side of the socket is a semi-circular loop. The spearheads are approximately 23.7 cm long. 55 spearheads of this type were found in Huayuanzhuang M54. The other type has a bulge on the middle of the blade and an ovoid socket. Where the blade meets the socket there is one small slot at each side. The spearheads are approximately 27.9 cm long. Altogether 21 spearheads of this type were found in M54.⁷⁵ The spearhead K-11276-088 (Cat. no 121) in the MFEA is quite similar in its shape to the first type, but is only 16 cm long. As a spear from Period II this must be considered quite short, and it should be compared to a spearhead from the Category 3 tomb Yinxu Western section

68 Anyang Archaeological Team 2004c, Pl. 5:4.

69 Anyang Archaeological Team 1988a, p. 868.

70 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, Pl. 46; Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991b, p. 343; Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991a, p. 905.

71 Anyang Archaeological Team 2004c, p. 16, ill. 12:1.

72 Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 50.

73 Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1986.

74 Spears seem to have been rare in Yinxu Period I. The spear head found in Sanjiazhuang M4, with its burial chamber of 2.1 m², had a simple and flat shape, like a willow-leaf, while the socket was round (Anyang Archaeological Team 1983, p. 129, fig. 5:15).

75 Anyang Archaeological Team 2004c, p. 16, Pl.12:3, 4.

M613, which is 18 cm.⁷⁶

The type of knife with an upturned point is rare in Period II. The only excavated items which have been published come from the Category 1 tomb Huayuanzhuang M54, where three approximately 44.4 cm long knives were found. Near the spine of the knives is a pattern of *kui* dragons – a pattern quite common in Yinxu Period II. The inscription “Ya Zhang” may refer to the tomb occupant.⁷⁷ A similar knife was found in the Erligang Culture, in Yangjiawan M11, Panlongcheng, Huangpo in Hunan.⁷⁸ Another knife might have come from Laoniupo in Xian, and is dated as approximately contemporary with Yinxu Period I.⁷⁹ Is it possible that the tomb occupant of Huayuanzhuang M54 borrowed this rare shape from a territory outside Anyang just to show off his special status as a warrior?

Worth noticing is the find of knives with upturned points in the small tomb Xibeigang M1355.⁸⁰ In this tomb, with a burial chamber as small as 1.9 m², were found the remains of 8 people and 10 undecorated knives with upturned points. The knives have the impressive length of 47.4 cm. The substantial number and the great length of the knives make it likely that this was a special tomb for soldiers buried with their weapons as a retinue for one of the mighty kings having his tomb in Xibeigang. The length of these knives should be compared to the three 44.4 cm long knives with upturned point found in the very large Huayuanzhuang M54. The tomb occupant of M54 was also provided with 71 dagger-axes and 76 spears,

making the tomb the richest site of Period II weapons. It is thus possible that this tomb occupant is the highest-ranking warrior from Yinxu Period II hitherto archaeologically documented.⁸¹ In Guojiazhuang M160 a similar knife has also been excavated.⁸²

The interaction with regions outside Anyang is shown in many types of bronze objects found in the tombs from Yinxu Period II. Features from the style of the Northern Complex of bronzes are seen in the bronze mirrors, the knives with upturned points, the bow-shaped objects, while the interaction with the cultures of the south is demonstrated in the *yue* axes, etc. This interaction has been the focus of scholarly interest for a long time.⁸³ The practice of expressing social position by using artefacts, as mirrors or certain kind of weapons carrying outlandish connotations, seems to have become common during Period II. The finds in Huayuanzhuang M54 included, in addition to bow-shaped implements and axes of *yue* type, also, as discussed above, knives with up-turned points. This type of knife is represented in a find from Weijiahe, Shanzhishan, Shaanxi and should be considered an outlandish element in Anyang.⁸⁴ The find in the tomb Dasikongcun M663 (with a burial chamber of 6.6 m²) included a knife with a ring-shaped handle – also a northern type – and a bow-shaped implement. Also Dasikongcun M539 (with a burial chamber of 5.96 m²), contained a knife with a ring-formed handle and a bow-shaped implement, and in addition an axe with a shaft-hole,⁸⁵ whose ornamentation is similar to that of the axes found in Shilou, Shanxi,⁸⁶ and Yanghe, Xingcheng, Liaoning.⁸⁷ The axe with shaft-hole was placed on the north side of the head of the tomb occupant, together with a traditional Yinxu-axe with tang. These finds are all examples of the multi-regional features of the tomb-ware of Yinxu Period II and indicate that the tomb occupants might have had

76 Yinxu Period II Spears:

	Size of chamber	Type I	Amount	Placement	Type II	Amount	Placement	Publ.
Huayuan zhuang M54	16.2792	23.7	55		27.9	21		AAT ⁷⁶ 2004c p.16
Guojia-zhuang	7.7	24.2	1					AAT ⁷⁶ 1998,1998: 10, p. 45
M26 Dasikong-	6.6	25.5	2	Tomb occupant, right shoulder, right side of breast	25.5		Human victim, head, waist	AAT ⁷⁶ 1988b, p.870
M663								
Yinxu Western section M 613	6.37	18						AAT ⁷⁶ 1979a, pp.92, 128
Dasikong-cun M539	5.96	22.2	1					AAT ⁷⁶ 1992 pp.509-517

⁷⁶ AAT = Anyang Archaeological Team

77 This is a revision of the hypothesis that “This type of weapon was only found in Yinxu Period III”, expressed in: Liu Yiman 2002, p. 66.

78 Hubei 2001, Vol. 2, Pl. 96:2.

79 A stray find. Cf. Liu Shie 2002, Pl. 3:2; This knife is mentioned in Yang Baocheng 2002, p. 202-202.

80 The dating of this tomb needs more discussion.

81 The type of knife with point curved upwards is otherwise found in Period III tombs, as Guojiazhuang M160 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 107) and in Qijiazhuang M269 (Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991b).

82 A similar knife in the MFEA (K-12203) has a length of 48 cm, and is thus longer than those found in Huayuanzhuang M54, and almost as long as those from Xibeigang. Is it possible that it comes from one of the small tombs in the royal cemetery of Xibeigang?

83 Gao Quxun 1958, p. 690; Lin Yun 1998; Chen Fangmei 1997; Chen Fangmei 1995, pp. 241-285; Du Zhengsheng 1993, pp. 231-408.

84 Shaanxi 1979, Pl. 14.

85 Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, p. 509-517, Pl. 7.

86 Yang Shaoshun 1981b, pp. 49-53.

87 Jinzhou 1978.

some contacts with territories outside Anyang.

In the YinXu-finds there are axe types with shaft-holes represented, belonging to a type more commonly found in Northern contexts. The axe K-10443 (Cat. no 143) in the MFEA belongs to this kind of weapon. It has the same type of ornamentation as an axe found in Dasikongcun M539.⁸⁸ However, the M539 axe is elaborately ornamented, with a band of two rows of knobs divided and framed by fillets running across shaft-hole and blade to the middle of the blade, where there is a round hole in open-work, enclosed by a ring set with knobs. In front of this hole is a triangular ornament in low relief, characterized by the archaeologists as “reminiscent of a bird’s beak”. A small, round-headed hammer protrudes from the neck. In the MFEA axe the circle in the middle of the blade is not in openwork and the triangular ornament is missing. Is the difference between the two axes a result of some copying process?

There have been several finds of knives of Northern types in Anyang. A knife with an animal handle was excavated in the Fu Hao tomb; knives with ring-handles have been excavated in other tombs. A group of 80 tombs, located in the Xibeigang Eastern section cemetery—an area of more than a thousand tombs—contained large finds of knives with ring-handles and axes with tubular shaft-holes. In this type of tomb – termed “knife and axe burials” – the human occupants were mostly buried without their heads, but provided with bronze knives, axes with shaft-holes, and whetstones.⁸⁹ None of the burial chambers are more than 2.7 m long or 1.45 m wide; the largest chamber has the size of 3.82 m². In each tomb were the bones of between 6 and 10 people. 10 knives, 10 axes and 10 whetstones were found in one third of these tombs; seemingly each person carried with him one of each of these artefacts. Among the bronze knives, the ring-handled type was commonest, but animal-headed knives were also found here. The axes with tubular shaft-holes excavated in these “axe and knife burials” are approximately 13-15 cm long and decorated with parallel ribs. The axes K-12008 – K-12014 (Cat. nos 136-142) in the MFEA collection are of the same type.

Knives with animal heads have been found not only in these small tombs in Xibeigang, but also in large tombs as the Fu Hao tomb, and in tombs with burial chambers measuring 5-10 m² containing a great quantity of dagger-axes and other weapons of

different types, and in horse- and-chariot-pits. The small tombs in Xibeigang, in which these knives were found, were possibly the burial chambers of the men connected with the horse-and-chariot pits.

The artefacts showing outlandish features found in the very large and rather large tombs might have been connected with high status and military exploits. Were they brought back as trophies to Anyang after victorious wars? Have those buried as followers in the small tombs in Xibeigang introduced weapons of foreign styles into the weaponry of the leading strata of YinXu after warfare in outside territories? And what is the dating of these tombs? These matters await further research.

Postscript:

Reflections on Bronze artefacts expressing Distinction and Commonality during YinXu Period II

The manifold aspects of the shapes and ornamentation of the vessels and weapons have been penetrated to show how they demonstrate distinction and commonality during YinXu Period II.

Among all the shapes and ornaments analysed here, the most striking feature is the ornamentation with an animal mask against a background of *leiwen* – the so-called Loehr Style V. Whereas during YinXu Period I this ornamentation was only in a nascent phase, now it had developed into one of the most important indications of distinction between the different strata of tomb-occupants. The style was embraced by the tomb-occupants belonging to Category 2 and still more by the occupants of Category 1, who used it to such an extent as to almost monopolize it. This social use of ornamentation is significant, and demonstrates that when analysing this type of material, one should pay attention not only to chronological sequences, but also to such factors as hierarchy.

The vast difference in time between the YinXu period and the recorded ritual system of feudal China makes it impossible to grasp all the implications of the social use of bronze vessels in the Shang system of rituals using these elaborate texts. However, by studying the books of rituals we can get an inkling of some common valuations in the material culture connected with rituals. The discussion of the most important valuations in the material culture of the ritual system expressed in the “Liqi”-chapter of *Liji* – a text most likely written long after the time of Confucius – includes some points of view seemingly also pertaining

⁸⁸ Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, pp. 509-517.

⁸⁹ Gao Quxun 1967. These tombs are still not firmly dated.

to the evaluations in the early Bronze Age. This late material must of course be used with the greatest caution, but is mentioned here to show that the trends in evaluation in later periods of ancient China might have had some common features with the rituals of Shang.

In the “Liqi”-chapter we find such paragraphs as “Decorative sophistication is highly evaluated in rituals (li you yi wen wei guizhe 禮有以文為貴者)”⁹⁰ and “Abundance is highly evaluated in rituals (li you yi duo wei guizhe 禮有以多為貴者)”.⁹¹ Seemingly, these principles had already acquired their very tangible form during Yinxu Period II. Loehr Style V – with its abundant ornamentation – demonstrates that the users evaluated similar principles highly. Style V represents a new visual phenomenon in this period, demanding more labour than the ornamentation of earlier periods and also a more proficient technology – it thus represents a production aiming at expressing distinction and commonality between and inside the different strata of the tomb-occupants of this society. The indications of the high standing of Style V among the tomb-occupants of Category 2 and especially Category 1 fit in with other circumstances of highly evaluated factors – the individual tombs in the uppermost category contained a minimum of 40 bronze vessels, including 9 *jue* and 9 *gu*, and also 70 bronze dagger-axes; besides having burial chambers measuring at least 16 m², and 15 human victims or more. In other words, these are the circumstances suiting such people as the one who was probably the spouse of king Wu Ding and the warrior of the Ya Zhang-clan, being at the very top of the pyramid of the 5 categories of users during Yinxu Period II. Members of Category 1 proclaim their high rank with their exceedingly tall vessels, which have large surfaces and thus allow space for eye-catching ornamentation, and also with the large amount of vessels in one tomb. These factors thus demonstrate their shared identity as members of the category 1 and their distinction from the lower categories. This includes an aspect of quantity, where the “abundance” of Category 1 is contrasted with the “scarcity” of Category 2, down to a total absence in the lowest categories.

When it comes to quality of ornamentation, the distinctions range from Category 1 with a large number of Loehr Style V bronze vessels, and Category 2 with a small number of Style V-vessels, to the users

of Category 3, who possessed almost no vessels in the Style V and down to Category 4 users, who possessed almost no vessels with any type of animal mask ornamentation.

The above phenomena of ornamentation and abundance have yet to be found in a tomb context of Yinxu Period I. Maybe a stratum of bronze users had not yet developed with the power to possess these enormous quantities of bronzes, including *jue*, *gu*, dagger-axes, and other objects with an extensive use of Style V. With a newly developed community of elite users in Yinxu Period II, the ornamentation and the abundance – concepts related to ideas similar to “quality” and “quantity” – were mutually exploited to demonstrate a new system of visual distinctions in the material culture of bronzes within the world of the burial chambers, corresponding to a system of social distinction. “Ornamentation” and “abundance” as a visualization of a social system reflect similar values to the ones expressed in the “Liqi” chapter of the *Liji*, and arose out of demand among the users of different categories for expressions of distinction and commonality in and between the categories.

The “Quli” chapter of *Liji* says: “The rituals make a distinction between what is different and what is common (fu lizhe suo yi...bie yitong 夫禮者所以..別異同)”.⁹² The bronze vessels used in rituals (including the burials) developed rapidly in their shapes, ornamentation, and technology, in order to fulfil the demand of an increasingly complex social structure of users for a means of expressing their place in the hierarchy. The bronze vessels thus became an important index for measuring the social status of the users. A system of visualized differentiation in quantity and quality was created, including the possession of bronze vessels ranging from 40 to no items, the possession of *jue* and *gu*, ranging from 9 items of each to none at all, and the possession of bronze daggers, ranging from 70 items to none. The wealth and social position of the user might also be expressed in the size of the burial chamber and the number of human victims. The exceedingly sophisticated technology and the very sharply increased amount of labour implied in the use of Loehr Style V were elements in this differentiation.

It is important to notice that when abundance was evaluated during the Yinxu Period II, it was first and foremost related to those vessels and weapons which seemingly had a basic function in the burial system of the bronze-using society of the time, i.e. among the

90 *Liji zhengyi*, Liqi 10 (Vol. 2, j.228a-b).

91 *Liji zhengyi*, Liqi 10 (Vol. 2, j.22,4a).

92 *Liji zhengyi*, Quli, 1, (Vol. 1, j. 1.6a).



Cat. no 28.

vessels it was related to the *gu*, *jue* and other drinking vessels for individual use, and among the weapons it was related to the dagger-axe. During YinXu Period I this trend was visible in the tombs containing a large amount of vessels, during Period II the amount of items as reflecting a system of distinction had become relevant in the tombs of all categories. The quantity of these traditional vessels now obviously fulfilled a demand for expressing a hierarchy: the increasing divergence in the quantity of vessels possessed by individual users expressed an increased social stratification. The increased number of vessels mirrors the imagined needs of the tomb-occupant in his / her tomb, but also explains in a tangible manner the tomb-occupant's social position and his / her network, using a method of quantification.

It is interesting to notice that this increased expenditure of bronze material, technology and human labour is also expressed in another principle of the "Liqi"-chapter of *Liji*: "Largeness is highly valued in the rituals (li you yi da wei guizhe 禮有以大為貴者)".⁹³ The traditional containers for food and alcoholic beverages, such as *ding*, *zun*, and *jia* became progressively taller and bigger, thus providing clear distinctions between the users in Categories 1, 2 and 3. Every vessel of a vessel type was not necessarily very large in the Category 1 tombs, but at least one or two vessels of the type were of an impressive size.

There seems to be one principle not listed by *Liji*, but valid in the YinXu Period culture: The high evaluation of square shapes. The square shapes, difficult to cast in comparison to the corresponding round shapes, seem to have been monopolized by users of the upper categories, in order to express distinction and commonality. The square *zun* and *jia* are limited to users of Category 1, while the *fangyi* and square *lei* seem to have been limited to the users of the upper three categories.

A remarkable value was put on objects and systems of objects related to regions outside the Anyang area and thus probably rather rare. It might seem that a principle of "Exoticism is highly valued" existed during YinXu Period II, corresponding to the principle "Rarity is highly valued (li you yi shao wei guizhe 禮有以少為貴者)"⁹⁴ found in the "Liqi" chapter of the *Liji*. Thus, there seems to have been a trend during the period of providing the tombs with new types of objects of outlandish origin, such as the animal-shaped

vessels demonstrating interaction with the south, and weapons showing a northern connection.

The phenomenon of elite-members among the YinXu tomb-owners introducing elements of a new lifestyle may or may not have been due to some accident – maybe a knowledge of the lifestyle of other regions was a factor in starting the development. Maybe elements were introduced from the outside in order to express a style of novelty and thus to create a social distinction. And maybe there was a general wish among the majority of the wealthy tomb-owners to emulate the style of the royal elite during YinXu Period II? These questions need further research.

The bronze art developed during YinXu Period II demonstrates a great complexity of technology and ornamentation and a large diversity in vessel shapes and types. In the tombs a universe of a bronze material culture was produced, reflecting the increasing number of users, the more intricate structure of society and also more complex experiences, manifesting the multifaceted development of the art of bronzes, and the distinction and commonality among the users of different categories. Under these circumstances the bronzes came to be highly valued, not least due to their multifaceted expressions which might be seen as an indication of the users possessing a notion of distinction which might seem to have elements similar to the principle expressed in the "Quli" chapter of *Liji*: "The rituals makes a distinction between what is different and what is common".

The discussion of the ritual objects in the "Liqi" chapter of *Liji* devotes great attention to the comparative aspects, due to the function of the bronzes in distinguishing the similarities and disparities between the social positions of the users. Although the "Liqi" chapter was written very much later than YinXu Period II, the users of the bronzes of this period seem to have had some similar notions regarding what should be valued in the ritual objects.

The technology and visual form of the ritual objects of traditional, new and outlandish origin correspond on one hand to the user's place in the community of bronze users, but express on the other hand the style and social use of that special period and that special city, quite different from the bronze culture of Sanxingdui in the southwest and that of Xin'gan in the south – the three cultures manifesting three different notions of bronze use and visual stylistic traditions.⁹⁵

93 *Liji zhengyi*, Liqi 10 (Vol. 2, j,22, 7a).

94 *Liji zhengyi*, Liqi 10 (Vol. 2, j,22, 6a).

95 Chen Fangmei 2005.

In this article I have analysed the archaeologically excavated non-plundered tombs in Anyang that have been published before 2009. The analysed data includes the material excavated from 1928 onwards under the leadership of Li Ji *et al.*, now in the collection of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan, and the material excavated after 1949 in the People's Republic of China. The major reference material is the material from the tombs dated to Yinxu Period II by the Anyang Archaeological Team, Institute of Archaeology, CASS – a material dated by analyses of the stratigraphic sequences of the tombs and the construction of a chronology for the artefacts based on the chronological sequences of the finds of pottery. Due to the looting of

a large number of other small and large tombs, including the large tombs in Xibeigang, the archaeological finds have a somewhat haphazard character, and the material used in this article thus has its deficiencies. Our knowledge of bronzes, from the beginning to the Yinxu Period II, although characterized by these deficiencies, still lets us see a development of different styles, vessel types, vessel complexes, technology, and also a substantial growth of the bronze-using community. The present article attempts to show the complexity and manifold character of the bronzes, how they were used in a complex society – a perspective that should not be neglected when trying to explain the development of bronze art.

Tables

Table 1
Yinxu Period II: Bronze vessels excavated in tombs

	Number of tombs	Number of tombs with bronze vessels	Bronze <i>gu</i>	Bronze <i>jue</i>	Bronze <i>jia</i>	Bronze <i>yan</i>	<i>Fangyi</i>	Shovel-shaped implements	Bronze <i>nao</i>	Bronze <i>zun</i>	Bronze mirrors
Number	153	36	33	33	8	7	8	6	4	3	3
Percentage	100	24	22	22	5	5	5	4	3	2	2

Table 2
Yinxu Period II: Pottery *gu* and *jue* and bronze *gu* and *jue* excavated in tombs

	Number of tombs	Pottery <i>gu</i>	Pottery <i>jue</i>	Bronze <i>gu</i>	Bronze <i>jia</i>
Number	153	74	73	33	33
Percentage	100	48	48	22	22

Table 3
Yinxu Period II: Pottery vessels excavated in tombs

	Number of tombs	Number of tombs with vessels	Pottery <i>gu</i>	Pottery <i>dou</i>	Pottery <i>jue</i>	Pottery <i>li</i>	Pottery <i>gui</i>	Pottery <i>guan</i>
Number	153	138	74	74	73	46	28	9
Percentage	100	90	48	48	48	30	18	6

Table 4
Yinxu Period II: Bronze weapons excavated in tombs

	Number of tombs	Tombs with bronze weapons	Tombs with daggeraxes	Tombs with Bowshaped implements	Spears	Bronze axes, <i>yue</i> type	Bronze knives	Knives with upturned points
Number	153	60	60	9	7	8	12	1
Percentage	100	39	39	6	5	5	8	1

Table 5
Yinxu Period II: The relationship between the 5 tomb categories and the number of bronze dagger-axes

	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5
50 or more	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
10 or more	0 (0%)	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
5-9	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
2-4	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)	6 (24%)	18 (72%)
1	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	6 (27%)	15 (68%)

Table I: The ornamentation on bronzes excavated in the 5 categories of tombs dated to YinXu Period II

No	墓	Tomb	Burial chambers	Bodies	Bronze weapons (except arrows)	Bronze vessels	Ornamentation with animal masks						
							Bronze vessels Style I	Bronze vessels Style II	Bronze vessels Style III	Bronze vessels Style IV	Bronze vessels Style V	Bronze vessels Style VI	Bronze vessels Style VII
1	婦好墓	Fu Hao tomb	22,4	16	125	215		0	11	117	71	0	0
2	花園莊M54	Huayuanzhuang M54	16,279	15	174	43			1	5	31	3	
3	小屯M18	Xiaotun M18	10,02	5	9	24		1	2	15		1	
4	郭家莊M26	Guojiazhuang M26	7,7	2	24	15				5	2		1
5	大司空村M539	Dasikongcun M539	5,96	1	18	14				7	2		
6	大司空南M663	Dasikongcun M663	6,6	4	21	12				6	3	3	
7	小屯M238	Xiaotun M238	2,45	5	3	12		1	4	5	1		
8	劉家莊北地M793	Liujiazhuang North M793	8,4			11				4	2		
9	郭家莊東南M5	Guojiazhuang NE M5	5,51	1	8	9				4			
10	西北崗M1022	Xibeigang M1022	1,848	1		9			1	6	2		
11	小屯M188	Xiaotun M188	1,95	2		8			1	4			
12	花園莊東地M42	Huayuanzhuang M42	4,16		14	6			1	2			
13	西北崗M1005	Xibeigang M1005	2,04	6		6				6			
14	苗圃北地M229	Miaopu North M229	2,5			6			2	2	1	1	
15	大司空村M29	Dasikongcun M29	2,3	1	8	5				3			
16	范家莊M4	Fanjiazhuang M4	3,5			5				5			
17	殷墟西區M613	Yinxu West M613	6,372		11	4			1	1			
18	大司空南M25	Dasikongcun M25	5,96	1	7	4				1			
19	武官大墓殉人E9	E9 at Wuguancun	1,6		5	4				4			
20	小屯M17	Xiaotun M17	4,96	2		3			2				1
21	薛家莊M3	Xuejiazhuang M3	4,48	1	13	3				2			
22	苗圃南地M58	Miaopu South M58	2,65		1	3				3			
23	武官M229	Wuguan M229	1,9	1		3							2
24	殷墟西區M391	Yinxu WestM391	6,868		3	2							
25	大司空村第一區M114	Dasikongcun M114	4,14		2	2							
26	殷墟西區M161	Yinxu West 161	4,602		2	2							
27	劉家莊M13	Liujiazhuang M13	3,92	1	0	2				1			
28	劉家莊M59	Liujiazhuang M59	3,12	1	2	2							
29	劉家莊M8(1995-1996)	Liujiazhuang M8 (1995-1996)	3,696	1	1	2							
30	殷墟西區M413	Yinxu West M413	3,12		2	2							
31	郭家莊M289	Guojiazhuang M289	2,611		4	2							
32	殷墟西區M627	Yinxu West M627	2,42		1	2							
33	郭家莊M247	Guojiazhuang M247	1,743		1	2							
34	殷墟西區M354	Yinxu West M354	1,84		1	2							1
35	郭家莊M111	Guojiazhuang M111	3,9		1	1							
36	苗圃北地M202	Miaopu North M202	2,6		1	1							
37	苗圃北地M19-A	Miaopu North M19A	5,494	1	4								
38	大司空村第一區M110	Dasikongcun Section 1 M110	4										
39	郭家莊M63	Guojiazhuang M63	4,424		2								
40	殷墟西區M619	Yinxu West M619	4,725		3								
41	大司空村第一區M104	Dasikongcun Section 1 M104	3,465										
42	劉家莊M33	Liujiazhuang M33	3,953	1									
43	郭家莊M234	Guojiazhuang M234	3,12	x	3								
44	郭家莊M231	Guojiazhuang M231	3,575	x	4								
45	殷墟西區M843	Yinxu West M843	3,36										
46	殷墟西區M694	Yinxu West M694	3,77										
47	殷墟西區M643	Yinxu West M643	3,511										
48	殷墟西區M623	Yinxu WestM623	3,22										
49	殷墟西區M369	Yinxu West M369	3,2508										
50	殷墟西區M327	Yinxu West M327	3,3										
51	殷墟西區M132	Yinxu West M132	3,08										

Plain vessels									
Plain vessels	Bronze vessels string pattern	Pottery vessels	Pottery gu	Pottery jue	Bronze gu	Bronze jue	Bronze ge	Report	No
5	5	11	0	1	53	40	91	Institute of Archaeology CASS 1980	1
		21	1	1	9	9	71	Anyang Archaeological Team 2004c, Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2007, p. 255.	2
2	1	4	1	1	5	5	9	Anyang Archaeological Team 1981	3
1	5	13	1	1	2	2	10	Anyang Archaeological Team 1998	4
2		2			2	2	13	Anyang Archaeological Team 1992	5
		10			2	2	11	Anyang Archaeological Team 1988a	6
	1				3	3	1	Shi Zhangru 1970, pp. 376-401.	7
2	2				2	2		Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2008, pp. 203-215.	8
1	3	6	1	1	1	1	3	Anyang Municipal Institute 2008.	9
					1	2		Institute of History and Philology 2001, pp. 57-87.	10
	2		1	1				Shi Zhangru 1970, pp. 343-350.	11
	3	2	1	1	1	1	13	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2007, p. 253.	12
		2						Institute of History and Philology 2001, pp. 9.	13
					1	1		Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2008, pp. 114-125.	14
	2	1			2	2	8	Anyang Archaeological Team 1989.	15
					1	1		Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2008, pp. 177-183.	16
		3	1	1	1	1	10	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 130.	17
	3				1	2	6	Anyang Archaeological Team 1989.	18
					1	1	3	Guo Baojun 1951, p. 15.	19
		7	1	1	1	1		Anyang Archaeological Team 1981.	20
	1	3	1	1	1	1	13	Anyang Archaeological Team 1986b.	21
					1	2	1	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1993.	22
1		2						Anyang yigong 1977.	23
		6	1	1	1	1	1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128.	24
		3	0	0	1	1	2	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 349.	25
		3	1	1	1	1	2	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 139.	26
		4	0	0	1	1	0	Anyang Municipal Museum 1986, pp. 16-18.	27
		1	0	0	1	1	2	Anyang Municipal Museum 1986, pp. 15-16.	28
	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 44.	29
		4	1	1	1	1	2	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 121.	30
1	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 176.	31
		3	1	1	1	1	1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 130.	32
1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 174.	33
	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128.	34
		2	1	1		1	1	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 166.	35
	1	3	1	1	1		1	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 337.	36
		2	1	1			4	Anyang Archaeological Team 1986c, pp. 114-5	37
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 348.	38
		4	1	1			1	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 163.	39
		3	1	1			3	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 130.	40
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 348.	41
		4	1	1			3	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	42
		3	1	1			2	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 173	43
		4	1	1			3	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 173	44
		2	1					Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 135.	45
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 131.	46
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 130.	47
		2	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 130.	48
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128.	49
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 127.	50
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 126.	51

Table I: The ornamentation on bronzes excavated in the 5 categories of tombs dated to Yinxu Period II

No	Tomb	Burial chambers	Bodies	Bronze weapons (except arrows)	Bronze vessels	Ornamentation with animal masks							
						Bronze vessels Style I	Bronze vessels Style II	Bronze vessels Style III	Bronze vessels Style IV	Bronze vessels Style V	Bronze vessels Style VI	Bronze vessels Style VII	
52	殷墟西區M125	Yinxu West M125	3,8688										
53	花園莊M93	Huayuanzhuang M93	2,16	1									
54	花園莊M50	Huayuanzhuang M50	2,64	1									
55	安陽后岡M18	Anyang Hougang M18	2,016		2								
56	大司空村第一區M120	Dasikongcun Section 1 M120	2,35										
57	大司空村第一區M119	Dasikongcun Section 1 M119	2,268										
58	苗圃北地M211	Miaopu North M211	2,507		1								
59	苗圃北地M207	Miaopu North M207	2,35										
60	苗圃北地M19-B	Miaopu North M19-B	2										
61	梯家口村M28	Tijiakoucun M28	2,09		1								
62	梯家口村M23	TijiakoucunM23	2,915										
63	徐家橋村M17	Xujiaqiaocun M17	2,64		1								
64	徐家橋村M11	Xujiaqiaocun M11	2,703	1									
65	劉家莊M25	Liujiazhuang M25	2,1	1									
66	劉家莊M24	Liujiazhuang M24	2,35	1									
67	劉家莊M9	Liujiazhuang M9	2,91	1	1								
68	劉家莊M10	Liujiazhuang M10	2,64	1	2								
69	劉家莊M8(1983-1986)	Liujiazhuang M8(1983-1986)	2,7	1									
70	劉家莊M7	Liujiazhuang M7	2,84	1									
71	郭家莊M38	Guojiazhuang M38	2,86		2								
72	郭家莊M263	Guojiazhuang M263	2,53										
73	郭家莊M162	Guojiazhuang M162	2,784										
74	郭家莊M64	Guojiazhuang M64	2,64		2								
75	郭家莊M57	Guojiazhuang M57	2,86		1								
76	殷墟西區M265	Yinxu West M265	2,83		4								
77	殷墟西區M13	Yinxu West M13	2,25										
78	殷墟西區M991	Yinxu West M991	2,112		2								
79	殷墟西區M918	Yinxu West M918	2,304		3								
80	殷墟西區M164	Yinxu West M164	2,064										
81	殷墟西區M806	Yinxu West M806	2,4										
82	殷墟西區M778	Yinxu West M778	2,5		2								
83	殷墟西區M690	Yinxu West M690	2,07										
84	殷墟西區M682	Yinxu West M682	2,3										
85	殷墟西區M675	Yinxu West M675	2,1		1								
86	殷墟西區M656	Yinxu West M656	2,112		1								
87	殷墟西區M648	Yinxu West M648	2,53										
88	殷墟西區M604	Yinxu West M604	2,25		1								
89	殷墟西區M377	Yinxu West M377	2,025										
90	殷墟西區M358	Yinxu West M358	2,598										
91	殷墟西區M345	Yinxu West M345	2,3										
92	殷墟西區M336	Yinxu West M336	2,7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
93	殷墟西區M127	Yinxu West M127	2,077										
94	殷墟西區M91	Yinxu West M91	2,34										
95	殷墟西區M78	Yinxu West M78	2,083										
96	殷墟西區M65	Yinxu West M65	2,205										
97	殷墟西區M536	Yinxu West M536	2,064										
98	殷墟西區M516	Yinxu West M516	2,3		1								
99	殷墟西區M515	Yinxu West M515	2,448		4								
100	殷墟西區M505	Yinxu West M505	2,784										
101	殷墟西區M423	Yinxu West M423	2,568										
102	殷墟西區M419	Yinxu West M419	2,805		2								
103	殷墟西區M410	Yinxu West M410	2,31										

Plain vessels										
Plain vessels	Bronze vessels string pattern	Pottery vessels	Pottery gu	Pottery jue	Bronze gu	Bronze jue	Bronze ge	Report	No	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 126.	52	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2007, p. 258.	53	
		3	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2007, p. 254.	54	
							2	Anyang Archaeological Team 1993, p. 902.	55	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 349.	56	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 349.	57	
		3	1	1			1	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 338.	58	
		3	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 338	59	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 339	60	
		3	1	1			1	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1992, p. 42.	61	
		3	1	1			1	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1992, 1997b, p. 42.		
		1					1	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997c, p. 50.	63	
		1						Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997c, p. 50.	64	
		1						Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 45.	65	
		2	1	1				Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 45.	66	
		2	1				1	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 44.	67	
		2	1	1			2	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	68	
		3	1	1				Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	69	
		4	1	1				Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	70	
		2	1	1			2	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 161.	71	
		3	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 174.	72	
		2	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 168.	73	
								Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 163.	74	
								Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 163.	75	
		4	1	1			2	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 145	76	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 138	77	
		4	1	1			2	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 144	78	
		3	1	1			3	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 143	79	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 139	80	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 134	81	
		3	1	1			2	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 134	82	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 131	83	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 131	84	
		1					1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 131	85	
		3	1	1			1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 131	86	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 130	87	
		3	1	1			1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 29	88	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 129	89	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128	90	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128	91	
0	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 28	92	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 126	93	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 125	94	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 125	95	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 25	96	
		3						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 124	97	
		3	1	1			1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 124	98	
		3	1	1			4	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 124	99	
		2						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 123	100	
		5	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 122	101	
		3	1	1			2	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 121	102	
		4	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 121	103	

Table I: The ornamentation on bronzes excavated in the 5 categories of tombs dated to YinXu Period II

No		Tomb	Burial chambers	Bodies	Bronze weapons (except arrows)	Bronze vessels	Ornamentation with animal masks							
							Bronze vessels Style I	Bronze vessels Style II	Bronze vessels Style III	Bronze vessels Style IV	Bronze vessels Style V	Bronze vessels Style VI	Bronze vessels Style VII	
104	安陽后岡M5	Anyang hougangM5	1,47	1										
105	百家坡西A區M23	Baijiafen West E M23	1,073											
106	王裕口西E區M18	Wangyukou West E M18	1,26		2									
107	苗圃北地M134	Miaopu North M134	1,242											
108	苗圃北地M55	Miaopu North M55	1,771											
109	苗圃北地M46	Miaopu North M46	1,024											
110	苗圃北地M42	Miaopu North M42	1,856											
111	苗圃北地M41	Miaopu North M41	1,76											
112	苗圃北地M28	Miaopu North M28	1,529											
113	苗圃北地M18	Miaopu North M18	1,9											
114	苗圃北地M254	Miaopu North M254	1,52											
115	苗圃北地M205	Miaopu North M205	1,7											
116	小屯西地第一區M109	Xiaotun West Sect. I M109	1,577											
117	小屯M51	Xiaotun M51	1,02	2										
118	小屯M49	Xiaotun M49	1,2675	1										
119	徐家橋村M14	Xujiaqiaocun M14	1,68											
121	劉家莊M2	Liujiashang M2	1,76	1										
121	劉家莊M5	Liujiashuang M5	1,665	1	1									
122	郭家莊M273	Guojiahuang M273	1,886		1									
123	郭家莊M216	Guojiahuang M216	1,64											
124	郭家莊M22	Guojiahuang M22	1,72		2									
125	小屯西北地M11	Xiaotun NWM11	1,35	1										
126	殷墟西區M951	Yinxu West M951	1,14		1									
127	殷墟西區M775	Yinxu West M775	1,76											
128	殷墟西區M720	Yinxu West M720	1,888											
129	殷墟西區M610	Yinxu West M610	1,76											
130	殷墟西區M361	Yinxu West M361	1,648											
131	殷墟西區M360	Yinxu West M360	1,44											
132	殷墟西區M329	Yinxu West M329	1,982											
133	殷墟西區M323	Yinxu West M323	1,505		1									
134	殷墟西區M306	Yinxu West M306	1,88											
135	殷墟西區M149	Yinxu West M149	1,596											
136	殷墟西區M130	Yinxu West 130	1,026											
137	殷墟西區M89	Yinxu West M89	1,365											
138	殷墟西區M84	Yinxu West M84	1,699											
139	殷墟西區M81	Yinxu West M81	1,9952											
140	殷墟西區M76	Yinxu West M76	1,926											
141	殷墟西區M71	Yinxu West M71	1,879											
142	殷墟西區M543	Yinxu West M543	1,76											
143	殷墟西區M494	Yinxu West M494	1,428											
144	殷墟西區M479	Yinxu West M479	1,608											
145	殷墟西區M466	Yinxu West M466	1,935											
146	殷墟西區M464	Yinxu West M464	1,239											
147	苗圃北地M209	Miaopu North M209	0,8112											
148	苗圃北地M22	Miaopu North M22	0,972											
149	小屯M61	Xiaotun M61	0,8	1										
150	殷墟西區M945	Yinxu WestM945	0,3		1									
151	大司空村第一區M126	Dasikongcun Section 1M126	x											
152	苗圃北地M55	Miaopu Noth M55	x											
153	殷墟西區M362	Yinxu West M362	x											

Plain vessels										
Plain vessels	Bronze vessels string pattern	Pottery vessels	Pottery gu	Pottery jue	Bronze gu	Bronze jue	Bronze ge	Report	No	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1993, p. 902.	104	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 343	105	
		1					2	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 342	106	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 341	107	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 341	108	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 340	109	
		3	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 340	110	
		4	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 340	111	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 339	112	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 339	113	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 339	114	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 38	115	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 333	116	
								Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2004, p. 206	117	
								Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2004, p. 206	118	
		1						Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997c, p.50	119	
		1						Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 44.	120	
		3	1	1			1	Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26	121	
							1	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 175.	122	
		3	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 172.	123	
		2	1	1			2	Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 160	124	
								Anyang Archaeological Team 1987b.	125	
		3	1	1			1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 143	126	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 134	127	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. P. 132	128	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 129	129	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 28	130	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128	131	
		1	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 127	132	
		2	1	1			1	Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 127	133	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 127	134	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 126	135	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 126	136	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 125	137	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 125	138	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 125	139	
		2						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 125	140	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 125	141	
		5	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 124	142	
		2						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 123	143	
		5	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 123	144	
		4						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 123	145	
		2						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 123	146	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 338	147	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 337	148	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2004, p. 206	149	
		3	1	1				Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 143	150	
		3	1	1				Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 349	151	
		1						Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, p. 341	152	
		1						Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128	153	

Table II: The bronze vessels excavated in the 5 categories of tombs dated to YinXu Period II

No		Number of vessels	Burial chamber	Wine vessels														
				Bronze <i>gu</i>	Bronze <i>jue</i>	Bronze <i>zhi</i>	Bronze <i>jiu</i>	Bronze <i>zun</i>	Bronze <i>jou</i>	Bronze <i>he</i>	<i>Fangyi</i>	Bronze <i>guang</i>	Bronze <i>dou</i>	Bronze <i>fou</i>	Bronze <i>lei</i>	Bronze <i>pou</i>	Bronze <i>hu</i>	Bronze <i>shao</i>
1	Fu Hao tomb	219	22,4	53	40	2	12	10	2	6	5	8	8	1	2	3	4	
2	Huayuanzhuang M54	43	16,2792	9	9		1	2			1	1	1		1			2
3	Xiaotun M18	24	10,02	5	5		2	2	1						1			
4	Guojiazhuang M26	15	7,7	2	2						1				1			
5	Dasikongcun M539	14	5,96	2	2	1	1		1				1		1			
6	Dasikongcun M663	12	6,6	2	2						1					1		
7	Xiaotun M238	12	2,45	3	3		1		1		2				1		1	
8	Liujiiazhuang North M793	11	8,4	2	2						1				1			1
9	Guojiazhuang SE M5	9	5,51	1	1										1			
10	Xibeigang M1022	9	1,848	1	2	2	2		1		1							
11	Xiaotun M188	8	1,95	1	1		2									1		
12	Huayuanzhuang M42	6	4,16	1	1						1					1		
13	Xibeigang M1005	7	2,04														3	
14	Miaopu North M229	6	?	1	1		1		1						1			
15	Dasikongcun M29	5	2,3	2	2													
16	Fanjiazhuang M4	5	?	1	1				1									
17	Yinxu West M613	4	6,372	1	1											1		
18	Dasikongcun M25	4	5,96	1	2													
19	E9 at Wuguancun	4	1,6	1	1				1									
20	Xiaotun M17	3	4,96	1	1													
21	Xuejiazhuang M3	3	4,48	1	1													
22	Miaopu South M58	3	2,65	1	2													
23	Wuguan M229	3	1,9										1					
24	Yinxu WestM391	2	6,868	1	1													
25	Dasikongcun M114	2	4,14	1	1													
26	Yinxu West 161	2	4,602	1	1													
27	Liujiiazhuang M13	2	3,92	1	1													
28	Liujiiazhuang M59	2	3,12	1	1													
29	Liujiiazhuang M8 (1995-1996)	2	3,696	1	1													
30	Yinxu West M413	2	3,12	1	1													
31	Guojiazhuang M289	2	2,6112	1	1													
32	Yinxu West M627	2	2,42	1	1													
33	Guojiazhuang M247	2	1,7425	1	1													
34	Yinxu West M354	2	1,84	1	1													
35	Guojiazhuang M111	1	3,9		1													
36	Miaopu North M202	1	2,6	1														
37	Miaopu North M19A	0	5,4936															
38	Dasikongcun Section 1 M110	0	4															
39	Guojiazhuang M63	0	4,424															
40	Yinxu West M619	0	4,725															
41	Dasikongcun Section 1 M104	0	3,465															
42	Liujiiazhuang M33	0	3,9525															
43	Guojiazhuang M234	0	3,12															
44	Guojiazhuang M231	0	3,575															
45	Yinxu West M843	0	3,36															
46	Yinxu West M694	0	3,77															
47	Yinxu West M643	0	3,5112															
48	Yinxu WestM623	0	3,22															
49	Yinxu West M369	0	3,2508															
50	Yinxu West M327	0	3,3															
51	Yinxu West M132	0	3,08															
52	Yinxu West M125	0	3,8688															

*AAT = Anyang Archaeological Team. ** IOA = Institute of Archaeology

Food vessels					Water vessels			Musical instruments					
Bronze ding	Bronze gui	Bronze yan	Bronze zeng	Cauldron-shaped vessel	Bronze pan	Bronze yu	Bronze guan	Bronze nao	Bronze mirrors	Vessels on high foot encircling the body	Shovel-shaped implements	Report	No
32	5	10	1		2	1	1	5	4	1	1	IOA** CASS 1980	1
8	2	1				2		3				AAT* 2004c, IOA**, CASS 2007, p. 255.	2
3	1	2			1						1	AAT* 1981.	3
2	1	1		1				3			1	AAT* 1998.	4
1	1	1			1						1	AAT* 1992.	5
2	1							3				AAT* 1988a.	6
												Shi Zhangru 1970, pp. 376-401.	7
2	1										1	IOA**, CASS 2008, pp. 203-215.	8
4		1									1	Anyang Municipal Institute 2008.	9
												Institute of History and Philology 2001, pp. 57-87.	10
1	1	1										Shi Zhangru 1970, pp. 343-350.	11
1	1											IOA**, CASS 2007, p.253.	12
						3			1			Institute of History and Philology 2001, pp. 9.	13
1												IOA**, CASS 2008, pp. 114-125.	14
1												AAT* 1989.	15
1	1											IOA**, CASS 2008, pp. 177-183.	16
1												AAT* 1979a, p. 130.	17
									1			AAT* 1989.	18
	1											Guo Baojun 1951, p. 15.	19
1												AAT* 1981.	20
1												AAT* 1986b.	21
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1993.	22
2												Anyang yigong 1977.	23
												AAT* 1979a, p. 128.	24
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 349.	25
												AAT* 1979a, p.139.	26
												Anyang Municipal Museum 1986, pp. 16-18	27
												Anyang Municipal Museum 1986, pp.15-16	28
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 44.	29
												AAT* 1979a, p. 121.	30
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 176.	31
												AAT* 1979a, p. 130.	32
												AAT* 1979a, p.174.	33
												AAT* 1979a, p.128.	34
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 166.	35
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 337.	36
												Anyang Archaeological Team 1986c, pp. 114-115	37
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 348.	38
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 163.	39
												AAT* 1979a, p. 130.	40
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 348.	41
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	42
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 173	43
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 173	44
												AAT* 1979a, p. 135.	45
												AAT* 1979a, p. 131.	46
												AAT* 1979a, p. 130.	47
												AAT* 1979a, p. 130.	48
												AAT* 1979a, p. 128.	49
												AAT* 1979a, p. 127.	50
												AAT* 1979a, p. 126.	51
												AAT* 1979a, p. 126.	52

Table II: The bronze vessels excavated in the 5 categories of tombs dated to Yinxu Period II

