

Jade Bi and Gui: A Reconfirmation on Zhouli Completed in the Early Years of Han Dynasty Based on Sacrificial Ceremony*

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As an classical book which disputes endlessly on the completed time but systematic and detailed record on official function, rituals and sacrificial vessels, *Zhouli (Rites of Zhou)* has become a paradoxical existence: on the one hand, it's a crucial reference document frequently quoted for reconstructing the propriety in the past dynasties and explaining the ritual remains in modern archeology; on the other hand, its authenticity and edition age are always questioned. So the completed time of *Zhouli* is still a bottleneck problem and cannot be ignored. This article focuses on the tradition of sacrificial jade Bi and Gui based on the written documents and archeological findings, demonstrate once again that *Zhouli* was completed in early Han dynasty.

Keywords: *Zhouli (Rites of Zhou)*, the completed time, Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice, Multiple Evidence

According to *Zuo Zhuan: Cheng Gong Thirteen Years*, “the great events of a country lie in sacrifice offering and war”. *The Book of Rites* says, “Of all the methods for the good governing of people, there is none more urgent than the use of ceremonies. Ceremonies are of five kinds, and none of them more important than sacrifice.” In addition to the unearthed oracle bones and stones and other unearthed documents and archaeological relics, we see that in the late Shang Dynasty, rituals and etiquettes had become a top priority in the country. The prehistoric sacrifices of archaeological discoveries made it possible to trace the sacrificial tradition back to the Neolithic Ages of seven or eight thousand years ago, such as Wu'an Cishan Mount in Hebei, the Hongjiang Gao Temple in Hunan, the Qindi Dadiwan site in Gansu, etc. Moreover, Yangshao Culture, Hongshan Culture, Lingjiatan Culture, Dawenkou Culture, Liangzhu Culture, Qijia Culture and Longshan Culture of some 5,000 years ago were at the first prosperity peak. The heavenly gods, the earthly gods, the ancestors and other sacrificing objects, altars, ridges, temples, temples and other places of worship as recorded in *Zhouli*, Records of the Historian and other ancient books, as well as the sacrificing means (human, animal, food, and artifacts) have been widely used in this period. The period of around 5,000 years ago was the first peak period for the use of Chinese jade culture and jade rituals.

However, to our puzzlement, what forms a sharp contrast with the bountiful fine jade buried in altars and tombs in this period is the sacrificial place jade that has been so far rarely seen. Why? The evidence is as below. At present, the remains of jade rituals of four thousand years ago started to become more frequent. So when can

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¹ Jing Zhongwei: A Preliminary Study of the Prehistoric Sacrificial Relics in China, Northern Cultural Relics, Vol.2, 2002, pp. 6-15.

the traditions of the jade system used by *Zhouli* (*Rites of Zhou*) traced back to? When was the influential “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” tradition formed or put in practice? These are questions that must be clarified in the completion year of *Zhouli*.

Zhouli's authoring era has been an academic problem since its emergence at the beginning of the Han Dynasty. The large amount of physical evidence provided by modern archaeology provides new possibilities for reconfirming the era of writing. In the article “Unearthed jade to re-confirm *Zhouli* as the book of the early Han Period”², the author compares and analyzes the similarities and differences between the instruments, ornamentation, shape, combination of jade articles unearthed in the Qin and Han, West and East Zhou Dynasties and the jade system contained in *Zhouli*, thinking that *Zhouli* was written in the early Han Dynasty. This thesis intends to start with the “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” which has a far-reaching influence on the construction of later ritual discourses, sorts out the types, ornaments, the combinations, the sizes, the regulations, etc. of jade articles recorded in literature and unearthed from the ritual sites, and investigates the context of the detailed “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” and the era characteristics, in bids to reaffirm the writing era of *Zhouli*.

1 The Additional Account of the Big Tradition: The Era Characteristics of “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” Recorded in Literature

The most detailed ritual jade and its regulation are considered as firstly being included in *Zhouli*. In addition to the six jade forms in four corners of the world-Bi, Cong, Gui, Zhang, Hu, and Huang, *Zhouli: Chunguan: Dianrui* gives a detailed account of various jade forms for sacrificial ceremony: “Jade Four-Gui has a bottom jade form, offered to the Heaven and the Superb King; Jade Two-Gui has a bottom jade form, offered to the Earth and four direction; the naked jade Gui has a bottom jade form, offered to the Heaven and the primal king and guests; Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice is offered to the sun, the moon, and the stars; the Zhang bottom jade form is offered to mountains and rivers. *The Artificers' Record: Jade Figures* also records the size regulation of various jade forms at the production technology level: “Jade Four-Gui ruler has two inches... naked jade Gui is of two inches... Jade Gui and Bi is of five inches Jade Two-Gui is of five inches with bottom jade form.” The jade, the shape, the size and the function seem to be clear and well-defined. However, because the descriptive information is vague and ambiguous, it is still difficult to match the archaeological jade and there is still completely suspense. So many archaeological scholars believe that although there is a certain historical basis for the writing of *Dianrui* and *Jade Figures*, their records are not reliable. In particular, the quantitative and systematic use of the jade system is mostly fabricated or delusional.³

Is it a delusion or a kind of memory reorganization in a specific historical context? This is a question about the authenticity of *Zhouli* and its writing era. Although it is difficult to solve, this question cannot be ignored. First of all, it is necessary to clarify the form and pattern issues like “Jade Four-Gui has a bottom jade form”, “Jade Two-Gui has a bottom jade form”, “Jade Gui and Bi”. The ancient and modern interpretations of this are roughly two: Jade Gui⁴ and Bi (or Cong) theory and the Gui and Bi combination theory. So far, the archaeological evidence can support the Gui and Bi combination theory, that is, the so-called Jade Four-Gui,

² Tang Qicui: Unearthed jade to re-confirm *Zhouli* as the book of the early Han Period, *Journal of Shanghai Jiaotong University*, Vol. 5, 2016, pp. 97-105.

³ Sun Qingwei: *The Archaeological Study of The Artificers' Record: Jade Figures*, compiled by the Department of Archaeology, Peking University: Archaeology Research (4), Beijing: Science Press, 2000, pp. 115-139.

⁴ Sun Yirang: *Zhou Li Zhengyi*, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1987, pp. 1584-1592.

