

On the Periphery of a Great “Empire”: Secondary Formation of States and Their Material  
Basis in the Shandong Peninsula during the Late Bronze Age, ca. 1000-500 B.C.E

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## **ABSTRACT**

On the Periphery of a Great “Empire”: Secondary Formation of States and Their Material Basis in the Shandong Peninsula during the Late Bronze-Age, ca. 1000-500 B.C.E.

Minna Wu

The Shandong region has been of considerable interest to the study of ancient China due to its location in the eastern periphery of the central culture. For the Western Zhou state, Shandong was the “Far East” and it was a vast region of diverse landscape and complex cultural traditions during the Late Bronze-Age (1000-500 BCE).

In this research, the developmental trajectories of three different types of secondary states are examined. The first type is the regional states established by the Zhou court; the second type is the indigenous Non-Zhou states with Dong Yi origins; the third type is the states that may have been formerly Shang polities and accepted Zhou rule after the Zhou conquest of Shang. On the one hand, this dissertation examines the dynamic social and cultural process in the eastern periphery in relation to the expansion and colonization of the Western Zhou state; on the other hand, it emphasizes the agency of the periphery during the formation of secondary states by examining how the polities in the periphery responded to the advances of the Western Zhou state and how local traditions impacted the composition of the local material assemblage which lay the foundation for the future prosperity of the regional culture.

By utilizing the rich archaeological data, epigraphic evidence and textual sources, the dissertation focuses on two research questions: First, how did cultural interactions play out in the region through possible processes of cultural adaption, assimilation, persistence, and resistance, and what are their material manifestations in the

archaeological record? Second, how did the political relationship between the peripheral states and the dynastic center change in variable degrees of dependency or autonomy? This study provides important insight into the issue of cultural interaction and secondary state formation and, by extension, into the social evolution of the Shandong area.

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CHRONOLOGY OF WESTERN ZHOU KINGS\*

PERIODIZATION	REIGN	DATE
PRE- CONQUEST	King Wen	1099/56-1050 B.C.
EARLY WESTERN ZHOU	King Wu Duke of Zhou King Cheng King Kang King Zhao	1049/45-1043 1042-1036 1042/35-1006 1005/3-978 977/75-957
MIDDLE WESTERN ZHOU	King Mu King Gong King Yih King Xiao King Yi	956-918 917/15-900 899/97-873 872? -866 865-858
LATE WESTERN ZHOU	King Li Gong He King Xuan King You	857/53-842/28 841-828 827/25-782 781-771

\* The absolute dates for Zhou kings follow those adopted in Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, xix, and continued in Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, xvii. Periodization follows that of Chen Mengjia; see *Xi Zhou tongqi duandai*, 354, 491-524.

*To my family*

## INTRODUCTION

Since the second half of last century, anthropologists and archaeologists have shown increasing interests in theories of social development and focused their attention particularly on the question of state formation.<sup>1</sup> To date, while the formation of the pristine or early state in China is recognized by most scholars who have discussed the issue from a comparative perspective within the framework of world civilization,<sup>2</sup> relatively few have examined or paid much attention to the process of the secondary formation of states in the peripheral areas of ancient China. Probably this was due to the impression that secondary state formation is a less crucial research topic than that of pristine states and it does not fit in the main evolutionary sequence of civilization. However, secondary state formation also poses equally interesting and fundamental questions: What strategies did the polities on the periphery take when encountering the expansion or colonization by a powerful core state? What kind of interaction took place that facilitated and naturalized the sociopolitical changes giving rise to these states? What roles did peripheral states co-play in the formation of Chinese civilization?

It is against this background that I propose my study of the cultural interaction

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<sup>1</sup> See Jonathan Friedman, "Tribes, States, and Transformation," in *Marxist Analysis and Social*

<sup>2</sup> See Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *State Formation of Early China* (London: Duckworth, 2003). Sarah Allan, "Erlitou and the Formation of Chinese Civilization: Toward a New Paradigm," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66.2 (2007):461-91. Bruce G. Trigger, *Understanding Early Civilizations: a Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Charles Keith Maisels, *Early Civilizations of the Old World: The Formative Histories of Egypt, the Levant, Mesopotamia, India and China* (London: Routledge, 1999).

and colonial encounter in the peripheral Shandong region, through examining the process of the secondary formation of states during the late Bronze Age (ca.1045-500 BCE).<sup>3</sup>

The Shandong region has been of considerable interest to the study of ancient China due to its location in the “Far East” of the central culture; it had developed an independent cultural sequence until the cultural integration with the Shang culture that began in the Upper Erligang 二里岡上層 culture period (1500-1400BCE). Oracle-bone inscriptions and archaeological materials provide important insights into the cultural and political advancement of Shang in this area.<sup>4</sup>

After the Zhou conquest of Shang, the power and prestige of the new dynasty was fully manifested in the early years when the Western Zhou state set out to expand its control. In the peripheral areas of the Shandong peninsula, many polities with quite different historical origins existed side by side. This circumstance suggests the cultural and ethnic complexity in the Shandong region. In contrast to its fast victory in the central plain, Zhou expansion in its “Far East,” the Shandong region, seems to have entailed a longer and more complex process of cultural integration. Archaeological discoveries particularly in the eastern portion of Shandong peninsula during the Western Zhou show distinctive non-Zhou features. Related possibly to Zhou’s continuous colonization activities in this area, the phenomenon of mixture between the Zhou culture and the indigenous cultures across the eastern portion of Shandong peninsula became more and

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<sup>3</sup> This time range parallels the Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn periods. Regarding the exact date of Zhou conquest of Shang, more than twenty-six different proposals within the range of 1127-1016 BCE have been made in China and abroad. Here I adopt the date 1045BCE by following Edward Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp.217-35.

<sup>4</sup> Fang Hui, *Haidai diqu qingtong shidai kaogu* (Jinan: Shandong daxue, 2007), pp. 308-24.

more obvious. This ongoing process of Zhou expansion into Shandong can be demonstrated on the basis of both archaeological and inscriptional evidence supplemented by some textual records. Received texts clearly indicate that some non-Zhou states such as Lai 萊, Ju 莒, Zhu 邾, Zeng 鄆 and Shi 郛 were related to the so-called “Dong Yi” 東夷 (Eastern barbarian, the term used by the people in the central plain for the people who lived in the eastern peninsula).<sup>5</sup> Most of these states not only survived the Zhou collapse but continued to be active players into the Spring and Autumn period. Therefore, during the Western Zhou, there must have been a move among the indigenous people in Shandong to form their own states to confront the powerful expanding Zhou state.<sup>6</sup> But a systematic study of the formation and the social development of these non-Zhou states, and of the important role of the indigenous cultural traditions in shaping the direction of social changes in these states has not been attempted.

Besides these non-Zhou states, the regional states of Zhou origin are also very important political powerhouses in the Shandong region. They were colonies established by the Zhou court at strategic locations in the frontline to expand and promote Zhou’s political and social control in the new land. During the Spring and Autumn period, some of these regional states such like Qi 齊 started to form a regional culture, transforming from a former agent of the Western Zhou state to an independent state. It is interesting to explore how the regional states colonized and helped to manage Zhou’s expanded

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<sup>5</sup> Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dash biao lie guo jue xing ji cunmie biao zhuan yi* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1969), 2, pp.128-38; 4,304-5, 385-6, 388-93, 442-43.

<sup>6</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: the Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 BCE* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.313-18.

kingdom in the eastern peripheral area, and how they accomplished such a transformation to independent powers by making changes to the inherited Zhou sociopolitical institutions in this process of secondary formation of state. For those states that had been within the Shang controlled political network but accepted Zhou rule after the Zhou conquest of Shang, a complex social structure already existed in their early time. But there are similar questions about how they adopted new cultural elements and transformed themselves to fit the Zhou system, and how they managed their political relationships with the Zhou central court.

With these questions in mind, my research seeks to reconstruct the trajectories of the secondary formation of states as a way to understand the dynamics of cultural interaction and social change in the periphery during the Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn Period. On the one hand, this dissertation examines the dynamic social-cultural process in the eastern periphery with relation to Zhou expansion and colonization; on the other, it recognizes the important role of the agency of the periphery in the process of the secondary formation of states by examining how the polities in Shandong responded to the advances of the Western Zhou state; how they negotiated political and cultural boundaries and managed their relationships with the dynastic center and what impact the local traditions had on the conditions of the regional culture. This research adopts an interdisciplinary approach by utilizing the rich available archaeological data together with inscriptional and textual sources.<sup>7</sup> A case study method is employed in the discussion to

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<sup>7</sup> For bronze inscriptions used in this dissertation references are commonly made to the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成, 18 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984-1994) (hereafter JC) and *Jinchu Yin Zhou jinwen jilu* 近出殷周金文集錄, 6 vols.(Beijing: Zhonghua, 2002)(hereafter JL). For oracle bone inscriptions, references are commonly made to *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集, 13vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua,



present the varied trajectories of secondary formation of states in Shandong. In particular, the most recently published archaeological materials from sites such like Chenzhuang 陳莊, Tengzhou 滕州, and Guicheng 歸城 provide us with new insights into the developmental process of the regional polities.

This dissertation consists of five chapters.

Chapter One sets up a theoretical framework and it introduces critical approaches to the study of cultural contact and the secondary state formation. I first present an overview of the different models of cultural contact and secondary state formation and then clarify the definition of secondary state formation that I use in this study. In the third section I classify the various states in the eastern periphery during the Zhou time into three different types based on their origins.

In order to better understand the cultural and political makeup of local groups in Shandong during the Western Zhou, it is necessary to trace their roots back to the Shang period in the later part of the second millennium B.C. Chapter Two discusses the cultural and historical contexts of the Shandong region during the Shang period. In this chapter, I first describe the geographical and environmental features of Shandong and then give an overview of the major archaeological discoveries dating from the late Early Shang to

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1978-1982) (hereafter HJ) The textual sources I use in this study include Warring States texts *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu* (Speeches of the States) and the *Zhushu jinian* (Bamboo Annals), as well as the Han sources *Shiji* and *Guanzi*. They contain some information pertaining to the states Qi, Ji and Lai and their interactions during the Spring and Autumn period. They are not contemporaneous sources, in particularly the cases of the much later sources such as *Shiji* and *Guanzi* which show the views of later time. The disadvantages of these later sources can not be denied because the primary account of the historical events could have undergone literary reworking and revision. In this study, they are used as secondary sources to show the later opinions and cultural memory. But secondary sources and cultural memory are still valuable sources for historical study when critically analyzed because they may preserve genuine information about the early time. For the nature and meaning of archaeological, inscriptional and textual sources, and the application of this approach in the study of early China, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp.7-24.

Late Shang period in Shandong to reveal the process of Shang expansion in its eastern frontier. In the following section, I systematically examine evidence of oracle bone inscriptions that indicate Shang's interaction with and relations to the Ren Fang, the local polity or community in the east. Finally, I examine the material culture beyond the Shang realm--in the Jiaodong peninsula. Through the analysis of archaeological cultures and the written records in the oracle-bone inscriptions, this chapter not only gives an overview of how the Shang possibly acted in its eastern periphery, but also reviews the conditions of the indigenous culture in the Jiaodong peninsula, which provided an important prelude to later cultural encounters during the subsequent Western Zhou period.

The next three chapters explore the developmental trajectories of three types of secondary states. Chapter Three examines the secondary state formation of a regional state established by the Zhou court as a colony in the Shandong region. In this chapter, I first introduce the theory, practice, and the general mode of the establishment of regional states by the Zhou court. Then, I take the state of Qi as an example to discuss how it developed from an agent of the Western Zhou state to an independent state power in the east periphery. I examine the early development of Qi during the Western Zhou period based on the new archaeological materials from the Chenzhuang site in northern Shandong, and the discussion that follows addresses the transformation of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period by focusing on the changes in its material culture, internal restructuring, and the political strategy of Qi in managing its relationship with the Zhou court.

Chapter Four examines the formation of secondary states with Dong Yi origins, particularly those that were located in the Jiaodong peninsula. This chapter includes three sections. I start with a general analysis of the cultural transformation in the region prior to and during the Zhou expansion into the Jiaodong peninsula. The second section examines the concept of “Dong Yi” and gives an overview of states with Dong Yi origins. The third section takes the state of Lai as an example to examine the process in which a non-Zhou state with Dong Yi origin was transformed into a central power in the Jiaodong peninsula. Centered on the discoveries of the archaeological survey project at the Guicheng site, this section discusses the sociopolitical transformation of Lai and the agency of local communities in maintaining their cultural traditions.

Chapter Five discusses the formation of secondary state in Shandong that may have been part of the Shang-controlled political network and that accepted Zhou authority after the Zhou conquest of Shang. I take the state of Ji as an example of the transformation from a former Shang polity to an important regional power in Shandong. I first trace its origin in the Late Shang period, and then examine how it was integrated into the Zhou cultural and political system. In the last section, I discuss its political strategy in the regional interaction with other polities during the early Spring and Autumn period.

## CHAPTER ONE

### CULTURE CONTACT AND SECONDARY STATE FORMATION: A THEORETICAL BASIS

#### **Introduction**

The study of culture contact between expansionary states and their neighbors has been one of the fundamental issues in history and social anthropology since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since the study of secondary state formation usually adopts a core/periphery perspective on the relationship between center and periphery, this chapter gives a comparative survey of the theories on culture contact /interaction, center and periphery, and colonial encounter in relation to secondary state formation. Much of the theory has been derived from studies of interregional interactions in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Rome, Scandinavia, Mesoamerica and the Andes. This review will set a theoretical framework within the historical context of world civilizations and introduce critical social, anthropological, and archaeological approaches to the study of culture contact and secondary state formation in China. In the first of three parts, I present an overview of the different anthropological models of culture contact; then I clarify the definition of “secondary state formation” that I use in this study. In the third section I will further classify the secondary states in the eastern periphery during the Zhou time into three types.

#### **I.1 Culture Contact Theory**

### **I 1.1 *World-systems theory***

For the past 30 years, World-systems theory has played a dominant role in anthropological and archaeological theories about interregional interaction and culture contact. In its initial formulation, the World-systems concept was used to explain the emergence of Western capitalist economies out of interactions at the global scale, under which circumstance regional division of labor, the differentiated production and exchange of goods and raw materials created structural dependencies across regional landscapes.<sup>1</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein was concerned particularly with the nature of interaction between different kinds of states and nonstate societies and focused on the tendency of more powerful cores exploiting less powerful peripheries. The core manufactured finished goods and specialized products while the periphery supplied the necessary raw materials and human labor to the core. This system creates a demographically, politically, and economically complex core and a less complex periphery. Although Wallerstein's initial model was designed explicitly to deal with very recent or modern capitalist systems, there has been much work in anthropology designed to clarify, test and modify his original formulation of World-systems theory and to effectively extend the applicability of the model into both the prehistoric and historic past in Asia, the Mongol Empire, and the fourth millennium BCE Mesopotamia.<sup>2</sup> This model

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<sup>1</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-Systems I* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1974); Thomas Hall and Christopher Chase-Dunn, "The World Systems Perspective and Archaeology Forward into the Past," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 1 (1993): 121-43.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hall and Christopher Chase-Dunn, "Comparing World System: Concept and Working Hypotheses," *Social Forces* 71(1993): 851-86; *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997); "Conceptualizing Core/periphery Hierarchies for Comparative Study," in *Core/Periphery in Precapitalist Worlds*, ed. Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), pp.5-44; Thomas Hall, "Incorporation in the World-System: Toward a Critique,"

is appealing to anthropologists because it links politics, economics, geography and even ideology into a unified construct.<sup>3</sup> But in its classical and widely used form, the world-systems theory relies on three main assumptions: core dominance; core control over an asymmetrical exchange system, and the causal primacy of long-distance interaction in structuring the political economy of the periphery. Cultural transformations were largely determined by the structural positions these societies occupied within the regional economic and political systems.<sup>4</sup> This core/periphery distinction has imposed a model in which the core is the principal consumer, and the periphery is the passive recipient of the core's actions.

### ***I.1.2 Acculturation theory: a diffusionist paradigm***

The second widely used framework for the study of interregional interaction is the acculturation concept, first developed in the 1930s by anthropologists to study the effects of European control over indigenous people in the Americas. This earlier approach to culture contact emphasizes the asymmetrical nature of the interaction between a larger and more complex society and a smaller simpler society. Studies of the native American

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*American Sociological Review* 51.3 (1986): 390-402; Blanton and Feinman, "The Mesoamerican World System," *American Anthropologist* 86 (1984): 673-82; Nick. P. Kardulias ed., *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, Production, and Exchange* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004). Guillermo Algaze, *the Uruk World system: the Dynamics of Expansion of Early Mesopotamian Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Andres G. Frank, "Bronze Age World System Cycles," *Current Anthropology* 34 (1993): 383-429. Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: the World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> Gil Stein, "World Systems Theory and Alternative Modes of Interaction in Archaeology of Culture Contact," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, ed. James Cusick (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1998), pp. 220-55.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Schortman and Patricia A. Urban, "Culture Contact Structure and Process," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, pp. 102-24. Gil Stein, "World Systems Theory and Alternative Modes of Interaction in Archaeology of Culture Contact," pp. 220-55.

groups in North America explain the conditions and rules under which a “recipient” group adopts the cultural values of a “donor group.”<sup>5</sup> Although the term “acculturation” is defined as “phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups,”<sup>6</sup> applications of the approach emphasizes changes within the smaller scale society. It describes a process in which smaller, less powerful groups (recipient cultures) gradually become more like the larger, powerful “donor societies.” It is assumed that the recipient societies have a natural desire to adopt the intrusive material culture and other aspects of donor societies.<sup>7</sup> The acculturation process is seen as taking place through the borrowing of discrete cultural traits, and ultimately leads to the disappearance of the smaller group as it is absorbed into the broader culture. Archaeologists working within this framework have traditionally used the presence of artifacts from the more powerful donor culture in assemblages of the less powerful recipient culture as direct measures of acculturation. “Acceptance” and “adaptation” of the foreign culture are the categorical conditions in smaller scale societies as the consequences of interactions. Thus the smaller societies were driven by natural urge to adopt foreign objects and practices that were implicitly more advanced.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Robert Redfield et al., “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936): 149-52. Edward Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962). George M. Foster, *Culture and Conquest: America's Spanish Heritage* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960).

<sup>6</sup> Robert Redfield et al., “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” p.149.

<sup>7</sup> James Cusick, “Historiography of Acculturation: an Evaluation of Concept and Its Application in Archaeology,” in *Studies in Cultural Contact: Interaction, Cultural Change and Archaeology*, pp.126-45.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p.132.

In fact we might find that the World-systems theory and acculturation model discuss very similar themes and they both share some theoretical deficiency. They both generate a framework to explain the cultural interaction and changes. While the earlier acculturation construct explains development in technology and transfer of foreign goods through the diffusion of materials traits, the World-systems framework invokes structural dependency as a catalyst for change and interaction. Both assume the absoluteness of the economic, political, military, and ideological domination of the core states or donor culture and both models assume a unidirectional flow of influences from core / donor states to subordinate/ recipient cultures. Finally, they both view peripheries or recipient cultures as passive groups, lacking in agency or the capacity to act in pursuit of their own goals or interests.

### ***1.1.3 Peripherality and negotiated peripherality***

Of further interest is the influence of the core/periphery construct of postmodern approaches to colonialism. The above flaws of the World-systems and acculturation models have been pointed out by the theory of colonial encounters, with an emphasis on the periphery's resistance as the key to social transformation. In reaction to the economic and political inequities of colonialism, peripheral subjects attempt resistant movements to preserve their cultural autonomy.<sup>9</sup> Here the periphery is broadly envisioned as a geographic economic and political margin, which is equated with excluded minorities and

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<sup>9</sup> Kent G. Lightfoot, "Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Historic and Prehistoric Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 60.2 (1995): 199-217.



their ostensible struggle for agency against the colonizer.<sup>10</sup> This new perspective on interregional interaction has been applied to many case studies, emphasizing the roles of peripheries and their agency and internal dynamics.<sup>11</sup>

With respect to this background, “negotiated peripherality” suggested by Nick Kardulias,<sup>12</sup> is possibly a useful way for understanding the changing nature of the relationship between the core and the periphery. Even in the face of neighbors with overwhelming military or economic superiority, those on the margins must find ways to make sense of things that they perceive as coming from outside. In contrast to the original World-systems theory of Wallerstein and the acculturation model, which emphasize the exploitative relationship between dominating cores and passive peripheries, the concept of “negotiated peripherality” captures the active roles played by people living outside the core. Focusing on the specifics of the local archaeological and historical context and thereby how particular groups came to terms with larger economic and military systems is a good perspective from which to understand the dynamic process of social development in the periphery. In the words of Gil Stein, “Colonial encounters are a widespread and cross cultural process that have far-reaching effects on the economy and political organization of prehistoric and historic documented societies in both old and

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<sup>10</sup> Ralph A. Litzinger, *Other Chinas: the Yao and the Politics of National Belonging* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), p.19.

<sup>11</sup> See Stephen Dyson, *Comparative Studies in the Archaeology of Colonialism* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985). Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact From 5000 B.C. to Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Claire Lyons and John Papadopoulos, eds., *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Issues and Debates* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002). Gil Stein, ed., *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives* (Snata Fe: Schools of American Research, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Nick Kardulias, “Negotiated Peripherality: Making Incorporation Work for You on the Margins Of World-Systems,” paper presented at the 100<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, November 28-December 2, 2001.

new world.”<sup>13</sup> Examples from Maya, Mesopotamia, and Wari Empire of pre-Hispanic Peru suggest that local decision-making, power structure, and cultural schemes repeatedly modified and even subverted colonial agendas and the outcome was negotiated rather than predetermined.<sup>14</sup> The use of Egyptian imports and symbolism by the Nubian group and the Kerman and Napatan states was not the acculturation of a weaker recipient by a dominant donor but rather a process of transculturation or the reworking of foreign cultural aspects into a new local framework, modifying and blending them with native motifs and meanings.<sup>15</sup> Similar studies in the nature of reaction to the expansion of the core and the transformation of local peripheral institutions through interaction with it have been undertaken in archaeology.<sup>16</sup>

All these studies have inspired me to think about the negotiated peripherality of the Shandong peninsula with a view to highlight the native cultural logic and perception of events, which have played an essential role in how interactions between different powers could be structured in early China. For instance, pottery of a local tradition such as sand-tempered and plain-surfaced red-brown wares is found throughout the whole Zhou period

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<sup>13</sup> Gil Stein, “Introduction,” in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, pp.3-32.

<sup>14</sup> Katharina Schreiber, “Imperial Agendas and Local Agency,” in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspective*, pp. 237-62. Gil Stein, “From Passive Periphery to Active Agents: Emerging Perspectives in the Archaeology of Interregional Interaction,” *American Anthropologist* 104.3(2002): 903-916.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart T. Smith, “Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, Acculturation and Secondary State Formation from the Third to First Millennium B.C.,” in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, pp. 256-87.

<sup>16</sup> For instance, Lotte Hedeager, “Empire, Frontier and the Barbarian Hinterland: Rome and Northern Europe from A.D.1-400,” in *Center and Periphery in Ancient World*, pp.125-42; Colin Haselgrove, “Culture Process on the Periphery,” in *Center and Periphery in Ancient World*, pp.104-25; Iran Morris “Negotiated Peripherality in Iron Age Greece: Accepting and Resisting the East,” in *World-Systems Theory in Practice, Leadership, Production and Exchange*, pp. 63-84.

in the eastern Shandong peninsula, which may imply local agency to keep its own tradition. And some bronzes with salient local features and some local writings have also been discovered.<sup>17</sup> In studying the material culture from the periphery, we should also consider whether the function of these bronzes was redefined to fit local needs or the local use of such prestige goods had been very selective to meet their own ideology. The view from the periphery helps us to understand not only the process of domination by core areas but alternative ways in which peripheries respond or are impacted by their interaction with the core areas. Such a focus may help to assess whether the periphery lost agency completely to the center.

But it is important to emphasize that I am not going to argue for an unlimited agency, but rather for a balanced consideration of local agency and structure as mutually constituting historical forces. Local history and agency must be situated within the larger sociopolitical history, and there is no doubt that the Western Zhou was a powerful cultural force that had great cultural impact on the periphery. By the end of the Spring and Autumn period, the material culture of the Shandong peninsula shows assimilation into the Zhou cultural sphere as a new type of Zhou culture with regional characteristics. But one of the main purposes of this study is to understand how indigenous societies were drawn into larger economic and political power relations and how they were transformed in that process.

#### **1.1.4 The concepts of “middle ground” and “creolization”**

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<sup>17</sup> Chang Xingzhao and Cheng Lei, “Shilun Laiyang Qianheqian mudi ji you ming taohe,” *Beifang wenwu* 1990.1, 20-25.

The concepts such as “the middle ground” and “creolization” are proposed to model cultural interaction and changes in the New World. Different from the acculturation and peripherality resistance frameworks, the “middle ground” presents a model of interaction that does not assume cultural differences to be basic construct. Instead group differentiations are structured by perceptions of their commonalities with other cultures rather than the differences. The “middle ground” was established “according to the need of people to find a means, other than force to gain the cooperation or consent of foreigners. To succeed, those who operated on the middle ground had, of necessity, to attempt to understand the world and the reasoning of others and to assimilate enough of that reasoning to put it to their own purposes.”<sup>18</sup>

Another concept, “creolization,” refers to the creation of a mixed cultural identity or the new composite practices during the culture contact and colonialism. Originating in the context of slavery and colonialism in the Caribbean, the theory of “creolization” carries at its core the diverse conflictual encounters between the colonizers and the colonized. The term “creole” is used to refer to colonial mixed-bloods and creolization in colonial situations was a process by which “mixed-race” individuals constructed new social identities to construct a social, economic, and/or political place for themselves in colonial society.<sup>19</sup> The term “creolization” has transmogrified from a politically engaged

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<sup>18</sup> Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.52.

<sup>19</sup> Diana D. Loren, “The Intersection of Colonial Policy and Colonial Practice: Creolization on the Eighteenth-Century Louisiana/Texas Frontier,” *Historical Archaeology* 34.3 (2000):85-98. Shannon L. Dawdy. “Understanding Cultural Change through the Vernacular: Creolization in Louisiana,” *Historical Archaeology* 34.3 (2000): 107-123. Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African American Culture: An Anthropological Approach* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), pp.56-59. James G. Cusick, “Creolization and the Borderlands,” *Historical Archaeology* 34.3 (2000):46-55.

term used by Caribbean theorists, located in the Caribbean in the 1970s, to one used by Caribbean diaspora theorists located outside of the Caribbean in the 1980s, and finally to non-Caribbean “global” theorists in the 1990s. As an extension of this concept, “creoleness culture” has been applied to the new ‘global’ condition.<sup>20</sup> It has been understood as a “movement away from origin,” a “process of modification, involving rejection, adaptation, accommodation, imitation and invention, ending eventually in a dynamic new ‘type’ which is recognized as belonging to the locale but continuing to interact with new influences.”<sup>21</sup>

Both the “middle ground” and “creolization” approaches are based on the main principle that conceives culture change as the creation of newly invented traditions in its own right. It differs significantly from above formulations of acculturation and peripherality. Acculturation describes the adoption of the culture of the foreign group and peripherality-resistance emphasizes the indigenous group identities and their differentiation from the foreign culture. Both the “middle ground” and “creolization” describe such circumstances of “adaptation” that new cultural practices are incorporated according to pre-existing structures or existing structures are incorporated to new cultural practices.<sup>22</sup> This brings the “hybridity” or “transculturalism” or a mixed cultural

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<sup>20</sup> Ulf Hannerz, “The World in Creolization,” *Africa* 57 (1987): 546-559. Mimi Sheller, “Creolization in Discourses of Global Culture,” in *Uprooting/Regrounding: Questions of Home and Migration*, ed. Sara Ahmed et al. (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 273-89.