No	Tomb	Number of vessels	Burial chamber	Wine vessels																
				Bronze <i>gu</i>	Bronze <i>jue</i>	Bronze <i>zhi</i>	Bronze <i>jia</i>	Bronze <i>zun</i>	Bronze <i>you</i>	Bronze <i>he</i>	<i>Fangyi</i>	Bronze <i>guang</i>	Bronze <i>dou</i>	Bronze <i>fou</i>	Bronze <i>lei</i>	Bronze <i>pou</i>	Bronze <i>hu</i>	Bronze <i>shao</i>		
53	Huayuanzhuang M93	0	2,16																	
54	Huayuanzhuang M50	0	2,64																	
55	Anyang Hougang M18	0	2,016																	
56	Dasikongcun Section 1 M120	0	2,35																	
57	Dasikongcun Section 1 M119	0	2,268																	
58	Miaopu North M211	0	2,507																	
59	Miaopu North M207	0	2,35																	
60	Miaopu North M19-B	0	2																	
61	Tijiakoucun M28	0	2,09																	
62	Tijiakoucun M23	0	2,915																	
63	Xujiaqiaocun M17	0	2,64																	
64	Xujiaqiaocun M11	0	2,7025																	
65	Liujiazhuang M25	0	2,1																	
66	Liujiazhuang M24	0	2,35																	
67	Liujiazhuang M9	0	2,912																	
68	Liujiazhuang M10	0	2,64																	
69	Liujiazhuang M8(1983-1986)	0	2,7																	
70	Liujiazhuang M7	0	2,842																	
71	Guojiazhuang M38	0	2,86																	
72	Guojiazhuang M263	0	2,53																	
73	Guojiazhuang M162	0	2,784																	
74	Guojiazhuang M64	0	2,64																	
75	Guojiazhuang M57	0	2,86																	
76	Yinxu West M265	0	2,835																	
77	Yinxu West M13	0	2,25																	
78	Yinxu West M991	0	2,112																	
79	Yinxu West M918	0	2,304																	
80	Yinxu West M164	0	2,064																	
81	Yinxu West M806	0	2,4																	
82	Yinxu West M778	0	2,496																	
83	Yinxu West M690	0	2,07																	
84	Yinxu West M682	0	2,3																	
85	Yinxu West M675	0	2,1																	
86	Yinxu West M656	0	2,112																	
87	Yinxu West M648	0	2,53																	
88	Yinxu West M604	0	2,25																	
89	Yinxu West M377	0	2,025																	
90	Yinxu West M358	0	2,5984																	
91	Yinxu West M345	0	2,3																	
92	Yinxu West M336	0	2,7																	
93	Yinxu West M127	0	2,0768																	
94	Yinxu West M91	0	2,34																	
95	Yinxu West M78	0	2,0832																	
96	Yinxu West M65	0	2,205																	
97	Yinxu West M536	0	2,064																	
98	Yinxu West M516	0	2,3																	
99	Yinxu West M515	0	2,448																	
100	Yinxu West M505	0	2,784																	
101	Yinxu West M423	0	2,568																	
102	Yinxu West M419	0	2,805																	
103	Yinxu West M410	0	2,31																	
104	Anyang hougang M5	0	1,47																	

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Food vessels					Water vessels			Musical instruments					
Bronze <i>ding</i>	Bronze <i>gui</i>	Bronze <i>yan</i>	Bronze <i>zeng</i>	Cauldron-shaped vessel	Bronze <i>pan</i>	Bronze <i>yu</i>	Bronze <i>guan</i>	Bronze <i>nao</i>	Bronze mirrors	Vessels on high foot encircling the body	Shovel-shaped implements	Report	No
												IOA**, CASS 2007, p. 258.	53
												IOA**, CASS 2007, p. 254.	54
												AAT* 1993, p. 902.	55
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 349.	56
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 349.	57
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 338.	58
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 338.	59
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 339.	60
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1992, p. 42.	61
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1992, p. 42.	62
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997c, p. 50.	63
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997c, p. 50.	64
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 45.	65
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 45.	66
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 44.	67
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	68
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	69
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	70
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 161.	71
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 174.	72
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 168.	73
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 163.	74
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 163.	75
												AAT* 1979a, p.145.	76
												AAT* 1979a, p.138.	77
												AAT* 1979a, p. 144.	78
												AAT* 1979a, p. 143.	79
												AAT* 1979a, p. 139.	80
												AAT* 1979a, p. 134.	81
												AAT* 1979a, p. 134.	82
												AAT* 1979a, p. 131.	83
												AAT* 1979a, p. 131.	84
												AAT* 1979a, p. 131.	85
												AAT* 1979a, p. 131.	86
												AAT* 1979a, p. 130.	87
												AAT* 1979a, p. 29.	88
												AAT* 1979a, p. 129.	89
												AAT* 1979a, p. 128.	90
												AAT* 1979a, p. 128.	91
												AAT* 1979a, p. 128.	92
												AAT* 1979a, p. 126.	93
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	94
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	95
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	96
												AAT* 1979a, p. 124.	97
												AAT* 1979a, p. 124.	98
												AAT* 1979a, p. 124.	99
												AAT* 1979a, p. 123.	100
												AAT* 1979a, p. 122.	101
												AAT* 1979a, p. 121.	102
												AAT* 1979a, p. 121.	103
												AAT* 1993, p. 902.	104

Table II: The bronze vessels excavated in the 5 categories of tombs dated to Yinxu Period II

No	Tomb	Number of vessels	Burial chamber	Wine vessels															
				Bronze gu	Bronze jue	Bronze zhi	Bronze jia	Bronze zun	Bronze you	Bronze he	Fangyi	Bronze guang	Bronze dou	Bronze fou	Bronze lei	Bronze pou	Bronze hu	Bronze shao	
105	Baijiafen West E M23	0	1,073																
106	Wangyukou West E M18	0	1,26																
107	Miaopu North M134	0	1,2416																
108	Miaopu North M55	0	1,7712																
109	Miaopu North M46	0	1,024																
110	Miaopu North M42	0	1,8525																
111	Miaopu North M41	0	1,76																
112	Miaopu North M28	0	1,5288																
113	Miaopu North M18	0	1,9																
114	Miaopu North M254	0	1,52																
115	Miaopu North M205	0	1,7																
116	Xiaotun West Sect. I M109	0	1,577																
117	Xiaotun M51	0	1,02																
118	Xiaotun M49	0	1,2675																
119	Xujiaqiaocun M14	0	1,68																
120	Liujiashang M2	0	1,76																
121	Liujiashang M5	0	1,665																
122	Guojiashang M273	0	1,886																
123	Guojiashang M216	0	1,64																
124	Guojiashang M22	0	1,72																
125	Xiaotun NWM11	0	1,35																
126	Yinxu West M951	0	1,14																
127	Yinxu West M775	0	1,76																
128	Yinxu West M720	0	1,888																
129	Yinxu West M610	0	1,76																
130	Yinxu West M361	0	1,648																
131	Yinxu West M360	0	1,44																
132	Yinxu West M329	0	1,9824																
133	Yinxu West M323	0	1,505																
134	Yinxu West M306	0	1,88																
135	Yinxu West M149	0	1,596																
136	Yinxu West 130	0	1,026																
137	Yinxu West M89	0	1,365																
138	Yinxu West M84	0	1,6992																
139	Yinxu West M81	0	1,9952																
140	Yinxu West M76	0	1,926																
141	Yinxu West M71	0	1,8788																
142	Yinxu West M543	0	1,76																
143	Yinxu West M494	0	1,428																
144	Yinxu West M479	0	1,608																
145	Yinxu West M466	0	1,935																
146	Yinxu West M464	0	1,239																
147	Miaopu North M209	0	0,8112																
148	Miaopu North M22	0	0,972																
149	Xiaotun M61	0	0,8																
150	Yinxu West M945	0	0,3																
151	Dasikongcun Section 1M126	0	?																
152	Miaopu Noth M55	0	?																
153	Yinxu West M362	0	?																

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Food vessels					Water vessels			Musical instruments						
Bronze <i>ding</i>	Bronze <i>gui</i>	Bronze <i>yan</i>	Bronze <i>zeng</i>	Cauldron-shaped vessel	Bronze <i>pan</i>	Bronze <i>yu</i>	Bronze <i>guan</i>	Bronze <i>nao</i>	Bronze mirrors	Vessels on high foot encircling the body	Shovel-shaped implements	Report	No	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 343.	105	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 342.	106	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 341.	107	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 341.	108	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 340.	109	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 340.	110	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 340.	111	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 頁339.	112	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 339.	113	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 339.	114	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 38.	115	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 333.	116	
												IOA**, CASS 2004, p. 206	117	
												IOA**, CASS 2004, p. 206	118	
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997c, p.50	119	
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997b, p. 44.	120	
												Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1997a, p. 26.	121	
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 175.	122	
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 172.	123	
												IOA**, CASS 1998, p. 160.	124	
												AAT* 1987b.	125	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 143.	126	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 134.	127	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 132.	128	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 129.	129	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 28.	130	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 128.	131	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 127.	132	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 127.	133	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 127.	134	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 126.	135	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 126.	136	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	137	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	138	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	139	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	140	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 125.	141	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 124.	142	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 123.	143	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 123.	144	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 123.	145	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 123.	146	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 338.	147	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 337.	148	
												IOA**, CASS 2004, p. 206.	149	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 143.	150	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 349.	151	
												IOA**, CASS 1987, p. 341.	152	
												AAT* 1979a, p. 128.	153	



*Bernhard Österman (1870-1938), The China Research Committee ca 1926.
Sitting (from left to right): Axel Lagrelius, Gunnar Andersson, the Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf.
Standing: Johan Gunnar Andersson.*

The Collection of Shang Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities: a History

INTRODUCTION:

The beginning of an organized acquisition of bronzes

On September 23rd 1928 the railroad engineer Orvar Karlbeck (1869-1967) arrived in Tianjin with a commission to buy antiques for the recently established Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm.¹ Thus, at the time of writing this survey, it is around 80 years since the museum began acquiring Chinese bronzes more systematically.

Those were troubled times in China. Civil war had forced Karlbeck to deviate from his original plan of going directly by train to Peking from Mukden – the terminus of the Trans-Siberian railroad – and he had chosen an alternative route, going by train to Dairen and from there by boat to Tianjin.²

As soon as he arrived in Tianjin, Karlbeck tried to understand the conditions for exporting Chinese antiques. He seems to have been worried by rumours of recent activities by the Society for Preservation of Cultural Objects. His fears were soon allayed, however, as the export companies reported large shipments of antiques having been sent abroad recently without any problems.³

For the trade in Chinese antiquities, this was a boom period. The prices of East Asian art and antiquities had been rising for a long time in the West, while in China the unstable government and frequent civil wars created a large supply of high-quality objects for sale. Many of the antiquities on the market came from illegal excavations.

Karlbeck's arrival in Tianjin coincided with the beginning of the first of the important Academia Sinica excavations. The first-ever official archaeological excavation of a Bronze Age site in China started just two weeks after his arrival, on October 7th 1928. The excavation was concentrated on Yinxu ("The Ruins of Yin"; also translated as "The Waste of Yin") – the last of the Shang dynasty capitals, situated on the outskirts of Zhangde *fu*, i. e. the modern city of Anyang in Henan Province. The preliminary excavation was done under the auspices of Academia Sinica, and led by the young Chinese scholar Dong Zuobin (Tung

Tso-pin, 1895-1963). Three locations were selected for digging, all of them in the vicinity of the village Xiaotun, near the west bank of the Huan River. The Xiaotun area was selected mainly due to the rich findings of oracle-bones here.⁴

The excavations continued in the spring season of 1929, now under the direction of Li Ji (Li Chi, 1896-1979), an American-trained anthropologist, still with Xiaotun as the main site. The Academia Sinica excavations in Anyang continued till June 1937, when the Japanese invasion made further fieldwork impossible. The pre-war excavations covered 15 seasons of actual diggings.⁵ The first nine seasons were mainly concentrated on the Xiaotun area, *viz* from the 5th to the 9th season, the main focus being on tracing the Shang dynasty architectural foundations.⁶ Due to the large-scale looting of tombs in the Houjiazhuang area, where the Shang royal tombs were situated (see below), the excavations were moved to this area from the 10th season onwards.⁷ Karlbeck's last visit to China ended in spring 1935 and thus, except for the last two years, coincided with the Academia Sinica excavations.

In his instructions for this journey, Johan Gunnar Andersson, director of the new museum in Sweden, had written: "... I would be very grateful if you could write a diary for our use recording your observations, noting the addresses of curio shops etc., the starting and final price of our acquisitions, strange forgeries and anything else which might be of use or interest to us..."⁸

And Karlbeck did his homework. His travel reports give us a good view of the Chinese antique market of the time – we read about Chinese and foreign dealers and scholars, we find reports of tomb-robbing and of factories producing copies and fakes. We also get a backdoor-insight into the archaeological field.

1 Kb I-1-1.

2 Karlbeck 1957, p. 18.

3 Kb I-1-1.

4 Li Ji 1977, pp. 49-54.

5 *ibid*, pp. 49-119.

6 *ibid*, pp. 71-72.

7 *ibid*, p. 76-78.

8 *Promemoria for Ingeniör Karlbecks samlarfärd till Kina*. MFEA Archive, F2CB:2 (transl. MS).

In a remarkable way the antique market mirrored the progress of archaeology. The archaeologists and the farmers *cum* tomb-robbers worked almost side by side, the archaeologists in the daytime, the tomb robbers at night. And what came up in darkness was very soon put on the market, there to be reported back to Sweden by Karlbeck. It was also on this market that the major part of the present collection of Shang bronzes in the MFEA was purchased.

The events leading up to the organization of a museum

It was a chain of coincidences that led to a museum of East Asian antiquities being founded in a small, remote country like Sweden and to the ensuing decision of sending Karlbeck to China on a purchase mission. Perhaps one of the conditions for making all this happen was the very fact of the country being small and everybody knowing everybody, and a fairly small circle of scholars and scientists making it possible to gain a good knowledge of developments in disciplines quite outside one's own, added to which Scandinavian archaeology at this time was in the forefront of research. These factors at least partly explain how a geologist like Johan Gunnar Andersson could initiate pioneering archaeological excavations in China and bring the material back to Sweden to lay the foundations of a museum.

Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874-1960)

Johan Gunnar Andersson – a geologist turned archaeologist – is a key person in this story. He had studied geology at Uppsala University at the turn of the century, later becoming head of the Swedish Geological Survey. In 1914 he went to China as an adviser to the Chinese government on questions concerning geology and mining. At this time, a wide range of natural sciences, including geology, mineralogy and geography, shared an emphasis on the collection, analytical classification, and comparison of specimens. J. G. Andersson had – even before he left for China – demonstrated an ardent interest in collecting material in the different fields of natural sciences. He had participated as a scientist in several Swedish polar expeditions whose main objective had been to collect samples for the study of natural sciences.

The scope of J. G. Andersson's collecting activities in China quickly widened, and in 1917 he initiated, in close co-operation with the Geological Survey of China, an intensive collecting campaign in several

fields (including geology, osteology, the study of fossil vertebrates and fossil floras). Parallel to his activities in natural science, he made important archaeological discoveries in Yangshao village, Henan Province, demonstrating for the first time the existence of a Neolithic culture in China. During the late 19th century prehistoric archaeology had, as stated above, developed into an important academic field in Sweden, and in the quite small and intimate circle of Swedish scholars Andersson had gained a basic knowledge of the features of prehistoric material.

The China Research Committee

In 1918 it was decided to publish J. G. Andersson's natural science material in a series of monographs, edited under the title *Paleontologia Sinica*. In order to fund J. G. Andersson's collecting activities and the scientific publication of his finds, a support committee named the China Research Committee was organized in 1919. To begin with, the Research Committee, which was later to play a major role in the organization of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, numbered three members only. The businessman Axel Lagrelius (1863-1944) was its founder and became its treasurer. Andersson had become acquainted with Lagrelius already in 1904, when the latter had been instrumental in raising financial support for the Swedish explorer Otto Nordenskiöld's Antarctic expedition, an expedition in which J. G. Andersson had participated as the geological expert. J. G. Andersson and Lagrelius were later to become close friends, and Andersson must early have realized the latter's potential as a sponsor hunter and thus approached him for help in funding his activities in China. He was right – Lagrelius turned out to be a real wizard at raising funds for Andersson's many projects in China.

J. G. Andersson's namesake Gunnar Andersson (1865-1928), Professor of Economic Geography at the Stockholm School of Economics, was secretary to the Research Committee during its early years. J. G. Andersson and Gunnar Andersson were also old friends, having known each other since 1898, when they both went on the Swedish scientist A. G. Nathorst's expedition to Svalbard in the Arctic.

The first chairman of the China Research Committee was Admiral Louis Palander af Vega – at that time the grand old man of polar expeditions in Sweden.⁹ There was thus nothing in the background or interests

⁹ Admiral Louis Palander af Vega (1842-1921) participated in several of A. Nordenskiöld's expeditions and commanded the ship Vega on its voyage through the Northeast Passage.

of the members of the first China Research Committee to suggest that this institution would develop into an important instrument for creating a museum of Chinese art and archaeology in Sweden.

Following the death of Admiral Palander in 1921, the Swedish Crown Prince, later King Gustaf VI Adolf (1882-1973, regn. 1950-73), consented to accept the position of Chairman of the Research Committee. The Crown Prince was a dedicated collector of Chinese antiquities all his life. In his youth he had studied history, Nordic archaeology and Egyptology at Uppsala University. By now he had already participated in several archaeological excavations, and came in time to gain a deep insight in archaeological problems. That the work of the China Research Committee increasingly came to focus upon archaeological research was a development partly influenced by J. G. Andersson's sensational discoveries of Neolithic remains in China and interest in continuing these activities, but it was also to a certain extent due to the interests of the new chairman.¹⁰

The earliest history of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities

The Founding of the Museum

Johan Gunnar Andersson returned from China to Sweden in 1925. The following year a national museum was organized as the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Swedish name: Östasiatiska samlingarna). The politicians were less than enthusiastic about having another museum to feed, and the new museum would always be under-funded by the government. The financial support of the China Research Committee thus continued to be of vital importance for many of the institution's activities. The new museum was associated with the Historical Museum and, like that institution, under the supervision of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (KVHAA). With the foundation of the museum, J. G. Andersson was appointed director and given a personal professorship.

The archaeological material sent by J. G. Andersson from China was first housed in a former prison in Stockholm, at that time mostly used for storage by

the Historical Museum and the National Archives. The premises quickly proved inadequate, and after a couple of years the museum moved to the newly completed Stockholm School of Economics building,¹¹ where the collections were put on display. The displays and cataloguing work during those early years were headed by the art historian Nils Palmgren (1890-1955), who in 1931 also became keeper of H. R. H. the Crown Prince's collection.¹²

While the new museum had a rich collection of Neolithic material, its collection of bronzes was quite insignificant to begin with. During his stay in Mongolia in 1920, J. G. Andersson had collected some bronzes of the Northern Complex type (so-called "Ordos bronzes") in the area around Hallong Osso¹³, and these were included in the new museum's collection.¹⁴ In addition, there were two collections of small Ordos bronzes, which were considered as closed finds by J. G. Andersson.¹⁵ There were also some small bronzes, none of particular importance, among J. G. Andersson's finds from Gansu province. None of this material dated from the Shang period.

At the setting-up of the museum, some bronzes of Chinese origin in the collection of the Historical Museum in Stockholm were transferred to it.¹⁶ These were all small bronzes, mostly weapons. They included six objects purchased from the Swedish Orientalist Fredrik R. Martin (1868- 1933) in 1916.¹⁷ One of these was

10 The Crown Prince was a great support in the fund-raising activities of Axel Lagrelius. Especially the influence exerted by the royal house on the distribution of Swedish decorations made it tempting for many businessmen to contribute to projects where members of the royal house were involved.

11 The museum had to be moved out from these localities in 1946 and were transferred to the KVHAA building, i.e. under the same roof as the Historical Museum, until a new museum was organized (see below).

12 Palmgren catalogued the bronzes in the MFEA collection during the early formative years and also catalogued the bronzes in H. R. H. the Crown Prince's collection, published in the catalogue *Selected Chinese Antiquities from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf, Crown Prince of Sweden* (Palmgren 1948). Palmgren's greatest contributions, however, came to be in the field of ceramics. His doctoral thesis, *Kansu Mortuary Urns of the Pan Shan and Ma Chang Groups*, published in 1934, was a major achievement in the study of the Neolithic pottery. *Sung Sherds* – the result of his site studies in China 1935/36 – was posthumously published in 1963.

13 Between 1908 and 1927 there was a Swedish missionary station at Hallong Osso, Inner Mongolia.

14 Acq. no K-04042-001/014. Part of this material was discussed by the Swedish archaeologist T. J. Arne in a short article in Swedish in 1921 (Arne 1921).

15 One find was from Luanping *xian* in the neighborhood of Jehol (acq. no K-10000-001/049); bought in 1920 by Andersson and published by T. J. Arne (Arne 1933). One find was from Xuanhua *xian*, close to Wanquan (acq. no K-10001-001/034), bought in 1924 by Andersson and also published by Arne (*ibid*).

16 Acq. nos: K-04031 – K-04034.

17 Acq. nos: K-04031-001/006.

a Shang dagger-axe (Cat. no 102).¹⁸ There were also 52 pieces dated to the Neolithic and Bronze Age and given to the museum in 1920 by Melker Lyckholm, all from the so-called Li Hongzhang Collection.¹⁹ These included two dagger-axes²⁰ in the Shang style, both of somewhat dubious quality and therefore not included in this catalogue.

In 1925 the China Research Committee had started negotiations with the well-known art historian Professor Osvald Sirén (1879-1966) for the purchase of parts of his collection of Chinese antiquities.²¹ Most of this collection had been bought during Sirén's travels in China in 1922-23. The purchase, finalized in 1926, included more than 170 bronzes from different periods – weapons, chariot fittings, belt hooks, mirrors, fragments, etc.²² The material did not include any important pieces of Shang date. The Sirén collection was soon afterwards transferred from the ownership of the Research Committee to the new museum.

The Crown Prince's journey to China, 1926

A most important event in the museum's collecting activities was the Swedish Crown Prince's visit to China in 1926. On their worldwide journey that year the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess visited Japan, Korea and China. In China they were escorted by J. G. Andersson and Axel Lagrelius.²³ The Chinese journey started in Peking, where J. G. Andersson bought some important bronzes for the new museum. From Peking the royal party made an excursion into Shanxi, at the invitation of the Swedish engineer Professor Erik Nyström, who as that time was head of the Nyström Institute for Scientific Research at the provincial university of Taiyuan. Nyström had earlier helped the Crown Prince to collect antiquities from the Shanxi region. In Taiyuan he managed to organize, for the Crown Prince's benefit, a minor archaeological excavation of two Neolithic sites.

The Royal party also went to Tianjin, where they visited the scholar and collector *cum* dealer Luo Zhenyu (1866 - 1940). On this occasion, a collection

of Chinese antiquities was bought from Luo for the new museum. This collection included a host of small objects from Anyang (bone, marble, pottery, etc.). The collection bought from Luo also included several bronze vessels from the Shang and Zhou periods, among them a square *ding* from the Shang period with a documented history going back to Li Zuoxian (1807-1876) (cat. no 50). There were also a *li* and a lid, both dating from the transition period between Shang and Zhou (cat. nos 57, 63).

The royal party continued southwards to Pukou, near Nanjing, where the railroad engineer Orvar Karlbeck was then residing. Karlbeck was at that time a seasoned traveller in China and had built up a substantial collection of antiquities. From 1908 he had been working as a district engineer of the southern section of the Tianjin-Pukou railway, moving his lodging along the railway line in the Jiangsu and Anhui provinces.²⁴

Karlbeck had already started buying antiques before entering the service of the railroad company,²⁵ and his inexperience led him to purchase a goodly number of forgeries. He once commented on his early mistakes: "There is a sucker born every minute".²⁶ Undeterred, he went on buying from the dealers who visited him in his different residences along the railway. His interest seems to have got a boost when he lived in Bengbu in Anhui. Among the many antique dealers visiting Karlbeck during his stay here was a dealer named Xie from Shouzhou, also in Anhui.²⁷ The capital of the kingdom of Chu had been located there during the late Warring States Period and the area was rich in cultural relics from this period. Karlbeck thus built up a collection of antiquities. His first collection of bronzes, mainly containing early Chinese mirrors, weapons, chariot fittings, belt hooks and other small bronzes, was sold to the Countess von Hallwyl in Stockholm in 1922.²⁸ In 1924 he sold some bronzes to the Freer Gallery in Washington and a collection of early pottery to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. He had already published his studies of early Chinese bronzes in a couple of short articles

18 Acq. no: K-04031-001 (cat. no 102).

19 The so-called Li Hongzhang Collection, of very mixed quality, was bought by a Swedish syndicate in 1920 (Sirén 1945).

20 K-04034-003, K-04034-004.

21 O. Sirén's collection was published 1925 in *Ars Asiatica*, vol. 7 (Sirén 1945).

22 Acq. no: K-11000-397/569

23 Lagrelius has given an account of the Crown Prince's journey in China in the book *Axel Lagrelius' Kina-resa* (Lewenhaupt 1928).

24 Karlbeck's memories from this period are published in Orvar Karlbeck, *Tsin Pu tie lu: upplevelser och minnen från en tjugosexårig vistelse i Kinas inre* (Karlbeck 1938).

25 Karlbeck 1938, p. 84.

26 *ibid*, p. 85.

27 *ibid*, pp. 117-119.

28 The Countess Wilhelmina von Hallwyl (1844-1930) was all her life an inveterate collector. Her home, complete with all her belongings, is now a public museum. The bronze collection bought from Karlbeck was published in 1938 (Karlbeck 1938b).

– “Ancient Chinese Bronze Weapons” (Karlbeck 1925) – probably the first study in any Western language on this subject – and “Notes on some Early Chinese Bronze Mirrors” (Karlbeck 1926).

While visiting Karlbeck’s home in Pukou in 1926, the Crown Prince organized the purchase of many of his bronzes, partly for his own collection, partly on behalf of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. The collection bought for the museum was extensive in number, but consisted only of small bronzes.²⁹Fifteen vessels from the late Eastern Zhou and Han periods from Karlbeck’s collection were held back due to lack of funds, but the requisite sum were soon donated when the party was back in Stockholm and the vessels could thus be incorporated in the museum’s collection.³⁰

The royal visit in China ended in Shanghai. The Crown Prince got an inscribed bronze bell (*nao*) from the Shang period³¹ as a present from the collector Chen Lingsong, while on the same occasion H.R.H. the Crown Princess Louise was presented with a *li ding* from the same dynasty.³²Both bronzes are now in the MFEA collection together with their elaborate stands – the stands being eye-catching testimonies of early Republican Chinese taste.

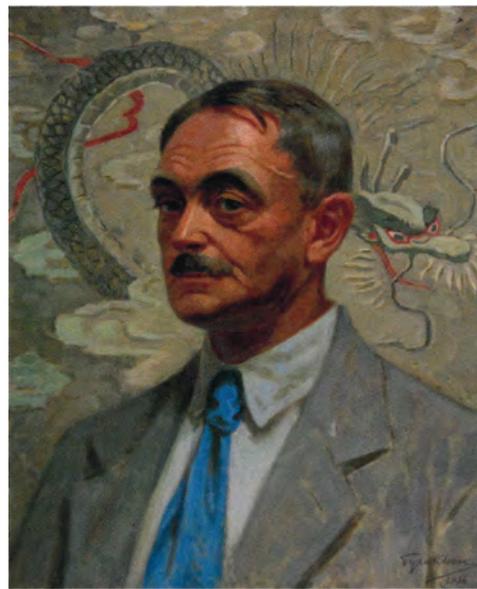
The Crown Prince’s appreciation of ancient Chinese bronzes probably dates from this time – in an earlier letter to professor Erik Nyström, acknowledging receipt of a collection of Chinese antiquities, he had written that he greatly preferred ceramics to bronzes and told him not to buy more bronzes “unless they are excavated and outstandingly beautiful”.³³

Karlbeck’s travels in China

The first journey (1928-29)

The acquisition of a bronze collection for the new museum actually started on this royal journey. The museum now wanted to build up a collection of Shang, Zhou and Han bronzes to show the technological development, but there were severe funding constraints. The museum never received any substantial government funding for acquisitions, and bronzes, especially vessels with long inscriptions, were expen-

sive. In 1928 three patrons³⁴ donated approximately 60,000 Swedish crowns to the China Research Committee for the acquisition of ancient Chinese bronzes and ceramics. To make the most of this donation, the Research Committee decided to do its purchasing on the spot, in China. The railroad engineer Orvar Karlbeck (see above) had been forced to flee from Pukou after the anti-foreign movement in the lower Yangzi Valley in 1927, and had returned to Sweden. When, in 1928, he planned to go back to make up his affairs in China, the Research Committee took the opportunity of commissioning him to purchase antiquities on its behalf.³⁵Thus Karlbeck ended up in Tianjin in 1928, embarking on his career as a professional treasure seeker in China.



Tyra Kleen (1874-1951), Orvar Karlbeck.

Karlbeck spent a few days in Tianjin before leaving for Peking. He took the opportunity of visiting the city’s antique dealers, Luo Zhenyu among them, to look for any possible purchases. He did not find any reasonably priced bronzes at Luo’s place, and only bought a set of 30 elaborate rubbings of the bronzes from the Xinzheng-find.³⁶

Finally reaching Peking, Karlbeck scrutinized the holdings of the antique shops, big and small, and reported meticulously back to Stockholm regarding

29 Acq. nos: K-10599-001/591, K-10600-001/98.

30 Acq. no: K-11001-001/015. The purchase was funded by I. Traugott.

31 MFEAacq. no: OM-1974-0515.

32 MFEA archive. Erik Nyström Correspondence.

33 MFEA archive. Erik Nyström Correspondence.

34 The three patrons were E. Hultmark, R. Hultmark and G. Carlberg (Andersson 1930, p. 234).

35 Karlbeck 1957, p. VI.

36 Kb I-1-3.

what he had bought, what he had not bought and what he had put on hold pending instructions from Stockholm. This kind of report he would continue to write to the very end of his travels.

After a few weeks in Peking, Karlbeck set off on his travels, beginning with Henan. Anyang was not yet of any interest, the archaeological excavations there having started just a few days before Karlbeck's departure from Peking. Karlbeck thus went first to Zhengzhou, which offered little of interest. In the neighbouring city of Kaifeng, however, the Xinzheng bronzes were on display. This find was the talk of the day and Karlbeck scrutinized the exhibited bronzes closely. In those days, when regular museum exhibitions of Chinese bronzes were non-existent, antique shops and private collections offered the only opportunities to study archaeological material.

Due to its proximity to Luoyang, Kaifeng also presented opportunities of purchasing early bronzes. As the antique trade in Luoyang, apparently, was more closely controlled by the political authorities than in Kaifeng,³⁷ Karlbeck was a frequent visitor to the latter city on his ensuing travels.

From Henan, Karlbeck went to Pukou and then to Shanghai. On the way he stopped in Nanjing, where, by his report, the antique shops had little but fakes and copies to offer.³⁸ Complaints about the poor antique trade in Nanjing were to be a recurrent theme in Karlbeck's correspondence; the Nationalist capital was clearly not a centre of the trade.³⁹

Finally arriving in Shanghai, Karlbeck was deeply impressed by the quality of the antiquities for sale there. His first report gives a description of the trade in this city:

...It seems that the centre of the curio trade in China is in the process of being moved from Peking to Shanghai. The most dangerous competitors are beyond doubt the big Chinese purchasers Li Van Ching [i.e. Lee Van Ching] and Yao from Tan Yin Co [i. e. Tonying & Co]. The former left here on October 20th, the latter on the 26th. These two have probably grabbed most of the best material. At Li's they told me that they never offer the really good things for sale in China. At Tan's it is the same case.

Other purchasers in this city are Burchhart

37 Kb I-4-3A.

38 Kb I-6-1B/2A.

39 The complaint about the Nanjing antique market is repeated, e.g. in Kb I, 16-2; Kb II-16-1.

[Dr. Otto Burchard & Co], Abbot, Weinberger from Spink & Son,⁴⁰ three Frenchmen and a Dutchman.

The best shops I have found in the neighbourhood of Canton Road [Guangdong lu]. A couple of good shops are also to be found on the Boulevard des Republique [sic].

Here there are quite a number of bronze vessels. The Chinese are now dividing these in two classes; *hsin chu tu ti* [*xin chutu de*] and *yüan chu tu ti* [*yuan chutu de*], i.e. recently excavated bronzes and bronzes which have been a long time above ground. Formerly only bronzes of the latter type could be seen, now bronzes of the first type are predominant, and new ones are constantly flowing in. Since I arrived at this Chinese hotel I have seen quite a number which have come in from Honan [Henan] and Shensi [Shaanxi]. The most common type I have seen is the three-legged wine vessel with two lips and two standing sticks [this is probably a home-made description of a *jue*]. They mostly occur in pairs and demonstrate great variety of ornamentation. Other common types are *li* and *ting* [*ding*]. ...⁴¹

Despite this seemingly flourishing market in Shang bronzes, Karlbeck did not buy any pieces from the period in Shanghai on this visit.⁴² Probably he found the Shang bronzes too expensive for his limited budget.

In the middle of November 1928, Karlbeck left Shanghai for a long journey to Yunnan by way of Hong Kong, Canton and Hanoi. Judging by Karlbeck's reports, this trip was probably part of the plan for acquiring objects and at the same time seeking a deeper knowledge of Chinese culture, as stated by J. G. Andersson in his instruction for Karlbeck's travel:

Ethnographical observations and acquisitions: I should be grateful if besides the archaeological work you would make any ethnographical observations and acquisitions that you might consider of importance for us. As you know, I have made finds of modern types of utensils. Whatever might have any relevance

40 Spinks & Son was a well-known antique dealer in London. Weinberger was later to open his own antique shop (Walter Weinberger & Co, London).

41 Kb I-7-1A/1B (transl. MS).

42 MFEA Archive: *Ingeniör O. Karlbecks samlarverksamhet i Kina [1928-1929]*, p. 11.

for the archaeological material would indeed be of great interest, as would folkloristic observations and notes. Especially dragon boats, sacred trees and cowries, etc. which are related to our problems, should be of great interest.⁴³

Karlbeck searched through all kinds of shops for tools and so-called “celts”, but according to his reports the markets in the towns he visited offered meagre results.⁴⁴

Back in Shanghai on January 10th the next year, he once again reported a flourishing antique trade in the city, but no Shang pieces were mentioned this time.

Before returning to Peking, Karlbeck made a new excursion to Henan, and visited Zhengzhou, Luoyang and Kaifeng. He summarized his experiences in Henan as follows:

Despite Loyang [Luoyang] being the place where most of the finds are made, one ought – due to the control⁴⁵ – to avoid making purchases here. The same goes for Cheng Chow [Zhengzhou]. Kaifeng is the best centre. Everything coming from Luoyang passes Kaifeng.⁴⁶

Back in Peking, Karlbeck reported that his earlier inference of the centre of the antique trade now being located in Shanghai had been re-confirmed: “The prices [in Peking] are as a rule very high, higher than in Shanghai and Kaifeng. Some people one can bargain with, but others are totally unreasonable and demand five times the value. The counterbids I have made have not interested them at all. I have not seen much in the way of Honan bronzes, they seem now to be going to Shanghai.”⁴⁷ At the same time, the competition from other buyers was very keen. In a letter dated Peking May 1st 1929, he answers some questions regarding the trade from Johan Gunnar Andersson:

1. Lo [i.e. C. T. Loo] has a staff of collectors here, who are living outside Chienmen [Qianmen]. I have paid a visit there, but saw nothing, as everything purchased is sent to Europe. One of them was kind enough to take me to the curio hotel at the Dogtail Street [Gouweiba

hutong], where he evidently does a lot of buying. There I saw a number of interesting pieces, genuine ones as well as fakes, but could not purchase anything, as the prices were too high.

2. Wannieck is represented by a relative here who has agents all over the country.⁴⁸

3. Dealers from outside the city, bringing their goods to Peking, must offer them for sale in a centre in the Chinese City. Trading takes place at night and foreigners are denied entry.

The bigger dealers and even a number of the small ones, however, send their agents to the better-known localities.⁴⁹

In March 1929, with Karlbeck’s mission nearing its end, the Research Committee offered him a prolongation of his stay in China – an offer he accepted. At this time a special wish was expressed that he should travel to the North and Northwest, in order to purchase so-called “Sui-yüan bronzes”, i.e. bronzes in the Northern Complex Style (formerly named “Ordos-bronzes” or “Animal Style bronzes”). This mission involved two months of long and strenuous travels in Shanxi, Northern Shaanxi and Inner Mongolia. The result was disappointing – the many agents active along the routes had pushed up prices to quite a high level.⁵⁰

In July, now back in Peking, he sends a new report to Stockholm regarding the state of the antique market. He starts with the finds from Anyang:

From Anyang Changtefu [Zhangde fu] many objects are still coming in. The excavations, which are still going on, are being conducted on behalf of the Nanking Museum, but are also to a great deal benefitting the Peking dealers. The major part of the finds seems to consist of inscribed and sculptured bones. I have seen lots of these, a great many undoubtedly with genuine inscriptions. Several of the inscribed bones are incised with animals and birds. These, however, are done in an exceedingly clumsy manner and reminiscent of

43 Promemoria for Ingeniör Karlbecks samlarfärd till Kina. MFEA Archive, F2CB:2 (transl. MS).

44 Kb I-9 – Kb I-14.

45 Travelling together with the collector R. W. Swallow, Karlbeck saw him arrested by soldiers at the railway station in Zhengzhou (Kb I, 18-1A).

46 Kb I-18-6 (transl. MS).

47 Kb I-20-1b (transl. MS).

48 W. Leon Wannieck was a well-known antique dealer in Paris. The Swedish collector Anders Hellström (see below) made many of his purchases there.

49 Kb I-27-1A (transl. MS).

50 Kb I-29 – Kb I-33. Karlbeck’s experiences on these travels are described in Karlbeck 1957, in the chapters “To Starving Sui-yüan” (pp. 33-58) and “A Walk to the City of the Elm Grove” (pp. 59-88).

“happy and sad pig”. The carved bones, mostly pins, are of no artistic value.

The bronzes reported as coming from that place – and I have every reason to believe that they do so – are of exceedingly great interest from an art-historical perspective, and I have therefore felt that I should buy what I have seen of this type.⁵¹

Among the objects he felt obliged to buy were some fragments of a *gu* and a *jue*.⁵² At this time he also purchased an axe with rich textile incrustations (cat. no 131). This axe was later to be published by Vivi Sylwan in the *BMFEA*, in an article demonstrating that the incrustations were carbonized fragments of silk.⁵³

Karlbeck's last report from his first journey is dated August 17th 1929 and starts with his three-day visit to Anyang. He visits two curio shops in the prefectural city and also goes to the area around Xiaotun. He has good opportunity to study in detail several of the cavities left by the farmers' excavations in the steep riverbank. He believes that most of bronzes for sale in Peking and the prefectural city came from this riverbank. In one of the curio shops in the prefectural city he bought more bronze fragments, believing them to belong together with the fragments he had bought in Peking.⁵⁴

After Anyang, Karlbeck went on a short trip to Kaifeng, where he made some purchases in the Chung Ku Chai curio shop and from “a Mr Ho, superintendent of the museum” – the Kaifeng museum seems at this time to have become a vital part of the antique market.⁵⁵

Karlbeck's first journey coincided with one of Osvald Sirén's visits to China and the two of them often went together in the visits of the antiquity shops of Peking.⁵⁶ This first trip resulted in the acquisition of 823 objects, mostly smaller bronzes such as mirrors, weapons and belt hooks.⁵⁷ As funds were quite limited, he could only purchase a few bronze vessels. The trip

is well documented in his week-to-week reports.⁵⁸

The first Karlbeck Syndicate (1930-31)

The museum found Karlbeck's acquisitions from the journey 1928/29 most satisfactory. They realized, however, that funding constraints had prevented him from purchasing a number of interesting vessels on sale at the time. Karlbeck's travel costs, although very reasonable, had also pre-empted a disproportionately large part of the budget. To split the costs with more parties, a syndicate was organized in 1930; two more syndicates were to follow. These syndicates commissioned Karlbeck to travel in China to purchase antiquities for the members. The participants in the first syndicate, in addition to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm, were Swedish private collectors, and the Röhsska Museum in Gothenburg.

Karlbeck arrived in Peking during his second trip on July 1st 1930 and found the antique market rather flat, mostly due to the war.⁵⁹ After a short stay in Peking, he went to Mongolia with Frans August Larson (1870-1967), a Swede living in Mongolia, better known by his contemporaries as Duke Larson of Mongolia.⁶⁰ The trip to Mongolia was somewhat disappointing to Karlbeck. However, Duke Larson managed to purchase a very fine short sword from a lama in Hattin Sum.⁶¹ According to his information, the knife was found in the desert west of Dalai nur. Karlbeck persuaded Larson to sell him the knife, on condition that it was to carry Larsson's name (cat. no 180).⁶²

51 Kb I-34-1/2 (transl. MS).

52 K-11090-174 a-f: Fragment av *jue* (Kb I-34-7, 725); K-11090-175 a-c; Fragment av *gu* (Kb I-34-7, 726).

53 Sylwan 1937.

54 Kb I-36-3, Kb I-36-4, 749, 750, 751.

55 Kb I-36-3.

56 Törmä 2007, p. 165.

57 Acq. nos K-11001-001/823.

58 Karlbeck has given a lively account of some of his adventures on this travel in the book *Skattsökare i Kina*, Stockholm 1955, translated into English as *Treasure seeker in China*.

59 Kb II-1-1.

60 A narrative of this trip is found in Karlbeck 1957, pp. 111-143, chapters: “Horse-coping in Mongolia” and “To the Sand-Belt near Dalainor”.

Frans August Larson (1870-1957), better-known as “Duke Larson”, had a most colourful career in China. Starting out as a missionary, he came to work for the Mongol Ore Mining Corporation in 1900-1902. He then worked for the British and Foreign Bible Society (1902-1913) and became an adviser to the Chinese Government on Mongolian affairs (1914-1917). Between 1917 and 1939 he carried on business in Urga (Ulan Bator), Kalgan (Zhangjiakou) and Peking until retiring to California. His Mongolian ducal title was conferred in 1920. He worked for the Sven Hedin expedition in 1927/28. Larson wrote about his experiences in his autobiography - *Mongoliet och mitt liv bland mongolerna*, translated into English as *Larson: Duke of Mongolia*.

61 Hattin Sum in Inner Mongolia was a Swedish missionary station between 1927-1944.

62 Kb II-2-2 (acq. no K-11276-039).



Returning to Peking, Karlbeck observes that finds from Anyang are back on the market:

However, quite a number of objects from Anyang have found their way hither, e.g. weapons of types represented back home, a large, beautiful fragment of ivory at a very high price, and shards of a high-fired red ware, decorated in Yin Style. I acquired the only two fragments I saw. As the population seems to be busy digging now, I hope to go there next week.⁶³

Karlbeck also reports that he had heard that Li Ji's excavations in the spring had suddenly been suspended.⁶⁴ Li Ji, in his memoirs, comments on this stop: "The Anyang excavations stopped for a year in 1930, when the Archaeological Section of the Institute of History and Philology extended its field activity to the Shantung [Shandong] province. At a place near the provincial capital of Tsinan [Jinan], a new phase of Neolithic culture – the Black Pottery Lungshan [Longshan] Culture – had been discovered by Ginding Wu (Wu Chin-ting [Wu Jinding]), a graduate student of mine from the Ts'ing-hua [Qinghua] Research Institute of National Learning. The field staff of the Archaeological Section was sent to Tsinan and excavated the site of Ch'eng-tzu-yai [Chengziyai] for a season..."⁶⁵ At the same time as this transfer of the excavations took place, the co-operation between Academia Sinica and the Freer Gallery was broken off and for a time the excavations in Anyang were without funding.⁶⁶

The rumours in Peking offered another reason for the suspension of the excavations in Anyang. Karlbeck reports: "Li Chi's excavations were suddenly

discarded this spring and it is doubt about when they may be resumed, as the farmers in the area got to hear that he had found gold in the tombs and decided to do the excavations themselves."⁶⁷

In September, Karlbeck finally set off on his trip to Henan. He went with the German ethnographer Dr. H. Mueller. Due to the war in the area he did not visit Kaifeng and Zhengzhou at this time. The northern part of the province was considered safer, and he thus managed for the second time to visit Anyang. The farmers were now very friendly, but there was not much to buy.⁶⁸

On our visits we were soon surrounded by the whole population, offering us their finds. As it was in the middle of harvest time and no diggings had taken place for months, we were only offered objects rejected by others. Most of it was hardly worth buying. The only bronzes I saw were ceremonial dance-axes or burial axes of the *Ko[ge]*-type with tangs in the shape of animal-heads. These seem to have been very common – an observation I already made last year.⁶⁹

Karlbeck continued down to Shanghai and stayed there during October and November. He saw a great number of objects, but complains frequently of the prices and consequently bought rather little.⁷⁰ Karlbeck returned to Peking in December 1930 and went thereafter on a short trip to Xuzhou in northern Jiangsu, once again to Kaifeng and then to Jinan, the lists of his purchases are rather short – the many robbers in the region at this time made travelling difficult and the antique market seems to have been depleted.

The second Karlbeck Syndicate (1931-1932)

The second Karlbeck Syndicate lasted from October 1931 till the end of 1932. The second syndicate also included a number of international collectors and museums. Arriving in Peking early October 1931, Karlbeck noticed that despite the depression on the international financial market, the prices on the antique market here were as high as ever.⁷¹ He gives a short analysis of the reasoning of the Chinese dealers:

63 Kb II-3-1/2 (transl. MS).

64 Kb II-3-2.

65 Li Ji 1977, p. 67.

66 *ibid.*, p. 68.