Jade Two-Gui, Jade Gui and Bi, etc., are surely depending on different sacrifice subjects, which require use of different numbers of combinations and arrangements of Gui and Bi. Because in the exhibition of jade, Jade Bi is usually placed under Jade Gui or surrounded by Jade Gui, so it is called “di” (bottom jade form).⁵

In other words, *Zhouli* describes the instruments and combinations of sacrificial jade: Jade Gui and Bi combine heaven, earth, god, four directions, the sun and the moon and the stars. Jade Zhang is offered for sacrifices at mountains and rivers and naked jade Gui for sacrifice at temple. Although the shape of the naked jade Gui has not been known so far, it is related to the shape of Gui and Zhang jade forms. On the core principle of the simplification, we may see that *Dianrui* and *Jade Figures* retain the main types of ritual jade, namely, Gui, Bi and Zhang, especially represented by “jade Gui and Bi” that were frequently used in sacrificial ceremonies. Thus, the basis and significance for the comparison between *Zhouli* and other written classics are evident. The meaning of the ritual jade in the written literature and its era characteristics are given as follows.

“Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” was first recorded on oracle bones, such as “Bingwu Bu, ask the fortune: Liao Wanghai 𠄎 (jade Gui).” (*The Oracle Bone Collection* [hereinafter referred to as *The Collection*] 11006) “Binchen Bu: Wang Yulai Ding (Jade Gui) Zu Ding.” (*Tunnan* 14) “Wu Zikou 𠄎 Kouruo” (*The Collection* 16408), “Yukoukou” (*The Collection* 15678), and “Dingyu Bu 𠄎, ask the fortune: Hulei Jiyu Ming, Xiang, ask the fortune: Hui Dayu 𠄎” (*The Collection* 9505)⁶, etc. These records show that in the late Shang dynasty, Gui and Bi were burnt or incensed to signify worship of the ancestors. However, the words of the oracle bones are simple, the specific rituals are unknown, and jade Bi and Gui did not form a sacrificial combination. In the bronze inscriptions of the West and East Zhou dynasties, among the 56 cases of jade use, there are 46 cases with clear names, including 16 cases of jade pendants, which are used for giving, wearing and worshiping; 12 cases of bottom jade form and 5 cases of jade Gui, used for authoring and wearing in imperial court (*Shi Yi Fang Yi*, *Wunian Shaobo Hugui*, *Mao Gong Ding*, *Qiu Wei He*, etc.); 3 cases of jade Bi for obstinacy and sacrifice; 8 cases of naked jade (including 4 cases of jade Zan, 1 case of jade Zhangzan); all cases are connected with the naked Chang ware for sacrificial purpose; 1 case of jade Cong, recorded in the classic *Kangding* of the early Western Zhou Dynasty, which says “Duke of Taibao buys 50 pieces of large jade Cong”; one case of jade Huang, as seen in *Wunian Shaobo Hugui*, which saying “Zhou receives jade Huang”. These records have witnessed the cultural memory coming from the jade Gui, Zhang, Bi, Cong, Huang and Guizan as recorded in *Zhouli*. The accurate information about practice of “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” cannot be made available because of the incompleteness of information. Among them, jade pendant and Bi used for sacrifices is only seen in *Huanzi Mengjiang Pot* of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, which says “... the jade Bi and Bei used for Emperor and the Heaven, for the oath by the emcee, the jade Bi, Lianghu, Bading used for moderator, jade Be’er and Bei for drumming in Nangognzi.” Among them, “jade Bei” and “Bei jade” is studied and considered by Mr. Zhu Dexi’s as “jade pendant”⁷, which is in line with the cases of jade use recorded in *Zuozhuan* and the archaeological discovery of the sacrificial jade mostly being ornaments, indicating that the recorded jade is of the similar era. According to the Chu bamboo slips unearthed in Chushan, Wangshan, Tianxingguan, Xincan and other places, the Chu dynasty worshipped the water god and used the

⁵ Sun Qingwei: *The Archaeological Study of The Artificers’ Record*, *Jade Figures*, pp. 115-139.

⁶ Yang Zhou: *A Preliminary Study of the "Jade" Data Seen in the Oracle Bone Inscription*, Ph.D., Thesis of Capital Normal University, 2007, pp. 88-90, 96-97.

⁷ Zhu Dexi: *Changsha Shushu Examination* (5), recorded in *Zhu Dexi’s Zhu Dexi’s Collection* (Volume 5, *Ancient Writings*), Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1999, pp. 203-204.

jade pendant. The characteristics of time and space are very obvious, as seen in “one piece of jade pendant for the Water Prayer” (Baoshan Slip 213), “jade pendant for the Water Prayer Ju in summer moonlit evening” (Xincai IV:43), “one piece of jade pendant for the Water Prayer Sai” (Wangshan Slips 54, 55), “one piece of jade pendant for the Water Prayer Recommendation” (Tianxingguan M1). When praying to the ancestors and ghosts, “people hold the jade pendant, jade Penghuang, proclaiming that the King of Wen ascends to the throng of Huai, who wears the jade Bi and brocade properly.”⁸

The ritual practice of essays in the literature review can be at most traced back to the early Zhou Dynasty when King Mu of Zhou held the sacrificial ceremony for the river god: “The emperor gives Jade Cong and Bi to He Zong. He Zong receives the jade Bi and goes westward to sink it in the river, and then kowtowed as a ritual.”⁹ However, *King Mu Biography*, which was unearthed in the Wei National Tomb of the Shu Kingdom during the Warring States Period in Henan Province, and it is likely to reflect only the concepts and etiquette practices of the Warring States period.

In the late Western Zhou Dynasty, King Xuan of Zhou sacrificed to the Heaven for asking rain. “The vast Galaxy is high and bright, operating charmingly in the sky. King of Zhou sighs: Today, what mistakes do my people have committed? The disaster of death has fallen from the sky, and the famine has continued for years. Never have I refused to sacrifice to any god. How dare I save the sacrifices of cattle, swine and sheep? Jade Gui and Bi have been used up, why don’t you listen to me!” (The Book of Songs: Yunhan). This corresponds to the record of Shangbo bamboo slip *Lu State Famine*, which reads: If you do not sacrifice Jade Gui and Bi and brocade to the mountains and rivers.¹⁰ The tradition of “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” may be therefore existent in the West Zhou dynasty. However, in the Confucius era, up to Duke of Ai and down to some Confucian scholars like Zigong, they held the suspicion of using the Jade Gui and Bi coins to sacrifice to the mountains and rivers, which also shows that this tradition had discontinued or had not formed a routine. This can be proved by jade use recorded in *Zuozhuan*. In *Zuozhuan*, there are more than 40 cases of jade type, 8 cases of sacrificial jade¹¹, including 3 cases of jade Bi: In the 24th year under reign of King Xi (636 BC) King of Jin Chonger “cast his Jade Bi into the river, vowing the same mind with Jiushi Zifan”; in the 12th year under reign of King Wen (615 BC), “Qinbo used jade Bi to pray to the river for a war”; in the 12th year under reign of King Zhao (530 BC), King Gong of Chu used the Jade Bi for looking at the Heaven and letting God to judge the heir to his throne. There are two cases of jade Bi use: in the 30th year under reign of King Xiang (543 BC), Youji and Qudai used the Jade Two-Gui to offer to the river for alliance; in the 24th year under reign of King Zhao (518 BC), King sank the treasure of Zhou, jade Bi, into the river for blessing of people. There are 3 cases of jade pendant use: In the 18th year under the reign of King Xiang (555 BC), King Ping of Jin waged a war against Qi state and before that, sank the jade (two-Jue) in the river to pray for victory; in the 6th year under reign of King Ding (504 BC), King Caizhao vowed to conquer Chu state by sinking the jade pendant in the river; in the second year under reign of King Ai (in 493 BC), King Wei, called Kuaikui sacrificed the jade pendant to the ancestors for blessings prior to a war. The use of jade type in the Spring and Autumn Period in *Zuozhuan* is mainly jade Gui and Yu, but does not exclude the use of other jade types, such as pendant. Except

⁸ Yang Hua: Study on the Sacrifice of the Water God in Chu State, *Jiangnan Forum*, Vol. 8, 2007, pp. 98-104.