<sup>21</sup> Mimi Sheller, “Creolization in Discourses of Global Culture,” p.275.

<sup>22</sup> Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1992). Kent Lightfoot and Antoinette Martinez, “Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Historic and Prehistoric Archeology,” *American Antiquity* 60.2 (1995):199-217.

composition.<sup>23</sup> Cultural interaction may lead to the introduction of some foreign products and the new materials may be integrated into the existing cultural practices. Indigenous practices could also be synthesized to foreign cultural standards. Above all, all these terms—“creolization,” “hybridization,” “transculturation,” and “in-betweenness”—are used to identify the mixed cultural features.

## **I.2 Secondary State Formation: Problem of Definition and Theoretical Framework**

In this section, I will discuss the concepts associated with state, the distinction between pristine and secondary states, and theoretical framework of the secondary state formation within the large context of world civilization.

### ***I.2.1 The concept of state***

Before I discuss the concept of secondary state formation, I must first define the term “state” as it is used in this research. There is no clear consensus on the defining characteristics of a state and the criteria can change significantly based upon the context.<sup>24</sup> But in general, for early state formation, the state is considered to be a territorially bound political unit with centralized institutions for the administration of governance. It can be characterized by three or more decision-making levels; ideology of stratification that separate the ruling class from the ruled; the formalization of a ruler’s official residence as a “palace;” a government that employs law and enforce the legal

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<sup>23</sup> Stephane Palmie, “Creolization and Its Discontents,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 433-56. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> Jonathan Haas, *The Evolution of the Prehistoric State*, pp.2-3. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

force to provide the order or security, etc.<sup>25</sup> The basic notion is that states consist of a collection of specialized institutions and hierarchically structured bureaucratic apparatuses controlled by an overarching central authority that has the right to implement coercive power over its subjects. In the study of the bureaucracy and political institution of Western Zhou state, “the state was understood as a social-political organization ‘materialized’ in its very geographical existence, which one can actually see, and the order and security it provides.”<sup>26</sup> Under the Western Zhou state, there are many “regional states.” The “regional state” is called a “state” because it shares all the functions and roles performed by the Western Zhou state and possesses most of the qualifications required for a “state” apart from the “sovereignty,” which resides with the Zhou king.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, in this study, the “state” is understood as a social-political organization that has the ability to wield power over diverse communities and maintain itself as a single overarching political entity.

### ***1.2.2 Secondary state formation: theoretical framework***

While there is a large literature and theoretical contributions to the study of pristine state formation, comparatively fewer models have been proposed to explain the development of secondary states. Confusion about the meaning of the term *secondary* has led to a general presumption that if states were “secondary,” their formation would not need to be explained. “Pristine” is a term usually reserved for states that are formed from

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<sup>25</sup> Joyce Marcus and Gary Feinman, “Instruction,” in *Archaic States*, ed. Gary Feinman and Joyce Marcus (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 1998), pp.6-7.

<sup>26</sup> For the definition of “State,” “Western Zhou State,” and “Regional States”, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp. 235-70.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.238.

chiefdom societies in the absence of preexisting states that could serve as a model. Once the first state has been formed in a region, the secondary state based on that preexisting model can arise through a number of processes. In a distinction outlined by Morton Fried, pristine state formation emphasizes the indigenous development in the absence of external influence whereas the secondary state develops under the influence or tutelage of more advanced neighbors.<sup>28</sup> His use of the term “pristine” and “secondary” classifies state societies into two categories, namely independent and derivative. Conflicts between states and non-state polities may be the most significant cause of the emergence of secondary states.

On the basis of Fried’s work, Barbara Price made a further distinction between two forms of secondary states: those that developed via historical succession from a preexisting state, and those that formed via interaction between less and more politically complex societies. Among the latter “secondary-via- interaction” states, Price further identified two subtypes: one required direct political or economic incorporation or takeover by an outside power, and the other involved indirect transformation of existing socioeconomic and political institution.<sup>29</sup> To summarize, a secondary state formation indicates a socio-political process stimulated by influences stemming from elsewhere or deriving from preexisting forms. Based on this classification, above types of secondary states can be seen in the Shandong region of China (see next section). Some of them

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<sup>28</sup> Morton Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society*, p.713. see also Morton Fried, “On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State,” in *Culture in History*, ed. Sigmund Diamond (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 713–31.

<sup>29</sup> Barbara Price, “Secondary State Formation: An Explanatory Model,” in *Origin of the State: the Anthropology of Political Evolution*, ed. Ronald Cohen and Elman Service (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978), pp.161-224.



underwent socio political transformation based on preexisting state system and some of them were formed under the great influence from their powerful neighbors.

The “dynamic model” proposed by Joyce Marcus has provided a further study of the state trajectories of both primary and secondary types, which focuses on the cycles of consolidation, expansion and dissolution that states experienced through time.<sup>30</sup> Drawn from her study of the rise of states in several parts of Maya region, Marcus’s model gets around the typological complexity surrounding primary and secondary states by referring to “first-” or “second-” or “third-generation” states depending on the timing of their appearance in a particular region. This methodology enables us to distinguish between pristine, first generation states and states that appear first in particular regions but are not pristine, and thus secondary.

Another helpful approach to explaining the sociocultural evolution is the “Dual-Processual” framework introduced by Richard Blanton, Gary Feinman and others.<sup>31</sup> This theory elucidates the interactions and contradictions of two main patterns of political strategies in the process of state formation and development, one exclusionary centralized “network” mode and the other inclusive decentralized “corporate” mode. In a corporate mode, labor, food production, social groups, public construction, communal ritual and even rulership may be controlled through “broad, integrative ritual and ideological

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<sup>30</sup> Joyce Marcus, “Political fluctuation in Mesoamerica,” in *National Geographic Research and Exploration* 8 (1992): 392-411. See also Joyce Marcus, “The Peaks and Valleys of Ancient States: an Extension of Dynamic Model,” in *Archaic States*, pp.59-94; “Recent Advances in Maya Archaeology,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* (11.2) 2003: 71-148.

<sup>31</sup> Richard Blanton et al., “A Dual-Processual Theory for the Evolution of Mesoamerican Civilization,” *Current Anthropology* (37.1) 1996: 1-14.

means.”<sup>32</sup> Extreme differentiation between leaders and followers is not obvious. By contrast, a network-or exclusionary-mode stresses personal prestige, wealth exchange, power accumulation, elite aggrandizement, highly individualized leadership, lineal patterns of inheritance and descent, personal networks, long distance exchange, exotic wealth, princely burials, and the specialized manufacture of status-related craft goods.<sup>33</sup> According to Blanton and others, the Mesoamerican social history from the early Early Formative to the Spanish conquest consists of cycles of long duration alternating between network and corporate emphases rather than a simply linear evolutionary sequence.<sup>34</sup> The Early and Middle Formative periods in Mesoamerica is characterized by network strategies whereas the Teotihuacan polity during the Classic period is characterized by corporate strategies. By contrast, the Lowland Maya area in Classic period is characterized by network based city-states.<sup>35</sup>

One example that reflects the Dual process in practice is the study of state formation in Iron Age Denmark. In her study of the developing political complexity in the Pre- and Proto-historic contexts of the South Scandinavian Iron Age, Tina Thurston investigates the processes of a profound social transformation in Denmark, “through which disparate cultural and political entities, some territorially distant from the core, are

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<sup>32</sup> Gary Feinman, “Dual-Processual Theory and Social Formation in the Southwest,” in *Alternative Leadership strategies in the Prehispanic Southwest*, ed. Barbara Mills (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), pp.207-24.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p.214.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Blanton et al., “A Dual- Processual Theory for the Evolution of Mesoamerican Civilization,” *Current Anthropology* (37.1) 1996: 1-14.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp.1-14.

incorporated into secondary states.”<sup>36</sup> Focusing on the tension between heterarchic and hierarchic modes of sociopolitical structure and the conflict between “corporate” and “network” of rule in Denmark as well as the problems of alliances in holding together diverse and fragmented peoples, this study presents the full formation sequence of a differently organized state of Denmark: a unification couched in a transition from a *corporate* mode of government to a *network*, or exclusionary type of rule in the Iron Age.<sup>37</sup>

Another discussion of secondary state formation is Alexander Joffe’s study of the rise of secondary states in the Iron Age of Levant. With particular emphasis on the Levantine states of Israel, Judah, Ammon, and Moab, Joffe delineates the external context and internal dynamics of secondary state formation.<sup>38</sup> By interacting with more developed neighbors, the state polities in Iron Age Levant emerge and employ new methods of integration based on collective identity which combined elite and local concepts. His study indicates that what the secondary states in the Levant have created are the new social identities and novel ethnic categories and boundaries.<sup>39</sup>

These studies suggest that “secondary state formation” is a useful concept for analyzing the processes especially in the early pre-modern time. It helps to explain the sociocultural transformation and the process of the state development of ancient

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<sup>36</sup> Tina Thurstan, *Landscape of Power, Landscape of Conflict: State Formation in South Scandinavian Iron Age* (New York: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 2011), p.4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.269-76.

<sup>38</sup> Alexander Joffe, “The Rise of Secondary State in the Iron Age Levant,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45.4 (2002): 425-67.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.452-56.

civilization. Although such cases of secondary states exist widely across the globe, using the concept for analysis can reveal distinctive dynamic in a process that is significantly different from the formation of pristine states, influenced by a different set of condition. As such studies including those introduced above are successful in other regions of the world, I accept this concept of “secondary state formation” and plan to test its applicability in the context of studying early China.

### **I.3 Types of Secondary States in Shandong**

In this study, I will not address the pristine state formation of early China, but rather the rise of secondary states via interaction and the second phase of state development in the periphery of the Western Zhou state during 1045-500 BCE. Based on Price’s and Fried’s typology, I accept a wide notion of secondary state formation especially useful for classifying and comparing the many different kinds of contexts in which states have been formed: secondary-via- interaction and secondary-via-historical succession.

The replacement of the Shang by the Zhou around 1045BCE is probably the single most important event of the second millennium in China’s written history. Shortly after the victory, the Zhou emerged as the superpower in the middle and lower Yellow River and beyond. But many contiguous polities existed side by side in the peripheral areas in the eastern Shandong peninsula. Some polities were controlled by former Shang subjects; others were established by the Zhou court, and still others were ruled by the leaders of indigenous “barbarian” communities (the indigenous people collectively referred to by

the Zhou as “Dong Yi” or “Eastern Barbarians”), in the bronze inscriptions cast by Zhou elites. With the continuous military and territorial expansion of Zhou in the eastern area, some small non-Zhou polities were subjugated, hence becoming Zhou allies while others remained hostile to the Zhou state. They oscillated most often in their relationships with the Zhou state. Most of these polities not only survived the Zhou collapse but continued to be active players into the Spring and Autumn period. There seems little doubt that there was a move among the indigenous people in Shandong to form their own states to confront the powerful expanding Zhou state.<sup>40</sup>

Therefore, based on Price and Fried’s standards, two subtypes of secondary states in the eastern periphery during the Zhou period can be clearly categorized. The first type includes states with Dong Yi origins like Lai 萊 and Ju 莒 that formed via interaction with the politically more complex Zhou state. Their formation was under the influence of the existing Zhou state system, which led the social transformation of the indigenous system. Before the conquest of Shang by the Zhou, there is no clear evidence to show the existence of pre-existing states in the eastern portion of the Shandong Peninsula (Jiaodong Peninsula). It was during the Western Zhou period that the region witnessed the obvious transformation to Bronze Age civilization. The social-political evolution towards states seems to have been swift. But this does not mean the absolute imposition of structures by a distant core on the people in the periphery. It could possibly be a result of a local response to an intense wave of cultural and political expansion of the Zhou.

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<sup>40</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: the Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 BC*. pp. 313-18.

The emergence of the second type of secondary state involves direct political and economic incorporation of the existing state systems and the states born as such became active participants in the larger Western Zhou political system. These are the states that might have once been part of the Shang-controlled political network in Shandong during the Late Shang period and that accepted Zhou authority after the Zhou conquest of Shang. Ji 紀 and Xue 薛 can be regarded as good examples of this type.

Furthermore, there is a third type of secondary state in China. This type includes the many regional states established by the Zhou court. These regional states also characterize the Western Zhou state as a unique and different state from the other ancient states in the world. During the early years of the Western Zhou, the central court sent the royal kin and trusted allies to strategic locations in the east to establish regional states as colonies. These states were established not only to serve as the delegated authority of the Zhou king, but also to act as pioneers in the frontier to expand and promote Zhou's political and social interest in the new land. Although some models have been proposed to describe the Western Zhou state as "city-state," "territorial state," "segmentary state," "settlement state" and "feudal state," all of these models have some problems when applied to the Western Zhou reality.<sup>41</sup> In fact the ruler of each regional state ruled with a political power delegated to him by the Zhou king rather than as a true "sovereign ruler."<sup>42</sup> These regional states were locally based but they were not politically independent. But during the Spring and Autumn period, with the decline of the authority

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<sup>41</sup> For a thorough and in-depth examination of these theoretical models, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp. 271-304.

<sup>42</sup> Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp.294-98.

of the Zhou king, there was a tendency for this type of secondary state to form regional cultures and to transform themselves from agents of the Zhou king to independent state powers in the eastern periphery. So this type of state is important because it is not analyzed by previous studies of secondary state formation for other regions of the world.

Therefore, the three types of secondary states in Shandong are: 1) regional states installed by the Zhou court like Qi, Lu and Teng; 2) Non-Zhou states like Lai and Ju , established by the indigenous communities (with Dong Yi origins) under Zhou's cultural and political influence; 3) states that used to be the former Shang polities, like Ji and Xue. Their formations are considered as secondary because these states are formed either via interaction with neighboring more complex state, or develop based on preexisting state system. In this sense, they are all derivative.

It is worth noting that in the process of secondary state formation, two factors seem to have had significant impacts on the developmental history and the organization of secondary states: 1) the circumstances of their founding and the structure of preexisting local social-political system; 2) the scope and pattern of interaction between them and their neighboring states. In addition, it is important to highlight a number of variables that can help us assess the degree to which the above two factors exercised influence in that process of secondary state formation and help explain their possible outcomes: the degree of political dependency, and strength of relationship between the peripheral state and the dynastic center, the pace of the evolution of the old social system, and the conditions of material culture. The following chapters will subsequently discuss these factors and variables with respect to specific cases of study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LOCAL COMPLEXITY IN THE EASTERN PERIPHERY DURING THE SHANG: A BACKGROUND

#### Introduction

In order to better understand the cultural and political makeup of local communities during the Western Zhou period, it is necessary to trace their roots back to the Shang in the last centuries of the second millennium BCE. This will help us establish a more complete historical and cultural background on the basis of which we can further examine cultural interactions between center and periphery. Therefore, this chapter is to give a general outline of the cultural composition of the Shandong region during the Shang period. By analyzing archaeological cultures and the written records in the oracle-bone inscriptions of Shang, I will discuss such questions as how the Shang colonize the eastern periphery and how they interact with the contemporaneous indigenous people in Shandong. Archaeological materials from sites with Shang-culture contents at Subutu 蘇埠屯, Qianzhangda 前掌大, Daxinzhuan 大辛莊 and others will be examined to reveal possible connections between the region and the political Shang state. This section will also examine archaeological cultures beyond the Shang cultural realm in the eastern part of the Shandong peninsula, where the Yueshi 岳石 culture (1800-1500BCE) and the Zhenzhumen 珍珠門 culture are distributed. The current archaeological remains of the



local Yueshi and Zhenzhumen cultures indicate that complex state structure had not formed in the Jiaodong peninsula during the Shang period.

## II.1 Environment and Landscape of the Region

Lying in the lower reaches of the Yellow River, Shandong is located on the eastern edge of the North China Plain with its eastern peninsula extending into the sea (Map 2.1). Shandong has a temperate climate, lying in the transition between the humid subtropical and continental zones with four distinct seasons. Summers are hot and rainy while winters are cold and dry.<sup>1</sup> The location of Shandong in the warm-temperate monsoonal climate zone with a rainfall of 400-800 mm per year, permits the dry-field farming of millets, wheat, and sorghum. Rice is also cultivated in pockets of suitable lands.<sup>2</sup>

Studies have shown that the climate during the Middle Holocene was relatively moist and warm with annual temperatures around 2 Celsius degrees higher than modern temperatures.<sup>3</sup> The sea level in 4,000-3,000 BCE was 2-4 meters higher than present; and by 1,800-1,100 BCE, a time span that includes the Yueshi culture and the Shang culture

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<sup>1</sup> Ren Mei'e et al., *An outline of China's Physical Geography* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985), pp. 205-214.

<sup>2</sup> Chen Xuexiang, "Haidai diqu xinshiqi shidai wanqi zhi qingtong shidai nongye wendingxing kaocha: zhiwu kaoguxue ge'an Fenxi" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Archaeology, Shandong University, 2007), pp. 5-30.

<sup>3</sup> Zhu Kezhen, "Zhongguo jin wuqiannian lai qihou bianqian de chubu yanjiu," *Kaogu xuebao* 1972.1, 2-23.

in Shandong, the sea level was still 1 meter higher than present.<sup>4</sup> Studies of the sediment records in the northern Shandong plain suggests that from 3,000-500 BCE, the region was still relatively warm and had many lakes and marshes.<sup>5</sup> There was marshland in the southwestern Shandong during the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the discovery of major species of freshwater shells from many archaeological sites, for instance, Daxinzhang, across Shandong indicates the possible presence of more marshes, lakes, and ponds in the landscape and warmer climate during the Shang period than it is today.<sup>7</sup>

The Shandong region features hilly and mountainous terrain, which constitutes 60% of the whole territory of Shandong Province. Based on the condition of terrains, the Shandong region can be generally divided into two sub-regions demarcated by the Jiaolai 膠萊 River: the Jiaodong 膠東 Peninsula, located to the east of Jiaolai River, and the mountainous areas central to Shandong in the west. The western region can be further divided into three areas: northern Shandong, central southern Shandong and southwestern Shandong.

The Jiaodong Peninsula consists mainly of undulating low flat-topped hills of 200-300 meters in elevation, although there are some mountains on the southern edge of the

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<sup>4</sup> Zhao Xitao, “Zhongguo dongbu 20000 nian lai de haipingmian bianhua,” *Haiyang xuebao* (1.2) 1979: 269-81. See also David Cohen, “The Yueshi Culture, the Dong Yi and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China” (Ph.D Dissertation, Harvard University, 2001), p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Xue Chunting et al., “Holocene Sedimentary Sequence, Foraminifer and Ostracoda in West Coastal Lowland of Bohai Sea, China,” *Quaternary Science Reviews* 14.5 (1995): 521-30.

<sup>6</sup> Kwang-chih Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China* (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p.79.

<sup>7</sup> Chen Xuexiang, “Haidai diqu xingshiqi shidai wanqi zhi qingtong shidai nongye wendingxing kaocha,” pp. 5-30.

peninsula that rise to as high as 1,133 meters. On the western edge of the hilly areas lies the Jiaolai Plain through which flow the Jiaolai River and the Wei River 滙河. The often low hill-slopes, wide valleys and basins, covered by deep layers of soil and thick vegetation with abundant surface water, have made the Jiaodong Peninsula naturally richer and agriculturally more productive than the mountainous regions in central Shandong.<sup>8</sup>

In western Shandong, the central area is taken up by the so called Central Shandong Highland, which features many limestone mountain peaks and formations and Karst limestone springs.<sup>9</sup> The landscape includes six mountain ranges: the Taishan 泰山, Lushan 魯山, and Yishan 沂山 ranges in the north, and the Motianling 摩天嶺, Mengshan 蒙山, and Nishan 尼山 ranges in the south. Among them, Mt. Taishan is the highest peak in North China measuring over 1,500 meters whereas most of the other mountains have lower elevations of 500-600 meters. Between these mountain ranges are the deep valleys, which provide the ideal channels for transportation through the region: the upper Dawen 大汶 River fault in the north, the upper Si 泗 River and Beng 沭 River fault in the southwest; and the upper Shu 沭 River valley in the southeast. Between the Yellow River and the central mountains, in northern Shandong lies a strip of alluvial plain that extends eastward into the Jiaolai Plain and serves as a corridor to connect the hilly Jiaodong Peninsula. This agriculturally productive plain supported a dense population in early China. Many rivers run through it, such as Ji River 濟水, Xiaoqing 小

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<sup>8</sup> For more information on the ecology of Jiaodong peninsula, see chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ren Mei'e, et al., pp.205-207.

清 River, Zi 淄 River, Mi 彌 River, and Wei River. Further to the northeast the area around the Bohai 渤海 Sea is rich in salt and sea resources. Many large-scale settlement-sites for salt production have been recently found around the south Bay area.<sup>10</sup> In southwestern Shandong, a main route of communication connecting northern China and southeastern China runs through the southwest plain to the south of Mount Taishan.

The geographical condition of Shandong is critical for understanding the intricate relationship between the Shang royal center in the Central Plain and the outlying political polities in the east. Desires to gain access to coastal resources and to control the communication route connecting northern China and southeastern China through the southwestern Shandong provided the impetus for Shang expansion in the Shandong region since the early Shang period.<sup>11</sup> After the conquest of Shang by the Zhou, many regional states were set up at the strategic points to strengthen control of this region. The next section provides an overview of major sites dating from the late Early Shang to Late Shang period in Shandong to indicate the process of Shang expansion in its eastern frontier.

## II.2 Shang and Its Eastern Frontier: Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological work in Shandong Province since the late 1920s has established an independent developmental scheme of local cultures before the presence of Shang in this region as the Houli 後李 Culture (6,500-5,700BCE) → Beixin 北辛 Culture (5,300-

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<sup>10</sup> Yan Shengdong, “Shandong Yangxin Liwu Shangdai yicun kaogu fajue ji qi yiyi,” in *Gudai wenming yanjiu tongxun* (20) 2004: 9-15. And see also “Shandong Shouguang Shuangwangcheng fxian daxing shangzhou yanye yizhiqun,” *Zhongguo wenwubao*, February 4th, 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Liu Li and Chen Xingcan, *State Formation in Early China*, pp.113-16.

4,100BCE) → Dawenkou 大汶口 Culture (4,100-2,600BCE) → Longshan 龍山 Culture (2,600-1,900BCE) → Yueshi 岳石 Culture (1,800-1,500BCE) series. The indigenous Yueshi culture was dominant in the whole Shangdong area when the Shang culture arrived. Archaeological evidence shows that the Shang culture first appeared in the western part of Shandong in the late period of the Upper Erligang Phase (c.a.1450-1350BCE), contemporaneous with the late Early Shang period, then invaded northern and middle Shandong on a large scale, and arrived in the Zi River valley during Yinxu Phase I (ca.1250-1200BCE). Finally the Shang culture expanded to the Mi River and Wei River valley and the western band of the Yi 沂 River during Yinxu Phase IV (ca.1100-1045 BCE).<sup>12</sup>

### ***II 2.1 The Early and Middle Shang period***

Contemporary with the early Shang period in central and western Henan, the Shandong region was predominately occupied by the local Yueshi culture, which had several regional variations or cultural subtypes. The expansion of Shang culture in Shandong during the early stage was quite limited. So far the Shang styled pottery or pottery shards dated to the late phase of the Early Shang period have only been found at two locations: the Daxin Zhuang 大辛莊 site around the Jinan 濟南 area in the north, and Anqiugudui 安邱堽堆 in Heze 荷澤 in southwestern Shandong, both dating to the Upper

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<sup>12</sup> Zhu Jiping, “Cong kaogu faxian tan Shangdai dongtu de dili renwen geju,” *Shehui kexue* 2007.11, 155-63.

Erligang phase.<sup>13</sup> The Early Shang style materials at Daxinzhuang include pottery *li*-tripod, *gui*-tureen, *zun*-vessel, *dou*-high dish, and *yan*-steamer, best exemplified by the materials from archaeological unit 2J2, which belong to the earliest phase at Daxinzhuang and resemble closely those pottery types found in the Shang center—Zhengzhou (Fig.2.1).<sup>14</sup> It is widely accepted that the discoveries at Daxinzhuang represent the first, limited intrusion of the Shang culture into its eastern periphery. Daxinzhuang was a major regional political center, and detailed studies of the stratigraphy of the site and the pottery types from the excavated units show that it came into being from the late phase of the Early Shang (1600-1400BCE), prospered during the Middle Shang (1400-1300 BCE) to the early phase of Late Shang period (1300-1045BCE), and declined into a normal village from the middle phase of the Late Shang period.

The Middle Shang period witnessed the rapid and wide expansion of Shang culture in the Shandong region. Two networks of settlements among Shang-culture sites can be determined: one centered around Daxinzhuang near Jinan in the northern plain;<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For excavation at Daxinzhang, see Shandongsheng wenwu guanli chu, “Jinan Daxinzhuang yizhi shijue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1959.4, 185-187. For Anqiu Gudui site, see Beijing daxue kaoguxi Shang Zhou zu, “Heze Anqiu gudui yizhi fajue jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1987.11, 28-42. See also Zou Heng, *Xia Shang Zhou kaoguxue lunwenji xujii* (Beijing: kexue, 1988), p.77.

<sup>14</sup> Xu Ji, “Guanyu Jinan Daxinzhuang yicun niandai de sikao,” *Zhongyuan wenu* 2000.3, 33-42.

<sup>15</sup> Sites include Qianping 前平 and Xiaotun 小屯 in Changqing 長清 county, Dinggong 丁公 in Zouping 鄒平, Mapengbei 馬彭北 in Zhangqiu 章丘, Nanchenzhang 南陳莊 in Zhuangping 莊平, Jianglu 蔣蘆 and Zhouyin 周尹 in Yucheng 禹城, Yintun 尹屯 and Caotun 曹屯 in Qihe 齊河. See Ren Xianghong, “Jinan Daxinzhuang longshan Shang yizhi diaocha,” *Kaogu*, 1985.8, 12-16; Shandong daxue dongfang kaogu yanjiu Zhongxin, “Jinan Shi Daxinzhuang Shangdai juzhi yu muzang,” *Kaogu* 2004.7, 25-33; “Daxinzhuang yizhi 1984 nian qiu shijue baogao,” *Dongfang kaogu* (4) 2008, 1-15.; “1984 nian qiu Jinan Daxinzhuang yizhi shijue suyao,” *Wenwu* 1995.6, 12-27. Cai Fengshu, “Jinan Daxinzhuang Shangdai yizhi de jiaocha,” *Kaogu* 1973.5, 272-75. Fang Hui, “Daxinzhuang yizhi de kaogu faxian yu yanjiu,” *Shandong daxue xuebao*, 2004.1, 7 - 12. For the discovery of the oracle-bone inscriptions at Daxinzhuang, see Fang

and the other centered in the Tengzhou 滕州 area in the south (Fig.2.2).<sup>16</sup> Two major sites that represent this period are Yinjiacheng in the south and Daxinzhuang in the north.

#### II.2.1.1 The Daxinzhuang 大辛莊 Site (Middle Shang Occupation)

The Daxinzhuang site is located ten kilometers east of Jinan city. Archaeological work at Daxinzhuang started in the 1930s. Many seasons of excavation on this site during the 1930s, 1950s, 1980s and through the year 2003 have brought to light evidence of Shang cultural style materials contemporaneous to the late phase Early Shang down to the Late Shang period in Henan. Of the many years of excavations, the 2003 season provided very systematic and important information about the site. The excavations have yielded a total of ten Middle Shang period houses, thirty tombs dated from Yinxu Phase I to Phase III, and three hundred storage pits, representing the residential remains and cemetery at Daxinzhuang. Moreover, hundreds of inscribed oracle bone fragments have been discovered, with some similar features to the non-royal group oracle bone inscriptions in Anyang. Based on the ceramics excavated in 2003, this site is periodized

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Hui, "Jinan Shi Daxinzhuang yizhi chutu Shangdai jiaguwen," *Kaogu* 2003.6, 6-18. Han Mingxiang, "Shandong Changqing, Huantai faxian shangdai qingtongqi," *Wenwu* 1982.1, 86-87. Shandong sheng bowuguan, "Shandong Changqing chutu qingtongqi," *Wenwu* 1964.4, 41-47. Shandong daxue lishixi kaogu zhuan, "Shandong Zouping Dinggong yizhi shijue jianbao," *Kaogu* 1989. 5, 391-398; "Shandong Zouping Dinggong yizhi di er san ci fajue jianbao," *Kaogu* 1992.6, 496-504; "Shandongsheng Zhuangpingxian Nanchenzhuang yizhi fajue jianbao," *Kaogu* 1985.4, 303-321; Jinan shi wenhuaju wenwuchu, "Shandong Zhangqiu Mapengbei yizhi diaocha jianbao," *Kaogu* 1995.4, 16-19. Li Kailing, "Shandong Yucheng Qihexian guyizhi diaocha jianbao," *Kaogu* 1996.4, 25-30.