67 Kb II-3-2 (transl. MS).

68 Kb II-7-5/6.

69 Kb II-7-6 (transl. MS).

70 Kb II-9, Kb II-10, Kb II-11, Kb II-12, Kb II-13, Kb II-14, Kb II-15.

71 Kb III-1-1.



Anyang. Photo: Orvar Karlbeck

There seem to be many reasons for the high prices. The dealers here and down in the country now know that very high prices are paid in Europe and want to get a larger percentage of the profit themselves. They have finally realized that foreign buyers buy their silver cheaply, and now calculate their prices according to the rate prevalent some years ago. The purchasers from the Loo Company in Paris active here seem to be paying crazy prices for unique pieces, and the large dealers therefore pay similar prices.⁷²

The high prices also affect the material from Anyang:

Some Anyang-pieces have recently arrived to the city, over-priced as usual. The loveliest object was a sculptured bone with inlays of turquoise. On one side was the decoration characteristic of the art from Anyang, on the other side were deeply carved characters. Of the inlay there were only a few pieces left. I regret to say that \$ 1,500 was requested for this object, the main reason being a statement in the

inscription claiming that the bone was taken from a unicorn!⁷³

In Karlbeck's next report more objects from Anyang have arrived to Peking, but these again he considers too expensive. They include a bronze mould, which Karlbeck scrutinizes minutely. He draws the conclusion that the mould was used for making a prototype in a lost-wax process.⁷⁴

Somewhat frustrated by the price-level of the Peking-market, Karlbeck tours northern Henan and once again visits Anyang. Here he meets James Menzies, who shows him his finds from Xiaotun, mostly shards. He also visits a forger of Shang bone carvings.⁷⁵

From Henan Karlbeck continues to Hankou in Hubei, flying on from there to Sichuan. He finds the Sichuan antique market rather meagre, and the market of Hankou, considered the hub of the antique trade in central China, rather difficult for an outsider to enter.⁷⁶

⁷² Kb III-1-1 (transl. MS).

⁷³ Kb III-1-2 (transl. MS).

⁷⁴ Kb III-2-2.

⁷⁵ Kb III-4-2.

⁷⁶ Kb III-5-1.

In January 1932 Karlbeck is in Shanghai. Despite the war, the market seems quite good, judging from his lists of purchases. Finds from the Zhou dynasty are well represented and, according to what he is told by the dealers, many of the objects come from Jincun near Luoyang.⁷⁷ He stays in Shanghai from January till May, only making a visit to Shouzhou in Anhui in April. The curio shops there offered a rich market of finds from Han dynasty tombs in the vicinity of the city.⁷⁸

Leaving Shanghai, he goes to Kaifeng, but this time he finds the market quite disappointing:

I am now on my way from Kaifengfu, a visit which unfortunately was disappointing. I had expected to find many interesting things there but found the curio shops practically empty, at least of first class things. There are several reasons for this. One is that the local authorities have ordered the farmers to stop digging for the time being. With the government located at Loyang they probably do not dare to carry on the work openly. There is also the matter of squeeze. The governor is fairly new, and has not yet come to an agreement with the land owners as to how much of the proceeds is to be handed over to him.

Bishop White, a resident of Peking, is buying up most of the first class things for the Toronto museum. As he is a big buyer, and does not hesitate paying high prices he has as a rule the first chance when anything really good turns up.⁷⁹

Even in Peking he find the antique market disappointing,⁸⁰ although he sees some bronzes and jades from Anyang.⁸¹ In the following reports, covering the summer and autumn of 1932, he continues to complain – the markets in Peking and Shanghai both seem to lack antiquities of high quality and the price level is far too high.⁸²

In October that year Karlbeck was invited by Li Ji to study the material from Anyang. Karlbeck had until then been very negative towards Li Ji in his reports. In a report dated December 20th 1930, he had written:

Li Ji is trying to monopolize all archaeological work in China and is said to be very

xenophobic. He is extremely envious of the foreigners and is of the opinion that only the Chinese should be permitted to interpret China's ancient history and monuments.⁸³

He had not, however, met Li Ji when writing this report and his attitude was probably strongly influenced by a negative attitude in the foreign community towards the Chinese archaeologist just after the break in co-operation between the Freer Gallery and the Academia Sinica. After having met Li Ji and studied the excavated material he was duly impressed. In a report he refers in some detail Li Ji's research in the stratigraphy of the ceramics. However, he pays most interest to the finds of bronze weapons.⁸⁴

Before leaving China, Karlbeck travels to Kalgan (Zhangjiakou), Shanghai and Hangzhou, but finds the antique market quite flat.⁸⁵

The third Karlbeck Syndicate (1934-35)

Back in China in spring 1934, on his fourth journey (i.e. the third and last of the Karlbeck Syndicates), Karlbeck finds the situation totally different. This time he starts in Shanghai and sends the following report:

The Shanghai curio market has undergone certain changes since my last visit here in the autumn of 1932. Prior to 1933 most of the bronzes and jades which found their way to Shanghai had been excavated at Loyang and Chintsun [Jincun] (Old Luoyang). Articles from these two places are now very scarce, and they have been replaced by treasures from Changdefu (Anyang), and Shouchou, with a sprinkling of object from Hunan, Shantung, and Ching Chiang Pu [Qingjiangpu, in present Huaian] near the Huangtse [Hongze] Lake [in the Jiangsu Province].

The earliest and most important finds seem to have been made at Anyang, and excavations are apparently still being carried out there. I have seen many bronze vessels, both intact and broken, which the dealers claim to have obtained from that place, and they were carried out in a style which at the Stockholm exhibition [i.e. the exhibition of bronzes in Stockholm 1933, see below] was called the Yin-Chou style. The types most commonly met with are the Ting [*ding*], the Ku [*gu*], and the Chüeh [*jue*].

77 Kb III-6-1.

78 Kb III-12.

79 Kb III-13-1.

80 Kb III-14-1.

81 Kb III-14-1/2.

82 Kb III-15/17.

83 Kb II-17-2.

84 Kb II-17-2.

85 Kb II-18-1.

The ornaments are either in low, flat relief, or in high relief, or in a combination of both. Most of the specimens which I have seen have unfortunately been so defect that they have not been worth buying. I have, however, obtained some intact pieces with interesting design.

One of the finest bronzes which I have ever seen was offered to me the other day by Kwen Vok Tso, the dealer who visited Europe a few years ago. It is a Kuang [*guang*] from Anyang, and resembles somewhat one in the Sumitomo collection. It is of the usual sauce-boat shape, and is entirely covered with ornaments, viz. animals in high relief against a background of leiwen and yünwen. The front part of the cover is shaped like the head of an elephant with lifted trunk and with snakes applied to the ears, and the back part is fashioned like the head of some monster. The middle section is occupied by the mask of a t'ao t'ieh.⁸⁶ The workmanship is perfect and the patina exquisite being a soft greenish grey with spaces of thin green incrustations. The height of the vessel with cover is 177 mm. and the width 205 mm. The owner has given £ 2000:- as his last price, but he may accept a lower figure. He began with \$ 50 000.

There is another Kuang in town which is also supposed to have been found at Anyang, a statement I am doubting. As no photos have so far been taken of it I can only give a short description. The vessel is in the shape of a standing bird, the neck and head of which form the handle. One end of the cover is shaped like a tiger's head and the other like an owl's. The vessel is so covered with verdigris that only portions of the ornaments which seem to cover the surface can be made out. The preliminary price was \$ 60 000, an absurd figure.

Several interesting Anyang-weapons have reached Shanghai, but they have unfortunately been either too brittle or too defect to be worth considering. The finest of them is a broad-bladed axe which resembles the one Mr. Oppenheim acquired last year. Most of the blade is missing.

Several bits of Anyang jade have also been

offered to me. ...⁸⁷

Obviously, Anyang bronzes of top-quality were now finding their way onto the Shanghai market. The next report, also from Shanghai, continues to relate to Anyang material, including a passage regarding the authorities' attempts to restrict the trade:

The curio market has not changed to any great extent since my last report was written. Bronze vessels are still arriving from Changtefu [Zhangde fu], but I have been told that for the present it is rather difficult to get them out of place. There is a movement afoot to put a stop to the looting of the tombs, and the authorities at such places as Changtefu, Loyang [Luoyang], Sianfu [Xi'an fu] and Shouchou [Shouzhou] are on the lookout for excavated pieces. When any are found in the possession of would-be shippers they are confiscated and placed in local museums.

The most important vessel I have seen lately is an urn said to have been found in Changtefu. It is almost entirely covered with ornaments in the Yin-Chou [Yin-Zhou] style. These are arranged in 3 encircling bands. The middle one is occupied by three T'ao T'ieh masks, and the outer by Kuei[*gui*] dragons in rounded relief. The surrounded spaces are filled with leiwen and yünwen. It is quite an impressive piece, but the greater part of the surface lacks patina, having the same colour as when taken out of the mould. Projecting parts such as the rim and the vertical ribs, ever present on early vessels, are much corroded and show signs of bronze pest. I have been negotiating about the price but so far I have not been able to persuade the owner to part with it at a reasonable figure.⁸⁸

I have seen several collections of jade. One came from Changtefu and was composed of freshly excavated pieces which were interesting but which could hardly be called beautiful. Some of them were fashioned into ox-like heads with club-shaped horns.⁸⁹

In June Karlbeck went to Peking and found that this city had now become the centre for the material from Anyang:

86 The descriptions fits a *guang* now in the collection of the Hakutsuru Fine Arts Museum, Kobe (Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 373, *yi* 15).

87 Kb IV-1-1.

88 Kb IV-2-1.

89 Kb IV-2-1.

When I arrived in Peiping on the 4th instant my hopes of finding anything worth while in the way of bronze vessels were not very high. Chinese and foreigners in Shanghai had led me to believe that there was hardly anything to be seen here, and in a notification sent out by one of the ministries Shanghai and not Peiping was described as the main distributing centre for bronzes in China. I had not been many days here, however, before I realized that my informants were wrong. The more I see, the more I become convinced that what the farmers have found round Hsiao T'un [Xiaotun] just west of Changtefu [Anyang] constitutes the second biggest archaeological discovery made in China in modern times. The few foreigners I have met who are acquainted with these "finds" share my view.

Almost all the bronze vessels which are on view now or which have passed through the hands of the dealers within the last 18 months have come from Changtefu. Members of the Academia Sinica who have been carrying out excavations at Hsiao T'un, such as Tung Tso Ping, are well aware of the fact although they themselves have not discovered anything important in the way of bronzes. The explanation they give for this is that they have carried out their excavations on the actual site of the capital of Yin, whereas the farmers have been working outside the precincts of the capital, where the burial places would be located.

The bronzes were not brought here by dealers from the interior but acquired by some of the leading local dealers either at Changtefu itself or in the villages where they were discovered. This is rather fortunate as some of them are now in possession of valuable informations as to the exact localities where these bronzes were unearthed. One of them, Chen Chien, even claims to have located almost all the vessels belonging to one find. As the tomb where they are supposed to have been found had already been filled in when he arrived on the spot he did not actually see it, but he was shown most of the bronzes which the villagers assured him had been found together, and he acquired the greater part of them. I have no reason to doubt the veracity of the dealer. He and some others here in Peiping are keenly

interested in archaeological research, and are only too anxious to gather all the informations they can relative to the circumstances of important finds. It is a somewhat different matter with the farmers. They are only interested in the monetary side of the question, and might be telling stories. As, however, I do not see what purpose such stories would serve in this instance, I believe that all the bronzes Chen has described were actually found together.

The name of the village is Wu Kuan Tsun [Wuguancun](武官村), and it is situated at the north bank of the Huan Ho [Huanhe] about a mile and a third northwest of Hsiao T'un of inscribed bone fame. As a matter of fact those bones which were discovered in 1899 were found not very far from Wu Kuan Tsun.

I have been allowed to photograph those of the bronzes which were still in his possession when I saw them first, and he has given me photos of those which he had already disposed of. I am enclosing a few set of these photos. All are marked with the letter B and a numeral. Only 2 or 3 remain unsold, and these he has promised to keep for me until I hear from Europe. In addition to the bronzes which have been photographed there were a number found which Chen did not get, such as several chüeh [*jue*] and ku [*gu*]. No 149 in my list of acquisitions⁹⁰ is also supposed to belong to this find. Chen saw it in the village but failed to secure it. All the bronzes are inscribed, and with one character only. On some of them the character is composed of a hand holding something which resembles a trident. This type of character I have also seen on vessels which have been found in other villages in the neighborhood. Other characters are far more complicated, and on one, no. 149, it is in the shape of a tortoise.

An even more important find is supposed to have been made in a village close to Wu Kuan Tsun. I have not been allowed to see the actual bronzes, only photographs, but they are of such interest that I think a description is warranted...⁹¹

⁹⁰ A *lei*, going to David Weill, Paris.

⁹¹ Here follows a description of the three *fanghe*, now in the collection of the Nezu Museum, Tokyo.

Another vessel of imposing size but ugly as to shape is supposed to have been found in the same village. It is pear-shaped with three stout legs, two ridiculously small handles, and a small cover which forms a continuous curve with the vessel and which is crowned by a small knob...⁹² The price is not high considering the size, only \$ 12 000:-, but the vessel is so badly broken that it would not stand the transportation.

The above-mentioned Changtefu vessels only comprise a small fraction of what I have seen. Some were so badly damaged that they were not worth buying. Others were too corroded, and others again were rather rough. I have, however, been able to buy a number of vessels, some of very high quality.

The Changtefu vessels might be divided into three groups;

- a. Vessels with the entire surface covered with ornaments.
- b. Vessels where the ornaments are confined to more or less narrow, horizontal bands leaving large spaces plain.
- c. Vessels without any ornaments whatsoever.

Most of the vessels I have seen belong to group a. There are very few plain vessels to be seen here. They only attract Chinese collectors who buy them for the sake of the inscription, generally composed of one character in early style.

The vessels can also be divided into different groups according to the manner in which the patterns have been applied to the surface,

1. The design is carried out in a combination of high and low relief.
2. The design is in low relief with the exception of eyes and ribs.
3. The design is in low relief only.
4. The design is incised.
5. The design is in high relief only.

With regard to groups 1-3 the yünwen and leiwen are composed of square-shaped spi-

als with sharp or rounded corners and with many narrow windings. On vessels belonging to group 4 the spirals are rounded and composed of one or two windings only. Group 5 lacks spirals.

As these bronzes have all been found within a very limited area the different styles noted above might possibly mark various stages in the evolution of Chinese art.

That many of the vessels, particularly those with a rich design and splendid workmanship, date back to the latter part of the Yin dynasty is considered highly probable, almost certain in fact.

I forgot to mention the fact that most of the vessels are inscribed with from 1 to 3 characters, one being the most common.

Many weapons are also found at Changtefu such as axes, tanged and socketed, dagger-axes, spear- and lance-heads, and daggers. They are generally decorated with t'ao t'ieh heads or dragons, and inscribed with one or two characters. One of the most remarkable weapons which I have ever seen is no. 260 in my list of purchases.⁹³

Many small jade ornaments have also been found at Changtefu, some in the round, others flat. Some of those I have seen were apparently implements for the toilet although they are fashioned into the shapes of animals.

Ivory is very scarce here, and as regards Yin pottery I have only been able to buy a few fragments. I have, however, been told that both black and glazed ware has been found, and hope to be able to pick up some at Changtefu.⁹⁴

Karlbeck's report is dated June 18th, 1934 – the three famous *he* had then already been sold to the Nezu Art Museum in Tokyo. The same events are narrated by Li Ji, although from a different perspective:

Meanwhile, the treasure-hunting tradition persisted in spite of the promulgation of the Antiquities Protection Law by the central government. In Anyang, although the Academia Sinica excavations under the legal protection provided by the local government progres-

⁹² Here follows a description of the pear-shaped *ding*, now in Fujii Yurinkan, Kyoto (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, Pl. 64).

⁹³ MFEA acquisition no: K-12021 (cat. no 179).

⁹⁴ Kb IV-3-1/3.

sed without hindrance, illegal treasure-hunting and tomb-robbings took place whenever possible. This treasure-hunting tradition is shared by the East and West alike regardless of religion or law; so wherever buried treasures were located, hunters rushed like a crowd rushing for gold.

Anyang had been noted for ancient bronzes as early as the Northern Sung [Song] dynasty. Once the scientific digging started, several foreign newspapers became interested; among them, the *Illustrated London News* gave much space to our Anyang discoveries, which immediately attracted world-wide attention. One of the evil effects of such publicity was the encouragement of private diggings, which immediately became contagious even among the missionaries in China. Lawless plundering activities flourished everywhere in north China, and in Anyang as soon as these seasons for our official excavations closed, illegal treasure-hunting immediately became active. It was through these plundering activities that the royal cemetery of Hou-chia-chuang [Houjiazhuang] was first made known. The details of this discovery were of course entirely lost. Every visitor to the Nezu Art Museum in Tokyo must have been deeply impressed by the three huge strangely shaped *ho[he]* wine ewers, with heights of 71.2 cm., 72.1 cm., and 73.2 cm., respectively. They are all said to come from Anyang, although Seiichi Mizuno did not mention them in his catalogue of Yin-hsü [Yinxu] bronzes. The story circulated in Anyang amounts to this:

The time may have been as early as 1933; private diggings near the village Hou-chia-chuang [Houjiazhuang] resulted in a rich harvest of huge bronzes and other treasures. Especially notorious were the three bronzes – of unknown shape but unusual size – that were immediately sold in the curio market, which of course made the chief digger suddenly rich. Although the definite conditions were unknown, those who shared the spoils naturally could not keep their mouths as closed as the chief plunderer. So, news of his ill-gotten wealth very soon became widely known not only in the adjacent villages, but also circulated in Anyang city. Some of the Academia Sinica employees within a short period learned a

great deal about this “lucky digging”. The younger archaeologists of our expedition immediately got busy and naturally reported to the leader in charge of the excavation. The time was October 1934, when the tenth expedition was just getting ready to start working under the leadership of Liang Ssu-yung [Liang Si-yong] (1904-54).

In the tenth season [i.e. autumn 1934], the original plan had been to continue tracing the building foundations of the Yin-Shang period, as in the previous three seasons, with further explorations of adjacent regions in the Huan River Valley. When Liang Ssu-yung heard the story of the recent plundering of a Bronze Age tomb and learned the approximate location near the village of Hou-chia-chuang, he took immediate steps to move his men, and to concentrate all the efforts of the field team under his command to find out whether a real cemetery site might be discovered. This was indeed a momentous decision!⁹⁵

When Karlbeck writes his next report, dated July 20th 1934, this momentous decision was yet in the future and bronzes from Anyang abounded on the market:

A few days after my return from Shanghai two of the leading Peiping dealers arrived from Changtefu with many bronze vessels and weapons which they claimed had been found in the villages surrounding Hsiao T'un, and some of which I eventually managed to buy.

In going through my four lists of acquisitions I find that about one third of what I have bought are said to have come from Changtefu. In the last three lists I have given that place as the provenance without reservation. As this may seem somewhat strange I will give my reasons for believing that the bronzes actually came from that locality.

During my stay here I have made the acquaintance of Dr. Creel, an American who is studying Chinese culture, specially that of the Yin dynasty, and who is somewhat of an authority on early inscriptions on bone and bronze. Being a student only and not a collector he has been asked to take part in the excavations which members of the Academia Sinica have

⁹⁵ Li Ji 1977, pp. 76-77.

been carrying out at Hsiao T'un and which ceased a couple of weeks ago owing to the heat. Creel was present to the last, and has told me what he knows about the diggings carried out clandestinely by the farmers.

In a previous report I have already mentioned that for the present the A.S. are only concerned with what they believe to be the actual site of the capital of the Yin people leaving the surrounding country where the tombs would be located for further investigations. This has in a sense given the farmers a more or less free hand to do what they please, in spite of the fact that the rifling of tombs is prohibited by law, and in certain areas punishable by death. They live in a fairly poor district where they have had to struggle hard for a bare living. Since the dealers began paying them high prices for bronzes and jades found in the ground – it is rumoured that they received \$ 25000 for a single find – the temptation to make their livelihood out of grave finds has been too great, and most of them now seem to be engaged in this kind of work, even in the summer when the fields are in crop. As there are no mounds visible to mark the site of a tomb, and as a grave generally is dug up in the course of a single night it is impossible for the authorities to cope with the situation.

Tung Tso Pin [Dong Zuobin], the present leader of the scientific excavations, has related to Creel their mode of operations. The locating of a grave meets with little or no difficulties owing to the fact that the earth round and above an ancient tomb was always rammed very hard. All the prospector has to do is to try the hardness of the earth with a specially constructed auger. Years ago I had occasion to observe the farmers at work on a low range of hills north of Loyang. There the ground was full of boreholes about 5 feet apart. With such a mode of procedure nothing escapes the prospectors.

This work is carried out in broad daylight. Creel saw a farmer being caught in the act. He was being lectured to, but as he had not broken the law he could not be punished or detained.

As soon as a grave has been located the farmers in the village who owns the land hold themselves in readiness, and when dark some 60 of them proceed to the spot armed with sho-

vels, picks and firearms. Should anybody try to approach them they shoot and shoot to kill. As the work has to be carried out in a single night it is impossible to excavate the tomb in full. A narrow shaft is sunk, till the bottom is reached. Should the farmers fail to find bronzes tunnels are dug till results are obtained. Creel saw a number of such shafts some with tunnels at the bottom. The shafts seemed to be between 20 and 30 feet deep. During my visit to Hsiao T'un I came across many places where the farmers had been excavating.

As the work has to be carried out in such a hurry many objects are naturally broken, and it is doubtful if the farmers have time to explore the tombs fully. Pottery objects are invariably smashed.

With this systematic and energetic search for tombs going on it is only natural that the time will come when there are no more to be found, and it seems to be the opinion amongst those who know that it is rapidly approaching. Creel who is well aware of the fact has suggested to Tung that he enlist the aid of the farmers so that he will be able to investigate at least one early tomb before it is too late, but he has met with no response. It is partly a matter of face, and besides, such a mode of procedure would in the opinion of Tung legalize the actions of the farmers.

From what has been said it is not surprising that the markets from time to time should be flooded with bronzes in early style and occasionally with bits of jade. Outstanding pieces are sold almost at once and often at very high prices. Japanese dealers seem to be the principal buyers, and I have been told that many of the best pieces have gone to a museum in Japan. Many pieces have also found their way to U.S.A., and Chinese collectors are also buying.

Most of the bronzes I have bought have been obtained from four dealers, one in Shanghai and the other three here in Peiping. The Shanghai dealer had purchased all his bronzes from dealers from Changte, and the same is the case with one of the Peiping dealers. Two of the vessels which I bought at Shanghai were recognized by a Peiping dealer who told me that he has seen them in villages round Hsiao T'un.



*The riverbank of the Huan River in Anyang.
The holes after farmers' clandestine diggings are clearly visible.
Photo: Orvar Karlbeck.*

The many knives and socketed axes which I obtained at Shanghai have also been identified by a dealer who frequently visits Changte. He did not actually identify the very pieces which were in my possession, but he informed me that he had seen many such implements there which the farmers claimed they had found together with bronze vessels.

The two other Peiping dealers from whom I have obtained most of my bronzes are constantly visiting Changtefu and buy directly from the farmers.

These four men are all keenly interested in archaeology and in the study of early Chinese art. They all know that I am buying for museums, and realize the importance of imparting correct informations as to the exact locality where their objects have been found. On several occasions I have been able to check the

statements of dealers and have always found them correct. I am therefore convinced that all the objects which in my lists are marked as coming from Changtefu have actually been found there.

The newly arrived bronzes are of many types and shapes, the *chüeh* [*jue*] and *ku* [*gu*] predominating. An usual vessel was a *chia* [*jia*] on four legs with the usual loop-shaped handle on the side, and two mushroom-shaped knobs on the rim. Three of the shapes were bulging, and the vessel was entirely covered with ornaments in a combination of high and low relief. It is now in Japan.

Another interesting object was a ladle of a type which went with vessels of the types *chia* and *yu* [*you*]. It was in the shape of a tubular cup on a long slender handle entirely covered with ornaments. The main pattern was

composed of two animals facing each another. The heads were flat and set perpendicular to the surface. One of the heads had club-shaped horns, the other horns resembled those of a ram. The bodies which were in low flat relief were shaped like kuei [*gui*] dragons. Between the two animals were two small kuei dragons in low, flat relief. The length of the ladle was 11 ¾" and the price asked was \$ 350:- The owner might possibly be willing to sell it for slightly less but probably not below \$ 325:- As the ladle was broken in several bits I did not ask for an option on it.

Changtefu seems for the time being to be the only source of supply, and it will probably be some time before objects from other localities begin to turn up.⁹⁶

Material from Anyang continued to arrive in Peking even in late summer. In August Karlbeck writes:

Last week two local dealers returned from Changtefu after a prolonged stay there. They brought back with them some interesting things most of which I managed to buy, and which are described in my list of purchases.

Amongst the objects which I did not offer for were a number of jade ornaments, which, like most of the jades coming from Changtefu, were not of the very highest workmanship...

I was also shown a number of bronze vessels with poor patina, and often very badly corroded. One dealer, not from Changtefu, has offered me a hu to have come from Changtefu and with a most interesting pattern...⁹⁷

In September Karlbeck went on a travel to Henan. He was now somewhat restricted in his travelling due to the unrest in the countryside. He came to Anyang, however, and it was during this visit he purchased the bronze moulds, later to be published in the BMFEA (see below). He gives an interesting report from his stay:

My trip to Honan was, I am sorry to say, not a success, chiefly owing to the unsettled conditions prevailing in certain parts of the province... The bandit situation seems to be pretty serious all over Honan, and I can well

understand the local authorities refusing to issue permits for foreigners wishing to travel there. Even Changtefu was not free from them.

I spent six interesting days there dividing my time between the dealers living inside the city and visits to the countryside west of Changtefu.

The dealers were rather difficult to locate as they seem to carry on their profession clandestinely. Unfortunately they had nothing important in the way of bronzes to show me but they had much to tell me about the great number of bronzes unearthed within the last year or two, particularly from the three villages of Wu Kuan Tsun [Wuguan] (武官村), Ta Ssu Kung Tsun [Dasikong] (大司空村), and Hsiao Ssu Kung Tsun [Xiaosikong] (小司空村). All three are situated on the north bank of the Huanho [Huanhe] or Anyangho [Anyanghe] as it is known locally. A few of the larger vessels which I had seen photographs of were described to me, and they had apparently heard that I had bought the lei with the pictogram of a tortoise on the inside.

I was shown several knives of Ordos type, and learnt that similar knives had been found in considerable numbers. There were no socketed axes like no 119-124,⁹⁸ but one dealer told me that he had obtained some from farmers and disposed of them in Shanghai. I saw many such in Kaifengfu and was told that they came from Changtefu. I did not see any daggers like no 260⁹⁹ or 325,¹⁰⁰ but a dealer informed me that he had seen a similar one in town.

A small dealer sold me many fragments of moulds for bronze vessels which he claimed he had obtained in a village west of Hsiao T'un. They were mostly of soft sandy clay which in some cases had a reddish interior. During a visit to Hsiao T'un I obtained a similar fragment and was told that it had been found west of the village. A description of the more important fragments appears under no. 374 in the list of purchases.

During my excursions along the north bank

⁹⁶ Kb IV-4-1/3.

⁹⁷ Kb IV-5.

⁹⁸ MFEA acq. nos: K-12008-K-12013 (cat. nos: 136-141).

⁹⁹ MFEA acq. no: K-12021 (cat. no 179).

¹⁰⁰ MFEA acq. no: K-12087-008 (cat. no 178).

of the river I met a Wu Kuan Tsun farmer who had taken part in the excavations. He could not tell me anything definite as to the construction of the tombs, but he informed me that most of the graves had been situated fairly close to the village. Although the fields were in crops and I had to confine my walks to the foot paths I was still able to observe a number of filled-in pits. Round some of the I saw many sherds of grey and red pottery with string impressions.

When I visited Hsiao T'un the villagers were expecting me and met me en masse. To begin with they were rather suspicious of me and only produced a few things, but when they found that I was offering fair prices they all hasten home for their treasures, and very soon the mound which served me as a table was littered with clay vessels of almost every description. There were very many specimens of the type chüeh [*jue*], some resembling bronze chüeh in shape, others of a primitive appearance. Tripods of the type li were also very numerous. There was a graceful ku [*gu*] as well, and great unwieldy vessels of cylindrical shape, and like the rest covered with string impressions. I also noticed some vessels typically Han in shape. The only bronze object I saw was a dagger-axe of the ming chi [*mingqi*] type with the tang ending in an animal head. Stone implements were rather common. Some were made of white marble and were generally in the shape of thick and clumsy dagger-axe blades, possibly substitutes for blades of jade. I was also offered a few small implements of shell.

During my visit there I met with two dealers whom I knew. They were both on bicycles, and had come from some village further west where they had bought bronze vessels. These were unfortunately broken into many bits, but the fragments were entirely covered with ornaments in the Yin style.

No important excavations were being undertaken while I was there, and it is doubtful if any digging will be done before the cotton is harvested.

It seems highly improbable that the local authorities will in any way try to interfere with the farmers. I was told that the magistrate had

received orders from Nanking to put a stop to the rifling of ancient tombs but refused to obey. The reason he gave was that if the villagers who are all very poor were prevented from robbing the graves they would all of them turn bandits. It is therefore probable that interesting bronzes will reach Peiping and Shanghai this autumn.

The principal dealer at Kaifengfu had a small collection of bronze vessels which one of his assistants had obtained at Changtefu. Most of them were of the type ku. As they were not of the highest quality I was not tempted to buy...

He had many pottery vessels from Changtefu one of which showed spots of what appeared to be accidental glaze. While I was there a parcel arrived from Changtefu which contained jade, mostly in the form of small animals with their tails fashioned into a tool with a sharp edge.¹⁰¹

Karlbečková's belief that the local authorities would not interfere in the farmers' activities came to shame. In his last report from China, dated Shanghai December 28 1934, he writes,

The markets both here and in Peking have been rather poor in good bronzes and jades. The main reason for this unsatisfactory state of affairs is that the Society for the Preservation of Chinese Antiquities through the Nanking government is doing its utmost to put a stop to the opening of ancient tombs. Some time ago the provincial authorities were notified by Nanking that in future antiques found in the ground will be regarded as the property of the government and should be forwarded to the capital. It created quite a stir amongst dealers and collectors and caused a great deal of uneasiness. Shortly afterwards the magistrate of Changtefu arrested over 20 farmers for having looted a tomb, and this seems to have put a stop to the diggings there. The few early bronzes which have reached the markets recently were excavated earlier and have been kept by the farmers in the hopes of obtaining higher prices.¹⁰²

101 Kb IV-6.

102 Kb IV-8.

Karlbeck left China at the very end of 1934. The war soon made such travels impossible and he never went back. Altogether, then, he made four journeys in China for the purpose of buying antiques, one on behalf of the MFEA in 1928/29, and three for the Karlbeck Syndicates, in 1930/31, 1931/32 and 1934/35. These travels brought a great number of smaller bronzes to the museum, but also a substantial number of bronze vessels.

The collection of Shang bronze moulds which he bought in 1934 on his visit to Anyang probably did not appeal to the collectors, but was for its time very important. An engineer by profession, Karlbeck became very intrigued by the technology of early Chinese bronze casting. The moulds convinced him, contrary to what most Western scholars believed, that the Chinese did not use the *cire perdue* technique during the Shang period. His findings were published in the article "Anyang Moulds" in the *BMFEA*, vol. 7 (1935). His interest in casting techniques also resulted in a paper on mirror moulds, published in *ACASA* in 1964.¹⁰³

Acquisitions of Shang bronzes by the old MFEA after the Karlbeck Syndicates

Karlbeck travelled widely in China, establishing contacts with dealers all over the country. Some links with important dealers continued after his final return to Sweden, and he sometimes acted as an intermediary between the dealers and the MFEA when important antiquities came on the market in China. One example is the huge *pou*, which was offered by the Shanghai dealer T. Y. King to the museum through Karlbeck in 1953. Karlbeck had met T. Y. King for the first time on his fourth journey,¹⁰⁴ but King had soon become his main contact in Shanghai. The China Research Committee managed to raise the funds for the *pou* in one day, several donors contributing, and this important piece of the Southern bronze culture came to Sweden.¹⁰⁵

In the pre-war period, the museum bought almost all its bronzes directly in China, mostly through Karlbeck, but even J. G. Andersson made some important purchases of bronzes on his long journey in China in

1936/38. That journey started off in the hope of initiating an important archaeological excavation, but large-scale foreign activities of this type were now a thing of the past, and Andersson ended up making most of his acquisitions by purchase. On this journey, he used mostly the same dealers as Orvar Karlbeck had been in contact with.

The greater part of the vessels published in vol. 21 of *BMFEA* were bought on these travels by Karlbeck and Andersson.¹⁰⁶ In addition to the published vessels, a large number of smaller bronzes from Shang, Zhou and Han, the great majority of which have never been published, were also acquired on these travels.

The Hellström Collection

A most important addition to the MFEA collection was made in 1947 with the acquisition of the Hellström collection. Anders Hellström (1877-1940), living in Mölndal near Gothenburg, had started to collect bronzes early. He obtained a substantial number of bronzes from Karlbeck, but he also frequently purchased bronzes from the great European dealers. He thus built up the most important private collection of ancient Chinese bronzes in Sweden, with a great number of unique pieces. After his death his large collection of Chinese antiquities (some 1,300 items) was bought by the museum. The most important bronzes were published by Karlgren in "Bronzes in the Hellström Collection" (Karlgren 1948), but a large part of his collection has remained unpublished.

Bronze research at the old Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities

The 1933 Bronze Exhibition in Stockholm

Research into the museum's bronzes gained considerable impetus in 1933, when the International Congress of the History of Art was held in Stockholm. On that occasion the newly opened Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska Samlingarna) organized an exhibition of bronzes, aimed at presenting a more detailed chronology of Chinese ancient bronzes than had hitherto been attempted. As the museum's bronze collection at that time was quite limited, loans from other museums and private collectors were necessary. The prominent dealer C. T. Loo also contributed. A tentative chronological system for the exhibition was

¹⁰³ Karlbeck 1964.

¹⁰⁴ Kb IV-1-2.

¹⁰⁵ MFEA acq. no: K 11456 (cat. no 35).

¹⁰⁶ Karlgren 1949.



Anders Hellström (1877-1940).

jointly worked out by the Crown Prince, Nils Palmgren and Orvar Karlbeck. A discussion of chronology and related questions, chaired by the Crown Prince, took place on September 7th, 1932, with several international scholars and collectors, such as Percival Yetts, E. Minns, O. Kümmel, D. Cohn, L. Reidemeister, A. M. Tallgren, and G. Eumorfopoulos, taking part.¹⁰⁷

Bernhard Karlgren's research

The study of the chronology of Chinese bronzes was taken up and further developed by the great Swedish sinologist Bernhard Karlgren (1889-1978). Karlgren, a philologist specializing in ancient Chinese texts, had in 1918 been appointed Professor of East Asian Languages and Culture at the University of Gothenburg on the Swedish west coast. He was early in close contact with the museum. After Gunnar Andersson's death in 1928, he became a member of the China Research Committee and worked also as a consultant on sinological questions, especially regarding the reading of inscriptions – the necessary journeys between Goth-

enburg and Stockholm were made possible by a private donation. His work on early inscriptions had resulted in a couple of articles - "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions" and "On the Date of the Piao-bells", both published in the *BMFEA*, vol. 6 (1934). "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions" was the first paper in the West to systematically translate and discuss a great number of early mirror inscriptions. Karlgren based his studies on published Chinese and Japanese material, in addition to the rich collections of mirrors in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, the Hallwyl Museum and the private collection of Axel Lagrelius.¹⁰⁸

Two years afterwards Karlgren started to publish his studies regarding the chronology of ancient bronzes: "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes" (Karlgren 1936), and "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes" (Karlgren 1937). Karlgren's aim was to compile a detailed and well-documented chronology for the ancient Chinese bronzes. While epigraphy had always played a major role in the Chinese and Japanese analyses of the ancient bronzes, the Western studies had not paid much attention to this aspect. As a philologist, it was natural for Karlgren to make full use of the inscriptions. As he published in English, he was forced to translate the inscriptions and interpret their meaning, a problem scholars publishing in Chinese and Japanese at that time were at liberty to avoid.

In his studies of Chinese bronzes, Karlgren made use of methods developed in Scandinavian archaeology. The great Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) had created a detailed typology of the artefacts of the European pre- and proto-historical periods to show the chronological development. This type of typological studies was continued by Bernhard Salin, (1861-1931) in the work *Die Altgermanische Tierornamentik*, Stockholm 1904, where he made very detailed analyses of the ornamentation patterns of the Iron Age, especially that of the Migration Period. This type of ornamental analysis, where every detail is demarcated, named and illustrated in very clear drawings and the distribution of elements is taken into account, was a method well fitted for the study of ancient Chinese bronzes. Karlgren had no training as an archaeologist nor as an art historian, but the method was clearly related to those he used in his philological studies. By combining a detailed study of the different vessel types with analyses of the different types of ornamentation and inscriptions,

¹⁰⁷ Exhibition 1934.

¹⁰⁸ The Lagrelius collection of mirrors was bequeathed to Gustaf VI Adolf, and is now in the MFEA.



Bernhard Karlgren



The China Research Committee ca 1970. From left to right: Natanael Wessén, Bernhard Karlgren, King Gustaf VI Adolf, Bo Gyllensvärd, and Yngve Hildebrand.

he proposed a chronology for the ancient bronzes. In "New Studies on Chinese Bronzes" he also proposed a theory of the existence of two different styles - the A- and B-styles - in Anyang during one and the same period of the late Shang.

When J. G. Andersson retired as director of the museum in 1939, Karlgren succeeded him and moved from Gothenburg to Stockholm. As director of the museum, he continued his research in ancient bronzes. Among the more important papers regarding this topic we find "Huai and Han" (Karlgrén 1941), "Some Early Chinese Bronze Masters" (Karlgrén 1944), "Some Weapons and Tools of the Yin Dynasty" (Karlgrén 1945), "Once again the A and B styles in Yin Ornamentation" (Karlgrén 1946), "Some Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities" (Karlgrén 1949), "Notes on the Grammar of Early Bronze Décor" (Karlgrén 1951), "Some Characteristics on the Yin Art" (Karlgrén 1962), "Some pre-Han Mirrors (Karlgrén 1963) and "Chinese Agraffes in two Swedish Collections" (Karlgrén 1966). Characteristic for his research regarding bronzes are detailed analyses of ornamentation, constructions of typological series of artefacts and a profound scholarship in Chinese classical philology.

A new museum

After serving for 20 years as the director of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bernhard Karlgren retired in 1959. In the same year the Swedish government decided to establish a national museum of East Asian art and antiquities, bringing together the archaeological material of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska samlingarna) and the different collections of Oriental art in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. The Swedish name chosen for the newly established museum was Östasiatiska Museet ("The East Asian Museum"), while in order to maintain the name of the Bulletin, the English name was left unchanged. Since May 1963 the museum has been open to the public in an old military building on Skeppsholmen, a small island in the middle of Stockholm.

Nationalmuseum possessed a few ancient bronzes, mostly of Han date and acquired by O. Siren, which were transferred to the new museum at its establishment.

In the years following its foundation, the new museum's holdings of bronzes were substantially enriched by bequests of important private collections. The collectors had all been members of the Karlbeck Syndicates, but had also purchased bronzes from well-known dealers in Europe.



King Gustaf VI Adolf and Bernhard Karlgren.

The Wessén Collection

The bronze collection of Dr. Natanael Wessén (1892-1981), one part of which was donated to the museum in 1971, was published by Karlgren in his article "Bronzes in the Wessén Collection" in *BMFEA* (Karlgren 1958). When the bronzes were exhibited in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in 1969, a new catalogue was published, co-authored with Jan Wirgin – *Chinese Bronzes: the Natanael Wessén Collection*. Not all of the bronzes in the collection were donated to the museum – the museum's share comprises 12 vessels, 64 belt-hooks and a door fitting. The donation included some very high-quality pieces, such as the *fangyi* from the Shang dynasty.¹⁰⁹ Regrettably, we know little about the provenances of most of the bronzes of this collection.

¹⁰⁹ Acq. no: OM-1971-0016 (cat. no 38).

The Gustaf VI Adolf Collection

HM Gustaf VI Adolf's large collection of Chinese antiquities was bequeathed to the museum in 1974. The King had collected bronzes since his Chinese journey in 1926 and possessed a substantial collection – vessels as well as smaller bronzes. He had been a regular member of the Karlbeck Syndicates and many of his bronzes had been obtained in this way. Nils Palmgren, curator of his collection, had been in China on a scholarly visit in 1935 to research ancient Chinese kiln sites, and on the same occasion he also bought bronzes for the collection. Some of the bronzes had been bought from dealers in London – a city often visited by Gustaf VI Adolf for family reasons.

On the occasion of a visit in London November 1967, he was given a collection of Shang material by S. Howard Hansford (1923-1973), Professor of Chine-

se Art at the School of Oriental and African Studies. This collection had been obtained by Hansford when visiting Anyang in 1939. The Gustaf VI Adolf Collection also includes a permanent deposition of Chinese art and antiquities collected by Margot Holmes – a collection that incorporates several important Shang bronzes. Regrettably, we have no information as to the provenance of the pieces in the Holmes collection.

The King's collection included a substantial number of vessels and weapons from the late Shang. In the collection there were a few bronzes of a relatively early date, complementing a lacuna in the museum's collection.

The royal collection was studied by Li Ji when he visited Sweden in 1937. Li Ji spent 3 days in Gothenburg and 4 days in Stockholm, all the time accompanied by Bernhard Karlgren, Johan Gunnar Andersson being away on his long journey through China and Southeast Asia.¹¹⁰ On this occasion, Li Ji gave his assessment regarding which of the pieces in the royal collection probably had an Anyang provenance.

Different selections of the King's collection of Chinese antiquities have been shown in several European and American museums on several occasions. These exhibitions have been accompanied by catalogues of a non-scholarly character. The collection, however, has not been academically published since *Selected Chinese Antiquities from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf, Crown Prince of Sweden* by Nils Palmgren in 1948. It was considerably enlarged after this, and a complete catalogue still awaits publication.



Axel and Nora Lundgren

The Lundgren Collection

In 1977 the Axel and Nora Lundgren Collection was bequeathed to the Museum. The Lundgrens had mainly collected Chinese porcelain and stoneware, while possessing only a small number of bronzes. Their bronzes, however, were all of very high quality. *A zhi* is of special interest.¹¹¹ S. Umehara early pointed out that a lid found in Xibeigang M 2046 in Anyang probably belonged to this *zhi*.¹¹²

The catalogue of the Lundgren collection of bronzes was published by Professor Bo Gyllensvärd, at that time the director of the museum.¹¹³

110 B. Karlgren. Letter to J.G. Andersson, dated April 21st, 1937 (MFEA Archives, E1A:15).

111 MFEA Acq. no: OM-1977-0037 (cat. no 25).

112 Umehara 1940, p. 40.

113 Gyllensvärd 1977a.

Summary

The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities has a rich collection of bronzes from the Shang dynasty. While the museum has never been able to afford a great number of vessels with long inscriptions, there is an almost full rank of the vessel types in the Yinxu style. A small number of vessels in regional styles are also to be seen. The real strength of the collection lies perhaps in the large number of smaller bronzes – weapons, tools, chariot details, mirrors, etc. This numerically quite rich collection is of course partly a result of the outlook of the Chinese art market when the main part of the collection was bought, i.e. the nineteen twenties and thirties. The Chinese “curio shops” at that time offered a wealth of small bronzes, many recently excavated to fulfil the new interest in Chinese early history. The richness of the Stockholm collection is, however, also partly a result of Swedish scholars’ ambition to develop a chronology for the Chinese bronzes. At that time, when material from reliable archaeological excavations was rarely available to scholars, the typological method was one of the best methods for constructing chronologies of early artefacts. This method required a great number of artefacts in order to make reliable analyses. Swedish scholars and collectors were thus eager to get as many variations of each type as possible in order to trace the chronological development.

When relating this history, it is difficult to avoid the unfashionable narrative of strong personalities building up a new field of collecting and research.

It cannot be overlooked that the collections of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities to a great extent were built up by private initiative. The great enthusiasm grew spontaneously from a small country’s encounter with Chinese culture in all its complexity, but also from a national pride in being part of the pioneering research of the pre- and proto-history of this ancient and far-away civilization.

Oscar Montelius, the grand old man of Swedish archaeology, expressed these sentiments in a memorandum of May 30th, 1920, written in support of Johan Gunnar Andersson’s project for excavating and collecting artefacts from Chinese pre- and proto-history:

Not many words are needed to make us here in Sweden understand the extent of the importance for our small nation if the illumination of the oldest history of the ancient civilization of China should owe a debt of gratitude to Swedish scholars, whose work has been made possible due to heavy support from other broad-minded Swedish men.¹¹⁴

Spurred by the aim of better understanding a foreign civilization, coupled with national sentiments typical of the period, the bronze collection of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities was created through donations of money and objects and also by serious dedication to bronze studies on the part of Swedish scholars and collectors.

114 MFEA archive: ÖS arkiv: Diarieförda handlingar D. 26/138 (Transl. MS).

The Collection of Shang Period
Bronzes in the Museum of
Far Eastern Antiquities: a Catalogue

Ch'en Fang-mei and Mette Siggstedt



No 58. *Li ding.*

Vessels and Musical Instruments

Jue - wine¹ goblets for sacrificial use**1. *Jue***

Date: Shang, Erligang Period.

Measurements: H.: 15.6 cm. L.: 12.7 cm.

Weight: 276.8 g.

Condition: Green water patina. Earth incrustations on the inside. One leg bent. Repairs at the mouth.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1954), who purchased it from Karlbeck 1956.

Publ.: Bagley 1987, p. 78.

Accession no: OM-1974-0102.

This thin, fragile vessel has a flat bottom resting on three slim legs. The body has a convex skirt, and a straight upper part, flared outward towards the rim. The spout is broad and rather dominating, while the tail is minimal. The waist is decorated with a single band showing a *taotie* mask in relief, the eyes of the mask being on the opposite side of the plain strap-handle. The repairs at the transition between the spout and body make it impossible to see if the vessel originally had posts.

