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Territoriality and State Power: Southern Lands and the Triplex Formation of Early Western Zhou

ABSTRACT:

This research reconsiders the way that Western Zhou established and managed its territories. By analyzing regional polities that existed in what we call the “Southern Lands” (*nan tu* 南土) of the Zhou dynasty, I discovered that political makeups in the south consisted of patchworks of preexisting lineages that nominally accepted Zhou suzerainty. The accepted theory about the formation of regional polities has held that there was a bifurcation of territorial control. I propose, however, that a triplex formation better defines the early-Western Zhou state. I analyze conceptually the latter’s territorial categories as follows: the Royal Domain 王畿; the *fengjian* 封建 regions (the Zhou kings’ deployment of regional states designated by kin-lineage); and the Southern Lands under the institution known as *baofeng* 褒封. Parsimony might explain the dynasty’s adoption of different modes of control over different conquered landscapes during its expansionist stage. The triplex concept leads to a more nuanced understanding of the three-part congealment of the early-Western Zhou state and may also set the stage for interpreting subsequent Western Zhou history.

KEYWORDS:

Western Zhou dynasty, fengjian, baofeng, Southern Lands, territoriality

INTRODUCTION

The Western Zhou dynasty devised a political system, the *fengjian* 封建 system (in the past called “feudalism” but now, more correctly, to be seen as literally “to authorize an establishment”). It means that Zhou kings deployed settlements to be controlled for them by designated kin-lineages, in order to cope with the need to control vast territories acquired through successive military conquests. This situation gave rise to the dynasty’s two-part territories consisting of lands under the direct authority of the Zhou court and those controlled by a series of regional states imposed by the Zhou kings to garrison the conquered lands.¹

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¹ The difference in territoriality is tacitly expressed by the Ling Fang Yi 令方彝 text, which introduces the conceptual distinction between “*san shi* 三事” and “*si fang* 四方”; this alludes to the binary territories under Zhou authority (*Jicheng* 09901). Here and below, *Jicheng* will refer to Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, eds., 中國社會科學院考古研究所編, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1984–). *Guoyu* 國語 also

Li Feng, by integrating inscriptional and archeological sources, has substantiated the bifurcated territoriality of the Western Zhou dynasty as recorded in contemporary inscriptions. According to him, the “Royal Domain 王畿” lands, directly governed by the Zhou court, refers to the Wei River valley and the plains around Luoyi 洛邑. The *fengjian* area controlled by a number of regional states includes three geographical sectors: the Fen River valley, the North China Plain, and the Southern Lands 南土.² Following a famous passage in *Zuozhuan* that states, “Of those domains of the Ji clan north of the Han River, Chu has annexed every last one 漢陽諸姬，楚實盡之，”³ it is generally assumed that a group of Ji-surnamed states governed the Southern Lands since the founding of the Western Zhou dynasty.⁴

states, “This is the system set up by our ancestral kings: suburban duty within the boundary [of the royal land], and scout duty beyond the boundary 夫先王之制：邦內甸服·邦外侯服.” Commentary traditions interpret “*dian fu* 甸服” as Royal Domain 王畿, and the lands beyond it were the *fengjian* regions. Xu Yuanhao 徐元誥, *Guoyu jijie* 國語集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), p. 6.

² Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2008), pp. 43–49. The linguistic tradition of dividing the domain under dynastic control into four areas, each named after its cardinal direction, originated in the Shang oracle bones. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院歷史研究所, eds., *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1978–1983; hereafter cited as H), no. 36975. The Zhou people shared this tradition with the Shang, although with W. Zhou expansion, the four lands extended farther beyond those of late-Shang. See *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 9 (Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 [Kaohsiung: Fuwen tushu chubanshe, 1986]), pp. 1307–8. The geographical scope of the Southern Lands during the W. Zhou dynasty was dynamic, but it is generally agreed to refer to the Han and Huai River regions, as attested by the records citing “*nan tu* 南土” or “*nan guo* 南國” (southern states) in transmitted classics and in bronze inscriptions. See *Shijing*, “Songgao 崧高,” “Changwu 常武,” “Siyue 四月,” and numerous bronze inscriptions from early-through-late W. Zhou, e.g., Hu Zhong 猷鐘 (*Jicheng* 00260), Zhong Yan 中甗 (*Jicheng* 00949), Yu Ding 禹鼎 (*Jicheng* 02833), Jin Hou Su zhong 晉侯蘇鐘 (NA 0870), and Jing ding 靜鼎 (NA 1795), etc. Here and below, “NA” refers to the bronze inscriptions catalogued in Chen Chao-jung 陳昭容 et al., eds., *Xinshou Yin Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji qiyong huibien* 新收殷周青銅器銘文暨器影彙編 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 2006). “NB” will refer to Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions Database <<http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/>> (inscriptions discovered after 2006 not collected or published in any single catalogue).

³ *Zuozhuan*, Xi 28 (Yang, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, p. 459). For an English translation of *Zuozhuan*, refer to Stephen W. Durrant et al., trans., *Zuo Tradition/Zuozhuan: Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (Seattle: U. Washington P., 2016), p. 417.

⁴ Despite the lack of contemporary evidence, this passage in *Zuozhuan* has become so influential that a preponderance of the literature in Chinese accept it as reflecting the situation in the Southern Lands since early W. Zhou. In Western literature, Cho-yun Hsu also cites this passage as the only evidence and dates the *fengjian* of southern regional states to the regnal period of king Kang. See Cho-yun Hsu and Katheryn M. Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1988), pp. 206–7. Michiharu Ito 伊藤道治 also cites the passage in his research on the political geography of the W. Zhou dynasty, but he has some reservation about its credibility due to the lack of contemporary evidence for the existence of Ji-surnamed regional states in the southern regions of W. Zhou; Michiharu, *Chūgoku kodai ōchō no keisei: shutsudo shiryō o chūshin to suru In Shū shi no kenkyū* 中國古代王朝の形成，出土資料を中心とする殷周史の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1975).

This narrative of history, however, simplifies the whole story. Contrary to the prevalent theory, I argue here that the concept “Hanyang zhu Ji 漢陽諸姬” was a later idea that should not be projected backward to cover the entire history of Western Zhou.⁵ Yet we must consider that contemporary inscriptional sources demonstrate that so-called Southern Lands were governed by a group of separately established polities loosely controlled by the Zhou court during the early period of Western Zhou. To borrow a term from later Chinese history, they were similar to the “*tu si* 土司” (native chieftains) of southwestern China. The early political institution as it occurred in the south should be more correctly defined as “*baofeng* 褒封,” or “honorary entitlement,” which should be distinguished from the *fengjian* system established after Zhou’s pacification of the north. The political features of the Southern Lands qualify them to be considered as the southern frontier of the Zhou dynasty; and it demonstrates enormous territorial dynamism throughout the entire Western Zhou period.

Despite the importance of the south in Western Zhou history, there has been insufficient scholarly attention paid to it in early China. There are monographs that utilize recent archeological data from the Suizao 隨棗 region to investigate various aspects of the Zeng state during the Zhou dynasty. Still, these diachronic studies focus mostly on Zeng and its immediate proximity and do not provide a generalized understanding of the Southern Lands during early-Western Zhou.⁶ Also, scholars have offered monographs that take all of southern China as a unit of study, but as the southern frontier of ancient China moved more southward with the geographical expansion of early Chinese states, previous scholarly focus mostly concerned the Lingnan 嶺南 region, extending even into the territory of modern-day Vietnam. This temporal focus was on a much later period in Chinese history. The issues addressed mainly centered on the process of sinicization, southern minorities, cultural connections between China and Southeast Asia, or specific archeological sites.⁷ There are in fact several recent monographs on

⁵ For a similar view, see Yu Wei 于薇, “‘Hanyang zhu Ji’: jiyu dilixue de zhengwei 漢陽諸姬, 基于地理學的證偽,” *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 24 (2010), pp. 231–43.

⁶ Fang Qin 方勤, *Zengguo lishi yu wenhua: Cong “zuoyou Wenwu” dao “zuoyou Chuwang” 曾國歷史與文化, 從左右文武 到左右楚王* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018); Chen Beichen, *Cultural Interactions during the Zhou Period (c. 1000–350 BC): A Study of Networks from the Suizao Corridor* (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing, 2018); Wu Dongming, “The Bronze Economy and the Making of the Southern Borderlands under the Zhou Dynasty (1045–256 BCE),” Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 2022). Among these, the geographical scope of Wu’s investigation includes not only the Suizao corridor but also communities south of the middle Yangtze basin, but Wu’s geographical focus differs from that of this article.

⁷ For a summary of the scholarship on South China, see Erica Brindley, *Ancient China and the Yue: Perceptions and Identities on the Southern Frontier, c.400 BCE–50 CE* (Cambridge:

southern kingdoms that existed in early China, but, again, they differ from the present study in terms of timeframe, geographical scope of focus, and topics addressed.⁸

The following research aims to reexamine the political history of the Southern Lands during the early-Western Zhou dynasty. As Sun Yan argues in her recent book, Western Zhou expansion was a negotiated process between the Zhou court and the specific local political and cultural situations. The Zhou court adopted varied methods in managing their frontiers, and the local non-Zhou polities also actively participated in the process of power negotiation with the Zhou court and the Zhou regional states according to their situations. This created a heterogeneous frontier landscape throughout many dynasties.⁹ Although Sun's focus is the northern frontier, this article argues that the same governing strategy can be observed as operable toward the South Lands. By identifying the characteristics typical among southern states during the early-Western Zhou period, my article "builds up the big picture from smaller facts"; it argues for defining the south as a coherent political landscape under a distinct form of territorial administration. My nuanced understanding of Southern Lands reveals the complexity of the Western Zhou state; moreover, it allows for an appreciation of the ingenuity of the Zhou people's political planning. By combining the relatively new *fengjian* institution with political precedents inherited from the previous Shang dynasty, the Zhou people successfully created a complex political and administrative apparatus that could maximize territorial control.¹⁰ In addition, the identification of the institutional

Cambridge U.P., 2015), pp. 13–20. Jennifer Took summarizes the evolution of Chinese territorial administration of the southern frontiers from the Qin and Han to the Yuan dynasty, but she does not trace back into Zhou-period precedents; Took, *A Native Chieftaincy in Southwest China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 24–45.

⁸ Alice Yao, *The Ancient Highlands of Southwest China: An Archaeological History from the Bronze Age to the Han Empire* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2016); Brindley, *Ancient China and the Yue*; Olivia Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity: The Cultural Construction of an Ancient Chinese Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2013).

⁹ Sun Yan, *Many Worlds under One Heaven: Material Culture, Identity, and Power in the Northern Frontiers of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BCE* (New York: Columbia U.P., 2021), pp. 4–6, 238–41.

¹⁰ Creel seemed to be the first among Western scholars to touch on the issue of continuity and change in the W. Zhou political system. In his pioneering study of the W. Zhou government, he argued that the Zhou learned from Shang political wisdom but mainly created their own governing system. The scarce inscriptional and archeological sources available to him made it impossible to render accurate overviews. In addition, his comparison of the W. Zhou political system to Medieval European feudalism has been deemed inoperable; Herrlee G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China, Vol. 1: The Western Chou Empire* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 1970), pp. 99–108. For a critical study of the concept of feudalism and its applicability to the W. Zhou state, see Li Feng, "'Feudalism' and Western Zhou China: A Criticism," *HJAS* 1 (2003), pp. 115–44.

characteristics of the Southern Lands in the early-Western Zhou period provides a thread that connects major topics in subsequent Western Zhou history, such as king Zhao's southern campaigns 昭王南征, the Yufang 馭方 system, and the notion, stated just above, of "Hanyang zhu Ji." The present study might provide scholarship with analyses that compare Southern Lands policies with those toward other frontiers of the Western Zhou state and with state-building strategies among other ancient civilizations.¹¹

GEOGRAPHIC SETTING, TIME, AND SOURCES

For the purpose of this investigation, Southern Lands geography is composed of the lands of the Huai and Han River valleys, stretching from the middle reaches of the Han River in the west to the upper reaches of the Huai River in the east. In the south, it is bounded by the lands around the Tongbai 桐柏 and Dabie 大別 Mountains. In the north, it includes the areas around the upstream tributaries of the upper Huai River.¹²

What I mean by early Western Zhou is the period ranging from the Zhou conquest of Shang by king Wu (1046 BC?) to the reign of king Zhao (first half of the tenth century BC).¹³ Although the absolute dates of this period cannot yet be precisely determined, it is estimated to span a time of between seventy to eighty years. This periodization corresponds to that adopted generally in the fields of history, art history, and archeology.

¹¹ For example, Sun Yan's study on the northern frontiers of the W. Zhou dynasty. See Sun, *Many Worlds under One Heaven*. Studies on the territoriality of ancient states in other civilizations are abundant. For a study that addresses a similar issue with this one, see Bradley J. Parker, "Geographies of Power: Territoriality and Empire during the Mesopotamian Iron Age," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 22.1 (2012), pp. 126-44.

¹² The eastern limit of the Southern Lands is customarily stretched eastward to include the middle Huai River basin. See Xu Shaohua 徐少華, *Zhoudai nantu lishi dili yu wenhua* 周代南土歷史地理與文化 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1994), p. 1. But as the middle Huai River region did not have frequent interactions with the Zhou court until a later period, as attested by a series of inscriptions from mid- and late-W. Zhou that record wars between the Zhou and Huaiyi 淮夷, this article limits its investigation of the Southern Lands to the upper Huai River region, bounded by the states of Cai, Hu, Xi, roughly along the Zhengzhou-Xinyang line. For inscriptions recording interactions between the Zhou court and Huaiyi during the later half of the W. Zhou dynasty, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1991), pp. 178-79.

¹³ Li Xueqin, "The Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project: Methodology and Results," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4.1 (2002), pp. 321-333. Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjiazu 夏商周斷代工程專家組, *Xia Shang Zhou duan dai gongcheng 1996-2000 nian jie-duan chengguo baogao* 夏商周斷代工程 1996-2000 年階段成果報告 (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 30-35. See also Shaughnessy, *Sources*, p. xix.

Inscriptional sources are to be consulted for historical reconstruction, insofar as they are capable of identifying the backgrounds of southern lineages and can reveal the interactions between those lineages and the central court. This is no denial of the importance of material sources to the study of early China. Archeological research in the middle Yangtze basin has made tremendous progress in Hubei province in the last decade. The Yejiashan 葉家山 and Yangzishan 羊子山 sites, both dated to early Western Zhou, have become the archeological highlights within the scholarly community. Still, archeological sources mainly cluster around the states of Zeng and E in the Suizao region, and that is insufficient to cover the entire Southern Lands. In addition, the currently available archeological data mainly lend themselves to studies of cultural contact, cultural change, identity construction, and interregional networks.¹⁴ They are less informative when it comes to addressing issues related to political institutions and individual events. In this article, although archeological data from the Southern Lands are consulted whenever necessary, inscriptions with specific dates and provenances appear to be the most suitable for revealing the institutional idiosyncrasies of the southern states as a whole during the early-Western Zhou period.