<sup>16</sup> Sites include Lülou 呂樓, Xuanyuanzhuang 軒轅莊, Dakangliu 大康留 and Yinjiacheng 尹家城, Panmiao 潘廟, Fenghuangtai 鳳凰臺, Tianqimiao 天齊廟 in the Si 泗 River valley. See Tengzhou shi bowuguan, "Shandong Tengzhoushi Xuehe xiayou chutu de shangdai qingtongqi," *Kaogu* 1996.5, 29-31. "Shandong Tengzhoushi faxian Shangdai qingtongqi," *Wenwu* 1993.6, 95-96. Shandong daxue lishixi kaogu zhuan, "Shandong Jining Panmiao yizhi fajue jianbao," *Wenwu* 1991.2, 69-80; "Shandong Jining Fenghuangtai yizhi fajue jianbao," *Wenwu* 1991.2, 55-60; "Sishui Tianqimiao yizhi fajue de zheyao shouhuo," *Wenwu* 1994.12, 34-41.

into eight phases, and the general chronological correlation between Daxinzhuang and the Shang remains in the Central Plains can be summarized as follows:<sup>17</sup>

Daxinzhuang Phase I	:	Upper Erligang
Daxinzhuang Phases II–IV	:	Middle Shang period
Daxinzhuang Phases V–VIII	:	Yinxu Phases I–IV

Bronzes from Daxinzhuang resemble those in Henan. For instance, the eleven bronzes from tomb no. 106, including *gu*, *jue*, *jia* and *zun*, are all of Shang cultural type. Based on the observation of production traditions, two systems of ceramics are recognized, one of which is the typical Shang ceramic assemblage, the other pottery manufactured in the indigenous tradition, primarily domestic cooking vessels such as *yan*-steamers, *ding*-cauldron, and *li*-tripods. These local ceramic technology and vessel types are clearly rooted in the Yueshi culture tradition of the early second millennium B.C. in Shandong.<sup>18</sup> During the excavation, the pottery types of two traditions were always found co-occurrent in the same archaeological unit dated to the early phase of Daxinzhuang occupation (Daxinzhuan Phases I-IV), suggesting that the two material cultures coexisted for a long time in this region. In the later phases of occupation (Daxinzhuang Phases V-VIII), the material assemblage was all Shang cultural style. The Yueshi culture was thus replaced by the Shang culture, as indigenous ceramic traditions

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<sup>17</sup> See Chen Xuexiang, “Shandong diqu Shang wenhua juluo xingtai yanjiu,” *Huaxia kaogu* 2007.1, 102-113, 139.

<sup>18</sup> Xu Ji, “Shang wenhua Daxinzhuang leixing chulun,” in *Zhongguo kaogu xue hui di jiuci nianhui lunwenji* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1997), pp.205-20; “Jinan Daxinzhuang Shandai wenhua yicun de zai renshi,” in *Zhongguo Shang wenhu guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaikequanshu , 1998), pp. 265-81. “Shang wenhua dongjian chulun,” *Dongnan wenhua* 1994.2, 8-13. For a systematic study of the Daxinzhuang site, see Li Min, “Conquest, Concord and Consuming: Becoming the Shang in Eastern China” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2008), pp. 68-88.



disappeared from the assemblage beginning from the Late Shang period. This situation implies a gradual process of cultural assimilation of the local culture by the Shang culture.<sup>19</sup>

Together with other Shang cultural sites around it across the Jinan plain, the Daxinzhaung site may have served as an important political center for Shang expansion in this region.

#### II.2.1.2 The Yinjiacheng Site

This site is located in the Sishui 泗水 County in southern Shandong and has been identified as one of the typical subtypes of the Yueshi culture before the Shang period. The Shang cultural style materials come from fifty-two pits, five burials, and three house floors. Three *li* tripod from pit H35 demonstrate clear Shang cultural features. Pottery *pen* basin is also similar to those found in the Shang center in Zhengzhou 鄭州 (Fig. 2.3).<sup>20</sup> The ceramic assemblage during the Middle Shang period at the Yinjiacheng site differed from the Yueshi assemblage in both styles and vessel types. It is known that the majority of Yueshi pottery were hand-made brown wares and plain-surfaced and some had decorations of ridges, geometric motifs, and polychrome painting. In contrast, Shang culture vessels were predominantly wheel-made grey ware, characterized by an evenly built body and cord-impressed decoration on the surface. The most visible change in the ceramic assemblage of Yinjiacheng during the Middle Shang period was manifested in

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<sup>19</sup> Xu Ji, "Shang wenhua dongjian chulun," *Dongnan wenhua* 1994.2, 8-13.

<sup>20</sup> Shandong daxue lishixi kaogu zhuanye, *Sishui yinjiacheng* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990).

the central role of the vessel type *li* tripod and the decline of the *ding* tripod.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, other standard Yueshi vessel types like grey lidded-cups with a ridge design on the plain body, oval-shaped containers, several varieties of bowls, and polychrome painted wares did not appear in the ceramic assemblage during the Middle Shang occupation in this site. Shang-style pottery dominated in the assemblage.

In contrast with the coexistence of Shang materials with those of the local culture at Daxinzhuang in the north, the Middle Shang period occupation at Yinjiacheng showed a rapid ascendancy of Shang-styled materials, marking an abrupt, instead of gradual, cultural change in the archaeological remains.<sup>22</sup> This interpretation is supported by information from the archaeological recording of the Tianqimiao 天齊廟 site that the stratigraphic layer containing unambiguous Shang style materials overlapped directly above the Yueshi cultural level.<sup>23</sup> This phenomenon indicates a process of cultural change in the regional culture developmental scheme beginning in the Middle Shang period.

### ***II.2.2 The Late Shang period***

Contemporary with the Late Shang period in the Central Plain, the distribution of Shang cultural sites underwent some important changes in Shandong: more and larger sites with Shang cultural contents were distributed in northern Shandong than in the south

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<sup>21</sup> Li Min, "Conquest, Concord and Consuming: Becoming the Shang in Eastern China," p.50.

<sup>22</sup> Xu Ji, "Shang wenhua dongjian chulun," *Dongnan wenhua* 1994.2, 8-13; Li Min, "Conquest, Concord and Consuming : Becoming the Shang in Eastern China," p. 50.

<sup>23</sup> Shandong daxue kaogu zhuan, "Si shui tianqi miao de zhuyao faxian," *Wenwu* 1994.12, 34-42.

(Fig 2.4).<sup>24</sup> In the north, the Shang cultural center seems to have been moved further eastward from Daxinzhuang to Huantai 桓臺, then to Subutun 蘇埠屯.<sup>25</sup> And in the south, the Tengzhou 滕州 area developed into a regional polity center in the late phase of Late Shang period, which is represented by the Qianzhangda 前掌大 site.<sup>26</sup> It is also worth mentioning that in northeastern Shandong, many sites or workshops associated with salt

<sup>24</sup> Chen Shuqing, “Shandong diqu Shang wenhuabianqian yu leixing yanjiu,” *Huaxia kaogu* 2003.1, 52-68.

<sup>25</sup> The main Late Shang sites include: Liujiashuang 劉家莊 at Jinan, Xiaotun 小屯 at Changqing 長清, Hongfan 洪范 in Pingyin 平陰, Shijia 史家 in Huantai 桓臺, Lanjiacun 蘭家村 in Binxian 賓縣, Daguo 大郭 in Huimin 惠民, Yuanshang 院上 in Weifang 濰坊, Gucheng 古城 in Shouguang 壽光. See Qi Yanpei, “Shandong Yidu subutun chutu tongqi diaochaji,” *Zhongguo kaoguxuebao*, 2 (1947): 167-177. Shandong sheng bowuguan, “Shandong Yidu Subutun diyihao nuli xunzang mu,” *Wenwu* 1972.8, 17-30. “Shandong Changqing chutu de qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1964.4, 41-47. Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Qingzhoushi bowuguan, “Qingzhoushi Subutun Shangdai muzang fajue baogao,” *Haidai kaogu* 1(1989): 254-273. Xia Mingcai and Liu Huaguo, “Shandong qingzhou subutun muqun chutu de qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1996.5, 21-28. Other major Shang sites include, see Li Xiaofeng and Yang Dongmei, “Jinan Liujiashuang Shangdai qingtongqi,” *Dongnan wenhua* 2001.3, 22-26. Pingyinxian bowuguan choubiechu, “Shandong Pingyin Hongfan shang mu qingli jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1992.4, 93-95. Zhang Guangming, “Huantai Shijia yizhi fajue huo zhongda shouhuo,” *Zhongguo wenwubao*, May 18th, 1997; “Shandong Huantai Shijia yizhi fajue shouhuo de zai renshi,” in *Xia Shang Zhou wenming yanjiu: 1997 Shandong Huantai Zhongguo Yinshang wenming xueshu yantaohui* (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian, 1999). See Shandong sheng wenwu guanlichu, *Shandong wenwu xuanji* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1959), pp.36-38; Wang Sili, “Huimin zhuanqu jichu gudai wenhua yizhi,” *Wenwu* 1960.3, 91-94; Shandong Huimin xian wenhuaguan, “Shandong Huiminxian faxian Shangdai qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1974.3, 208. Cao Qiyuan, “Fangziqu Yuanshang yizhi faxian shangdai qingtongqi,” *Haidai kaogu* 1989 (1): 313-314. See also Weifangshi bowuguan, “Shandong Weifang diqu Shang Zhou yizhi diaocha,” *Kaogu* 1993.9, 781-799. Shouguang xian bowuguan, “Shandong Shouguangxian faxian yipi jiguo tongqi,” *Wenwu* 1985.3, 1-11.

<sup>26</sup> See Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi* (Beijing: wenwu.2005). Other sites include Jingting 井亭, Houhuangzhuang 後黃莊, Jisuo 級索, Zhongzhai 種寨 in Tengzhou 滕州; Sitai 寺臺 and Jiaogudi 窖壩堆 in Sishui 泗水; Huafeichang 化肥廠, Xiding 西丁, Xiaoxiwei 小西韦 in Zouxian 鄒縣; and Feixian 費縣, Donggaoyao 東高堯 in Cangshan 蒼山. See Kong Fanyin, “Shandong Tengxian Jingting meikuang deng di faxian shangdai qingtongqi ji gu yizhi muzang,” *Wenwu* 1959.12, 67-68. Tengzhoushi bowuguan, “Shandong Tengzhou shi xuehe xiayou chutu de shangdai qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1996.5, 29-31. “Shandong Tengzhou shi faxian Shangdai qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1993.6, 95-96. Qi Wentao, “Gaishu jinnian lai Shandong chutu de Shang Zhou qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1972.5, 3-18. Zhao Zongxiu, “Shandong Sishui faxian Shangdai qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1988.3, 254. Xie Huaying, “Shandong Sishui faxian yipi Shangdai qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1986.12, 1139. Wang Jun, “Shandong Zoucheng shi Xiding cun faxian yizuo shangdai muzang,” *Kaogu* 2004.1, 94-96. Wang Yanjing, “Shandongsheng Zouxian you faxian Shangdai tongqi,” *Wenwu* 1974.1, 77. Cheng Changxin, “Beijing lianxuan yizu ershiba jian Shangdai dai ming tongqi,” *Wenwu* 1982.9, 34-43. Linyi wenwu shoujizu, “Shandong Cangshanxian chutu qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1965.7, 27-30.

production have been discovered around the Bohai Bay coast. The distribution of these archaeological sites with Shang cultural contents shows that the eastern limit of Shang cultural remains neither spanned beyond the Wei River in the north nor extended beyond the Yi 沂 River and Shu 沭 River in southern Shandong.

#### II.2.2.1 The Subutun Site

Subutun, an important political center in the Qingzhou 青州 region during the Late Shang period, is located approximately 20 kilometers northeast of Qingzhou city. In 1965-1966 a chariot pit and four elite tombs were discovered, and the excavation in 1986 yielded six more tombs from the same cemetery.<sup>27</sup> Based on the analysis of the ceramics and ritual bronzes and their close connection with the findings in Anyang, this cemetery was dated directly by the chronology of Anyang to Yinxu Phases III and IV. Excavated in 1965, tomb no. 1 is the largest tomb in this cemetery. It was a rectangular shaft with four ramps and has a cross-shaped wooden chamber surrounded by second-level platforms (*ercengtai* 二層臺). In the floor of the burial chamber are two distinct pits. These mortuary practices resemble closely the royal tombs in Anyang. Although the tomb had been looted, the remaining bronze vessels, weapons, pottery, jade objects, gold foil, and 3,700 cowry shells still testify to a rich grave furnished in the same fashion as the large tombs in Anyang. Four bronzes, including a pair of large ceremonial bronze axes, bear the inscription of Ya Chou 亞醜, symbolizing the high political status and authority of

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<sup>27</sup> Shandong sheng bowubuan, "Shandong Yidu Subutun diyihao nuli xunzang mu," *Wenwu* 1972.8, 17-30. Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Qingzhoushi bowuguan, "Qingzhoushi Subutun Shangdai muzang fajue baogao," *Haidai kaogu* 1(1989): 254-273.

the tomb occupant. In addition, forty-eight human sacrifices and six dogs were buried in various parts of the tomb, which is also identified as Shang practice. This tomb is the highest-rank elite tomb ever found outside Anyang. The two burials tomb no. 7 and no. 8, excavated in 1986, also yielded sets of ritual bronzes containing the inscription Ya Chou 亚醜 or the graph Rong 融 (Fig.2.5). Since 1930s, some bronzes bearing the emblem of Ya Chou 亚醜 have been found in the Qingzhou area, including one bronze vessel and six bronze spearheads. They provide a reference to identify fifty-six unprovenanced bronzes with the same emblem from antiquarian catalogues.<sup>28</sup>

Tombs no.3 and no.5 had two ramps and tombs no.2, n.8, and no.11 all had one ramp, and they were still generously filled with ritual bronzes, weapons, and horse and chariot trappings. Human and dog sacrifices were also found on the second-level platform.<sup>29</sup> The layout of the cemetery seems planned, with tomb no.1 in the center, tombs no.8 and no.11 in the south and north respectively and other tombs situated between the tombs no.8 and no.11.

Much research has focused on the political affiliation of this site. Some argue it represents the Bogu 薄姑 polity, a pro-Shang polity which was eliminated during the second conquest of Zhou;<sup>30</sup> others think that it represents the Qi 齊 polity during the

<sup>28</sup> Yin Zhiyi, “Shandong Yidu Subutun mudi de yachou tongqi,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1977.2, 23-33.

<sup>29</sup> Qi Wentao, “Gaishu jinniann lai Shandong chutu de Shang Zhou qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1972.5, 3-18. Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Qingzhoushi bowuguan, “Qingzhoushi Subutun Shangdai muzang fajue baogao,” *Haidai kaogu* 1 (1989): 254-273.

<sup>30</sup> See Yin Zhiyi, “Shandong Yidu Subutun mudi de yachou tongqi,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1977.2, 23-33. Others argue for its association with the locations of the Zhenguan 斟灌 and Zhenxun 斟鬲 of the Xia period, see Wang Shuming, “Yachou chu lun,” in *Dong yi guguoshi yanjiu* (Xi’an: Sanqin, 1990), vol.2, pp.76-99.

Shang period or it is the place where Qi state was first established by the Zhou after the conquest.<sup>31</sup>

The bronzes that bear the inscription Ya Chou provide very important clues for the identification of this site. A Yinxu oracle bone inscription records that Minor Officer Chou 醜 (*Xiaochen* Chou 小臣醜) was commanded by the Shang King to set up a garrison in the east.<sup>32</sup> This suggests a connection between the Subutun cemetery and the royal officer Chou and a possible Shang polity in its eastern frontier. Moreover, both bronzes and ceramic assemblages from Subutun show typical Shang cultural features. Further consideration of the close resemblance between the Subutun cemetery and the Late Shang royal tombs in Anyang, in terms of the composition of burial goods, the extravagant display of wealth, and the layout and construction techniques of the tombs, supports the argument that the Subutun cemetery represents a powerful Shang presence in this area.<sup>33</sup> Although the current evidence is still not sufficient to determine whether the cemetery belonged to a group of high Shang elites who moved out of Anyang, or belonged to a group of local elites who adopted the Shang political-military title *ya* 亞 together with a genuine Late Shang culture if they were not originally Shang, there seems to be of little doubt that they were politically and culturally integrated with Anyang.

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<sup>31</sup> Li Ling, “Subutun de yaqi tongqi,” *Wenwu tiandi* 1992.6, 42-45. Kikawada Osamu, “Qiguo shifengdi kao-Shandong subutun yizhi de xingzhi,” *Wenwu chunqiu* 2005.4, 69-78.

<sup>32</sup> It reads, “Crack making on *xinmao* day, the king divined: ‘command Minor Official Chou to set up the garrison in the east’. The king divined and said: “Great Auspicious” (HJ36419: [辛卯, 王(卜贞), 小臣醜其作困于東對。王占曰: 大吉。])

<sup>33</sup> Robert Bagley, “Shang Archaeology,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 219-21.

There is certainly the possibility that the area is where the lineage of the prominent Shang official Chou resided, mentioned in the oracle-bone inscription.<sup>34</sup>

### II.2.2.3 The Qianzhangda 前掌大 Site

In southern Shandong, the Qianzhangda site is located in the Guanqiao 官橋 county, Tengzhou city. From 1981 to 1998, eight excavations were conducted on this site, yielding 111 burials, 5 chariot pits, and 10,000 pieces of artifacts. Several seasons of excavations have identified Longshan, Yueshi, Middle Shang, Late Shang, and Early Western Zhou components at this site and suggest that it might have been a large and important political center during the Late Shang period.<sup>35</sup> This cemetery is divided into two parts: the northern section and the southern section. Many tombs in the northern section have single or double ramps with human and animal sacrifices. The excavations yield 175 bronzes, 345 jade objects, 294 pottery vessels, 14 proto-porcelain vessels, and 17 stamped stonewares as well as shell objects and lacquer wares. Many bronzes and jade objects show identical features with those typical artifacts of the Late Shang period in terms of shapes, manufacture techniques, suggesting the significant cultural influence from the Shang. In particular, the 14 proto-porcelain vessels, possibly imported from the Central Plain in these burials, also imply close connection and interaction between the Qizhangda site and the Shang.<sup>36</sup> It is also worth mentioning that most of the tombs in this

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<sup>34</sup> Guo Yanli, “Ye lun Subutun mudi de xingzhi,” in *Sandai Kaogu* (Beijing: kexue, 2009), pp.247-72. Fang Hui, “Shangzhou shiqi Lubei diqu haiyanye de kaoguxue yanjiu,” *Kaogu* 2004.4, 53-67.

<sup>35</sup> Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Tengzhou Qianzhangda* (Beijing: Wenwu, 2005).

<sup>36</sup> Liang Zhonghe, “Qianzhangda mudi yuanshi ciqi de faxian yu yanjiu,” in *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi*, pp.611-17.

cemetery have a waist-pit on the bottom, usually with a dog sacrifice in it. 77% of the 36 tombs in the northern section and 41% of the tombs in the southern section follow this mortuary practice. Since the popularity of waist-pits is one of the important characteristics of Late Shang burials in the Central Plain, the high proportion of the waist-pits in Qianzhangda also suggest the Shang cultural influence.

Tombs from both sections contained bronze vessels with the lineage emblem “Shi” 史. In the eleven tombs from the well-preserved southern section, twenty out of sixty ritual bronze vessels from various burials bear this inscription, sufficient to establish an association with a Shi lineage here. Although the excavators and many other scholars identify the site as the remains of the Xue 薛 state during the Shang period, Kikawada Osamu 黄川田修 argues that the earliest location of the capital of the Lu state of the Western Zhou may have been located near the cemetery of the Qianzhangda site.<sup>37</sup> Other scholars identify the Qianzhangda site as Yan 奄, another pro-Shang polity which was eliminated during the second conquest carried out by Zhou.<sup>38</sup> Among these opinions, the Xue attribution seems to be supported by the inscriptions. Wang Entian has identified several bronze inscriptions that contain both the emblem Shi 史 and the character Xue 薛, indicating that Shi was indeed the ruling clan of the state of Xue during the Late Shang

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<sup>37</sup> See Kikawada Osamu, “Kyokufu izen no Ro Koku no shozai ni taisuru ichi shiron: Chugoku Santo shoZenshodai iseki no shomondai” 曲阜以前の魯国の所在に対する一試論: 中國山東前掌大遺跡の諸問題, *Kokogaku zasshi* 考古學雜誌 86(2001): 1-48.

<sup>38</sup> Hu Binghua, “Yanguo shi zhi chutan,” in *Dongyi guoguooshi yanjiu* (Xi’an: Sanqin, 1990), vol.2, pp.24-35; Shao Wangping, “Yu Gong Jiuzhou de kaoguxue yanjiu,” in *Kaoguxue wenhua lunwenji* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1989), vol.2, pp.11-30; Li Xueqin, “Xia Shang Zhou yu Shandong,” in *Zhongguo gudai wenming yanjiu* (Shanghai: Huadong Shifan daxue, 2005), pp. 374-382.



and Early Western Zhou.<sup>39</sup> He has also provided references to the Xue state in the oracle bone inscriptions from Anyang, with inquiries such as building the settlement at Xue, the Shang king divining at Xue, Xue presenting horses to Shang as tribute.<sup>40</sup> This suggests Xue's political relationship with the Shang in Anyang.

In sum, the elite cemeteries at Subutun in the north and Qianzhangda in the south flourished during the last phases of Late Shang and shared a wide range of common characteristics—large tombs with two or even four ramps, accompanied by significant numbers of human sacrifices which resemble the Late Shang royal tombs at Anyang, not to mention similarities between the various types of artefacts from the two cemeteries. Particularly the burial of a large number of human victims was the symbolic representation of status that replicated the practice of royal mortuary ritual used in Anyang. The extravagant display of wealth and authority in material forms consistent with the royal core indicates a robust cultural and perhaps also territorial expansion of the Shang during the Late Shang period and the high intensity of interaction that took place between Anyang and the outlying eastern Shang periphery.

### ***II.2.3 Salt production sites in the Bohai Bay***

Survey work along the Bohai Bay in recent years has revealed a wide distribution of sites that were once used or occupied by communities engaged in salt production, stretching from the Shouguang 壽光 region to the Yellow River Delta, about 100

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<sup>39</sup> Wang Entian, "Shaanxi Qishan faxian de Xue guo qingtongqi," *Kaogu yu wenwu congkan*. vol. 2, pp. 43-47, 1983.

<sup>40</sup> See Wang Entian, "Shandong Shangdai kaogu yu Shang shi zhu wenti," *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2000.4, 10-14.

kilometers to the north of Daxinzhuang. The so called “helmet-shaped” pottery jars are the most frequently encountered vessels in northern Shandong; chemical analysis of the residues in them indicates that they were used for making salt. Early in the 1950s to 1970s, large quantities of pottery shards of helmet-shaped vessels were found in some sites along the Bohai Gulf coast;<sup>41</sup> in the 1980s, at some inland sites, many intact helmet-shaped vessels were excavated.<sup>42</sup> In the summer of 2003, the Shandong Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics conducted an excavation on a salt-producing settlement at the Liwu 李屋 site in Yangxin 陽信 which dates to Yinxu Phases I-IV. This settlement consists of houses, yards, pits, pottery kilns, and a cemetery, and the helmet-shaped vessel comprises fifty percent of the whole utilitarian ceramic assemblage.<sup>43</sup> In 2007, a large-scale ground survey project on salt production along the southern Bohai Gulf coast was carried out, and more than two hundred sites associated with salt

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<sup>41</sup>These sites include Zhanhua 沾化, Binxian 濱縣, Guangrao 廣饒, Hanting 寒亭 and Shouguang 壽光. See Wang Sili, “Huimin zhuanqu jichu gudai wenhua yizhi,” *Wenwu* 1960.3, 91-92; Shandong sheng wenwu guanlichu, *Shandong wenwu xuanji* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1959), pp.1-3, 65.

<sup>42</sup>These sites include Zhaopu 趙鋪, Fenghuangtai 鳳凰臺, Bianxianwang 邊線王, Ningjiabu 寧家埠, Dinggong 丁公, Wangtuiguanzhuang 王推官莊. See Xia Mingcai, “Qingzhou shi Zhaopu yizhi de qingli,” *Haidai kaogu* 1(1989): 183-201; Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Zhangjiu Nijiabu yizhi fajue baogao,” in *Jiqing gaoji gonglu Zhangqiu gongduan kaogu fajue baogaoji* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1993), pp.5-114; “Qingzhou shi Fenghuangtai yizhi fajue,” *Haidai kaogu* 1 (1989): 141-182; “Shandong Zhangqiushi Wangtuiguanzhuang yizhi fajue baogao,” *Huaxia kaogu* 1996.4, 27-51. Jiao Xiaokong, *Shouguang kaogu yu wenwu* (Jinan: Zhongguo Wenshi, 2005), pl. 14. Shandong daxue lishi kaogu zhuanye, “Shandong Zouping Dinggong yizhi fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1989.5, 391-398; “Shandong Zouping Dinggong yizhi di er san ci fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1992. 6, 496-504.

<sup>43</sup> Yan Shengdong, “Shandong Yangxin Liwu faxian Shangdai shengchan haiyan de cunluo yizhi,” *Zhongguo wenwubao*, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2004; “Shandong Yangxin Liwu Shangdai yicun kaogu fajue jiqi yiyi,” *Gudai wenming yanjiu tongxun* 20 (2004): 9-15.

production were identified (Fig 2.6).<sup>44</sup> More recently, at the Shuangwangcheng 双王城 site in Shouguang, thirty-seven salt-production workshops have been found and numerous archaeological remains associated with salt production were brought to light, including helmet-shaped vessels, brine pits, bittern-storing pits, bittern wells, stoves for boiling brine.<sup>45</sup> These salt production sites and their associated burials generally date to Yinxu Phases III and IV of the Late Shang and the Early Western Zhou period.

These discoveries indicate that the northern Shandong area was an important salt production area, and that large scale salt production began here in Late Shang. The control of salt production may have provided another major incentive for the Late Shang presence in the Bohai Gulf coast region. This argument has been supported by a group of inscribed Late Shang bronzes excavated from a lesser elite burial at the Lanjia 蘭家 site in the Binzhou county, naming the supervisor of salt production (*lu xiaochen* 鹵小臣) in the Shang administration and indicating that Shandong salt may comprise one of the supply sources for salt consumption in the royal center of Shang.<sup>46</sup> More importantly, the presence of these salt production sites represents a significant transformation of the cultural landscape in this region by the Late Shang state.

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<sup>44</sup>Yan Shengdong, “2007 nian lubei diqu xianqin yanye kaogu gongzuo de zhuyao shouhuo,” *Gudai wenming yanjiu tongxun* 36 (2008): 43-56; Li Shuicheng and Yan Shengdong, “Shandong Guangrao Nanheya faxian daguimo yanye yizhiqun,” *Zhongguo wenwubao*, April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2008

<sup>45</sup> Yan Shengdong, “Shandong Shouguang Shuangwangcheng fxian daxing shangzhou yanye yizhiqun,” *Zhongguo wenwubao*, February Fourth, 2005. Zhu Jiping, “Lubei diqu Shang Zhou shiqi de haiyanye,” *Zhongguo keji daxue xuebao* 2005.1, 139 - 42.