⁹ Wang Yunwu: *King Mu’s Biography and Others*. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1937, pp. 3.

¹⁰ Ma Chengyuan: Editor-in-Chief, *The Museum of the War in Shanghai*, Chu Bamboo Book (2), Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2002, pp. 52, 205.

¹¹ Sun Qingwei: Study on the Case of Jade Cases Seen in *Zuozhuan*, *Ancient Civilization*, Vol. 1, 2000, pp. 310-370.

for the fact that Kinging of Chuping chose the bid Gui in heavenly view ceremony, the object and motive of sacrifice are all about sinking jade in river to pray for blessing, alliance and vow. Obviously, this is far different from what is recorded in *Zhouli:Dianrui*.

Therefore, in *Mozi: Shangtong* of the Warring States Period, the power of “tradition” is repeatedly emphasized in the reuse of essentials of classics: “The ancient sage king senses the desire of the Heaven and ghosts, avoids their dislikes, in order to dispel the worldly hazards. For this reason, he leads the people of the country to attend the shower ceremony, and carry wine in containers to sacrifice to the Heaven and ghosts. In doing this, the containers for wine must be clean, the scarified animals must be fat, the jade Gui and Bi and brocade must be properly measured, and the season of sacrificial ceremony must be timely.” This explains the traditional restoration of the Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice in the Warring States Period. This can also be evidenced by the writing of the literature and the unearthed objects of the late Warring States period. For example, *Zhouchuwen* (words cursing the Chu state) by Qin state says, King Si of Qin dared to offer the auspicious jade Xuanbi to Buxianda God and “jade Gui and sacrifice” to the three gods. To be specific, “jade Xuanbi” and “jade Gui” are namely Gui and Bi.¹²

Among the more than 30 ritual jade types stated in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, there are 6 cases of jade Gui with clear name, 13 cases of jade Bi, 11 cases of jade Ji, 1 case of jade Zhang, 1 case of Jade Yu, and 1 case of jade Zao. Among them, the Jade Gui and Bi combination for sacrificial purpose appears three times: *Xishan Classics* says, “To sacrifice for mountains gods, the follows steps are taken: 1. Use torches; 2. Observe purification period of one hundred days; 3. Use one hundred animals of a single color for the sacrifice; 4. Bury one hundred pieces of beautiful jade; 5. Heat one hundred goblets of wine; 6. Use one hundred pieces of oblong jade and one hundred jade discs as pendants. *Northern II Classics* says, “The gods are all snake bodies with human faces. Sacrificial steps are: 1. Use a rooster; 2. Pray without using sacrificial grain; 3. The plumage of the rooster must be multi-colored. *Zhongci 12 Classics* says: “Mounts Dongting is the sacrificial mound. The ceremony of offering sacrifices to them goes as follows: 1. Display the offerings and then bury them underground; 2. Use a special wine for the intercessions; 3. Use animals of one color; 4. Use an entire ox, lamb and pig as the major sacrifices. 5. Use fifteen pieces of Jade Gui and Bi and decorate them with five colors.”¹³ According to the indirect evidence of *Zhouchuwen* and the internal evidence of *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*, Jade Ji may be probably another name of Jade Gui. For example, *Beishan Classics* says, “To sacrifice to the human-face god with snake body, a piece of jade Ji is used, buried underground, without need for use of rice.”¹⁴ If this is the true situation, there are as many as 17 cases of jade Gui for sacrificial purpose. Therefore, the sacrificial offering of jade Gui and Bi was the prevailing means of sacrifice.

In summary, in the written literature of unearthed and handed down, although the words of Shen, Qi or Yuyu have been seen since the Yin Shangjia bones, the jade used in the jade is the same as the “Jade Gui and Bi” combination. The etiquette traditions of the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the four journeys are not supported by the documentary evidence, and the few cases that have been seen so far are all recorded in the late Warring States period. Whether it is “*Zhouli*” is quite suspicious.

¹² Jiang Liangfu: A Study on *Zhouchuwen*, Journal of Lanzhou University, Vol. 4, 1980, pp. 54-71.

¹³ Yuan Wei: The Revision and Note to the Classic of Mountains and Seas, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1980, pp. 32, 79, 84, 179

¹⁴ Yuan Ke: Annotations on Classic of the Mountains and the Seas. Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, pp.79

II Archaeological Evidence: The Era Characteristics of the Sacrificial Site of Jade Gui and Bi

When did the jade of archaeological discovery, especially jade Gui and Bi, emerge? According to archaeological reports, the sacrifices and remains since Neolithic era are commonly seen, but compared with pottery and stoneware, the site and quantity of jade are quite few and rare. The earliest site of jade ever seen are found in the Beifudi site Phase I in Yi County, Hebei Province (about 8,000-7,000 years ago), 12 jade articles (3 Jue, 1 Bi, 6 ornaments 6, 2 crystals) and 41 stone tools (axe, hoe, shovel, plough), 35 pieces of pottery (cups, bowls, bowls, etc.), 1 piece of small stone carving, 2 pieces of gravel. The excavator thinks that it may be a sacrificial offering for the worship of heaven and earth. *Zhouli: Chunguan:Yanshi* says, “for an eventful ceremony, use jade, brocade, animal and tools”¹⁵, a proof of the tradition of the remote past. However, at this time, “Jade has not highlighted the position and special features in the entire relic group, and it seems that it has not been specialized in its functions, with more importance over other daily objects.”¹⁶ The key point is that in the following thousands of years, although a large number of jade articles were unearthed in the tombs, the sacrificial site about jade were rarely seen.