“FENGJIAN” AND “BAOFENG”: A REASSESSMENT

As the most salient feature of the Western Zhou political system, the institution of *fengjian* has received considerable attention in modern scholarship. Though once misclassified as a “feudal” system upon a false comparison with medieval European history, it has now been clarified: the Western Zhou political system is a Chinese creation and should be more appropriately rendered in its own right as *fengjian*.¹⁵

¹⁴ For a study of the long-term cultural transformation in the south based on material culture retrieved from individual sites in the south, see Li Feng, “The Periphery: The Western Zhou State at Its Maximum Geographical Extent,” in Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2006), appendix 1, pp. 318–32. On cultural contacts, cultural change, identity construction, and economic networks in Zeng, see Fang, *Zengguo lishi yu wenhua*; Chen, *Cultural Interactions*.

¹⁵ Li, “‘Feudalism’ and Western Zhou China,” pp. 115–44. Li recounts the literature employing the concept of “feudalism” to identify the W. Zhou political system (see n. 2, p. 116). According to Li, the concept was introduced by Marcel Granet and C. P. Fitzgerald in the 1930s to characterize the period from late W. Zhou to 221 bc. This theory has been taken up by two general histories of the W. Zhou in order to characterize the W. Zhou state and society; see Creel, *Origins of Statecraft in China*, and Hsu and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*. However, I suggest that an earlier attempt to parallel the W. Zhou socio-political system with that of medieval Europe may have been given by Qi Sihe 齊思和, who employed such terms as “investiture,” “homage,” “fief,” and “vassals,” etc. to illustrate W. Zhou ritual traditions; see Qi Sihe, “Zhou dai simingli kao” 周代賜命禮考, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 32 (1947).

Practically, it denotes the Zhou kings' deployment of a series of "delegatory kin-ordered settlement states" at strategic locations in order to govern lands acquired through two consecutive military conquests during the founding stage of the Western Zhou dynasty.¹⁶ Supported by states mainly headed by members from the Jiang 姜 clan, these regional polities became the king's local agents, who governed their respective territories.

Fengjian states were not independent polities. In addition to the fact that they originated from interstate common ancestors or marriage partners, there was a set of mechanisms that helped coordinate them with each other and with Zhou central authority. The preponderance of the standing armies was placed in the hands of the Zhou King,¹⁷ and military cooperation between the royal forces and regional forces was frequent.¹⁸ There was the so-called *jian* 監 system that helped the kings monitor the internal administration of their *fengjian* states.¹⁹ Diplomacy became regularized and ritualized as early as the middle-Western Zhou period,²⁰ and a systematized tributary, or taxation, system probably existed to maintain centralized control of state resources.²¹

¹⁶ Li, *Bureaucracy and the State*, pp. 294–98.

¹⁷ Li Xueqin, "Liu shi" 六師, in idem, *Qingtongqi yu gudaishi* 青銅器與古代史 (Taipei: Lian-jing chubanshe, 2005), pp. 341–52.

¹⁸ For military cooperation in warfare during W. Zhou, see the Ming Gong Gui 明公簋 (*Jicheng* 04029), Ban Gui 班簋 (*Jicheng* 04341), Shimi Gui 史密簋 (NA 0636), Jinhou Su Zhong 晉侯蘇鐘 (NA 0870), and Zuobo Ding 柞伯鼎 (NB 1059), etc. Military exercises that involved Royal Forces and regional forces are recorded in transmitted classics as well as inscriptions. See Yang Kuan 楊寬, "Dasou Li' xintan" 大蒐禮新探, in idem, *Gushi xintan* 古史新探 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2016), pp. 260–84.

¹⁹ Yang Kuan, *Xi Zhou shi* 西周史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999), pp. 392–94. Li, *Bureaucracy and the State*, pp. 249–52.

²⁰ See rituals of "chao jin 朝覲" and "chao pin 朝聘" as recorded in *Yili* 儀禮, *Zuozhuan*, and various other classical texts. For inscriptional sources, see Yan Hou Zhi Ding 燕侯旨鼎 (*Jicheng* 02628), Mai Zun 麥尊 (*Jicheng* 06015), Jin Ding 堇鼎 (*Jicheng* 02703), Xian Gui 獻簋 (*Jicheng* 04205), X Zun 鬲尊 (*Jicheng* 05986), etc. The Shang Yu 尙盂 (NB 0893) testifies to the existence of a sophisticated and rather standardized set of diplomatic rituals by the early years of mid-W. Zhou. See Li Xueqin, "Yicheng Dahekou Shang Yu mingwen shishi" 翼城大河口尙盂銘文試釋, *WW* 9 (2011), pp. 67–68. The Pu He 匍盞, on the other hand, records a diplomatic trip from Ying to Xing. Pu, the caster of the vessel, was a Ying-state diplomat who traveled over 1,200 km to complete his mission. His official duty was made possible by a sophisticated mechanism that facilitated official travelers during his trip, testifying to the emergence of specialized diplomacy and long-distance communications on the Zhou Road. See Lei Chinhau 雷晉豪, "Tansuo Xi Zhou shidai de waijiao huodong yu yuanju jiao tong: yi 'Pu He' wei li" 探索西周時代的外交活動與遠距交通, 以 匍盞 為例, in Tsinghua daxue chutu wenxian yanjiu yu baohu zhongxin 清華大學出土文獻研究與保護中心, ed., *Chutu wenxian yu Zhongguo gudai wenming* 出土文獻與中國古代文明 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2016), pp. 109–15.

²¹ Creel endeavored to study the W. Zhou financial system with extremely limited sources; his conclusions are to be considered tentative. The overall picture of the financial system remains vague. For his theory on the royal court's collection of revenue from regional rulers, see Creel, *Origins of Statecraft in China*, pp. 151–55.

As such, the *fengjian* system became the driving force in unifying the political and cultural lives of ancient China. Over the course of a century, Zhou dominance resulted in a high degree of political and cultural unity that had never been witnessed in China since the emergence of civilization. There is little doubt that the Western Zhou represented a new page in China's political and cultural development.

However, history is usually a mixture of continuity and change. They are complementary to each other and indispensable for understanding the bigger picture. In fact, the old narrative that emphasizes the *fengjian* system was simply a historiographic generalization. From a periodized perspective, the prevalence of the *fengjian* institution in China was a continuous process that was not completed until late in the Western Zhou period, when the Four Lands 四土 were all under the dominance of *fengjian* states. Yet during the early-Western Zhou period, the limitations of Zhou state power prevented rulers from imposing the *fengjian* institution upon conquered lands universally. Instead, the Zhou adopted a Shang political precedent in various instances so as to allow concentration of political resources and to strive for the greatest extent of territorial control. Although the continuation of the Shang political system can be dealt with at various scales, this article highlights the Southern Lands from a macro-geopolitical perspective as a place where the old governing traditions persisted. It therefore brings us to the question of a territorial administrative system that was peculiar to the south.

To start from a conceptual level, one immediately discerns that the *fengjian* institution refers primarily to those Ji- and Jiang-surnamed regional states garrisoning the conquered lands in the north. They constituted the core power of the Western Zhou political makeup. But China was not an empty space when the Zhou dynasty was established. Clans tracing their histories to pre-Zhou, each headed by their ruling lineages and having their settled territories, existed in every corner of the Western Zhou polity. They were also incorporated into the Western Zhou state system through an institution different from the *fengjian* one, namely *baofeng* 褒封, a concept coined by Sima Qian that literally means "honorary entitlement."

Summarizing records seen in pre-Qin texts, such as *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 and "Yueji" 樂記, Sima Qian distinguished between *baofeng* and *fengjian*, saying that:

To commemorate the previous sage kings, King Wu nominally granted (*baofeng*) a decedent of Shennung the land of Jiao, that

of the Yellow Emperor the land of Ji, that of Emperor Shun the land of Chen, that of the Great Yu the land of Qi. After this, he established (*feng*) the states of the meritorious ministers and advisors. The first on the list, Shi Shangfu, was established at Yingqiu, which was the Qi State. Zhou Gong Dan, his younger brother, was established at Qufu, which was the Lu State. Zhao Gong was established at Yan, and two of his younger brothers, Shuxian and Shudu at Guan and Cai respectively.

武王追思先聖王，乃褒封神農之後於焦，黃帝之後於祝，帝堯之後於薊，帝舜之後於陳，大禹之後於杞。於是封功臣謀士，而師尚父爲首封。封尚父於營丘，曰齊。封弟周公旦於曲阜，曰魯。封召公奭於燕。封弟叔鮮於管，弟叔度於蔡。²²

The historical accuracy of the legendary sage kings cannot be taken at face value, but it provides an analytical framework for understanding the post-conquest political situation.²³ What Sima Qian argued for here is the conceptual differentiation between the act of establishing new regional states and the recognition of the old ones. According to him, *fengjian* refers to the newly established Qi, Lu, Yan, Guan, and Cai by the royal clansmen at strategic locations. While *baofeng* distinguished itself from *fengjian* in that it was a recognition of the de facto existence of independently originated clans pre-existing before the Zhou conquest, as in the case of Jiao, Zhu, Ji, Chen, and Qi. As Jin Jingfang 金景芳 sums up:

Baofeng specifies that prior to this, there were already established states, and what [the Zhou kings did] was simply to honor them. While new *feng [jian]* means that they were now beginning to establish new states where none had existed before. 褒封表明前此已有封地，今只是褒大之而已。新封...是原無封地，今始立國。²⁴

As such, the *fengjian* states represented Zhou's direct intervention in the conquered lands, while the *baofeng* ones represented the con-

²² Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006; hereafter, *SJ*), sect. "Zhou benji" 周本紀, j. 4, p. 127; transl. William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records: The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1994) 1, p. 63. I make necessary word changes and interpolations to be consistent with my own terminology.

²³ Zhou Shucan 周書燦, "Youguan Zhouchu Chen, Qi fengjian de jige wenti" 有關周初陳、杞封建的幾個問題, and "Zhouchu feng xianshengwang zhi hou shishi xulun" 周初封先聖王之後史事續論, in idem, *Xi Zhou wangchao jingying situ yanjiu* 西周王朝經營四土研究 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 26-43.

²⁴ Jin Jingfang 金景芳, "Zhouli dasitu, Liji Wangzhi fengguo zhi zhi pingyi" 周禮大司徒、禮記王制封國之制平議, in Renwen zazhi bianji weiyuanhui 人文雜誌編輯委員會, ed., *Xian Qinshi lunwenji: Renwenzazhi zengkan* 先秦史論文集, 人文雜誌增刊 (Xian: Renwen zazhi bianjibu, 1982), pp. 97-103.

tinuation of the original ruling structure.²⁵ Grantees' titles of *hou* 侯, *bo* 伯, *zi* 子, and *nan* 男 under *baofeng* were symbols of their acceptance of Zhou suzerainty and official recognition by the Zhou court of their customary rule over their lands and people. Culturally, as each of them originated independently, they preserved their cultural tradition while having connections with the metropolitan culture after the Western Zhou conquest. Although enjoying less visibility in received classics, the number of the *baofeng* polities must have been phenomenal. They represented the original governing traditions tracing back to pre-conquest times, dispersed in every corner in the Zhou domain. After the Zhou conquest of Shang, they continued to exist and interacted with the Zhou people in various ways.

The Peng state 儂國 cemetery discovered in Hengshui 橫水, Jiang county 絳縣, Shanxi province,²⁶ allows us to have a glimpse of a *baofeng* state and how it fit into the Western Zhou political context. Maria Khayutina demonstrates that Peng was ruled by a Kui 媿-surnamed lineage who were ethnically related to Gui Fang 鬼方 and the Di 狄 people who were recorded in early histories. While striving to participate in the Western Zhou political and social communities, and becoming more Sinicized over time, they nonetheless maintained a separate identity.²⁷

Records show that the Peng state was of relatively equal status with the Ji-clan states. They intermarried with the nearby Jin and other major Ji lineages, and the descendants of these intermarried couples held prominent positions in the Zhou court. Given this historical context, Khayutina further argues that the Peng state demonstrated agency through some sort of “peer polity” cultural competition with the nearby Jin state.²⁸ The discovery at Hengshui, and what Khayutina has found, reveal the complexity of the Western Zhou political landscape and the dynamic relations between the Zhou and non-Zhou peoples during Western Zhou.

Khayutina's case study also highlights the critical roles played by each of the Ji-surnamed *fengjian* states in their respective regions. They were the hub of local political and social lives, and through

²⁵ Gu Jiegang has said: “These states were essentially a creation of Zhou's conciliatory policy 此等封國實爲周之一種懷柔政策。” See Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Shi Nianhai 史念海, *Zhongguo jiangyu yan'geshi* 中國疆域沿革史 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2017), p. 33.

²⁶ Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 et al., “Shanxi Jiang xian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu fajue jianbao” 山西絳縣橫水西周墓發掘簡報, *WW* 8 (2006), pp. 4–18.

²⁷ Maria Khayutina, “The Tombs of the Rulers of Peng and Relationships between Zhou and Northern Non-Zhou Lineage (Until the Early Ninth Century B.C.),” in Edward L. Shaughnessy, ed., *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P., 2017), pp. 71–132.

²⁸ Khayutina, “Tombs of the Rulers of Peng,” p. 114.

them various kinds of connection and interaction with the non-Zhou lineages were achieved. Therefore, it is perhaps no coincidence that in each geographical region in north China during the early-Western Zhou dynasty, at least one *fengjian* state was stationed to coexist with the *baofeng* ones.²⁹

In the Fen River valley was the state of Jin, for instance, in whose proximity were the Peng, the Ba 霸, and Yang states 楊國.³⁰ In Shandong, the states of Qi and Lu coexisted with a myriad of small polities dispersed around the Shandong Peninsula, such as Xue 薛, Zhu 邾, Xiaozhu 小邾, Zhu 鑄, Lai 萊, Si 郛, and so on.³¹ In the northern Hebei region, the Yan State, in proximity to a series of ethnically different polities as recorded in Ke Lei 克罍.³² Even in the capital area, the Zhou itself was surrounded by miscellaneous lineages on the periphery of the Royal Domain, such as the Yu State 潁國 (in Baoji),³³ Jing Bo 涇伯 (in Lingtai 靈臺, Gansu province.³⁴ or the recently discovered polity in Yaoheyuan 姚河塬, Ningxia province.³⁵ Material culture as well as inscriptional sources demonstrate that those states situated at the dynastic frontiers actively participated in the Zhou state by, for example, forging marriage alliances, joining court-led military expeditions, and taking part in state rituals.³⁶

In contrast, the political situation of the Southern Lands, where only *baofeng* states existed, states that stayed relatively aloof from the

²⁹ For a summary of W. Zhou regional states and surrounding subsidiary lineages discovered archeologically, see Liu Xu 劉旭, “Xi Zhou jiangzhi de kaoguxue kaocha: jian ji Zhou wangchao de tongzhi fanglue” 西周疆至的考古學考察, 兼及周王朝的統治方略, in Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文獻研究所, ed., *Qingtongqi yu jinwen* 青銅器與金文 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017) 1, pp. 261–73.