<sup>46</sup> Fang Hui, “Shang Zhou shiqi Lubei diqu haiyanye de kaoguxue yanjiu,” *Kaogu* 2004.4, 53-67.

The archaeological findings presented above constitute an independent source of evidence documenting the expansion of Shang material culture in Shandong and the interactions as they developed in the local contexts. The Shang culture's expansion in Shandong involved a long process of interaction between the Shang and the indigenous Yueshi culture, which occurred differently in the north and the south of the region. In the north, at Daxinzhuang, the early Shang and Yueshi pottery traditions coexisted in the same archaeological contexts, suggesting the possibility that at least a part of the population might have indeed been Shang-affiliated, but typically lived side by side culturally different group that represents the indigenous population.<sup>47</sup> As time passed, Shang cultural elements in the Daxinzhuang site significantly increased and overshadowed the indigenous tradition. By contrast, in the south when the early Shang culture arrived, particularly in region surrounding Yinjiacheng in the Sishui County, the material assemblage appears to have been of overwhelmingly Shang tradition. In its own historical-cultural context, Yinjiacheng might have been one of the Shang cultural enclaves in Western Shandong. Therefore, some scholars use the coexistence-gradual assimilation mode and replacement-rapid intrusion mode to describe the different forms of the cultural interaction in the north and the south respectively.<sup>48</sup> Shang cultural influence in Shandong became more dominant during the Late Shang period. Bronzes bearing Shang political-military titles or lineage names have been found in northern Shandong, such as “Ya-Chou” in Subutun, the Ji 己 lineage in Shouguang 壽光 (to be

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<sup>47</sup> Xu Ji, “Shang wenhua Daxinzhuang leixing chulun,” pp.205-20.

<sup>48</sup> Xu Ji. “Shang wenhua dongjian chulun,” *Nanfang wenwu* 1994.2, 8-13.

discussed later in the dissertation), the Shu 戌 lineage in Huantai 桓臺, and Shi in Qianzhangda. Particularly the large scale salt production on the Bohai Bay and the appearance of an administrative officer for salt in the Shang bronze inscription suggests that Shang had a strong economic tie with the region. It is very likely that places like Subutun and Qianzhangda were located strongholds of the Shang state, and evidently there should have been other sites or areas in the region that were more or less under the direct control of elite individuals from the Shang court.

### **II.3. Shang Interaction with Its Eastern Neighbor: Evidence from Oracle-Bone Inscriptions**

I have analyzed archaeological evidence from northern and western Shandong that suggest the Shang material culture in the region. Relating to the recent discovery of a large area of salt-production sites long the Bohai Bay, I have also discussed the implications of the current archaeological evidence for Shang's political as well economic relationship to the region. To gain a different perspective, this section turns to the evidence in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions on the relationship between the Shang and indigenous people on the eastern periphery. The study of these inscriptions will show how the interactions between the historical Shang people and their eastern neighboring groups were described and represented in the written records.

#### ***II.3.1 Ren Fang and its relations with the Shang***

From the oracle-bone inscriptions from the Shang center Anyang, we know that the word “Fang” 方 was used by the Shang to describe outlying polities not under the

political control of Shang. And “Ren Fang” 人方 or “Shi Fang” 尸方, or “Yi Fang” 夷方 (depending on how the first graph is interpreted) was a term which appeared to have designated groups on the eastern periphery of Shang who did not accept the Shang’s claim to be the only authority.<sup>49</sup> According to etymological studies, the character Yi 夷 is a combination of the elements *ren* 人 and *shi* 尸; and Yi 夷 and Shi 尸 are not only graphically equivalent, but also phonetic loan words.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the character 人 or Shi 尸 was used to stand for Yi, and most scholars agree to see the Ren Fang as Yi Fang as well.<sup>51</sup>

The complexity of the Shang state’s relationship with the east is best highlighted by the inscriptions recording the Shang campaign against its powerful enemy, Ren Fang. Some contemporaneous bronzes such as the Mei *gui* 罍簋 (JC 4138) carry inscriptions that say “ling fa ren fang” 令伐人方 ([The king] commands to attack the Ren Fang), which parallels the common phrasing of the Ren Fang campaign in the oracle-bone inscriptions: “zheng Ren Fang” 正人方 (attack the Ren Fang), or “wang lai zheng Ren Fang” 王来正人方 (The king comes to attack the Ren Fang). Some other bronzes also record Shang activities with respect to the Ren Fang (Table 2.1). Besides the above

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<sup>49</sup> For a synthesis of the etymology of Yi 夷, see David Cohen, “The Yueshi Culture, the Dong Yi and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China,” pp. 248-250.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.288.

<sup>51</sup> Chen Mengjia and Dong Zuobin read it as Ren Fang 人方. See Chen Mengjia, *Yinxu buci zongshu* (Beijing: kexue, 1956), pp.301-309. Dong Zuobin, “Jiaguwen duandai yanjiu li,” in *Qingzhu Cai Yuanpei xiansheng liushiwu sui lunwenji* (Beiping: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 1933), pp.366-73. Guo Moruo read it as Shi Fang 尸, see Guo Moruo, “Buci tongzuan,” in *Guo Muoruo quanji* (Beijing: Kexue, 1982), p.462. Li Xueqin has changed over time in these two readings, finally read it as Shi Fang. Li Xueqin, “Shandai Yi Fang de minghao he difang,” *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 2006. 4, 3-7.

bronze inscriptions, our knowledge of Ren Fang comes from a series of bone inscriptions concerning the Shang campaign against them (Table 2.2).

Oracle bones inscriptions that concern the Ren Fang date to Oracle-Bone-Phases I and III-V,<sup>52</sup> and the Ren Fang are the third most commonly recorded Fang 方-polity in the entire oracle-bone inscriptions.<sup>53</sup> It has been pointed out that in Phase I, they were referred to simply as Ren or Yi, and in Phases III-V they are usually called the Ren Fang.<sup>54</sup> But this seems not to be the case, since there are few exceptions that the name of Ren Fang occurs in the Phase I inscriptions. Two divination records of the Shi 尸 group from Phase I indicate that Ren Fang was possibly one of Shang's allies in the east at some point.

1) 隹人方受佑。(HJ20612)

The Ren fang will receive blessing.

2) 庚辰卜，王。人見（獻）囿（囿）妣。生十月。(HJ 21172, HJ2402, HJ 19976)<sup>55</sup>

Crack making on the *gengchen* day, the king (says): “the Ren (fang) presents a garden-land to Lady Yi. The eleventh month.

<sup>52</sup> Previous scholars have tried to attribute the inscriptions to different royal reigns which are usually divided into five phases: Phase I: King Wu Ding 武丁; Phase II: King Zu Geng 祖庚, King Zu Jia 祖甲; Phase III: King Lin Xin, King Kang Ding 康辛, 康丁; Phase IV: King Wu Yi 武乙, King Wen Ding 文丁; Phase V: King Di Yi 帝乙, King Di Xin 帝辛. See Dong Zuobin, “Jiaguwen duandai yanjiu li,” pp.323-424.

<sup>53</sup> Shima Kunio, *Inkyo bokuji kenkyu*, pp.384-385.

<sup>54</sup> Zheng Jiexiang, *Shandai dili gailun* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhouguji, 1994), p.352.

<sup>55</sup> I follow Huang Tainshu's reading of this inscription, except the character *ren* 人, which he reads as Shi 尸, a person's name. See Huang Tianshu, *Jiagu pian he ji* (Beijing: Xueyuan, 2010), preface.

In the first inscription, the Shang king seems to have been concerned with Ren Fang and divined that Ren Fang would receive blessing. In the second, Ren Fang presented a garden-land to the Shang woman. Ren Fang not only received the blessing from the Shang king, but also sent in some “gift” to the Shang court, indicating an amiable relationship between Ren Fang and the Shang. The fact that Ren Fang was considered a possible ally and sent in a “gift” to the Shang court may seem to be an “on occasion” or “temporary” event, since we only have these two examples. However, they reflect other forms of interactions between Shang and its neighbor Ren Fang, apart from the warfares to be discussed below.

Except the above two inscriptions, the rest of the inscriptions from either Phase I or Phases IV and V present us with a quite consistent picture that Ren Fang was a powerful enemy of the Shang. Most references to Ren Fang in the bone inscriptions refer to campaigns against it. During the reign of King Wu Ding (Phase I), more than 10 inscriptions of the Bin 賓 group record that the king commanded his subordinates or allies, including the king’s consort Fu Hao, to attack the Ren Fang :

3) 王令妇好从侯告正人 (HJ6480)

The king commanded Fuhao to join Archer-Lord Gao to attack the Ren.

4) 壬午卜，王重妇好令正人 (HJ6459)

Crack making on *renwu* day, the king commanded Fuhao to attack the Ren.

More frequent wars with Ren Fang were recorded in the Phase V divination inscriptions. There is a corpus of some 150 Huang 黄 group oracle-bone inscriptions



originating from the campaigns, apparently during the reign of King Di Xin against the Ren Fang. Among the many wars with Ren Fang in the east over many decades, the campaign in the tenth year of Di Xin is the most famous one. Many studies have been devoted to constructing its itinerary and the route of the Shang army's march, which I will discuss in detail below.<sup>56</sup> Besides the campaign in the tenth year of Di Xin, two more major campaigns were undertaken against Ren Fang in the ninth year and the fifteen year of Di Xin, as evidenced by the bone inscription (HJ37852) and bronze inscription Xiaochen Yu *xizun* (JC 5990) in Table 2.1.

In short, the above inscriptions suggest that the relationship between the Shang court and the Ren Fang polity changed from time to time. It might have been amiable at some points, but antagonistic most of the time, particularly in the last years of Shang. The repeated attacks on Ren Fang during the last years of the dynasty may have been due to the disorder within the Shang state, or for the need to control salt production along the Bohai sea coast.<sup>57</sup> It is also possible that the campaigns were provoked by Ren Fang's growing power, which not only constituted a direct threat to the Shang activities in the region, but also threatened to Shang's allied polities in the east.<sup>58</sup> No matter what the real reasons were behind the wars, it is generally agreed

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<sup>56</sup> See Dong zuobin, *Yin li pu* (Sichuan: Nanqi, 1945), Xia 9, pp. 48a-63b. For the analysis of the inscriptions, see also Chen Mengjia, *Yinxu buci zongshu*, pp.301-309. Shima Kunio, *Inkyo bokuji kenkyu*, p.91. Fang Hui, "Cong kaogu faxian tan Shangdai monian de zheng Yifang," in *Haidai diqu qingtong shidai kaogu* (Jinan: Shandong daxue, 2007), pp. 357-383. For the exact date of the campaign and Di Xin's reign, see Edward Shaughnessy, "The 'Current' Bamboo Annals and the Date of the Zhou Conquest of Shang," *Early China* 11-12 (1985-1987), 45-46.

<sup>57</sup> Fang Hui, "Cong kaogu faxian tan Shangdai monian de zheng Yi Fang," p. 375.

<sup>58</sup> David Cohen, "The Yueshi Culture, the Dong Yi and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China," p. 288.

that these campaigns effectively undermined the political and military strength of Shang and led eventually to the dynasty's downfall in the hands of the Zhou conquerers.<sup>59</sup> But the key question here is where Ren Fang was located; this is the subject of the next section.

### ***II.3.2 The location of Ren Fang***

For the campaign in the tenth year of Di Xin, it is possible to correlate the dates recorded in the inscriptions to reconstruct the whole process. This campaign proceeded from the eighth month of the tenth year of Di Xin through the fifth month of the following year. Many scholars follow Dong Zuobin's initial analysis to locate Ren Fang in the middle and lower Huai River region, north of the Huai River in the area of modern northern Jiangsu and southern Shandong Provinces.<sup>60</sup> Li Xueqin originally thought that Ren Fang was located west of the Shang capital, possibly in the Wei 渭 River region in Shaanxi, but changed his view later to relocate Ren Fang in northern Shandong.<sup>61</sup> Now many scholars tend to believe that Ren Fang was located in the Shandong area. For instance, Wang Entian reexamined the route of the campaign and located Ren Fang in

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<sup>59</sup> Wang Entian, "Ren Fang weizhi yu zheng Ren Fang luxian xinzheng," in *Hu Houxuan xiansheng jinian Wenji*, ed. Zhang Yongshan (Beijing: Kexue, 1998), pp.104-116. Fang Hui, "Cong kaogu faxian tan shangdai monian de zheng Yifang," p.372.

<sup>60</sup> See Dong Zuobing, *Yin li pu*, xia 9, pp. 48a-63b. Chen Mengjia, *Yinxu buci zongshu*, pp.302-312. Zheng Jiexiang, *Shandai dili gailun* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhouguci, 1994), pp.352-386. But some scholars have located Ren Fang in the area of the Han River in the south, see Deng Shaoqin and Wen Shaofeng, "Lun Di Yi zheng ren fang shi yong bing jianghan," *Shehui kexue zhanxian* (3-4) 1982: 10-12. And some scholars thought Ren Fang was the Yi people in the west, see Rao Zongyi, "Wan Yin fa yi fang lu cheng yi shu xi yi di ming lun," in *Jiaguwen tongjian* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1999), vol.5, Preface.

<sup>61</sup> Li Xueqin, *Yindai dili jianlun* (Beijing: kexue, 1959), pp. 37-58; "Chong lun Yi fang," in *Minda shixue*, (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue, 1996), vol.1, pp. 1-5.

southern Shandong,<sup>62</sup> whereas Fang Hui argues for the location of Ren Fang either in northern Shandong, around the Zi 淄 River and Wei 潍 River area during the tenth and fifteenth year campaign, or in the Yi 沂 River and Shu 沭 River area in southeastern Shandong during the twentieth year campaign of Di Xin.<sup>63</sup> The discrepancies emerged from the different identification of specific place names such as Qi 杞, You 攸, Suo 索, and Huai 淮 mentioned in the oracle-bone inscriptions in connection to the campaigns against Ren Fang. For instance, many scholars agree with Dong Zuobin in locating the place You 攸 between the Huai River and Yangtze River, but Fang Hui, among others, placed You in northern Shandong, not far from the Qingzhou 青州 area.

Despite the above discrepancy, clear points of geographical reference can be established between campaigns against Ren Fang reconstructed mainly based on the oracle-bone inscriptions and locally discovered bronze inscriptions in Shandong. Two bronze inscriptions have provided some clues about the location of Ren Fang. The first one is the most recent excavated bronze Hui *he* 夔盃(M18:46) in the Qianzhangda site in southern Shandong and the other is Xiaochen Yu *xizun* (JC 5990) already mentioned

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<sup>62</sup> Wang Entian, “Ren Fang weizhi yu zheng ren fang luxian xin zheng,” in *Hu Houxuan xiansheng jinian wenji*, pp. 104-116.

<sup>63</sup> Li Xueqin, “Shangdai yi fang de minghao he diwang,” *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 2006.4,3-7; “Chong lun yi fang,” *Minda shixue*, vol.1, pp.1-5; “Di Xin zheng ren fang buci de kuoda,” *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 2008.1,10-15.

above; the latter was found at the foot of the Liangshan 梁山 Mountain in western Shandong.<sup>64</sup>

The Hui *he* 𦉰盃 reads:

𦉰禽人方雍伯頑首吒，用乍父乙尊彝。史。

Hui captured the leader of Ren Fang, Yongbo, XX thereby (he) makes this sacrificial vessel for Father Yi. Shi (emblem).

This vessel was cast by Hui 𦉰, a member of Shi lineage residing near Qianzhangda, to commemorate the occasion that the leader of Ren Fang was captured. The Yongbo 雍伯 (Elder of Yong) represents probably one branch of Ren Fang and the place name *yong* 雍 was identified with the Yong 雍 River, which originates in Shangqiu 商丘 and flows into the Si 泗 River in southern Shandong. Therefore, Yong was located somewhere between the Huai 淮 River and the Si River in southern Shandong or northern Jiangsu.<sup>65</sup> Considering the fact that both this bronze *he* and the Xiaochen Yu *xizun* were found in southern or southwestern Shandong, it is very likely that Ren Fang was located in the southern Shandong area for some duration in Late Shang period.<sup>66</sup>

However, it is worth noting that the distribution of the Ren Fang, rather than being fixed throughout their period of activity, is more likely to have shifted at different times

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<sup>64</sup> For Hui *he*, see *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi*, p.302. Xiaochen Yu *xizun* was one of the famous “Seven bronzes from Liangshan” found during the Daoguang era of Qing (1821-1850 AD). Now it is housed in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco.see *Jining zhou jinshi zhi* (1845), I, pp.10-16.

<sup>65</sup> Feng Shi, “Qianzhangda mudi chutu tongqi mingwen huishi,” in *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi*, pp.583-588.

<sup>66</sup> See also Shi Yadang (Adam Schwartz), “Qianzhangda mudi chutu hui he tongqi mingwen bushi,” *Dongfang kaogu* 5 (2009): 124-138.

in response to fluctuations in the strength of Shang power relative to that of Ren Fang.<sup>67</sup> Some oracle-bone inscriptions mention the place Qishi 齊師, serving as a sort of frontline base for the Shang army to attack Ren Fang (HJ 36493); this was almost undoubtedly located in northern Shandong around the Linzi area. If we correlate the discoveries of Ya Chou bronzes at the Subutun cemetery in Qingzhou with the bone inscription that records Chou's participation in the campaign against Ren Fang, it seems that Ren Fang was also possibly located in the northern Shandong region.<sup>68</sup> However, this may not have happened in the tenth year of the Shang king Di Xin.

In short, the polity or polities called “Ren Fang” in the Shang oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions evidently located in the Shandong region, although its actual distribution might have shifted from time to time. Campaigns against Ren Fang might have taken place at different locales in different reign years of a Shang king.

#### **II. 4. Beyond the Shang Culture: Indigenous Cultures in the Jiaodong Peninsula**

Archaeological evidence from the eastern part of Shandong during the Shang period shows little or no sign of a material culture that can be related to Shang. The ceramic assemblage here presents a sharp decrease in cord-marked grey ware that characterizes the Shang ceramic industry and is comprised predominantly of wares made using local forms and technology. The Jiaodong Peninsula during the Shang period was dominated by the late phase of Yueshi culture and the early and middle phases of

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<sup>67</sup> Fang Hui, “Cong kaogu faxian tan shangdai monian de zheng yifang,” pp.365-370.

<sup>68</sup> Fang Hui, “cong kaogu fa xian tan Shang dai monian fa yifang,” pp.360-376. For the oracle bone inscription about Chou's participation in the campaign against Ren Fang, see *Yinxu shu qi qianbian* 5.30.1.

Zhenzhumen 珍珠門 culture. Contemporary with the early Shang period in the west, the late Yueshi ceramic tradition observed at the Zhaogezhuang 照格莊 site near the eastern end of the Shandong Peninsula is defined as the “Zhaogezhuang type,” representing a regional variation of the Yueshi culture in the Jiaodong Peninsula. In the next period, roughly contemporary to the Middle Shang in the west, another distinct archaeological culture called Zhenzhumen Culture” formed the main material remains of the indigenous people across the Jiaodong Peninsula until the expansion of the Zhou culture into this area.

#### *II.4.1 The Late phase of the Yueshi culture (Zhaogezhuang type)*

The Zhaogezhuang type is distributed to the east of the Jiaolai River and represents the distinctive eastern distribution area of the Yueshi culture in the Jiaodong Peninsula. Sites include Zhaogezhuang in Mouping 牟平,<sup>69</sup> Beizhuang 北莊 and Dakou 大口 in Changdao,<sup>70</sup> Zhishui 芝水 in Yantai 烟臺,<sup>71</sup> Simatai 司马臺 in Haiyang 海阳,<sup>72</sup> Beichengzi 北城子 in Qixia 栖霞, etc.<sup>73</sup> The ceramic culture in this region is

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<sup>69</sup>Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Shandongui and Yantaishi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Shandong Muping Zhaogezhuang yizhi,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1986.4, 447-78.

<sup>70</sup> Beijing daxue kaogu shixidui et al., “Shandong Changdao Beizhuang yizhi fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1987.5, 385-394; “Shandong Changdao xian shiqian yizhi,” *Shiqian yanjiu* 1983.1, 114-130. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Shandongui, “Shandong sheng Changdao xian Tuojiadao Dakou yizhi,” *Kaogu* 1985.12, 1068-1089.

<sup>71</sup> Beijing daxue kaogu shixidui and Yantai ahi bowuguan, “Yantai Zhishui yizhi fajue baogao,” in *Jiaodong kaogu*, ed. Yan Wenming (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2000), pp. 96-150.

<sup>72</sup> Yantai shi wenguanhui and Haiyang xian bowuguan, “Shandong Haiyang Simatai yizhi qingli jianbao,” *Haidai kaogu* 1(1989): 250-52.

<sup>73</sup> Han Rong, “Qixia xian Beichengzi longshan wenhua ji yueshi wenhua yizhi,” *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian* 1989 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990), pp.233-34.

characterized by gritty-clay wares mostly tempered with mica flakes or ground talc. A common phenomenon at Zhaogezhuang-type sites is that the majority of mica-tempered pottery was hand-made; the plain-surfaced pottery comprises nearly ninety percent of the ceramic assemblage. The ceramic types encompass large numbers of common Yueshi vessels such as *yan* steamer, *guan* jars, fitted-lid *guan* jars, shallow-dish *dou* and mushroom knob lids. But these vessels also display unique regional characteristics. For example, many of the *yan* steamers have a nipple-shaped, protruding, solid tip on their legs; the fitted-lid *guan* have large mouths, and the *dou* have a short, wide ring-foot instead of a long narrow stem ( Fig.2.7)

While the Yueshi culture was finally interrupted by the Upper Erligang Shang Culture in western Shandong, the Jiaodong Peninsula in the post-Yueshi era developed another unique archaeological culture—the Zhenzhumen culture, directly descended from the local Yueshi culture.

#### **II.4.2 *The Zhenzhumen culture (contemporary to Late Shang )***

In 1979, Beijing University and its partners carried out regional surveys in the Jiaodong Peninsula and found that the indigenous material cultures varied greatly from that of western Shandong. In 1982 and 1983, excavations were carried out at Zhenzhumen and other sites on the Changdao 長島 Island, off the north coast of the Jiaodong peninsula, and the archaeologists identified a distinct archaeological culture.<sup>74</sup> The Zhenzhumen culture was thereby named after the type site at Zhenzhumen. Other

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<sup>74</sup> Other sites include Wanggou 王溝, Dianzi 店子, Beichengxi 北城西, Dakou 大口, and Daqinbei 大钦北. See Beijing daxue kaogu shixidu et al., “Shandong Changdao xian shiqian yizhi,” *Shiqian yanjiu* 1983.1, 114-30.

typical sites of Zhenzhumen culture include the Huiquanzhuang 会泉莊 site, the Nanhuangzhuang 南黄莊 site,<sup>75</sup> and the Zhishui 芝水 (Phase III) site.<sup>76</sup> This culture can be divided into five phases and their correlation with the Shang and Western Zhou remains is as follows:<sup>77</sup>

Zhenzhumen Phase I :	Yinxu Phase I and II (1250-1150BCE)
Zhenzhumen Phase II :	Yinxu Phase III (1150-1100BCE)
Zhenzhumen Phase III :	Yinxu Phase IV (1100-1045BCE)
Zhenzhumen Phase IV:	Early Western Zhou
Zhenzhumen Phase V :	Middle Western Zhou

The overall extent of the distribution of the Zhenzhumen culture covers most Jiaodong peninsula, Jiaolai Plain, the Mi River and Wei River areas and southeastern Shandong. Moreover, during my visits to the local museums or cultural relics administration offices on the peninsula, such as those in Changle 昌樂, Jiaoxian 膠縣, Muping 牟平, Yantai 煙臺, Wendeng 文登, Rongcheng 榮城, and Mengyin 蒙陰, I encountered a large number of pottery vessels that can be identified as belonging to the Zhenzhumen culture.<sup>78</sup> But unfortunately, there are very few formal excavation reports

<sup>75</sup> Beijing daxue kaoguxi et al, “Shandong Rushan xian Nanhuangzhuang Xi Zhou shibanmu fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1991.4, 332-36.

<sup>76</sup> Zhang Jiangkai, “Yantai Zhishui Shangdai yizhi” in *1984 Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985), p.119.

<sup>77</sup> Liu Yanchang, “Zhenzhumen wenhua chutan,” *Huaxia kaogu* 2001.4, 94-105.

<sup>78</sup> For example, at Xi'an Zhuang 西庵莊 in Jiaoxian 膠縣, Houyuli 後于劉 in Changle 昌樂, and Xichangming 西長明 in the Mengyin 蒙陰 County, Zhenzhumen materials were discovered, but were not



for these materials. Most of them are samples collected from the fields and obtained without formal excavations.

However, studies of the ceramics suggest that the Zhenzhumen culture was the direct lineal descendent of the Yueshi culture, represented by the Zhaogezhuang site on the Jiaodong peninsula. Archaeological discoveries at Louzizhuang 娄子莊 in the Longkou 龍口 city and the Zhishui 芝水 (Phase II) site in Yantai suggest a transitional phase between these two archaeological cultures.<sup>79</sup> The ceramic assemblage of Zhenzhumen culture mainly consists of the reddish-brown wares tempered with mica flakes or ground talc, and most of them followed the local tradition of hand-shaping and low-temperature-firing techniques. Vessel types include *yan*-steamers, *li*-tripods, *gui*-tureens, *wan*-bowls with ring foot, *guan* jars, among which the plain-surfaced *li* tripod and *yan* steamer are the most idiosyncratic. The majority of the local wares of Zhenzhumen culture were characterized by plain surfaces created by scraping, with only a small number of vessels decorated with coarse cord marks (Fig.2.8).

Despite the limited knowledge we currently have of the Zhenzhumen culture, it has been agreed that the Zhenzhumen culture did not span beyond the Mi River in the west and the Shang did not penetrate into the Jiaodong Peninsula and southeastern Shandong. Although sporadic finds of Shang-styled pottery *li* appear in a few Zhenzhumen-type sites, it is clear that the spread of Shang influence was quite limited and perhaps very weak in eastern Shandong judging from the predominance of material

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published. The cultural contents of these sites were purely indigenous, reddish-brown ware with sand tempers.

<sup>79</sup> Wang Fuqiang, "Shandong Longkou Louzizhuang yizhi you zhongyao faxian," *Zhongguo wenwubao*, April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2003.

remains belonging to the indigenous culture. This picture, however, changed dramatically after the Zhou conquest of the Shang, as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

## Conclusion

In the present chapter, I have analyzed in detail the process of expansion of the Shang material culture into the Shandong region during the later half of the second millennium B.C. The Shang style material culture first reached the region during the late phase of the Early Shang period in very limited scope and perhaps was restricted to isolated areas. In a large part of northern and southern Shandong, this initial state seems to have been followed soon by a rapid and comprehensive shift to the Shang material culture during the Middle Shang period. On the other hand, the indigenous material culture in northern and western Shandong—the remnant of the Neolithic to early Bronze-Age Yueshi culture—seems to have been nearly subsumed by the imposition of a completely new ceramic assemblage in this period, evident in the utilitarian wares found in both the residential areas and cemeteries. Furthermore, the locations of the prominent sites with mainly Shang cultural contents also suggest two advancing routes or directions of Shang cultural expansion: one points to the north, and the other points to the south. The northern route was centered in the Jinan area (at Daxinzhuang) in the early to middle Shang period and extended further east to the Zi 淄-Wei 潍 River area (centered at Subutun) during the Late Shang period, which can be summarized as the “Daxinzhuang-Huantai-Subutun route.”<sup>80</sup> Studies of the recently discovered salt-production sites along the Bohai Gulf coast suggests that the main purpose of this line of expansion was to

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<sup>80</sup> Xu Ji, “Shang wenhua dongjian chulun,” *Nanfang wenwu* 1994. 8-13,53.

control the production and transportation of sea salt from the coastal region to the inland of North China. In the south, the advancing post was first set up in southwestern Shandong and further extended into the Wen 汶 River and Si 泗 River valleys to connect the Central Plain with the Huai 淮 River and even the lower Yangzi delta.