Until the end of the Longshan culture, there were many suspected jade articles. For instance, in the Lajia site in Gansu (about 4,300 years ago) in front of the black wall of the F4 east wall are placing tribute-like items: 2 Jade Bi, 2 jade material pieces, 1 stone spear and 1 cone-necked pot (containing 1 Jade Bi, and 1 bone), which appear quite ceremonial.¹⁷ Four jade Bi and four jade Cong¹⁸ were found in a suspected ritual pit near the Qijia Cultural Site (4,300-3,700 years ago) in Houliuhe Village, Zhiping Township, Jingning County, Gansu Province. The Xinhua Site (between 2100 and 1900 BC) saw the unearthing of 32 exquisite jade articles from Pit K1, which include enamel, knives, hoes, shovel and jade ornaments.¹⁹ The 2 jade articles (sapphire bracelet 1, sapphire bottom jade form 1) and 14 stone tools unearthed in the mountain stone cracks of Luohutan Village, Gaohu Township, Yinan County, Shandong Province (4 stone Zhang, 7 stone Ben, 1 Stone Shovel, 1 Stone Spear, 1 Stone Chisel) were considered to belong to the sacrificial artifacts of the Longshan culture period.²⁰

Compared with Jade Bi which is mostly seen in Hongshan culture, Liangzhu culture and Qijia culture, Jade Gui appeared at a quite late time. According to the current findings and the basic consensus of archaeology, jade Gui has been a typical instrument since the late Longshan culture. The typical representative of flat-head Gui (ritualization of axe, hoe, shovel, adze and other weapons) is the animal face Jade Gui/Ben (dark green, jade like, 18 cm long) and stone shovel (gray green 48.7 cm long) unearthed from the west side of

¹⁵ Hebei Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics, et al. Excavation Bulletin of the Neolithic Site of Beifudi, Yi County, Hebei Province. Cultural Relics. Vol. 9, 2006. pp. 4-20.

¹⁶ Duan Hongzhen: Prehistoric Jade Objects and Related Issues in Beifudi, edited by Yang Jing and Jiang Weidong, The Jade Souls of the Ancient Chinese Jade and Traditional Culture Academic Symposium (4). Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Books Publishing House, 2010, pp. 315-320.

¹⁷ Ganqing Task Force, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: Excavation Bulletin of Qinghai Minhe Lajia Site in 2000, Archaeology, Vol. 12, 2002, 12-25.

¹⁸ Deng Shuping: Re-thinking of Four Pieces of Jade Unearthed from Yangjiabu, Jinhou Tomb and Lushan Mountain; Jade of the East: Dawenkou Yilong Mountain, Liangzhu Jadeware Culture Exhibition. Beijing, Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2014, pp. 13-31.

¹⁹ Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, etc: Excavation Bulletin of Shenmu Xinhua Site, Shanxi Province. 1999. Archaeology and Cultural Relics. Vol. 1, 2002. pp. 3-11.

²⁰ Yu Qiuwei and Zhao Wenjun: A group of jade and stone tools were discovered in Luannan County, Shandong Province. Archaeology. Vol. 3, 1998. pp. 90-92.

Liangchezheng, Guanting in Rizhao, Shandong; they are thin and large, well-made, very likely to be a non-practical symbolic artifact, it is likely to be the remains of the ancestors burial rituals.²¹ The typical instrument of tip-headed jade Gui first appeared in the tomb alcove of the Xiangfentao Temple site, and it belongs to the late stage of the Longshan culture. This is also the standard form of the Jade Gui unearthed from the Eastern Zhou Dynasty to the early Western Zhou Dynasty. However, Taosi site, Shijie site, Yanshi Erlitou site, Wangling district of Anyang Wuguan village, Luoyang Xizhou site and others have large-scale special ritual areas or places, indicating that national rituals have been formed. Strangely, the jade items directly for sacrificial use have not been found in the places of sacrifice so far²². Even if there are occasional jade articles, the combination types are quite complex. For example, green peacock stone frog, jade ornaments, jade Ji found in Pit 4 of the royal ancestral area of the Yinwangling East District of Wuguan Village, the jade handle unearthed in Pit 6, the jade ring unearthed in Pit 8, and stone-earth tool Yue unearthed in Pit 240, the jade fish unearthed in Pit 233, the earth jade cicada and little jade knife unearthed in Pit 228.²³ Another example is the jade items (Zhang, Ge, Ben, Yuan, Chu, Chisel, Pendant) and stone items (Cong, Axe, shovel, spear, chisel, etc.)²⁴. Pit 1 of Guanghan Sanxingdui Site, Sichuan; the jade items (41 jade chisels, 18 Ge, 10 Yuan, 15 Zhang, jade knife, Ben, ring, jade tongue, etc.)²⁵. And this arbitrariness and complexity have continued until the late Warring States period. Even it is the same with the sacred sites of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period where many sacrificial jade items were unearthed. For example, the 323 Eastern Zhou alliance oath pits (about after King Ding of Jin) and the 2 oval bottom jade kilns (two stacks of books in Pit H1 and 4 wide stone slips in Pit H3), discovered in 1965-1966, have more than 5,000 pieces of alliance books unearthed, and most of the book text are carved on jade Gui (tip-headed) slip, Zhang, Huang or irregular jade pieces. Among the more than 210 pieces of alliance ceremony jade items unearthed in the niches or soil fills, the ones regular shape include jade Bi 15 (diameter 22.2-3 cm), Huan 13, Yuan 3, Zhang 36, Jian 33, Gui 15 (tip-headed 4, flat headed 8, axe-shaped 3), Jue 2, Huang 3, Long 2, residual Hu, 1, round jade pieces 2, etc. Except that Pit 24, Pits 38, 219, and Pit 196 are buried in the form of combination of jade Zhang and spear-shaped items, other pits contain one piece each or sometime two, with no combination of jade Gui and Bi.²⁶ The case of subsequently excavated sites, such as the Jindu Xintian Alliance site, the Xigao Sacrificial Site and the Luqi Site are similar to those of the Houma Alliance site, is similar to that of the Houma Alliance site.

This kind of arbitrariness had changed quietly in the West Qin region in the late Warring States Period. The foundation jade of the Qin State building base has mainly the four categories of Gui, Bi, Huang and Jue,

²¹ Liu Dunyuan: Two Stoneware Found in the Ruins of Two Towns. *Archaeology*, Vol. 4, 1972, pp. 56-57.

²² Li Zhipeng: A Preliminary Study on the Relics of Erlitou Culture Sacrifice, in the Archaeological Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Xia Shang and Zhou Dynasties Archaeological Research Office, *Three Generations of Archaeology* (2), Beijing: Science Press, 2006, pp. 170-182; Zhou Li Etc. *Exploration of the Early Large-scale Sacrificial Relics in Luoyang in the Western Zhou Dynasty*, China Cultural Relics, 2011-06-17-004.

²³ The Anyang Excavation Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, et al: *The Excavation of the Yin Ruins of the Yin Ruins in Anyang*, *An Archaeological*, Vol. 1, 1977, pp. 20-32.