³⁰ The Ba State Cemetery is located at Dahekou 大河口, Yicheng county 翼城縣, Shanxi province. See Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, “Shanxi Yicheng Dahekou Xi Zhou mudi” 山西翼城大河口西周墓地, *KG* 7 (2011), pp. 9–18. For the Yang state, see the Sishier Nian Lai Ding 四十二年逖鼎 (NA 0745–6).

³¹ Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *The Historical Atlas of China* 中國歷史地圖集 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1996) 1, No. 17–18, W. Zhou period. Excavated sources vindicated the existence of these states during the Zhou dynasty. See Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, *Tengzhou qian zhangda mudi* 滕州前掌大墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2005); Zaozhuangshi bowuguan 棗莊市博物館, *Xiaozhuguo yizhen* 小邾國遺珍 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2006); Zhugong Fugai 鑄公簠蓋 (*Jicheng* 04574); Li Feng et al., *Longkou guicheng* 龍口歸城 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2018); 郭仲璽 Sizhong Fu (NA 1042, 1045–6); Shandong daxue kaoguxi 山東大學考古系, “Shandong Changqingxian xiantai Zhou dai mudi” 山東長清縣仙人台周代墓地, *KG* 9 (1998), pp. 11–25.

³² NA 1368.

³³ Lu Liancheng 盧連成 et al., *Baoji Yu guo mudi* 寶雞潁國墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988).

³⁴ *Jicheng* 05226–7, 05848.

³⁵ Ma Qiang 馬強, “Ningxia pengyangxian yaoheyuan xi Zhou yizhi” 寧夏彭陽縣姚河塬西周遺址, *KG* 8 (2021), pp. 3–22.

³⁶ Sun, *Many Worlds under One Heaven*.

activities in the metropolitan areas, challenges our general understanding of the dynamics within the Western Zhou state. This argues for there having been a different sort of political institution in the south.

THE STATES IN THE SOUTH DURING EARLY WESTERN ZHOU

In researching the Zhou-era southern states, scholars customarily regard as foundational Xu Shaohua's 徐少華 monograph titled *Zhoudai nantu lishi dili yu wenhua* 周代南土歷史地理與文化 (*Historical Geography and Culture of the Southern Lands during the Zhou Dynasty*).³⁷ Following the framework set up by Gu Donggao 顧棟高 in “Chunqiu lieguo juexing ji cunmie biao” 春秋列國爵姓及存滅表,³⁸ and expanded by Chen Pan 陳槃 (1905-1999) in his three-volume magnum opus,³⁹ Xu combined excavated sources with transmitted texts to clarify state (or lineage) names, aristocratic titles, surnames, histories, and locations of the twenty-eight states (lineages) in the south. He continues to work on this subject with recent archeological advancements in Hubei and Henan.⁴⁰

However, two shortcomings probably exist in Xu's monograph. Firstly, he generally uses the entire Zhou dynasty as the time frame, without further periodization; this makes it difficult to represent the history of the Southern Lands dynamically. In addition, although Xu categorizes the states geographically, he still uses the individual states as units of research. These two shortcomings prevent him from summarizing or identifying certain common elements manifested by the southern states during a specific period.

From a periodized point of view, fourteen states sprawled over the Southern Lands during the early Western Zhou period. They included the States of E 鄂, Zeng 曾, Liao 蓼, Tang 唐, Li 厲, Xie 謝, Fang 房, Deng 鄧, Hu 胡, Xian 弦, Fu 復, Cai 蔡, Xi 息, and Chu 楚. Based on previous scholarship, plus my own research, I tabulate the essential information regarding these states (or lineages) as below.

³⁷ Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*.

³⁸ Gu Donggao 顧棟高, *Chunqiu dashi biao* 春秋大事表 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), pp. 563-608.

³⁹ Chen Pan 陳槃, *Chunqiu dashi biao lieguo juexing ji cunmie biao zhuan yi* 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表讓異 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009).

⁴⁰ Xu Shaohua, *Jing Chu lishi dili yu kaogu yanjiu* 荆楚歷史地理與考古研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2010). Xu sees all the political entities as “states,” but some should be more correctly understood as “lineages.” Maria Khayutina proposes the concept of lineage-based polity to denote the nature of these small-scale political entities of the Bronze Age. See Khayutina, “Shang muo Zhou chu jiang, he zhijian jiaotongxian shang de jiazu zhengti: yi Xi bang weilu 商末周初江、河之間交通線上的家族政體，以息邦為例，in Xu Shaohua et al., eds., *Chu wenhua yu Changjiang zhongyou zaoqi kaifa guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 楚文化與長江中游早期開發國際學術研討會論文集 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2021), pp. 415-29. In this paper, I do not go into the issue, and use “state” for all these.

TRIPLEX FORMATION OF EARLY W. ZHOU

Table. Fourteen States Comprising Southern Lands in Early W. Zhou

REGION	STATE NAME	EARLY W. ZHOU LOCALE	SURNAME	ARIST. TITLE	PERIOD IN SOUTH
Suizao corridor 隨棗走廊	E 鄂	Anju town 安居鎮, Suizhou city 隨州市	Jie 媿	<i>hou</i>	early W.-late W. Zhou ⁴¹
Suizao corridor	Zeng 曾	Yejiashan 葉家山, Suizhou city	non-Ji	<i>hou</i>	early W. Zhou– Warring States
Suizao corridor	Liao 蓼	Tongbai county 桐柏縣	Ji 己	unk.	unknown; probably pre- Zhou–E. Zhou ⁴²
Suizao corridor	Tang 唐	Tangxian town 唐縣鎮, Suizhou city ⁴³	non-Ji	<i>hou</i>	probably early W. Zhou, or earlier to 505 BC ⁴⁴
Suizao corridor	Li 厲	Yindian town 殷店鎮, Suizhou city	unk., non-Ji	<i>hou</i>	early W. Zhou or earlier, to? ⁴⁵
Nanyang basin 南陽盆地	Xie 謝	Nanyang city 南陽市	Ren 任	unk.	early W. Zhou or earlier, to late W. Zhou ⁴⁶
Nanyang basin	Fang 房	Fangcheng county 方城縣 and Ye county 葉縣	Qi 祈	unk.	early W. Zhou or earlier, to late Spring and Autumn ⁴⁷
Nanyang basin	Deng 鄧	Xiangyang city 襄陽市	Man 曼	<i>hou</i>	early W. Zhou or earlier to 678 BC ⁴⁸
Huai River	Hu 胡	Fuyang city 阜陽市	Kui 媿	<i>hou</i>	early W. Zhou or earlier to 495 BC ⁴⁹
Huai River	Xian 弦	Xianju Dian 仙居店, Guangshan county 光山縣	probably Kui	Zi	unknown; prob- ably pre-Zhou to 655 BC ⁵⁰
Huai River	Fu 復	Tongbai county	Kui	unk.	late Shang or Early W. Zhou–E. Zhou ⁵¹
Huai River	Cai 蔡	Shangcai county 上蔡縣	Ji 姬	<i>bo</i>	early W. Zhou to 447 BC ⁵²
Huai River	Xi 息	Luoshan county 羅山縣	unk., non-Ji ⁵³	<i>bo</i>	late Shang–early W. Zhou ⁵⁴
Han River	Chu 楚	Yicheng city 宜城市 ⁵⁵	Mi 半	<i>zi</i>	late Shang or earlier to 223 BC

“unk.” = “unknown” “Arist.” = “Aristocratic”. *Notes start overleaf.*

⁴¹ The E state at Anju town is testified by a group of ritual bronzes cast by E Hou dated to early W. Zhou. But the archeological report has never been published and is accessed only through exhibition catalogues. See Suizhoushi bowuguan 隨州市博物館, *Liyue Handong: Hu-bei Suizhou chutu Zhoudai qingtongqi jinghua* 禮樂漢東, 湖北隨州出土周代青銅器精華 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012). See also, Suizhou shi bowuguan 隨州市博物館, *Suizhou chutu wenwu jingcui* 隨州出土文物精粹 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), pp. 19-33; and Zhang Changping 張昌平, “Lun Suizhou Yangzi Shan xin chu E guo qingtongqi” 論隨州羊子山新出噩國青銅器, in idem, *Shang Zhou shiqi nanfang qingtongqi yanjiu* 商周時期南方青銅器研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2016), pp. 148-59.

⁴² Xu Shaohua, “Gu Liao guo lishi dili kaoyi” 古蓼國歷史地理考異, in Xu, *Jing Chu lishi dili*, pp. 37-45. The Liao ruling lineage originated from one of the eight descending branches of the ancient Zhurong clan 祝融八姓. The latter originated in the Central Plain but migrated to peripheral regions during Xia and Shang. I suggest that the Liao state had been in the south by W. Zhou. For the migration history of the Zhurong, see Li Xueqin, “Tan Zhurong baxing” 談祝融八姓, *Jiangnan luntan* 江漢論壇 2 (1980), pp. 74-77.

⁴³ Yu Zonghan 俞宗漢, “Wushi ru Ying zhizhan youguan wenti tantao (fu): Tang guo diwang kao” 吳師入郢之戰有關問題探討, 附, 唐國地望考, in Zhang Zhengming 張正明, ed., *Chushi luncong: Chuji* 楚史論叢, 初集 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1984), pp. 118-21. Another theory places the Tang state in Tanghe county 唐河縣; see Shi Quan 石泉, “Cong Chunqiu Wushi ru Ying zhiyi kan gudai Jing Chu dili” 從春秋吳師入郢之役看古代荆楚地理, in idem, *Gudai Jing Chu dili xintan* 古代荆楚地理新探 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1988). The recent discovery of a group of Spring and Autumn bronzes inscribed with “Tang Hou 唐侯,” looted from Yidigan 義地崗 in Suizhou, suggests that the Tangxian town theory is more plausible.

⁴⁴ *Zuo zhuan*, Ding 5; Yang, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, p. 1551.

⁴⁵ Xu Shaohua, “Gu Ligu lishi dili kaoyi” 古厲國歷史地理考異, in idem, *Jing Chu lishi dili yu kaogu yanjiu*, pp. 12-26.

⁴⁶ The Xie state was abolished by king Xuan and replaced by Shen 申國. See *Shijing*, “Song-gao 崧高,” and Zhong Ranfu Gui 仲禹父簋, *Jicheng* 04188-9. See also Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 47-54. Although the Xie state has not been identified archeologically, sporadic bronze discoveries in Nanyang city confirm the existence of a Bronze Age settlement dated to early- to mid-W. Zhou. One of the bronzes discovered has been published, stylistically revealing a hybrid of metropolitan and provincial features. See Liu Xin 劉新 and Liu Xiaolei 劉小磊, eds., *Jijin moying* 吉金墨影 (Zhengzhou: Henan meishu chubanshe, 2016), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁷ Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 151-55.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 11-19. Shi Quan, “Gu Deng guo, Deng xian kao” 古鄧國、鄧縣考, in Shi, *Gudai Jing Chu dili xintan*, pp. 109-11. Wang Xianfu 王先福, “Zhou dai Deng guo diwang kao” 周代鄧國地望考, in Xu Shaohua and Yan Changgui 晏昌貴, eds., *Jing Chu lishi dili yu Changjiang zhongyou kaifa* 荆楚歷史地理與長江中游開發 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2009), pp. 23-32.

⁴⁹ Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 213-15. The Huiyingji Ding 胡應姬鼎 also provide information to the history of the Hu State during the early W. Zhou period. See Li Xueqin, “Huiyingji Ding shishi” 胡應姬鼎試釋, in *Chutuwenxian yu guwenzi yanjiu* 出土文獻與古文字研究 6 (2015), p. 109.

⁵⁰ Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 88-93.

⁵¹ Xu Shaohua, “Fuqi, Fuguo yu Chu Fuxian kaoxi” 復器、復國與楚復縣考析, *BIHP* 80.2 (2009), pp. 197-216. Xu Shaohua, “Zeng hou Jian zuo Kui qi zu jianshuo” 曾侯倬作媿器組簡說, *Guwenzi yanjiu* XXXX 31 (2016), pp. 110-14.

⁵² Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 163-77.

⁵³ Archeological and inscriptional data suggest that the Xi lineage during Shang survived into the early-W. Zhou period. This old Xi state did not take Ji as their surname. The Ji-surnamed Xi state, as recorded in *Zuo zhuan*, was established sometime after the early W. Zhou. See Zhu Jiping 朱繼平, *Cong huiyi zuqun dao bianhu qimin: Zhou dai Huai shui liuyu zuqun chongtu de dilixue guan cha* 從淮夷族群到編戶齊民, 周代淮水流域族群衝突的地理學觀察 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2011), pp. 62-64; Zhao Yanjiao 趙燕姣, “Gu Xiguo bianqian kao” 古息國變遷考, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 3 (2014), pp. 29-35; Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 80-82.

Except for a few issues that need further discussion, it is immediately discernible that most of the southern states were *baofeng* ones originating from non-Ji or non-Jiang clans who had existed before the Zhou conquest of Shang. Among them, the E state was arguably the most important.

As a Jie-surnamed lineage, E traced its history back to the late-Shang era, appearing in *Shiji* and Shang oracle-bone inscriptions.⁵⁶ After the Zhou conquest, the E lineage relocated to the south and established themselves northwest of modern Suizhou city.⁵⁷ During the mid-Western Zhou period, E state became the leading power among southern states and assumed the title of Border Defender 馭方,⁵⁸ suggesting their special status in the south. They also managed to marry a daughter into the royal court.⁵⁹ The E State finally rebelled against Zhou rule during the reign of king Li and launched massive warfare that threatened to overthrow the Zhou dynasty. They were defeated and eventually forced to relocate to the Nanyang region.⁶⁰

(Tbl. notes, cont'd. ☞)⁵⁴ Archeological discovery at Luo Shan, Xi lineage cemetery, confirms their existence in the south as early as late Shang. See Xinyang diqu wenguanhui 信陽地區文管會 et al., “Luoshan Mangzhang Houli Shang Zhou mudi disanci fajue jianbao” 羅山蟒張後李商周墓地第三次發掘簡報, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 1 (1988), pp. 14–20. See also Henan sheng Xinyang diqu wenguanhui 河南省信陽地區文管會 et al., “Luoshan Tianhu Shang Zhou mudi” 羅山天湖商周墓地, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 2 (1986), pp. 153–97; and Xinyang diqu wenguanhui et al., “Luo Shan Mangzhang Houli Shang Zhou mudi dierci fajue jianbao” 羅山蟒張後李商周墓地第二次發掘簡報, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 4 (1981), pp. 4–13.