The political-historical background of the Shang cultural expansion can be fully learned from the contemporaneous written records including the Shang oracle bone inscriptions from Anyang and some from Daxinzhuang, and the bronze inscription found in northern and western Shandong where the Shang material culture was dominant. These inscriptions indicated the existence of multiple Shang-derived or pro-Shang lineages in the regions, and it seems very likely that such cemeteries as Subutun and Qianzhangda with high rank elite tombs were once near certain political stronghold of Shang. Of particular interests are a large number of oracle bone and bronze inscriptions that provide consistent information about a series of military campaigns carried out by the last Shang king against Ren Fang, which was an indigenous polity or polities located mainly from southern Shandong to the northern Huai River region. The many wars they have had with the Shang state not only indicate the hostile relationship between the two during the Late Shang period, but also imply the intensity of resistance from the indigenous people to Shang in western Shandong. Bronzes inscriptions discovered in the region such as the Xianchen Yu *xizun* and the Hui *he* are particularly important because they mention Shang's campaign against Ren Fang in a local context, thus providing key links between the political Shang state and the western Shandong region. Thus, the written record and

the archaeological record support one another in co-telling the process of Shang political as well as cultural expansion into western and northern Shandong.

However, Shang expansion to the east seems to have been ultimately limited to the west of the Wei 濰 River; beyond this point, there is little evidence of a Shang cultural influence. Farther east in the Jiaodong Peninsular, the indigenous ceramic tradition originating in earlier Yueshi culture continued to exist in new local Zhenzhumen culture, roughly contemporary with the Late Shang in the west. In southeastern Shandong, particular in the Yi River and Shu River regions, the situation is not clear due to the lack of data. But according to the large scale regional survey project carried out in the Rizhao region focusing on Liangchengzhen, the local material assemblages are mainly dominated by the indigenous cultural tradition.<sup>81</sup>

The Zhou conquest of Shang in 1045 B.C. and the subsequent campaigns the Zhou carried out their second conquest brought fundamental changes to the political-cultural landscape in western and northern Shandong. The Zhou not only succeeded in pulling out most of the previous Shang strongholds from the region, replacing them with Zhou garrisons and then regional states, but also advanced beyond the limit of Shang influence. This opened a new era of cultural and political interaction with the indigeneous population groups now mainly concentrated in eastern Shandong, which the Zhou called “Dong Yi” (Eastern barbarian) in their inscriptions cast on bronze vessels. This new process of expansion and regional social-cultural transition will be discussed in the following chapters.

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<sup>81</sup> Fang Hui, “Rizhao Liangchengzhen quyu diaocha xin shouhuo,” *Kaogu* 2002.5, 18-23.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE AGENT IN THE “FAR EAST”: NEW REGIONAL STATES ESTABLISHED BY THE HEAVEN-MANDATED ZHOU

#### Introduction

From the preceding chapter we have acquired a basic understanding of the composition of material cultures in northern, western, and eastern Shandong during the Shang period. In 1045 B.C. the Zhou overthrew the Shang, and three years later the second campaign to the east put down the rebellion of the Shang's former allies, resulting in the complete Zhou conquest of Shang. Nevertheless, coercion by military force could only solve the problem temporarily. The question arose how the Zhou state would make its presence known and respected in the larger territorial sphere. Who would perpetuate the Zhou political order after the end of the Zhou state's expansion? Different from the Zhou royal domain in the west, mainly the Wei River valley, establishing colonies in the eastern regions under Zhou's political authority was a good dynastic strategy to link the core and the eastern periphery. Such agents, known as “regional states,” in the east were responsible for the reproduction not only of the material components of the Zhou culture, but also of the social and political system of the Zhou. In this chapter, I will first introduce the theory and general mode of the establishment of regional states by the Zhou court in the east, providing the archaeological and historical context of the Early Western Zhou expansion in Shandong. Then I will take the state of Qi 齊 as a case of such regional states in the eastern periphery and discuss how it was transformed from a colony

of the Western Zhou state to an independent regional power. The choice to examine Qi is based on the fact that Qi was the closest ally of Zhou and had a Jiang 姜 surname, in contrast to other Shandong states such as Lu 魯, Teng 滕, and Cheng 郕 which were all installed by the Zhou court and were actual members of the royal Ji 姬-surnamed clan.

Qi was established at the strategic location of northern Shandong, which functioned in the historical context of the Early Western Zhou as a buffer zone between the Central Plain and the region farther to the east, occupied by indigenous groups like the Dong Yi (Eastern barbarian) people. Northern Shandong also had access to a number of important sea resources including salt, as discussed in the preceding chapter, and unused fertile land, which provided a unique and favorable environment for state development. More importantly, Qi's reforms in the Spring and Autumn period not only brought about many changes to the state itself, thus laying a solid foundation for its later rise as a superpower, but also had profound impact on many other states during the age of social change in the Eastern Zhou period. It was this non-Ji-surnamed state that rose first to the status of *Ba* 霸, "Hegemon," during the mid-Spring and Autumn period. It then developed quickly into a powerful territorial state in the east during the Warring States period, countering the power of Qin 秦 in the west, Chu 楚 in the south, and Yan 燕 in the North. Thus examining the developmental trajectory of Qi allows us to address a number of questions about state-building: How did Qi help the Western Zhou state manage its expanding settlement system in the eastern periphery? How did Qi adjust

itself and change the inherited Zhou sociopolitical system to achieve its state-building, and what is the material manifestation?

### **III.1 Zhou Colonization in the East: Theory, Strategy, and Practice**

In Early Western Zhou history, expansion and colonization were two interlocking processes through which the Western Zhou state was consolidated. The “regional states” born of the process were not only strongholds of the Zhou located far from the homeland in the Wei River valley of Shaanxi, but also windows through which the new Zhou culture gradually flowed in and took root in many areas in or around the eastern China plain. Rather than haphazardly awarding the newly conquered lands to whomever was related to the Zhou leadership, the royal court established the regional states by applying systematic planning based on far-sighted geopolitical considerations.<sup>1</sup>

#### ***III.1.1 The theory of “Heaven’s Mandate” and the grand strategy: the fengjian system***

The Zhou had a fairly elaborate ideology to explain its conquest of Shang and justify its subsequent rule over the former Shang domain and beyond. This ideology, summarized as the “Mandate of Heaven,” is a theory centered on the belief that Heaven had granted the Zhou a divine mandate to conquer the Shang and replace it with a benevolent rule.<sup>2</sup> For instance, the “Shaogao” chapter of the *Shangshu*, considered by

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<sup>1</sup> See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>2</sup> The “Mandate of Heaven” is much discussed in secondary literature. See Herrlee Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China: The Western Chou Empire* (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1970), 81-100. Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp.19-29. Choyun-Hsu and Kathryn Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, pp. 92-110.

many to be one of the few authentic pieces of literature transmitted from the Western Zhou, reads as follows:<sup>3</sup>

“Wu-hu! August Heaven, High God, has changed his principal son, and revoked the mandate of this great state of Yin. When a king receives the mandate, without limit is the grace thereof, but also without limit is the anxiety of it. Wu-hu! How can he fail to be careful! As we receive Heaven’s mandate, let it grandly be like the long years enjoyed by the Xia, and not fail of the years enjoyed by the Yin.”

The famous Mao Gong *ding* 毛公鼎 (JC2841) which most scholars date to Late Western Zhou period, also explicitly expresses such an idea:<sup>4</sup>

“Father An! Greatly illustrious were King Wen and King Wu. August Heaven has extended and made fuller their virtue— to be the mates of our Zhou state. [They] chest-carried the Great Mandate, guiding in goodwill the borderland peoples who did not come to the court, but who would then look up to the upright light of King Wen and King Wu...”

These are but two examples of the numerous contemporary references both in texts and in bronze inscriptions which express the idea that the Zhou had the heavenly decree to replace the Shang.<sup>5</sup>

Applying with this theory, Zhou kings initiated a political system that is called *fengjian* 封建 system to rule over the conquered territory, by which royal kin and some

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see Nivison, “An Interpretation of the ‘Shao Gao’,” *Early China* 20 (1995): 177-93.

<sup>4</sup> For the translation, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, p.86.

<sup>5</sup> The “Mandate of Heaven” appears in bronze inscriptions such as the Xun *gui* (JC4321), Guaibo *gui* (JC 4331) and Lai *pan*, etc. It can also be seen in a number of poems in the *Book of Poetry*, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, p.295, note79.



trusted allies were sent to the east to establish regional states as colonies. The term “*fengjian*” is a Warring State term that first appears in the *Zuo zhuan*, which means “to establish by means of marking boundaries.” By combining the two characters “feng” and “jian,” which both appear in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, this term is used to describe the new Western Zhou institution.<sup>6</sup> By bestowing land and people on Zhou leaders stationed in the east, the Zhou court set up a series of states in important locations. The archaeological discoveries of many regional states present us a broader picture of how the new geopolitical structure of the Western Zhou state was created.<sup>7</sup> Although we do not know the exact number of regional states established under the *fengjian* system, at least sixteen Ji-surnamed (Zhou royal kin) states were installed on the eastern plain and its peripheral areas, some of which occupied strategically significant positions.<sup>8</sup> In the Shandong area, Lu and Cheng controlled the eastern edge of the mountainous region and blocked the way from the Dawen River valley; Teng controlled the road south to the Huai River region and Qi, the most important marriage partner of the Zhou and a non-Ji state, controlled the road east along the northern edge of the central Shandong mountains. Those states were established not only to serve as the delegated authority of the Zhou king, but also to be pioneers in the frontier to further expand and promote Zhou’s political interests in the new land.

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<sup>6</sup> But this system had been misleadingly identified as “feudalism.” For a systematic discussion of the problems of “feudalism” and its application to Western Zhou China, see Li Feng, “Feudalism and Western Zhou China: A Criticism,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63.1 (2003): 115-44.

<sup>7</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the archaeological findings of regional states during the 1980s and 1990s, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 66-70; 300-42.

<sup>8</sup> The sixteen Ji surnamed states were Cai 蔡, Cheng 郕, Lu 魯, Wey 衛, Gao 郟, Yong 雍, Cao 曹, Teng 滕, Yu 禹, Ying 應, Fan 凡, Jiang 蔣, Xing 邢, Mao 茅, Zuo 胙, and Zhai 祭. For the strategic significance of the locations of key regional states, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 71-76.

### III.1.2 Regional states in Shandong: general mode of establishment

As for the procedure of establishing a regional state, both the transmitted texts and bronze inscriptions provide valuable information. For instance, the Yihou Ze *gui* 宜侯矢簋 (JC4320), which dates to the reign of King Kang, provides one of the earliest records of the establishment of a regional state.<sup>9</sup> In this inscription, land and people were granted to the ruler of the state of Yi 宜, including more than three hundred *zhen*-fields, thirty-five natural villages, the “residential settlements” (*zhaiyi* 宅邑), along with a population that suggests a multi-layered structure of social groups.<sup>10</sup> Another important bronze, the Ke *lei* 克罍 (JL: 987), presents us the general mode of the establishment of a regional state in a more direct manner, in this case relating to the state of Yan:<sup>11</sup>

The king said: “The Grand Protector (*taibo* 太保), you have brightened your fragrant wine and offered it to your monarch. I greatly respond to your offering, commanding Ke 克 to be ruler (*hou* 侯) in Yan 燕, to govern the Qiang 羌, Ma 馬, Zha 戠, Yu 鬲, Yu 馭, and Chang 長.” Ke arrived at Yan, took in land and its officials, and herewith makes this treasured sacrificial vessel.

<sup>9</sup> For the discovery of the Yihou Ze *gui*, see Jiangsu sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Jiangsu Dantu xian Yandunshan chutu de gudai qingtongqi,” *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 1955.5, 58-62. For a discussion of the Yihou Ze *gui*, see Guo Moruo, “Ze gui ming kaoshi,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1956.1, 7-10; Tang Lan, “Yihou Ze gui kaoshi,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1956.2, 79-83; Huang Shengzhang, “Tongqi mingwen Yi Yu Ze de diwang jiqi yu Wuguo de guanxi,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1983.3, 295-305; Edward Shaughnessy, “Historical Geography and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms,” *Asia Major* 2.2 (1989):13-18; Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp.238-41.

<sup>10</sup> See Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp. 238-41.

<sup>11</sup> For the discovery of the Ke *lei*, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyan kaogu yanjiusuo and Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo, “Beijing Liulihe 1193 hao damu fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu* 1990.1, 20-31. For a discussion of the historical background of casting the Ke *lei* and translation, see Li Feng: “Ancient Reproductions and Calligraphic Variations: Studies of Western Zhou Bronzes with Identical Inscriptions,” *Early China* 22 (1997): 1-41.

It is clear that six ethnic groups were granted by the Zhou king to the state of Yan. The new ruler Ke, after his arrival at Yan, started to govern the land and his officials. The *Yihou Ze gui* 宜侯矢簋 and the *Ke lei* both demonstrate the process of the political ceremony of establishing the regional state by the Zhou court. The regional state is a sociopolitical structure with the Zhou immigrants superimposed on a larger base of indigenous people in a “territory” marked by the residential settlements and the land surrounding them.<sup>12</sup> On the top of the structure was the regional ruler, then the Zhou elites of different ranks. Under them were immigrants of all cultural and ethnic background, and at the bottom were the indigenous population groups.

The received textual records also depict the political ritual of establishing regional states. In the fourth year of Duke Ding in the *Zuo zhuan*, it is recorded that when the state of Lu was established, the ruler of Lu was given six groups of the Shang people who were to be moved to the Lu state situated in the middle of southern Shandong. Seven groups of Shang people were also assigned to the ruler of the Wey state in Henan and the ruler of Jin in Shanxi received from the Zhou court nine lineages of the Huai 懷-surnamed people.<sup>13</sup> These sources show a general mode of the establishment of regional states. But for a non-Ji surnamed state in Shandong like Qi, we do not have any direct

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<sup>12</sup> See Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp. 241-43.

<sup>13</sup> See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, in *Shisanjing zhushu* (Beijing: Beijingdaxue, 1999), pp.1545-48. Itō Michiharu studied the establishment of these three states based on the textual records, see Ito Michiiharu, *Chūgoku kodai kokka*, pp. 78-83, 98-105.

contemporaneous evidence--either textual or inscriptional -- to show that Qi was also assigned ineages of the Shang people as had been the case for the states of Lu, Wei, and Jin whose rulers were members of the Zhou royal Ji clan. But one record from the *Zuo zhuan* may indirectly imply that Qi was probably also granted people by the Zhou king when the state was established. In the twelfth year of Duke Zhao, the *Zuo zhuan* records the complaint by King Ling 靈 of Chu that “In the past, our former King Xiongyi 熊绎 with Lü Ji 呂伋, Wangsun Mou 王孫牟, Xiefu 夔父, and Qin fu 禽父 all together served King Kang. All the four rulers received the Zhou king’s rewards, only we were not rewarded.”<sup>14</sup> Lü Ji was a son of the Grand Duke of Qi, Wangsun Mou was a son of Kangshu of the Wey state, Xiefu was a son of Tangshu of Jin, and Qin fu was a son of the Duke of Zhou of the Lu state. Here, the Qi state is listed together with three other important Ji-surnamed states; this suggests Qi’s close relationship with the Zhou court and demonstrates the prestige and high political status of Qi. Since the states Jin, Wey and Lu all received gifts and people from the Zhou king based on the above textual and inscriptional sources, it is quite possible that Qi was also granted people when it was first established by the Zhou court.

### III.2 The Formation of a Regional Agent: the State of Qi during the Western Zhou

The preceding section provides an overview of the theory and practice of the *fengjian* system and of its implementation in the eastern territory during the Early Western Zhou period. The *fengjian* practice extended to the areas that had been well

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<sup>14</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, p.1304. For translation, see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, vol.5: The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1993), p. 637.

within the orbit of the Shang cultural and political influence. Like Jin in the northern periphery of the Zhou cultural sphere and Yan in the northeast, Qi and Lu were established in the eastern periphery to supervise and control the previously established Shang or pro-Shang polities and the various ethnically different groups in that area. The establishment of these regional states largely changed the socio-political landscape and material culture of this region.

In the following, I will take the development of the Qi state as a case to analyze the developmental trajectory of a regional state established by the Zhou court and its transition from Zhou dependent to an independent state power in the eastern periphery. To date, there is no systematic study that addresses the development of the Qi state, whereas a number of studies published in the last decade have already dealt with the states of Jin, Qin, and Yan.<sup>15</sup> The lack of sources for the Qi state in its early stages after it was established make the discussion of its developmental process difficult. But the most recent discovery at the Chenzhuang 陳莊 site in Zibo 淄博 provides us with new information on the early development of Qi during the Western Zhou period. Therefore my discussion of the development of the Qi state will proceed chronologically beginning with the Western Zhou period and continuing with the Spring and Autumn period. The first section deals with the early development of Qi during the Western Zhou period and

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<sup>15</sup> For the early development of Jin state, see Jae-hoon Shim, “Early Development of Jin State from its Enfeoffment to the Hegemony” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2000). For the state development of Qin, see Gideon Shelach and Yuri Pines, “Secondary State Formation and the Development of Local Identity: Change and Continuity in the State of Qin (770-221B.C),” in *Archaeology of Asia*, ed. Miriam Stark (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005), pp. 202-30. For the state of Yan, see Sun Yan, “Negotiating Cultural and Political Control in North China: Art and Mortuary Ritual and Practice of the Yan at Liulihe” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 2001).

discusses the relationship between Qi and the Zhou central court based on the archaeological materials from Chenzhuang.

### ***III.2.1 Chenzhuang and the archaeological discovery of early Qi***

Before reconstructing the early development of Qi in Shandong, it is necessary first to discuss the important role of the Grand Duke in the Zhou conquest and the circumstances surrounding Qi's founding; this will enable us to better understand the relationship between Qi and the Zhou court.

#### III.2.1.1 The “Grand Duke” and the Question of the Founding of Qi

The Grand Duke Wang 太公望, who is also called Shi Shangfu 师尚父, is one of the composite figures whose lives are reported in both history and legend. In his biography “Qi Taigong Shijia” 齊太公世家 (the Hereditary House of the Grand Duke of Qi) in the *Shiji* 史記, the Grand Duke was a key figure in the Zhou conquest of Shang and also played an important role in the consolidation of the Western Zhou state. In the “Shifu” 世俘 (Great Capture) chapter of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書, which provides a fullest account of the Zhou conquest, the Grand Duke was commanded to lead the campaign to conquer the Shang capital and achieved success, reporting captives to King Wu. Another reference in Western Zhou sources to support Grand Duke's role is the poem “Da Ming” 大明 in the *Book of Poetry* which speaks of his military prowess:<sup>16</sup>

The fields of Mu spread wide ahead,

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<sup>16</sup> *Shijing*, in *Shisanjing zhushu* (Beijing: Beijingdaxue, 1999), p.976. For translation, see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, vol.4: The She King, or The Book of Poetry* (Taibei: SMC Publishing, 1993), 2, p.436.

brightly shone the tan wood chariots,  
 Teams of black-maned, white-bellied bays neighed;  
 The Grand Marshal Shangfu 師尚父 was like an eagle, like a hawk on the wing,  
 Assisting King Wu,  
 Who killed and smote Great Shang  
 That clear bright morning.

The role of Grand Duke is also recalled in the *Zuo zhuan* and a substantial body of writings on stratagems, doctrines, and military matters, and many legends come to be associated with the Grand Duke in later texts.<sup>17</sup> Another factor that contributed to the close relationship between Qi and the Zhou royal court is the marriage alliance between the Ji clan and the Grand Duke's Jiang clan. The Grand Duke married his daughter to the Zhou kings and a certain number of bronze inscriptions demonstrate that many queens of the Zhou kings, were from the Jiang clan. As a close marriage partner and a significant contributor to the success of Zhou, the Grand Duke from the Jiang clan was established as the first ruler of the Qi state at the strategic location in the northern Shandong to control the road east along the northern edge of the mountains in the Shandong peninsula.

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<sup>17</sup> In the *Zuo zhuan*, the fourteenth year of Duke Xiang, the Zhou king sent a charge to the Ruler of Qi in which he recalled the past services of Lü Wang: "Formerly our great kinsman, the Grand Duke, aided our ancient kings and was a limb to the House of Zhou and a tutor and guardian to the myriads of people. His services as Grand Tutor were recompensed with the distinctions conferred on him by the Eastern Sea, which has descended to his prosperity. That the royal house was not overthrown was due to his efforts." See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.930. For translation, see James Legge, *The Ch'un T'sew with the Tso Chuen*, p.467. Also, in the twenty-sixth year of Duke Xi, it is said that "Formerly the Duke of Zhou and the Grand Duke were as arms and legs to the House of Zhou. They supported and aided King Cheng, who rewarded them by giving them a charge that read: 'From generation to generation let our descendants refrain from harming each other.'" This was quoted in 634 B.C, the twenty-sixth year of Duke Xi, by an official of the state of Lu as insurance against the Ruler of Qi. See *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.432. For translation, see James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chue*, p.198. For a discussion of the role of Taigong in received texts, see Sarah Allan, "The Identities of Taigong Wang in Zhou and Han literature," *Monumenta Serica* 30 (1972-1973): 57-59.

Although traditional sources seem to agree on the Grant Duke's role as the founder of the state of Qi which then descended from him, the early development of Qi during the Early Western Zhou period remains largely obscure in the received literature. Han dynasty sources such as the *Shiji* record that when Qi was installed in a place called Yingqiu 營丘, a non-Zhou people called "Lai Yi" 萊夷 (Lai Barbarian) came to compete for this place. But this could have been a projection of the later hostile relationship between Qi and the state of Lai 萊 during the Spring and Autumn period back to an early period. Besides this, our knowledge of early history of Qi is next to nothing. However, this situation has been dramatically changed by the recent archaeological discovery at the Chenzhuang site, which provides us with a remarkable chance to trace the development of Qi as far back as the Early Western Zhou period. In the following, I will examine the main discoveries from Chenzhuang and discuss some key questions on the identification and chronology of this site; I will also discuss the aspect of Qi elite culture represented by materials from this site in comparison with those from the metropolitan Zhou area in Shaanxi to see the relationship between Qi and Zhou. Finally, I will situate the Chenzhuang site within a larger settlement system in the region during the Early Western Zhou period.

### III.2.1.2 The Discovery at Chenzhuang

The Chenzhuang site is located between Chenzhuang and the Tangkou 唐口 village, about 12 kilometers to the southwest of Gaoqing County in present-day Zibo City. The Chenzhuang site was first identified in 2003 as part of the field-survey project organized by the Shangdong provincial authority of cultural relics. From October 2008 to



February 2010, two seasons of large-scale excavations were carried out by the Shandong Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, and these excavations turned up ten Western Zhou period burials together with five horse-burial pits and one chariot-burial pit all located within a wall enclosure. The wall enclosure encircles an area of 32,000 square meters, about 180 meters long on each side, and the excavators identified this wall enclosure as the remains of a Western Zhou city. Besides the burials, a ramped-earth platform identified as a sacrificial altar, several ash pits, residential house foundations, and a few wells and pottery kilns (both of which date to a much later period) have also been excavated. Of these ten tombs, six yielded bronze vessels, some of which bear important inscriptions. In short, they are critical new sources for understanding the state of Qi during the Western Zhou period (Fig. 3.1).

The layout of the tombs seems to center around the rammed sacrificial altar (TJ2) in the southern part of the wall enclosure. Tombs no.35 and no.36 are the two largest tombs; both have one sloped rampway, which measure 15.7 m and 21.95 m long, respectively. Both tombs are located to the north of the altar (TJ2) platform, ten meters apart from each other. Five horse-burial pits and one chariot-and-horse-burial pit lie between the altar (TJ2) and these two tombs. They are both vertical shaft burials with a north-south orientation and furnished with one chamber and one coffin.<sup>18</sup> For tomb no.35, bronzes vessels including *ding*-cauldron, *gui*-tureen, *hu*-bottle, and *pan*-basin were found in the storage compartment installed between the chamber and coffin in the north. Within

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<sup>18</sup> Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shandong Gaoqing Chenzhuang Xi Zhou yizhi," *Kaogu* 2010.8, 27-34.

the coffin were found a jade *ge*-dagger and cowries, while two chariots and one sacrificial dog were placed at the bottom of the ramp passage. The high social and political status of the occupant of tomb no.35 is further indicated by two chariot-burial pits attached to the south of his/her burial. Chariot Pit #1 contains one chariot and four horses with their backs facing the chariot. Also attached to this grave are two pits, each containing eight horses. In the north storage compartment of tomb no.36 are found bronze *xu*, *fanghu*, *pan*, *ge*-dagger, as well as two bronze *gui* vessels with square pedestal, inscribed with more than 70 characters.<sup>19</sup> On the two sides of the rampway of tomb no.36 are horse-burial pits MK4 and MK5, each containing eight horses.

Tomb no.27 lies to the east of altar TJ2 and was furnished with one chamber and one coffin and the occupant was buried in a supine extended position. Ten bronze vessels were found in this tomb and the vessel types include *ding*, *gui*, *hu*, *he*, *jue*, *you* and *pan*. (Fig. 3.2a). Together with the bronzes, a pottery *li*-tripod, a *guan*-jar, and a handle-shaped jade piece were discovered.<sup>20</sup> The *he*-vessel included in this group has four bulging lobes supported by cylindrical legs and its body is constrained and undecorated. The closest parallel to this *he* is the famous Boxian *he* 伯宪盃 and a *he*-vessel previously found in tomb no.19 in Qijiacun 齊家村 in Shaanxi.<sup>21</sup> On the basis of its inscriptions and decoration, the Boxian *he* dates to the late phase of the Early Western Zhou. The one

<sup>19</sup> Zheng Tongxiu et al., “Shandong Gaoqing Chenzhuang xizhou yizhi kaogu fajue zhongda chengguo,” *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, February 5<sup>th</sup>, 2010, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shandong Gaoqing Chenzhuang Xi Zhou yizhi,” *Kaogu* 2010.8, 27-34.

<sup>21</sup> Shaanxi sheng Zhouyuan kaogu dui, “Shaanxi Fufeng Qijia shijiu hao Xi Zhou mu,” *Wenwu* 1979.11, 1-11, pl.1.4.

from Qijiacun is embellished with two pairs of facing birds with crests and detached tails around the vessel's neck and lid, which helps to date it to the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou. While these three *he*-vessels look very similar in terms of shape and style, based on the stylistic transition of four-legged *he*-vessels, this *he* from Chenzhuang tomb no.27 can be placed between the two other *he*-vessels, and may well be closer to that from Qijiacun. In short, by the current standards for dating Western Zhou bronzes, this *he* from Chenzhuang can be placed in later years of King Zhao or to the King Mu period. For the *gui*, *jue*, *zhi*, *you* and *zun* from the same tomb, their shapes and the simple decoration of raised rings can all date them to the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou period. They are very similar to their counterparts in the Zhou central area in Shaanxi.

The jade object, the handle-shaped jade piece (*bingxingqi* 柄形饰) from tomb no.27 is very impressive (Fig.3.2b). It is a rectangular plaque with flanges on the upper end and along both lateral edges. A phoenix with strong claws stands in a cloud engraved on the two sides of the plaque with the typical Zhou beveling lines techniques. A couple of similar handle-shaped plaques have been found in the burials of the state of Yu in Baoji, in the tomb no.116 at Zhangjiapo, and in tomb no.205 at Liulihe.<sup>22</sup> They look very similar to the piece from Chenzhuang in terms of decoration, shape, craftsmanship and working technique. The motif and craftsmanship suggests the jade plaque is an invention of the Zhou. The double incised lines terminating in small dots were typical of birds or phoenixes of the mid-Western Zhou period.