²⁴ Sichuan Provincial Cultural Management Association, Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, etc.: *Guanghan Sanxingdui Site No. 1 Sacrificial Excavation Briefing*, Relics, Vol. 10, 1987, pp. 6-14; Sichuan Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology: *Sanxingdui Sacrifice Pit*. Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1999, pp. 61-118.

²⁵ Sichuan Provincial Cultural Management Association, Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, et al: *Excavation of the Sacrificial Pit Excavation on the No. 2 Site of Guanghan Sanxingdui Site*, *Cultural Relics*, Vol. 5, 1989, pp. 11-19.

²⁶ Zhang Han, Tao Zhenggang, et al: *Houma Alliance Book*, Taiyuan: Shanxi Ancient Books Publishing House, 2006, pp. 395-397.

For instance, examples include Fengxiang Majiazhuang Site of the Qin Building Foundation Base of the middle and late Warring States Period²⁷ (Bi 81, Huang 21, Jue 21, Stone Gui 34), and the site of Fengxiang Yaojiagang Palace Building Base (Bi 21, Huang 11, Jue 32, stone Gui 97)²⁸, but the first point is that the jade items of Bi, Jue, and Huang are scattered, stone Gui items piled up. Gui and Bi combinations are rarely seen. The second point is that the jade function is mainly the founding ritual, which is obviously quite different from the sacrifice object stated in *Dianrui*.

As far as is known, there are three archaeological sites closest to the “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice” mentioned in *Zhouli*. The ornamentation of Jade Bi unearthed has the feature of the late Warring States Period to the early Han Dynasty. The first site sees the two sets of jade found in the site of the Zhiyangyang main temple in Yantai, Shandong Province in 1975. Each set features 1 Jade Gui and 1 jade Bi and 2 Jade Kuang: grain pattern Bi in the center, Jade Guang and jade Gui in the middle, directly pointed to the highest peak of Zhifu Island, “Laoye Mount” in the northeast. The grain pattern Bi is the last relic of the Warring States Period.²⁹ The second site is the two sets of jade found in the Chengshan Tauri site in Shandong from 1979 to 1982: there are 4 pieces in Group A (1 grain pattern jade in the middle, 1 white jade Gui in the middle, grain pattern Huang (Hang) in the upper part. on both sides. Group A jade is located about 2.5 meters east of Group B, and the line connecting the two points is measured to be at 113°. The grain pattern Bi and Huang are typical of the late Warring States Period to the early Western Han Dynasty. The valleys and bottom jade forms are typical of the late Warring States Period to the early Western Han Dynasty.³⁰ The historical records such as *Records of the Historian: Fengchan Book*, *Records of the Historian: The First Emperor of Qin*, *Records of the Historian: Emperor Xiaowu*, *Hanshu: Jiaosizhi* indicate that Zhifu and Chengshan are just the places where Yang Lord and Ri Lord (out of the eight gods of Qi state) lived. The sacrifices used are also the jade Gui coins. According to the books above, “The Eight Gods: ... Fifth, Yang Lord, governs the shrine of Fu...Seventh, Ri lord governs shrine of mountains. Mount forms and merges into the sea, sitting northwest of Qi state, to embrace the sunrise out of the mountain... All are the words of one emcee who have modified the classics to some extent. There are therefore different combinations of jade types.³¹ According to researches, within 160 years of the practice of worship from the era of the first Emperor of Qin to the era of King Xuan of Han Xuan Emperor, the kings who were most zealous about sacrifice to the “eight gods” are the first Emperor of Qin and King Wu of Han. To be specific, the first Emperor of Qin toured the seas eastward at least twice (219 BC, 210 BC), King Wu of Han did it at least three times (110 BC, 94 BC, 89 BC), King Xuan of Han did it once (61 BC), using the “Gui coins” (probably abbreviation of “Jade Gui and Bi coins”) to pay homage to the Eight Gods. Their motive for doing so is to “expect the Eight Gods to prolong the years of subsistence”³²—to pray for the dual eternality of state power and individual lifespan.³³ Therefore, the jade artifacts unearthed in the

²⁷ Shanxi Yucheng Archaeological Team: Exploration Briefing of the No.1 Building Group Site of Fengxiang Majiazhuang, Cultural Relics, Vol. 2, 1985, pp. 1-29.

²⁸ Fengxiang County Cultural Center, Shanxi Provincial Cultural Management Association: Fengxiang Pre-Qin Palace Excavation and Its Bronze Building Components, Cultural Relics, Vol. 2, 1976, pp. 121-128.

²⁹ Yantai City Museum: A Collection of Cultural Relics Found in Zhifu Island, Yantai City”, Cultural Relics, Vol. 8, 1976, pp. 93-94.

³⁰ Wang Yongbo: Chengshan Jade Articles and Japanese Sacrificial Offerings on Issues Related to the Worship of the Sun God, Cultural Relics, Vol. 1, 1993, pp. 62-68.

³¹ [Han Dynasty] Sima Qian: “Records of the Historian”, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1959, pp. 1367-1368.

³² [Han Dynasty] Ban Gu: Han Shu. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1962, p. 1247.

³³ Li Chuanjiang: The National Center of the Eight Gods and the Folk Succession, Dongyue Discussion Series, Vol. 6, 2014, pp. 99-102.

two sites were regarded as the ceremonial relics offered by the first Emperor of Qin and King Wu of Han to Yang Lord and Ri Lord.³⁴

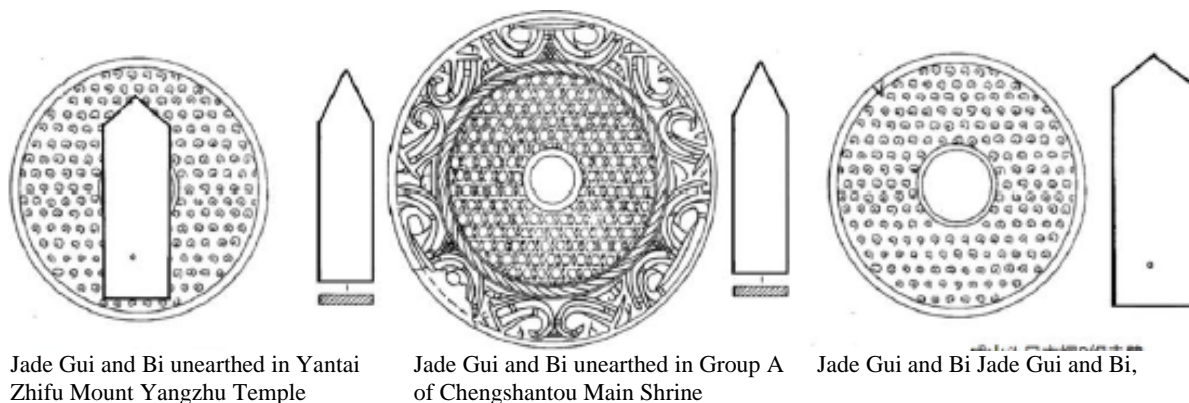


Figure 1. The line drawings of Jade Gui and Bi unearthed in Yantai Zhifu Mount Yangzhu Temple and of Chengshantou Main Shrine.