⁵⁵ The location of W. Zhou Chu is a much-debated issue. For a summary, see Barry B. Blakeley, “In Search of Danyang: Historical Geography and Archaeological Sites,” *EC* 13 (1988), pp. 116–52. See also Blakeley, “The Geography of Chu,” in Constance A. Cook and John S. Major, eds., *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 1999), pp. 9–13; and Xu Shaohua, “Chu du Danyang diwang tansuo de huigu yu sikao 楚都丹陽地望探索的回顧與思考,” in Xu and Yan, eds., *Jing Chu lishi dili*, pp. 51–63. Although a definite conclusion regarding this issue has yet to be drawn, recent paleographical and archeological research suggests that the Chu capital of Danyang was most probably located around the Yicheng region during the early W. Zhou; see Li Xueqin, “You xinjian qingtongqi kan Xi Zhou zaoqi de E, Zeng, Chu” 由新見青銅器看西周早期的鄂、曾、楚, *WW* 1 (2011), pp. 40–43; also Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, “‘Chuju’ de xingzhi, zuozhe ji xiezuo niandai” 楚居的性質、作者及寫作年代, *Tsinghua daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 清華大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 4 (2011), pp. 29–33; and Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵, *Chuguo ducheng yu hexinqi tansuo* 楚國都城與核心區探索 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 2009), pp. 209–15.

⁵⁶ *SJ*, sect. “Yin benji” 殷本紀, 3, p. 106; Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 19–21.

⁵⁷ Dong Shan 董珊, “Yi Zun, Yi You kaoshi” 疑尊、疑卣考釋, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊 9 (2012), pp. 71–80.

⁵⁸ *Jicheng* 02810, 02833–4; Shaughnessy, “Shi ‘yufang’ 釋御方,” *Guwenzi yanjiu* 9 (1984), pp. 97–109.

⁵⁹ *Jicheng* 03928–30.

⁶⁰ *Jicheng* 02833. After being annihilated by king Li's Zhou force, the remaining E elites were deported to Nanyang and existed there for a couple of generations. On bronzes retrieved from E state aristocratic tombs at Xiaxiang Pu 夏响鋪, Nanyang city in 2011, see Henan sheng wenwu ju nanshui beidiao bangongshi 河南省文物局南水北調辦公室 et al., “Henan Nanyang Xiaxiangpu E guo mudi M1 fajue jianbao” 河南南陽夏響鋪鄂國墓地M1發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 江漢考古 4 (2019), pp. 36–46. See also related reports in the same issue.

The state of E is a classic example of a *baofeng* state. The governance there demonstrated agency in its negotiated political strategy that neither denied nor totally accepted Zhou rule. Detailed historical narratives of the other southern states are less documented, though they all appear to have shared similar backgrounds with E, thus testifying to the adoption of a political institution rather distinct from the *fengjian* system in the north.

Some might argue that the Zeng, Tang, and Cai states were Ji-surnamed states and that the *fengjian* approach prevailed in the south during early-Western Zhou. A close examination of the current evidence suggests this to be inconclusive.

The Zeng State

Recent archeological discoveries in Suizhou related to Zeng have attracted scholarly attention and stirred debate. For the purpose of this article, I only focus on the issue of Zeng's ruling lineage surname during early Western Zhou, since surnames were the iconic feature distinguishing *fengjian* from *baofeng* situations. In particular I expose the extent to which, and limits of, recent archeological finds in the context of my tackling certain controversies. In brief, there are three approaches to studying the early-Western Zhou state of Zeng clan affiliation, narrative inscriptions, female surname-bearing inscriptions, and archeological evidence. None prove to be conclusive.

The early-Western Zhou vessel Kang Gui 罔簋,⁶¹ cast by Zenghou Kang 曾侯罔, was dedicated to his late father Nangong 南公.⁶² Because Nangong is also mentioned in the inscription narrating the founding history of Zeng that is inscribed on the Zeng Hou Yu Zhong 曾侯與鐘 vessel,⁶³ excavated from Wenfengta 文峰塔 and dated to the late-Spring and Autumn period, it is clear that the Nangong lineage ruled the Zeng state continually since early Western Zhou on up to Spring and Autumn. As such, since Zeng Hou Yu traces his remote ancestor back to Houji 后稷, saying "I am the great-great grandson of [Hou] Ji 余稷之玄孫,"⁶⁴ it becomes an often-cited evidence that the Nangong lineage

⁶¹ NB 1752.

⁶² Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所 et al., "Hubei Suizhou Yejiashan M65 fajue jianbao 湖北隨州葉家山M65發掘簡報," *Jiangnan kaogu* 3(2011), pp. 3-40; Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Hubei Suizhoushi Yejiashan xi Zhou mudi" 湖北隨州市葉家山西周墓地, *KG* 7 (2010), pp. 31-52.

⁶³ NB 0488.

⁶⁴ NB 0490. Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., "Suizhou Wenfengta M1 (Zenghou Yu mu), M2 fajue jianbao" 隨州文峰塔 M1(曾侯與墓)·M2發掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 4 (2014), pp. 3-51; Fan Guodong 凡國棟, "Zenghou Yu bianzhong mingwen jianshi" 曾侯與編鐘銘文柬釋, *Jiangnan kaogu* 4 (2014), pp. 61-67.

who ruled Zeng originated from the Ji clan.⁶⁵

However, it should be stressed that the late-Spring and Autumn period was a time when fabricating ancestral origins was commonplace, as in the case of the Wu state.⁶⁶ It seems better to interpret the ancestral statement on the Zeng Hou Yu Zhong vessel as a subjective statement written for contemporary purposes than as recording the actual past. At most, the inscription corroborates the Kang Gui 罔簋 inscription where it says that the Zeng state was founded by Nangong, whose lineage ruled the Zeng state continually. However, the statement identifying the ruling lineage of Zeng as a scion of Houji is highly questionable.⁶⁷

The second approach identified the Nangong 南公 mentioned in Kang Gui with the Nangong Kuo 南宮括 seen in transmitted texts and the Nangong lineage 南宮氏 seen in bronze inscriptions. Some inscriptions bearing female surnames related to the Nangong lineage have been identified. The two Nangong Ji Ding 南宮姬鼎 vessels, both excavated from M6o81 at the Tianma-Qucun 天馬曲村 cemetery, carry the inscriptions “Nangong Ji made this treasured vessel 南宮姬作寶尊鼎,” suggesting the possibility that the Nangong lineage was a Ji-surnamed lineage.⁶⁸

However, the archeological context of M6o81 is too complex to warrant a precise interpretation of the inscriptions. According to the official report, the man in M6o81 is male. The tomb is orientated N-S, in accordance with the Ji clan’s custom, but it also contains a sacrificial dog, suggesting its affiliation with the Anyang tradition. The buried bronze objects further complicate the picture. The ritual bronzes in the tomb span late-Shang to a much later phase of early-Western Zhou.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Jianghan kaogu bianjibu 江漢考古編輯部, “Suizhou wenfengta Zeng hou Yu mu’ zhuanjia zuotanghui jiyao” 隨州文峰塔曾侯與墓專家座談會紀要, *Jianghan kaogu* 4 (2014), pp. 52-60.

⁶⁶ Wang Ming-ke 王明珂, *Huaxia bianyuan* 華夏邊緣 (Taipei: Yunchen chubanshe, 1997), pp. 255-87.

⁶⁷ The inscription contains many inaccuracies, such as mentioning “governing the Huai barbarians 君此淮夷” and “having the Yangtze and the Xia River 臨有江夏.” Huai barbarians did not have contact with the Zhou people until the mid- to late-W. Zhou. The next cited phrase contradicts what we know of Zeng territory, which was in the Suizao region. These imprecisions undermine the credibility of the entire inscriptions.

⁶⁸ NA 0925-6. Han Wei 韓巍, “Du ‘shouyang jijin’ suoji liuze” 讀首陽吉金瑣記六則, in Zhu Fenghan, *Xinchu jinwen yu Xi Zhou lishi* 新出金文與西周歷史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), p. 204.

⁶⁹ For the excavated materials, see Zou Heng 鄒衡 et al., *Tianma, Qucun 1980-1989* 天馬, 曲村1980-1989 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000), pp. 335-52. The date of the bronzes excavated from this tomb span several generations. The square *ding* 鼎 (M6o81:85), the un-inscribed *ding* (M6o81:3), the *jue* 爵 (M6o81:42) and the two *gui* 簋 (M6o81: 81, 82) appear to be late-Shang. The *pan* 盤, decorated with two rows of cicada motifs on its neck and ring foot respectively, matches exactly the decoration on Dan Pan 玝盤 (Jicheng 10067) and should be dated to the time of king Cheng. In addition, the Bo You 伯卣 and Bo Zun 伯尊 (NA 0927-28), deco-

But the unconventional style of the two Nangong Ji Ding vessels renders them difficult to date. Measuring 16.4 cm in height and 14.4 cm in diameter, their miniature size makes it difficult to be contextualized into the prevalent chronological sequence of ritual bronzes.

Given that M6o81 consists of an amalgam of bronzes from different periods and regions, the lack of a precise date of the Nangong Ji Ding inscription renders it impossible to interpret their presence in a male tomb. It can be explained by either the practice of *fen qi* 分器 or vessels that were cast by the tomb occupant's wife or mother. Without knowing the tomb occupant's surname, it is impossible to identify whether Ji belongs to the tomb occupant or to his female relatives. Therefore, the Nangong Ji Ding cannot be evidence proving that the Nangong lineage was Ji surnamed.

Scholars also cite two newly published Nangong Pengji Gui 南宮棚姬簋 vessels (*Mingtu* 4603, 4464, see figure 1, recto);⁷⁰ they see it as evidence to argue for a Ji-surnamed Nangong lineage.⁷¹ But the two Nangong Pengji Gui 南宮棚姬簋 are not scientifically excavated and authenticated. Despite the appearance on both inscriptions of spacers (a small piece of bronze placed between the mold and the core when casting), advancement in forgery technology has undermined the effectiveness of using spacers as a criterion of authenticity. In addition, the inscription of *Mingtu* 4603 is published only with a picture of the inscription, making it rather suspicious. The other (*Mingtu* 4464), judging from the unconventional rendition of several of its characters (see those specially indicated in figure 1), is of dubious authenticity.

From an archeological perspective, the local tradition in burial practices is at odds with the metropolitan culture characterizing Ji-family aristocrats that we see in the north. The E-W orientation of the tombs,⁷²

rated with a disconnected *taotie* at the center and flanked by strokes of feathers, matches that of the Kang Hou Feng Ding 康侯封鼎 (*Jicheng* 02153), dated to king Cheng. But both the Bo You and Bo Zun are characterized by a lowered center of gravity and a relatively measured calligraphic style, suggesting a date later than kings Kang or Zhao.

⁷⁰ The abbreviation "*Mingtu*" refers to the bronze inscription catalogue edited by Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012).

⁷¹ Han Wei, "Cong Yejiashan mudi kan xi Zhou Nangong shi yu Zeng guo: Jianlun 'Zhou chu sixing shuo'" 從葉家山墓地看西周南宮氏與曾國, 兼論周初賜姓說, in Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學出土文獻研究所, eds., *Qingtongqi yu jinwen* 青銅器與金文 (第一輯) 1, pp. 106-7.

⁷² Sun Hua 孫華, "Zhou dai qianqi de Zhou ren muzang" 周代前期的周人墓葬, in Han Wei 韓偉, ed., *Yuan wangji: Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo huadan sishi zhounian jinian wenji* 遠望集, 陝西省考古研究所華誕四十周年紀念文集 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 284-85; Zhang Changping, "Lun Suizhou Yejiashan mudi M41 deng ji zuo muzang de niandai yiji mudi buju" 論隨州葉家山墓地M1等幾座墓葬的年代以及墓地布局, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 8 (2012), pp. 77-79.

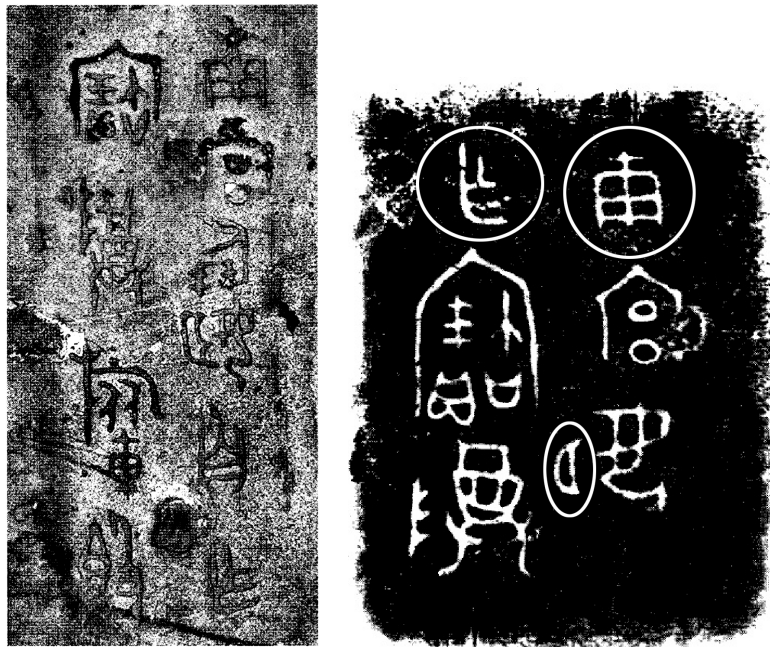


Figure 1. *The Two Nangong Pengji Gui* 南公倮姬簋

Mingtú 4603, left, and 4464. Both figures based on Mingtú (cited n. 70, above). The white ellipses placed on 4464 draw attention to the forms of particular characters on the rubbing.

the use of solar names on the sacrificial vessels,⁷³ and the presence of waist pits and sacrificial dogs,⁷⁴ showed affiliation with Anyang burial customs.