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<sup>22</sup> Zhang Changshou, "Xi Zhou de yu bingxingqi: 1983-86 nian Fengxi fajue ziliao zhi jiu," *Kaogu* 1995.6, 51-55. See Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan kaoguyanjiusuo, *Zhangjiapo Xi Zhou mudi* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1999), pl.16:1. Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo, *Liulihe Xi Zhou yanguo mudi* (Beijing, Wenwu, 1995), pl.101:6.

Tomb no.26, located northeast of the altar TJ2, is also furnished with one chamber and one coffin. Mortuary goods include nine pottery vessels, two pieces of jade and a large quantity of cowries and shell ornaments. The ceramic assemblage from the tomb included *guan*, *li*, *gui*, and *lei*. The *li* is of typical mid-Western Zhou type with cord-impression and flanges on the body side. It resembles the *li* found in tomb no. 157 at Zhangjiapo (M157:105), and the *guan* is also similar to that from the Zhangjiapo cemetery (Fig. 3.3) in Shaanxi. Therefore, Tomb no.26 also dates to the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou period.

Tombs no.17 and no.18 are also very important discoveries. Bronze vessels from them include *ding*, *gui*, *gong*, *you*, *gu*, *jue*, and some of them bear inscriptions. For the bronzes from tomb M18, the famous *Zhe gong* of the King Zhao period from Shaanxi, may have served as a prototype for the bronze *gong* from tomb M18 at Chenzhuang. In contrast with the exuberantly decorated *Zhe gong* 折觥, the decoration on the surface of the M18 *gong* is much simpler and modest (Fig.3.4). There are no hooked flanges decorating the profile of the body and there is only a double incised line below the lid around the body. This *gong* can be dated to the late phase of the Early Western Zhou period. For the published circular-base *gui* from tomb no.17, it is simply decorated with only pairs of thread relief line under the lip. Its handles are in the usual C shape and are embellished with a sculpture of an animal head on the top (Fig.3.4). There are many counterparts to this *gui* in the Zhou central region, which are usually dated to the King Zhao period. Another bronze *ding* from M17 also features plain-surface. It is a *ding*-cauldron with a divided bottom but without any decorative patterns on the three lobes

(Fig.3.4). This is very similar to a *ding* found at the Zhangjipo cemetery in Shaanxi that may be dated to the late phase of the Early Western Zhou period.

Based on the currently published materials, the periodization of these six bronze-yielding tombs can be summarized as:

- 1) Tombs no.17 and no. 18: Late phase of Early Western Zhou;
- 2) Tombs no. 26 and no. 27: Early phase of mid-Western Zhou;
- 3) Tombs no. 35 and no. 36: Late phase of mid-Western Zhou.

Moreover, bronzes, and jades (as well as pottery) from the Chenzhuang site show identical features to their counterparts in the Zhou metropolitan area, which shed much light on its cultural connection with the Zhou cultural core. This supports the observation that there is a high degree of uniformity in the elite culture of the Early Western Zhou period.<sup>23</sup> These bronzes and jades could have been made in the royal workshop and transplanted into the outer areas as material symbols of royal authority; or made in regional foundries based on the existence of a well maintained communication system in which close contact with the royal court existed.<sup>24</sup> The casting and distribution of bronzes were regarded as an important method of royal control over the nobles and a path to political authority. Although Matsumaru Michio has suggested that most Western Zhou inscriptions that record favors received from the Zhou king in the form of government appointment or material awards were cast in the royal foundries under the

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<sup>23</sup> Jessica Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, pp.358-64.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.358-64.

king's direct control,<sup>25</sup> we cannot determine whether the bronzes and jades from the Chenzhuang site were locally produced or received from the royal foundry. However, it is clearly that Qi maintained a close relationship with the center and claimed its legitimacy and authority to rule in the peripheral areas through the material presence of royal power symbols.

Besides this similarity in bronzes and jades, the Chenzhuang site also illustrates many features of the mortuary ritual and burial practice commonly seen in the Zhou metropolitan area. All of the burials at Chenzhuang are rectangular vertical shaft earthen pits with a north-south orientation. Most of the tombs are furnished with one chamber and one coffin and two of them were furnished with one ramp, symbolizing the occupant's high social and political status. In addition, the horseburial pits and chariot and horse-burial pits are placed next to the tombs. These indicate the occupants of the tombs at Chenzhuang are high ranking elite of Qi.

### III.2.1.3 The New Inscriptions from Chenzhuang

Another significant aspect of the site is the discovery of inscriptions that provide direct reference to the state of Qi during the Early Western Zhou period. The inscription in the bottom of the bronze *gong*-vessel from tomb M 18 reads as follows (Fig. 3.5),

豐啟乍文祖甲齊公寶尊彝

Feng Qi makes (for) cultured grandfather Jia, the Duke of Qi, this treasured sacrificial vessel.

At the bottom of a bronze *gui* (M18:6), an almost identical inscription sho

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<sup>25</sup> Matsumaru Michio, "Sei shu seidoki seidaku nohaikei" 西周青銅器制作の背景, in *Sei Shu seidoki to sono kokka* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku, 1980), pp.7, 54, 78, 122-25.

豐啟乍厥祖甲寶尊彝

Feng Qi makes (for) his grandfather Jia this treasured sacrificial vessel.

These two inscriptions are the earliest explicit manifestations of the Duke of Qi (Qigong 齊公) among the extant corpus of archaeological and inscriptional evidence. It is obvious that these bronze were cast for the worship of the Duke of Qi by Feng Qi; for the first time we have some evidence from bronze inscriptions to identify the early state of Qi. Before the discovery of this site, such information referring to the Duke of Qi in the early stage of Qi was lacking.

It is also worth noting that two bronze square-based *gui*-turrens from M36 bear a long inscription of more than seventy characters. Since the official transcription for this inscription has not been published, based on the photo and the interpretation by some paleographers, a preliminary reading and translation of it is offered below (Fig. 3.6):

隹(唯)正月壬申，王各于龔(恭)大室，引至周大室。王若曰：“引，余既命汝繼乃祖，胤嗣齊師。余唯嚮命汝，賜汝彤弓一，彤矢百，馬四匹，望敬乃御，勿敗績。”引對王休，同□追俘兵，用乍□幽公寶簋子子孫孫寶用。  
It was the first month, the *renshen*-day. The king arrived in the grand chamber of King Gong. Yin arrived in the grand chamber. The King spoke to the effect: “Yin! In the past I already commanded you to replace your grandfather’s position, taking office in charge of the army of Qi state. Now I am to appoint you again. I award you one red-lacquered bow and one hundred red-lacquered arrows, and four horses. Be respectful to fulfill your duty and do not be defeated”. Yin bowed with his head touching the ground, in response extolling the king’s beneficence. Yin, together with X, pursued and attacked the enemy, and seized weapons. Yin makes this treasured *gui*-vessel for Duke You. May my sons’ sons and grandsons’ grandsons eternally treasure and use it.

There might be some disagreement in the transcription and interpretation of some characters in this inscription, but most scholars agree that this is a typical Western Zhou

appointment inscription. In this inscription, Yin was commanded by the Zhou king to succeed his grandfather's office to supervise the army of Qi state. Yin and his grandfather held rather a significant post in the Qi state as a general of the Qi army. However, there is also another possibility that Yin as a Zhou royal officer was commanded to supervise troops in a royal Zhou garrison stationed in or near the state of Qi, depending on the exact meaning of the term “Qishi” 齊師.

This inscription follows a general pattern that is quite common in mid-Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Generally the king begins by recounting some great merit of the appointee; then he announces the appointment and lists the rewards to the awardee. Finally, the awardee extols the Zhou King's beneficence and makes this vessel.<sup>26</sup> It is from the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou on that a large number of bronzes with inscriptions recording the official appointment were cast and became very popular. This special type of bronze inscription, the so-called “appointment inscription,” is the most common type in the entire corpus of the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.<sup>27</sup> The content, the highly stylistic language and actual procedure of the court ceremony depicted in this inscription is exactly the same as those of many other appointment inscriptions cast since the mid-Western Zhou period. It is mentioned in this inscription that the king arrived in the grand chamber of King Gong; therefore tomb no.36 can be dated to the late phase of the mid-Western Zhou period. Since this type of appointment inscription has a

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<sup>26</sup> On the appointment ritual, see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, paperback, 2008), pp. 107-11.

<sup>27</sup> An early example of such inscription is the identical text on the Li *fangzun* 蠡方尊 (JC6013) and Li *fangyi* 蠡方彝 (JC9900), cast possibly during the early years of King Mu. For the implication of this inscription, see Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, pp. 325-28.



significant ritual and political function through which the ruler-subject relationship between the Zhou king and the officials were reinforced, it clearly demonstrates the authority of the Zhou king and the faithful submission of Yin, if he was indeed a military general of the Qi state. But if he was a royal officer from Shaanxi, the very fact that this bronze was buried in the same cemetery where some other Qi officials were buried still shows the close relations between Qi and the Zhou royal court.

#### III.2.1.4 The Nature and Political Status of the Chenzhuang Site

As for the identification and political status of the Chenzhuang site in early Qi history, there are different views proposed by scholars so far, summarized as follows: 1) the remain of the Qi capital Yingqiu;<sup>28</sup> 2) the location of of Bogu, or the former capital of Qi during the time of Duke Hu; 3) one local settlement of a high ranking official of Qi;<sup>29</sup> 4) a military garrison;<sup>30</sup> and 5) a cemetery of Qi elites.<sup>31</sup>

Based on the study of the materials and the archaeological context of the discoveries, I am hesitant to identify the Chenzhuang site as a city-site (metropolis) for the following reasons: 1) The small size of the site was puzzling if identified as a “city-site” (the walled enclosure is less than 34,000 sq. meters). The structure of a “capital” city usually takes a form characterized by political and ritual centers like palaces and

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<sup>28</sup> Wang Entian, “Gaoqing Chenzhuang Xi Zhou yizhi yu Qiguo shoudu Yingqiu,” in *Guanzi xuekan*, 2010.3, 98-101.

<sup>29</sup> Summary of the Annual Symposium on Top Ten Archaeological Discoveries in China 2009, held by Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Jin Guiyun et al., “An important military city of the early Western dynasty: archaeobotanical evidence from the Chenzhuang site, Gaoqing, Shandong province,” *Chinese Science Bulletin* 2-3 (2012): 253-60.

<sup>31</sup> Ren Xianghong and Zhang Guangming, “Gaoqing Chenzhuang yizhi mu18 chutu Feng gui mingmen kaoshi ji xiangguan wenti tantao,” *Guanzi xuekan* 2010.2, 97-101.

temples; certainly such a site usually has more complex material phenomena including craft workshops and medium-size houses and burials. The ten tombs located in the southern part of the wall enclosure in Chenzhuang, centered around the altar platform, seem to leave very little space for other types of activity. The published brief report does not mention any residential houses, foundries or ceramic kilns of the Western Zhou period within this site, if they existed at all. 2) The discovery of an altar in the center of the southern part of the site surrounded by the major tombs, despite its small dimensions, suggests a focus on ritual functions within the enclosure. If in the future, an outer “city” wall is discovered, it would help to explain these puzzles. 3) Similar to this structure is the discovery of a walled enclosure surrounding the cemetery of perhaps the Duke of Zhou’s family on the mountain slopes of Zhougongmiao in Qishan, Shaanxi province. The wall was constructed to protect the cemetery but not the main residential area nearby.<sup>32</sup> A similar phenomenon is also shown by the cemetery of Minor Zhu 小邾 state in southern Shandong where walls were built to enclose the tombs within a defined area.<sup>33</sup>

Given the above considerations, it is more reasonable to identify this walled site in Chenzhuang as a cemetery site for high-ranking elites of Qi from the late phase of the Early Western Zhou to the mid-Western Zhou period, rather than the remains of a city. The settlement corresponding to this cemetery has yet to be discovered, but there is a high probability that it is located somewhere near this cemetery in the Gaoqing area. The

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<sup>32</sup> Xu Tianjin, “Zhougongmiao yizhi de kaoyan shouhuo ji suo si,” *Wenwu* 2006.8, 21-35.

<sup>33</sup> Ren Xianghong and Zhang Guangming, “Gaoqing chenzhuang yizhi M18 chutu feng gui mingwen kaoshi ji xiangguan wenti tantao,” *Guanzi xuekan* 2010.2, 97-102.

Chenzhuang site can be regarded as part of a regional center within the Zibo area from the late phase of the Early Western Zhou to the mid Western Zhou period.

### III.2.1.5 The Question about “Yingqiu” 營邱 and the Location of Early Qi Center

Regarding the location of the Qi capital in its early period, it is widely believed that Yingqiu served this purpose. According to *Shiji*, Yingqiu was the place where state of Qi was installed by the Zhou King, but the *Shiji* record mistakenly dates the establishment of Qi earlier in the reign of King Wu, immediately after the Zhou conquest of Shang.<sup>34</sup> Fu Sinian believed that Qi was originally founded in Henan by the Grand Duke, and was later moved to the coastal region after it participated in the eastern campaign.<sup>35</sup> Past studies have suggested several locations for Yingqiu: 1) Linzi 臨淄;<sup>36</sup> 2) Changle 昌樂;<sup>37</sup> 3) Hanxinling 韓信嶺 in Linzi;<sup>38</sup> 4) Yidu 益都 in QingZhou;<sup>39</sup> 5) Guosongtai 冏宋臺 in Shouguang 壽光,<sup>40</sup> and 5) Huantai 桓臺 in Zibo 淄博.<sup>41</sup> Some of these studies worked on the historical-geographical aspects of the issue by identifying names, locations, and migrations based on later texts, while others based themselves on the archaeological

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<sup>34</sup> *Shiji*, 32, pp.481- 82.

<sup>35</sup> Fu Sinian, “Dadong xiaodong shuo,” *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 2.1(1930):101-109.

<sup>36</sup> The “Dilizhi” chapter of the *Hanshu, Tongzhi, Shuijingzhu* identified Yingqiu with Linzi. See Wang Xiantang, *Shanong guguo kao*, pp. 163.

<sup>37</sup> Fan Wenlan, *Zhongguo tongshi*, vol.1, p. 85. Shanghai: Renming, 1978.

<sup>38</sup> Wang Entian, “Guanyu Qiguoshi de jige wenti,” *Dongyue luncong* 1987.4, 23-26.

<sup>39</sup> Xia Mingcai, “Yingqiu chutan,” *Dongyue luncong* 1986.2, 15-18.

<sup>40</sup> Zhang Xuehai and Luo Xunzhang, “Yingqiu diwang luekao,” in *Zhongguo gudu yanjiu* (Hangzhou: Zhengjiang renmin, 1985), pp. 324-37.

<sup>41</sup> Zhang Guangming, *Qi wenhua de kaogu faxian yu yanjiu* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2004), p. 24.

discovery of “wall enclosures” within the Zibo area; but there is no Early Western Zhou written evidence that can support any of the locations listed above. Therefore the discovery of the Chenzhuang site, especially the mention of the Duke of Qi and Yin in three inscriptions, seems to provide us with some clues that point to the Gaoqing area as possible location of Yingqiu, the center of the state of Qi during the Early Western Zhou period. But this must await future discoveries.

Another issue raised by the new discovery at Chenzhuang is the identification of “Feng 豐,” Regarding the person who commissioned these inscribed bronzes in tomb no. 18, there are two opinions: Feng 豐 or Qi 啟. It has been suggested that the character Qi 啟 means “to start” and should be transcribed as *zhao* 肇 and that Feng is the name of the person who commissioned the casting of these bronzes. However, it is more likely that Qi 啟 is a personal name and “Feng” represents his lineage base, which might have been a branch lineage of the state of Qi. Therefore, “Feng Qi” 豐啟 is the person’s full name. What makes the issue more complicated is there are many Feng 豐-related bronzes, probably belonging to different lineages or clans in different locations. For instance, from the Feng Ji Shu *gui* 豐姬叔簋 (JC 3923), we know that Feng is of the Ji-surname; from Wang zuo Feng Ren Shan *he* 王作豐妊单盃 (JC 9438), Feng is of Ren 妊-surname. So far, many Feng 豐 bronzes were discovered at different locations, which may not have much to do with the Feng lineage located in northern Shandong.<sup>42</sup> However, the famous Ran fang *ding* (JC2739) records a campaign conducted by the Duke of Zhou against

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<sup>42</sup> Shang Zhiru, “Xi Zhou jinwen zhong de Feng guo,” *Wenbo* 1991.4, 28-33.

Dongyi 東夷, Fengbo 豐伯, and Bogu 薄姑, all located in Shandong, and as a result, they were all annihilated by Zhou. It is also possible that after Fengbo was annihilated, this place called “Feng” 豐 in Shandong was granted to the state of Qi and thus became the lineage base of the person Qi 啟. This seems to be the most reasonable explanation we have at present.

This bronze inscription (M18: 6) from Chenzhuang also calls our attention to an earlier discovery made at Liutaizi 劉台子, Jiyang 濟陽 City.<sup>43</sup> This site is located 40 kilometers to the north of the modern Jinnan city. Six tombs were excavated there in the 1970s, yielding a large number of bronzes. These bronzes also show features that are very similar to the bronzes found in the Zhou central area. The inscriptions on the bronzes shed some light on the occupants of the tombs. In tomb no.2, a *ding* was cast by Ji 季 and two *gui* cast by Feng 夆. In tomb no.3, a *ding* was cast by Wang Ji 王季 and a *gui* by Feng 夆. Tomb M6 yielded twenty-four bronzes; some of them were cast by Feng 夆 and one *ding* cast by Wang Jiang 王姜. One scholar has identified this Feng 夆 as the state of Feng 豐, despite the fact that whether this character Feng 夆 is a personal name or the name of a polity is still open to question. The caster Wang Jiang is known to have been the spouse of King Kang and is mentioned on a number of Early Western Zhou bronzes.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> See Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shandong Jiyang Liutaizi Xi Zhou liuhao mu qingli jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1996.12, 4-25.

<sup>44</sup> Shang Zhiru identifies Feng 夆 with 豐 and relates the Liutaizi site to the state of Fen 豐, see Shang Zhiru *Wenbo* 1991.4, 28-33. The reporter of this cemetery identifies Liutaizi with the state of Feng 夆. There is the Fengshu yi 夆叔匱 (JC10282) that was discovered in Tengxian, see *Tengxian jinshi zhi* (Beijing: Fayuansi, 1944), pp. 13-14. For a discussion of “Wang Jiang” as the spouse of King Kang, see Tang Lan, *Tang Lan xiansheng jinwen lunji* (Beijing: Zijincheng, 1995), p. 123.

These bronzes show a high degree of uniformity with bronzes found in the Zhou metropolitan area and suggest the strong connection between the local site and the Zhou court. But based on the current information, there is no solid ground to connect the possible Feng 夆 polity represented at Liutaizi and the Feng 豐 mentioned on bronzes from Chenzhuang. Given the early military expansion of Zhou in Shandong, these two polities may have played similar roles in assisting the Zhou to consolidate their rule in northern Shandong.

From the above discussion, the Chenzhuang site explicitly demonstrates “colonial imposition” from the core areas. Under the *fengjian* system, the Zhou court established a systematic network of relationships and political authority to connect the state core in Shaanxi and its regional states in the peripheries. This system was used by the Zhou to redistribute key ritual goods like bronzes and jades and thereby to confer prestige, building support for the state authority. Casting inscriptions on bronze vessels are critical in this system to sanctify and reinforce such a relationship. On the one hand, through the control of the flow or the production of bronzes, jades, the Zhou court asserted its authority and sovereignty over the regional state. Therefore, it is not surprising to see close cultural and political relations between the Zhou court and the early state of Qi represented now by the Chenzhuang site. As a newly established state in the eastern periphery far from the Zhou homeland, it was not only necessary, but also obligatory for Qi to uphold Zhou’s social and political principles and continue to promote the agenda of expansion of Zhou in northern Shandong and beyond. This suggests that as a colony of

Zhou, Qi would develop a regional state structure similar to that of its home state through close communication with the Zhou royal court in the west.

### ***III.2.2 Regional cultural integration in northern and western Shandong during the Western Zhou period***

If we put the Chenzhuang site within a larger settlement distribution system in northern Shandong during the Western Zhou period, we notice that many Early Western Zhou sites are centered around the Zibo area. However, with the exception of the Chenzhuang site, almost all the sites of the Early Western Zhou period excavated within the Zibo region are non-elite sites, which means no status-defining materials like bronzes or jades were found.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, there is a special perspective that materials from these relatively “low status” sites (many of them were probably small rural settlements during the Western Zhou) can offer information about the condition of regional material culture at the non-elite level. As this is the case, the material assemblages from these sites indicate an interesting phenomenon of cultural mixture during the Early Western Zhou of mainly three different traditions: the Zhou tradition, the Shang tradition, and the indigenous tradition.

It is well known that the pottery tradition of Zhou was centered on certain vessel types: the typical *li* with a sunken but joint crotch; the *guan* jar with narrow mouth; the high base plate called *dou* and a low base small basin called *gui*. Another Zhou style pottery is the straight-sided deep basin, called *yu* or *pen*, which started to appear in the assemblage beginning in the late mid Western Zhou period. They constitute the basic

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<sup>45</sup> These sites within the Zibo area include: Houli 後李, Zhangdian 周村, Zhaofu 趙輔, Guangrao 廣饒, Linzi 臨淄, Beishenma 北沈馬, Liangchun 兩醇, Donggu 東古, etc.

assemblage of pottery wares frequently found in metropolitan Zhou area in Shaanxi, and each of them underwent a stylistic evolution throughout the Zhou period (Figure 3.7). The local cultural elements include types of two traditions: the former Shang tradition and the indigenous tradition. The typical pottery of the former Shang tradition in Shandong include the *li* tripod with low body and divided crotch, commonly featuring a raised ridge around the rim; and the deep *gui* basin usually with scratched triangle pattern on the surface (Fig.3.8-1); and the *guan* jar with wide mouth (Fig. 3.8-12). For the indigenous tradition that can be traced back to the Yueshi culture, the majority of the indigenous pottery is characterized by a plain surface created by scraping, handmade technology, and tempering with coarse sand, mica and crushed soapstone. The plain-surfaced *li* tripod with pouch-leg and divided crotch is the most representative of indigenous tradition (Fig. 3.8-3, 5, 9).

Based on the above standard, the study of archaeological materials from northern Shandong shows that during the Early Western Zhou period, the distinct local style pottery dominates the sites in Zibo area. Pottery wares from the Early Western Zhou tombs of Houli, Guangrao, and Dongu show strong local features (Fig. 3.8). The main pottery types of *li*, *gui*, and *guan* display a technological continuity with the former Shang and indigenous tradition. Many *li* tripods are plain surfaced with a divided crotch, and the *guan* and *gui* appear to have more features of the former Shang tradition. The Zhou cultural influence is very limited. Although Zhou style *li* is also seen in some cases, it is very sporadic (Fig. 3.9 a-b). In the late phase of the Early Western Zhou and the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou period, the Zhou style pottery began to increase in



quantities in the ceramic assemblage. The typical *li* of the Zhou culture with a sunken but joint crotch and the *dou*-plate with a ridge at the middle of its high base, developed in the Zhou central area during the mid Western Zhou period, are found at some sites. But the local tradition pottery remained in the mainstream despite an increasing number of Zhou cultural style pottery (Fig. 3.10). Although this change in the archaeological culture cannot be directly projected to a change in the regional population, there seems little doubt that the frequent activities carried out by the Western Zhou state and its local agents such as Qi in this region, documented in the bronze inscriptions, provided one of the main drives for this transition. While the Qi elite enjoyed the highly developed bronze culture imported from the Zhou center, at the non-elite level the process of cultural integration was rather gradual. At the point of the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou, although pottery of the Zhou cultural tradition constitutes an important part of the regional pottery assemblage, on the whole the regional culture at non-elite level was still dominated by the indigenous and former Shang traditions. This phenomenon is also observed in the Luoyang area.<sup>46</sup>

Starting in the late phase of the mid-Western Zhou, northern Shandong witnessed a steady growth and expansion of Zhou material culture and the process of cultural integration with the local traditions was accelerated. An increasing number of Zhou settlements in northern Shandong have been found, in particular between the Zi/ Ji River

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<sup>46</sup> See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 76-82.

濟水 and Wei 濰 River.<sup>47</sup> Although we cannot assert that the area with the Zhou material culture was directly under Qi's control, given the contemporary social and historical circumstances that there were other polities established in western Shandong such as the states of Tan and Sui, annexed by Qi during the Spring and Autumn period, it is reasonable to think that Qi, as the major representative of the Zhou court in northern Shandong, played a significant role in promoting the expansion of the Zhou culture beyond Qi's hinterland at Zibo area.

Archaeological materials from Liangchun 兩醇, Guangrao 廣饒, and Yuejiahe 岳家河 provide much information about the composition of material culture during the Late Western Zhou period (Fig. 3.11). As shown in Figure 3.11, the pottery *li*, *dou* and *guan* demonstrate identical features to those of the Zhou central area, in particular the pottery type *dou* with a ridge at the middle of its high base and *li* with sunken joint crotch and the cord impression pattern. They constituted the majority of the local assemblage, and the influence of the local tradition had largely declined. This observation is in accordance with Wang Qing's study of the burials in the Shandong region, which found that during the Late Western Zhou period, the Zhou culture already overtook the local culture and became the mainstream of local assemblage.<sup>48</sup>

### ***III.2.3 The political formation of Qi and Its relationship with the Zhou court***

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<sup>47</sup> Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Shandong 20 shiji de kaogu faxian he yanjiu* (Beijing: Kexue, 2005), pp. 352-56.

<sup>48</sup> Wang Qing, *Haidai diqu Zhou dai muzang yanjiu* (Jinan: Shandong daxue, 2002), pp. 128-29. But it is still worth noting that, in spite of the dominance of Zhou cultural elements in most settlements, the indigenous traditional pottery such as the plain surfaced *li* did not disappear totally. Even if their numbers have largely declined, there still existed, and this tradition lasted until the end of Spring and Autumn period.

While the above change in material culture might have been related to the expansion of the state of Qi in northern Shandong during the Late Western Zhou period, the political formation of Qi and its relation to the Zhou court can not be fully understood without reference to both inscriptional and textual evidence. The direct demonstration of the role of Qi in the expansion of Zhou is its participation in campaigns organized by the Zhou court. Two bronze inscriptions record Qi's participation in the campaign launched by the Zhou King. The *Shi Mi gui* 史密簋 (JL489), dating to the reign of King Xiao or King Yi of the late phase of the mid-Western Zhou period, records that when the eastern Zhou regional states were attacked by five groups of indigenous people, the Qi mobilized three types of military force to help defend them: its own state army, called "Qishi" 齊師; a military group comprised of its major lineage members (*zutu* 族徒) and a group comprising common people living in the suburb and rural places (*suiren* 遂人). In fighting back, the Qi state army participated in the joint military operation led by Shi Su, who was a high official from the Zhou central court. Another inscription that records Qi's military assistance to the Zhou state is the *Shi Yuan gui* (JC4314), dating to the Late Western Zhou period. It mentions a major campaign against the Huai Yi (indigenous groups in the Huai River region in the south) in which troops from the states of Qi, Ji, and other polities in the Shandong region were enlisted to fight alongside the Zhou royal army under the command by Shi Yuan.<sup>49</sup> Although these two campaigns were not for the

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<sup>49</sup> This bronze dates to King Xuan. For the inscription and date of the *Shi Yuan gui*, see Ma Chengyuan, *Shang Zhou qingtongji mingwen xuan ji* 3, pp. 307-308; Shirakawa Shizuka, "Kinbun tsūshaku," 29.178: 600-12. See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p. 135.

expansion of Zhou in Shandong area, the inscriptions reflect the profound political relationship between the Zhou court and Qi and the active involvement of Qi in the affairs of the Western Zhou state. Qi would definitely have devoted itself to the expansion of Zhou in northern Shandong, not only for the Zhou court, but also for the sake of its own self- strengthening and prominence.