The third site is the ten sets of jade articles excavated in the mountain top of Luanting Mount, Li County, Gansu. If the Jade Gui and Bi combination unearthed in Shandogn Zhifu and Chengshantou sacrifice sites are informal archaeological excavations, there are no other relics as reference for the judgment of the era of relics, leading to inaccuracy as stated in the history books. Then, the ten sets of Jade Gui and Bi combinations unearthed from the ruins of the ruins of Luanting Mount provide the most practical material evidence and time coordinates for the “Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice”. According to research, the sacrificial site at on the top of Luanting Mount should be part of the Xizhi (sacrificial site for White Emperor) of Qin dynasty. Xizhi was built since the Qin dynasty and rejected in the 9th year under the reign of Emperor Wang Mang (20 AD). The F3 and G4 pits with unearthed Jade Gui and Bi have many relics such as Wuzhu coin and Wadang tile cap, suggesting that these are very likely to be the remains of the Heavenly God of Hao and the Sun and Moon and the stars in the era of King Wu of Han,³⁵ holding great significance to the judgment of the writing date of *Zhouli*.

The five sets of Jade Gui and Bi combination in F3 are located under the above-ground corridor: the first set is 15 cm from the surface, including white jade Bi (1), green jade Gui (2,) with the tip of jade pointing to the east. The second set is 30 cm from the surface, including the green jade Gui (1), jade Bi with phoenix and square pattern (1), with jade Gui located on the wall and pointing to the southeast. The third set is 76 cm deep from the surface, including 2 jade Bi and 1 jade Gui, all in white faces. The fourth set of jade is 70 cm deep from the surface, including 1 white jade Bi and 1 green jade Gui, with the Gui pressed onto the wall and its tip pointing to the northeast. The fifth set is 80 cm deep from the surface and consists of 12 jade articles, including 2 jade Bi 8 jade Gui and 2 jade figures. To be exact, the green Jade Bi is 22 cm in diameter. The double recessed divides the jade surface into two rings: inner and outer, and within the recessed line the oblique line are filled by the oblique line pattern. The outer ring is decorated with four groups of animal-face and double-body dragons; the inner ring is decorated with hexagonal staggered grid-like square patterns.

³⁴ Wang Yongbo: Chengshan Jade Articles and Japanese Sacrificial Offerings on Issues Related to the Worship of the Sun God, Cultural Relics, Vol. 1, 1993, pp. 62-68.

³⁵ Liang Yun: A Preliminary Understanding of the Site of the Memorial Site of the Luanting Mount, Chinese Historical Relics, Vol. 5, 2005, pp. 15-31.

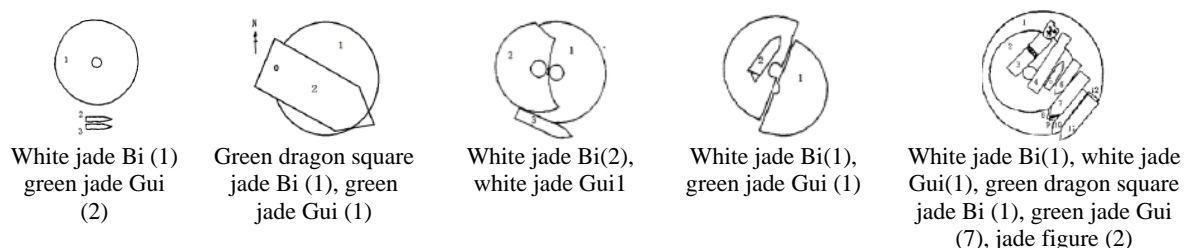


Figure 2. The line drawings of the statuses of the five sets of jade articles unearthed in Luanting Mount, Li County.

There are 1 piece of Wuzhu coin unearthed in the G4 activity level, 14 pieces of complete jade articles, 6 pieces of complete jade pieces (Jade Bi (2), Jade Gui(4)) and 1 piece of broken white Jade Gui. The archaeological excavation report also divides the items into five sets: the first set has three layers with 5 jade Gui and 3 jade Bi: 1 white jade Bi in the upper layer, one white jade Gui each on the two outer layers; 1 white jade Bi in the middle layer, 2 white jade Gui and 1 green jade Gui on the outer layers; 1 white jade Bi in lower layer, scattered with cinnabar. The second set has 1 white jade Bi with blue tint, and 1 white jade Gui, with cinnabar scattered on it. The third set has 1 white jade Bi with blue tint, 1 white jade Gui, with cinnabar on white jade Gui. The fourth set has 3 green jade Gui and 1 white jade Bi. The fifth set has 2 jade Gui and 1 jade Bi, with position disturbed and the way of placement unknown.

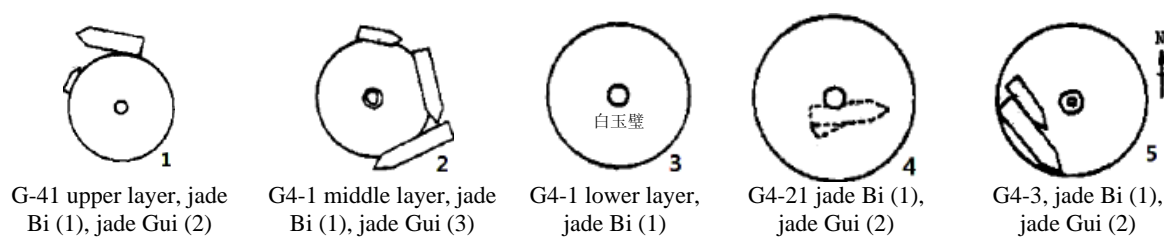


Figure 3. The line drawings of the statuses of the 1-3 sets of jade articles unearthed in Sacrificial Site G4 of Luanting Mount, Li County.

The form, size, color of Jade Gui and Bi combination at the Luanting Mountaintop Sacrificial Site for the first time provided the physical evidence for “Jade Four-Gui with bottom form”, “Jade Two-Gui bottom form”, “Jade Gui and Bi” and blue jade Gui, as recorded in *Zhouli*.