In sum, despite the new evidence from Yejiashan Cemetery, Wengfengta, and other inscriptional sources, the surname of the Zeng state's earliest rulers remains undetermined. Current evidence is insufficient to prove that they originated from the Ji royal family. On the other hand, the strong Shang cultural characteristics identified archeologically suggest that they were more likely from a non-Ji lineage who carried forward over several centuries their affiliation with the Shang and southwestern traditions, until the Eastern Zhou period.⁷⁵ In this context,

⁷³ Zhang Maorong, "Zhou ren buyong riming shuo" 周人不用日名說, in idem, *Guwenzi yu qingtongqi lunji* 古文字與青銅器論集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002), pp. 217–22.

⁷⁴ Many Chinese archeologists associate the presence of waist pits with the Shang clans; but this has been contested; see Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2006), pp. 192–94. Still, Yejiashan cemetery's wide use of mortuary customs associated with Anyang are at variance with the customs of the Ji clan.

⁷⁵ For a similar view on the clan affiliation of Zeng state, see Olivier Venture, "Zeng: the

it seems appropriate to interpret the appearance of Zhou cultural traits in their material culture as manifesting a generally shared metropolitan culture among Zhou elite during early-Western Zhou's expansion instead of as evidence of being a *fengjian* state in the Southern Lands.

The Tang State

The Tang state is generally regarded as a Ji surnamed lineage based on Wei Zhao's 韋昭 commentary on *Guoyu* and even later traditions.⁷⁶ However, inscriptional evidence suggests something different as regards their clannish affiliation.

The Zhong Zhi 中觶 vessel records a place, Geng 庚, where king Zhao held a *zhen lu* 振旅 ceremony during his first southern campaign.⁷⁷ Li Xueqin identified Geng with Tang 唐 and argued that the Tang state had existed in the south by the time of early Western Zhou.⁷⁸ Although Zhong Zhi confirms the existence of the Tang state by then, it is silent about the Tang lineage's clan affiliation.

Two recently published inscriptions dated to a slightly later period provide clues as to the surname of Tang's ruling lineage. The first, the Ke Shi Gui 柯史簋 inscription, discovered at Ping Dingshan 平頂山, the Ying state cemetery, and dated to the second half of the mid-Western Zhou period, records a marriage between the Ke (or Kao 考) lineage and the Tang lineage. The inscription goes: "Ke Shi made Tang Si this tureen as her dowry 柯史作唐姒媵簋."⁷⁹

The inscription indicates that the vessel served as a dowry made by the Si 姒 surnamed Ke Shi for his daughter, who married into the Tang state. Huan Jinqian 黃錦前 suggests that the Ke lineage was located in the eastern Henan and southwestern Shandong regions, where most of the Si surnamed states clustered around.⁸⁰ The geographical proximity of this region with the Ying state and the Suizao corridor suggests that this refers to the Tang in Suizao.

Rediscovery of a Forgotten Regional State," in Gábor Kósa, ed., *China across the Centuries: Papers from a Lecture Series in Budapest* (Budapest: Dept. E. Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University), pp. 1–32.

⁷⁶ Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 57. *Guoyu*, "Zhengyu 鄭語," p. 461.

⁷⁷ *Jicheng* 06514.

⁷⁸ Li Xueqin, "Panlong Cheng yu Shang chao de nantu" 盤龍城與商朝的南土, in idem, *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu*, p. 15.

⁷⁹ Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan 河南省文物考古研究院 et al., "Henan Ping Dingshan Ying guo mudi M257 fajue jianbao" 河南平頂山應國墓地M257發掘簡報, *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古 3 (2015), pp. 9–21.

⁸⁰ Huang Jinqian 黃錦前, "Ying guo mudi M257 chutu Kaoshi Gui dushi" 應國墓地M257出土考史簋讀釋, *Chutu wenxian* 出土文獻 11 (2017), pp. 31–35.

Furthermore, the archeological context of the Ke Shi Gui vessel reveals something worth investigating. The tomb occupant is male, and dated to a time one generation later than the caster of the Ke Shi Gui himself. The official report suggests that the daughter of Tang Si, the owner of the Ke Shi Gui, might have married into the Ying state. The man in the tomb was the husband of Tang Si's daughter. Tang Si gave this bronze vessel from her dowry to her daughter upon her marriage, which ended up in her husband's tomb.⁸¹

Somewhat speculative, the theory does explain the presence of the Ke Shi Gui in a Ying state male tomb one generation later. But if it is true, it proves that the daughter of Tang Si would not have taken the Ji surname. According to the Zhou people's principle of exogamy, had the Tang state in the south taken the Ji surname, Tang Si's daughter should have taken her surname from her father's line, namely the Ji clan. Since it was certain that the Ying state was from the Ji clan, it was highly improbable that the Tang state be from the same clan.

In a similar vein, the Yangxiaoshu Lifu Ding 陽小叔斨父鼎 records: "Yangxiaoshu Lifu made this treasured vessel for Gongshu Ji 陽小叔斨父作龔叔姬寶鼎."⁸²

Huang Jinqian dates this vessel to the early part of the Spring and Autumn period. He also identified Yang with Tang, and Gongshu Ji as Yangxiaoshu's wife.⁸³ Although being from a later period, this is direct evidence that the Tang lineage should not be Ji-surnamed as per the principle of exogamy.

The Cai Lineage

There is no doubt that the Cai lineage originated from the Zhou royal lineage. *Shiji* states that Cai Shudu 蔡叔度 was "king Wen's son and a younger brother of king Wu." Using inscriptional sources, Xu Shaohua confirms that the Cai lineage bore a Ji surname and existed in the south since early-Western Zhou times.⁸⁴ However, the presence of Cai in the south during early Western Zhou should represent a form of exile instead of military colonialism.

⁸¹ Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan et al., "Henan Ping Dingshan Ying guo mudi M257 fajue jianbao," pp. 9-21.

⁸² Wu Zhenfeng, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji tuxiang jicheng xubian* 商周青銅器銘文暨圖像集成續編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016 [cf. note 70, above]) #0215, pp. 264-65.

⁸³ Huang Jinqian, "Youxinjian yangxiaoshu lifuding kan shujiding deng tongqi ji xiangguan wenti" 由新見陽小叔斨父鼎看叔姬鼎等銅器及相關問題, in idem, *Zengguo tongqi mingwen tanze* 曾國銅器銘文探蹟 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2020), pp. 73-78.

⁸⁴ Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, pp. 165-72. The Caishu Ge 蔡叔戈 (NA 0341), dated to early W. Zhou, provides another contemporary evidence related to Cai Shu 蔡叔.

Scholarly opinion is still divided regarding the geography and members of the so-called Three Supervisors 三監,⁸⁵ but a consensus is reached that Cai Shudu was one of them. According to *Shiji*, the Cai lineage was banished after the so-called Eastern Campaign of Zhou Gong 周公東征:

[Zhou Gong] executed Wugeng, killed Guanshu, and exiled Cai-shu. When Zhou Gong banished him, he gave him an entourage of ten chariots and seventy infantrymen ... After being banished, Caishu Du died. His son, Hu, revised his behavior, following virtue and complying with goodness. Zhou Gong heard of this and raised up Hu to be a Minister of the Lu state and the Lu was well administered. At this point, Zhou Gong spoke to King Cheng and reestablished Hu at Cai, in order to uphold the sacrifices to Cai-shu. This was Cai Zhong.

誅武庚，殺管叔，而放蔡叔，遷之，與車十乘，徒七十人從... 蔡叔度既遷而死。其子曰胡，胡乃改行，率德馴善。周公聞之，而舉胡以為魯卿士，魯國治。於是周公言於成王，復封胡於蔡，以奉蔡叔之祀，是為蔡仲。⁸⁶

Sima Qian did not explicitly mention where Cai Shudu was banished to. But he went on to say that king Cheng “reestablished Hu at Cai 復封胡於蔡.” The textual context implies that Cai Shudu was banished to Cai and died immediately. His son, showing signs of rehabilitation, served in the Lu state and was ultimately reestablished at Cai to continue the sacrifices to Cai Shudu.

The scenario recorded in *Shiji*, though written in a much later period, is circumstantially corroborated by the inscription carried in Cai Zun 蔡尊.⁸⁷ As such, the earliest Cai should be understood as an exiled lineage instead of as a *fengjian* state in the south. This is observable from the name “Cai Zhong 蔡仲,” which uses “*zhong* 仲,” the birth order designation, as his alias. This Cai remained an individual lineage for two generations until the time of Cai Gong Hou 蔡宮侯, its third generation in the south,⁸⁸ whose regnal time can be roughly estimated to be around that of kings Zhao and Mu. His elevation to become a

⁸⁵ For a discussion of debates over the Three Supervisors, see Lei Chinghau, “Jinwen zhong de ‘Guan’ di jiqi junshi dili xintan” 金文中的關地及其軍事地理新探, *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 26 (2012), pp. 235–40.

⁸⁶ *SJ*, “Guan Cai shijia,” p. 1565. Trans. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. ed., *The Grand Scribe’s Records: The Hereditary Houses of Pre-Han China, Part I*, Vol. 6 (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 2006), p. 195. The banishment of Cai Shu was also recorded in *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 1 and Ding 4.

⁸⁷ *Jicheng* 05974; Xu, *Zhoudai nantu*, p. 165.

⁸⁸ *SJ*, “Guan Cai shijia,” p. 1566.

hou symbolized a formal recognition of the status of a regional state by the Zhou court.⁸⁹

In contrast, the Cai was not a regional state during the first two generations. According to *Shiji*, the entourage that escorted them to the south were “ten chariots and seventy infantrymen,” suggesting their relocation was an exile. Therefore, the southern migration of the Cai lineage should be conceived as a form of exile rather than as a colonial force imposed by the Zhou court. Their presence in the south does not contradict my summary of the overall political makeup of the Southern Lands.

WAYS OF CROSS-REGIONAL INTERACTION

The previous section demonstrated that political power in the south during early Western Zhou consisted of a patchwork of pre-existing polities that accepted Zhou suzerainty after the Zhou conquest. Their ways of interaction with the Zhou central court reveal a rather loose relation somewhat different from the activism by which we might characterize the *fengjian* states in the north.

The Zhou court maintained connections with the southern states through sporadically held conventions. The Taibao Yuge 太保玉戈 inscription, dated to the reigns of either king Cheng or king Kang, records an official trip along the Han River southward by Taibao (the Grand Protector) to inspect the south. He convened the southern rulers and commanded the marquis of Li to clear the road for the event. The text reads:

The King, at Feng, ordered Taibao to inspect the southern states. Traveling along the course of the Han River, he convened the leaders in the south. He ordered the Marquis of Li to clear the roads. 王在豐，令太保省南國，帥漢，徂殷南，令厲侯辟。⁹⁰

One new source records another trip by a high official from the court to the south. The Hubo Ding 胡伯鼎 vessel, dated to the early-Western Zhou period, records:

During Gong’s inspection tour, he traveled through the southern states and finally reached the Han River. During his visit to the

⁸⁹ For a discussion of the meaning of *hou* and *bo* in the W. Zhou aristocratic system and the definition of regional states as small but full-fledged governmental systems, see Li, “Feudalism’ and Western Zhou China,” pp. 125–92, esp. 132–35.

⁹⁰ Li Xueqin, “Taibao yu ge yu Jiangnan de kaifa” 太保玉戈與江漢的開發, *Chu wenhua yanjiuhui* 楚文化研究會, ed., *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究論集 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1991) 2, pp. 5–10.

Hu state, Gong awarded Bo...with five strings of treasured jades and four horses. 惟公省，徂南國，至于漢。厥至于胡。公賜伯□寶玉五品、馬四匹。⁹¹

Li Xueqin suggests that the inscription records another trip by Zhao Gong from Luoyi to the Huai river region.⁹²

The above two inscriptions demonstrate the southern states' submission to Zhou suzerainty. But the authority of the Zhou court seemed to be asserted sporadically by royal delegates. The convention recorded in Taibao Yuge seemed ad hoc; so was the meeting at Hu state. There is no evidence suggesting that conventions in the south were conducted regularly or were institutionalized.

Other forms of contact did take place, but the inscriptions that record them suggest them to be private.⁹³ The Xibo You 息伯卣 inscription records:

In the eighth month of the King's Calendar, Xi Bo was awarded cowries by Jiang. He therein made this treasured vessel for his deceased Father Yi. 唯王八月，息伯賜貝于姜，用作父乙寶尊彝。⁹⁴

The "Jiang" in the inscription is identified with the famous "Wang Jiang 王姜," the queen dowager, dated to the regnal periods of kings Kang and Zhao.⁹⁵ Although this vessel cannot be firmly dated to a specific regnal year, it should be noted that inscriptions involving Wang Jiang are mostly dated during king Zhao's southern campaigns.⁹⁶ In this historical context, the inscription of Xibo You does not explicitly mention anything related to Zhao's military attempts, suggesting that the meeting between Xibo and Wang Jiang should be deemed private in nature.

In a similar vein, the Yu Jue 孟爵 vessel text, dated to a slightly earlier period, records another case of contact. The inscription reads:

When the King conducted his first exorcising ceremony in Cheng Zhou, the King ordered Yu to ingratiate Deng Bo. 唯王初率于成周，王令孟寧鄧伯。⁹⁷

⁹¹ Li Xueqin, "Shi shuo xin chuxian de Hu guo fang ding" 試說新出現的胡國方鼎, *Jianghan kaogu* 6 (2015), pp. 69-70. Empty boxes represent unreadable characters.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ For the criteria defining the activities as private, see Maria Khayutina, "Studying the Private Sphere of the Ancient Chinese Nobility through the Inscriptions on Bronze Ritual Vessels," in Bonnie S. McDougall and Anders Hansson, eds., *Chinese Concepts of Privacy* (Leiden, Brill, 2002), pp. 81-96.

⁹⁴ *Jicheng* 05386.

⁹⁵ Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, appendix 2, pp. 208-9. The form of the Xibo You, the belly swelling as it approaches the ring foot, confirms Shaughnessy's dating.

⁹⁶ Tang Lan 唐蘭, "Lun Zhou Zhao Wang shidai de qingtongqi mingke" 論周昭王時代的青銅器銘刻, *Guwenzi yanjiu* 2 (1981), p. 115-16.

⁹⁷ *Jicheng* 09104.

The verb “*ning* 寧,” meaning “*an* 安,” seems to be best interpreted in this context as “to appease 安撫.”⁹⁸ The caster, Yu, may have been the same person as the one associated famously with the Da Yu Ding 大盂鼎 and Xiao Yu Ding 小孟鼎 pieces.⁹⁹ It is unclear why the king sent Yu to appease Deng Bo. Since the verb *ning* 寧 was not part of the established Zhou official rituals, their communication seemed private.