However, Qi's submission to and good relationship with the Zhou court was not always the case, and there was also conflict with the Zhou royal will. Another inscription, the Fifth Year Shi Shi *gui* 五年師事簋 (JC4216) implies a disagreement between the state of Qi and the Zhou court. This inscription records that in the ninth month of the fifth year of King Yi (865-858), Shi Shi was commanded to lead a military campaign to attack the state of Qi. The events recorded in "Qi Taigong shijia" 齊太公世家 of the *Shiji* and the *Bamboo Annals* provide us more background information of this event. In *Shiji*, by the words of the Ruler of Ji 紀, King Yi summoned the Ruler of Qi, Duke Ai to the Zhou capital and boiled him in a cauldron.<sup>50</sup> Both the *Ancient* and the *Current Bamboo Annals* record that the Duke Ai of Qi was boiled in a huge cauldron in the Zhou capital by King Yi in the third year of his reign (865-858BCE). King Yi appointed Duke Hu to rule the state of Qi, but soon after, Duke Hu was killed by Duke Ai's brother who established himself as the next ruler of Qi, Duke Xian. Therefore, as Shirakawa Shizuka, Edward Shaughnessy, and Li Feng have suggested, the campaign recorded in the fifth year Shi Shi *gui* could be a punitive action carried out by the Zhou court to repress the counter-

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<sup>50</sup> *Shiji*, 32, pp. 481-82.

coup led by Duke Xian.<sup>51</sup> Since Duke Xian continued to rule Qi for eight more years, this campaign seems not to have been very effective. The royal intervention in the power succession of Qi proved to be a failure. On the one hand, this inscription reflects the signs of decline of the Zhou court since mid-Western Zhou; on the other hand, it shows that Qi was a rising power in the east.

To summarize, the arrival of Zhou power in Shandong since the Early Western Zhou period and the direct installation of the Qi state as colony altered the political and cultural landscape in this region. This proceeded gradually during the first half of the Western Zhou period when the local culture at non-elite level showed a mixture of three traditions (indigenous, former Shang, and Zhou culture), in which local tradition remained the mainstream of the material assemblage. From the late phase of mid Western Zhou, the process of cultural integration was accelerated and the Zhou culture elements became dominant in the regional material culture. As the representative of the Zhou court in northern Shandong, the Qi state was very likely involved in this process of cultural integration. The material culture of the Qi state during this period shows much adherence to the central Zhou culture both at the elite and non-elite cultural level, and it should be regarded as part of the Zhou culture. However while Zhou culture dominated the regional pottery assemblage, indigenous plain surfaced pottery tradition did not completely disappear; in some places even bronzes began to show local variations and became distinctive from the mainstream Zhou culture. All these are signs of independent development that would give rise to a new regional culture –the so-called “Qi Culture”

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<sup>51</sup> See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 97-99.

in the Eastern Zhou period.<sup>52</sup>

### **III.3 The Road to Hegemony: The Transformation of Qi during the Spring and Autumn Period**

The relocation of the Zhou capital from its original power base west in Shaanxi to the eastern capital at modern Luoyang by King Ping in 771 BCE marked a turning point in Zhou history. In this new era marked by the weakness of the Zhou king, rulers of the regional states threw off the mantle of Zhou rule and began to pursue their own military, political and economic goals. The Qi state was no exception. During this period, Qi was engaged in a process of self-strengthening and expansion, and was able to extend its influence even beyond the Shandong region. By the end of the Spring and Autumn period, Qi had developed into one of the most powerful states in China. In the following, I mainly discuss the process of the transformation and state-building of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period from three perspectives: 1) The formation of a distinct regional culture - the “Qi culture”; 2) the internal restructuring and the changes in the political structure of Qi; 3) the political strategy of Qi in dealing with the Zhou court.

#### ***III.3.1 Formation of a new regional culture: reflections on changes in the material culture of Qi***

In the Spring and Autumn period, Qi underwent a gradual expansion of their territory. In the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*, the territory of Qi is mentioned on several

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<sup>52</sup> Here Qi culture is not a traditionally and strictly defined archaeological culture, but a term to describe the similar cultural phenomena in the area of the Qi state, or simply refers to the cultural factor in Qi area.

occasions.<sup>53</sup> The general idea is that by late Spring and Autumn period, the area southward to the north of Mount Tai, westward to the Ji River (or Yellow River), north to the Bo Sea and eastward to Pingdu (or Anping) was under the control of the Qi state. The construction of the “Great Wall,” which started in 685 BCE, played an important role in defending Qi against the invasion of other neighboring states in central China. Given the fact that in 567 B.C.E., Qi annihilated the state of Lai, the most powerful state with a Dongyi, “Eastern Barbarian,” origin in the Jiaodong Peninsula, it is quite possible that by the end of the Spring and Autumn period Qi completely controlled northern Shandong and the entire Jiaodong Peninsula (Map.3.1).<sup>54</sup> In this context, the many archaeological sites located in areas that were possibly part of the Qi territory provide us with good sources to analyze the features of “Qi culture” and its changes over the course of the Spring and Autumn period. In the following, I will first offer an overview of the findings from these sites. Then, I will discuss the material cultural features of Qi in comparison to that of the Central Plain in the west.

### III.3.1.1 Rank Differentiation in Qi Tombs

Much of our information about the material culture of the Qi state during the Spring and Autumn period comes from tombs in northern Shandong. Since 1960, many

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<sup>53</sup> In the twentieth year of Duke Zhao in the *Zuozhuan*, it is recorded that Qi’s territory reached Liaocheng to the west, and to the Gu river in the east; In the fourth year of Duke Xi in the *Zuozhuan*, Guan Zhong said: “Duke Kang of Shao delivered the charge to Tai gong, our first lord, saying, ‘Do you undertake to punish the guilty among the five Elders and the nine lords’. So there was given to our founder ruler over the land, from the sea on the east to the He on the west, and from Muling on the south to Wuli on the north.” see *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, pp.329, 1399 (James Legge, *The Ch’un Ts’ew with the Tso Chuen*, pp.139, 683).

<sup>54</sup> In *Zuozhuan*, the Lai state was annihilated by Qi in the sixth year of Duke Xiang (567BCE). See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.848 (James Legge, *The Ch’un T’sew with the Tso Chuen*, p.427).

cemeteries and individual tombs of Qi have been excavated and a hierarchy of these tombs can be discerned, which are arranged in three tiers: 1) the cemetery of the rulers of Qi; 2) tombs of high ranking elites of Qi; 3) the cemeteries for the commoners. For the tombs of the rulers of Qi, the available material is found in tomb no.5, found at Heyatou 河崖頭, Lizi in 1972-1973. This tomb has been identified as that of Duke Jing of Qi (r. 547-490 BCE). It features a sloping ramp and is lined with charcoal and pebble masonry, measuring 26.3 m in length and 23.35 m in width. Since it had been plundered, there was no ritual set of bronze vessels or other precious grave goods found. However, the ruler's sumptuary ambitions are powerfully expressed in the horse pits surrounding it on all four sides, in which at least 600 sacrificial horses were aligned in orderly double rows. This lavish burial of the Qi ruler indicates paramount leadership and supremacy within the region and symbolizes the political hegemony of Qi in the late Spring and Autumn period. Excavators also mentioned that there were twenty large and medium-sized tombs in the vicinity, but no further information about these tombs is published.<sup>55</sup> In addition, three large-size tombs with sloping ramp ways were excavated in Zihedian in 1990, two of which are furnished with large pebble masonry. Twelve human sacrifices were found in the sacrificial pit, and one horse pit with 69 sacrificial horses was attached to the burials. No further information is available.<sup>56</sup> In contrast with other regional Zhou states, the tombs of the ruler of Qi demonstrate some regional features: 1) the tomb chamber was

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<sup>55</sup> Shandong sheng bowuguan, "Sanshi nian lai Shandong sheng wuwu kaogu gongzuo", *Wenwu kaogu gongzuo sanshisan nian* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1979), pp.28-34.

<sup>56</sup> Wei Chengmin and Jin Kuiyun, "Linzi qu Zihedian Dong Zhou mudi," in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian 1991* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1992), p. 98.



furnished with pebble masonry; 2) many horse and human sacrifices accompanied the dead.

The second group of tombs includes those of high ranking elites of Qi. These tombs feature moderate furnishing and lot of status defining objects like bronzes or jades. Excavators claim some discoveries of high ranking tombs in the capital area of Linzi, but only few have been published. The available source includes the tomb excavated at Donggu 東古 in 1984, which was originally identified as a Late Western Zhou tom, and tombs at Nanyang 南陽 and the Cicun 磁村.<sup>57</sup> Beyond the capital area, some elite tombs were found at Linqiu 臨朐, Zouping 鄒平, and Feicheng 肥城 (Table 3.1).<sup>58</sup>

At the bottom of the hierarchy are the commoners. Their tombs are generally smaller in size, simply furnished with no bronze or other status defining items discovered. In the capital at Linzi, the Liangchun 兩醇 cemetery and Donggu 東古 cemetery are both for commoners, including 321 and 90 tombs, respectively. Beyond the capital Linzi area, the Ningjiabu, Yuejiahe, and Wangfu cemeteries all provided important information about commoners of Qi.

The above classification shows the differentiation between two groups of people in the capital, the ruler and the ruled. Commoners and Qi rulers are buried in separate areas and the difference is clearly manifested in tombs and their contents. Starting with the mid- Spring and Autumn period, there is a tendency of the separation of the

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<sup>57</sup> Zibo shi bowuguan, “Shandong Zibo Cicun faxian sizuo chunqiu muzang,” *Kaogu* 1991.6, 506-10.

<sup>58</sup> Liaocheng diqu bowuguan, “Shandong Yanggu Jingyanggang chunqiu mu,” *Kaogu* 1988.1, 27-29; Shandong sheng huimin diqu wenwuzu, “Shandong Zouping xian Dashengcun Dong Zhou mu,” *Kaogu* 1986.7, 662-64, 67. Qi Wentao, “Gaishu jin sanshi nian lai Shandong chutu de Shang Zhou Qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1972.5, 3-16.

increasingly powerful rulers above from the unranked commoners below.<sup>59</sup> So far in the capital site of Qi in Linzi, there is no evidence of a large cemetery in which people with different statuses were buried together, as was the prevalent mortuary practice during the Western Zhou period. The lavish phenomenon of the burial of Duke Jing in contrast with the small tombs of poor commoners not only represents the separation and gap between the rulers and the commoners, but also reflects the paramount leadership of the Qi ruler.

Further differentiation within the commoners in terms of wealth, occupational specialization or residential organization is expected and needs to be explored if we can give a comprehensive study of the 320 tombs at Liangchun, and the 90 tombs at Donggu. Unfortunately, the majority of the materials of these two cemeteries are not officially published and the cemetery layout for each is not clear to us as either. As a consequence, it is not yet possible to discuss the local social organization of Qi cemeteries at present. However, during my visit to Linzi, I had the chance to observe and examine pottery wares from many tombs of these two cemeteries. Beginning in the mid Spring and Autumn period, the materials begin to demonstrate some features different from the Central Plain in terms of both assemblages and vessel shapes.

### III.3.1.2 Defining the “Qi Culture”: Characteristics and Stylistic Transition

Based on the above tomb materials, I trace the stylistic development of the major bronze types such as *ding*, *gui*, *he*, *yi*, and *hu* and pottery types *li*, *gui*, and *yu* to indicate the changes in the Qi material culture from both elite and non-elite perspectives.

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<sup>59</sup> Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, pp. 326-99.

First, the significant difference between the bronze culture of Qi and that of the Central Plain lies in the composition of the vessel set. The main assemblage of Qi consists of *ding*, *he*, *dui*, *pan*, *yi*, and *hu*, whereas in the Central Plain, *ding*, *gui*, *li*, *yan*, *hu*, *dui*, *pan*, and *yi* constitute the main assemblage.<sup>60</sup> Like *gui*, very few bronze *li* and *yan* were found in the Qi state. During the Late Western Zhou and Springs and Autumn periods, the hallmark of the Zhou mortuary tradition was a sumptuary system known as *lieding*, a system of status-definition in which the number and types of bronze vessels to be buried with the deceased were strictly prescribed according to rank. Although the details of the numerical composition of these ritual sets are still under debate,<sup>61</sup> it is clear that their main components were an odd number of *ding* and an even number of *gui* (*gui* was later replaced by *dui* or *dou*) in a graded sequence. This sumptuary rule was practiced all over the Zhou cultural realm, observed in many cemeteries.<sup>62</sup> For instance, in the Guo cemetery and Wei cemetery in the central area, the practice of matching an odd number of graduated *ding* set with an even number of identical *gui* set was established during the early Spring and Autumn period. In the Shangma cemetery, the tombs can also be ranked according to the numbers of *ding* in the burial sets. In southern

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<sup>60</sup> Gao Ming, “Zhongyuan Dongzhou tongqi yanjiu,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1981.2, 68-82; 1981.3, 84-103; 1981.4, 82-91.

<sup>61</sup> See Cho-yun Hsu and Katherlyn Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, pp.173-77. Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 460. Liang Yun, “Zhou dai yongding zhidu de dong xi chabie,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2005.3, 49-59. Lin Yun, “Zhou dai yongding zhidu shangque,” *Shixue jikan* 1990.3, 12-23 (see also in *Lin Yun xueshu wenji* [Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1998], pp.192-206). Song Jian, “Guanyu Xi Zhou yong ding wenti,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1983.1, 72-79. Yu Weichao, “Zhou dai yong ding zhidu,” *Beijing daxue xuebao* 1978.1.6-15.

<sup>62</sup> For instance, Tianma-Qucun, Shangcunling, Shangma, Pingdingshan, Tengzhou, and Xuecheng. See Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, p.156. See also “The Waning of the Bronze Age,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, pp.450-539.

and southeastern Shandong, the states Xue and Ju also adopted this sumptuary rule. But for the state of Qi, the materials that reflect the practice of the *ding-gui* system are quite few (Table 3.1). Tomb no.1 found at Linzi in 1984 yielded three *ding* and two *gui*, but these three *ding* differ in their shape and they did not appear to be part of a graded set. In Linqiu, tomb no.2 yielded two *ding* and five *li*, which is not in accordance with the rule of odd-numbered *ding* and even-numbered *gui*. In Cichun 磁村, each of the three tombs dating to late Spring and Autumn period yields one *ding* and one *gui*, but it is hard to decide whether they followed the status-defining *ding* system.<sup>63</sup> Based on current available evidence, it seems that Qi people did not strictly follow this sumptuary rule of the *ding-gui* system that was widely adopted in the Zhou central cultural realm.

During the mid-Spring and Autumn period, some changes began to take place in the design and decorative patterns of Qi bronzes that had hitherto closely followed the general standards of bronzes in the Zhou culture. For the bronze *ding*, examples with a flat cover began to appear in northern Shandong and became the major *ding* type found in the Qi area until the late Spring and Autumn period (Fig.3.12a). With regard to bronze *gui*, it was not as important of a bronze type in Qi as it was in other states in the Central Plain, where the elite culture featured the practice of *ding-gui* system. Except the very few cases of early Spring and Autumn bronze *gui* found in Linzi tomb no.1, what we observe is the absence of conventional constellation of *gui* in the material assemblage of

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<sup>63</sup> See Wang Entian, "Dong Zhou Qiguo tongqi de fenqi yu niandai," in *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui di jiu ci nianhui lunwen ji* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1997), pp.276-297. Bi Jingwei, "Shandong dongzhou dinggui zhidu chulun," *Guanzi xuekan*, 2010.3, 53-59.

Qi.<sup>64</sup> With regard to the bronze *he*, also called *zhou* 舟, typological studies show that it first emerged in northern Shandong in the very early Spring and Autumn period; then it diffused to other areas of Shandong and further to the Central Plains and became a popular vessel there in the tombs during the mid- and late Spring and Autumn period.<sup>65</sup> One type of *he* in Qi, the flat-covered *he*, was distinct from those of the Central Plain (Fig. 3.12 b). The bronze *dui* was a popular vessel type both in Shandong and Central Plain area, but beginning in the late Spring and Autumn period, the bronze *dui* of Qi became quite unique that bosses were placed over its entire surface (Fig. 3.12c). This pattern is seldom seen in the Central Plain. The last characteristic bronze vessel in Qi is the small *jar* with a long chain. Most of these jars have been excavated in northern Shandong, though some were found in southeastern Shandong (Fig 3.12 d).

Just as there are clear changes in Qi bronze culture, there were some significant changes in the burial goods of non-elites during the Spring and Autumn period.<sup>66</sup> The general impression is that in the early Spring and Autumn period, the pottery assemblage in the Qi area was similar to that of the Zhou central states, but beginning in the mid Spring and Autumn period, the Qi pottery began to show clear regional traits of the Qi state. These characteristics of Qi non-elite culture can be summarized as below:

- 1) The pottery *yu*-basin is an important part of the Qi burial assemblage, and its shape was unique to the Qi culture area. Some features of *yu* such as the band of

<sup>64</sup> Wang Entian, "Dong Zhou Qiguo tongqi de fenqi yu niandai," p.295.

<sup>65</sup> Wu Weihua, "Shandong chutu Dong Zhou tong he ji xianguan wenti yanjiu," *Kaogu* 2012.1, 72-81. See also Liu Binhui, "Shandong diqu dong Zhou tongqi yanjiu," *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui dijiuci nianhui lunwenji* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1997), pp. 263-74.

<sup>66</sup> Wang Qing, *Haidai diqu Zhoudai muzang yanjiu* (Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 2002).

rings on its shoulder and the round bottom (Fig. 3.16- 8,12,16) are clearly very different from the *yu* (also called *pen* 盆) with flat bottom in the Central Plain (e.g. *yu* from Shangma tomb no.5166 in Fig. 3.15) .

2) The *dou*, in particular the high *dou*-plate with a trumpet shaped base and the *gui* with a trumpet shaped base achieve more popularity in Qi until the mid-Spring and Autumn period, whereas in the Central Plain, the *gui* seems to have disappeared by the Late Western Zhou.

3) In many tombs pottery vessels are found in even numbers. For instance, some tombs from Donggu are buried with 4 *ding*, 4 *guan*, and 4 *dou*; and some are buried with 2 *ding*, 2 *guan* and 2 *dou* .

4) The traditional *li*-tripod with cord-impression have evolved into vertical rectangular shape with a very bulging shoulder and an extremely low crotch. This is very different from the *li* of the Lu state and of the Central Plain, which have a lower body and wider stomach, for instance, the *li* from Shangma cemetery (Fig. 3. 16)

5) The indigenous tradition of plain-surface pottery still remained. The plain-surfaced *li* developed into a type that combines both Zhou and indigenous features.

### III.3.1.3 Characteristics of Qi Bronze Inscriptions

The rise of a new regional culture is also evident in Qi bronze inscriptions cast during the Spring and Autumn period. At the first sight, the Qi inscription followed the

general trend of development of inscriptions in the Central Plain: most of the vessels are stated to have been made for the owner's own use, rather than for use in the sacrifice to a specific ancestor; the statement of past merits now often takes the form of a list of ancestors; flaunting one's pedigree takes the place of extolling one's merits in the service of one's patron; the ancestors themselves are reduced from recipients of sacrifices to components of the donor's social rank and political prestige.<sup>67</sup> But close scrutiny reveals that Qi inscriptions have their own unique characteristics in some respects, most notably the format in which they recorded the date of the text, and the style of the inscriptional script.

The traditional pattern of specific chronological notation in bronze inscriptions in the Western Zhou period includes the king's year, the month, the day expressed in the Chinese sexagenary *ganzhi* cycle, and one of four terms describing the phase of the moon: *chuji* 初吉 "first auspiciousness"; *jishengpo* 既生霸 "after the growing brightness"; *jiwang* 既望 "after the full moon" and *jisipo* 既死霸 "after the dying brightness". Some of the Qi bronzes continued with this pattern of date notations,<sup>68</sup> but others exhibit a new format of date notation. For the year, *Lishisui* 立事歲 is used, which literally means "In the year of someone holding his office" or "During the years of one's tenure of office"; for the month, it is usually expressed by using a seasonal feature or other terminology we

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<sup>67</sup> Gilbert Mattos, "Eastern Zhou Bronze Inscriptions," in *New Sources of Early Chinese History: An Introduction to the Reading of Inscriptions and Manuscripts*, ed. Edward Shaughnessy (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1997), pp.85-123. See also Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, pp.293-95.

<sup>68</sup> For instance, in Chen Ni fu 陈逆簋 (JC4629), the inscription starts with "It was in the king's first month, first auspiciousness, *dinghai* day..."

still do not understand, instead of the numerical month, for instance, *bing yue* 冰月 “frozen month,”<sup>69</sup> and “*fan zhe yue*” 飯者月 (Table 3.2).

The phrases mentioned in Table 3.2 are unique patterns of date notation in the Qi state. The Qi inscriptions also add to our understanding of the evolution of the Qi script. For the limited number of Qi bronzes from the Early Spring and Autumn period, the inscriptions show a continuation of the Zhou script tradition. But from the mid-Spring and Autumn period onward, the Qi script underwent its own evolutionary process, as did those of other states, so that calligraphic styles came to differ from region to region. From the inscriptions of the Qi state, we may observe two styles of writing. One features square and bold characters, and the other features vertical rectangular characters executed in very smooth strokes. The latter style was a new development in the state of Qi. Good examples of this style are the inscriptions of the Qi *hou yu* 齊侯盂 (Fig.3.13) and the *Ling bo* 夔鐘 bell (Fig.3.14).<sup>70</sup> They suggest that the Qi elites at this time favored narrow and vertically elongated scripts. The size of the character was regulated, and the text is arranged in a tidy and neat structure.

From the above analysis, we may observe the changes in the material culture of Qi and its tendency to develop into a distinct new regional culture. In Spring and Autumn period, there seems to have been a “homogenization process” through which Zhou cultural standards, especially the Zhou sumptuary rules governing elite burial practices

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<sup>69</sup> This term appears in *Yanzi chunqiu*. See Ma Chengyuan, *ShangZhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan*, 4, p.265.

<sup>70</sup> See Shirakawa Shizuka, “Kinbu Tsushaku,” *Hakutsuru bijutsukanshi*, 38.216: 378-87.



were widely accepted and implemented in the entire Zhou cultural realm.<sup>71</sup> However Qi, being far in the east, seems to have not adopted these rules, and Qi culture as a whole seems to have taken a new direction of development. What prevented Qi from adopting the new cultural standards developed in the Central Plain? Did Qi not share the same system of political and religious value as other central states? How can we relate these changes in the material culture of Qi with the important political changes taking place in Qi during the Spring and Autumn period? In the next section, I will discuss changes in the internal political and administrative structures of Qi that were part of Qi's state-building process.

### ***III.3.2 Reorganizing and restructuring the state: internal transformation***

A major development of the Eastern Zhou period is the accelerated breakdown of the old political and social order of the Western Zhou state. Qi during its development toward an independent state also underwent a process of reform and transformation of its social and political structure. Although archaeological evidence has little to say about the development of governance and administration of Qi, textual sources do offer important insight into what might have happened in this process. Examination of these sources to understand changes in the governance and political structure of Qi provides another perspective on the trajectory of Qi's development into an independent and powerful state.

If we limit ourselves to the Spring and Autumn period, the reform led by Duke Huan of Qi and his chief advisor Guan Zhong cannot be overlooked. The reform had a

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<sup>71</sup> Lothar von Falkenhausen, "The Waning of the Bronze Age," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, p.543.

major impact on the military and economic prowess of Qi and laid a solid foundation for Qi to become one of the superpowers in the Warring States period. But this reform is not the only significant event in Qi's development during the Spring and Autumn period. The political structure of Qi also underwent other changes. Below, I will first summarize several main points of the reform as recorded in the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan*.<sup>72</sup> Then, I will discuss some institutional innovations in the political structure of Qi. Finally I will discuss the extent of impact of the reform and changes it made to the old Zhou social order.

### III. 3.2.1 Summary of the Reform of Duke Huan and Guan Zhong

The *Guoyu* (Discourses of States) and *Zuozhuan* (Zuo Commentary), two important Warring States texts provide valuable information about the reform of Qi in governance, administration and social system, which can be summarized as the following:

The first measure was to reorganize the people. The texts report that the population of Qi was divided into twenty-one districts, called *xiang* 鄉. The people were grouped by their occupational roles including primarily artisans, scholars, merchants, and the peasants of the immediate hinterlands. Six of the *xiang* were occupational and were made up of craftsmen, scholars, and merchants. The other fifteen were made up of peasants located throughout the land in the nearby rural areas called *bi* 鄙. The fifteen districts were further organized into three large divisions of five districts each. The officials of the various districts were selected on merit rather than hereditary rights.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> For the discussion of the use of textual sources in this study, see Introduction, note 7.

<sup>73</sup> *Guoyu* (Taiwan: Zhonghua shuju, 1966), pp. 6/4-5.

Second, each family was required to furnish one soldier, and these soldiers were grouped in the same divisions and subdivisions as the organization of the people. Thus the three administrative divisions of five *xiang* 乡 each contributed three great armies.<sup>74</sup> By subjecting the entire population, Qi was therefore transformed into a dominant military power through the complete mobilization of the people of its capital and the nearby hinterland.

Third, economic policies such as the implementation of land taxation and the state monopoly of salt production are also important. The state encouraged trade and commerce.<sup>75</sup> According to the *Zuozhuan*, Duke Jing might have implemented state control over many resources including salt.<sup>76</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, along the coastline of Bohai Bay many archaeological sites associated with salt production have been found dating from the Shang to the Eastern Zhou period. It is very possible that salt production and trade were under Qi's administration control since the establishment of the Qi capital in Zibo.

From the above summary, we can recognize two important state strategies of Qi. The first was to establish an effective control mechanism over the individual citizen. People were organized into twenty-one *xiang* based on their occupational roles and each

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, pp.6/5-6.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.,pp.6/6-7.

<sup>76</sup> In the twentieth year of Duke Zhao, it records that "The trees of the hills and forests are watched over for the Duke's use by Henglu; the reeds and flags of the marshes by the Zhou Jiao; the firewood of the mere by Yuhou and the salt and cockles of the sea show by Yuwang." See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi*, p.1398 (Jame Legge, *The Ch'un T'sew with the Tso Chuen*, p.683). The monopoly on salt and iron was advocated in the *Guanzi*, a much later source of Han dyansty.

*xiang* was carefully divided and subdivided into *lian* 連-*li* 里-*gui* 軌, smaller administrative units, so as to establish a line of direct administrative control. Certain offices were established to facilitate the governance of the people. Troops were recruited on the basis of the same administrative system. Reorganization of the society facilitated taxation and mobilization. This reorganized the fabric of society to serve the purpose of expanding a territorial and military state. The second strategy was to implement effective economic policy to accumulate wealth for the state. The land taxation was charged based on the production power or the quality of the land. In the old system, farmers were dependent on their lords and used their labor to cultivate land for their lords. This reform substituted a land tax for the traditional labor service. Furthermore, encouraging trade and commerce and taking tight control of salt bought Qi economic strength. These reforms enabled Qi to maintain its position as a strong power long after the initial vigor of the political and military reform was gone. Moreover, the patterns established by Qi may have even spread to other large states which were also seeking methods to achieve effective governance of their growing territories.