Fortunately, the Luanting Mount Sacrificial Site also sees the jade articles accompanied by relics with obvious characteristics of other eras, such as Wuzhu coin and Wadang (tile cap), which all point to the era of King Wu of Han. However, according to the judgment of *Zhouli*, there are still some problems to be studied. For example, *Zhouguan* is a blueprint, or is it an integrated text reconstruction? If there is a unified classic *Zhouguan* as the blueprint earlier than the Qin and Han Dynasties, why are the types, sizes and patterns of jade Gui and Bi unearthed in several places such as Zhifu, Chengshan, Qitingshan, Lianzhi Village and Lujiakou Village? Did King Wu of Han see *Zhouguan*? Is *Zhouguan* part of the construction of the imperial power of the Han Dynasty? In other words, why did King Wu of Han go Luanting Mount in Lixian County, the birthplace of Xiqin (west Qin), to worship the heavens and the stars, and what special significance does Luanting Mount have in the construction of the imperial power of King Wu of Han? Is the size recorded in *The Artificers' Record: Jade Figures* purely a speculative cultural construction or a cultural construction with historical memory?

The most prudent way to approach this puzzle is to let the evidence speak. The evidence used in the past is mostly obtained from the perspective of reading and comparing the literature, with no systematic and detailed sorting and comparison of the unearthed physical evidence. In the era when everything was done as per the ritual system and the ancient system, the ritual relics of the beliefs and conceptual representations of the celestial powers reflected the reconstructed etiquette of the “Sage King of the ancient system” that the people believed and reconstructed, as well as the current rituals that the later generations rebuilt out of the current political needs. This is the inevitable reflection of new “*Zhouli*”, which was rebuilt by *Zhouli* as per the comprehensive needs of the era. In this sense, the Jade Gui and Bi combination and the accompanying relics of the era of King Wu of Hanwu unearthed from the Luanting Mount site showed the characteristics of the ceremonial era—the era of King Wu of Han. This is consistent with the legendary era of Zhougwan, which should not be coincidental. As for why King Wu of Han ran to the place where the Luanting Mount site in the Xiqin area for worship of the Heaven and the stars, it is a complicated question. However, in view of the important strategic evidences such as Wushan jade and Lixian salt unearthed in Weishui River and Xihan River basins and the Qin institutional system inherited from Han, the question may be answered or explained.

3 The Comparison Between the Literature Description and the Physical Evidence: The Era Characteristics Reflected in the Sizes of Jade Gui and Bi

What is the era of the size of Jade Gui and Bi mentioned in *The Artificers' Record: Jade Figures*? Because of the death and change of *Zhouli* ritual official, the editors complemented the fact by citing *The Artificers' Record*, concluding that the size of Jade Gui and Bi in *Jade Figures* has nothing to do with the authenticity of *Zhouli*. However, when the editors have compiled them into *Zhouli*, there is a must to include *Dazongbo* and *Dian Rui* to achieve uniformity and consistency. Therefore, in connection with the documented and unearthed objects, we have determined the era of the size of Jade Gui and Bi mentioned in *Jade Figures*, which is of great significance to the ascertaining of the era of the classic *Zhouli*. However, from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties to the Qin and Han Dynasties, the time-space span of the unearthed scale is large and the local differences are very significant, making it difficult to form a complete chain of evidence. In the past, the academic scholars used the scale of 23.1 cm to calculate the Qin and Han rulers, and compared the dimensions mentioned in *Jade Figures* and the conclusions drawn from the unearthed jade Gui and Bi of the Western and Eastern Zhou dynasties. *The Chinese Ancient Scales and Measurements* records 3 pieces of business rulers, with 2 pieces being 15.8 cm long and 1 piece being 17 cm long; 1 piece of the East Zhou copper ruler measuring 23.1 cm (Luoyang Jincun tomb), 13 pieces of West Han ruler measuring between 23-23.8 cm; 86 pieces of the East Han ruler, measuring 20.5-24.1 cm. *The Old Rulers Study* records 3 pieces of Western Zhou's ruler, measuring 17.2 cm (from copper ruler of King Wu of Zhou from Tianshui) and 18.5 cm (King Cheng copper ruler near the Famen Temple and King You copper ruler of Jiayuguan); 11 pieces of the Spring and Autumn rulers, measuring 20-22.3 cm; 6 pieces of the Warring States ruler (5 pieces of them measuring 23-23.2 cm, 1 piece measuring 25.1 cm); King Wu of Han copper ruler 2 pieces, measuring 20.3 cm and 22.1 cm respectively. After 1990, discovered were 6 pieces of the Western Han dynasty rulers (21.7-23.8 cm) were discovered; two pieces of Xin dynasty rulers (22.9 and 23.1 cm); 8 pieces of the Eastern Han dynasty rulers (22.9-23.8 c). The standard value of the Western Han ruler and the Xin ruler is 23 cm, and the standard value of the Eastern Han ruler is

about 23.4 cm.³⁶ However, these scales are relative, and the local differences in real life are obvious. Therefore, in order to facilitate the comparison, the interval estimation method is used here (use the minimum and maximum scales of each period seen so far as the value interval), as shown in the following table³⁷:

Era			3 feet	12 inches	9 inches	8 inches	7 inches	5 inches	Standard value
Xin (King Mang) (22.9-23.1) ruler			68.7-74.7	27.5-29.9	20.6-22.4	18.3-19.9	16-17.4	11.5-12.5	23
Han ruler	East Han (20.5-23.4-24.5)		61.5-70.2-73.5	24.6-28.1-29.4	18.5-21.1-22.1	16.4-18.7-19.6	14.4-16.4-17.2	10.3-11.7-12.3	23.4
	West Han (20-23-25.1)		60-69-75.3	24-27.6-30.1	18-20.7-22.6	16-18.4-20.1	14-16.1-17.6	10-11.5-12.6	23
	King Wu of Han (20-22.1-23.3)		60-66.3-69.9	24-26.5-27.9	18-19.9-20.9	16-17.7-18.6	14-15.5-16.3	10-11.1-11.7	
Qin ruler (23.1-25.1)			69.3-75.3	27.7-30.1	20.8-22.6	18.5-20.1	16.2-17.6	11.6-12.6	23.1
Qi ruler (19-19.7-23.1)			57-59.1-69.6	22.8-23.6-27.8	17.1-17.7-20.8	15.2-15.8-18.5	13.3-13.8-16.2	9.5-9.8-11.6	19.7
Zhou ruler	East Zhou	Warring States (22-25.1)	66-75.3	26.4-30.1	19.8-22.6	17.6-20.1	15.4-17.6	11-12.6	
		(20-22.3)	60-66.9	24-26.8	18-20.1	16-17.8	14-15.6	10-11.2	
	West Zhou (17.2-18.5-23)		51.6-55.5-69	20.6-22.2-28	15.5-16.7-21	13.8-14.8-18	12-13-16	8.6-9.3-11.5	
Shang ruler(15.8-17)			47.4-51	19-20.4	14.2-15.3	12.6-13.6	11.1-11.9	7.9-8.5	