This *jue* is similar in shape to some *jue*-vessels excavated in Zhengzhou and dated to the Erligang Culture, e.g. a *jue* from Baijiazhuang (C8M2:8, reproduced: Henan 2001, fig. 546:3, Color Pl. 28:3; Pl. 220). The ornamentation around the belly is similar to that of a *jue* excavated in a Bei Erqilu M1, Zhengzhou (BQM1:12, reproduced in: Henan 2001, fig. 546:2, Colour Pl. 28:2, Pl. 220:3) and that of a *jue* excavated in Huixian, Henan 1952 (Henan 1981, Pl. 117). A similar *jue* has also been excavated in Lijiacui M2, Panlongcheng in Hubei (Hubei 2001, Colour Pl. 11:1).

2. *Jue*

Date: Shang, middle Yin Xu Period.

Inscription (under the handle): Mu x $\frac{\text{Mu}}{\text{X}}$.

Measurements: H.: 23.5 cm. L.: 19.4 cm. Weight: 947.1 g.

Condition: Grayish green patina with incrustations. On the spout carbonized remains of silk.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased by Karlbeck from T.Y. King, Shanghai, in 1934 (Kb IV-2-4, 107).

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 5:3; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 43B; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 168, *jue* 68; Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 4, No 52.

Accession no: K-14790.

This *jue* has a deep, round-bottomed body with a long, broad spout and an up-turned tail. The legs are exceptionally tall and flare outward, giving the vessel a somewhat unstable look. The posts are low with cone-shaped caps, decorated with whorl-circles. Around the belly runs a decoration of crested birds with long tail-feathers, against a background of *lei-wen*. The inscription below the handle is unreadable, due to corrosion.

The shape of the *jue*, with its short posts and tall legs, is represented in archaeologically excavated *jue*-vessels from Period II, as e.g. in vessels from the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 57:1-4; 58:4). The same shape is also represented in the find from Lanjiagou, Shilou County in Shanxi (Guo Yong 1962, inside cover, Pl.4). In *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanqi* this *jue* is catalogued among the bronzes from areas outside Anyang (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 4, No 52).

Birds are rarely used as a major decorative motif during Yin Xu Period II (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, p. 106-107). The motif is, however, found on the smaller *fangyi*-vessels (M5:823, 825 and 828) and also on the large *fangyi* (M5:791) from the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 18-19).

1. The term "wine" is somewhat misleading in this context, as the alcoholic beverages of the Shang period were not made from grapes. The term is nonetheless employed in this catalogue, purely for the sake of convenience.



1.



2b.



2a.

3. *Jue*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (below the handle): Ya yi 亞矣.

Measurements: H.: 18.8 cm. L.: 19.2 cm. Weight: 835.3 g.

Condition: Green patina, heavily incrustated. Hole in the metal near the spout. Spout and one leg repaired.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1355). The *jue* was purchased in Peking 1935 by Nils Palmgren.

Accession no: OM-1974-0088.

The ovoid body of this *jue* balances securely on three legs splaying outwards. The decoration around the belly shows two *taotie* masks with a background of *leiwen*, the main motif and background being on the same level (so-called Loehr Style IV). The *taotie* mask on one side is divided by the inscription under the undecorated strap-handle. Around the neck runs a band of rising blades with a cicada pattern, the blades being elongated below spout and tail. The post caps are decorated with whorl-circles.

The round body of this vessel is quite unusual. A *jue* with a similar shape, but without flanges, was excavated in 1950 in the tomb E9, appended to the large tomb in Wuguancun, dated to Yinxu Period II (Henan 1981, Pl. 272).

4. *Jue*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (under handle): Dong ren 冬刃.

Condition: Green water patina with rusty spots.

Measurements: H: 19.2 cm. L.: 15.3 cm. Weight: 586.8 g.

Provenance: Purchased from Mrs. Dahlman, Hedemora 1951.

Publ.: Karlgren 1952, Pl. 2B, C; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 41A;

Gyllensvärd 1968, p. 91.

Accession no: K-11434.

The deep, egg-shaped body of this *jue* is balanced by the prominent upward turn of its broad spout and pointed tail. The legs are marked by narrow depressions on their inner faces. The posts are relatively tall and have mushroom-shaped-caps, decorated with whorl-circles. There are three vertical, serrated flanges on the body, one of them opposite the handle. Around the body runs a broad band of decoration showing *taotie* masks with lozenge-shaped slit pupils, flanked by dragons – all on a background of *leiwen*. Above this band is a border of triangular rising blades, elongated below the spout and tail. On the top of the handle is a sculptured head of bovine type.

The “Bing zhi *jue*” (並止爵), excavated in 1953 in Dasikongcun M304, Anyang, is similar in shape and decoration (Ma Dezhi et al. 1955, Pl. 8:3; Henan 1981, Pl. 310). A *jue* of the same type is also in the collection of the Saint Louis Art Museum (Owyoung 1997, pp. 66-67). This shape of *jue* is common during Yinxu Period III/IV, but is also found in Yinxu Period II, as the *jue* excavated in Yinxu Western Section M613. (The M613 *jue*, however, has no vertical flanges, cf. Henan 1981, Pl. 222).





3b.



3a.



4b.



4a.

5. *Jue*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (under the handle): Dao 刀.

Measurements: H.: 18.7 cm. L.: 16.0 cm. Weight: 594.6 kg.

Condition: Yellowish brown and green water patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1581), who was given the beaker in 1938.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 5:1; Exhibition Sweden 1977/78.

Inscr. publ.: Luo Zhenyu 1930, 9.30A; Luo Zhenyu 1937, 90.30.A; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, 7609.

Accession no: OM-1974-0093.

This *jue* has a deep, round-bottomed body resting on relatively short, flared legs. The posts have conical caps decorated with whorl-circles. The belly is decorated with a band of *taotie* masks with lozenge-shaped split pupils. The simple strap-handle is decorated with a sculptured animal head of bovine type.

This shape of *jue* with its tall body and relatively short legs is quite common during Yinxu Period III/IV. With its main motif rendered in broad, flat lines against a rather simple *leiwen*, the vessel demonstrates clear similarities with a *jue* excavated in 1970 in Yinxu Western Section M1125, dated to Yinxu Period IV (Henan 1981, Pl. 260).



6. *Jue*

Date: Shang, middle/late Anyang Period.

Inscription (under handle): Undeciphered.

Measurements: H.: 20.5 cm. L.: 18.7 cm. Weight: 749.6 g.

Condition: Green water patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased from Cheng Te-kun, Hong Kong 1949.

Publ.: Karlgren 1952, Pl. 2A; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p.168, *jue* 63.

Accession no: K-11405.

The *jue* has an egg-shaped body on three flared legs. Around the body runs a band of decoration showing whorl-circles on the background of *leiwen*. The mushroom-shaped post caps too are decorated with whorl-circles. The simple handle is decorated with a sculptured head of bovine type.

While the whorl-circle motif is quite common on post caps, the band of decoration showing whorl-circles on a background of *leiwen* is unusual during the Shang period.





7. *Jue*

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (under the handle): Zi 子.

Measurements: H.: 26.6 cm. L.: 19.1 cm. Weight: 1.1138 kg.

Condition: Dark greyish-brown patina.

Provenance: Gift from Natanael och Gull Wessén. Formerly in the collection of Pan Jiyu and Liu Tizhi

Publ.: Liu Tizhi 1934, 5.1A-B; Karlgren & Wirgin 1969, Cat. No 17, pp. 82-8.

Inscr. publ.: Luo Zhenyu. 1917. II.2.7; Fang Junyi 1935, 19.14A (Fang examined the vessel when the vessel was in the collection of Pan Jiyu); Liu Tizhi 1935, Vol. 6, 7A; Luo Zhenyu 1937, 15.1A; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 13, No 7313.

The inscription is possibly the same as that of the rubbing of a vessel published by Wu Dacheng 1918, 21.13B as "Zi jia" (子甲).

Accession no: OM-1971-0021.

This elegant, well-proportioned *jue* with its elaborate decoration is larger than the average *jue*. Its round-bottomed body, with upturned spout and tail, rests on three tall legs with depressions on their inner faces. The posts are also relatively tall with caps in the shape of convex-sided thimbles. There are three vertical, serrated flanges on the body, one of them opposite the handle, and there is also a flange under the long spout. Around the belly runs a finely moulded ornamentation in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The relief ornamentation, showing *taotie* masks flanked by dragons, is covered by *leiwen*. Below the rim runs a neckband of "rising blades", the blades being elongated at the spout and tail and showing C-hooked quills. The post caps are decorated with a pattern of whorl-circles and a band of *leiwen*. On the handle is an animal head of bovine type, its forehead decorated with a diamond pattern.

The *jue* is similar in shape and decoration to a *jue* excavated in Yinxu Western section M857 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 69).

This style of ornamentation, with the main motifs in relief and covered by *leiwen*, has been named Loehr Style V(a) or the *leiwen* relief style. The use of this style of ornamentation on the vessels-types *jue* and *gu* has been discussed by R. Bagley (Bagley 1987, p. 250), who has pointed out that the style seems to be common on these vessel-types first after the Fu Hao tomb, i.e. in the late Yinxu Period.



8. *Jue*

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Two pictograms under the handle (undeciphered).

Measurements: H.: 17.4 cm. L.: 12.7 cm. Weight: 620.8 g.

Condition: Pale green water patina. Heavily incrustated.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1875), who purchased it at Walter Weinberger & Co., London in 1953.

Publ.: Gyllensvärd & Pope 1966, No 5; Gyllensvärd 1967, No 5; Gyllensvärd 1971, No 5; Gyllensvärd 1972, No 3; Gyllensvärd 1977c, No 4; Gyllensvärd 1978, No 4.

Accession no: OM-1974-0100.

This sturdy, round-bottomed *jue* has straight sides, rather low posts and long, upturned spout and tail. There are three vertical, serrated flanges on the body, one of them opposite the handle, and there is also a flange under the spout. The belly is decorated with a *taotie* mask flanked by dragons. The style of the ornamentation is similar to OM-1971-0021 (Cat. no 7), in the so-called "*leiwen* relief style". Around the neck runs a band of "rising blades", elongated at the spout and tail. The post caps are decorated with a motif resembling a coiled snake. On the top of the handle is a sculptured animal head of bovine type.

The decoration of the post caps is unusual, but the "Ji bing fu ding-*jue*" (己並父丁爵) is decorated in the same style as the MFEA-*jue* and has a similar type of post cap decoration. (The Ji bing fu ding-*jue* is in the collection of the Xincheng Museum. Reprod.: Henan 1981, Pl. 330).



7a.



7b.



8b.

8a.



9. *Jue*

Date: Shang, late Yinxu

Inscription under the handle: Zi x Fu Xin 子父辛.

Measurements: H.: 21.6 cm. L.: 17.8 cm. Weight: 855.0 g.

Condition: Green, brown, red and emerald green patina. Carbonized traces of the cloth in which the vessel was buried. Repairs at the legs.

Provenance: Axel and Nora Lundgren bequest 1977.

Publ.: Gyllensvärd 1977, p.3-4, Pl. 2; Gyllensvärd 1977b, No 2.

Accession no: OM-1977-0033.

The *jue* is egg-shaped, with prominently flared legs and a broad spout. There are no flanges.

The vessel is covered by ornamentation – the body and the underside of the spout and tail are decorated with *taotie* masks and serpentine patterns against a background of *leiwen* – the only parts of the body left undecorated being the bottom and a narrow band around the lip. The ornamentation around the belly shows two bands of *taotie* masks, while a border of quills runs below the rim. The area below the spout is covered with two serpentine figures with club-shaped horns and lozenge-shaped eyes with splits. The decoration is in sunken relief with traces of a dark material originally used as filling in the ornamentation. The mushroom-shaped post caps are decorated with whorl-circles. The handle is undecorated except for a sculptured animal head of bovine type – on the opposite side of the body is a similar animal mask in low relief.

This vessel belongs to a group of *jue*-vessels characterized by the small animal mask in relief on the side of the body opposite to the handle. The group is discussed by Steven Owyong in his catalogue of the bronzes in the Saint Louis Art Museum (Owyong 1997, p. 95). Examples of this group have been excavated in Xiaotun 82M1, Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 237-238; the *jue* is here dated to Yinxu Period II, but as the rest of the objects from the tomb are dated to Period IV, this is obviously just a misprint) and in Xiangtan, Hunan (Yuan Jiarong 1982, quoted in Nanba 2004, p. 114, note 35). Nanba Sumiko has pointed out that the group of *jue*-vessels with a decoration covering the whole body is different from other Shang *jue*-vessels in having traces of the mould on the outer side of the legs, and that this might indicate a new method of casting these vessels (Nanba 2004, pp. 109-110, fig. 4:4-6).

10. *Jue*

Date: Shang, late Yinxu /early Western Zhou.

Inscription: Ge Fu Ding 戈父丁.

Measurements: H: 22 cm. L.: 17.2 cm. Weight: 870.4 g.

Condition: Dark grayish green patina with light green incrustations. One leg partly melted.

Provenance: Gift of Martin Månsson, Stockholm, 1946.

Publ.: Karlgren 1949, Pl. 10:2; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 180, *jue* 184 (dated to Western Zhou).

Accession no: K-11354.

This *jue* has a tall, egg-shaped body, resting on moderately flared legs. Around the belly runs a narrow, triple band with *leiwen* and rudimentary *taotie* masks. The mushroom-shaped post caps are decorated with whorl-circles and the simple handle is adorned with a sculptured head of bovine type.

This shape, with its tall, narrow body and narrow register of ornamentation in relief, was common in Yinxu Period IV. The *jue* is similar to *jue*-vessels excavated in 1976 and 1977 in Yinxu Western Section M697 and M793, both tombs dated to Yinxu Period IV in the same area (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 86, Pl. 13: 5, 3; Henan 1981, Pl. 229, 234).

11. *Jue*

Date: Late Yinxu /early Western Zhou.

Inscription: Two characters (undeciphered.)

Measurements: H.: 20.8 cm. L.: 16.2 cm. Weight: 639.9 g.

Condition: Green and brownish patina.

Provenance: A. Hellström coll.; who purchased it from C. T. Loo & Co, Paris 1929.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, pl.47b; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 6:1; Hayashi 1984-1989, Vol. 1:2, p.168, *jue* 63.

Accession no: K-14792.

The tall, round-bottomed body rests on three flared legs. The post caps in the shape of convex-sided thimbles are decorated with whorl-circles. Around the belly runs a decoration of *taotie*-masks, dominated by the lozenge-shaped split pupils.

The beaker is quite similar to the *jue* K-11354 in the MFEA-collection.





10a.



10b.



11a.

9a.



Gu - wine beakers for sacrificial use

12. Gu

Date: Shang, middle YinXu Period.

Inscription on the inside of the foot: A: "Fu Bing zun 父丙尊.
B: Zu Gui Ran 祖癸冉.

Measurements: A: H.: 26.5 cm. Diam.: 14.4 cm. Weight: 880.7 g.

B: H.: 26.3 cm. Diam.: 14.4 cm. Weight: 859.6 g.

Condition: Dull brown patina, with large patches of bright green. The whole surface waxed and polished smooth. Small crack in the rim of beaker A.

Provenance: Gift of Natanael and Gull Wessén.

Publ.: Karlgren & Wirgin 1969, no 16, pp. 78-81; Poor 1988, pp.70-89.

Inscription OM-1971-0020B published: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 12, no 7084 .

Accession no: OM-1971-0020 A-B.

This pair of *gu*-beakers are elegantly shaped, with wide, flared lips, slender necks and waists, everted feet, and moulded mouth and foot rims. The waist and foot are vertically divided into four sections by flanges. The ornamentation of the two vessels is also of similar type – the foot is decorated with *taotie* masks, formed by two horizontal dragons, while the *taotie* masks of the waist are formed by vertical dragons. The *taotie* motifs are shown against a background of *leiwen*. The neck is decorated with slender rising blades above a band of *leiwen*. A similar band also runs around the upper part of the foot. Between the neck and waist is a plain section, between the waist and foot there is a simple bowstring pattern. Each beaker has two cross-shaped holes.

This pair of vessels are similar to the set of *gu*-beakers inscribed Ya Qi 亞其 from the Fu Hao-tomb, although slightly smaller and more slender in proportions (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, pp.78, 82, fig. 55, Pl. 50-51, fig. 52; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, fig. 28:3).

According to Zheng Zhenxiang the inscriptions seem to be later than the beakers. (Personal information, Anyang 1992).

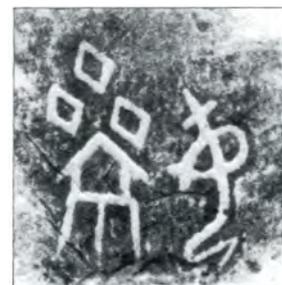
12d.



12e.



13c.



13. Gu

Date: Shang, middle/late Anyang Period.

Inscription below the foot: Fu Qi 婦齊.

Measurements: H.: 30.4 cm. Diam.: 16.9 cm. Weight: 1.4121 kg.

Condition: Light green water patina with spots in red, black, blue and emerald.

Provenance: Axel and Nora Lundgren bequest 1977.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl.22 (805); Gyllensvärd 1977, p. 5-6, Pl.4; *Stockholm* 1978: Cat. no 4.

Accession no: OM-1977-0035.

This beaker has a wide, flared lip, a narrow neck and waist and a splayed foot. The mouth and foot rims are moulded. The flanges at the waist run in straight, vertical lines, while the flanges at the foot follow the vessel's curved shape to turn upwards at the very end. The waist and foot are decorated with dissolved *taotie* masks in relief against a background of *leiwen*. At the top of the foot runs a band of stylized dragons. The neck is decorated with a stylized border of silk-worm-like creatures, above which rise slender blades with stylized *taotie* masks on a background of *leiwen*. Between the neck and waist is a very narrow plain section; between the waist and foot there is a simple bowstring pattern.

Compared to the pair of *gu*-vessels OM-1971-0020 (Cat. no 12), the ornamentation is more stylized and less precise, despite the slightly larger size. It is similar in shape, ornamentation and size to one *gu*-vessel excavated in Xibeigang M2046, Anyang (Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1964, Pl. 32) and two *gu*-vessels excavated in Jingjiecun M1, Lingshi County, Shanxi (Shanxi 1986, Pl. 2:1.2.3). Jingjiecun M1 is dated to the very end of the YinXu period or the transition Shang/Zhou (*ibid*, p. 17).



12b.



12c.



13b.



12a.



13a.

14. *Gu*

Date: Shang, middle YinXu Period.

Measurements: H.: 27.5 cm. Diam.: 15.6 cm. Weight: 981.6 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Collection of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. The Margot Holmes' Art Foundation.

Publ.: Karlgren 1960, Pl. 48b.

Accession no: HM-1964.

This beaker has a wide, flared lip, narrow neck, convex waist and splayed foot, with flanges at the waist and foot. The mouth and foot rims are molded. The panels of the waist are decorated with upended dragons; the foot shows dissolved *taotie* masks formed by contorted dragons. The ornamental motifs are drawn in fine lines and filled with patterns often quite similar to the *leiwen* of the background. The neck is decorated with slender rising blades with elements of *taotie* masks above a band of *leiwen*. The same band is found at the top of the foot. Between the neck and waist is a narrow, plain section, between the waist and foot there is a simple bowstring pattern and two cross-shaped holes.

The ornamental motifs of the waist and foot present similarities to a *gu* excavated in 1957 in Gaolou-zhuang M8, Anyang (Henan 1981, Pl. 285). There are also certain similarities to the ornamentation found on a set of three *gu*-beakers excavated in Xibeigang M1400 (Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1964, Pls. 25-26, 37:2) and to that of the Ya Qi group of *gu*-vessels from the Fu Hao-tomb. In the Xibeigang- and Fu Hao-beakers, however, the distinction between the main motifs and their background is clearer than in the MFEA-*gu*.

15. *Gu*

Date: Shang, late YinXu Period.

Inscription: Pictogram under the foot: Tian 天 ("Heaven"). See p. 230.

Measurements: H.: 31.1 cm. Diam.: 16.4 cm. Weight: 1.430 kg.

Condition: Green and reddish brown patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1590), to whom it was given by the Friends of the Swedish National Museum of Art in November 1942.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 101; Leth 1950, Cat. No 2; Gyllensvärd & Pope 1966, Cat. No 4; Gyllensvärd 1967, No 4; Gyllensvärd 1975b, No 6; Gyllensvärd 1977c, No 9; Gyllensvärd 1978, No 9.

Accession no: OM-1974-0094.

This *gu* has a flared lip, a slender neck and waist and a splayed foot with a moulded foot rim. Foot, waist and neck are vertically divided into four sections by flanges. The neck is decorated with rising blades above a band of small silkworm-like creatures. On the upper part of the foot runs a narrow band showing birds; otherwise the foot and waist are decorated with dissolved *taotie* masks, formed by dragons in low relief, on a background of *leiwen*. The details in relief are covered by a scroll pattern. Between the neck and waist is a plain section, between the waist and foot there is a simple bowstring pattern. There is one cross-shaped hole in the transition between the waist and foot.

The use of this style of ornamentation, often named Loehr Style V(a) or "the *leiwen*"-relief style, is discussed by Bagley, who dates the beginning of the use of this style on *gu*-beakers to a period after YinXu Period II (Bagley 1987, p. 250). He gives a list of excavated tombs containing *gu*-beakers with this style, running from the late YinXu Period into early Western Zhou (*ibid*, p. 255).

This type of *gu*-vessels with flanges on foot, waist and neck is termed *silenggu* ("gu with flanges on four sides") by the archaeologists. The extensive use of flanges is technically complicated on *gu*-vessels and the type is rare – on the excavated material it is only found on 9 of the 53 excavated *gu*-vessels in the Fu Hao-tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, p. 75, Pl. 44-45; classified as Style II) and on 4 of the 9 excavated *gu* in Huayuanzhuang East M54 (Anyang Archaeological Team 2004c, p. 12).

A somewhat smaller *gu* with a similar inscription is documented in the Kyoto University archive (Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 321, *gu* 70).



16. *Gu*

Date: Shang, late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: H.: 33.5 cm. Diam.: 18.5 cm. Weight: 1754.2 g.

Condition: Thick, green patina. Repairs at the mouth. Heavy layers of malachite added.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased at L. Wanieck, Paris, 1930.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 14:1.

Accession no: K-14804.

This stately beaker has a wide, flaring lip, narrow neck and waist and splayed foot, with straight flanges at the waist and curved, pointed flanges at the foot. The mouth and foot rims are molded. The waist and foot show dissolved *taotie* masks in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The details in relief are covered by a scroll pattern. The neck is decorated with slender rising blades above a band of silkworm-like creatures. The same band is found at the top of the foot. Also the eyebrows of the *taotie* masks on the foot look like larvae. Between the neck and waist is a plain section, between the waist and foot there is a simple bowstring pattern.

Typical for this *gu* is the foot with its curved, upward pointing flange and the high, molded foot rim. A *gu*-beaker of similar type was excavated in 1978 in Xiaomintun M1572 in Anyang (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, No 115). A similar beaker, but with a somewhat thicker waist, was excavated 1985 in Liujiashuang North M1, dated to Period IV (reprod.: Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, No 120; the dating is according to Yue Hongbin 2004, p. 93).

17. *Gu*

Date: Shang, late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: H.: 29 cm. Diam.: 16.1 cm. Weight: 948.9 g.

Condition: Green water patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1422), to whom it was given by Sir Percival David in 1935. (According to Li Ji 1937: From Anyang.)

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 3.

Accession no: OM-1974-0089.

This beaker has a wide, flared lip, narrow neck, slightly convex waist and splayed foot, with flanges at the waist and foot. The mouth and foot rims are moulded. The waist and foot show dissolved *taotie* masks in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The details in relief are covered by a scroll pattern. The neck is decorated with slender rising blades above a band of silkworm-like creatures, while a band of stylized dragons is found at the top of the foot. Between the neck and waist is a narrow, plain section, between the waist and foot there is a simple bowstring pattern. There are two cross-shaped holes in the transition between the waist and foot.

A similar beaker was excavated 1985 in Liujiashuang North M1, dated to Period IV (reprod.: Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, No 120; the dating is according to Yue Hongbin 2004, p. 93).



18. *Gu*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu period.

Inscription under the foot: Bing 并. Even read “you” 友 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 12, No 6597).

Measurements: H: 28.5 cm. Diam.: 16.2 cm. Weight: 951.2 g.

Condition: Dark green patina. Heavy incrustations. Repaired.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai 1934 (Kb IV-4-6, 293).

Publ.: Karlgren 1949, p. 7, Pl.13:1. Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, p. 320.

Accession no: K-12087-006.

This beaker has a wide, flaring lip, narrow waist and everted foot with moulded foot-rim. The foot, proportionally small in relation to the mouth, makes the beaker seem somewhat unstable. The minimally thickened waist of the *gu* is decorated with a register of dissolved *taotie* masks with tiny ridges. The foot is decorated with a register of three elephants with open mouths and raised trunks, their earflaps being raised from the background. The elephants are depicted in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The main decoration at the foot and waist is bordered by bands of circlets. The section between waist and foot is decorated with a bowstring pattern. There are two cross-shaped holes at the transition between waist and foot.

The *gu* belongs to a set of bronzes discussed by Li Xueqin and Sarah Allan. The set includes three *gu* vessels with the same pattern of marching elephants. In addition to the one in Stockholm, there is one *gu* in the Idemitsu Museum, Tokyo, and one *gu* in the collection of the dealer Christian Deydier in London (Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, nos 15 and 29). B. Karlgren mentions a *gu* of the same type in the collection of C.T. Loo (Karlgren 1949, p. 7) – Li and Allan suggest that it might be identical with the Deydier *gu*. The set also includes two *gui*-vessels, each vessel decorated with nine elephants of the same type, one in Ostasiatische Museum in Cologne, and the other in the Palace Museum, Peking. The Cologne *gui*, formerly in the von Lochow collection, was according to information excavated in Anyang (Ecke 1944, p. 33). The Palace Museum *gui* is published in 1973 (Du Naisong 1973) as a *zun* vessel. The Palace Museum *gui* and the Stock-

holm *gu* are both inscribed with the same character Bing (or You). All these vessels with their unique decoration might originally have been made as a set for one clan.

The set might have been even bigger. In his report from the purchase, Karlbeck writes: “The *ku [gu]* apparently belonged to a set of bronzes all embellished with the same type of elephant. There are photographs in Peking of three other vessels, a *kuang [guang]*, an *i [yi]*, and a *ku [gu]* forming a pair with 293 [i.e. the *gu* in the MFEA], which carry the same kind of ornament, and which seem to have come from the same grave” (Kb, IV-4-6).

19. *Gu*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: A character traditionally read “ju” 舉. (For a survey of the character, cf. Bagley 1987, pp. 241-243.)

Measurements: H.: 28.5 cm. Diam. at mouth: 16.5 cm.

Weight: 1041.9 g.

Condition: Green water patina.

Provenance: Gift of the China Research Committee. Formerly in the collection of Rudolph G. Ringström, Stockholm.

Publ.: Sirén 1942, p. 38; Venice Exhibition 1954, Cat. No 8; Statens konstsamlingar 1963, p.49, 55, 57.

Accession no: OM-1963-0072.

This beaker has a flared lip, a slightly convex waist and an everted foot. Mouth- and foot-rim are moulded. The waist and foot are decorated with *taotie* patterns in relief against a plain background. The eyes of the mask are lozenge-shaped with slits. The sections between the neck and waist and the waist and foot are decorated with a bowstring pattern. In the section between the waist and foot there are two cross-shaped holes.

A similar *gu*, with the *taotie* mask simplified into the same graphic design as the MFEA-*gu*, but bearing a different inscription, is published in *Yezhong pian-yu san ji* (Huang Jun 1942, Vol. 1, p. 41). This trend toward simplification of the *taotie* motif is the same as we find e.g. in a *gu* excavated in Dasikongcun M539, dated to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 128, Pl. 13:2).



18a.



19a.



18b.



18c.



19b.

20. *Gu*

Date: Shang, middle /late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 24.6 cm. Diam.: 13.8 cm. Weight: 829.4 g.

Condition: Light green, whitish and blue patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson from T. Y. King, Shanghai, on his travel in China 1936-38.

Publ.: Karlgren 1949, Pl.13:2

Accession no: K-12474.

This beaker has a flaring lip, slightly convex waist and everted foot. The mouth- and foot-rim are molded. The waist is divided in panels by low, vertical ridges. The foot and the panels of the waist are decorated with dissolved *taotie* masks, formed by antithetical dragons in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The eyes of the mask are lozenge-shaped with slits. The upper and lower edges of the major ornamental registers are framed by narrow borders of circlets. The sections between the neck and waist and the waist and foot are decorated with bowstring patterns.

Gu-beakers demonstrating the same sturdy shape and simplified ornamentation have been excavated in Xiaotun M17 (Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, Pl. 18:3; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 166), dated to Yinxu Period II, Yinxu Western Section M354, dated to the same period (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, Pl. 13:2), and Miaopu North M229 dated to the late phase of Yinxu Period II (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2008, Pl. 37). A similar *gu* was found in Guojiazhuang M 97, dated in the excavation report to the early phase of Yinxu Period IV (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 39, figs. 28:8, 29:3, Pl. 13:1).

21. *Gu*

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Huang 媿.

Condition: Water patina.

Measurements: H.: 20.8 cm. Diam.: 17.9 cm. Weight: 890.1 g.

Provenance: Collection of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. The Margot Holmes' Art Foundation.

Accession no: HM-1965.

This beaker has a flared lip, a slightly convex waist and an everted foot. The mouth- and foot-rim are moulded. The waist is divided in panels by low, vertical ridges. The *taotie* mask is here reduced to an absolute minimum – it is just indicated by one protruding eye on each side of the ridge. The sections between the neck and waist and the waist and foot are decorated with bowstring patterns. In the section between the waist and foot there are two cross-shaped openings.

A similar beaker with the same type of reduced *taotie* mask was excavated in Yinxu Western Section M354, dated by the excavators to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, Pl. 13:2).

A *gu* with this inscription is recorded as being in the Harald G. Wacker Collection, New York (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 12:6523); a pair of *jue* with the same inscription is in the Shanghai Museum (*ibid*, Vol. 13, 7416-17).



20.



21b.



21a.

22. *Gu*

Date: Shang, late Yinxu period.

Inscription on the inside of the foot: Guang zuo cong x 光作從x.

Measurements: K-14800: H.: 21 cm. Diam.: 13.1 cm. Weight: 562.8 g.

K-14801: H.: 21 cm. Diam.: 13.2 cm. Weight: 523.2 g.

Condition: Grayish green water patina with rusty spots. K 14801: Long crack in the body.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 13:3; Hayashi 1984, Vol. 1:2, p. 319, *gu* 44.

Accession no: K-14800-14801.

This pair of simply decorated beakers has a flared lip, convex waist and everted foot. The mouth- and foot-rims of the beakers are moulded. Only the waists are ornamented. *Taotie* masks are here indicated by protruding, lozenge-shaped eyes with splits on each side of a low, vertical ridge, the rest of the decoration consists of scrolls, any elements of a possible animal mask are difficult to identify.

Gu-vessels with the same sturdy proportions and marked waist have been excavated in tomb M1046, north of Liujiazhuang (Anyang Archaeological Team 2004b, p. 374). The tomb is dated to late Yinxu Period IV (*ibid*, p.385-386).

23. *Gu* (also classified as *zun*).

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Ya xu 亞盃.

Measurements: H: 14.1 cm. Diam.: 11.2 cm. Weight: 605 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with earthen incrustations.

Provenance: Collection of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. The Margot Holmes' Art Foundation.

Publ.: Gyllensvärd 1977c, No 8; Gyllensvärd 1978, No 8.

Accession no: HM-1970.

This very low, sturdy beaker has a bulging waist and a splayed foot without a moulded rim. The waist is decorated with a so-called *xiejiao muyun wen* ("an askew *leiwen*-pattern with eyes"). The foot has a quill-like decoration in openwork. Above and below this decoration is a narrow border of circlets. The lower part is decorated with a bowstring pattern.

A similar beaker, but without openwork, was excavated in the suburbs of Anyang 1950 (Henan 1981, No 323; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* 1993-98, Vol. 3, No 105 – in the Chinese catalogues the vessel is termed a *zun*). The bronzes excavated together with the beaker date from the late Yinxu period.

The same inscription is found on the *gui*, *ding*, *gu*, *jue* and *you* vessels excavated in 1963 in Miaopu North M172, Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pls. 67, 186-189, figs. 62:8-12).

22d.



22e.





22b.



22c.



23b.



22a.



23a.

Zhi - wine drinking vessels for sacrificial us

24. *Zhi*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Partly covered by corrosion; undeciphered.

Measurements: H.: 12.2 cm. Diam.: 10.3 x 8.3 cm. Weight: 692.3 g.

Condition: Greyish green water patina with patches of emerald, brown and red. Earth incrustations.

Provenance: Axel and Nora Lundgren bequest 1977.

Publ.: Grousset 1937, Pl. 6; Leth 1950, No 12; Karlgren 1960, Pl. 39; Gyllensvärd 1977, p. 4-5, Pl. 4; Gyllensvärd et al. 1978, No 3; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 336, *zhi* 8.

Accession no: OM-1977-0034.

The beaker has an S-shaped profile, everted foot and elliptical cross-section. The flared mouth rim is moulded. There is a low, vertical ridge in the middle of the body, front and back. The body is decorated with *taotie* masks in sunken relief, formed by symmetrical dragons with protruding eyes. Around the foot is a band of stylized dragons, around the neck a band of rising blades above a border of dragons.

During Shang, this type of *zhi*, with an elaborate decoration, was mostly lidded. It is possible that this vessel too originally had a lid like that of the *zhi* R1075 excavated in Xibeigang M1022, dated to Yinxu Period II (Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1972, Pl. 38). Compared to the "classical" two-layer ornamentation of the Xibeigang-*zhi*, that of the MFEA-vessel is – except for the protruding eyes – executed in one layer. The ornamentation is also more stylized and lacks the pregnancy of the excavated piece.



24b.

24a.



25. *Zhi*

Date: Shang, late YinXu Period.

Measurements: H.: 13.3 cm. Diam.: 9.5 cm. Weight: 660.1 g.

Condition: Dark patina with emerald and rusty brown spots.

Provenance: Axel and Nora Lundgren bequest 1977.

Publ.: Umehara 1940, p.40; Karlgren 1937, Pl. 51; Karlgren 1960, Pl. 54a; Gyllensvärd 1977, p. 8, Pl. 8-9; Gyllensvärd et al. 1978, No 6; Hayashi 1984-89, p. 342, *zhi* 63; Bagley 1987, p. 471.

Accession no: OM-1977-0037.

The beaker has an S-shaped profile, elliptical cross-section, indented mouth rim and moulded foot-rim. The beaker is vertically divided into four sections by scored flanges along the neck, body and foot. The main panels around the body are decorated with birds in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The motif is repeated on a smaller scale around the foot ring and neck. Around the upper part of the neck runs a border of triangular blades. The upper part of the body is fluted. Underneath the bottom is a net-pattern in thread-relief.

Already in 1940 Sueji Umehara pointed out that this *zhi*-beaker and a lid excavated in Anyang might originally have belonged together (Umehara 1940, p. 40, Pl. 50:1). However, he gave no reason for this hypothesis. Thanks to the great generosity of the Institute of History of Philology of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan we have been allowed access to the unpublished archaeological material, and have gained a better understanding of the circumstances regarding the excavation of this bronze and we are now able to offer solid evidence of the connection between these two pieces.

This *zhi*-beaker originally belonged together with the lid R1101 (now in the Academia Sinica, Taiwan), excavated in the small tomb M2046 in the royal cemetery in Xibeigang, Anyang (Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1972, Pl. 51). The decorative motifs and style are identical, including the birds on a background of *leiwen*, as are the shape and proportions of the protruding and non-protruding elements of the flanges. The opening of the lid and vessel also fit together, their measurements perfectly matching, with traces of the abrasions from the lid being visible on the inside of the vessel.

The diameter of the lid is 8.5 x 5.1 cm according to the published data, while the diameter of the inside

of its mouth is 5.9 x 5.8 cm. Thanks to the generous assistance of the Academia Sinica in making the additional measurements, we now know that the part of the lid intended to go inside the vessel, has a height of 1.46 cm. The diameter of the MFEA-*zhi* is 5.9 x 4.8 cm at the mouth. At a distance of 1.4 cm below the mouth, the diameter is 5.4 x 4.8 cm. Here there are visible traces of wear (see fig. 25c). It is thus demonstrated beyond doubt that the lid and vessel were kept together for a long period. The lid was excavated by the archaeologist Gao Quxun (Kao Ch'ü-hsün) on November 22nd 1935 in M 2046 – a tomb belonging to a complex of more than 2.500 small tombs, situated not far from the Xibeigang tomb M1129, which is a large tomb with two ramps in the east section of Xibeigang. According to Gao's notes, at the time of the excavation of the tomb: "...fragments of bones were continuously excavated, demonstrating that the tomb had been looted, but on the surface of the tomb pit there were no signs of it having been overturned." In 1935, at the time of Gao's excavation, there was no trace of the vessel in Xibeigang. In 1940, Umehara discussed the vessel as "Ex Coll. Ko Chin [Jin Ge], Shanghai". However, already in 1937 the *zhi* had come into the collection of Axel and Nora Lundgren, and was exhibited under their names in Paris (Grousset 1937, p. 44, Pl. 6:14).

In M2046 we meet a tomb occupant who has been provided with at least 6 bronzes, of which the *jue* and *gu* were in matched pairs. The tomb had also been furnished with the very rare material of gold and turquoise.

The decoration of the MFEA-*zhi* with birds on a background of *leiwen* is similar to that of a *you* from the same tomb (Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1972, Pl. 41), while its shape is quite similar to a *zhi* excavated in Guojiazhuang M160 – a tomb dated by the excavators to YinXu Period III (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, Colour Pls. 11:1, 9).

In his discussion of a group of bronzes with the inscription "She", Bagley has pointed out the similarity in ornamentation between the "She you" 舌卣 in Worcester Museum and the MFEA-*zhi*. Bagley considers the whole She-group to date from YinXu Period IV (Bagley 1987, pp. 470-471).



25b.



25c.



25a.

26. *Zhi* (classified by Karlgren as *hu*)

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (bottom of the goblet): Wei 衛.

Measurements: H.: 22 cm. Weight, body: 1465.4 g. Weight, lid: 315.2 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty brown splotches at the neckband. Textile incrustations.

Provenance: Bought from Martin Månsson, Stockholm, 1952.

Publ.: Karlgren 1952, Pl. 3A-C; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p.337, *zhi* 22.

Accession no: K-11450.

The shape of this square *zhi* is quite unusual. The beaker has an S-shaped profile and a square cross-section with a moulded lip and a high foot. Around the upper part of body is a border of stylized dragons against a background of *leiwen*, with an animal head in high relief in the middle of this border in the front and back. A band of *xiejiao yunleiwen* ("a lopsided meander-like pattern") runs around the foot. The lid is decorated with a scaled snake, its head sculpted in high relief.

The decoration on the cover recalls the stone lid of a vessel from the Fu Hao tomb (*Institute of Archaeology*, CASS 1980, p. 197, ill. 98:3, pl. 169:6). The upper part of the dragon is here raised above the cover, with the forelegs resting on the lid. The ornamentation of a scale pattern on the lid adumbrates a style which became popular under Western Zhou.

26d.





26b.



26c.

26a.



Jia - wine vessels for sacrificial use

27. *Jia*

Date: Shang, early Yin Xu Period.

Measurements: H.: 27.7 cm. Diam.: 16.8 cm. Weight: 1791.5 g.

Condition: Green and rusty brown patina. Earth incrustations. Traces of the bamboo mat in which it was wrapped.

Provenance: Purchased by Orvar Karlbeck in Peking September 1934 (Kb IV-6-5, 341). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1949, Pl. 8:2; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p.194, *jia* 20.

Accession no: K-12087-005.

The *jia* stands on three T-shaped legs. It has a flat bottom, convex skirt and flared upper part, strap-handle and two posts with mushroom-shaped caps. Around the skirt and upper part are bands of *taotie* masks rendered in sunken lines. These main registers of ornamentation are framed by narrow borders of circlets. The mushroom-shaped post-caps are decorated with a pattern of whorl circles.

The vessel is similar to a *jia* found in a storage pit in Sanjiazhuang, dated to the beginning of Yin Xu Period I (Meng Xianxu 1985: Pl. 8:2; *idem* 2004, Colour plate 34:2).

28. *Jia*

Date: Shang, middle Yin Xu period.

Inscription on the inside: Chen 𠄎.

Measurements: H.: 49.6 cm. Diam.: 25.5 cm.

Condition: Green patina with rusty incrustations.

Provenance: Gift to the MFEA 1936 from A. Hellström. The vessel was obtained from O. Karlbeck, who had purchased it from T. Y. King, Shanghai.

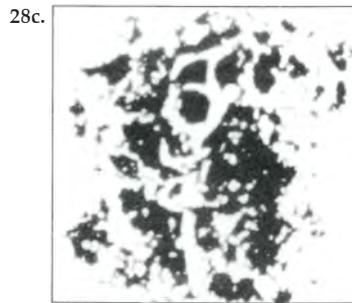
Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl. 25; Karlgren 1949, Pl. 9; Gyllensvärd 1963, p. 29; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p.196, *jia* 56.

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology 1984-94, Vol. 15, No 9122.

Accession no: K-12202.

This imposing vessel stands on three tall legs, which have a depression on their inner face. The flat-bottomed body has a convex skirt and a tall, flared upper part with moulded lip. The body is vertically divided into sections by scored flanges. The skirt and upper part are decorated with broad bands of dragons forming *taotie* masks in relief against a background of *leiwen*. Around the neck runs a border of rising blades against a background of *leiwen*. The handle is decorated with a scroll pattern in sunken lines; on its top is a sculptured animal head. The umbrella-shaped post-caps are decorated with *leiwen* in relief. The legs are decorated with a pattern of hanging leaves.

This *jia* is similar in shape and measurements to the *jia*-vessel R781 excavated in the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 38:1), but, except for the protruding eyes, the ornamentation of the MFEA *jia* is in one layer.



29. *Jia*

Date: Middle Shang, local style,

Measurements: H.: 28.9 cm. Diam.:19 cm. Weight: 2.7297 kg.

Condition: Deep green patina with brown splotches. Earth incrustations. One post broken and repaired.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1580), who purchased it from the antique dealer Lundgren, Stockholm, in 1938.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. .2; Leth 1950, No 3; Gyllensvärd & Pope 1966, No 3; Gyllensvärd 1967, No 3; Gyllensvärd 1971, No 3; Gyllensvärd 1972, No 2; Gyllensvärd 1975b, No 2; Geiuitsu Shincho 1975:11; Gyllensvärd 1977c, No 3; Gyllensvärd 1978, No 3; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p. 194, *jia* 29; Bagley 1987, p.151; Bagley 2008, p. 29-30, fig. 6.

Accession no: OM-1974-0092.

The flat-bottomed vessel rests on three legs having a depression on the inner surfaces. The round body has a flared side with a moulded lip. Around the belly is a decoration of *taotie* masks. The mushroom-shaped post-caps are decorated with a pattern of whorl-circles.

The shape of the vessel with its T-shaped legs, flat bottom and flared side with one band of decoration is similar to a *jia* found 1971-1972 in a tomb in Beigao-miao, Zhangzixian, Shanxi (Guo Yong 1980, pp. 198-199, Pl. 19:3).



28b.



29.



27.

You - wine vessels for sacrificial use

30. *You*

Date: Shang, early / middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H. (incl. handle): 27.2 cm. Diam. at the mouth: 5.5 cm. Weight: 897.4 g.

Condition: Grey, green, blue and red patina.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-3-7, 180), at a time when there were many bronzes from Wuguan cun on the market (Kb-IV-3-1).

Publ.: Huang Jun 1942, I, 33; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 15:1; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 60; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p.256, you 9; Bagley 1987, p. 355, fig. 61:3; Rawson 1991, Vol. IIB, p. 480, fig. 64.1.

Accession no: K-14789.

The vessel is pear-shaped, with an S-shaped profile and an elliptical cross-section. The lid is domed with a knob. A swing handle is attached low on the body. A decorative border runs around the neck, filled with a pattern of *leiwen* and framed by narrow borders of circlets. A low, vertical ridge in the middle of the border divides the pattern in two sections. The foot-ring is also decorated with a border of *leiwen*. The lid has a dragon pattern against a background of scales, while a border of *leiwen* runs along the edge. A dragon with a loop-formed tail is fastened to the lid – originally a device for fastening a chain to the lid. The handle has a lozenge pattern ending in a snake's head at each side.

You-vessels of the same type, but taller and with a flared neck, were excavated in the large tomb Wuguan cun M1 – a tomb considered to antedate the Fu Hao tomb (Henan 1981, No 275; Bagley 1987, p.356, Fig.61:4), and in Xiaotun 77AXT M18 – the latter tomb dated to Yinxu Period II by the excavators (Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, Fig. 51, Pl. 12:3; Bagley 1987, p. 357, Fig. 61:5).



31. *You*

Date: Late Yinxu / early Western Zhou.

Inscription (inside the lid and on the inner bottom of the vessel): Zu Ding Shi Ji Fu Gui x 祖丁示己父癸 x. (The character here read as shi in the inscription is read as *di* 帝 by Wu Dacheng and as *zu* 祖 by Karlgren and Wirgin.)

Measurements: H. (incl. handle): 40 cm. Weight: 5.330 kg.

Condition: Most of the surface covered with a malachite-green patina.

Provenance: Gift of Natanael and Gull Wessén. Formerly in Wu Dacheng's collection, later passing into the collection of Prince Pulun, and then into the von Lochow collection.