The above inscription also demonstrates that Deng Bo was absent from the entreating ceremony at Cheng Zhou recorded in the Yu 鬲 vessel group,¹⁰⁰ and on the Shuzhe Ding 叔矢鼎;¹⁰¹ both confirm that the Yan and Jin states took part in this ceremony. Extensive participation by other regional rulers in the north seems plausible.

In contrast, the southern states had limited participation in the ceremonies held in the capitals. Even if they did, they were sidelined from the core. *Zuozhuan* records a “Royal Hunt at Qiyang 岐陽之蒐” held during the reign of king Cheng.¹⁰² By cross-referencing passages in *Guoyu*, it is known that the Chu state attended this convention merely as supporting staff and was excluded from the major oath-taking ceremony:

In the past, whenever King Cheng made vows with the regional rulers at Qiyang, since the Chu state were barbarians from Jing, they [were responsible for] arranging the reeds, placing the [wooden] position markers, and guarding the firewood with Xianmou; so [Chu] was not able to take an oath along with the rest. 昔成王盟諸侯于岐陽，楚爲荆蠻，置茅蕝，設望表，與鮮牟守燎，故不與盟。¹⁰³

What *Guoyu* records is corroborated by the Zhouyuan oracle bones.¹⁰⁴ There, the inscription numbered H 11: 4 records:

Qi Wei Chu 其微楚 (l. 1)
Jue liao shi 畢燎師 (l. 2)
Shi zhou liao 氏舟燎 (l. 3)¹⁰⁵

The Delphic nature of the inscription makes it difficult to interpret, but its relations with the Qiyang Convention seem apparent. Prevalent theories interpret the inscription as recording that representatives of

⁹⁸ Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986-), p. 44.

⁹⁹ *Jicheng* 02837, 02839.

¹⁰⁰ *Jicheng* 00935, 03824, 03825.

¹⁰¹ NA 0915.

¹⁰² *Zuozhuan*, Zhao 4; Yang, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, pp. 1250–51.

¹⁰³ *Guoyu*, “Jinyu,”; Xu, *Guoyu jijie*, p. 430.

¹⁰⁴ *Zhouyuan* H 11: 83, H 11: 14; see Cao Wei 曹瑋, *Zhouyuan jiaguwen* 周原甲骨文 (Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe, 2002), pp. 4, 14, 63.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Wei and Chu tended the firewood. They were excluded from taking an oath with the core states, suggesting the subsidiary role played by them in this event. The juxtaposition of Chu and Wei, one of the “South-western barbarians 西南夷” mentioned in the “Mushi” 牧誓 chapter in *Shangshu*, also reflects the subordinate status of the Chu people within the Western Zhou state.

In addition to occasional contacts and ceremony participation, the Zhou also provided educational opportunities for the southern elite. The Rong Zhong Ding 榮仲鼎 inscription (figure 2), dated to the reign of king Kang, provides an example regarding this aspect. The inscription reads:

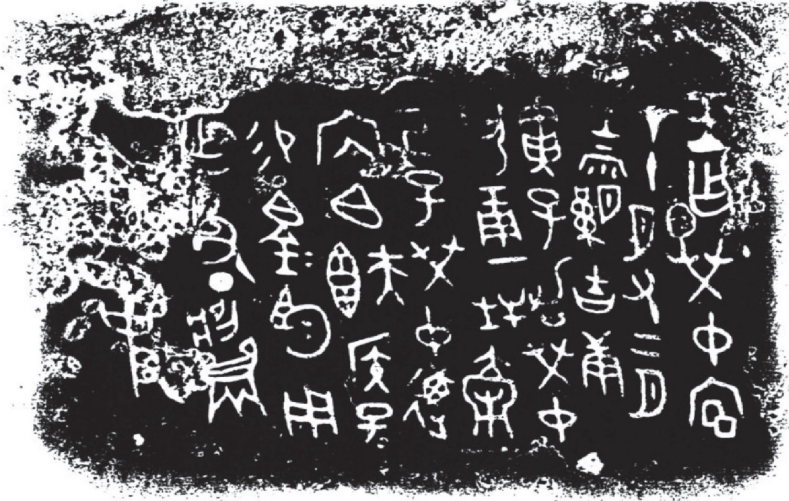


Figure 2. The Rong Zhong Ding 榮仲鼎

Image based on that found in 殷周金文暨銘文資料庫; see <https://bronze.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/qry_bronze.php>. The character xu 序 is the bottommost character of the first (rightmost) line of the inscription.

On *geng yin*, during the first auspiciousness of the first quarter of a month, the twelfth month of the year, the King established a school in Rongzhong’s community and acclaimed his achievement ... On *ji si*, Rongzhong summoned Ruibo and the son of Huhou. The son of Huhou was awarded one *jun* of white copper. 王作榮仲序¹⁰⁶,在十月又二月,生霸吉庚寅,王嘉榮仲...己巳,榮仲速芮伯、胡侯子。子賜白金鈞。¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ The character here (last of the first line) used to be transcribed as “gong 宮.” It should be corrected to “xu 序,” meaning a local school for children. The distinguishing criterion lies in the signfic at the center. In the case of *gong* 宮, the two squares at the center are separate: 𠩺 (H 37367), 𠩺 (Jicheng 06004), 𠩺 (Baoshan 2.7), and 𠩺 (Shuowen). In 序, the two squares touch each other 序 (small-seal script). See Li Xueqin, “Lun xinchuxian de Banfangding he Rongzhong fangding” 論新出現的夔方鼎和榮仲方鼎, *WW* 9 (2005), pp. 59–65.

¹⁰⁷ NA 1567.

This records the establishment of an aristocratic school at Rongzhong's residence. It went on to record attendance by Huhou's son, who was awarded copper probably due to his school performance. Combined with one other inscription seen in the Zhouyuan bones that mentions divination concerning whether to attack the Hu state,¹⁰⁸ it seems that the Hu state surrendered to the Zhou afterward and sent their prince to the Zhou court, probably both as a hostage and as a student.

The scenario in effect reveals the possibility that the Zhou court utilized a strategy prevalent among colonizers of the Western lands since antiquity, but now it was to engage the controlling southern elite. In the study of colonialism, a pattern has been identified that the dominant centers provide educational opportunities for social elites from their subjugated local polities. By requesting a select few to study in the political and cultural center, the educated local elites were expected to become pro-center after returning to their respective lands.¹⁰⁹ What happened to the Hu state seems to echo this strategy in establishing long-term political control by the Zhou center. It seems that after subjugating the Hu state militarily, the Zhou court requested its prince to be educated in the Zhou aristocratic traditions. Therefore, instead of being annexed and replaced by a colonial lineage from the Ji clan, the Hu state continued to rule its lands. But the Zhou managed to assimilate them through a royally commissioned, unified education system that included both Huhou's son and young Zhou aristocrats. As a result, some form of cultural blending and comradeship might have been fostered between the northern and the southern elites. From the point of view of the Hu state, connections with the leading authority might have helped to strengthen its power in the local society. Therefore, the Hu, though maintaining autonomy in the south, were unavoidably drawn into the Western Zhou system and became their local agents in governing the south.¹¹⁰

In the economic sphere, evidence suggests that the southern states owed tributary obligations to the Zhou court. Scholars have long speculated that the economical purpose of stationing states in the Southern Lands, particularly in the Suizao region, was to transport alloying

¹⁰⁸ Cao, *Zhouyuan*; H 11: 232.

¹⁰⁹ Concerning other instances of a strategic request that a foreign prince be sent to a political and cultural center as hostage-student, see Charles Brian Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109.1 (2005), pp. 21-75.

¹¹⁰ Creel speculated that sending heirs of regional lords to the royal Zhou court to be educated or simply to spend time there before succeeding to the local throne was in order to maintain stability in the regional states. Despite problems with dates, his theory can be verified by the text of the Rong Zhong Ding; Creel, *Origins of Statecraft in China*, pp. 403-5.

metals for the Zhou royal bronze foundries.¹¹¹ Some even suggest that the inscriptions of “*fu jin* 俘金” (*Jicheng* 03907, 05387) indicate that the purpose of King Zhao’s southern campaign was to acquire mineral resources.¹¹²

Mining activities in the middle Yangtze region during the Shang and the Western Zhou periods have been confirmed archeologically,¹¹³ but a critical study of the textual and archeological evidence suggests that this theory remains hypothetical. Geographically speaking, King Zhao’s southern campaigns focused on an area very distant from the copper mines along the Yangtze River basin.¹¹⁴ From the textual evidence, it is uncertain whether the southern states played a decisive role in the transportation or acquisition of ores for the bronze industry in the central court.

In the archeological realm, Wu Donming’s analysis of the data related to the bronze economy in the southeastern Hubei region confirms that the indigenous mining community had been involved in the broader metal exchange network with the polities in Suizao Corridor and the north. However, Wu’s work also demonstrates that the local mining communities in southeastern Hubei remained culturally and politically independent during the Western Zhou period. Instead of imposing direct political control over this region and tributary obligation on the southern states, the Zhou court relied more on local agents as intermediaries in acquiring metal resources from the south.¹¹⁵

As for the role played by the early-Western Zhou state of Zeng in the metal economy of the middle Yangtze, the recent discovery of two copper ingots excavated from M28 of Yejiashan Cemetery has drawn

¹¹¹ Peng Minghan 彭明瀚, “Tong yu qingtong shidai zhongyuan wangchao de nanqin” 銅與青銅時代中原王朝的南侵, *Jiangan kaogu* 3 (1993), pp. 47–49; Wan Quanwen 萬全文, “Shang Zhou wangchao nanjin lue tong lun” 商周王朝南進掠銅論, *Jiangan kaogu* 3 (1993), pp. 50–57.

¹¹² Tang Lan, “Xi Zhou tongqi duandai zhong de ‘Kang Gong’ wenti” 西周銅器斷代中的康宮問題, in The Palace Museum, ed., *Tang Lan xiansheng jinwen lunji* 唐蘭先生金文論集 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1995), p. 150; also Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, “Shi Qiang Pan mingwen jieshi” 史牆盤銘解釋, *WW* 3 (1987), p. 27.

¹¹³ Huangshi shi bowuguan 黃石市博物館, ed., *Tonglushan gu kuangye yizhi* 銅綠山古礦冶遺址 (Beijing: Wenwuchubanshe, 1999), pp. 183–84.

¹¹⁴ Zhang Changping, “Xia Shang shiqi zhongyuan yu Changjiang zhong you diqu de wenhua lianxi” 夏商時期中原與長江中游地區的文化聯繫, in idem, *Fangguo de qingtong yu wenhua* 方國的青銅與文化 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2012), pp. 163–70. Recent research on king Zhao’s southern campaigns holds that Zhao’s troops crossed the Han River around modern-day Xiangyang and attacked the area to the west of the middle Han River basin, far from the Tonglushan copper mine. See Lei Chinhai, “Xi Zhou Zhaowang nanzheng de chongjian yu fenxi” 西周昭王南征的重建與分析, *Wenshi* 文史 3 (2022), pp. 5–34.

¹¹⁵ Wu, *Bronze Economy*, pp. 26–74.

scholarly attention. Fang Qin 方勤 corroborates this discovery with the inscription “金道錫行” from the Zengboqi Fu 曾伯黍簠 vessel as evidence, arguing for Zeng state’s pivotal role in extracting precious metals for the Zhou court.¹¹⁶ However, none of the arguments produced holds water upon closer inspection. It should first be noted that the Zengboqi Fu is dated to early Spring and Autumn, so the association of “金道錫行” with Yejiashan copper ingots is anachronistic. In addition, a comprehensive analysis of the two copper ingots found in M28 of Yejiashan reveals that their chemical composition does not match any mining sites along the Yangtze River basin known so far. They were more likely gifts from Zhou kings, war loot, or exchange items with other regional states.¹¹⁷ Therefore, the meaning of the two copper ingots retrieved from M28 Yejiashan remains unclear.¹¹⁸ Combined with Wu Dongming’s argument for local production and consumption of bronzes in the Zeng state,¹¹⁹ it seems that the situation was more complicated than a unilateral flow of alloyed metals from the southern states to the central court.

We can see other evidence in later texts, namely in *Zuozhuan*, which preserves records related to the tributary obligations owed by the southern states to the Zhou court. In justifying their invasion of the Chu state, Guanzhong 管仲 is quoted saying:

Your offerings of bundled *mao* grass did not arrive. Thus, the king’s sacrifices were not supplied, and there was nothing to use for filtering wine. I, the unworthy one, am here to inquire about this. 爾貢包茅不入。王祭不共。無以縮酒。寡人是徵。¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Fang Qin, *Zengguo lishi yu wenhua: Cong “zuoyiyu Wenwu” dao “zuoyiyu Chuwang”* 曾國歷史與文化, 從左右文武到左右楚王 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018), pp. 172–84; *Jicheng* 04631. See Chen, *Cultural Interactions*, pp. 58–59.

¹¹⁷ Yu Yongbing 郁永彬 et al., “Hubei Suizhou Yejiashan xi Zhou mudi M28 chutu tongding xiangguan wenti yanjiu” 湖北隨州葉家山西周墓地M28出土銅錠相關問題研究, *Jiangan kao-gu* 5 (2016), pp. 100–7.

¹¹⁸ Isotope analysis of bronzes excavated from the Yejiashan site reveals a rather complicated picture. The indication is that lead resources used by the Zeng state foundry came from the eastern Qinling 秦嶺 region. On the other hand, a portion of the copper resources were from Tonglúshan but involve elements from other regions. See Yu Yongbin 郁永彬 et al., “Guanyu Yejiashan qingtongqi qian tongweisu bizhi yanjiu de jige wenti” 關於葉家山青銅器鉛同位素比值研究的幾個問題, *Nanfang wenwu* 南方文物 1 (2016), pp. 94–102. Probably, the Zeng state foundry combined mineral resources from various parts of China, some even from regions around the Royal Domain. Current evidence confirms that the Zeng partook in a transregional circulation network of metals, but the theory of a unilateral contribution of bronze resources from south to north overly simplifies the big picture. Further metallurgical research is much needed.

¹¹⁹ Wu, *Bronze Economy*, pp. 168–81.

¹²⁰ *Zuozhuan*, Xi 4, Yang, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, p. 290; trans. Durrant et al., *Zuo Tradition*, p. 265.

This is corroborated by another remark by the king of Chu himself. In tracing the history of the Chu people during the Western Zhou dynasty, king Ling of Chu 楚靈王 remarked:

In times past, our former King Xiongyi dwelt far off in the wilds of Mount Jing. Riding in a rugged wooden cart and clad in tattered hemp, he lived in the grasses of the plain. He trod over mountains and forests to serve the Son of Heaven, and all he had was a bow of peach wood and arrows of thorn to present as tribute to the royal court. 昔我先王熊繹辟在荆山，篳路藍縷以處草莽，跋涉山川以事天子，唯是桃弧棘矢以共禦王事。¹²¹

It seemed that from an earlier period the Chu people owed an obligation to offer a certain amount of “*mao* grass,” “peach wood,” and “arrows of thorn” to the Zhou court.