Figure 3. Size conversion table (unit: cm) contained in *Jade Figures*

The archaeologically unearthed Jade Gui is mostly linked to the period of the Qin and Han Dynasties. The Jade Gui was unearthed from the base pit of the Qin Gong No. 1 tomb, measuring 12.5-15 cm, in length, which is roughly equivalent to the 5-6 inch of Qin. In 1971, 4 pieces of blue jade Gui measuring 7.1-11 cm were unearthed in Xi'an Lianzhi Village sacrificial site.³⁸ In 1980, jade Gui was unearthed in Lujiakou Village, Xi'an, 11 cm long.³⁹ Two sets of Jade Gui and Bi were unearthed in the main temple of Zhifu Yangzhu Temple: Set A has jade Gui of 9.3cm in length and 16.5 cm in diameter, and Set B has jade Gui of 6 cm in length and 16.5 cm in diameter. Two sets of jade articles were unearthed at the Chengshan site, where Set A has jade Gui of 9 cm in length and 14.3 cm in diameter, Group B has jade Gui of 13.5 cm in length and 13.9 cm in diameter. The 27 pieces of jade Gui were unearthed from the Luanting Mountain site, including 1 piece of Type A (16 cm), 8 pieces of Type C (4.4-5.8cm), 18 pieces of Type B (7.2-9.8cm, with 9 pieces measuring 9.6-9.8cm.). These scales are closest to 5-inch scale calculated by Qi and King Wu ruler. It is now known that the Luanting Mount site is most likely to belong to the era of King Wu of Han. This site saw the unearthing of 14 pieces of jade Bi: 1 piece measuring 22 cm, 1 piece measuring 12 cm, and 12 pieces with diameter between 14-14.4 cm, a result generally in line with the scale of jade Xuan used by King Wu of Han in the Taiyi suburb

³⁶ Bai Yunxiang: Study on Archaeological Discoveries and Related Issues at the Han Dynasty Scale, Southeast Culture, Vol. 2, 2014, pp. 85-94.

³⁷ Qiu Guangming: The Chinese Ancient Scales and Measurements, Beijing: Science Press, 1992, pp. 65-70, 156, 198-210; Zhu Yongnian: The Old Rulers Study, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2008, pp. 11-24; Wen Renjun, Kao Gong Ji: Qi Ruler Study, Archaeology, Vol. 1, 1983, pp. 61-65; Bai Yunxiang: Archaeological Discovery of the Han Dynasty and Related Issues, Southeast Culture, Vol. 2, 2014, pp. 85-94.

³⁸ Xi'an Cultural Relics Management Committee: Jade, Xi'an: Shanxi Tourism Press. 1992. pp. 44-46.

³⁹ Liu Yunhui: Ancient Jade Piece Unearthed in Shanxi, Spring and Autumn Warring States, Sichuan Cultural Relics, Vol. 5, 2010, pp. 1-19. 该文还录有 1980 年代末在秦都雍城东郊东社及西郊河北屯等村发现过以汉白玉圭璧组合的祭祀场所内堆放若干组圭、璧，一般是 3 件璧 6 件圭一组，3 璧水平上下放置，其上依次叠放圭尖指向西北的 6 圭，可惜无具体尺寸，无法对照。

sacrifice ceremony according to *Hanshu: Joasizhi*. According to Meng Kang's note, "any jade that is of 6 inches in size is called Xuan"⁴⁰. It can be seen that King Wu scale interval is exactly 20-23.3-24, a result in line with the scale of the Western Han rulers handed down and unearthed. It seems that the two pieces of King Wu ruler mentioned in The Old Rulers Study have a historical basis. King Wu of Han was keen on the ritual ceremony and tried to find the ancient ritual systems. The King Wu relics and jade Gui were intensively found in Luanting Mount site, which agree with in line with King Wu and Qi scale—the five-inch scale mentioned in *Jade Figures*. The five-inch jade Gui mentioned in *Jade Figures* and the jade Gui in the archaeological remains are roughly the same in size, but they are not identical. On the one hand, this is due to the uncertainty of the scales of the past, and on the other hand, the ambiguity of Zhouguan record cannot be excluded. However, the determination of the nature of the above-mentioned era of relics undoubtedly provides a more accurate scale system for the lower limit of the authoring era of Zhouguan.

Conclusion

In summary, the book evidence and physical evidence show that jade Gui is a new ritual article that appeared in the late Longshan period compared to the typical ritual Jade Bi since the late Neolithic era. The number and type of the pre-Qin ritual jade wares, whether mentioned in the literature and or unearthed in the archaeological excavations, are very scattered and random. The earliest Jade Gui and Bi combinations are found to belong to the Qin and Han dynasties, and the size is also roughly the same with King Wu scale. Examples include the Zhifu Yangzhu main temple site (white jade Gui (1), grain pattern jade Bi (1), jade Yong (2 sets), Chengshantou Shrine site (grain pattern jade Bi (1), white jade Gui (2)); double-body dragon jade Bi (1), grain pattern jade Huang (1) and white jade Gui (1)), and the Luanting Mount site (jade Bi and ring pattern Jade); all the jade articles unearthed were popular in the late Warring States period. Whether it is the sacrifice relic of the first Emperor of Qin and King Wu of Han, the era will not be earlier than the late Warring States period, a point that is quite certain. According to the report *The Eleven Mausoleums of the Western Han Dynasty*, in Ping Mausoleum of King Zhao and the Mausoleum of Shangguang Empress (the younger child of King Wu, 94 BC-74 BC; Shangguang Queen, 88 BC-37 BC), the sets of jade articles were unearthed in the east-west orientation, each In the middle of the group jade is a Jade Bi, surrounded by seven or eight Jade Gui, with jade Bi placed in the center of each set; jade Bi is surrounded by 7 or 8 jade Gui, with head all pointed to jade Bi; these articles should be relics used in the ritual ceremony of the imperial mausoleums of the Han Dynasty. Probably jade Two-Gui has a bottom form and Jade Four-Gui has the expanded bottom form. It seems that the jade Gui and Bi combination is indeed the prevailing ritual article of the Qin and Han dynasties, especially of the Western Han Dynasty. For example, *Wujishan Tablets* of the Han Dynasty says, "...pray for the benefit of the people, and you should turn to sacrificial ceremony. Oh my official, please give the Jade Gui and Bi",⁴¹ which is enough to prove that jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice were playing a core role in the central and local sacrificial systems of the Han Dynasty. Therefore, the prototype of the "Jade Bi and Gui of Sacrifice" mentioned in *Zhouli*, which has far-reaching influence on later generations, may be established in the Zhou Dynasty. However, the practice of sacrifice was in the Qin and Han dynasties, especially in the King Wu era of the early Western Han Dynasty, which roughly accords with the historic fact that *Zhouli* appeared for the first time in the King Wu era.

⁴⁰ [Song Dynasty] Hong Shi: *Lishi Lishu*, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985, p. 45.

⁴¹ [宋]洪适:《隶释·隶续》,北京:中华书局,1985年,第45页。

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