Publ.: Wu Dacheng 1896, 18.17a-b; Shang Chengzuo 1935, 2.14b-15a; Karlgren 1937, Pl. 43 (512); Ecke 1943, p. 45; Karlgren & Wirgin 1969, Cat. No 10, pp. 58-59; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p.259, *you* 34.; Rawson 1991, Vol. 2B, pp. 235-236, fig. 6-1.

The inscription published a. o. in: Luo Zhenyu 1937, 13.22b; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 10: 5265. (For a full list of early publications of the inscription, cf. Ecke 1943.)

Accession no: OM-1971-0019.

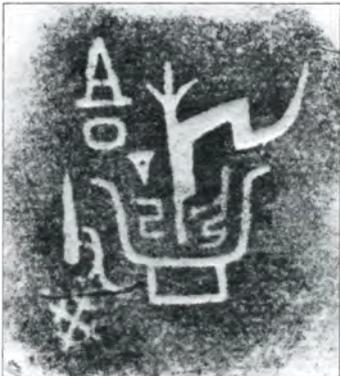
The vessel has an S-shaped profile and elliptical cross-section. The lid is collared and the swing-handle imitates a rope. Along the neck, foot and lid run belts of decoration in sunken lines, showing *taotie* masks formed by profile dragons. Low, vertical ridges formed the nose of the *taotie*. The decoration on the knob of the lid is effaced.

Similar *you*-vessels have been found in tombs dated to Yinxu Period IV (Anyang Archaeological Team 1986a, fig. 5:3; Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, Pl. 11:5).

31b. Vessel



31c. Lid



32. *You*

Date: Late Yinxu Period / early Western Zhou.

Inscription (on the bottom inside the vessel, and inside the lid):Fu x 婦 x.

Measurements: H. (incl. handle): 32.8 cm. W.: 24.0 cm. Weight: 5.3567 kg.

Condition: Green patina with greyish spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King GustafVI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1893). Presented to the King in 1954 by Kerstin Laurin and her daughters, in memory of Thorsten Laurin. Purchased in China by Karlbeck.

Publ.: Gyllensvärd & Pope 1966, No 7; Gyllensvärd 1967, No 7.

Accession no: OM-1974-0101.

This *you* is similar in shape to *you* OM-1971-0019 (cat. no 31), although the foot is relatively taller. Along the neck and lid run bands of decoration in sunken lines, showing stylized dragons. A small animal head in relief is attached to the middle of the border on the back and front of the body. The foot is decorated with a bowstring pattern.

33. *You*

Date: Late Yinxu Period / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: H. (incl. handle): 21 cm. Diam. at mouth: 9.8 cm. Weight:1.850 kg.

Condition: Grey, green, blue and red patina.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Bought from Karlbeck in 1936.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl. 44 (527); Karlgren 1948, Pl. 15:2; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 6A; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p. 259: *you* 33.

Accession no: K-14788.

The vessel has an S-shaped profile and elliptical cross-section. It has a collared lid and a swing-handle imitating a rope. Although it is smaller than cat. nos 32-32, the shape of the three vessels is basically the same. Around the lid and the upper part of the body run bands of decoration showing angular *leiwen*-spirals with borders of small circlets. A small animal head in relief is attached in the middle of the decorative band on the body at the front and back. Along the foot runs a simple decoration of bowstring lines.

A similar, but somewhat larger *you* was excavated in 2006 in Guojiazhuang M13 (on the Saige Gold Construction site), dated to Yinxu Period III (Institute of Archaeology, CASS & AMI 2008, Pl. 105). A pair of *you* vessels, one larger and one smaller, were excavated in 2004 in the tomb Dasikongcun Southeast M303, dated to Yinxu Period IV (*ibid*, Pl. 178-179). A very similar *you* is also in the Sackler collection and is thoroughly discussed by Robert Bagley (Bagley 1987, pp. 388-393). Bagley dates the Sackler *you* to the 11th century BC due to its inscription.



31a.



32b.



32a.



32c.



32d.



33.

34. Double-owl *you*

Date: Middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: H: 23.2 cm. Weight: 3 kg.

Condition: Greenish patina with reddish spots and incrustations. Extensive repairs.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson in Tung Pu Chai, Peking, on his Chinese travel in 1936-38.

Publ.: Huang Jun 1942 I, 34; Karlgren 1949, Pl. 11; Gyllensvärd 1963, ill.: p. 31.

Accession no: K-12282.

The vessel, with an elliptical cross-section, is in the shape of two owls, standing on two short, plump legs and depicted back-to-back. The lid represents the birds heads, with faces like *taotie* masks, the eyebrows being in the shape of dragons, the beaks upward-turned. On the lid is a conical knob. On each side of the body is a loop for fastening a handle that now is lacking. The birds' wings are depicted in relief.

Typical of this vessel are its plain surface, with no background decoration of *leiwen*, and the upward-turned beak. Similar types of *you* have been found in many parts of China. In the collections of the Yingcheng wenhuaguan in the Hubei Province and the Shanghai Museum (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 4, Pl. 156-157) are similar vessels with their rope-shaped swing-handles still intact. A *you* with the same type of upward-turned beaks was published in *Yezhongpian er ji* (Huang Jun 1937, Pl. 18) and a *you* with the same type of beak, but decorated with *leiwen* on the head, is in the Sackler Collection (Bagley 1987, p. 368-371). Two *you*-vessels from Hunan, one saved from discarded bronzes in Zhuzhou in 1957 (Hunan 1960, p. 29:2) and another collected in Changsha in 1966 (reproduced in *Wenwu*, 1972:1, Pl.4) are also of similar type, but as their lids are modern replacements, comparisons are difficult to make (Bagley 1987, pp. 370-371). A well-published *you* from Shilouxian in Shanxi resembles these vessels, but the upward-turned, curved beak gives the owl a more realistic impression (Shanxi 1958, Cover).

The double-owl *you*-vessels are also common in the Henan-area, but the surfaces of these vessels are mostly elaborately decorated with *leiwen* and the beaks mostly realistically rendered. A couple of vessels with a simpler decoration have, however, been found in Anyang. A *you*, dated to the late phase of YinXu Period II was excavated in 1999 in Miaopu North M229 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2008, PLs 39-40), and is quite similar to the MFEA vessel in shape and size. Its eyebrows have, however, the shape of silk-worms. The lid's knob is roof-shaped and not conical as that

of the Stockholm vessel. Another *you* of similar type was excavated in 1953 in Dasikongcun M239 (Henan 1981, Pl. 303). The lid of this *you* was lacking, making a valid comparison with the MFEA vessel difficult.

Pou - wine vessels for sacrificial use

35. *Pou*

Date: Contemporary with late Shang. Probably from the middle Yangzi region.

Measurements: H.: 44 cm. Diam.: 53 cm. Weight: 15.5 kg.

Condition: Light green patina with blue spots. Heavily repaired.

Provenance: Purchased from T. Y. King through Karlbeck, Shanghai, spring 1953. According to information from T. Y. King from Changsha, Hunan.

Publ.: Leth 1953, No 4; Karlgren 1954, p. 369-372, Pl. 1-5; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 79a; MFEA Cat. 1963, p. 25; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p. 314, *pou* 52; Bagley 1987, p. 274; Rawson 1991, Vol. IIA, p. 51-52, fig. 58b.

Accession no: K-11456.

The bulging body of this *pou* rests on a relatively tall foot, while its neck is rather short. On its shoulder are sculptured ram heads and birds. The body is parted in four vertical fields by scored flanges at neck, body and foot. The fields around the body are decorated with dissolved *taotie* masks, formed by antithetical dragons, in relief. The major motifs are covered by *leiwen* and shown against a background with the same type of pattern. Below the shoulder is a band of large nipples, decorated with whorl-circles; around the neck run bowstring lines. There are four rather large, square holes at the transition between foot and body.

R. Bagley has pointed out a technical feature of the group to which this *pou* belongs: "The casting is thin everywhere except at the rim. Depressions on the inside wall corresponding to the elevated parts outside are a technical feature of some interest since they do not ordinarily appear on Anyang Style V[a] castings." (Bagley 1987, p. 267.) This type of large bronzes with rather coarse casting and executed in a flamboyant style probably comes from a bronze culture in southern China, represented in the finds from Xin'gan, Jiangxi (cf. Jiangxi 1997).



35b.



34.



35a.



35c.

36. *Pou* (formerly classified as *lei*) with lid

Date: Late Shang, probably local production. Possibly modern copy.

Inscription: Five characters inside the neck. (For a discussion of the inscription, cf. Li Xueqin and Allan 1995, p. 326.)

Measurements: H.: 14.3 cm. Diam. around belly: 12.2 cm. Weight (with lid): 749 g.

Provenance: Gift from The China Research Committee 1979 to the memory of Bernhard Karlgren.

Publ.: Gyllensvärd 1981a, pp.53-54; Gyllensvärd 1981b, pp.85-86; Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, No 47.

Accession no: OM-1979-0041.

The vessel has an ovoid body and a short, straight neck with a small loop at each side. The body and lid are decorated with geometrical patterns – there are no similarities between the patterns on the vessel and its lid. Borders of circlets run around the lid and the neck of the vessel.

The vessel is quite unusual in shape and decoration. Li Xueqin and Sarah Allan, calling the vessel-type “*hu*”, suggest that the geometrical patterns probably are a modern addition, and that the original ornamentation consisted only of the borders of circlets. (Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, No 47, p. 326. No explanation is offered as to how the possibly modern ornamentation was added to the surface.) While borders of circlets are unusual on *pou*-vessels, this type of ornamentation is found on a *pan*, excavated in Longtou in Chenggu in the Shaanxi Province (Zhao Congcang 2006, p. 187, Pl. 97).

Hu – wine vessels for sacrificial use

37. *Hu*

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 33 cm. W. (at mouth): 16.5 cm. Weight: 4.525 kg.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased in Peking 1934 by O. Karlbeck (Kb-IV-3-11, 235). According to Karlbeck’s information from Anyang. Bought at a time when many bronzes from Wuguancun (Anyang) were on the market.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl. 48; Karlgren 1949, Loehr 1953, p. 47, fig. 10; Pl. 16; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 54A; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 297, *hu* 10; Bagley 1987, p. 343, fig. 58.2; Bagley 2008, p. 29-30, fig. 8.

Accession no: K-12084.

The vessel, having an S-shaped profile and an elliptical cross-section, is set on a low, conical foot. At each side of the neck is a vertical lug. The ornamentation is an example of Loehr Style III: The body is covered with two broad, horizontal bands of decoration, showing *taotie* masks with dragon bodies in profile. Low, vertical ridges mark the center of the masks. The main motifs are depicted against a quill-patterned background. Except for the protruding eyes, the main motifs and the background are rendered at the same level. Between the two major fields of decoration runs a band of scrolls. The same type of decorative band runs around the foot-ring. The upper part of the neck is decorated with bowstring lines in relief. Bagley has described this vessel as the “earliest metal *hu* with the characteristic elliptical cross section” (Bagley 1987, p. 343).

No *hu*-vessel has hitherto been excavated among the material from the Erligang period; the earliest tomb in which this type appears is Xiaotun M388, dated to Yinxu Period I. The *hu* from this tomb is round in cross section; *hu*-vessels with elliptical cross sections appear first in tombs as Xiaotun M238 (Shi Zhangru 1980), which has been dated to Yinxu Period II (Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1985). The *hu* from this tomb has a shape quite similar to that of the Stockholm *hu*, but the ornamentation lacks the characteristic quill-pattern. In a recent monography Bagley has dated the Stockholm *hu* to around 1300 B C, but he offers no archaeological evidence to back up this surprisingly early dating (Bagley 2008, p. 29-30).



36a.



36b.



36c.

37.



Fangyi – wine vessels for sacrificial use

38. *Fangyi*

Date: Shang, middle/late Anyang Period.

Measurements: H.: 30 cm. Weight: 4300 g.

Inscription (on the inside of vessel and lid): Yuan 鸛.

Condition: Bluish green patina.

Provenance: Gift of Natanael and Gull Wessén.

Publ.: Leth 1953, No 1; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 14a; B. Karlgren & J. Wirgin 1969, Cat. No 11, pp. 60-63; Hayashi 1984-89, p. 252
Fangyi 24; R. Bagley 1987, p. 297; Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, no 41.

Inscription published: Barnard & Cheung 1978, 9.1681.

Accession no: OM-1971-0016.

The body of the vessel is vertically parted into eight panels by scored flanges. Horizontally the body is divided by grooves into three belts - neck belt, main belt and foot belt. The main belt is decorated with *taotie* masks, dragons forming the horn of the *taotie*, in relief against a background of *leiwen*. In the lower, outermost corner of the main belt another dragon is

depicted. The neck- and foot-belt are decorated with dragons in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The lid, which has a pyramid-shaped knob, has scored flanges and is decorated with upside-down *taotie* masks against a background of *leiwen*. The main motifs on the body and lid are all covered with *leiwen* – the ornamentation of the vessel is an example of the *leiwen*-relief style. On the inside of the lid there is a cicada in relief – quite an unusual feature.

A similar *fangyi* has been excavated in Xibeigang M1022 and dated to the middle Anyang (Li Ji & Wan Jiabao 1972, Pl. 15). Comparing the ornamentation of the two vessels, the dragon motif is rendered in a much more lively manner on the M1022. By comparison, the dragons on the MFEA-vessel seem ribbon-like and conventionalized. The MFEA-*fangyi* might thus be somewhat later in date.

The same inscription is found on a series of vessels from the Shang-period, a.o. a *fanglei* in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (cf. Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, No 50).

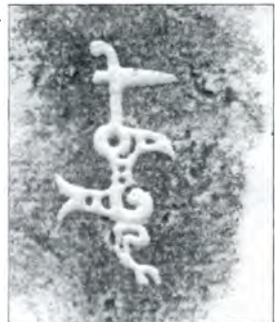
38c.



38d.



38e.





Ding and *li* – vessels for cooking**39. *Ding* (“round *ding*”) – formerly classified as *li ding***

Date: Early Yinxi Period.

Measurements: H.: 34.3 cm. Diam. (between handles): 19.8 cm.
Weight: 2.216 kg.

Condition: Green and dark grey patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1202). Purchased by Nils Palmgren in Peking 1935.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl.1; Loehr 1953, p. 46, fig. 7; U. Lienert 1979, Vol. 1, pp.113-114; Vol. 2, Pl. 77; Gyllensvärd & Wirgin 1956, Cat. No 8; Gyllensvärd & Pope 1966, No 1; Gyllensvärd 1967, No 1; Gyllensvärd 1971, No 1; Gyllensvärd 1972: No 1; Gyllensvärd 1975b, No 1; Gyllensvärd 1977c, No 1; Gyllensvärd 1978, No 1; Bagley 2008, pp. 70-71, fig. 35.

Accession no: OM-1974-0087.

This round *ding* (*yuan ding*) has three pointed, open legs, a body with a rounded side, everted lip and two handles. The round-bottomed body is of slightly lower height than the legs. The upper part of the body is decorated with a single register of dragons forming *taotie* masks. On both sides of the main register is a border of circlets.

Two *ding*-vessels of a related type have been excavated in the Shanxi Province: One *ding* was excavated in 1966 in Liansigou, Xinxian (Shen Zhenzhong 1972:4, p. 67-68, fig. 1) and another *ding* was excavated in 1971 in Beigaomiao, Zhangzixian (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 1, No 43), the latter find was dated to the middle Shang Period. However, compared to the open and light ornamentation in the Erligang-style of these vessels, the lines on the MFEA-*ding* are deeper cut and more tightly organized. The MFEA-*ding* is more similar in shape and ornamentation to a *ding* excavated in a storage pit in Sanjiazhuang, Anyang in 1964, dated to early Yinxi (Meng Xianwu 2004, Colour plate 31:2).



40. Ding

Date: Early Yinxi Period.

Measurements: H.: 17.2 cm. Diam.: 15.5 cm. Weight: 1607.0 g.

Condition: Heavily corroded. Dark-green patina with heavy green and bluish incrustations.

Provenience: From the Anders Hellström Collection. Hellström had purchased the *ding* from Devine, who had bought it from Dr. H. Mueller, Peking, who in turn had obtained it in Anyang.

Publ.: Exhibition 1933, Pl. 4; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 10:1; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 2, *ding* 26; U. Lienert 1979, Vol. 1, p. 129; Vol. 2, Pl. 99.

Accession no: K-14782.

This round *ding* has a deep, hemispherical body with three short, tapering legs and two small handles. On the upper part of the body runs a band of cicadas on a background of *yunleiwen*.

The ornamentation is similar to that of a *ding* excavated 1959 in Wuguancun M1, dated to Yinxi Period I (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979b, Pl. 3:5). The body of the latter vessel is shallower than that of the MFEA *ding* and its legs are slightly longer and sturdier. The shape of the Stockholm vessel is more similar to that of another *ding* excavated in the same tomb and also to a *ding* excavated in the storage pit H13 in Xiaotun Locus south, also dated to Yinxi Period I (Anyang Archaeological Team 1975). The ornamentation of the latter two vessels shows traces of the Erligang style. (For reproductions of these vessels, see Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 1, Pls 89-90.)

41. Ding

Date: Middle / late Yinxi Period.

Inscription (on the inside of the body): Zi Mei 子媚.

Measurements: H.: 19.8 cm. Diam. 16.9 cm. Weight: 2241.9 g.

Condition: Grey and green patina. Cracked.

Provenience: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Bought at Kinamagasinet, Stockholm.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl. 5; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 8:2; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 76a; Lienert 1979, p. 69, Pl. 19; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p.1, *ding* 12; Bagley 2008, p. 44, fig. 16.

Accession no: K-14779.

This round *ding* has three cylindrical legs supporting a hemispherical body with two loop-shaped handles. The body is slightly contracted below the horizontal lip. The *ding* is decorated with a broad neckband with alternating birds and whorl circles against a background of *leiwen*. Below the neckband is a register of hanging blades with cicadas, also on the background of *leiwen*. The ornamentation is inlaid with a black substance.

The *ding* shape with a cylindrical body, slightly contracted below the mouth, and resting on cylindrical

legs, is widespread in Anyang from Yinxi Period II to IV (Lienert 1979, Table 24). The decoration with a broad neckband above a border of hanging blades is also common on the *ding* vessels from the same period. A *ding* excavated in 1999 in Miaopu North M229, dated to the late phase of Yinxi Period II, shows great similarities to the MFEA *ding* in size, shape, and decoration, although in the Miaopu *ding* there are *taotie* masks instead of birds in the neckband (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2008, Pl. 36).

The inscription on the MFEA *ding* is not uncommon and is found a.o. on another *ding*, formerly in the Oskar Trautman Coll. (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 3, No 1309).

42. Ding

Date: Middle / late Yinxi Period

Measurements: H.: 16 cm. Diam.: 17.1 cm. Weight: 2267.6 g.

Condition: Black and green patina. One handle repaired.

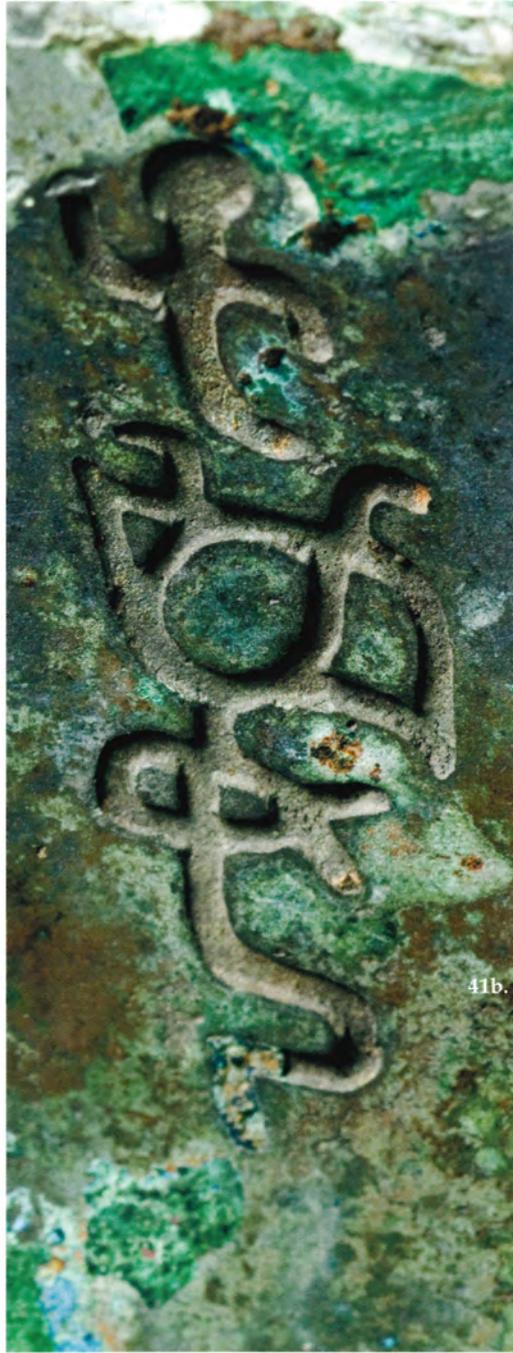
Provenience: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-8-4, 478).

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 8:2.

Accession no: K-14780.

This round *ding* has three cylindrical legs and a hemispherical body with a horizontal lip and two handles. The ornamentation is similar to K-14779, with a broad neckband decorated with alternating birds and whorl circles against a background of *leiwen*. Below the neckband is a border of hanging blades with cicada pattern. The ornamentation is inlaid with a black substance.





43. *Ding*

Date: Middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: H.: 19.5 cm. Diam.: 15.4 cm. Weight: 1631,1 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1135). Purchased by Karlbeck in China 1935.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 4:1; Gyllensvärd & Wirgin 1956, No 4; Gyllensvärd 1977b.

Accession no: OM-1974-0086.

This round *ding* has three cylindrical legs and a hemispherical body with a horizontal lip and two handles. The body is slightly contracted below the rim. We find the same type of decoration as that of K-14779 (cat. no 42), with a broad neckband above a border of hanging leaves with a cicada pattern. Here the neckband is decorated with *kui*-dragons against a background of *leiwén*. The neckband is divided in smaller sections by short, vertical flanges – two dragons in a row fill each section.

A similar type of *ding*, of the same shape and with the same type of decoration, was found in Xiaqiyuan, Cixian, Hebei (Luo Ping 1974:11, pp. 90-94; Hebei 1980, pl. 71; Hayashi 1984-1989, p. 7, *ding* 86). The Hebei *ding* is of larger size, and the dragons in the neckband are proportionally bigger, with only one dragon filling each section.

44. *Ding*

Date: Middle / late Yinxi Period.

Inscription: Two characters, commonly read as “Xiang zhu 鄉饗寧”

Measurements: H.: 16.5 cm. Diam.: 13.3 cm. Weight: 1.034 kg.

Condition: Waxed, black patina. Remnants of green corrosion in the ornamentation.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Anyang, August 1929 (Kb I-36-4, 745). In his report Karlbeck writes: “Beautiful *ting* [*ding*] with an inscription which seems to be identical with the inscription on no 672. From Changtefu [Zhangdefu]. Bought in Changtefu.” (Transl. MS). Karlbeck No 672 refers to a dagger-axe with a shaft-ring, the inscription being made in turquoise inlay, now in the MFEA (acq. no K-11090-040, cat. no 97).

Publ.: Karlgren 1949, Pl. 2:2; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p. 4, *ding* 43; Lienert 1979, Vol. 1, pp. 136-137.

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology CASS 1984-1994, Vol. 3, No 1363.

Accession no: K-11090-167.

This round *ding* has three cylindrical legs, a round-bottomed body with an almost straight side slightly contracted below the rim, and two loop-formed handles. The neckband is divided in sections by low, vertical ridges, each section decorated with a *kui*-dragon against a background of *leiwén*. The dragons are confronting each other on each side of the flange. Below the neckband is a border of hanging blades with cicada pattern. The ornamentation is flatter than that of OM-1974-0086 (cat. no 42).

A somewhat larger *ding*, similar in shape and decoration, but with a slightly more rounded side, has been excavated in Dasikongcun M539, dated to Yinxi Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, fig. 2:2, Pl. 3:2; reproduced: Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, Pl. 167). The ornamentation of the M539 cauldron is also relatively flat.

The inscription is common on vessels from the Shang period. It is also found a. o. on a *gui*, formerly in the Gustaf VI Adolf Coll., now in the MFEA (cat. no 62). (For a short survey of the use of this inscription in the Shang period, see Bagley 1987, pp. 473-474.)



44b.



43.

44a.



45. Ding

Date: Middle / late Yin Xu Period.

Inscription (on the inside of the body): Unknown clan sign inside *yaxing*.

Measurements: H.: 23.4 cm Diam.: 19.7 cm. Weight: 3.8976 kg.

Condition: Greyish green patina with green incrustations.

Provenance: Axel and Nora Lundgren bequest, 1977.

Publ.: B. Karlgren 1936, p. 99, Pl. 6; Karlgren 1937, Pl. 2 (53); Karlgren 1959, p. 299, Pl. 15b; Gyllensvärd, 1977, p. 7-8, Pl. 5; Lienert 1979, p. 70, Pl. 22.

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 3, No 1425.

Accession no: OM-1977-0036.

This round *ding* has cylindrical legs and loop-formed handles. The round-bottomed body has a slightly rounded side, somewhat contracted below the rim. Segmented flanges divide the body vertically into six panels. Each panel is decorated in two horizontal sections between which there is a plain, concave band. The main sections are decorated in relief with *taotie* masks formed by symmetrically placed dragons against a background of *leiwen*. Above the main sections is a narrow band of *kui*-dragons, depicted on a background of *leiwen*. The legs of the cauldron are decorated with a triangular pattern in intaglio, inlaid with a dark substance.

A *ding* excavated in 1958 in M907 in Yin Xu Western Section has the same size and shape and a similar decoration, although the upper register of ornamentation is lacking. This tomb was dated to Yin Xu Period IV by the excavators, mainly based on the finds of pottery. The bronzes in the tomb were re-dated to Period III in the 1985 survey of Anyang-bronzes (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, No 72). A *ding* of the same type, but with no decoration on the legs, was excavated in M1, Guojiazhuang, Anyang, dated by the excavators to Yin Xu Period III (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 35).

45c.



46. Ding

Date: Middle / late Yin Xu Period.

Inscription: Kun dong li 虫虫嶮力.

Measurements: H: 19.3 cm. Diam.: 16.5 cm. Weight: 2242.2 g.

Provenance: Gift of the China Research Committee, Purchased at Björks konsthandel during the Osterman Antiques Exhibition, 1960.

Publ.: Huang Jun 1942, I, 11; Hayashi 1984, Vol.1:2, p. 6, *ding* 70.

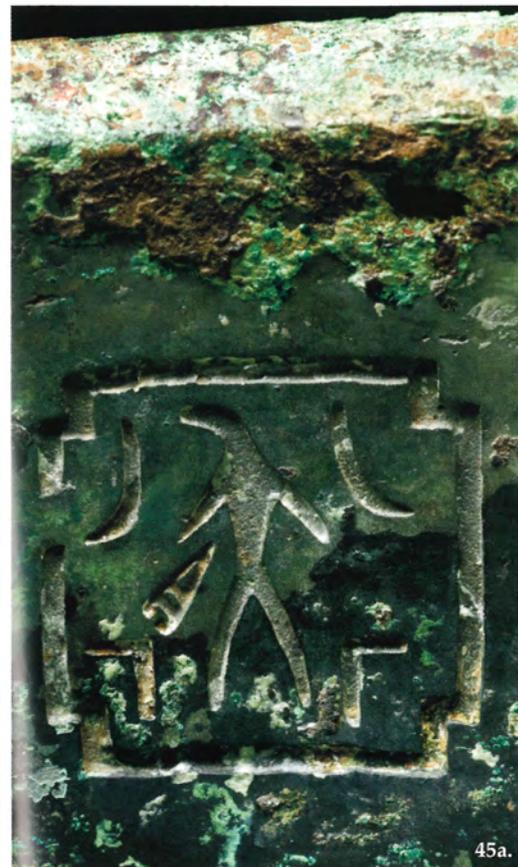
Inscription published: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, vol. 4, No 1760.

Accession no: OM-1961-0014.

This *ding* has a hemispherical body balancing on three slightly tapering legs. The side is somewhat contracted below the horizontal lip. The loop-shaped handles are rather small. Around the neck runs a band with a "pattern of four-legged creatures with an eye" (*sizhi mu wen*). Both the pattern and background are covered with *leiwen*. The belly is covered by a diaper pattern, showing circlets surrounded by a *leiwen* (*xiefangge lei ruding wen*). The lines are filled with a black, resinous substance.

A pair of slightly smaller *ding*-vessels with diaper pattern was excavated in the Fu Hao tomb. The neckband of these Fu Hao vessels are divided in sections by small, vertical ridges, and the creatures on the neckband are of the birdlike *kui*-dragon type (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pls. 11:1-2; *idem* 1985, Pl. 106). A *ding* vessel with diaper pattern and the same type of neckband as that of the Fu Hao vessels has been excavated in M1025, Yin Xu Western Section (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, Pl. 10:2; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 203), dated to Yin Xu Period IV. Compared with the MFEA and Fu Hao *ding*, this vessel gives a more robust impression; the legs are shorter and sturdier and decorated with a triangular pattern, the side of the body shows a more bulging curve, and the main register of decoration is relatively broader.

(An inscription on a *jue* (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 4: no 8805) has similar features, but the first character is upside-down, and the third character has one more stroke.)



45a.



45b.



46b.



46a.

47. *Ding*

Date: Middle / late Yinxi Period.

Inscription: Hand with staff, chasing an animal. (Similar inscription: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 3, No 1143.)

Measurements: H.: 19.2 cm. Diam.: 16.2 cm. Weight: 1791.2 g.

Condition: Black, green, red and blue patina. Repaired.

Provenance: Purchased in Peking in 1934 by O. Karlbeck (Kb IV-5-3, 317). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, pl. 32; Karlgren 1949, pl. 2:1; Karlgren 1962, pl. 66a.

Accession no: K-12087-004.

This round *ding* is of the same type as OM-1961-0014 (cat. no 46), although the bottom and side are less rounded and the three legs are taller, but also sturdier and placed at a somewhat greater distance from the centre of the body, giving the vessel a more solid appearance. The ornamentation of these two MFEA *ding* vessels are quite similar, but the neck-band is broader and the lines depicting the four-legged animal are stiffer in this vessel. In this *ding* too, the lines are inlaid with a black, resinous substance.

A similar, but somewhat smaller *ding*, and with a more rounded side, was excavated in 1985 in Tijiakou West M3, in Anyang (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, Pl. 23).

48. *Ding*

Date: Late Yinxi Period.

Inscription of three characters, the first being undeciphered, the last two characters read as *beiche* (貝車).

Measurements: H.: 22.5 cm. Diam.: 19.4 cm. Weight: 2.270 kg.

Condition: Green malachite patina, heavy incrustation in the interior part. One leg repaired.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1594). Presented by The Swedish Export Association to the then Crown Prince in 1942.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Gyllensvärd 1967, No 2; Gyllensvärd 1977c, No 2; Gyllensvärd 1978, No 2; Gent 1979, No 20.

Accession no: OM-1974-0097.

This round *ding* has three cylindrical, slightly spreading legs and two sturdy handles. It has an S-shaped profile and a marked lip. Segmented flanges divide the neck into four panels, decorated with bird-like *kui*-dragons confronting each other on each side of the flange. The dragons and the background are covered by *yunleiwen*. Below the neckband runs a band of hanging blades with cicadas. The grooves are inlaid with a black substance.

A *ding* of similar shape and decoration was exca-

vated in 1982 in M874, Yinxi Western section. This tomb was dated by the excavators to Yinxi Period IV (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 76). A *ding* of similar shape and decoration, but with the legs decorated by a triangular pattern, was excavated the same year in M875 in the same area. This tomb was dated by the excavators to Yinxi Period III (*ibid*, Pl. 68).

49. *Ding*

Date: Late Yinxi Period.

Inscription: Jian / Xian 見 ("appear, become apparent"); Bagley raises the question of whether this character might be a name (Bagley 1987, p. 189).

Measurements: H.: 16.2 cm. Diam.: 12.4 cm. Weight: 1.1387 kg.

Condition: Pale-green, grey, red and blue patina.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased by Karlbeck in 1934 from T.Y King, Shanghai. Karlbeck states that the vessel was from Anyang "and probably found at Wu Kuan Tsun [Wuguanqun]". (Kb IV-3-5, 150).

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 9:1; Hayashi 1984, Vol. 1:2, p. 12, *ding* 135; Bagley 1987, p. 463 (not illustrated).

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 3, No 994.

Accession no: K-14778.

This round *ding* is similar in shape and decoration to OM-1974-0097 (cat. no 48), although it is considerably smaller in size.





47b.



48b.



49b.



47a.



48a.



49a.

50. Fang ding ("square ding")

Date: Late Yinxi / early Western Zhou.

Inscription: Three characters, read as Zun fu Gui 存父癸, or: You fu Gui 酉父癸, or x fu Gui x 父癸.

Measurements: H.: 24.4 cm. L.: 18.9 cm. W: 14.3 cm. Weight: 3.439 kg.

Condition: Black, glossy patina.

Provenance: Bought by J. G. Andersson from Luo Zhenyu in Tianjin in 1926. Formerly in the collection of Li Zuoxian 李佐賢 (1807-1876) and Ding Shuzhen 丁樹楨. (Cf. Luo Zhenyu 1917, 4.12, (quoted in Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 4, No 1680); Liu Tizhi 1934, 2.20.6, Zeng Yigong 1940, 17.7).

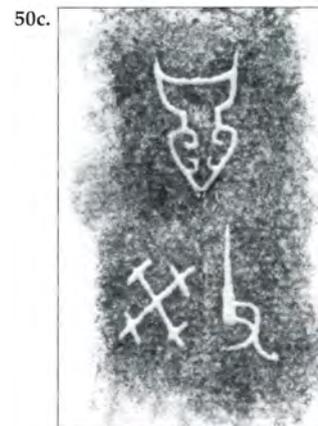
Publ.: Luo 1918, 3a-b; Karlgren 1936, Pl. 2 (A6); Karlgren 1937, Pl. 9:1; Karlgren 1949, Pl. 1; Karlgren 1960, Pl. 3, Gyllensvärd 1963, ill. p. 27; Lienert 1979, p. 169 (no illustration).

Inscription publ.: Luo Zhenyu 1917, 4.12 (quoted in: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 4, No 1680); Liu Tizhi 1935, 2.20.6; Luo Zhenyu 1937, 2.29B; Zeng Yigong 1940, II.17B; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 4, No 1680.

Accession no: K-11004-159.

The square body has a horizontal lip and two loop-shaped handles and rests on four cylindrical legs. The body is divided into eight panels by flanges with alternating 1- and T-shaped scores. The panels are divided into two horizontal bands – a neckband of bird-shaped *kui*-dragons above a main pattern of *taotie* masks. Each *taotie* mask is formed by two confronting *kui*-dragons and spans two panels, the flange marking the central part. Both the patterns of the neckband and the main section are depicted in relief against a background of *leiwen*. The legs are decorated with a triangular pattern in sunken lines.

This *ding* is dated by Ursula Lienert to her "Stage 5" – in her dating system the very end of the Yinxi Period (Lienert 1979, pp. 150-151, 169). A *fang ding* of a similar shape, ornamentation and size and dated to the 12th-11th century BC was excavated in 1953 in Licun, Qishanxian, Shaanxi Province (now in the Chinese National Museum collection, cf. Shaanxi 1979, Pl. 15). The Shaanxi *ding* has a slightly more three-dimensional ornamentation, and its casting seems coarser than that of the MFEA *ding*. These *ding* vessels correspond to a trend in late Shang/early Western Zhou to make the body and legs of approximately the same height.





50a.



50b.

51. *Ding* with round body and flat legs (*yuanfu bianzu ding*)

Date: Shang, early Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 27.8 cm. Diam.: 22.5 cm. Weight: 3.6796 kg.

Condition: Thick, dark green patina.

Provenance: Purchased in 1948 from G. Ander, Stockholm. Reported to come from the Anyang area.

Publ.: Huang Jun 1935, I.13; Karlgren 1949, Pl. 5:2; Rawson 1991, Vol. IIB, p. 232-233, fig. 5.4 (Rawson gives the wrong accession number).

Accession no: K-11375.

The vessel has a hemispherical body with everted lip and two handles. The three flat legs are in the shape of *kui* dragons, whose open mouths with sharp teeth support the body. Around the upper part of the body runs a broad band with a pattern of *kui*-dragons. Very low, vertical ridges divide the band in sections.

The shape of the *bianzu ding* with a rather shallow bowl resting on flat legs in the shape of dragons is typical of the "classical Yinxu-style". Examples of this shape has been found Xiaotun M18 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 150), dated to Period II. The hooked contours of the legs of the excavated vessel are quite similar to the *ding* in the MFEA. The legs of the two Anyang vessels are, however, everted at the end of the foot, while the shape of the MFEA vessel is straighter and more similar to those from the Erligang Culture, such as the *ding*-vessels found in a storage pit of Zhengzhou (Henan 2001, Pl. 212: 3,4).

A *bianzu ding* in the collection of Nanjing Museum is very similar to the *ding* in the MFEA in size, shape and ornamentation, including the open jaws of the dragon directly supporting the body of the vessel (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, Pl. 57). The Nanjing *ding* has been tentatively dated to the very early Anyang period by Bagley (Bagley 1987, 448-449).

52. *Ding* with round body and flat legs

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 26.6 cm. Diam.: 29.7 cm. Weight: 2.4649 kg.

Condition: Green, grey, and red patina. One leg broken and repaired.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking autumn 1934 (Kb IV-7-3, 416). Reported to come from the Anyang area.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl. 2; Karlgren 1949, Pl. 5:1; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 78b; Lienert 1979, pp.113-115, Pl. 82; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 47, *bianzu ding* 9.

Accession no: K-12087-012.

The shape of this vessel is similar to K-11375 (cat. no 51), with a hemispherical body resting on three legs in the shape of *kui* dragons. Around the belly runs a broad border of horizontally placed cicadas on a background of *leiwen*. The grooves in the ornamentation are filled with a red substance.

Compared to the *ding* cat. no 51, the legs are slimmer and their ornamentation is less flat. The shape of the legs is more similar to the legs of the *ding* R1173 from the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 13) and this *ding* should probably be dated somewhat later than cat. no 51.



51.



52.

53. *Li ding* (*ding* with a lobed body)

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period

Measurements: H.: 18 cm. Diam.: 15.2 cm. Weight: 1.1988 kg.

Condition: Black, green and blue patina. Fragile surface, handles cracked.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. (AH 1010). Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-4-7, 305). Reportedly from Anyang.

Publ.: Chinese Exhibition 1935/36, No 241; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 9:2; Lienert 1979, p. 201 (no ill.); Bagley 2008, p.44, fig. 21.

Accession no: K-14781.

This vessel has three slim legs, and a rather wide body with everted lip and two rather small handles. The upper part of body has a circular form, while the lower part has a three-foil shape. Around the neck runs a band of meander-like spirals in sunken lines. The body is covered with zigzag-bands filled with a simple *leiwen* in relief.

The vessel type is known as *li ding* (a combination of the vessel types *li* and *ding*) or *fendang ding* (a *ding* with a partitioned crotch). In early Yinxu Period the legs of the *li ding* were mostly relatively small and pointed, in middle Yinxu period they became cylindrical and taller in proportion to the body, and were also often somewhat splayed. According to Lienert, the vessel type was during this period characterized by austerity in shape and integrated contour (Lienert 1979, p. 201). She dates this vessel to her Stage 3; i.e. roughly contemporary with the first half of Yinxu Period II (*ibid*, *loc. cit.*).

The ornamentation of this *li ding* in MFEA is rarely seen on bronze vessels. Instead the pattern offers parallels to the decoration on the white pottery from the Shang dynasty. A *li ding* in the Avery Brundage collection, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco has a similar surface-covering pattern (Lienert 1979, Pl. 174). The San Francisco vessel has a rounder profile and should according to Lienert be dated slightly later than the MFEA *li ding* (*ibid*, pp.203-204).

54. *Li ding*

Date: Shang, Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H: 23.5 cm. Diam.: 20.2 cm. Weight: 2.7282 kg.

Condition: Thick, deep green patina with earth incrustations. Corroded. Very fragile with many cracks.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-4-8, 310) at a time when much material from Xiaotun, Anyang, was available on the antiques market.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl. 8; Karlgren 1949, Pl. 5:2; Lienert 1979, p. 201 (no ill.); Hayashi 1984, Vol. 1:2, p.53, *li ding* 34.

Accession no: K-12087-007.

The vessel has three legs. The lobed body has an everted lip and two handles. Around the neck and along the handles runs a band of cicadas against a background of *leiwen*. The sunken parts are filled with black substance.

Lienert dates this vessel to her Stage 3, i. e. approximately late Yinxu Period I (Lienert 1979, p. 201).



54b.



53.



54c.



54a.

55. *Li ding*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Bei Dan 北單.

Measurements: H.: 20.8 cm. Diam: 17.1 cm. Weight: 3.1035 kg.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of Queen Louise Sweden, who was given it by Mr. Chen Songling in Shanghai during her visit there in 1926.

Publ.: Exhibition 1934, Pl. 10:2; MFEA Friendship Association Yearbook, 1964/65, p.14 (reproduced on the cover); Hayashi 1984, Vol. 1:2, p. 53, *li ding* 31.

Accession no: OM-1965-0026.

The vessel stands on three slim, cylindrical legs, with horizontal lip and two small handles. The upper part of the lobed body is slightly triangular; the side is slightly contracted below the rim. The lower part of the body has the shape of a three-foil. Around the neck runs a band of *xiejiao mu yunleiwen* ("a lopsided meander-like pattern with an eye"). The body is decorated with three *taotie* masks with buffalo horns and protruding lozenge-shaped eyes with slits. The masks stand out in powerful relief against the background of *leiwen*.

56. *Li ding*

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (on the inside): Ge 戈. For the inscription, cf. Shaanxi 1995, pp. 114-118.

Measurements: H.: 19.4 cm. Diam.: 16.1 cm. Weight: 1.7116 kg.

Condition: Glossy, light-green patina.

Provenance: Gift to the MFEA from T. Y. King, Shanghai, through Karlbeck, spring 1947.

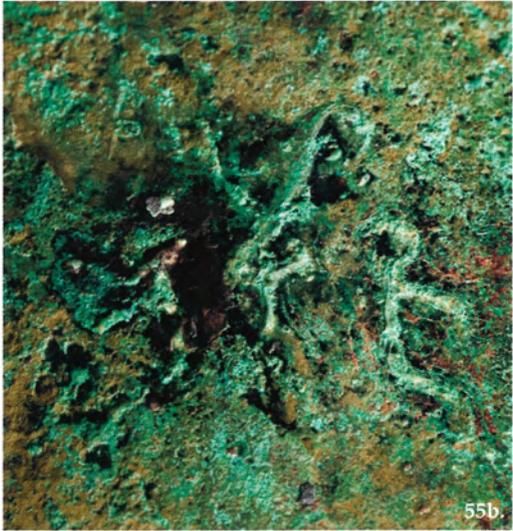
Publ.: Karlgren 1949, Pl. 7:1; Gent 1979, No 29; Hayashi 1984, Vol. 1:2, p. 53, *li ding* 30

Accession no: K-11357.

The body rests on three splayed, slim, cylindrical legs. The upper body is circular; the lower body is trefoil in shape. The side is slightly contracted below the horizontal lip; the handles are relatively small. Around the neck runs a band of stylized bird-like dragons. The body is decorated with three loosely organized *taotie* masks in relief against a background of *leiwen* in sunken lines. Except for the eyebrows and the lozenge-shaped eyes with splits, all details are covered by a scroll pattern.

56c.

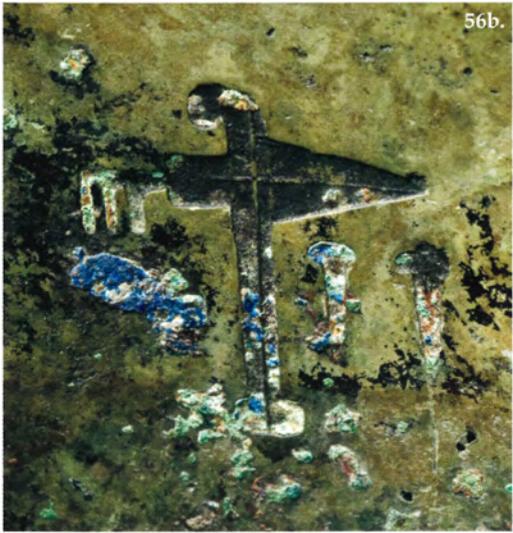




55b.



55a.



56b.



56a.

57. Li

Date: Late Yinxu/early Western Zhou.

Inscription: Shi Qin 史秦.

Measurements: H.: 19.3 cm.

Condition: Polished, no trace of patina.

Provenance: Purchased by J. G. Andersson from Luo Zhenyu in Tianjin 1927.

Publ.: Karlgren 1937, Pl. 34; Karlgren 1949, Pl. 7:2; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 29a; Willetts 1966, Pl. 70; Hayashi 1984, Vol. 1:2, p. 61, *li* 4.

Inscription publ.: Luo Zhenyu 1930.4.1B; Wang Zhen 1935, I, 27A; Luo Zhenyu 1936, 5.13B; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 3, No 468.

Accession no: K-11004-170.

The tripod has three hollow legs, a rounded side, everted lip and two handles. The neck is decorated with a dissolved dragon-like *taotie* pattern, the *taotie* masks being flanked by small ornamental panels with quills. Three very low vertical ridges divide the band.