There are inscriptional sources dated to a slightly later period that provide clues to the tributary obligations imposed on the other southern states. The Shishan Pan 士山盤 and Jufu Xu 駒父盥 vessels both record efforts of tribute collection by Zhou officials in the south. The Shishan Pan mentions the collection by the royal delegate of “six types of grains 六藝.”¹²² Jufu Xu records another incident of collecting “*fu* 服” in the Huai River region, though it does not specify the items to be collected. In this context, *fu* could refer to either material corvée labor tribute to the authorities.¹²³

Whether these incidents reflected a regularized tributary system or were done ad hoc is uncertain. It is also impossible to know the tributes quantitatively. Judging from what *Zuozhuan* and the Shishan Pan record, the burden seemed to be relatively light, and the purpose might have been more symbolic than material. At most, their burden was limited to agricultural products or occasional labor. There are no signs of military obligations imposed on the southern states, a major form of an obligation imposed on the northern states.

In contrast to the extensive military cooperation between the Zhou court and the regional forces in north China, military contributions from the southern states were not documented by contemporary sources.¹²⁴

¹²¹ *Zuozhuan*, Zhao Gong 12, p. 1339; trans. Durrant et al., *Zuo Tradition*, p. 1483.

¹²² NA 1555 and *Jicheng* 04464, respectively; Chao Fulin 晁福林, “Cong Shishan Pan kan Zhoudai ‘fu’ zhi” 從士山盤看周代服制, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 6 (2004), pp. 4–9.

¹²³ Zhu Fenghan, “Shishan Pan mingwen chushi 士山盤銘文初釋,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 1 (2002), pp. 4–7. Chao, “Cong Shishan Pan kan,” p. 7.

¹²⁴ The only record arguably bearing on southern participation in the Zhou court’s military activities during the early W. Zhou might be the newly discovered Zeng Gong Qiu Zhong 曾公球鐘, tentatively dated to 646 BC. The inscription says: “When king Zhao campaigned in

The military arrangements during king Zhao's first southern expedition particularly expose the difference. As a war that mobilized half of the royal standing armies and that was widely participated in by the auxiliary forces in the north, the campaign was recorded in more than twenty-five inscriptions sponsored by war participants.¹²⁵ However, inscriptions involving the southern states are few and far between, and the persons are usually depicted as passive participants in the war.

Specific inscriptions carried by Zhong Yan 中甗 and Zhong Ding 中鼎 record a series of war preparations made by Zhong, a delegate from the Zhou court to the south. They mention a series of southern states, including Xie 謝, Fang 房, Deng 鄧, and E 鄂, but none was described as having taken part in the war.¹²⁶

One scenario recorded in the above-cited Zhong Yan provides a tell-tale example. It states that: “Bo Mai Fu deployed his men to garrison the sandbar in the middle of the Han River. 伯賈父乃以卒人戍漢中州.” The inscription mentions Zhong's arrival at Deng and goes on to mention “Han zhong zhou” (“sandbar in the middle of the Han River”). Geography suggests that the troops were stationed at the strategic Han River ford to the south of the state of Deng, modern-day Xiangyang city. Despite its proximity to, or even within the jurisdiction of, the Deng state, the royal troops were stationed at the location, suggesting that Deng was excluded from joining the Zhou force.

The Jing Ding 靜鼎 vessel records another scenario. Before the royal troops were mobilized from the north, king Zhao ordered Jing to “supervise the troops stationed at Zeng and E 司在曾、鄂師.”¹²⁷ The word “*zai* 在” suggests that those troops were not the local forces of the Zeng and E states but were royal forces stationed in the south. There is no mention of participation by Zeng and E in the entire war.

People can argue that the silence of southern participation results from limited literacy among the southern elite. Indeed, the power to write history mainly lay in the hands of the northern elite. But the in-

the south, he issued orders in Zeng: all [parties] should contribute to our enterprise; to support from all sides the Zhou. He bestowed upon [my ancestor] an axe, which is to be used in campaigning in the southern lands 昭王南行, 舍命于曾, 咸成我事, 左右有周, 賜之用鉞, 用征南方.” See Guo Changjiang 郭長江 et al., “Zenggongqiu bianzhong mingwen chubu shidu” 曾公球編鐘銘文初步釋讀, *Jiangnan kaogu* 1 (2020), pp. 3–31. This narrative, however, is not verified by contemporary sources. What it describes should be more appropriately interpreted in the contexts of Zeng's effort against the rising Chu State during the middle Spring and Autumn period.

¹²⁵ Lei, “Xi Zhou Zhaowang nanzheng,” pp. 5–34.

¹²⁶ See *Jicheng* 00949 and 02751, respectively.

¹²⁷ NA 1795.

scribed bronzes discovered at Yejiashan and Yangzishan as well as a handful of inscribed bronzes from the states of E, Xi, and Hu demonstrate the level of literacy shared by the southern elite.¹²⁸ The delicately decorated bronze vessels of a robust provincial style found in Yangzishan also testify to an independent and highly developed bronze industry owned by the E state during the early-Western Zhou period.¹²⁹ As one of the most important states in the south, it is hard to imagine that E left no records of any part taken in king Zhao's first expedition. It seems more likely that the war was conducted exclusively by northern participants.

In fact, the absence of evidence indicating southern participation in the war may not be an accident. Their armed forces might not have been qualified to join the new type of warfare developed by the Zhou people. Ever since late in the Shang period, the Zhou had institutionalized chariots as a main military force. "Chariotry," a term used by Stuart Piggott denoting the use of chariots on a large and systematic scale,¹³⁰ played a critical role in defeating the numerically superior Shang infantry at Muye 牧野.¹³¹ After the Zhou conquest of the Shang, Zhou aristocrats utilized chariot transport for military, administrative, economic, and ritual purposes. The institutionalized use of chariots also motivated the construction of the Zhou Road 周道, the official highway system of the Zhou dynasty.¹³²

The prominence of chariot transportation led to a new custom among the Zhou elite. Although the custom of burying chariots and bronze chariot fittings in tombs 車馬葬 is traced back to the Anyang period, it was not until the Western Zhou dynasty that it became widespread. Buried chariots dated to early in the Western Zhou have been found across Zhou's northern territories, ranging from Shaanxi, Ningxia, Shanxi in the west to Shandong and Hebei in the east.¹³³ In addition, starting from middle Western Zhou, the number of buried chariots and chariot fittings showed a pattern that roughly corre-

¹²⁸ For a discussion on the spread of literacy to the south, see Li Feng, "Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders: Evidence from the Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Zhou Period (1045–771 B.C.)," *BMFEA* 74 (2002), pp. 222–30.

¹²⁹ Zhang, "Lun Suizhou Yangzi Shan xinchu E guo qingtongqi," pp. 148–59.

¹³⁰ Stuart Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), pp. 10, 42.

¹³¹ Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Historical Perspectives on the Introduction of the Chariot into China," *HJAS* 48.1 (1988), pp. 228–31.

¹³² Lei Chinhau, *Zhou Dao: fengjian shidai de guandao* 周道, 封建時代的官道 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2011), chaps. 1–3.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 278–85.

sponds to the hierarchy of the Western Zhou aristocratic system.¹³⁴ In particular, the discovery of chariot instruments in tombs of the *shi* 士 rank suggests that all levels of the Zhou elite had widely shared chariot transportation.¹³⁵

In contrast, based on a comparative study of chariot and horse burials in the north, Chang Huaiying 常懷穎 demonstrates that the number of chariot burials was marginal in the Yejiashan Cemetery and that Zheng rulers sacrificed a relatively smaller number of horses during early Western Zhou. He argues that the lack of chariot burials and the sumptuary use of horses by the Zeng state in their funeral settings reflected the marginal role of chariot transportation and insufficient road infrastructure in the south then.¹³⁶ Socially speaking, chariot instruments have not been identified in the tombs of middle- or low-ranked aristocrats in the south so far, as considers early Western Zhou; this suggests that chariot transportation was limited to the top elite only. This restricted distribution of chariot fittings and the small number of sacrificed horses discovered suggest that “chariotry” did not exist in the south.

The lack of systematized chariot transportation in the south is corroborated by the absence of a Zhou Road, until king Zhao’s southern campaigns. The Zhong Yan 中甌 inscription records:

The King ordered that Zhong first inspect the southern states and [then] connect [their] routes. 王令中先省南國，貫行。¹³⁷

The inscription has recorded a war preparation operation ordered by king Zhao before the war. The term “*guan xing* 貫行” implies a working on and standardizing of the road system in the south to facilitate chariot traffic. This shows that it had been decades later than the north when the Zhou Road extended southward, and the only purpose of road construction was for the movement of king Zhao’s forces from the north. In a world where land-based transportation dominated, the absence of the Zhou Road hindered Zhou power in penetrating into the Southern Lands.¹³⁸ This in turn suggests that the southern states

¹³⁴ Beida lishixi kaogu jiaoyanshi 北大歷史系考古教研室, *Shang Zhou kaogu* 商周考古 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1978), pp. 205, 214; Wu Hsiao-yun 吳曉筠, *Shang Zhou shiqi chema maizang yanjiu* 商周時期車馬埋葬研究 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2009), pp. 111-46, 192-93.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-46.

¹³⁶ Chang Huaiying 常懷穎, “Zenghoumu de zangche ji xiangguan wenti” 曾侯墓的葬車及相關問題, *Jiangan kaogu* 5 (2015), pp. 53-78.

¹³⁷ *Jicheng* 00949.

¹³⁸ Long-distance water transport did not figure generally until the Spring and Autumn period. See Lei Chinhau, “The Emergence of Organized Water Transport in Early China: Its

enjoyed a higher degree of autonomy than those in the north. As a result, except for a few diasporic Ji-surnamed lineages, such as the Cai lineage and the daughter of Gong Taishi 公太史, who married into the south,¹³⁹ connections between the southern states and the Zhou court were sporadic. As opposed to direct intervention into local politics and a comprehensive reconfiguration of the political landscape by the Zhou court in the conquered land, for decades, the Zhou power handled Southern Lands in a relatively hands-off manner. The rationale for the choice of this “laissez-faire” policy is worth investigating.

REDEFINING THE TERRITORIALITY OF THE SOUTHERN LANDS

Previous discussions have illustrated contrasts between the *fengjian* territories in the north and the *baofeng* territories in the south. The northern *fengjian* states symbolized an extension of the Zhou royal power via kinship networks. In contrast, the southern *baofeng* states represented the original ruling powers who merely had a veneer of Zhou aristocracy.

As a group of closely related lineages who either derived from the royal clan or married with them, the *fengjian* states became the driving force in unifying the political and cultural landscapes in northern China. In contrast, the southern states represented a continuation of traditions already in sway in the south.

The northern states actively participated in Western Zhou governance, engaging in a variety of activities that helped keep them cohesive, such as diplomacy, state ceremonies, and military campaigns. Frequent communication made the construction of the Zhou Road imperative. But the southern states were only passively involved in the Western Zhou state. Contacts with the court were occasional and sometimes private. They were sidelined by the power core when taking part in state ceremonies. In addition, the southern states never

Social and Geographical Contexts,” in Clara Wing-chung Ho et al., eds., *Voyages, Migration and the Maritime World: On China’s Global Historical Role* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), pp. 45–90.

¹³⁹ *Jicheng* 02339, 02370, 03699. See also Zhang Yachu 張亞初, “Lun Lutaishan Xi Zhou mu de niandai he zushu” 論魯臺山西周墓的年代和族屬, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2 (1984), pp. 23–28. For comprehensive research on the marital relationships between the southern states and those in the north from the W. Zhou to the Spring and Autumn periods, see Chen Chao-jung 陳昭容, “Cong qingtongqi mingwen kan liangzhou hanhuai diqu zhuguo hunyin guanxi” 從青銅器銘文看兩周漢淮地區諸國婚姻關係, in *BIHP*, 75:4 (2004), pp. 635–97. Chen concludes that the number of brides married out from the southern states to the north was six times larger than that they took from the northern states. This indicates that the two areas were not of equal status within the dynastic system.

participated in any military movements with the northern forces, and the Zhou Road did not extend into the south until decades later than in the north, indicative of relatively autonomous status of Southern Lands from dynastic control.

The establishment of the regional states at strategic locations and their frequent interactions with the Zhou court increased political centralization and cultural uniformity among the elite of northern China. Quite the opposite, except for the nominal acceptance of Zhou suzerainty, the southern states maintained a high degree of political and cultural independence. Although the Zhou placed a few southern elites into the royal schools, separate cultural traditions persisted in the south, creating a combination of local style with metropolitan features on the bronzes discovered archeologically in the state of E.¹⁴⁰

The above comparison shows that the Zhou adopted a policy of relative noninterference toward the south, and the southern states should be more appropriately regarded as political allies of the Zhou king. It also testifies to the difference between the *baofeng* institution in the south and the *fengjian* system in the north.

This form of loose political relationship is reminiscent of that practiced by the Shang. In discussing the mechanism of territorial control adopted by the Shang kings during the Anyang period, it is generally agreed that the late-Shang state was a political aggregate headed by the Shang kings and supported by a network of regional polities.¹⁴¹ While each polity firmly controlled the agricultural production close to its centers and partook in a wider economic and cultural network between themselves and Anyang, the political relationships among individual polities were characterized by relative freedom in forming coalitions both among each other and with the dominant Shang. The maintenance of this loose confederation of autonomous polities thus required constant and conspicuous display of the Shang kings' power, both militarily and culturally, to both attract and enforce the local population's allegiance to the Shang state.¹⁴² Therefore, the way that the late-Shang

¹⁴⁰ Zhang Changping 張昌平, "Lun suizhou yangzishan xinchu de E guo qingtongqi" 論隨州羊子山新出的噩國青銅器, in *WW* 1 (2011), pp. 87-94.

¹⁴¹ K. C. Chang, *Shang Civilization* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1980), p. 210; David N. Keightley, "The Late Shang State: When: Where, and What?" in idem, ed., *The Origins of Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1983), p. 548.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 552. See also David N. Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000), pp. 56-58. Mainly using the Shang oracle bone sources, Li Xueshan 李雪山 analyzes four aspects of the relations between the Shang court and regional polities, including political, military, economic, and sacrificial practices. He concludes that relations were characterized by two traits, instability and a high degree of regional autonomy. See Li, *Shang dai fenfeng zhidu yanjiu* 商代分封制度研究 (Beijing: Zhong-

state controlled the local polities was based more on hegemony than on legitimacy.¹⁴³ The political geography of the Shang appears to have been fluid, as determined by the actual power of the Shang kings and the political relations between Anyang and the local rulers.