A smaller *li* of the same basic type was excavated in 1977 in M1102 in the Western Section of Yinxu, dated to Yinxu Period IV (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1985, Pl. 217). The ornamentation is quite similar, but the profile of the MFEA *li* is more curved. A *li*, excavated together with a *liding* in 1964, both vessels being dated to Shang, in the Chongzhai Village, Jiangtun People's Commune, Teng County, Shandong Province is still smaller (Qi 1972, pp. 2-3, figs.5-6).

57b.



58. Li ding

Date: Local Middle Yangzi Culture, contemporary with Shang, early/middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.16.8 cm. Weight: 1.2805 kg.

Condition: Deep green and blue patina. Heavily corroded.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased at M. Knudsen & Co., Paris 1929.

Publ.: Exhibition 1933, Pl. 10:1; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 4:1; Karlgren 1962, Pl. 25A; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 52, *li ding* 22; Bagley 1987, p. 96, fig. 107.

Accession no: K-14783.

The vessel rests on three pointed legs, with tall neck, marked lip and two handles. The body is decorated with three *taotie* masks, whose jaws, eyes and buffalo-horns bulge against a background pattern of dragons and *leiwen* in sunken lines.

The basic shape of this *li ding* shows similarities to the *li*-vessels excavated in the large tomb in Xin'gan, Jiangxi Province. There are differences in the style of ornamentation, and also in the shape of the rims. The rims of the Xin'gan vessels are all marked, while the MFEA-vessel has an everted rim (Jiangxi 1997, Colour Pls. 11:2, 12:1, Pl. 13:2). These differences might indicate some difference in the date or place of production.

There is still no general agreement regarding the date of the Xin'gan Culture, but as it seems to have been a further development of the Erligang Culture, a date approximately contemporary with the Yinxu Period is probable.

59. Li ding

Date: Late Shang, local style.

Measurements: H: 19.1 cm. Diam.: 13.9 cm. Weight: 1.828 kg.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Obtained by Karlbeck in Peking 1934 (Kb IV-5-4, 332). According to information from the dealer found near Dasikongcun, Anyang.

Publ.: Chinese Exhibition 1935/36, No 198; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 4:2, 5:2; Karlgren 1962, 34, Pl. 1b; Watson 1962, Pl. 1b; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p.53, *li ding* 32; U. Lienert 1979, Vol. 1, p. 211, Vol. 2, ill.184; Bagley 1987, p. 30, p. 97, fig. 108; Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, Pl. 72.

Condition: Thick, dark-green patina.

Accession no: K-14784.

The vessel has three, slightly tapering legs, a rounded side, a horizontal lip and two handles. Around the neck runs a band of three snakes against a background of *leiwen*. The body is decorated with three *taotie* masks in relief against a background of dragons, quills and *leiwen*. The relief was originally inlaid with a black material.

The vessel has no parallel in the Anyang material.



57a.



58.



59a.

59b.



59c.

Gui

60. Gui

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 11.2 cm. Diam.: 17.3 cm. Weight: 1.1949 kg.

Condition: Dark patina with red and green spots.

Provenance: Axel and Nora Lundgren bequest, 1977.

Publ.: Gyllensvärd, 1977, p.1-2, Pl. 1; Expo Stockholm 1977, No 1; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 83, *gui* 12.

Accession no: OM-1977-0032.

This vessel has an S-shaped profile and a straight foot-ring. The whole surface is exquisitely decorated. Low flanges divide the body vertically into sections that are decorated in relief with *taotie* masks formed by symmetrical dragons against a background of *leiwen*. The transition between body and neck is decorated with a diamond pattern, in the middle of which two small animal heads in relief are attached. The neck has a band of "rising blades". Around the foot is a band of dragons against a background of *leiwen*, above a narrow border of diamond pattern. There are three small holes at the transition between the foot and body.

The shape of the vessel is quite similar to a *gui* excavated in Xiaotuncun M18, by the excavators dated to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1981 fig. 3:3, Pl. 10:3). The *gui*-vessels R 750, R 832 and R 750, excavated in the Fu Hao tomb also have a similar shape, although they are smaller in size (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 16).

61. Gui

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu period.

For the inscription, cf OM-1963-0072, (cat.no 19).

Measurements: H.: 13.8 cm. Diam.: 20.3 cm. Weight: 1.9194 kg.

Condition: Glossy black patina, covered by green incrustations.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Obtained from Karlbeck, who had purchased it from T. Y. King, Shanghai.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 2:2; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 84, *gui* 16; p. 86, *gui* 35.

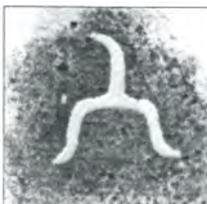
Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-1994, Vol. 6, No 2991.

Accession no: K-14811.

The vessel has an S-shaped profile with a marked lip and a straight foot-ring. The neck and foot are decorated with ornamental bands. The neckband shows a row of dragons on a background of spirals. An animal head in relief is attached to the front and back. The decoration around the foot shows a band of interlocked S-spirals. Borders of circlets frame the ornamentation around the neck and foot.

The type is similar to a *gui* excavated in 1950 in the subsidiary burial E9 to the large tomb WKGM1 at Wuguancun, generally dated to Yinxu Period II (Guo Baojun 1951. Pl. 16:2; reprod.: Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 2, Pl. 83).

61b.





60.



61a.

62. *Gui*

Date: Middle / late YinXu Period.

Inscription: Xiang zhu 鄉寧 ("Sacrificial feast - to store"; for the inscription, cf. K-11090-167, cat. no 44).

Measurements: H.: 16.0 cm. Diam: 23.3 cm. Weight: 2.8994 kg.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1601), who obtained it 1943 from Karlbeck.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 102:1; Gyllensvärd & Pope 1966, No 8; Gyllensvärd 1967, No 8; Gyllensvärd 1971, No 7; Gyllensvärd 1972, No 5; Gyllensvärd 1977c, No 6; Gyllensvärd 1977d, No 6; Gyllensvärd 1978, No 6. Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 137, *xiaoxing yu* 4.

Accession no: OM-1974-0098.

This *gui* has a body with a rounded side, an everted lip, and a slightly everted foot. The body is covered by a pattern of nipples surrounded by a diamond pattern. Around the neck and foot runs a belt of stylized dragons against a background of *leiwen*. A small animal heads in relief is attached to the neck belt at the front and back. Low, vertical ridges divide the decoration around the foot in sections. There are three small openings for core support on the foot.

Gui-vessels with the same type of "diamond and boss-pattern" have been excavated in the Fu Hao tomb. While the sides of the Fu Hao-vessels are rounder than the MFEA *gui*, a *gui* with a different type of decoration possesses the same shape (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 16:12, Pl. 17:1).

The *gui*-vessels with "diamond and boss patterns" seem to have been most popular in the north and northwest. A slightly larger *gui* of similar shape and decoration to that of the MFEA *gui* was excavated in 1965 in Yantoucun, Suide County, Shaanxi Province (Shaanxi 1975, fig. 19). A *gui* excavated in 1971 in Dachuan, Youyu County, Shanxi Province also demonstrates great similarities to the MFEA *gui*. The decorative borders around the neck are, however, different in the two vessels – that of the excavated *gui* having a pattern of alternating birds and whorl-circles instead of a dragon-pattern (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 4, No 32).

The *gui*-vessels with diamond and boss-patterns and their extensive provenance in the "pre-dynastic region" of the Zhou dynasty in Shaanxi have been thoroughly discussed by Robert Bagley (Bagley 1987, pp. 504-514).

63. Lid for sacrificial vessel

Date: Late YinXu/ early Western Zhou.

Inscription: Ya Chou fu Xin 亞醜父辛 (for bronzes with Ya Chou inscriptions, see Rawson 1991, p. 160).

Measurements: Diam.: 22.5 cm. Weight: 2.1185 kg.

Condition: Polished, with few remnants of patina.

Provenance: Purchased by J. G. Andersson autumn 1927 in Tianjin from Luo Zhenyu 1927.

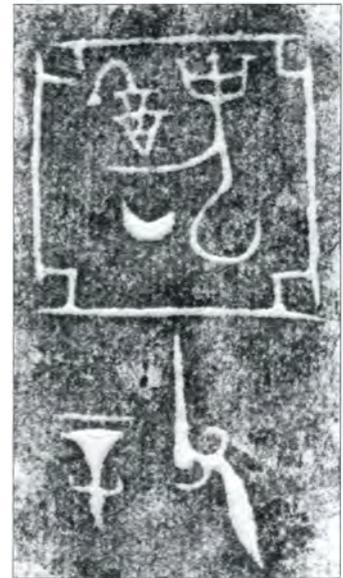
Publ.: Luo Zhenyu 1918.11a-b; Karlgren 1936, Pl. 27 (A 181); Karlgren 1949, Pl. 15:1; Rawson 1991, p. 362.

Accession no: K-11004-169.

This collared lid with its rather tall, hollow knob was made for a round vessel. The lid is decorated with *taotie*-masks in relief on a plain background. The lozenge-shaped eyes of the masks are protruding, with slits in the middle.

Luo Zhenyu indicates that the lid originally belonged to a *yan* (steamer) (Luo Zhenyu 1918, List of content). Rawson suggests that the lid originally belonged to a Ya Chou *gui*, formerly in the von Lochow Coll. (Rawson 1991, p. 362).

63b.





62b.



62a.



63a.

64. *Gui*

Date: Shang, Possibly local style contemporary with early / middle Yinxi. Inscription on the inside: 𪛗

Measurements: H.: 15.5 cm. Diam.: 28.2 cm. Weight: 3.5255 kg.

Condition: Green and rusty brown patina.

Provenance: Gift of Natanael and Gull Wessén.

Publ.: Karlgren & Wirgin 1969, Cat. No. 8, pp. 54-55; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 137, *xiaoxing yu* 1; Bagley 1987, pp. 498-499.

Inscription published: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 6, No 3037.

Accession no: OM-1971-0017.

This *gui*-vessel has a rounded side with a molded lip and a slightly everted foot. Around the neck and foot are borders, showing stylized dragons against a background of *leiwen*. At the transition between foot and body there are three square holes.

This vessel, with its relatively wide body, has an unusual shape for a *gui* and has been classified as a small *yu* by Hayashi (Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 137), while R. Bagley considers it to be an early example of *gui*-vessels without handles (or a “*yu*-vessel” in his terminology), dating from the first century of the Anyang period (Bagley 1987, p. 499). His early dating of the MFEA-*gui* is partly based on a comparison between the ornamentation of its foot-rim with the decoration of a *pou* in the Sackler collection (illustrated *ibid*, p. 320).

The lack of finds of similar shapes among the *gui*-vessels in the Anyang-area might indicate a provincial origin of this *gui*.

65. *Gui* (even classified as *daxing yu*)

Date: Local type, probably from Northwestern China. Contemporary with middle/late Yinxi .

Measurements: H.: 28 cm. Diam.: 32.8 cm. Weight: 4.4749 kg.

Condition: Large patches of deep green patina.

Provenance: From the Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased S. M. Franck, London 1928.

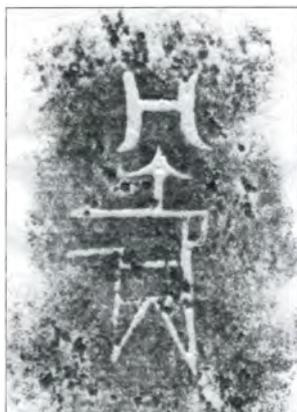
Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 2:3; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol. 1:2, p. 148, *daxing yu* 2.

Accession no: K-14812.

This unusual vessel has a tall foot, rounded side and everted lip. Around the body and foot runs ornamental bands in relief – the neckband showing *taotie* masks formed by antithetical dragons; around the foot runs a band of dragons. The main motifs are covered by irregular *leiwen* and are shown against a background of *leiwen* of similar type, combined with a quill pattern. Low, vertical ridges intersect the centre of the masks in the decorative border around the neck. There are three square holes at the upper part of the foot.

The only well-published parallel to this vessel is a *gui* excavated 1964 in Zhangjiagua, Qingjian County in the Shaanxi Province (Shaanxi 1979, No 64). The find is dated to early Anyang period by Bagley (Bagley 1987, p. 278). There are also parallels to this shape in pottery, as the *gui*-vessel found in Gaojiabao M5, Jingyang County, Shaanxi (Shaanxi 1995, Pl. 57:2).

64c.





64b.



64a.

65.



Miscellanea

66. Shovel with handle

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period

Measurements: L. 36.5 cm. H.: 10.2 cm. W.: 22 cm. Weight: 3.462.5 kg.

Condition: The shovel with abundant traces of carbonized basketry.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking 1934 (Kb IV-4-7, 304). Reportedly from Anyang.

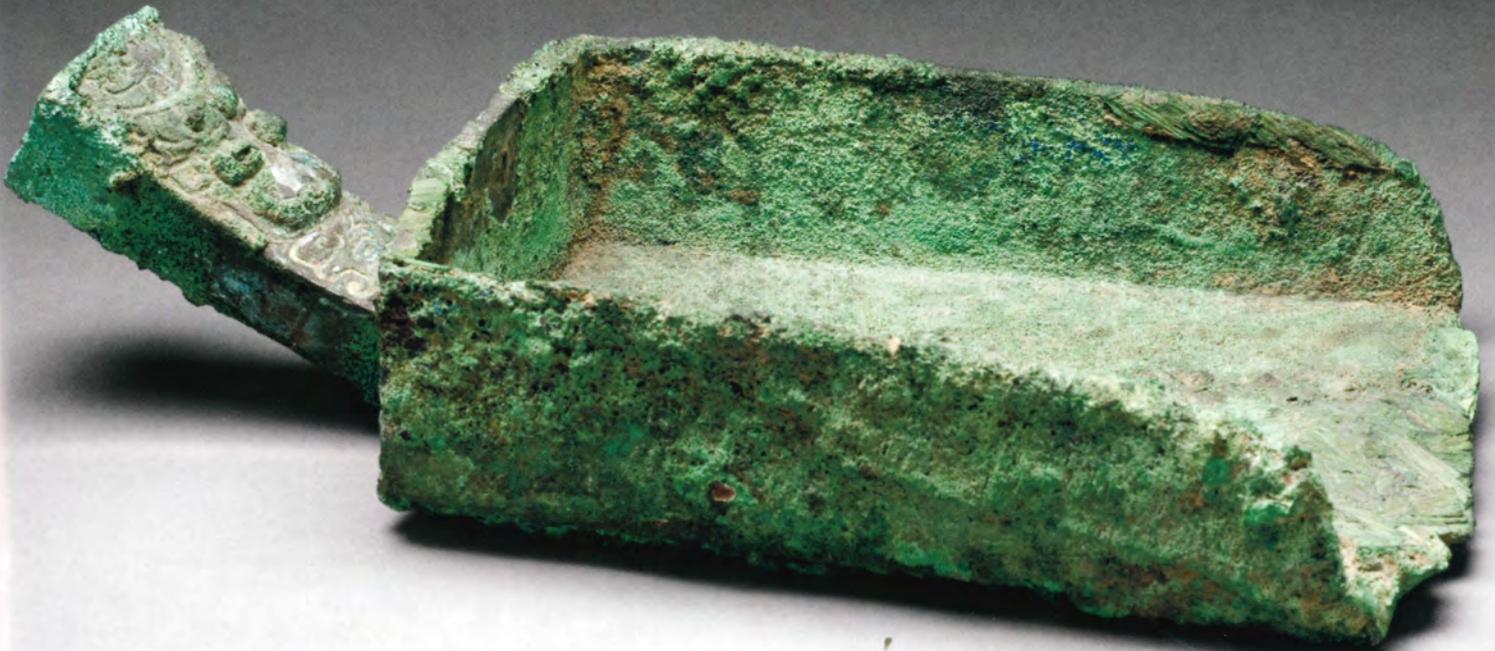
Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 18:2.

Accession no: K-14824.

This large shovel has straight walls on three sides. The handle, at a slight angle to the shovel, is hollow and semicircular in cross-section. The handle is decorated with a bovine head in high relief, while two smaller masks are depicted in sunken lines – one mask above and one below the main mask.

According to Karlbeck the shovel was one of a pair. He writes in his report: "It is one of a pair. On the other the incised head was replaced with the ideograph shi 史 scribe" (Kb IV-4-7, 304). A shovel with this inscription is published in *Yezhong pianyu* (Huang Jun 1935, Vol. 1, Pl. 31), its shape being somewhat different from the MFEA-shovel. The *Yezhong pianyu* gives no measurements for the shovel. Regrettably, Karlbeck gave no reason to for believing that the two shovels belonged together.

A shovel similar in shape to the MFEA shovel, but smaller, was excavated in the Fu Hao Tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 63:3). The large size and elaborate decoration make it possible that the MFEA shovel came from one of the royal tombs in Anyang.



66a.



66b.



66c.

67. Bell of *nao*-type

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 11.4 cm. Weight: 680 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Heavy incrustations.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Collection. Obtained from Karlbeck.

Accession no: K-14831.

This bell belongs to a type of clapperless bell quite common in Anyang. The bells of this type have an almond-shaped cross section, and a round, hollow shank. The bells were originally mounted with its mouth pointing upward. The body of this bell is decorated with *taotie*-masks in relief on the front and back, the horns of the mask being angular and the eyes lozenge-shaped with slits. Between the eyes is a protruding diamond-shaped form.

The shape and ornamentation of this bell are similar to those of a set of 3 bells excavated in 1983 in Dasikongcun M663 – a tomb dated in the excavation report to late Yinxu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1988, pp. 870-871, fig. 11). The smallest bell of the set from M663 weighs 700 g and is 11.5 cm tall. The measurements approximate those of the MFEA-bell K-14831. A similar, but slightly larger, set was excavated in 1953 in Dasikongcun M312 (Ma Dezhi et al. 1955, Pl. 10; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji* 1993-98, Vol. 3, No 182).

68. Bell of *nao*-type

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 17.8 cm. Weight: 1.479 kg.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Collection. Obtained from Karlbeck.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 6:2.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Heavy incrustations.

Accession no: K-14832.

This bell is very similar to K-14831, but it is somewhat larger. The largest bell in the set from Dasikongcun M663 has more or less the same measurement as this bell, being 17.5cm tall and weighing 1.250 kg. K-14831 and K-14832 might thus have been the smallest and largest bell in a set of three pieces.

69. Bell of *nao*-type

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (on the shank): Zi 子 (cf. the character written in the same manner on a *ding*, published in Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, vol. 3, 1046, and on two finials with rattles, published *ibid*, vol. 18, 12009-12010. Both rattles and the *ding* are dated to Western Zhou)

Measurements: H.: 16.7 cm. Weight: 1070 g.

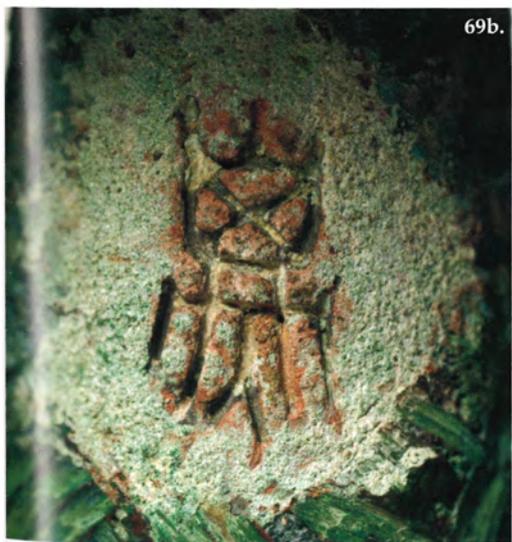
Condition: Heavy green patina with remnants of carbonized basketry.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson from T. Y. King, Shanghai, on his travel in China 1936-38.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 17:3.

Accession no: K-12477.

This bell is of the same type as Nos 67 and 68, but the heavy incrustations and the remnants of basketry make it impossible to study the details of the ornamentation.



70. Bell of *nao*-type

Date: Middle Yangzi Culture, contemporary with late Shang.

Measurements: H.: 51 cm. Weight: 3.3 kg.

Condition: Dark olive-green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson from T. Y. King, Shanghai, on his travel in China 1936-38.

Publ.: Karlgren 1949, Pl. 37; Hayashi 1984-89, Vol.1:2, p. 380; Rawson 1991, vol. IIB, p. 375-376; Falkenhausen 1993, pp. 148, 351.

Accession no: K-12514.

The bell is without clapper. The body has an almond-shaped cross section and a round, hollow shank. The front and back of the body is divided into two panels, each panel is decorated with nine nipple-shaped bosses, surrounded by a scroll pattern in thin, raised lines. Above the panels, in the center, there is a simple scroll pattern in sunken lines.

The size of this bell points to an origin in Central China. L. von Falkenhausen has connected it with the earliest *nao*-bells excavated in Hunan and has tentatively dated it to the twelfth – eleventh century B C (Falkenhausen 1993, p. 148), while Jessica Rawson has dated the MFEA *nao* to early Western Zhou (Rawson 1991, vol. 1, p. 375-376).





Weapons and Tools

Ge – dagger-axes

71. A pair of dagger-axes (ge)

Date: Shang, middle Yinxi Period.

Measurements K-14124: L.: 23.0 cm. Weight: 195.6 g.

K-14125: L.: 23.0 cm. Weight: 217.9 g.

Condition: Green and deep blue patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: A. Hellström Coll. Purchased from N. Palmgren.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 20:3 (K-14124).

Accession no: K-14124; K-14125.

This pair of dagger axes has rectangular shafting-plates, two straight guards and relatively broad, convex blades with a median crest. The shaft passage of K-14125 has a small, round hole, while the hole in the K-14124 is almost triangular. The ends of the shafting-plates are decorated with whorl-circles.

Similar types of dagger-axes have been excavated in tombs dated to Yinxi Period II, such as in Xibeigang M259, Anyang (Anyang Archaeological Team 1987; Guo Peng 2004, fig. 2:7) and Xibeigang M1001 (Liang Siyong & Gao Quxun 1962, Pl. 250:4).

72. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 22.4 cm Weight: 317.5 g.

Condition: Dark green patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1064). Purchased in 1932 in Peking by Karlbeck (Kb III-7-7, 584). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang. (According to Li Ji 1937: From Anyang.).

Publ.: Exhibition 1934, Pl. 6:1; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 21 (111); Palmgren 1948, Pl. 7:2.

Accession no: OM-1974-0346.

This dagger-axe is of the same type as K-14124 and K-14125. The decoration at the end of the tang shows, in addition to the whorl-circle, a fish-like pattern to the right and left. There is a round hole in the shaft passage and also a small hole in the upper part of the blade.

73. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle Yinxi Period

Inscription (at the end of the shafting-plate, probably inlaid originally with turquoise): "Xiang 鄉 / 饗". Measurements: L.: 23 cm. Weight: 466.1 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. The blade with heavy incrustations.

Provenance: Collection of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. The Margot Holmes Art Foundation.

Accession no: HM-1967.

The dagger-axe has a relatively broad blade, a rectangular shafting-plate and two straight guards. The upper edge of the tang is almost in line with the upper edge of the blade. There is a round hole in the shaft passage.

Dagger-axes of a similar type have been found in Houjiazhuang M1001, Anyang, dated to Yinxi Period II (Gao Quxun 1962, Part 2, Pl. 248:5, 10).

74. Dagger axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 25.0 cm. Weight: 465.1 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots. Heavy incrustations. The upper guard damaged.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck at Ch'un Ku Chai in Kaifeng 1928/29 (Kb 322).

Accession no: K-11055-023.

The dagger-axe has a rectangular shafting-plate and two guards. The upper edge of the tang is almost in line with the upper edge of the blade. There is a round hole in the shaft passage. The end of the shafting-plate is decorated with a horned dragon in sunken lines.

Dagger-axes with square shafting-plates and rather long blades were common in Yinxi Period II and found e.g. in the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 69: 2-4, Pl. 70:1-4). The type continued into Period III, but had more or less disappeared in Period IV (Yang Xizhang 1986, p. 64).



71a.



71b.



72.



74.



73b.

73a.



75. Dagger-axe

Date: Middle / late Shang.

Measurements: L.: 28 cm. Weight: 421.3 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Heavily corroded. Corner of the shafting-plate missing.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-2534), to whom it was given by Prof. S. H. Hansford in London in November 1967.

Accession no: OM-1974-0388.

This dagger-axe has a rectangular shafting-plate and two guards. The upper part of the blade is aligned with the upper rim of the tang, and is more curved than the lower part of the blade, which is the main edge of the dagger-axe. There is a small, round hole in the shaft passage.

Similar dagger-axes have been found in the royal tomb in Wuguancun, dated to Yinxu Period II (Guo Baojun 1951, Pl. 22:1-2).

76. Dagger-axe

Date: Late Shang, possibly local type.

Measurements: L. 29.3 cm. Weight: 541.6 g.

Condition: Blue and green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in China 1929.

Accession no: K-11071-124.

This rather large and sturdy dagger-axe has a rectangular shafting-plate and two guards. The blade is enforced with a triangular elevation decorated with three whorl-circles. There is a round hole in the shaft passage. The decoration at the end of the shafting-plate is corroded beyond recognition.

The shape and decoration of this dagger-axe is quite rare. A somewhat similar type of ornamentation is found on a dagger-axe with a broad, triangular blade (so-called *kui*), excavated in Yinxu Western Section M279, dated to Yinxu Period IV (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 88, fig. 64:2). A similar type of triangular decoration on the upper part of the blade is found on dagger-axes found tombs from the Shang/Zhou transitional period in northern and northwestern China, as in Taixi, Gaocheng in Hebei (Hebei 1985, p. 113, fig. 80, Pl. 91:2) and Hejiacun, Zhishan in Shaanxi (Shaanxi 1979, Pl. 32), the dagger-axe from Hejiacun having a shaft-hole. The MFEA dagger-axe may possibly be of provincial origin, perhaps from the north or northwest of China.

77. Dagger-axe

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Local style.

Measurements: L.: 24 cm.

Condition: Dull green patina.

Provenance: Collection of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. The Margot Holmes Art Foundation.

Publ.: London 1935/36, No 249; Gyllensvärd & Pope, No 20; Stockholm, 1967, No 20; Europe 1977/78, No 20.

Accession no: HM-1966.

The dagger-axe has a rectangular shafting-plate and two straight guards. The blade is reinforced on each side by a triangular elevation, decorated by a stylized cicada. There are three shaft-supports on each side of the blade. The left and right shaft-supports are in the shape of the horn of a *taotie* mask, the middle support is in the shape of a head. The end of the shafting-plate is decorated with a *taotie* mask in sunken relief. There is a round hole in the shaft passage.

A similar dagger-axe, but with an inscription on the shafting-plate, is in the van Heusden Collection, Netherlands. According to information in the *Yanku jijin tulu* it was found in Anyang in 1940 (Liang Shangchun 1944, 2, 4B-5A; Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 17, No 10721). There is no parallel to this dagger-axe among the archaeologically excavated material from Anyang. The triangular ornament on the upper part of the blade show some similarities to the dagger-axes from Taixi, Gaocheng in Hebei and Hejiacun, Zhishan in Shaanxi (cf. Cat. no 76).

78. Dagger-axe

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Local style.

Measurements: L.: 21.8 cm. Weight: 277.8 g.

Condition: Dull, green patina. A fragment of the blade missing.

Provenance: A. Hellström Coll. Purchased at Yamanaka, London, in 1931.

Accession no: K-14129.

The dagger-axe has a rectangular shafting-plate and two straight guards. On each side of the blade is a shaft-support. The blade is reinforced by a triangular elevation and a median rib. The elevation and the end of the shafting-plate are decorated by *leiwen* in relief, the shaft-supports are adorned with a linear pattern. In the center of the elevation is a round hole. Originally there were two lashing-slots, but the section with one of the slots is now partly missing.

A dagger-axe of the same type is in the Werner Jannings Coll (Loehr 1956, No 46). Dagger-axes adorned with a similar decoration on the blade and shafting-plate have been excavated in Yinxu Western Section M279, dated to Yinxu Period IV (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, Fig. 64:2) and Taixi in Gaocheng, Hebei Province (Heibe 1985, Pl. 91:2), dated to the Shang/Zhou transitional period. These excavated dagger-axes have broad, triangular blades and lack shaft-supports.

79. Ceremonial dagger-axe with curved shafting plate (*qunei ge*) and jade blade

Date: Shang, early Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 33 cm. Weight: 565.1 g.

Condition: Deep green patina.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. (AH 1016). Purchased from J. Sparks, London.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 22:3.

Accession no: K-14127.

This ceremonial dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate in bronze, decorated by a *kui* dragon in turquoise inlay and a blade in greyish jade with black spots. There are two guards, and a small, round hole in the shaft passage and in the jade blade.

A similar jade-bladed bronze axe was excavated in Xiaotun M 331, Anyang, dated to Yinxu Period I (Shi Zhangru 1980, pp. 88-89; Hayashi 1972, p. 19, fig. 11; Chen Fangmei 1995, p. 39-40, fig. 15, footnote 48, 49).

80. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, early /middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 29.0 cm. Weight: 392.7 g.

Condition: Green and black patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in 1939. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 25 (133).

Accession no: K-11326.

The dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate, two straight guards, and a blade with a median crest. The shafting plate is decorated with a *kui* dragon, which was probably originally inlaid with some other material. In the shafting passage is a round hole.

Hayashi dates this type of dagger-axes to the early Anyang period, referring to finds from tomb M232 and ash-pit E16, Xiaotun, Anyang (Hayashi 1972, p. 21-23, quoting Li Ji 1949, p. 21, 23, Pl. 27:59, 28:65).



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81. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 27.5 cm. Weight: 330.1 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1929 from a Mr. Liu in Kaifeng (Kb I-36-5, 791). According to Karlbeck's information from Luoyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 34 (189).

Accession no: K-11092-011.

This dagger-axe has the same basic shape as K-11326 (cat. no 80), but the blade has no median crest and there is no hole in the shaft-passage. The very light line decoration of a *kui* dragon on the shafting-plate is now almost effaced.

A dagger-axe with a similar shape was excavated in the Yinxu Western Section. In the excavation report the dagger-axe was classified as BI and reported as found in M1152 (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, pp. 89-90, fig. 65:3). The last number of the Western Section series of tombs is M1148 (*ibid*, p.121), and M1152 is probably a misprint for M1052, which yielded a dagger-axe of the type BI (*ibid*, p. 140). The excavated item was so thin that the excavators classified it as *mingqi*. Tomb M1052 is dated to Yinxu Period IV in the excavation report.

82. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, early / middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 35 cm. Weight: 115.8 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots. Heavily corroded. Repaired.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1929 in Anyang (Kb I-36-4, 747). According to Karlbeck's information from Xiaotuncun (MFEA Inventory).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 25 (136).

Accession no: K-11092-030.

This dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate and a relatively broad blade with no median crest, and there is no hole in the shaft-passage. Originally there were two straight guards, of which one is now missing. The shafting-plate has a decoration in sunken relief of a *kui*-dragon (badly corroded).

A similar type, but shorter, was excavated in 1959 in Tomb M1, north of Wuguancun, dated in the excavation report to Yinxu Period I (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979b, p. 225, fig. 2:4). The thinness and lightness of the excavated piece made the excavators wonder if it could have served any practical purpose.

83. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 29.0 cm. Weight: 352.9 g.

Condition: Green and blue patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1221). Purchased in Peking through Nils Palmgren in 1935.

Accession no: OM-1974-0357.

This relatively heavy dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate and a blade with a low median crest. The shafting-plate terminates in a stylized dragon and a bird's head in sunken relief, probably originally inlaid with turquoise. The dagger-axe originally had two guards, one of which is now missing. There is an irregular hole in the shaft-passage.

The dagger-axe belongs to the type "dagger-axes with curved tangs with bifurcated crests" (*qunei qiguanshi ge*). In the Fu Hao tomb this type of dagger-axe, classified as Type III in the excavation report, is represented by 36 items. The type is characterized by its curved shafting-plate in the shape of a crested bird's head, a triangular blade with a median crest, two guards and a shaft-passage. Most of the Type III dagger-axes from the Fu Hao tomb lack the hole in the shaft-passage, and all the dagger-axes are lighter than the MFEA weapon. A few of the Fu Hao dagger-axes show traces of turquoise inlay (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, pp. 107-108, Pls. 72-73). Seven similar dagger-axes were also excavated in 1977 in Xiaotun M18, Anyang (77AXTM18), dated to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1981, p. 503, figs. 10:1, 2, Pl. 16:3). The same type was also found in Yinxu Western Section M613, dated to the same period (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, pp. 88-89, fig. 64:12). According to the Fu Hao excavation report Type III dagger-axes are richly represented in the Period II finds in Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, p. 109).



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84. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.
Measurements: L. 27.6 cm. Weight: 306.9 g.
Condition: Green and deep blue patina with rusty spots.
Provenance: A. Hellström Coll. Purchased from N. Palmgren.
Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 20.
Accession no: K-14123.

The dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate with bifurcated crest, two guards and a blade with a slight median crest. There is no hole in the shaft-passageway. The shafting-plate terminates in a stylized dragon and a bird's head in sunken relief.

This dagger-axe is similar to the Type III in the Fu Hao tomb (cf. cat. no 83: OM-1974-0357).

85. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.
Measurements: L. 30.0 cm. Weight: 369.9 g.
Condition: Green and grey patina with rusty spots. Repaired.
Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck October 1944.
Publ.; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 23 (122).
Accession no: K-11342.

The dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate with a bifurcated crest, two guards and a triangular blade with a median crest. There is a round hole in the shaft-passageway and in the median crest. The shafting-plate terminates in a stylized dragon and a bird's head rendered in sunken relief. Compared to cat. no 83 (OM-1974-0357), the contours of the shafting plate are more vivid. The blade is also shorter.

These proportions of the type of dagger-axe with curved tang with bifurcated crest seem to have been common in Anyang during Yinxi Period II. The type has been excavated in several tombs dated to this period, as the Fu Hao tomb (R1605, Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, p. 107, Pl. 72:3), Dasikongcun M25 and M29 (Anyang Archaeological Team 1989, p. 594), M613 in the Western Section of Anyang (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979, pp. 88-89, fig. 64:12). A similar dagger-axe has also been excavated in Xia Xinjiaocun, Yonghe County, Shanxi (Shilou Cultural Centre 1977, p. 356, fig. 4:1).

86. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.
Measurements: L.: 28.5 cm. Weight: 366.2 g.
Condition: Green patina with rusty spots. The patina scratched away on the blade to show the original surface.
Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolphus of Sweden (HM-1220). Purchased in 1935 in Peking by Nils Palmgren.
Accession no: OM-1974-0356.

Same type as cat. no 85 (K-11342).

87. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period
Measurements: L.: 28.0 cm. Weight: 296.3 g.
Condition: Deep green and black patina with rusty spots.
Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1219). Purchased in 1935 in Peking by Nils Palmgren.
Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 7:1.
Accession no: OM-1974-0355.

The dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate with a bifurcated crest, and a triangular blade with a marked mid-rib. There is now only a small remnant of one of the original guards left. The shafting-plate terminates in a bird's head in sunken relief.

Similar dagger-axes are excavated in Guojiazhuang M231 and M234, Anyang, both tombs dated to Yinxi Period II (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, pp. 46-48, figs. 34-8, 9, 35:1; Pls. 18:4, 19:1, 2).

88. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.
Measurements: L.: 27.8 cm. Weight: 261.6 g.
Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.
Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking 1928/29 (Kb I, 69).
Publ.: Exhibition 1934, Pl. 6:3; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 23 (119).
Accession no: K-11035-100.

The dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate with a bifurcated crest, two guards and a triangular blade with a slight median crest. There is a round hole in the upper part of the blade, but there is no hole in the shaft-passageway. The shafting-plate terminates in a bird's head in sunken relief.

This dagger-axe is of the same type as cat. nos 85-86, but is much lighter and might have been produced as *mingqi*.



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89. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 27.0 cm. Weight: 234.3 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots. One guard missing. Badly bent.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-2528), to whom it was given in 1967 by Prof. S. H. Hansford.

Accession no: OM-1974-0382.

Same type as cat. no 88 (K-11035-100).

90. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L. 27.2 cm. Weight: 268 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots. Heavily corroded. Remnants of carbonized textile – the shaft passage has been closely wrapped in textiles. One guard missing.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in October 1944

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 23 (120).

Accession no: K-11343.

Same type as cat. no 88 (K-11035-100).

91. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 29.0 cm. Weight: 221.5 g.

Condition: Green and blue patina with rusty spots. Guards missing.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1929 in Anyang (Kb I-36-4, 746). According to Karlbeck's information from Xiaotuncun (MFEA Inventory).

Karlbeck 1930, Pl. 4:3; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 23 (118).

Accession no: K-11092-032.

The dagger-axe has a curved shafting-plate and a relatively broad blade with a marked mid-rib. The decoration on the shafting-plate shows a very degenerate version of the bird's head motif. The thinness and lightness of this dagger-axe indicates that it was produced as a *mingqi*.

92. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L. 24.7 cm. Weight: 118.5 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots. The point broken.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in October 1944.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 24 (127).

Accession no: K-11344.

The dagger-axe has a triangular blade with marked mid-rib, two guards and a shafting-plate terminating in a stylized bird's head with a bifurcated crest.

This type of dagger-axe, which became quite common during the late Yinxu period, was probably made as *mingqi*. The type is represented in the tomb Guojiazhuang M289 dated as early as Yinxu Period II (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, fig. 34:10-11, Pls. 20:1, 2), and the tombs M82, M70, M248, and M289 from the same area, dated to Yinxu Period III (*ibid*, figs. 35:5-7, Pls. 20:3, 21:1,2; fig. 35:3, Pl. 19:4; fig. 35:4, Pl. 20:4; fig. 34:10,11, Pl. 20:1,2). This type is also represented in the finds from Yinxu Western Section, as in M14, dated Yinxu Period III (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, fig. 65:5). A lead dagger-axe of this type was excavated in 1953 in Dasikongcun M136 (Ma Dezhi et al. 1955, Pl. 12:4).

93. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

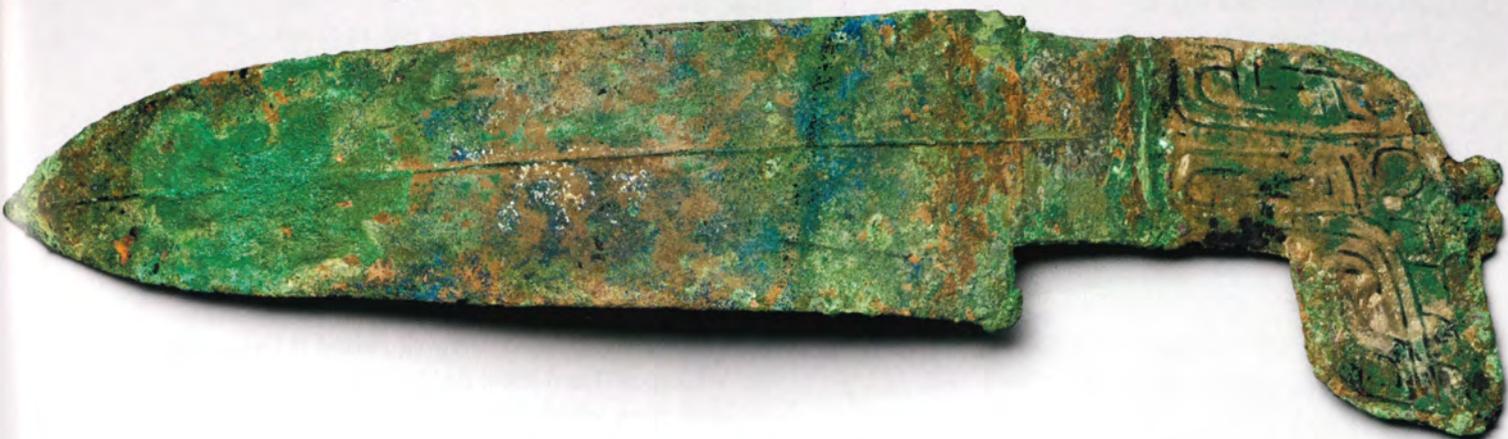
Measurements: L.: 23.4 cm. Weight: 86.7 g.

Condition: Green patina with large, rusty spots. Heavily corroded. Guards missing.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-2529), to whom it was given by Prof. S. H. Hansford in 1967.

Accession no: OM-1974-0383.

Same type as cat. no 92 (K-11344).



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94. Ceremonial dagger-axe

Date: Late Shang Period.

Measurements: L.: 27.8 cm. Weight: 294.6 g.

Condition: The bronze has a deep green patina. The tang is broken and repaired.

Provenance: Collection of Anders Hellström. (AH 1014), who purchased it from N. Palmgren.

Publ.: London 1935/36, Cat. no 207; Karlgren 1948, Pl. 22:1.

Accession no: K-14128.

This dagger-axe has a bronze tang with curved shafting-plate and two straight guards. The shafting-plate terminates in a stylized pattern of a bird's head with bifurcated crest and a dragon in sunken relief. The blade is from yellowish jade.

A dagger-axe with a jade blade and a curved bronze shafting-plate in the shape of a crested bird's head was excavated in the Fu Hao tomb, Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, p. 108, Colour Pl. 17:3). Compared to the Fu Hao dagger-axe, the jade blade of the MFEA specimen is proportionally shorter and the bronze mounting longer. The unusual shape of the MFEA dagger-axe might indicate that it is constituted of fragments from different weapons.

95. Dagger axe

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: L. 22.6 cm. Weight: 267.0 g.

Condition: Green patina. Edge of blade and lower part of shafting-bar damaged.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden, to whom it was given by Prof. S.H Hansford in London in November 1967 (HM-2532). From a collection acquired by Prof. Hansford on a visit to Anyang in 1939.

Publ.: Hansford 1949.

Accession no: OM-1974-0386.

The dagger-axe has a rising blade with a vertical extension (*hu*) of its lower edge, receding at a right angle to the blade. Along the shafting-bar are two lashing-slots. The rectangular heel (*nei*) has a notch in the lower corner.

A similar dagger-axe with *hu* was excavated in Yinxu Western Section M1129, dated in the excavation report to Yinxu Period IV (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 90, fig. 65:9). Dagger-axes with *hu* have been excavated in tombs from Yinxu Period III, but are more common in finds from Period IV. The type remained popular during Western Zhou (Yang Xizhang 1993, p. 65).

96. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 25.5 cm. Weight: 441.8 g.

Condition: Green, flaking patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck 1929 at Tsun Ku Chai, Peking (Kb I-34-6, 680). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlbeck 1930, Pl. 4:1; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 12 (64).

Accession no: K-11090-041.

This dagger-axe has an ovoid shaft-hole and a rectangular butt with fluted decoration. The blade has a marked median crest and its central part is reinforced with a triangular elevation running from the shaft-hole to the point of the blade.

Dagger-axes of the same type have been excavated in Houjiazhuang M1501 (Li Ji 1950, Pl. 2F) and Huayuanzhuang M54, dated to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 2004, fig. 12:7). A dagger-axe of the same type, which purportedly was excavated in Anyang in 1939, is reproduced in the catalogue *Yanku jijin tulu* (Liang Shangchun 1944, 2, p. 22B-23A, No 33).

97. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Xiang zhu 鄉 / 饗宁.

Measurement: L.: 25.5 cm. Weight: 428.4 g.

Condition: Heavy, green incrustations. Traces of carbonized cloth.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1929 at Tsun Ku Chai, Peking (Kb I-34-6, 672). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlbeck 1930, Pl. 4:2; Exhibition 1934 Pl. 6: 2; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 12 (62).

Accession no: K-11090-040.

The dagger-axe has an ovoid shaft-hole and a blade of the same shape as cat. no 96 (K-11090-041), with a marked median crest and the central part reinforced with a triangular elevation running from the shaft-hole to the point of the blade. The butt is rectangular with turquoise inlay, on one side inscribed: xiang zhu 鄉 / 饗宁. The pattern on the other side is indecipherable – possibly it shows a *taotie* mask.

The inscription is common on Shang bronzes and is a.o. found on a *ding* (cat. no 44) and a *gui* (cat. no 62), both in the MFEA Collection. The inscription (although not in inlay technique) is found on a dagger-axe with *hu* from M135, Guojiazhuang, Anyang (cf. Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 47, fig. 27:3, fig. 36:4, Pl. 23:4).



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97a.

98. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (on the butt): Ya Yi 亞矣.

Measurements: L.: 25.0 cm. Weight: 396.8 g.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-2269). Purchased at Sparks, London.

Publ.: Gyllensvärd 1975b, No 5.

Accession no: OM-1974-0379.

This sturdy dagger-axe has a triangular blade and an ovoid shaft-hole. The marked median crest runs all the way along the blade and the shaft-passage. The butt has a turquoise inlay on both sides, showing the inscription Ya Yi between dragons. The inscription Ya Yi is common on Shang dagger-axes (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, pp. 101-104). A rubbing of a dagger-axe with this inscription, also in turquoise inlay, is reproduced in Huang Jun 1993, p. 44.

A *yue*-axe with this inscription in turquoise inlay was excavated in 1930 in the southern part of Dasikongcun in Anyang and is now in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, vol. 18, p. 209, No 1745). A similar axe was in the Wessén Collection (Karlgrén & Wirgin 1969, pp. 136-137), but was not included in the Wessén-donation to the MFEA.

99. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Undeciphered symbol on the butt.

Measurements: L.: 23.7 cm. Weight: 340.3 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in 1939. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgrén 1945, Pl. 13 (69).

Accession no: K-11323.

The dagger-axe has an ovoid shaft-hole, a rectangular butt and a blade with a marked median crest, which continues over the shaft-hole. This shape is not uncommon in late Shang finds, and seems to have enjoyed special popularity during middle Yinxu Period.

The inscription on the butt is very common on late Shang dagger-axes. Dagger-axes of the same type and with the same inscription have been found in the following excavations:

1. Dagger-axe excavated in Xiaotun pit 16, Anyang

(reprod.: Hayashi, p. 23, fig. 21:1, dated by Hayashi to Dasikongcun Period I; also publ. in Li Ji 1949, p. 20, fig. 35d:1-3; *idem* 1950, Pl. 1:F1).

2. 70 dagger-axes excavated in Houjiazhuang M1004, dated to Yinxu Period II (Li Ji 1950, Pl. 2:F).

3. Dagger-axe excavated in Houjiazhuang M1001, dated to Yinxu Period II (Gao Quxun 1962, vol. 2, Pl. 248:7; Pl. 250:5).

4. Dagger-axe excavated in Western Section M727, Anyang, dated to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979, p.89, fig. 60:20, 64:6; cf. also Yang Hong, 1992, Colour plate fig. 3).

100. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (on the butt): Illegible due to corrosion.

Measurements: L.: 22.7 cm. Weight: 393.1 g.

Condition: Green and blue patina with rusty spots. Upper part of the blade damaged.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in 1939. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgrén 1945, Pl. 13 (68).

Accession no: K-11322.

The dagger-axe is of the same type as K-11323, but the blade is lacking the median crest, while the shaft-hole still has a crest. The undeciphered inscription is probably the same as the one on cat. no 99 (K-11323).

101. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (on the butt): He 𠄎 (a man carrying a dagger-axe).

Measurements: L.: 23.0 cm. Weight: 378.8 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in 1939. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgrén 1945, Pl. 12 (61).

Accession no: K-11324.

The shape of this dagger-axe is similar to that of cat. no 99 (K-11323).

A similar inscription is on a *yue*-axe, reproduced in Huang Jun 1935, Vol. 2:8, (also reproduced in: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, vol. 18, No 11722).



98b.



99b.



100b.



101b.



98a.



99a.



100a.



101a.

102. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 20.0 cm. Weight: 263.0 g.

Condition: Green patina. Two holes from metallurgical tests.

Provenance: Purchased by the Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm, from Dr. F. Martin, 1915.

Accession no: K-04031-001.

This dagger-axe is similar in shape to Cat. no 99 (K-11323) with an ovoid shaft-hole, rectangular butt and marked median crest on the blade and shaft-hole, although it is shorter, lighter and has no inscription.

This type, without any inscription or decoration on the butt, is found in tombs from the middle and late YinXu Period – one example being the tombs in Guojiazhuang. In the archaeological report from the excavations in the Guojiazhuang cemetery in Anyang in 1998, finds of this type of dagger-axe were reported in five tombs, four of which were dated to YinXu Period II (M273, M22, M289, M64), while one tomb was dated to Period IV (M190) (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, pp. 159-177, Pls. 21:4, Pl. 22:1-4, figs. 35:9-13). In addition, a brief report from the excavations in 1987 in the same area records a dagger-axe of the same type found in Guojiazhuang M9, dated to YinXu Period III (Anyang Archaeological Team 1988b, p. 880, fig. 12:1).

103. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 21.4 cm. Weight: 332.9 g

Condition: Green and brown patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson in China 1926 (Peking-no 235).

Accession no: K-10412.

Same type as cat. no 102 (K-04031-001).

104. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 21.0 cm. Weight: 339.4 g.

Condition: Green, brown and grey patina. Distorted.

Provenance: Purchased by the China Research Committee from Karlbeck in Pukou 1926.

Accession no: K-10599-064.

Same type as cat. no 102 (K-04031-001).

105. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 21.4 cm. Weight: 269.0 g.

Condition: Green, brown and grey patina. Fragments of carbonized textiles.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson in 1926 in Yaocun, Taiyuan xian, Shansi.

Accession no: K-10611-001.

This dagger-axe is basically the same shape as cat. no 102 (K-04031-001), but the median crest is lower and does not extend all the way to the shaft-hole.

106. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 23.5 cm. Weight: 356.2 g.

Condition: Green patina with large, rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased from the antique dealer Tjäder, Stockholm.

Accession no: K-11056-011.

Same type as cat. no 102 (K-04031-001).

107. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Inscription (on the butt): Yongping 永平

Measurements: L.: 25.0 cm. Weight: 404.2 g.

Condition: Green, brown and grey patina.

Provenance: According to the MFEA inventory purchased in 1926 by Johan Gunnar Andersson in Lou P'u Tsun [Loupu cun], Hsin Chiang hsien [Xinjiang xian], Shansi.

Accession no: K-10609-001.

Same type as cat. no 102 (K-04031-001).

The reign period designation Yongping (“Eternal peace”) was used several times – first time for the period AD 58-75 under Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han dynasty. The inscription is clearly a later addition.

108. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 21.0 cm. Weight: 224.4 g.

Condition: Green, brown and grey patina.

Provenance: Purchased by the China Research Committee from Karlbeck in Pukou 1926.

Accession no: K-10599-065.

This dagger-axe is basically the same shape as cat. no 102 (K-04031-001), but there is no median crest.



102.



103.



106.



104.



107.



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108.

109. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 19.5 cm. Weight: 242.2 g.

Condition: Green, brown and grey patina. The point of the blade is broken and the blade is bent.

Provenance: Purchased by the China Research Committee from Karlbeck in Pukou 1926.

Accession no: K-10599-066.

The dagger-axe has an oval shaft-hole and a rather long, rectangular butt, widening towards the end. The blade has a marked median crest, passing through the blade and over the shaft-hole.

110. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 23.0 cm. Weight: 345.7 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Heavily corroded. Broken in two parts and repaired.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-2527), to whom it was given by Prof. S.H Hansford in London in November 1967.

Accession no: OM-1974-0381.

The dagger-axe has an oval shaft-hole, a rectangular butt and a marked median ridge. The upper part of the blade is reinforced by a triangular elevation.

111. Dagger-axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 22.0 cm. Weight: 274.4 g.

Condition: Green patina with earth incrustations. Upper corner of the blade missing.

Accession no: OM-1973-0026.

This dagger-axe has an ovoid shaft-hole and a rectangular butt. The broad median-crest runs from the point of the blade over the shaft-hole to the beginning of the butt.

112. Dagger-axe

Date: Late Shang. Provincial type, possibly from Shaanxi.

Measurements: L.: 19.5 cm. Weight: 314.7 g.

Condition: Heavily corroded. Broken in two parts. Front part missing.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1191). Purchased in 1935 in China by Nils Palmgren. According to Li Ji: From Anyang.

Accession no: OM-1974-0353.

This badly damaged dagger-axe shows the remnants of a very rich decoration. A band of ornamentation runs from the shafting-plate across the shaft-hole, ending in a triangular form on the upper part of the blade. The band is on the blade combined with an ornamental field on the right and left sides. A triangular form is thus created, covering the upper part of the blade. The ornamentation shows a. o. dragons and a cicada on the background of *leiwen*.

A dagger of similar type was excavated in 1973 in the Hejiacun, Qishan County, Shaanxi Province, now in the collection of the Shaanxi Provincial Museum (Shaanxi 1994, p. 292, No 250). Another somewhat similar dagger-axe is in the collection of the same museum. According to the catalogue this piece has turquoise inlay (Shaanxi 1979, No 32).



112.



109.



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111.

113. Dagger-axe

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Provincial style, probably Shaanxi.

Measurements: L.: 19.5 cm.

Condition: Dark green and brown patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson from T. Y. King, Shanghai, on his travels in China 1936-38.

Accession no: K-12383.

The dagger-axe has a decoration on the shafting-plate, continuing across the shaft-hole and ending in a triangular form on the blade. The decoration shows birds and whorl-circles between dragons on the background of *leiwen*. The ornamentation is also here quite similar of the dagger-axe from Hejiacun M1 (cf. cat. no 112: OM-1974-0353). The ornamentation is, however, less rich than that of cat. no 112 and the dagger-axe might be of somewhat later date.

114. Dagger-axe

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Local style, probably Shaanxi.

Measurements. L.: 24.8 cm. Weight: 383.2 g.

Condition: Blue and green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1929 in Kaifeng "from Mr. Ho at the museum" (Kb I 36-8-3, 803).

Accession no: K-11092-033.

The dagger-axe has a decoration of *taotie* masks on the shafting-plate, continuing across the shafting-hole and ending in a triangular form on the blade.

The dagger-axe lacks the richness of decoration seen in the cat. no 112 (OM-1974-0353) and might be of somewhat later date.

115. Dagger-axe with broad, triangular blade (*kui*)

Date: Late Shang. Local type, possibly Shaanxi.

Measurements: L.: 23.6 cm. Weight: 559 g.

Condition: Green patina with heavy incrustations. The patina has been scratched away from the upper part of the blade to show the bronze surface.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. Bought from Michon, Paris, 1934.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 25:1.

Accession no: K-14134.

The dagger-axe has a broad, triangular blade, re-enforced by a triangular, shield-shaped elevation and a median rib. There is a round hole near the tip of the triangular elevation, two shafting-slits at the upper part of the blade, and a small, round hole in the shaft passage. The shafting-plate is placed above the axis of

the blade. It is decorated with a relief, now corroded beyond recognition.

A similar dagger-axe has been excavated in Taixi, Gaocheng, Hebei, having of the same broad, triangular blade with a shield-shaped elevation, but – in contrast to the MFEA dagger-axe – the elevation of the Taixi weapon is decorated. It is also somewhat smaller, being 20.8 cm long (Hebei 1985, p. 184). There is thus no close parallel to the MFEA dagger-axe among the excavated material, but a dagger-axe in the Jannings Collection is of similar shape and size (Loehr 1956, no 44).

This type of dagger-axe with a broad, triangular blade has traditionally been called *kui* in China. The type has been found in localities in the northwest and southwest, most of the dagger-axes of *kui* type having been excavated in the counties Yang and Chenggu in Shaanxi. According to recent statistics, 85 of the 122 excavated *kui* dagger-axes have been found in these two counties (Guo Yanli, "Cheng Yang qingtong bingqi yanjiu" in: Zhao Congcang 2006, p. 273). Chen Fangmei has pointed out that while dagger-axes of this type are represented early in finds from Anyang, they are few compared to the excavated dagger-axes of other types. She suggests that the type of dagger-axe with a broad, triangular blade probably originated outside the Anyang area. (Chen Fangmei 1995, pp. 255-263).

116. Dagger-axe with broad, triangular blade (*kui*)

Date: Late Shang.

Measurements: L.: 27 cm.

Condition: Deep green patina. Heavy corrosion. Broken in four parts and repaired.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson from T. Y. King, Shanghai, on his travel in China 1936-38.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 11 (58).

Accession no: K-12344.

The dagger axe has a broad, triangular blade and a rectangular shafting-plate. The blade has two lashing-slots; there is a big, round hole in the middle of the blade and a small, round hole in the shaft-passage. The ornamentation on the shafting-plate is in sunken relief and was originally inlaid with turquoise, of which traces remain.

A similar type of *kui* type of dagger-axe has been excavated in Zhengzhou in Henan, with an inlay of turquoise on the tang (Henan 1981, Pl. 347).



113.



114.



115.



116.

Spears

117. Spearhead

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 19.7 cm. Weight: 320 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1166). Purchased in Shanghai 1935 through Nils Palmgren.

Accession no: OM-1974-0352.

The spearhead is socketed with an attachment slit at each side of the socket. The blade is round in section and has a sunken field in the shape of a leaf above the socket. Only the point of the blade is sharpened. The socket is decorated with *taotie* masks below a border of cicadas.

Ten spearheads of a shape similar to the MFEA-specimen, but with an oval socket section and a sharper point, have been excavated in Qijiazhuang M269 in Anyang. These spearheads are longer and much lighter than the MFEA spearhead – they are approximately 25 cm long and no piece weighs more than 200 g. (Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991b, p. 343-344, fig. 13:1.1). A similar type of spearhead is also represented in several tombs in YinXu Western section, dated to YinXu Period III and IV (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, M287, M357, M697, M777, M234, M31, M93, M907, M917, M972, M975, M271, M1123; the type is illustrated in *ibid*, p. 92, fig. 67:2). According to the excavation report these spearheads might have been made as *mingqi*, in view of their lightness. (No information regarding the exact weights of these spearheads from the YinXu Western Section is given in the excavation report.)

The bluntness of this weapon suggests that it might have been produced for a ceremonial purpose.

118. Spearhead

Date: Shang, middle / late Period.

Measurements: L.: 24.7 cm. Weight: 307.4 g.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck at T Y King, Shanghai 1929 (Kb186)

Accession no: K-11034-053.

The spearhead is socketed, with a triangular attachment slit at each side of the socket. In the centre of the blade is a leaf-shaped depression.

This spearhead represents a common type during late Shang and similar spearheads have been excavated in Anyang, e.g. Sipanmocun 10 (Guo Baojun 1951, Pl. 38:3), Dasikongcun M304 (Ma Dezhi et al. 1955, Pl. 13:9), Guojiazhuang M232, dated to Per. III (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 49-50, fig. 37:1, Pl. 24:2) and the YinXu Western Section tombs M172, M355, M917, M928, and M1127, dated to YinXu Period III, and the tombs M363, M1118, M1021, M1051 in the same area, dated to YinXu Period IV (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, pp. 121-146).

119. Spearhead

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 23.0 cm. Weight: 262 g.

Condition: Greyish green patina with earth incrustations

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden, to whom it was given by Prof. S.H Hansford in London in November 1967 (HM-2533). From a collection acquired by Prof. Hansford on a visit to Anyang in 1939.

Publ.: Hansford 1949.

Accession no: OM-1974-0387.

The shape of this dagger axe is similar to that as cat. no 118 (K-11034-053), but the socket stops just below the attachment slits.

Similar spearheads, with the shorter type of socket, have been excavated in Anyang in the undated tomb Dasikongcun M108 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, Pl. 61:10), and in Guojiazhuang M230 and M135, both tombs dated to YinXu Period III (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 49-50, fig. 37:2, Pl. 24:3, 4).



118.



119.

117.



120. Spearhead

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 20.0 cm. Weight: 93.1 g.

Condition: Green patina with earth incrustations. Damage at the edge of the blade.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in China in 1930 (Kb II-7-7, 316). According to information in the MFEA inventory it was bought from farmers in the neighbourhood of Xiaotuncun, Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl 2 (9).

Accession no: K-11276-089.

This socketed spearhead is similar in its shape to OM-1974-0387, but the execution is cruder and it is also much lighter. The spearhead might have been made as *mingqi*.

121. Spearhead

Date: Late Shang?

Measurements: L.: 16 cm. Weight: 63.5 g.

Condition: Green patina with earth incrustations.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in China 1930 (Kb II-7-7, 315). According to information in the MFEA inventory bought from farmers in the neighbourhood of Xiaotuncun, Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl 1 (1).

Accession no: K-11276-088.

This socketed spearhead has a triangular blade, a hole in the socket and loops at the sides of the socket for attachment.

The shape of this spearhead is primitive and no similar type has been excavated.

Arrowheads

122. Arrowhead

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 4.9 cm Weight: 6,5 g.

Condition: Green patina with thick incrustations.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden, to whom it was given by Prof. S.H Hansford in London in November 1967 (HM-2530). From a collection acquired by Prof. Hansford on a visit to Anyang in 1939.

Accession no: OM-1974-0384.

This ridged, double-winged and flat arrowhead with a long, round tang is of a type common among the finds from Anyang.

123. Arrowhead

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 5.5 cm Weight: 7.4 g.

Condition: Green patina with earth incrustations.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden, to whom it was given by Prof. S.H Hansford in London in November 1967 (HM-2531). From a collection acquired by Prof. Hansford on a visit to Anyang in 1939.

Accession no: OM-1974-0385.

This flat, two-winged arrowhead has a marked mid-rib and long tang.

120.



121.



122.



123.



Axes

124. Large axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (on one side of the tang): The character 兕 (a clan name), in addition to the characters fu Yi 父乙.

Measurements: L.: 34.5 cm. Weight: 5.040 kg.

Condition: Bluish green patina.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in 1950.

Publ.: Karlgren 1952, Pl.5A-B; Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, No 59.

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 18, No 11756.

Accession no: K-11431.

This exceedingly large and heavy axe has an asymmetrical blade decorated on one side with a whorl-circle. The rectangular tang is decorated with a *taotie* mask on one side and carries the inscription " 兕父乙 " on the other side.

This type of *yue*-axe, with a rectangular tang and a long blade without guards should according to Yang Xizhang and Yang Baocheng be dated to the middle / late Yinxu Period (Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1986, p. 134).

The same inscription is found on a *ding* in the Palace Museum, Peking (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, vol. 4, No 1536), a *jue*, formerly in Zhang Tingji's collection (*ibid*, vol. 14, No 8389) and a *he* formerly in the Qing dynasty palace collection, now in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (*ibid*, Vol. 15, No 9343).

125. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 23.5 cm. Weight: 1.0599 kg.

Condition: Deep green patina with incrustations.

Provenance: Purchased from Sven Broman in 1954.

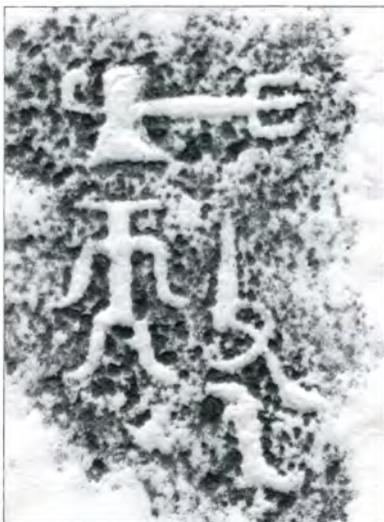
Publ.: Gyllensvärd 1963, p. 35; Gyllensvärd 1968, p. 90.

Accession no: K-11462.

The asymmetrical blade is decorated on both sides with a *taotie* mask in relief. The tang is decorated with a stylized mask in thread-relief.

An axe of *yue* type of similar shape and size has been excavated in Dasikongcun M539, dated in the excavation report to Dasikongcun Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, p. 513, Pl. 4:4).

124d.

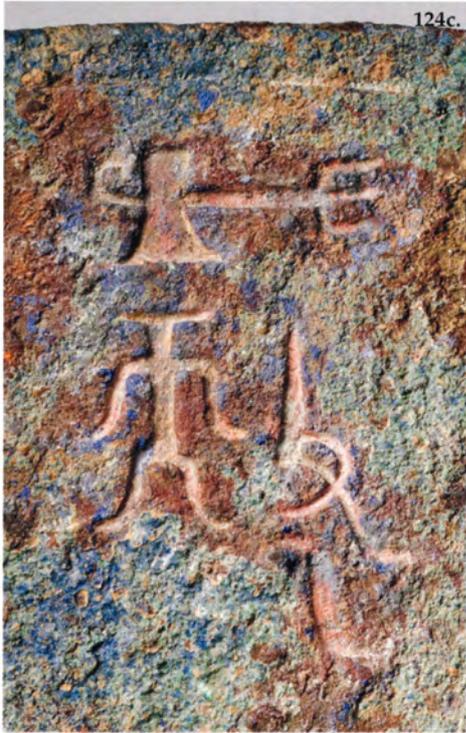




124b.



124a.



124c.



125.

126. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 24 cm. Weight: 930.8 g.

Condition: Heavily corroded with deep green patina and large rusty splotches. Part of the blade is missing.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in 1939. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, 17, Pl. 8.

Accession no: K-11327.

The blade is decorated with two birds with protruding beaks, depicted back to back, and two dragons, also depicted back to back and with protruding tails. The straight shafting-plate is decorated with a *taotie* mask in thread relief. At the upper part of the blade there are two slits for hafting and in the shaft-passage is one small, round hole.

A larger axe of the same type, with somewhat more elaborate decoration, was excavated in Huayuan-zhuang M54, Anyang (Anyang Archaeological Team 2004, fig. 11:3, Pl. 5:4). The tomb is dated in the excavation report to late Yinxu Period II (*ibid*, p. 18).

127. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 18.8 cm. Weight: 422.9 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Incrustations.

Provenance: A. Hellström Collection (AH 1019). Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-4-5, 287). According to information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 8 (42); Karlgren 1948, 19:2.

Accession no: K-14132.

The axe is of the same type as cat. no 126 (K-11327) with the asymmetrical blade decorated with a cicada between two birds, depicted back to back, and a rectangular tang decorated with *taotie* masks. It is smaller and lighter than cat. no 126, and its decoration is less intricate.

126. 127.



128. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Yin 寅.

Measurements: L.: 21 cm. Weight: 823.3 g.

Condition: Smooth, greyish-green patina with patches of green and blue incrustations. Carbonized remnants of wrapping around the tang.

Provenance: Purchased from Mrs. Dahlman, Hedemora in 1950.

Publ.: Karlgren 1952, Pl. 4A-B.

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 18, No 11738.

Accession no: K-11432.

The asymmetrical blade is decorated on both sides with two dragons, depicted back to back, forming a rudimentary *taotie* mask. The rectangular tang is decorated on each side with a *taotie* mask. The forehead of one of the masks is decorated with a lozenge pattern; in the centre of the other mask is the character *yin*.

Axes of this type have been excavated in Anyang: One axe was found in the Fuhao Tomb, Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, p. 105-106, fig. 66:2; Pl. 69:1), a second one was found in Dasikongcun M664 (Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1986, pp. 131-132, fig. 2:1), and a third axe was found in Dasikongcun M25 (Anyang Archaeological Team 1989, p. 592, fig. 3:2), all three tombs being dated to Yinxu Period II.

One axe of this type is in the Werner Jannings Collection (Loehr 1956, 119, No 4). In his catalogue entry Loehr lists several axes of this type in other collections (*ibid*, *loc. cit.*).

129. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle/late Yinxu Period.

Inscription (on one side of the tang): Undeciphered character.

Measurements: L.: 23 cm. Weight: 1.0092 kg.

Condition: Red, green and grey patina with carbonized textile fragments.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Collection (AH 1018). Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-3-10, 227). According to Karlgren's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 9 (44); Karlgren 1948, Pl. 21:1.

Accession no: K-14135.

The axe is of the same type as cat. no 128 (K-11432). The asymmetrical blade is decorated with two dragons, depicted back to back, forming a *taotie* mask. One side of the tang is decorated with a *taotie* mask, the other side with an undeciphered deer-like character.



128.



129b.

129a.



130. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 18.5 cm. Weight: 460.2 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with carbonized textile fragments.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in China, 1929.

Publ : Karlbeck 1930, Pl. 5:2; Exhibition 1933; Pl. 7:3; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 9 (48)

Accession no: K-11090-037.

The shape of this axe is similar to that of cat. no 128 (K-11432), with an asymmetrical blade decorated with two dragons depicted back to back, and a straight tang decorated with a *taotie* mask. The sides of the blade, however, are straighter than those of cat. no 128.

131. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 21.5 cm. Weight: 1.0419 kg.

Condition: Greyish patina with red and green patches. Rich textile incrustations.

Provenance: Purchased in Tsun Ku Chai, Peking, by Karlbeck in 1929. According to the dealer from Anyang. Photo of the axe was shown by Karlbeck to people in Anyang, and recognized as having been excavated there (Kb I-36-4, 741).

Publ.:Karlbeck 1930, Pl. 5:1; Exhibition 1934, Pl. 7:1; Sylwan 1937, p. 119-126; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 8(40); Huang Jun 1993, pp. 126-127.

Accession no.: K-11090-36

The asymmetrical blade has a decoration of four circles with bosses above an ornamental border of three triangles with cicada pattern. The rectangular tang is decorated with a *taotie* mask.

Several axes of the same type have been excavated in Anyang: In the richly furnished tomb Huayuan-zhuang M54, dated to the late phase of Yinxu Period II, 5 *yue*-axes of this type were excavated. The item illustrated in the excavation report, whose blade is decorated with three triangles and three circles, has inlays in turquoise on the tang (Anyang Archaeological Team 2004, fig. 11:1). In Qijiazhuang East M269, dated to Yinxu Period III, two axes of the same type have been excavated, one of which is quite damaged. The axes are approximately of the same size as the MFEA axe, but the undamaged axe weighs only 440 g (Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991b). An axe of similar type has been excavated in Guozhuang-cun North M6 (Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991a, Pl. 5:5). An axe from Dasikongcun M663 is somewhat different, having a hole in the shaft-passage and a blade decorated with three circles and five triangles (Yang Xizhang & Yang Baocheng 1986, p. 131-132, fig. 2:2).

The textile incrustation of this axe was used by V. Sylwan in her pioneering discussion of silk-production during the Shang period (Sylwan 1937, pp. 119-126).

130. 131.



132. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 14.2 cm. L.: 10.8 cm. Weight: 277.9 g.

Condition: Deep green patina. Heavily corroded. Fragments of carbonized textiles.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. The Margot Holmes Art Foundation.

Publ.: Huang Jun 1993, p. 133.

Accession no: HM-1962.

The tang is exceedingly short and there is only one lashing-slot. The asymmetrical blade is decorated with whorl-circles besides a band of hanging blades. The decoration on the blade is common on axes of *yue*-type from the late Yinxu period, but the shape, with its unusually short tang, is not documented among the excavated material.

133. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: H.: 14.2 cm. L.: 10.5 cm Weight: 275.9 g.

Condition: Deep green patina. Heavily corroded. Traces of carbonized textiles.

Provenance: A. Hellström Coll. (AH 1024). Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking 1934 (Kb IV-3-7,185). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Huang Jun 1935, II, 10B; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 11 (56); Karlgren 1948, pl. 22:2.

Accession no: K-14136.

The shape, size and decoration of this axe are the same as cat. no 132 (HM-1962).

134. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Late Shang, Shaanxi type.

Inscription: The tang has the character fu 父 inside a *yaxing*, flanked by dragons on one side (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2001, Vol. 6, p. 684, no 11748 reads the characters as ya yin 亞尹).

Measurements: L.: 22.5 cm. Weight: 980.2 g.

Condition: Heavily corroded with patches of green, blue and red.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1591), to whom it was presented in Nov. 1942 as a gift from The Friendship Association of the Swedish National Museum.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 102:2; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 10 (52); Gyllensvärd 1977b, No 5.

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 18, No 11748.

Accession no: OM-1974-0369.

The lines of the inscription on the rectangular tang are deep and rather broad and might originally have been inlaid with turquoise. The asymmetrical blade is decorated with a dragon in openwork.

An axe with a similar decoration of a dragon on the blade was excavated in 1965 in Yantoucun in Suide County in Shaanxi, but the Shaanxi-axe has a tongue-shaped blade and is smaller (Shaanxi 1975:2, figs. 8-9; Shaanxi 1979, No 88).

An axe in the Historical Museum in Peking has a similar inscription (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 18, No 11749).

135. Axe of *yue*-type

Date: Late Shang, Shaanxi type.

Measurements: L. (original state): 18 cm L.(present state): 13 cm. Weight (original state): 979 g Weight (present state): 418 g.

Condition: Heavily corroded with deep green patina and large rusty splotches. Blade and tang in two parts, the tang now lacking.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck 1939. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 19 (51).

Accession no: K-11328.

This axe is of the same type as cat. no 134 (OM-1974-0369).





134.



132.



135a.



133.

136. Axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 13.8 cm. Weight: 144.7 g.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-2-5, 124). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang. Bought together with five other socketed axes (K-12008 - K-12013).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 6 (34).

Condition: Green patina.

Accession no: K-12008.

The axe has a tubular socket and a blade that is reinforced by a rib in the middle. A stud projects from the neck.

This axe is of the same type as the axes excavated in the so-called "knife and axe burials" (cf. Chen Fang-mei's article, p. 31). The type of axe with a protruding stud on the butt is also found in the Northern Frontier Zone (Bunker 1997, p. 126; Wu En 1985, p. 138, fig. 2).

137. Axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 15.0 cm. Weight: 225.0 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-2-5, 119). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 136).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 5 (31).

Accession no: K-12009.

The axe has a tubular socket and a blade that is reinforced by ribs. A small stud projects from the neck.

The axe probably came from the same tomb area as cat. no 136 (K-12008).

138. Axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 13 cm. Weight: 130.7 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-2-5, 120). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 136).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 5 (30).

Accession no: K-12010.

The axe has a tubular socket and a blade that is reinforced by ribs. A small stud projects from the neck. At the neck, close to the stud, is a round hole.

The axe probably came from the same tomb area as cat. no 136.

139. Axe

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 11.5 cm. Weight: 211.4 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-2-5, 122). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 136).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 6 (33).

Accession no: K-12011.

The axe has a tubular socket and a blade that is reinforced by ribs. A small stud projects from the neck.

The axe probably came from the same tomb area as cat. no 136.



136.



137.



138.



139.

140. Axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 11.7 cm. Weight: 101.5 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-2-5, 121). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 136).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 5 (29).

Accession no: K-12012.

The axe has a tubular socket and a blade that is reinforced by ribs. A small stud projects from the neck.

The axe probably came from the same tomb area as cat. no 136.

141. Axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 12.5 cm. Weight: 106.0 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-2-5, 123). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 136).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 5 (28).

Accession no: K-12013.

The axe has a tubular socket and a blade that is reinforced by ribs. A small stud projects from the neck.

The axe probably came from the same tomb area as cat. no 136.

142. Axe

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period.

Measurements: L.: 15 cm. Weight: 250.9 g.

Condition: Grey and green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-1-7, 45). According to Karlbeck's information one of three axes found together in Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 6 (32).

Accession no: K-12014.

The axe has a tubular socket and a blade that is reinforced by ribs. A small stud projects from the neck.

The axe probably came from the same tomb area as cat. no 136.

143. Battle-axe

Date: Shang, middle YinXu Period. Northern type.

Measurements: L.: 14.2 cm. Weight: 250.4 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by the China Research Committee in Peking in [1926] (Peking No 463).

Accession no: K-10443.

The axe has an oval socket and a narrow blade decorated with a double-band running from the neck to a ring at the upper part of the blade. Both the band and the ring are set with small knobs. A small stud projects from the neck.

This group of Northern battle-axes has been discussed by Loehr (Loehr 1956, p. 7-8). In most of the axes in this group the ring in the middle of the blade is perforated. This type of battle-axe has also been found in Anyang. One axe of this type, but with a perforated hole and the decoration of studs terminating in a triangle, has been excavated in Dasikong M539, Anyang, dated to YinXu Period II (Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, p. 513, fig. 7, Pl. 5:2).

144. Socketed axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, middle / late YinXu Period. Northern Type.

Inscription: Yayi 亞疑.

Measurements: L.: 19.7 cm. Weight: 424 g.

Condition: Steely grey patina with green and blue incrustations.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. (AH 1020). Purchased by Karlbeck 1934 in Shanghai (Kb IV-2-5, 128).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 6 (35); Karlgren 1948, Pl. 21:3.

Accession no: K-14133.

The axe has an ovoid shaft-ring and asymmetrical blade. On the butt is a *yaxing* flanked by two stylized dragons. The inscription has traces of inlay in turquoise and / or malachite.

An axe of similar shape has been excavated in Yidie huiping, Shilou Prefecture in the Shanxi Province (Shilou Cultural Centre 1974, p. 69). This type of socketed battle-axe seems to have been popular in the north, while there are few finds of the type in Anyang (Chen Fangmei 1995, p. 282, p.252-253).



140.



141.



142.



143.

144.



145. Socketed axe of *yue*-type

Date: Shang, late YinXu Period. Northern type.

Measurements: L.: 20 cm. Weight: 593.1 g.

Condition: Green water patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1603).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 7 (37); Loehr 1956, p. 13, fig. 14B; Cheng 1960, Pl. 34c.

Accession no: OM-1974-0372.

This axe has an oval shaft-hole and an asymmetrical blade. The butt is decorated with a *taotie*, originally with inlays in turquoise. The shaft-ring is decorated with a snake-like dragon.

This type of socketed *yue*-axe was popular in the north (see cat. no 144). A similar axe, but with the turquoise inlays on the tang preserved, was formerly in the Asano Coll., Osaka (Umehara 1941, Pl. 45).

146. Axe with shaft-ring

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern type.

Measurements: L.: 18.3 cm. Weight: 371.0 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Collection (AH 1149). Purchased from Karlbeck in January 1936.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 18:3; Li Xueqin & Allan 1995, Peking 1995, no 65.

Accession no: K-14130.

The axe has a symmetrical blade and a round shaft-hole. The blade has an engraved decoration consisting of a whorl-circle and a band of blades. The butt is decorated with a sculpted human head, the hair in the shape of a coiling snake. The nostrils have remnants of turquoise inlay.

The uniqueness of the piece makes it for the time being difficult to date, but as the depiction of the human head shows similarities with the very famous *yue*-vessels showing a human being embraced by a tiger (in the Sumitomo Collection, Kyoto, and Musée Cernuschi, Paris), it is included in this catalogue, pending further discussion.

Some scholars have suspected that the axe is a composite piece, but X-ray examination has shown it to have been made in one piece.

147. Axe with tubular shaft-ring

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern type.

Measurements: L.: 17.5 cm.

Provenance: Formerly in the collection of Huang Jun (Loehr 1956, p. 4). Purchased by Karlbeck in China in 1934. (Kb IV-3-7,182). According to Karlbeck's report from Shansi.

Publ.: Huang Jun 1993, p. 146; Loehr 1956, p. 4.

Accession no: K-12064.

This socketed axe has a semi-circular blade with seven holes. Low ribs run from the holes to the edge of the blade. The slightly bent shaft-ring is decorated in the style of the Northern Complex with slits and geometric ornamentation.

A similar axe has been excavated in Panjialiang in Huangzhong, Qinghai Autonomous region (Zhongguo meishu quanji 1985, Pl. 98). A similar axe is in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Chen Fangmei 1995, Pl. 11). The geometric decoration on the shaft of the Palace Museum axe is much more elaborate than the decoration of the axes from Panjialiang and in the MFEA.



146a.



146b.



145.



146c.



146d.



147.

Knives

148. Knife

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 27.3 cm. Weight: 160.7 g.

Condition: Green and brown patina.

Provenance: A. Hellströms Coll. (AH 1021). Purchased from Karlbeck (Kb IV-3-7, 184). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 28 (150); Karlgren 1948, Pl. 18:1; Huang Jun 1993, p. 184.

Accession no: K-14138.

The tang and the spine of the knife form a very slight S-curve. Along the spine is a segmented flange. The blade is of almost uniform width, taking a sharp bend outwards near the point. Along the spine is a band of decoration, showing strongly stylized dragons.

Six knives of a similar type were excavated in the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, pp. 101-102, Pl. Pl. 2:3). In Xiaotun M186 three knives of this type were found, one with remnants of the handle still preserved, showing red-lacquered wood decorated with inlays of turquoise and boar tusk (Li Ji 1949, p. 10, Pl. 21-23; Shi Zhangru 1976). A similar type of knife has also been excavated in Houjiazhuang M1436 (Li Ji 1949, p. 10, Pl. 32:4). All tombs have been dated to Yinxu Period II.

Similar knives, but carved in jade, have been excavated in the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Color Pl. 20:3) and at Huayuanzhuang M54 (Anyang Archaeological Team 2004, fig. 13:8, Pl. 8:1; the tomb being dated to late Yinxu Period II), indicating that this type of knife might have been used in a ritual context.

149. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period

Measurements: L.: 36.3 cm. Weight: 368.7 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Fragments of carbonized leather at the blade. The shaft has carbonized textile fragments from the original wrapping.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck at Canton Road, Shanghai in 1929 (Kb I, 228).

Accession no: K-11034-093.

This type of knife with upturned point and short tang has been excavated in the great tomb in Wuguancun (Guo Baojun 1951, p. 37, Pl. 23:3), and in Xiaotun E16, where two such knives were found (Li Ji 1949, fig. 21:a, Pl. 21:19), both sites have been dated to Yinxu Period II. A similar type was excavated in 2006 in M5

southeast of Guojiazhuang (within the Yinxu-area), also dated to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Municipal Institute 2008, fig. 10:14).

A knife of the same type is also in the Werner Jannings Coll. (Loehr 1956, p. 143, No 42). In his entry Loehr lists several knives of the same type (*ibid, loc. cit.*).

150. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 22.4 cm. Weight: 72.4 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with heavy incrustations. Fragments of carbonized textiles.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1934 in Anyang ("Changtefu"). According to Karlbeck's information from Xiaotun, Anyang. (Kb IV-6-8, 376). Karlbeck was in Anyang in September 1934, and visited Xiaotuncun, where he bought a number of objects. This knife, however, was according to his list bought in Anyang city.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 27 (147).

Accession no: K-12087-011.

The knife has a curved blade and long tang. The type has been called Yi-shaped knife (*yixing dao*), as its shape is similar to the character *yi*. The type has been excavated in Xiaotun H379 (Li Ji 1949, Pl. 21:17), dated to Yinxu Period II. A smaller knife of the same type has been excavated in Yinxu Western Section M948, dated to Yinxu Period IV (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, p. 1439).

151. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 25.3 cm. Weight: 144.1 g.

Condition: Green, blue and red patina. Fragments of carbonized textiles.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai 1934 (Kb IV-3-5, 154). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 29 (160).

Accession no: K-12022.

The knife has a double-curved spine and a handle terminating in a flat loop.

The most common type of knife during the late Shang period seems to have been the ring-handled knife. This type has been excavated in tombs, house sites and workshop sites. The shapes and sizes demonstrate a wide variation (Liu Yiman 1993, p. 155).

152. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 30.2 cm. Weight: 193.4 g.

Condition: Green patina. Heavily corroded. Point broken.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-2549), to whom it was given by Prof. S. H. Hansford in London in November 1967.

Publ.: Hansford 1949.

Accession no: OM-1974-0389.

The knife has a curved blade with a slightly up-turned point and a handle terminating in a loop.

153. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 24.3 cm. Weight: 127.3 g.

Condition: Green patina. Heavily corroded. Point broken.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-2250), to whom it was given by Prof. S. H. Hansford in London in November 1967.

Accession no: OM-1974-0390.

The knife has a curved blade with a slightly up-turned point and a handle terminating in a loop.

154. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 17.1 cm. Weight: 28.0 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: The knife was bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 170). It was bought together with eight other knives, with the information that they had all been found in Anyang. (The knives were allotted the acquisition numbers K-120246 - K-12054. K-12049 was sent to École Française, Hanoi, in May 1938 in an exchange of objects.)

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (169).

Accession no: K-12046.

The spine of the knife is slightly curved, the handle terminates in a flat loop. The blade is very slender.

The knives which have been excavated in the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 66:6) are slightly different from the cat. nos 154-163. Amidst the MFEA-knives No 154-163 are, however, types resembling some of the 719 knives found in the material of the "axe and knives-tombs" in Xibeigang, Anyang (Gao Quxun 1967, pp. 355-381, Pls. 2-4).



148.



149.



150.



151.



152.



153.



154.

155. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: Weight: 26.8 g. L.: 15.6 cm.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 169). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 154).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (168).

Accession no: K-12047.

The spine of the knife is slightly curved, the handle terminates in a flat loop.

156. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 17.4 cm. Weight: 38.1 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 171). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 154).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (162).

Accession no: K-12048.

The knife has a handle terminating in a loop. There is a small, round hole in the blade.

157. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 19.9 cm. Weight: 66.2 g.

Condition: Green patina. Traces of basketry in which the knife has been wrapped.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 163). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 154).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 29 (156).

Accession no: K-12050.

The blade has an upturned point and a broad ridge at the spine. The handle terminates in a small loop.

158. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 19.8 cm. Weight: 86.2 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 165). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 154).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (165).

Accession no: K-12051.

The knife has a curved spine, the handle terminating in a small, flat loop. The main edge of the blade is curved.

159. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 22 cm. Weight: 108 g.

Condition: Deep green patina.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 164). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 154).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (164).

Accession no: K-12052.

The knife has a curved spine and a handle terminating in loop. The main edge of the blade is curved.

160. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 15.4 cm. Weight: 28.2 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 168). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 154).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (163).

Accession no: K-12053.

The knife has a straight spine, while the main edge of the blade is curved. The handle terminates in a small loop.

161. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 17.5 cm. Weight: 29.6 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-6, 166). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (cf. cat. no 154).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (166).

Accession no: K-12054.

The knife has a curved spine; the handle is terminating in a small, flat loop.



155.



158.



156.



159.



157.



160.



161.

162. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Inscription: A character cast in relief on the blade.

Measurements: L.: 28.5 g. Weight: 221.2 g.

Condition: Grayish green patina with rusty spots. The handle of the knife has been wrapped up in a thick rope, now carbonized. Fragments of carbonized textiles and basketry on the blade. The blade broken in two places and repaired.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-3-7, 183).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 30 (161a); Huang Jun 1993, p. 187.

Accession no: K-12020.

The knife has a curved spine; the handle is terminating in a loop. The blade is relatively broad.

163. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 27.3 cm Weight: 207.5 g.

Condition: Green patina with brown incrustations. Fragments of carbonized textile on the blade.

Provenance: Bought from Karlbeck in 1939. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlbeck 1945, Pl. 29 (161).

Accession no: K-11325.

The knife has a curved spine; the handle terminates in a loop. The blade is relatively broad.

164. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 28.4 cm. Weight: 212.8 g.

Condition: Black, green, blue and red patina. The blade broken and repaired.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck at Anyang in 1934 (Kb IV-6-7, 361).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 31 (172).

Accession no: K-12087-010.

The knife has a curved spine, the blade is ending in a slightly upturned point. Between the main edge of the blade and the handle is a guard. The handle is decorated with a fishbone pattern and terminates in a ring with three knobs.

The same type of knife has been found in Xiatusun M164, Anyang (Shi Zhangru 1959, p. 23-24, Pl. 8:3) and Dasikongcun M539 (Anyang Archaeological Team 1992, p. 514, fig. 9:3, Pl. 5:7), both dated to Yinxu

Period II. A similar type was also excavated in 2006 in M5 southeast of Guojiazhuang (within Yinxu), also dated to Yinxu Period II (Anyang Municipal Institute 2008, fig. 10:15, Pl. 4:5). A similar knife was even excavated in Shilou in Shanxi (Guo Yong 1962, fig.4), and another, with a small loop at the ring handle, has been excavated in Fushun City, Liaoning (Fushun City Museum 1981, p. 190, fig. 1:1).

There is a similar knife in the Werner Jannings Coll. (Loehr 1956, p. 141-142, No 39), and several knives of the same type are listed in the catalogue (*ibid*, *loc. cit.*).

165. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L: 25.6 cm. Weight: 109 g.

Condition: Very corroded. Broken and repaired.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-3-8, 203). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 31 (174).

Accession no: K-12023.

The knife has a curved spine. The handle terminates in an animal head.

Knives with zoomorphic handles have been excavated together with non-Chinese material at several sites in northern China (Bunker 1997, p. 121), but this kind of knife has also been excavated in Anyang. A knife of a type similar to that in the MFEA collection, with a guard between the handle and the edge of the blade, was found in Houjiazhuang M1311 (Li Ji 1949, Pl. 32:1; Hayashi 1972, p. 176, fig. 248). The MFEA knife is so corroded that it is hard to tell whether it originally had a guard or not. A knife found in Huayuanguang M54 belongs seemingly to the same type, but also this knife is in such bad condition that comparison is difficult (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2007, p. 166).



162a.

162b.



163.



164.



165a.

165b.



166. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 11.9 cm. Weight: 61.5 g.

Condition: Green patina with green incrustations. The blade is broken.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb I-1-7, 46). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 32 (180).

Accession no: K-12017.

The knife has a handle terminating in the head of an ibex. The handle is covered by a fishbone pattern, the same pattern is found on the horns of the ibex. At the middle of the handle is a projection in the shape of a stylized bird – a very unusual feature. The shape of the bird is reminiscent of the bone hairpins excavated in Anyang tombs. The eyes and nostrils of the ibex head were probably originally inlaid with turquoise.

This type of knife mostly has a guard, but the guard is here almost worn down.

167. Knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period. Probably from Northwestern China.

Measurements: L.: 19 cm. Weight: 91.5 g.

Condition: Green and red patina with rusty spots. The eyes possibly originally inlaid with turquoise. The point of the blade missing.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-3-11, 242). According to Karlbeck's information from Fenzhou fu, Shanxi.

Accession no: K-12019.

The knife has a curved blade, now very reduced, and a handle terminating in an animal head. Two grooves mark the transition between the blade and handle. The slit on the underside of the head indicates that it might originally have contained some sort of jingle.



166b.



166a.



166c.



167a.



167c.



167b.

168. Knife

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern Complex.

Measurements: L.: 31 cm.

Condition: Polished. The malachite inlays might be later substitutions.

Provenance: Purchased through O. Sirén at the auction of Otto Burchard's collection, held at Paul Cassirer and Hugo Helbing, Berlin May 22, 1928..

Publ.: Breuer 1925, Pl. 31, fig. 23; Andersson 1932, pp. 233-234, Pl. 5:1.

Accession no: K-10727.

The knife has a curved spine and one guard. The blade has a broad back. The oval, almost flat handle is decorated with geometric ornamentation of Northern Complex type and terminates in a cervine head with curved horns; the eyes and nostrils being inlaid with malachite. Below the head is a small loop.

169. Knife

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern Complex.

Measurements: L.: 28.8 cm.

Condition: Partially covered by a black varnish. A nag at the blade.

Provenance: A. Hellström Collection; purchased at C. T. Loo, Paris 1929.

Publ.:

Accession no: K-14169.

The knife has a curved spine and one guard. The blade has a broad back. The oval, almost flat handle is decorated with geometric pattern of Northern Complex type and terminates in a cervine head with a U-shaped horn. Below the head is a small loop.

This knife shares several features with a knife found in Chaodaogou, Qinglong County, Hebei, as the shape of the blade, the placement and shape of the loop, the decoration of the handle, the animal head, and also the size of the knife (*Kaogu*, 1962:12, pp. 644, Pl. 5:3).

The inscription on the handle is a much later addition.

170. Knife

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern Complex.

Measurements: 31cm.

Condition: Green patina. A nag at the blade.

Provenance: Purchased by J. G. Andersson in Tianjin in 1927 from Luo Zhenyu.

Accession no: K-11004-038.