The fluidity that characterized the Shang political landscape was particularly evident in the south. For example, Panlong Cheng 盤龍城 may have been a Shang outpost imposed by the Erligang center to ensure the flow of copper sources from the mines in Tonglüshan 銅綠山, thus symbolizing Shang's direct political involvement in the middle Yangtze regions.¹⁴⁴ The power of Panlong Cheng waned before entering the Anyang period, and the geopolitical focus of the late-Shang state mainly centered around northern and northwestern Henan and the southeastern Shanxi regions.¹⁴⁵ With the retreat of Shang power in the south, there arose a series of regional Bronze Age cultures in the middle Yangtze regions, as witnessed by the archeological discoveries at places, such as Wucheng 吳城, Niucheng 牛城, and Dayangzhou 大洋洲. Cultural and economic networks of exchange between these regional cultures and Anyang existed on different scales,¹⁴⁶ but the geopolitical situation in the south appeared to be a patchwork of politically independent powers loosely in contact with the Shang center.

This was the political tradition that one should bear in mind to assess the situation in the south when the Zhou took over the Shang. Since the southern states existed in the south before the Zhou conquest, and sources testify to their contacts and fluid relations with the Shang

guo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), pp. 272–74; also Sun Yabing 孫亞冰 and Lin Huan 林歡, *Shangdai shi: Shangdai dili yu fangguo* 商代史, 商代地理與方國 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), pp. 257–58.

¹⁴³ Li, *Bureaucracy and the State*, p. 26. Campbell argues that the Shang kings did in fact possess legitimate authority originating from the high-god Di 帝 and supplemented it by a pantheon of deities and ancestors who reinforced the authority through sacrifices and state rituals. See Roderick Campbell, *Violence, Kinship and the Early Chinese State: The Shang and Their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2018), pp. 100–44. Shelach-Lavi also stresses Shang use of religious, ritual, and ceremonial display to demonstrate their royal legitimacy; see Shelach-Lavi, *The Archaeology of Early China* (New York: Cambridge U.P., 2015), pp. 224–25. While these interpretations enrich how we see the Shang state's operation, there is also no denying that even under religiously-granted royal legitimacy, the state's geographical extent must have been small. At most, the Shang sphere of influence was limited to a relatively confined area around modern-day northern Henan and southern Hebei provinces, and the boundaries of its political control were dynamic and unstable. For an actual sphere of influence, and its instability, the hegemonic model seems a more appropriate way to characterize late-Shang mechanisms for the control of remote polities.

¹⁴⁴ Rowan K. Flad and Pochan Chen, *Ancient Central China: Centers and Peripheries along the Yangzi River* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2013), pp. 125–30.

¹⁴⁵ Keightley, *Ancestral Landscape*, pp. 56–57.

¹⁴⁶ Shelach-Lavi, *Archaeology of Early China*, pp. 251–56.

court,¹⁴⁷ they must have long been accustomed to Shang political traditions. While submitting to the military and cultural superiority of the Shang kings, they maintained their internal autonomy. After the Zhou conquest, the early-Western Zhou state expansion mainly focused on the North China Plain and utilized the *fengjian* system to consolidate Zhou rule over conquered lands. At the same time, the Western Zhou court merely recognized the status quo of its Southern Lands. As opposed to imposing direct political dominance over the south, it carried on with the Anyang tradition that maintained sporadic interactions with the southern states in order to control them.

Why did not the early-Western Zhou state builders station royal relatives in the Southern Lands? It should first be noted that the Zhou court's reluctance to impose its men on the Southern Lands was not directly due to topographical barriers. Although separated from the North China Plain (including the Wei River valley) by mountains and rivers, there were communication channels that helped connect them. The Dan River valley connects the Wei River valley with the Nanyang basin, whence the Suizao corridor, the upper Huai River valley, and the middle Han River valley can be reached. The mountainous areas in western Henan 豫西山地 could also be passed via openings south of Luoyi, or by detouring along its eastern edge. The Fang Cheng 方城 pass leads directly into the Nanyang basin and to other southern geographical units. Such topographical difficulties never rendered the Southern Lands inaccessible.

Neither did long distances come into play. The Southern Lands were not particularly remote in terms of length. The distance from the Wei River valley to the Nanyang basin measures around 420 km. The direct route from Luoyang to Nanyang was around 200 km, and the detour route through Western Henan around 400 km. Moreover, the distance from the Wei River valley via the Zhou Road to the farthest regional states, such as Yan, Lu, and Qi, was only around 1,000 km.¹⁴⁸ If the Southern Lands were less than halfway to the remotest regional states in north China, the Zhou should have been physically capable

¹⁴⁷ The E state during the Shang is recorded in *SJ*, sect. "Yin benji 殷本紀," 3, p. 106. According to *Shiji*, E Hou was ranked as one of the Three Archons 三公 at the late-Shang court. Zeng in the south appears in Shang oracle bone inscriptions; see H 5504. See also Li, "Panlong Cheng yu Shang chao de nantu," p. 15. For the state of Tang, Xi, and Zeng during late-Shang, and their relations with the Shang court, see Sun and Lin, *Shang dai dili yu fangguo*, pp. 330-38, 431-32, 435-36. Contacts between the Chu people and the Shang were mentioned in the "Chu Ju 楚居" sect. of the Tsinghua Bamboo Slips; Li Xueqin, "Lun Tsinghua jian 'Chuju' zhong de gushi chuan shuo" 論清華簡“楚居”中的古史傳說, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1 (2011), pp. 32-33.

¹⁴⁸ The distances are calculated by Google Maps.

of colonizing them. Their not doing so, therefore, is explained less by the barriers of physical geography than by general reluctance.

I argue that the Zhou's adoption of a "hands-off" strategy in the south was the result of a rational calculation. Any state-building is a negotiation between geographical reality and available resources. In their systematic geopolitical reengineering, the Zhou leaders aimed at minimizing the cost while maximizing the profits of territorial control, thus resulting in the adoption of various modes of territorial control to cater to the geographical particularity of each of the regions in question. What the Zhou faced after its conquest of Shang was an unequally developed world, the differences between north and south. This regional imbalance traced back to the time when civilization first arose in China.

As the Erlitou Culture emerged as the first full-fledged civilization in China, previous late-neolithic regional cultures were all waning,¹⁴⁹ and a structural imbalance between north and south came about. For the subsequent millennium, the north generally prevailed over the south both culturally and politically, except during middle Shang, when a trend toward decentralization can be observed and several Bronze Age cultures in the middle-Yangtze basin enjoyed a period of interim prosperity.¹⁵⁰ But with the rise of Anyang as the cultural, political, and economic center of China, northern superiority over the south was again reasserted. At the same time, the previously prosperous regional Bronze Age cultures in the south waned.¹⁵¹

This was the big picture that the Zhou polity faced when it became the new ruler of China. Struggling with the need to concentrate their resources on the more prosperous north while keeping the south under control, the Zhou rulers, through the *fengjian* institutions's use of kinsmen, prioritized the pacification of the north. At the same time, they allied with a group of lesser elites to control the secondary Southern Lands.

Whoever was the mastermind behind this grand project, it demonstrates that the establishment of the Western Zhou state was a meticulously calculated enterprise. The Zhou people had a clear idea of the

¹⁴⁹ Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *The Archaeology of China: From the Late Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2012), pp. 213–52.

¹⁵⁰ Robert Bagley, "Shang Archaeology," in Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1999), pp. 171–80; and Li Liu and Xingcan Chen, *State Formation in Early China* (London: Duckworth, 2003), pp. 141–45.

¹⁵¹ Shi Jingsong 施勁松, *Changjiang liuyu qingtongqi yanjiu* 長江流域青銅器研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), pp. 312–15.

geopolitical big picture and knew how to use resources economically. This resulted in a triplex shape of territoriality early in the dynasty: The Wei River valley and the Luoyi region as the heartlands directly administered by the royal court; the North China Plain and the Fen River regions were the conquered regions governed by royal kinsmen; and at the same time, the Zhou shared power and collaborated with a series of secondary elites to keep the Southern Lands in peace.

The Zhou, just like any successful conquering entity in human history, demonstrated a golden rule in the process of their territorial expansion and state-building: use the least to gain the most. The effective use of their resources enabled them to turn a new page in Chinese political history.

CONCLUSION

Although long shrouded in a remote past that could only be dealt with in the most general sense, recent excavated sources have gradually allowed us to zoom in on the Western Zhou dynasty both temporally and spatially. The research here has focused on the Southern Lands during the early part of Western Zhou and contextualized them as they fit into the Western Zhou's state-building process. By digging into the nature of the fourteen states (lineages) that existed in the south during the early-Western Zhou period, I perhaps have demonstrated that although seemingly taking aristocratic titles and state names, as those were done in the north, the southern states were essentially preexisting polities, or *baofeng* states, that long existed before the Zhou conquest. For pragmatic reasons, the Zhou recognized their legitimacy to rule and required nominal acceptance of Zhou suzerainty. Contrasting the substantial alteration of the political and cultural landscapes brought about by the *fengjian* institution in the north, the Southern Lands remained loosely bounded by the Zhou court and carried on with their own political and cultural traditions.

We must then reconsider the territoriality of the early-Western Zhou state. Instead of being viewed as a bifurcated system, it can be better understood as having the triplex territoriality as mentioned. The application of different governing principles to differing regions can be explained by the principle of parsimony in territorial control. This also reveals the complexity of the makeup of the Western Zhou state. The early-Western Zhou political system that this research exposes suggests that it can no longer be generalized as a "delegatory kin-ordered settlement state." Instead, the Zhou people adopted mul-

tuple traditions and governing principles to expand their domain to its largest geographical extent.

In addition to reconceptualizing the early-Western Zhou state and its territories, my research may provide a revisionist perspective to interpret later Western Zhou history. Guided by the traditional narrative of Western Zhou history, scholarly attention tends to focus on challenges from the northwestern frontier in discussing the decline and fall of the Zhou dynasty. However, the current study indicates that the southern frontier was the most alienated region within the Zhou dynasty. Its role in the demise of the Zhou dynasty should be highlighted.

Using the model I term triplex territoriality as a starting point, I suggest that king Zhao's southern campaigns can be understood as an attempt to transform the loosely-bounded Southern Lands into a region of direct control. His catastrophic defeat in the Han River valley irrevocably weakened Zhou power and further alienated the south from Zhou rule. During the reign of king Mu, the southern states in the Huai River region started to rebel against Zhou rule.¹⁵² A critical study of the inscriptions recording these conflicts reveals the weakening of the Zhou state.¹⁵³

Southern instability culminated in the rebellion led by E Hou Yufang, which involved the entire Southern states against Zhou rule during the reign of king Li.¹⁵⁴ The Zhou barely survived this revolt and managed to reassert authority over the south through the *fengjian* of the so-called "*Hanyang zhu Ji*" of king Xuan.¹⁵⁵ This effort, combined with a series of political initiatives targeting the southern states,¹⁵⁶ became a major achievement of king Xuan that inspired comment about his early reign's being a period of "*zhong xing* 中興" (revitalization of the dynasty).¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² *Jicheng* 04122, 04322, 04519-20, 05425; NA 1961.

¹⁵³ Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Xi Zhou zhi shuaiwei" 西周之衰微," in idem, *Gushi yiguan* 古史異觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), pp. 205-12.

¹⁵⁴ *Jicheng* 02833.

¹⁵⁵ The establishment of "*Hanyang zhu Ji*" (see n. 5, above) is traditionally dated to the early-W. Zhou period. This is anachronistic. It was a measure by king Xuan to reassert authority in the south after pacifying E Hou's massive rebellion. Recent archeological research provides an example of *Hanyang zhuji* as established in the south from the late-W. Zhou to early Spring and Autumn. See Huang Fengchun 黃鳳春 et al., "E guo you jixing xiang jixing zhuanbian jiqi qianxi de beijing fenxi: jianlun E guo mieguohou yingshu hanyang zhuji zhiyi" 鄂國由姁姓向姬姓轉變及其遷徙的背景分析, 兼論鄂國滅國後應屬漢陽諸姬之一, *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 中原文化研究 6 (2020), pp. 91-96. Only after this did W. Zhou become a "kin-ordered" bifurcated territorial system.

¹⁵⁶ Wen Xu 文盨 (NB 1634), Xijia Pan 兮甲盤 (*Jicheng* 10174), and Jufu Xugai 駒父盨蓋 (*Jicheng* 04164).

¹⁵⁷ Li Xueqin, "Wenxu yu Zhou Xuanwang zhongxing" 文盨與周宣王中興, *Wenbo* 文博 2 (2008), pp. 4-5.

But stability in the south was ephemeral. *Guoyu* records:

When king Xuan lost the armies of the southern states, he intended to manage the populace at Dayuan ... The king ultimately managed the populace. In the end, during the reign of king You, the Zhou dynasty collapsed. 宣王既喪南國之師，乃料民於大原 ... 王卒料之，及幽王乃廢滅。¹⁵⁸

Shiji dates this activity to the year 39 of king Xuan. The “*nan guo* 南國” in this context refers to the land between the Yangtze and the Han River.¹⁵⁹ According to the narrative, Zhou rule in the south suffered a complete military setback, resulting in consequences involving the northwestern frontier. (Dayuan was located in modern-day Guyuan 固原, Ningxia province.) Crises in both the southern and northwestern frontiers thus converged and led to the demise of the Zhou dynasty.

State-building is an art of resource management. Geopolitically speaking, the success of early-Western Zhou expansion lies in its concentration of state resources so as to pacify the more rewarding north, while conciliating the southern states through less costly means. The crisis of the Western Zhou state started when it could no longer keep the south under control through such parsimonious measures. The Western Zhou dynasty collapsed when challenges from the two frontiers converged.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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| H | Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiuso 中國社會科學院歷史研究所編, eds., <i>Jiaguwen heji</i> 甲骨文合集 |
| <i>Jicheng</i> | Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiuso 中國社會科學院考古研究所編, eds., <i>Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng</i> 殷周金文集成 |
| NA | Ch'en Chao-jung 陳昭容 et al., eds., <i>Xinshou Yin Zhou qingtongqi mingwen ji yingxiang huibian</i> 新收殷周青銅器銘文暨器影彙編 |
| NB | Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions Database
< http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~bronze/ > |
| <i>SJ</i> | Sima Qian 司馬遷, <i>Shiji</i> 史記 |

¹⁵⁸ *Guoyu*, “Zhouyu shang” 周語上, Xu, *Guoyu jijie*, pp. 23–25.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.