The knife has a curved spine and one guard. The blade has a broad back. The oval, almost flat handle is decorated with geometric pattern of Northern Complex type and terminates in a cervine head with a U-shaped horn. On the top of the horn is a knob. Below the head is a small loop.

This knife is similar to a knife found in Chaodaogou, Qinglong County, Hebei, but the shape of the ear is somewhat different (Hebei 1962, pp. 644, Pl. 5:3).

171. Knife handle

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern Complex.

Measurements: L.: 12.5 cm

Condition: Polished. Blade missing.

Provenance: Purchased from Duke F. A. Larsson in Guihua-cheng (Hoahot). According to Karlbeck's information collected in the Ordos desert.

Publ.: Andersson 1932, p. 234, Pl. 5:2; Karlgren 1945, p.128, Pl. 37 (225).

Accession no.:K-11003-103.

The almost flat, ovoid knife handle is curved and terminating in an animal head. Around the handle is a geometric pattern of Northern Complex type. Marks on the back of the neck and on the nose indicate that the head originally might have had a U-shaped horn. There is also a remnant of a small loop under the chin.



168a.



169a.



169b.



170a.



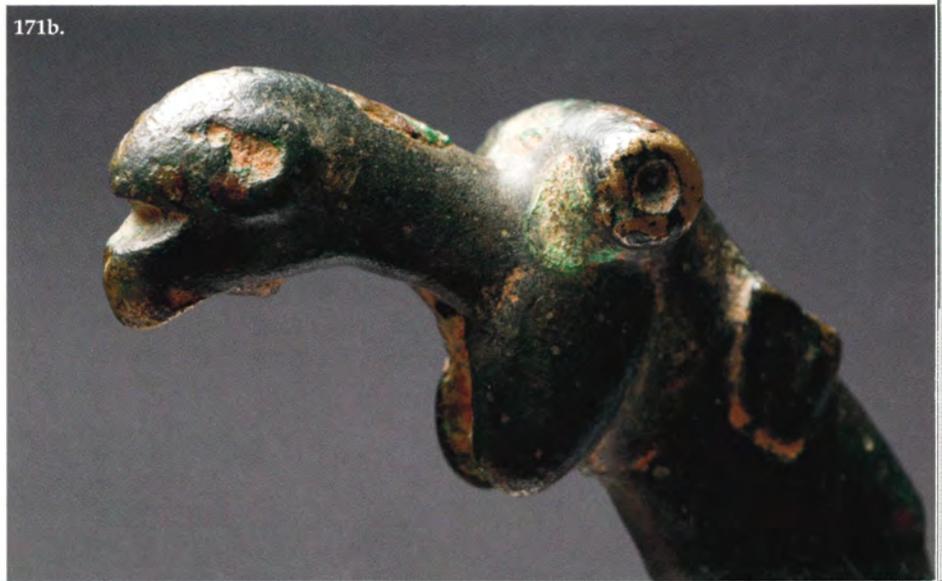
171a.



168b.



170b.



171b.

172. Knife with a dragon-shaped handle

Date: Shang, late Yinxi Period

Measurements: L.: 13.5 cm. Weight: 34.5 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Two small holes in the blade.

Provenance: Hellström Collection. Obtained from Nils Palmgren. According to Palmgren's information from Anyang.

Accession no: K-14139.

This small knife has an upturned point and a handle in the shape of a dragon with sharply defined features. It is similar to a knife found in Baijiafen West M 22:5, Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1987, pp. 245-246, fig. 187:1, Pl. 61:2) and a knife found in Zhangjiapo, in Shaanxi (Chen Zhenzhong 1985, fig. 10:3).

173. Knife with dragon-shaped handle

Date: Late Shang.

Measurements: L. 13.5 cm Weight: 30.2 g.

Condition: Green patina with incrustations. The blade heavily repaired. Point missing.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Shanghai in 1934 (Kb IV-3-5, 153).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 28 (154).

Accession no: K-12018.

The knife has a straight back and a dragon-shaped handle. The handle is short and covered by a fishbone pattern.

This knife is similar to cat. no 172 (K-14139). It is also of approximately the same size, but is more meticulously made than other knives of this type, with finely moulded details.

174. Knife with jingle

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 26 cm. Weight: 173.1 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots. Point broken and now missing. Remnants of a guard.

Provenance: Purchased in Chin Ya Chai, Peking, by Karlbeck in 1929. According to the dealer's information the knife came from Anyang. (Kb I-35-4, 735). A photo of the knife was later shown by Karlbeck to people in Anyang, and recognized by them as having been excavated there (MFEA Inventory).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 31 (173); Loehr 1956, p. 69, fig. 48; Chen Zhenzhong 1985, fig. 11:3.

Accession no: K-11090-035.

The knife has a broad back and a handle terminating in a rattle. There is a small loop at the transition between the handle and rattle. The point of the blade is turned upwards and backwards. The tip is now missing.

According to Karlbeck's information, the knife had come from Anyang, but hitherto this type of blade combined with a handle terminating in a jingle has not been archaeologically documented in the Anyang material. However, the blade with its upturned curve is somewhat similar to the blade of a ring-handled knife found in Sipanmo M25, Anyang (Guo Baojun 1951, Pl. 38:2).

175. Dagger-like knife

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: L.: 24.5 cm. Weight: 187.0 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased in Peking by Johan Gunnar Andersson, 1926-27 (Peking No 427).

Accession no: K-10302.

The dagger-like knife has a curved spine, one guard and a flat handle terminating in a rattle. The handle is decorated in openwork, bordered by geometric ornaments in the Northern Complex style. At the transition between the handle and the rattle is a small loop for suspension.

A similar knife, but somewhat longer and lacking the decoration in openwork, is in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. In her catalogue of the weapons in that museum, Chen Fang-mei has pointed out the connection between this type of knife, with its thick, curved back and thin edge, and a knife with a handle terminating in an animal head excavated in 1961 in Chaodaogou, Qinglong, Hebei. The shape and ornamentation connect the Chaodaogou-knife with the Stockholm and Taipei specimens. From the same find comes also a knife, somewhat broader and lacking the geometric ornamentation, but provided with a rattle at the top of the handle (Chen Fangmei 1995, p. 247, figs. 15-17).



172b.



172a.



174.



173.



175.

176. Large knife

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: L.: 47.5 cm. Weight: 638.2 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased from Karlbeck in 1936. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 28 (155).

Accession no: K-12203.

This large knife is of the type called *juantou dao* ("knife with a turned-up point"). Its curved, upturned blade has one shafting-slit. Parallel with the spine of the knife runs a rib, which probably functioned as a support for a wooden handle.

This type of knife is not unusual among the finds of Anyang. In the small tomb Xibeigang M1355, dated to Yinxi Period II, ten knives of similar type and size were found; in Guojiazhuang M160, dated to Yinxi Period III, two knives of this type were found (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, fig. 83, Pl. 47:1, 2). In Qijiazhuang in Anyang, from Yinxi Period III, two knives of the type were excavated (Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991b, fig. 13:10, Pl.15:6). The late Yinxi period tomb Guozhuangcun North M6 yielded one very broad knife of this type (Anyang Municipal Archaeological Team 1991a, fig. 6:3). In the very large Yinxi Period II tomb Huayuanzhuang M54, with its rich weaponry, three knives of a similar type, but with a magnificent ornamentation, were excavated (Anyang Archaeological Team 2004b, pp. 14-15, fig. 11:3).

Except for the large knives from Houjiazhuang, most of these knives were smaller than the Stockholm knife. The number of lashing slots vary; the Qijiazhuang-knives were lacking slots.

A similar knife is in the Werner Jannings Collection. In his entry Loehr lists several other knives of the same type (Loehr 1956, p. 207, No 105).

177. Large knife

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Shaanxi type.

Measurements: L.: 27.5 cm. Weight: 542.8 g.

Condition: Deep green patina.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. (AH 698). Purchased 1930 at Bluett & Sons, London.

Accession no: K-14137.

This large knife has three shaft-rings and is decorated with 17 nipples.

Knives of the same type have been found in Shaanxi and Shanxi – the knife from Shanxi was found in Yidie in Shilou, and still bore traces of the wooden

handle (Shilou Cultural Centre 1972, fig. 7). The knife from Shaanxi was found in 1974 in Horenjiagou, Sui-de Prefecture, Shaanxi Province (Shaanxi 1979, p. 15, no 97). (The Shaanxi catalogue refers to a similar knife in the collection of Wenwuguan, Peking (*ibid*, p. 15), but gives no information of provenance.)

Two knives of similar type, but with only two shaft-rings, are in the collection of the Taipei Palace Museum (Chen Fangmei 1995, Pl. 21).

Short Swords

178. Short sword with a hilt terminating in an animal head

Date: Late Shang, Northern Complex type.

Measurements: L.: 39.6 cm. Weight: 447 g.

Condition: Green and black patina with earth incrustations. Fragments of carbonized cloth on the handle.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Peking 1934. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang. (Kb IV-5-3, 325).

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 32 (182).

Accession no: K-12087-008.

The short sword has a long blade with a median crest, two straight guards and a hilt terminating in a stylized animal head of cervine type. The animal head is in openwork. There is a small loop, probably for suspension, below the animal head.

The shape of the blade is similar to a short sword found in 1965 in Zhangbei, Hebei (Hebei 1980, Pl. 87; Chen Fangmei 1995, fig.12). The head of the Zhangbei sword, which is characterized as a "deer-head", is more stylized than that of the Stockholm sword and the hilt is decorated with geometric ornamentation in the Northern Complex style. In his chronology of the daggers and short swords of Northern provenance, Zheng Shaosong dates the Zhangbei short sword to the 12th to 11th century B.C. (Zheng Shaosong 1984). According to the regional analysis of the daggers and short swords belonging to the Northern Complex made by Zhai Defang, the Zhangbei sword belongs to the Western type (Zhai Defang 1988).



177.

176.



178a.

178b.



179. Short sword with a hilt terminating in an animal head

Date: Late Shang, Northern Complex type.

Measurements: L.: 26.1 cm. Weight: 312 g.

Condition: Greyish green patina with green, red and earthy incrustations. One lug missing.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking 1934 (Kb IV 3-12, 260). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, 17, Pl. 32 (183).

Accession no: K-12021.

The short sword has a triangular blade with a median crest and a hilt terminating in a cervine animal head. The broad blade is somewhat reminiscent of the blade of a dagger-axe. The sword originally had two straight guards, one of which is now missing. On the underside of the animal head is a small loop. The eyes might originally have been inlaid with turquoise. Originally the two horns might have formed a curve ending at the transition between the pommel and hilt; now there are just small remnants of the horns in front of the ears and a mark at the transition between the hilt and pommel.

The hilt is similar to that of the Zhangbei short sword (cf. cat. no 178), but the blade is different from those of the swords found in the north. (Zheng Shaosong 1984, figs. 1,5). The claim that the MFEA sword should come from Anyang is not fully reliable; Karlbeck offers no solid proof in this case.

180. Short sword with a hilt terminating in an animal head

Date: Late Shang, Northern Complex type.

Measurements: L.: 30.5 cm. Weight: 513.8 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, p. 18, Pl. 37 (228).

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck 1930 in Hattin-sum from Duke Larson, who had bought the knife from a lama. According to his information, the knife had been found in the desert west of Dalainor. (Kb II, 2-3, II-2-7, 76).

Accession no: K-11276-039.

The short sword has a broad blade and a curved hilt ending in a horned animal head. The blade is broad with a marked median crest and one guard. The hilt is decorated with geometric ornamentation in Northern Complex style. The eyes of the animal were probably originally inlaid with turquoise. There is a small loop for suspension at the transition between the hilt and the head.

A similar short sword was excavated in 1961 in a storage pit of bronzes in Chaodaogou, Qinglong County in Hebei. The animal's head is described in

the report as a "ram's head" (*yangshou*) (Hebei 1962, Pl. 5:5). In his chronology of the daggers and short swords of Northern provenance, Zheng Shaosong dates the Qinglong sword to the 12th to 11th century B.C. (Zheng Shaosong 1984, p. 43). According to the regional analysis of the daggers and short swords belonging to the Northern Complex made by Zhai Defang, the Qinglong sword belongs to the Western group (Zhai Defang 1988).

181. Short sword with hilt terminating in a rattle.

Date: Late Shang, Western Shanxi type.

Measurements: L.: 23.0 cm. Weight: 246.1 g.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1931/32 (Kb III-17-8, 594)

Accession no: K-11290-008.

The short sword has two straight guards and a short, triangular blade with a prominent median ridge running through the blade and hilt. The slightly curved hilt is decorated with deep grooves and terminates in a big, rather flat rattle. At the rattle is a small loop for suspension.

This type of short sword seems to have been rather common in the Western Shanxi-region, and several items have been documented archaeologically. Of similar shape and size (although lighter in weight) is a short sword excavated in 1978 in Gaohong, Liulin County (Yang Shaoshun 1981a, Pl. 5:1). Similar, slightly longer swords of the type were found in 1971 in a tomb in Linzheyu, Baode County (Wu Zhenlu 1972, Pl.6.:5), in 1976 in a tomb in Caojiayuan in Shilou County (Yang Shaoshun 1981b, fig. 13, fig. 27, p. 53), and in 1983 in a tomb in Chengguan, Ji County (Yan Jinzhu 1985, fig. 3:2). These sites are all situated in the Western Shanxi region, on the border to Shaanxi, and all the finds have been dated to the late Shang period in the excavation reports.



179a.



179b.



180a.



180b.



181.

182. Short sword with hilt terminating in a rattle.

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou, Northern Complex type.
Measurements: L.: 31.5 cm. Weight: 320.6.

Condition: Green and red patina. The point broken and repaired.

Provenance: Bought by Karlbeck in Peking 1934. According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang (Kb IV-5-5, 340)

Accession no: K-12087-009.

This short sword is basically of the same shape as cat. no 181 (K-10269), but the hilt is decorated with geometric ornaments in the Northern Complex Style. The type, which is common in finds from the Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces, is discussed by Emma Bunker (Bunker 1997, p. 119).

183. Short sword with hilt terminating in a rattle

Date: Late Shang. Northern Complex type.

Measurements: L. 29.8 cm. Weight: 342.5 g.

Condition: Green and brown spots of patina.

Provenance: Purchased in Peking by Johan Gunnar Andersson, 1926-27.

Publ.: Andersson 1932, Pl. 5:3.

Accession no: K-10269.

The short sword has a long blade with a marked median ridge, two straight guards and slightly curved hilt terminating in a rattle. At the rattle is a small loop for suspension. Inside the rattle is a small stone.

The weapon is of a similar type as cat. no 181 (K-11290-008), but it is longer and slimmer. Unlike the items found in Western Shanxi, the hilt is undecorated.

Adzes

184. Adze (*ben*)

Date: Shang, middle Yinxu Period.

Inscription: Diao gui 𠄎龜

Measurements: L.: 16.4 cm. Weight: 494.7 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking in 1934 (Kb IV-3-7, 187). According to Karlbeck's information from Anyang.

Publ.: Huang Jun 1935, 2.11; Karlgren 1944, p. 13, Pl. 9 :VIII:6; Karlgren 1945, Pl. 4 (23).

Inscription publ.: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 18, No 11782.

Accession no: K-12015.

The adze has a square section, slightly tapering towards the edge. It is decorated in low relief, the broad sides showing dragons flanking the characters

diao gui, the narrow sides are decorated with a pattern of cicadas.

Karlgren points out that this adze forms a pair with a specimen in the Seligman Coll. (published Karlgren 1945, Pl. 4 (24), bought by Karlbeck on the same occasion (Kb IV-3-7, 186; cf. Karlgren 1945, p. 103). The same type of pictogram (with a turtle) is found on a group of bronze vessels and weapons, which according to information was found together in a set (Karlgren 1944, p. 17, Pl. 9, VIII:6).

185. Adze

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 11.7 cm.

Condition: Green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson in Tung Pu Chai, Peking, on his travel in China, 1936-38.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 4 (25).

Accession no: K-12283.

The adze has a square section, slightly tapering towards the edge. It is decorated in low relief, with *taotie* masks and hanging blades.

Two larger adzes of similar type were excavated in the great tomb in Wuguancun, Anyang (Guo Baojun 1951, p. 29, Pl. 24:2,3; Henan 1981, Pls. 279-280).

186. Adze

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 11.3 cm. Weight: 176.9 g.

Condition: Green patina.

Provenance: Purchased from T. Y. King, Shanghai.

Accession no: K-12478.

The adze has a square section, slightly tapering towards the edge. At one side is a loop. It is decorated in low relief, with *taotie*-masks and hanging blades with a cicada-pattern.



182.



183.



184b.

184a.



185a.



185b.



186a.



186b.





Cat. no 200 (detail).

Miscellanea

Horse and Chariot Details

187. Covering for yoke collar

Date: Late Shang.

Condition: Light green patina with rusty spots. Very fragile and repaired. An early photograph shows a metal band which is now missing. (This type of metal band is not found on any of the yoke collars archaeologically excavated and might have been a later addition for support.)

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1930 Weihui, Henan, and probably excavated in the neighborhood (Kb II-7-7,325).

Accession no: K-11276-143.

A pair of coverings for yoke collars was excavated in 1953 in Dasikongcun M175, Anyang (Henan 1981, Pl. 301). A similar pair was excavated in Guojiazhuang M52 in Anyang, tentatively dated to Yinxi Period IV (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p.130-132, fig. 102:4, Pl. 62:3). These finds show how the parts were combined in a yoke. For a discussion of the use of yokes, see Zhang Changshou & Zhang 1986.

188. Axle caps

Date: Shang, late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: OM-1974-0435: L.: 19.5 cm. Weight: 535.8 g; OM-1974-0436: L.: 19.5 cm. Weight: 550.4 g;

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1196-1197). Purchased in Peking through Nils Palmgren, 1935. Li Ji 1937: From Anyang.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 6.

Accession no: OM-1974-0435 – OM-1974-0436.

This pair of axle caps (*wei*) is decorated with dragons and rising blades.

The axle caps were purchased together with two other pairs of chariot details (cat. nos 189-190). The details might original have belonged to a set, coming from the same tomb.

The pairs of axle caps found in Dasikongcun M175, Anyang (Henan 1981, Pl. 301), Xiaotun M20 (Shi Zhangru 1970, Vol. 1, p. 77, Vol. 2, Pl. 75:1) and Guojiazhuang, M-52:12A, Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 130, fig. 10:2, 3) are of the same shape and similarly decorated.

189. Fastening devices for the lynch-pin

Date: Shang, late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: OM-1974-0437: H.: 5 cm. Weight: 68.6 g; OM-1974-0438: H.: 5 cm. Weight: 72.9 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1196-1201). Purchased in Peking through Nils Palmgren, 1935. Li Ji 1937: From Anyang.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 6.

Accession no: OM-1974-0437 – OM-1974-0438.

This pair of fastening devices for lynch-pins (*xiatao-tou*) – a device used as fastening for the wooden hubs – is decorated with stylized dragons.



190. End fittings for the yoke

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: OM-1974-0439: L.: 12.2 cm. Weight: 290.9 g;
OM-1974-0440: L.: 12.5 cm. Weight: 290 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1196-1201). Purchased in Peking through Nils Palmgren 1935. Li Ji 1937: From Anyang.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 6.

Accession no: OM-1974-0439 – OM-1974-0440.

This pair of end fittings for a chariot is decorated with *leiwen*. In the cavities are traces of wood.

This type of end fitting has been found in connection with chariots in several chariot pits, but its actual function remains a mystery (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 132).

191. A pair of chariot end fittings

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: K-14515: L.: 15.7 cm. Weight: 246.0 g.

K-14516: L.: 15.7 cm. Weight: 236.2 g.

Condition: Light green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. (AH 1133-1134). Purchased by N. Palmgren in Shanghai in 1935. According to information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, 20, Pl. 25:4.

Accession no: K-14515, K-14516.

These chariot fittings have a square section and are open at one of the short sides. On one of the lateral sides of each fitting is a round hole; on the opposite side is a square hole. On each side of the hole a dragon is depicted against a background of *leiwen*. The obverse and reverse sides of the fittings are decorated with a long dragon against a background of *leiwen*.

Similar pairs of fittings have been found in Xiaotuncun North M20 and Guojiazhuang M52 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 132, fig. 101:1; Pl. 62:1, 2). Similar end fittings have also been found in Qianzhangda M132, Tengzhou, Shandong Province, dated to early Western Zhou (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 2005).

192. Chariot end fitting

Date: Shang, late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 14.6 cm. Weight: 159.7 g.

Condition: Traces of green and brown patina.

Provenance: Purchased by the Swedish National Museum in 1919.

Accession no: NM-1919-0025.

This square end fitting for a chariot, decorated with dragons against a background of *leiwen*, is of the same type as cat. no 191.

193. Shield-shaped fitting

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 10.2 cm. Weight: 61.3 g.

Condition: Green patina with rusty and blue spots. Heavy corrosion.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. Purchased by Nils Palmgren in Peking, 1935. According to information from Anyang. Li Ji 1937: From Anyang.

Accession no: OM-1974-0531.

This shield-shaped fitting is decorated with two dragons and a cicada on a fond of *leiwen*. On the back is a loop.

The shape and ornamentation are similar to a fitting found in Xiaotun chariot pit M40, described by Shi Zhangru as an ornament for a the end piece of a beam (*hengduanshi*) (Shi Zhangru 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 188-189, Vol. 2, Pl. 181:1.2). The same type has also been excavated in Guojiazhuang M52. When the M52 fitting was excavated, it was firmly stuck to the end of the yoke; on its underside were still fragments of wood (Institute of archaeology CASS 1998, p. 132).



193a.



190a.



190b.



191a.



191b.



192.



193b.

194. A pair of fittings in the shape of *taotie* masks

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: K-11034-074: H.: 4.6 cm. W.: 5.0 cm. Weight: 30.1 g;

K-11034-075: H.: 4.6 cm. W.: 5.0 cm. Weight: 30.3 g.

Condition: Deep green patina. Parts of original surface preserved.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck at Ta Ku Chai, Shanghai 1929 (Kb I, 207, 208).

Accession no: K-11034-074, K-11034-075.

The pair of fittings has the shape of horned *taotie* masks. On the back is a transversal loop.

A similar pair of fittings with fastening device on the back was found in the horse-and-chariot pit, Guojiazhuang M52 (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 132, fig. 102:7). The MFEA-fittings probably had the same function as those from Guojiazhuang. Another pair of mask-shaped fittings has been excavated in the horse-and-chariot pit in Dakongtuncun M175 (Ma Dezhi et al. 1955, p. 65, Pl.29:2). The mask-shaped fittings were found at the beam, close to the horses' heads and in the excavation reports they are called "beam decoration" (*hengshi*). This type of mask-shaped fitting has also been excavated in the chariot pits M20 and M40 in Xiaotuncun (now in the collection of Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, cf. Shi Zhangru 1970, Pl. 115-119, 201-208).

195. Fitting in the shape of a *taotie* mask

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Period.

Measurements: W.: 5.3 cm. Weight: 27.3 g.

Condition: Deep green patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1221). Purchased in Peking through Nils Palmgren 1935. Li Ji 1937: From Anyang.

Accession no: OM-1974-0453.

The fitting is of the same type as cat. no 194.

196. Fitting in the shape of a *taotie*-mask

Date: Shang, late Yinxi / early Western Zhou Period.

Measurements: H: 5 cm. Weight: 32.9 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden, to whom it was given in London in November 1967, by Prof. S. H. Hansford (HM-2544). From a collection obtained by Hansford on a visit in Anyang in 1939.

Accession no: OM-1974-0512.

The mask of this fitting is more stylized than those of cat. nos 194-195, but its size and the loop on its back indicate that it had the same function.

The shape of the animal face, the eyes and the horns are similar to those on fittings excavated in the horse-and-chariot pit in Xiaomintun South (Anyang Archaeological Team 1972, p. 27, fig.3:2), and the tomb Yinxi Western Section M216 (Anyang Archaeological Team 1979a, Pl. 16:1), both sites dated to late Shang, and also to mask-shaped fittings from an early Western Zhou tomb in Baicaopo, Lingbao County in Gansu Province (Gansu 1977, p. 118, fig. 17:9).



195.



194.



196.

197. Fitting showing a human face

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: H.: 7.0 cm. Weight: 75.1 g.

Condition: Deep green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking 1934 (Kb IV-3-10, 229). According to information from Anyang. (Karlbeck's report: "One of a pair.")

Publ.: Chinese Exhibition 1936, No 193.

Accession no: K-12024.

The fitting is in the shape of a human face, framed by a horseshoe-like shape. There are holes for eyes, nostrils, and mouth and two loops at the back.

According to Karlbeck's report the fitting was one of a pair. In the horse-and-chariot pits M52 in Guojiazhuang a pair of undecorated "bubbles" (*pao*) of the same size and with two loops at the back was found between the horses' eyebrows. The excavation report indicates that the fittings might be the embryo of the forehead ornaments of later periods. A pair of the same type of fittings was also found in horse-and-chariot pit M51 in Guojiazhuang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, fig. 102:2; fig. 104:7).

198. Fitting in the shape of a human face

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: Diam.: 5.0 cm. Weight: 47.3 g.

Condition: Deep green patina.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in China 1934 (Kb IV-3-10, 230). According to information from Anyang.

Publ.: Chinese Exhibition 1936, No 193.

Accession no: K-12025.

The fitting is in shaped like a human face with holes for the eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth. The face is surrounded by a circular frame. On the back is a cross-shaped loop.

A shield fitting of a similar shape was excavated 1973 in Hejiacun M1, Qishan County, Shaanxi and is now in the collections of the Shaanxi Provincial Museum (Shaanxi 1979, 1, no 40). However, the Shaanxi fitting is 11 cm in diameter and thus double the size of the MFEA fitting. The two fittings therefore probably had different uses; the MFEA fitting might have been intended as an adornment on a bridle.



197.

198.



199. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, middle Yinxi Period.

Inscription: a bird-like pictogram (on the bow). Probably a later addition.

Measurements: L.: 39 cm. Weight: 441.5 g.

Condition: Green water patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1826). Purchased from Karlbeck 1950.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 33 (187a).

Inscr. published: Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1984-94, Vol. 18, no 11869.

Accession no: OM-1974-0537.

This bow-shaped implement is undecorated, except for a small, elevated circle in the middle of the bow. The curved arms terminate in small, oval plates instead of the usual jingles.

Lin Yun has pointed out that the shape of the arms is an indication of the date of the implements, the earlier items having a flatter curve than the later ones (quoted in: Pan Ling 2008, p. 315, fig. 4:1-5). The shape of this implement, with its flatly curved arms and the absence of jingles, belongs to the first stage of this chronology – parallel to an implement excavated in Xiaotun M238, Anyang, dated to the middle Anyang period (Shi Zhangru 1950, p. 24-25, Pl. 9:1).

The function of this type of implement has been much discussed, the main theories being that it was either a kind of fitting for chariots or some kind of support for keeping a bow in shape. In 1998 Lin Yun suggested that this type of implement was an aid for controlling the reins, to be carried at the waist by a charioteer (Lin Yun 1998, p. 251). Recently Yang Baocheng offered support for this theory, pointing out that what are now considered whip handles have been found in tombs in proximity to the bow-shaped implements (Yang Baocheng 2002, pp. 142-144).

200. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Style.

Measurements: L.: 39.6 cm. Weight: 615.5 g.

Condition: Broken in several places and repaired. Covered with green and red patina with heavy incrustations.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in Peking 1934 (KB IV-5-5, 339). According to information from Anyang.

Publ.: Karlgren 1945, Pl. 33 (188).

Accession no: K-12087-002.

This is an unusually ornate version of the bow-shaped implement. The central bow is adorned with two standing tiger-like animals in the round, facing each other. Each of the two curved arms terminates in a strange animal with a horned, dragon-like head,

functioning as a jingle, and a serpentine body with a tail in the shape of a snake's head. A similar type of animal climbs up from the base along the curve of each arm. The centres of the eyes of all the animals are hollow, and originally were probably inlaid with turquoise.

A similar, but much simpler, bow-shaped implement, where the arms terminate in round jingles, has been excavated in Xiaotun M164 (Shi Zhangru 1950, p. 23-24, Pl. 8:1). The motif of an animal with a dragon's head and a tail like a snake's head is found on a bow-shaped implement excavated in the Fu Hao tomb, which has two such animals facing each other on the central bow (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 75:1).

201. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxi Style.

Measurements: L.: 34 cm. Weight: 441.3 g

Condition: Deep green patina.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1111). Purchased in 1935 at Sparks, London.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, p. 6, Pl. 5:4; Chinese Exhibition 1935-1936, No. 204; Leth 1950, No. 22; Gyllensvärd & Wirgin 1956, No. 11; Gyllensvärd & Pope 1966, No 26; Gyllensvärd 1967, No. 26.

Accession no: OM-1974-0417.

The central bow has an inlaid turquoise decoration, showing a circle in the middle with a lozenge pattern on each side. The curved arms terminate in jingles in the shape of animal heads. The necks, foreheads, eyes, ears, and nostrils of the heads are also inlaid with turquoise. Under each head is a slot for the sounding of the jingle.

Similar implements were found in the Fu Hao tomb (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, Pl. 75:3). In the Fu Hao tomb four bow-shaped implements with animal heads similar to that of this item were found. Three of these heads are described in the excavation report as horses' heads (*ibid*, Pl. 75:2-4), while one head is classified as a snake's head (*ibid*, Pl. 75:5).



200a.



199a.



201a.



199b.



201b.



200b.



201c.



201d.

202. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, middle / late Yinxu Period.

Measurements: L.: 35 cm. Weight: 553.3 g.

Condition: Green water patina with earth incrustations.

Provenance: Collection of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden. The Margot Holmes Art Foundation.

Publ.: Chinese Exhibition 1935-36, Cat. No 206.

Accession no: HM-1968.

The curved arms of the bow-shaped implement terminate in two round jingles. The central bow is decorated with two human heads in turquoise inlay.

A bow-shaped implement with a decoration of similar heads in turquoise inlay has been excavated in Xiaotun M40, Anyang (Shi Zhangru 1950, p. 23, Pl. 7:1). The depiction on the MFEA specimen seems to be a simplification of the decoration of the M40, where a human body is added to the head, albeit in a very simple and stylized manner. Some kind of head-ornament (above the head) is also indicated in the M40 implement; this is not found on the MFEA specimen.

203. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, late Yinxu / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: L.: 33.0 cm. Weight: 543.3 g.

Condition: Green water patina with red spots. One of the jingles broken and repaired.

Provenance: Bequest of King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden (HM-1535). Purchased in China in 1937 through J. G. Andersson.

Publ.: Palmgren 1948, Pl. 5:3.

Accession no: OM-1974-0473.

This implement has a rather broad central bow and curved arms terminating in round jingles. The central bow has an incised decoration, showing two crested birds with long tails on each side of the small, elevated circle in the middle. Along the sides of the bow is a border of *leiwén*.

204. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, late Yinxu / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: L.: 32.8 cm. Weight: 462.6 g.

Condition: Green, red and grey patina. Repaired.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased by Karlbeck in China 1934 (Kb IV-4-6, 292).

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 24:1.

Accession no: K-14479.

This implement has a rather broad central bow and curved arms terminating in round jingles. The central bow has an incised decoration, showing a star-pattern with a small, slightly elevated circle in the middle, surrounded by horned dragons on a *leiwén* background.



202a.



202b.



203a.



203b.



203c.



204a.



204b.



202c.

205. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, late Yinxu / early Western Zhou.

Measurement: L.: 37.3 cm. Weight: 572.4 g.

Condition: Green and red patina.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased from S.M. Franck & Co.

Publ.: Karlgren 1948, Pl. 24:2.

Accession no: K-14478.

This implement has a broad central bow and curved arms terminating in round jingles. The central bow has an incised decoration of two cicadas in fairly coarse lines on each side of a small, elevated circle in the centre.

206. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, late Yinxu / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: L.: 34.5 cm. Weight: 453.7 g.

Condition: Broken in three parts. Repaired.

Provenance: Acc. to MFEA Inventory: Purchased by Karlbeck at Kwon Vok Tsoo, Shanghai 1929 (Kb I, 808). According to information from Luoyang.

Accession no: K-11092-015.

This implement has a broad central bow and curved arms terminating in round jingles. The central bow has an incised decoration of one cicada on each side of a small, elevated circle in the center.

207. Bow-shaped implement

Date: Shang, late Yinxu / early Western Zhou.

Measurements: L.: 36.0 cm. Weight: 577.0 g.

Condition: Deep green patina with rusty spots. Traces of carbonized textile.

Provenance: Purchased by the China Research Committee in China 1926 (Peking No 272).

Accession no: K-10398.

The implement has a broad bow and two curved arms terminating in round jingles. The bow has an incised decoration of *taotie* masks and *leiwen*, with a small, elevated circle in the middle.

208. Horsewhip handle

Date: Late Shang.

Measurements: L.: 26 cm.

Condition: Heavy incrustation.

Provenance: Purchased by J. G. Andersson in Peking, 1926.

Accession no: K-10723.

This cylindrical tube has a small loop at the upper end. The surface is decorated with a geometrical ornamentation. It may have been a horsewhip handle.

A similar object was excavated in Guojiazhuang M1, dated to Yinxu Period III in the excavation report (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1998, p. 52, fig. 41:13, Pl. 25:5).

208.





206b.



205a.



206a.



205b.



207.

209. Tube-shaped implement

Date: Late Shang.

Measurements: L.: 20.7 cm. Weight: 96.2 g

Condition: Green patina. The rear part of one end missing.

Provenance: Anders Hellström Coll. Purchased by Karlbeck 1934 (Kb IV-1-8, 50). According to information from Anyang.

Accession no: K-14433.

The tube-shaped implement is open at both ends. The larger end is decorated with an animal head of a bovine type, the smaller end decorated with a head resembling a stylized tiger head.

A similar tube (M1:39) has been excavated in Tomb 1, Jingjiecun in Lingshi, Shanxi (Shanxi 1986, p. 7-9, Pl. 4:5). The tube found in Lingshi shows that the tube in the MFEA originally continued upwards, being open at one side and on the top and with this uppermost part undecorated. The excavation report does not indicate any possible function of the tube. In his book on Shang civilization, R. Thorp has indicated that the tube might have been a token of rulership (Thorp 2006, p.226). Huang Mingchong believes that the tube might have been a handle for a horsewhip (Huang Mingchong 2009, personal information).

210. Spoon-shaped implement.

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern Complex type.

Measurements: L.: 18.5 cm. Weight: 117.7 g.

Provenance: Purchased by the China Research Committee in Peking, 1926 (Peking no 340).

Condition: One leaf-shaped, rattling attachment missing.

Accession no: K-10271.

The spoon-shaped instrument has a shaft terminating in an animal head. The shaft has three loops, two of which having a rattling object attached.

A similar spoon-shaped implement, dated to the Shang dynasty in the excavation report, has been found in Ji County, Shanxi (Yan Jinzhu 1985, p. 849: fig. 3:3).

Yang Jianhua has indicated that this type of implement might have been part of a horse-bit, used in northwest China (Yang Jianhua 2007).

211. Spoon-shaped implement

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern Complex type.

Measurements: L.: 10.5 cm. Weight: 42.2 g.

Condition: One rattling attachment missing.

Provenance: Purchased from Joel Eriksson, who was active in Hattin-sum, Mongolia.

Accession no: K-11281-041.

The spoon-shaped implement has a shaft terminating in a horse-like head. The shaft has two loops, a rattling object being attached to one loop.

A similar implement was found in 1974 in the Ordos desert, Inner Mongolia (Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji 1993-98, Vol. 15, Pl. 173).

212. Spoon-shaped implement

Date: Late Shang / early Western Zhou. Northern Complex type.

Measurement: L.: 11.5 cm. Weight: 36.6 g.

Condition: Broken and repaired. Rattling attachments missing.

Provenance: Purchased by Karlbeck in 1930 from Chung Ho Chai, Peking (Kb II-5-3, 241). According to information from Yulin fu.

Accession no: K-11248-059.

The spoon-like implement has a shaft terminating in an animal head. The shaft has two loops, the rattling objects now missing.



209a.



209b.



210.



212.



211a.



211b.

213. Mirror

Date: Late Shang. Northern Complex type.

Measurements: Diam.: 6.9 cm. Weight: 39.1 g.

Provenance: Purchased from Joel Eriksson, active in Hattin-sum, Mongolia.

Publ.: Andersson 1932, Pl. 16:3; O'Donoghue, 1990, p. 25, p. 128 (fig. 8).

Accession no: K-11281-001.

This round mirror has a small loop in the centre and is decorated with radiating lines between concentric circles.

There are few finds of this type of mirror, and they are widely dispersed. The Stockholm specimen came from Hattin-sum in Mongolia. A larger mirror (diam.: 11.8 cm), but with the same decoration (M5:75), has been excavated in the Fu Hao tomb, Anyang (Institute of Archaeology, CASS 1980, fig. 65, Color Pl. 12:2). A similar type of mirror has recently been excavated in a cemetery in the Northern branch of the Tianshan Mountains, in Hami, Xinjiang, dated 2000-1500 BC. This dating is more than 200 years earlier than that of the Fu Hao-tomb and indicates a Northwestern origin for this type of mirror (Li Shuicheng 2005, p. 249-250).

214. Mirror

Date: Late Shang. Northern Complex type.

Measurements: Diam.: 6.5 cm. Weight: 47.5 g.

Provenance: Purchased from Duke Larson. According to information from Duke Larson found in the Gobi desert.

Accession no: K-11003-464.

The round mirror has a small loop in the centre and is decorated with radiating lines between concentric circles.

215. Mirror

Date: Late Shang. Northern Complex type.

Measurements: Diam.: 7.4 cm. Weight: 70.6 g.

Provenance: Purchased by Johan Gunnar Andersson in Tung Pu Chai, Peking, on his travels in China 1936-38.

Accession no: K-12296.

The round mirror has a small loop in the centre and is decorated with dotted lines between concentric circles.



213.



214.



215.



Cat. no 15 (inscription).

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Chinese characters

Anyang	安阳
Baicaopo (Lingbao County)	白草坡 (灵台县)
Baijiafen	白家坟
Baijiazhuang (Zhengzhou)	郑州白家庄
Bei Erqilu (Zhengzhou)	郑州北二七路
Beigaomiao (Changzi County)	北高庙 (长子县)
ben	辮
Bengbu	蚌埠
Caojiayuan (Shilou County)	曹家垣 (石樓)
Changsha	長沙
Changtefu, Changte fu, see Zhangde fu	
Chaodaogou (Qinglong)	抄道溝 (青龍)
Chashoucun (Jiexiu County)	差手村 (介休县)
“Chen” (inscription)	臣
Chenggu County	城固县
Chengguan (Ji County)	城关 (吉县)
Chengziyai	城子崖
Chienmen, see Qianmen)	
Chihli, see Nan zhili	
chia, see jia	
Chongzhai Village, Jiangtun People’s Commune (Teng County)	种寨村, 將姜屯 (滕縣)
Chu	楚
chüeh, see jue	
Dachuan (Youyu County)	大川 (右玉县)
Dasikongcun	大司空村
ding	鼎
Dong Zuobin	董作宾
dou	斗
Erligang Culture	二里岡文化
fangding	方鼎
fangjia	方斝
fanglei	方壘
fangyi	方彝
fangzun	方尊
fendang ding	分裆鼎
fu	鍏
Fu Hao	婦好
Fushun	抚顺市
Gao Quxun	
Gaohong (Liulin County)	高红 (柳林县)
Gaojiabao Village (Xinglong township, Jinyang County)	高家堡村 (兴隆乡, 泾阳县)
Gaolouzhuang	高楼庄
ge	戈
Gou weiba hutong	狗尾巴胡同
“Gu” (inscription)	古
gu (vessel)	觚
guang (even pronounced gong)	觥
Guangdong lu	广东路

gui
Guojiazhuang
Guozhuangcun
he
Hejiacun (Qishan County)
hengduanshi
hengshi
Hongze Lake
Hourenjiagou (Suide County)
Houjiazhuang
Hsiao Ssu Kung Tsun, see Xiaotongcun
Hsiao-t'un; Hsiao T'un, see Xiaotun
hu (vessel)
hu (vertical extension)
Huaian
Huan; Huanhe; Huan ho
Huayuanzhuang
Hui County
jia
Jincun
Ji County
Jin Ge
Jinan
Jincun
Jingjiacun (Linghi County)
juantou dao
jue
Kaifeng
ku, see gu
kuang, see guang
kui (dragon)
kui (dagger-axe)
Lanjiagou
lei
leiwen
li
li ding
Li Chi, see Li Ji
Li Ji
Li Zuoxian
Liang Siyong (Liang Ssu-yung)
Liansigou (Xin County)
Licun (Qishan County)
Linzheyu (Baode County)
Lijiazui (Panlongcheng)
Liqi
Liu Tizhi
Liujiazhuang
Longshan culture
Longtou (Chenggu County)
Loyang, see Luoyang

籃
郭家庄
郭庄村
盃
贺家村 (岐山县)
衡端飾
衡飾
洪泽湖
后任家沟 (绥德县)
候家庄

壺
胡
淮安
洹河
花園莊
辉县
壘
金村
吉县
金戈
濟南
金村
旌介村 (灵石县)
卷頭刀
爵
开封

幾
兰家沟
罍
雷文
鬲
鬲鼎

李濟
李佐賢
梁思永
连寺沟 (忻县)
礼村 (岐山县)
林遮峪 (保德县)
李家嘴 (盤龍城)
禮器
劉體智
劉家莊
龍山文化
龙头 (城固县)

Luo Zhenyu	羅振玉
Luoyang	洛陽
Miaopu	苗圃
ming chi, see mingqi	
mingqi	明器
mudao	墓道
muzhuren	墓主人
Nan zhili	南直隸
Nanjing	南京
nao (bell)	鐃
nei (tang, heel)	內
Ningxiang	寧鄉
pan	盤
Pan Jiyu	潘季玉
Panjialiang (Huangzhong County)	潘家梁 (滄中縣)
Panlongcheng, Huangpo	盤龍城 (黃陂區)
pao	泡
Pukou	浦口
Pulun, Prince	溥倫
pou	甌
Qianmen	前門
Qianzhangda (Tengzhou County)	前掌大 (騰州縣)
Qijiazhuang	戚家庄
Qingjiang pu	清江浦
Qiyuan	七畝
Quli	曲禮
qunei ge (dagger-axe with curved tang)	曲內戈
qunei qiguanshi ge	曲內歧冠式戈
Saige	賽格
Sanxingdui, Guanghan	三星堆 (廣漢)
shao	勺
Shilou	石樓
Shouchou, see Shouzhou	
Shouzhou	壽州
Si Mu Wu ding	司母戊鼎
Si Mu Xin ding	司母辛鼎
Si Qiao Mu	司 母
Sian, see Xi'an	
silenggu	四稜觚
Sipanmocun	四盤磨村
sizhi mu wen	四肢目文
Sucun (Chenggu)	蘇村 (城固)
Sui-yüan (Suiyuan)	綏遠
Ta Ssu Kung Tsun, see Dasikongcun	
Taixi (Gaocheng County)	台西 (藁城縣)
Taiyuan	太原
taotie; t'ao-t'ieh	饕餮
taotie	饕餮
Tianjin	天津
Tijiakou	梯家口
ting, see ding	

Tsinan, see Tsinan
Tung tso-pin, Tung Tso Pin, see Dong Zuobin
wei
Weihui fu
Weijiahe, Shanzhishan
Wenwuguan, Peking
Wu Ding (king)
Wu Gin-ding, Wu Chin-ting, Wu Jinding
Wu Kuan Tsun, see Wuguancun
Wuguancun
Xi'an fu
Xia Xinjaocun (Yonghe County)
Xiangtan
Xiaomintun
Xiaosikongcun
Xiaotun, Xiaotuncun
Xiaqiyan (Ci County)
xiataotou
Xibeigang
xiefangge lei ruding wen
xietiao mu yunleiwén
xin chutude
Xin'gan
Xinzheng
Xuejiazhuang
Xuzhou
Ya Chou
Ya Jiang
Ya Qi
Ya Zhang
yan
Yang County
Yanghe (Xingcheng)
Yangjiawan
yangshou
Yantoucun (Suide County)
Yaocun (Taiyuan County)
Yidie huiping (Shilou County)
Yingcheng
Yingcheng wenhuaguan
Yinxu
yixing dao
you
yu (Wade-Giles transcription), see you
yu
yuan chutu de
Yuan fangyi
yuanfu bianzu ding
yue
yunleiwén
yunwén

喜
衛輝府
魏家河 (山岐山)
北京市文物管立
武丁
吳金鼎

武官村
西安府
下辛角村 (永和县)
湘潭
孝民屯
小司空村
小屯(村)
下七垣 (磁縣)
轄套頭
西北岡
斜方格雷乳釘文
斜角目雲雷文
新出土的
新干
新鄭
薛家庄
徐州
亞醜
亞弼
亞其
亞長
甗
洋縣
楊河 (興城)
楊家灣
羊首
塢頭村 (綏德縣)
窰村 (太原縣)
义牒会坪 (石楼縣)
应城
应城文化館
殷墟
乙形刀
卣

盂
原出土的
鳶方彝
圓腹扁足鼎
鉞
雲雷文
雲文

Zhang Tingji	張廷濟
Zhangbei County	張北縣
Zhangde fu	彰德府
Zhangjiagua (Qingjian County)	張家峁 (清澗縣)
Zhangjiakou	張家口
Zhangjiapo	
(Chang'an County)	張家坡 (長安縣)
Zheng Zhenxiang	鄭振香
Zhengzhou	鄭州
zhi	鱣
Zhuzhou	珠州
Zi Shu Quan	子束泉
Zi Yu	子漁
zun	尊

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vol. 79: Reading the Greeks with the Chinese (and vice versa) (to be published 2011).

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