### III. 3.2.1 Changes in the Political System of Qi

The preceding analysis gives us some ideas about the changes in the administration of people and the social system of the Qi state. In the political arena, the traditional political structure of Qi is known for a bi-polar power configuration consisting of the ruler of Qi versus and the two hereditary families, Gao and Guo, the so-called *mingqing* 命卿 whose positions were sanctioned by the Zhou king during the Early Western Zhou. In Guan Zhong's reform, the three army divisions were put under the command of the

Duke of Qi, the Gao family, and the Guo family. The two families not only occupied the highest positions in the government hereditarily, but also controlled the Qi's officialdom.<sup>77</sup> In order to bypass the power of the two families, the ruler of Qi began to personally select officials to assist him in managing the state and strengthen his hold on government. Commoners or people of obscure origin thus were offered chances to serve in the government and even hold high offices. These were the newcomers who were placed in office because of their ability instead of their hereditary noble birth. The appointment of Guan Zhong was itself a good example. Guan Zhong was supposedly of merchant origin. He was employed to assist Duke Huan of Qi because he was more capable in government affairs than the established high officials.<sup>78</sup> Appointment of capable men of lower origins to fill key posts was a political strategy adopted by the ruler of Qi to strengthen his power, and this idea is explicitly expressed in a covenant at Kuiqiu Meeting called for by Duke Huan in 651 BCE.<sup>79</sup>

In his study of the development of kinship ties in the political sphere of the Spring and Autumn period, Blakely compared the degree of influence of ducal and non-ducal groups from several main states based on the classification of four clan types: 1) the ruling clan, 2) collateral lineage, 3) independent clans and 4) persons of obscure origin.

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<sup>77</sup> Melvin Thatcher, "A Structural Comparison of the Central Government of Ch'u, Ch'i, and Chin," *Momumenta Serica* 33(1977-78), 140-61. "A Comparison of the Administration of Ch'i, Ch'u and Chin: Structure and Operation," p.49, unpublished paper delivered at the annual convention of the Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, March, 1975.

<sup>78</sup> *Guoyu*, pp.6/6-7.

<sup>79</sup> This is recorded in *Mencius*. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, vol.2: The Works of Mencius*, p.437; see also Cho-yun Hsu, *Ancient China in Transition: An Analysis of Social Mobility 722-222B.C.* (California: Stanford University Press, 1965), p.54.

By tracing the changes of the four groups in major offices, he delineated the chronological development of kin ties and the relative importance of each group in different states during the Spring and Autumn period. In the state of Qi, political power lay largely in the hands of the independent clans and to a lesser degree with persons of obscure origin, and the ducal clan (kin of the ruler) was quite weak.<sup>80</sup> By contrast, in the state of Song, kin ties were most politically significant and in the state of Lu, the kin group was superior to the non-kin families. This also supports Thatch Mayer's observation that political power in the state of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period was shared by the ruler and powerful families which were either loosely related or unrelated to the ruling house.<sup>81</sup>

### III. 3.2.3 The Establishment of the Office of Chief Minister

Another important institutional reform in the government of Qi was the establishment of the Office of Chief Minister (*xiang* 相) in the sixth century B.C. Based on the textual sources and bronze inscriptions gathered from the various states across a large area, Li Feng suggests that the overall features of government and the composition of offices in the regional state during the Western Zhou period were largely similar to the Zhou central government.<sup>82</sup> Data on Qi's officialdom is very poor and quite obscure. The only office we know from inscriptions of the Western Zhou period is the clerical office

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<sup>80</sup> Barry Blakely, "Regional Aspects of Chinese Socio-Political Development in the Spring and Autumn Period (722-464 BCE): Clan Power in a Segmentary State" (PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970).

<sup>81</sup> Melvin Thatcher, "A Structural Comparison of the Central Government of Ch'u Ch'i Chin," *Momumenta Serica* 33(1977-78): 140-61.

<sup>82</sup> Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp. 248-56.

Scribe (*shi* 史).<sup>83</sup> The textual sources such as the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Zuozhuan* contain less information about the offices of Qi than any other major states with the exception of the Jin state.<sup>84</sup> However, some bronze inscriptions of Qi from the Spring and Autumn period shed some light on offices in the government of Qi (Table 3.3).

These inscriptions confirm the official installation of Grand Superintendent 太宰, Grand Scribe 太史 and two other ministerial officials in the Qi government: Supervisor of Construction 司工 and Supervisor of Multitudes 司徒. According to Qing historian Gu Donggao's study, it is clear that the government in the major northern states of the Spring and Autumn period such as Lu 魯, Jin 晉, Zheng 鄭, and Wey 衛 was conventionally centered on the roles of the three ministerial officials: Supervisor of Multitudes (*Situ* Supervisor of Construction, and Supervisor of Horses (*Sima* 司馬)).<sup>85</sup> The Grand Superintendent was frequently sent on diplomatic missions between the many states, as representatives of their rulers and seemed to have played a more central role in the regional states than in the central Zhou government.<sup>86</sup> These inscriptions indicate that Qi had a government structure similar to that of other states during the Spring and Autumn

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<sup>83</sup> see JC3740 .

<sup>84</sup> Based on fundamental work by the Qing dynasty historian Gu Donggao on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Melvin Thatcher's study show that regional government in the more traditional states such as Jin during the early Spring and Autumn period remained structurally similar to the central government of the Western Zhou.

<sup>85</sup> See Gu Donggao, "Chuqiu lieguo guanzhi biao," in *Chuqiu dashi biao* (Beijing: Zhonghua Press, 1993), pp.1033-123. For a short analysis of the offices in the major states, see also Gu Derong and Zhu Shunlong, *Chuqiu shi* (Shanghai: Shiji Press, 2001), pp. 290-97.

<sup>86</sup> Li Feng, *Bureaucracy in the State in Early China*, pp. 254-56.

period, probably with a structural continuity from the regional government practice of the Western Zhou.

Therefore, the creation of the prominent Office of Chief Minister (*xiang* 相) by the mid-sixth century BCE added a new element to the overall structure of the government of Qi. Qi witnessed the rise of new powerful families due to the selection of the worthy or able men to serve in high government positions by the Qi ruler as a political strategy to enhance his own power. In the sixth century BCE the mutual interests of the ruler and emerging new powerful families in circumventing the hereditary high officials eventually led to the creation of a special ministerial position. A three-cornered distribution of political power in Qi government was created. The first occasion in which the term *xiang* 相 is used in the verbal sense as “to assist” was when Baoshu Ya recommended Guan Zhong to assist the Duke Huan. In 548, for the first time, the term *xiang* 相 was mentioned as an official title in Qi, namely Minister on the Left (*zuoxiang* 左相). This is a significant structural innovation in the institutional development in the state of Qi. But it has been pointed out that the structural change in Qi was not extensive, and the nature of the influence of the holders of this office after it was institutionalized is debatable because they seem to have owed their power more to their unique relationship with the ruler than to the authority of their office.<sup>87</sup> This is probably accurate given the

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<sup>87</sup> Melvin Thatcher, “A Structural Comparison of the Central Government of Ch’u Ch’i Chin,” *Momumenta Serica* 33(1977-78): 140-61.



reality of the political struggle in the Qi court during the Spring and Autumn period.<sup>88</sup>

Even so, the establishment of the Office of Chief Minister in Qi can still be regarded as a crucial change in the Qi officialdom.

### ***III.3.3 External policy: Ba-hegemon and Qi's relationship with the Zhou court***

Another aspect in the rise of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period is its external policy or strategy in dealing with other states and the Zhou royal court. During the Western Zhou period, by fulfilling all its obligations and duties as a regional agent of Zhou, Qi maintained its legitimacy to rule in northern Shandong. In the early Spring and Autumn period, with the decline and obvious weakness of the Zhou king, Qi did not choose to expand against the will of the Zhou court; on the contrary, it maintained an “amicable” relationship with the royal house to better serve its ambitions of self development and expansion. Qi initiated a new political institution, the so called *Ba*-hegemon system, in which many states as members of a league accepted the leadership of the most powerful state whose ruler was given the title “hegemon” by the Zhou king. Under the slogan of “Respecting the king and driving out the barbarians,” Qi justified its leadership among the other states and maintained its hegemony during the late phase of early Spring and Autumn period to the early phase of Mid-Spring and Autumn period.

It is interesting to see that it was Qi, rather than any other major Ji-surnamed state such as Jin, Zheng, or Guo in the Central Plain that became the first hegemon. The

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<sup>88</sup> For the political struggles in the Qi court, see Cao Fulin, *Baquan diexing: Chunqiu bazhu lun* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1992), pp.115-42.

*Zuozhuan* provides a lot of historical background information on Qi's rise as a hegemon. After the eastward move of the Zhou capital during King Ping's reign, the authority of Zhou king sharply diminished. In 701 BCE, the non-Zhou Rong and Di people destroyed several cities in the north, while the state of Chu in the south was expanding northward. Facing this crisis, Qi led the former Zhou regional states and built fortresses along the Yellow River bank to protect the Zhou royal capital in Luoyang. In 679 BCE, Duke Huan of Qi was for the first time officially recognized as a *ba*-hegemon 霸 by the many Zhou states as their leader and shortly thereafter the Zhou King bestowed the title of hegemon to Qi with ritual importance added.

Actually before the hegemony of Duke Huan, Qi Duke Xi 僖 and Duke Xiang 襄 had already been playing an active role in leading the states in the east since the second half of the eighth century B.C. Under the leadership of Dukes Xi and Xiang, Qi succeeded in conquering some neighboring states and developed the state of Qi into a strong regional power and Qi was called the "Minor Leader" (Xiao Bo 小伯) among the eastern states.<sup>89</sup>

The invention of the institution of hegemony resolved the dilemma by preserving the Zhou monarch as a nominal ritual leader while the preeminence of the hegemon is justified through his sanctioned military action by the Zhou king. The main definition of the hegemon under the Qi leadership is the idea of "respecting the Zhou king and driving

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<sup>89</sup> See Yoshimoto Michimasa, "Saishu Saikako" 春秋齊霸考, *Shirin* 史林 73.2(1990): 84-120.

out the barbarian” proposed by Guan Zhong to Duke Huan.<sup>90</sup> By adopting this unique stand Qi evidently gave up temporary gains for the sake of long term dominance over other states and achieved a semblance of interstate stability.<sup>91</sup> Qi successfully transformed itself from a peripheral regional state to a supreme surrogate of the Zhou sovereign with undisputed military superiority, on whom the Zhou king indeed relied. The rhetoric evincing symbolic respect for the Zhou court helped Qi to gain advantage in the long term.

But in the decades following the death of Duke Huan of Qi, there was a changing attitude toward the concept of *ba*-hegemony. Due to the circumstances of the internal succession struggle in the state of Qi after the death of Duke Huan, Qi descended from the position of hegemon and the Jin state took over this status. Jin’s innovation in the conduct of the hegemony indicated a shift in the concept of the hegemon from being a supporter to the Zhou king, to being a rival of the king by requesting regular court visits and tax tributes to the Jin court from the allied states.<sup>92</sup> After that, war was rapidly intensified, resulting in the annexation of many smaller states. The political reality of the period and the increasing use of force in conquest, annexation, and punishment made the

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<sup>90</sup> In 651BCE, Guan Zhong explained to Duke Huan the advantage of respecting the Zhou king and preserving the small states of Zhou to enhance the prestige of Qi and accordingly dissuaded him from annexing the other states and supporting unjustified rebellion. See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.349 (James Legge, *The Ch'un T'sew with the Tso Chuen*, p.148).

<sup>91</sup> With this policy, Duke Huan saved and restored many Zhou states that were destroyed by non-Zhou people Rong and Di. In 664 B.C., Duke Huan helped Yan State to not only repel Shan-Rong’s invasion, but also extended Yan’s territory; In 661 B.C., the army of Qi rescued Xing State from Di’s invasion. In 660 B.C., Duke Huan safeguarded Wei State against Di. See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi*, p. 295, 303 (James Legge, *The Ch'un T'sew with the Tso Chuen*, pp.117-118, 123).

<sup>92</sup> Sydney Rosen, “Changing Conception of the Hegemon in Pre-Ch’in China,” in *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*, ed. David T. Roy and Tsuen-hsuei Tsien (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), pp.100-14.

political paradigm of “hegemon” once created by Duke Huan of Qi obsolete. The urgent need to acquire lands invalidated the concept of “preserving the weak states”. Yuri Pines has observed that “whereas early Spring and Autumn statesmen emphasized noncoercive virtue (*de*) as the major characteristics of the hegemon, late Spring and Autumn hegemons were expected to display resoluteness and military prowess rather than *de*.”<sup>93</sup> By the end of the Spring and Autumn period, power considerations had completely overshadowed the earlier vision of the concept of hegemon. Accordingly, Qi’s political ideal, that the hegemon should serve as the protector of the Zhou states, gradually lost its original meaning.

Therefore, after Qi backed off from the competition for hegemony, Qi’s external policy might have been changed due to the political reality of the late Spring and Autumn period. Qi no longer needed to rhetorically evince symbolic respect for the Zhou court or use a slogan to realize its own ambitions. Although Qi suffered from its internal court struggle among powerful ministerial families, it did not hinder Qi’s advancement and expansion into the vast surrounding area. By the late Spring and Autumn period, Qi had annexed many smaller states in northern Shandong and the conquest of Lai, the biggest enemy of Qi in the Jiaodong Peninsula marked Qi’s complete control over the vast territory of eastern Shandong. Furthermore, Qi’s army troop reached the southeast of Shandong, attacking the state of Ju, another powerful regional state with a Dong Yi origin,

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<sup>93</sup> Yuri Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722-453 BCE*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), pp. 125-35.

as reflected in the inscription on the bronze Geng *hu* 庚壺.<sup>94</sup> Qi had sped up the process of expansion and developed into a territorial superpower. This is probably why the material culture of Qi does not necessarily demonstrate a decline in late Spring and Autumn period; on the contrary, probably due to the benefit of its internal restructuring and the increasing coherence in Qi society as a result of its reform, Qi's material culture underwent significant changes and developed into a new regional culture.

### Conclusion

After the conquest of Shang, regional states were established under the practice of the *fengjian* system to facilitate the speedy spreading of the sociopolitical organization of the Heaven-Mandated Zhou. Qi, a Zhou colony installed in the eastern peripheral area far from the central court, was one of the many states within this large *fengjian* network. This chapter discussed the developmental trajectory of the Qi state from a close representative of Zhou King to an independent superpower in the east with a focus on the changes in its material culture, internal restructuring, and external policy towards the Zhou court. Archaeological excavations at the Chenzhuang site shed new light on the early development of Qi under the political control of the Zhou court. The bronzes, jades, and inscriptions show adherence to the metropolitan Zhou culture, indicating an unmistakably close relationship with the Zhou central court in Shaanxi. Meanwhile, as a representative of Zhou, Qi played an important role in promoting the cultural and social expansion of Zhou and the cultural integration with the local areas. By the end of the

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<sup>94</sup> Zhang Zhenglang, "Geng hu shiwen," in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985), vol.1, pp.126-33.

Spring and Autumn period, Qi had expanded to the entire region of northern Shandong and the Jiaodong Peninsula in eastern Shandong.

The mid-Spring and Autumn period witnessed many important changes in the material culture of Qi. Qi developed a new regional culture -- the “Qi culture”; this marked a departure from Zhou model of culture, society, and political system. It has been suggested that Qi’s ascendance as a superpower was due to the combination of several factors: 1) Its location at the junction of trade routes gave it opportunity to profit from interstate trade; 2) The salt production along the Bohai Gulf coast provided Qi with important economic power and allowed the state to accumulate wealth; 3) Its location on the eastern frontier offered Qi new space to expand beyond the Zhou world.<sup>95</sup> Besides these factors, Qi also underwent internal political and social restructuring and reorganization. With the changes in political structure, Qi attempted to modify the old Zhou system.

By adopting the external policy of “respecting the Zhou king and driving out the barbarian,” Qi created the paradigm of hegemon. Qi evidently gave up temporary gains for the sake of long term dominance over other states and achieved a balance in interstate politics. The rhetorical respect for the Zhou court helped Qi gain long term advantage. Qi successfully transformed itself from a submissive peripheral regional state to a supreme surrogate of the Zhou sovereign, on whom the Zhou king tended to depend. After Qi lost its power as hegemon, its external policy was adjusted in accordance with the changing political reality. But undoubtedly, both the internal reorganization and its external policy

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<sup>95</sup> Cho-yun Hsu, “The Spring and Autumn Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, pp.553-56.

worked to strengthen Qi's military and economic power and laid a solid foundation for its development into an independent territorial superpower in the Warring States period.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### STRUGGLING AGAINST OR SUBMITTING TO “ALIENE RULE”: THE RISE OF THE STATE WITH DONG YI ORIGIN IN THE JIAODONG PENINSULA

#### Introduction

In the previous chapter, I use the state of Qi as an example to discuss the developmental trajectory of states that were originally established by the Zhou kings and later became independent state powers in the Shandong region. Apart from such regional states established originally by the Zhou court under the *fengjian* system, there also existed many non-Zhou polities ruled by the leaders of indigenous origins who were referred to as “Dong Yi” (Eastern Barbarians) by the Zhou. After the Zhou conquest of Shang, local communities in the Shandong peninsula needed to make choices in confronting the Zhou in order to survive both culturally and politically. From bronze inscriptions, we know that the polities in the eastern periphery oscillated most frequently in their relationship with the Zhou: sometimes they appear as allied polities of Zhou, but at other times they seem to have been antagonistic. As I will discuss below, some past studies have worked on the historical-geography of these Non-Zhou states in order to determine their locations and track their migration. Most of such studies are based on transmitted historical records in texts such as the *Shiji*, the “Dilizhi” (Geographical Record) chapter of the *Hanshu*, and other later texts. Of course this has contributed to our understanding of the small non-Zhou states in the Shandong region, but due to the existence of many similar place names and the occasional mistaken transcription of Chinese characters in the later texts, the conclusions drawn by these studies are very



divergent. An in-depth study of the social change and the developmental trajectories of the small states through the analysis of both archaeological materials and textual sources is indeed needed and will significantly expand our understanding of the process of secondary state formation in China

It is without question that contact with the Zhou core and its regional states such as Qi and Lu increased social complexity among the indigenous polities, and led to the formation of small states on the eastern periphery, but should we just treat this as a typical example of the process described by the acculturation model? How did these small states react to Zhou cultural influence and how did they maintain and develop themselves under the pressure from another more powerful society? If it is true that these small states were formed on the model of the Zhou regional states, can we see any local agency in the indigenous community?

This chapter explores the developmental trajectory of non-Zhou states with Dong Yi origins, particularly those that were located in the Jiaodong Peninsula. The chapter is composed of three parts. The first part provides a general outline of the cultural transformation in the region prior and during the Zhou expansion into the Jiaodong peninsula. The second part examines the concept of Dong Yi and gives an overview of the states with Dong Yi origins. The third part takes the state of Lai as a typical case to examine the process by which a non-Zhou polity with Dong Yi origins was transformed into a central power in the Jiaodong Peninsula. The choice to examine Lai, instead of many other non-Zhou states in Shandong area such as Zhu 邾, Tan 郯, Yi 夷, Xuju 须句, Biyang 偃陽, Shi 郛, Zhuanyu 顓臾, Ju 莒 etc., was because Lai was one of the most

powerful Yi polities in the peripheral region, especially in the Jiaodong Peninsula where the indigenous cultural tradition was more evident and prevalent, and persisted much longer than in the inland Shandong region. Moreover, the Jiaodong peninsula was not colonized by the Shang before the arrival of the Zhou and thus provides an ideal environment to study cultural confrontation, integration, and accommodation during the Zhou period. Also as part of the collaborative archaeological project undertaken by Columbia University and the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS), we did several years of archaeological fieldwork at the Guicheng site in present-day Longkou (also called Huangxian), which is believed to have been the capital city of Lai during the Spring and Autumn period. This work, from which this dissertation draws its primary data, has provided important information about the sociopolitical transformation of Lai in the Jiaodong peninsula.

#### **IV.1 The Jiaodong Peninsula: Environment and Regional Sociopolitical Transformation**

Occupying the eastern part of modern Shandong province, the Jiaodong 膠東 Peninsula is the largest peninsula in China, with an area of  $2.7 \times 10^4$  square km. It is located to the east of the Jiaolai 膠萊 River and extends northeastward between the Bohai Sea and Yellow Sea. Due to its geographical separation from the Yellow River region to the west, the Jiaodong Peninsula is still a “New World” in the archaeology of China which has focused instead on the Yellow and Yangzi River regions, and it was only from the 1980s that substantial archaeological research was gradually carried out to uncover the unique ancient cultural development in the region. But because of its easy access to

the sea and the relatively favorable natural environment in comparison to western Shandong, the Jiaodong Peninsula has traditionally been the richer part of Shandong.

#### ***IV1.1 Environment and natural resources***

The peninsula features hilly terrain and mainly consists of undulating low flat-topped hills of under 500 meters in elevation. Igneous rocks produced by volcanic eruptions in the late Cretaceous period created a complex surface structure with no obvious ranges.<sup>1</sup> The northern and southern coasts of the Jiaodong Peninsula exhibit contrasting topographic features. The geological setting of the northern coast mainly consists of exposed marble and granite bedrock, whereas the southern coast area is mostly lagoon-sand-bar and estuarine shore.<sup>2</sup>

The Siberian-Mongolian high-pressure air masses from the high latitude of the Eurasian continent mixes with the air masses from the low latitude of the Pacific, producing in Jiaodong Peninsula a typical humid monsoon climate in a warm temperate zone. Due to the warm air from the sea, this region has relatively a small range of temperature variation from summer to winter when compared to the rest of North China. The annual precipitation is 650-850 mm and 60% of precipitation is in summer.<sup>3</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Two, studies show that at the beginning of the Holocene, climatic warming caused the melting of the glaciers that brought a rise in sea level and the inundation of large areas that were formerly land around the Jiaodong Peninsula. At

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<sup>1</sup> *Zhongguo ziran dili* (Beijing: Kexue, 1979-1985), 2, p.29.

<sup>2</sup> Zhao Ji, *Jiaodong bandaoyanhai quanxinshi huanjing yanbian* (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1992), pp. 35-60.

<sup>3</sup> *Shandong Land, Resources Atlas* (Jinan: Shandong Cartographic Publishing House, 2007), p.13.

around 4000BCE, the sea level reached its highest transgression, approximately 2-4 m above its present level; <sup>4</sup>at around 2500 BCE, sea levels began to recede and about 1000 BCE, sea level entered a pattern of small oscillations around its current level (Map 4.1). <sup>5</sup>

The above climate change corresponds well with the economic, demographic and environmental developments of the Jiaodong Peninsula during the Neolithic period and may indirectly explain the changes in material culture therein. The settlements of the early Neolithic communities in the Jiaodong Peninsula reflect the adaptation to the local ecological and environmental situation. The main subsistence economy was shell collection, as indicated by many shell-mound sites along the north and south coasts of the Jiaodong Peninsula, where shell resources were abundant. <sup>6</sup> With the diffusion of agricultural technology from the Dawenkou 大汶口 culture (ca. 4200-2600 BCE) in the west, the people in the Jiaodong Peninsula gradually abandoned the shell collection economic pattern. Agricultural settlements increased in numbers and moved from the coast line to the hills and plain valley areas. The archaeological studies of land use pattern in the region suggest there was a process of agricultural intensification. <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Zhao Xitao, “Zhongguo dongbu 20000 nian lai de haipingmian bianhua,” *Haiyang xuebao* (1.2) 1979: 269-81. See also David Cohen, “The Yueshi Culture, the Dong Yi and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China,” p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Han Yousong et al., “Shandong bandao yanhai diqu wan Disiji haixiangceng, gu hai’anxian ji haipingmian bianhua de chubu yanjiu,” *Zhongguo Haipingmian bianhua* ( Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1986), pp. 98-105.

<sup>6</sup> Wang Fuqiang “Jiaodong xinshiqi shidai yizhi de dili fenbu ji xiangguan zhishi”, in *Jiaodong kaogu yanjiu wenji*, pp.133-146.

<sup>7</sup> Wang Xiping, “Cong jiaodong bando xinshiqi yizhi de fenbu kan hai an de bianqian,” in *Jiaodong kaogu yanjiuwenji*, p.111.

There are five major river systems: Huangshui 黄水 River, Dagu 大沽 River, Wulong 五龍河 River, Qingyang 清洋 River and Dagujia 大沽夹河 River. The gentle slopes, wide valleys and basins covered by deep layers of soil and thick vegetation with the abundant surface water, have made the Jiaodong Peninsula a naturally rich and agriculturally productive area in the eastern periphery; more so than the mountainous regions of central Shandong.

Furthermore, there are rich mineral deposits in the Jiaodong peninsula, mainly distributed in the eastern and northern edge of Jiaolai basin. They are small scale copper mines, such as the Wangjiazhuang 王家莊 copper ore in Fushan 福山, the Xiangguang 香光 copper-lead-zinc ore in Xixia 栖霞, the Kongxintou 孔辛头 copper-molybdenum ore in Muping 牟平 and the Huaya 花崖 copper ore in Haiyang 海陽. The Jiaodong peninsula also possesses gold deposits, particularly in the Zhaoyuan and Rushan area.<sup>8</sup>

The Jiaodong Peninsula thus provides variable ecological settings: the littoral zone for sea resources, fertile pockets of alluvium along river valleys for agriculture, and the copper and other mineral deposits that could be explored to support local bronze industry.

#### ***IV.1.2 Development of indigenous cultural tradition: from the Neolithic to the Western Zhou period***

Archaeological works have established an independent cultural sequence in the Jiaodong Peninsula, which includes the following periods:<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Fang Hui, "Haidai diqu zaoqi tongqi de faxian yu yanjiu," in *Haidai qidu qingtong shi dai kao gu*, pp. 42-52. See also [http://www.shandong.gov.cn/art/2005/1/25/art\\_190\\_30854.html](http://www.shandong.gov.cn/art/2005/1/25/art_190_30854.html)

<sup>9</sup> Li Buqing and Wang Xiping, "Jiaodong bandao xinshiqi wenhua chulun," *Kaogu* 1988.1.66-77.

The Baishicun 白石村 Culture Phase I (c.a.5000-3700 BCE)

Qiujiashuang 邱家莊 Culture (c.a.3700-3300 BCE)<sup>10</sup>

Beizhuang 北莊 Culture Phase II (c.a.3300-2800BCE)

Longshan 龍山 Culture (c.a.2800-2000 BCE)

Yueshi 岳石 Culture (c.a.2000-1400BCE)

Zhenzhumen 珍珠門 Culture (Late Shang and Early Western Zhou period: 1300-957BCE)

Nanhuangzhuang 南黃莊 Culture (Western Zhou period: 1045-771BCE)

The Longshan Culture in Jiaodong is represented by Yangjiajuan 楊家圈 Phase II.

The Yueshi culture is considered to have been roughly contemporaneous with the Erlitou culture in the Central Plains, and the Zhenzhumen culture roughly parallels late Shang (1300-1046 BCE) and Early Western Zhou (1045-771 BCE). The Nanhuangzhuang culture was dated to the Early to Mid-Western Zhou period by the excavators.<sup>11</sup> In recent studies, it is considered to have been roughly contemporary with the Late Western Zhou and early Eastern Zhou (800-600 BCE) periods.<sup>12</sup> Overall, the Nanhuangzhuang culture is the most ambiguously documented period in eastern Shandong.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> In this sequence, the Qiujiashuang culture can be further divided into two phases: early phase includes Qiujiashuang Phase I and Baishicun Phase II; the late phase includes Zijingshan 紫荊山 Phase I, Qiujiashuang Phase II and Beizhuang Phase I.

<sup>11</sup> Beijingdaxue kaogu xi et al., “Shandong Rushanxian Nanhuangzhuang Xi Zhou shibanmu fajue jianbao,” *Kaogu*, 1991.4, 332-36.

<sup>12</sup> Wang Xun, *Dong yi yu Huai yi wenhua yanjiu* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1994), pp. 96-100.

<sup>13</sup> Yantai shi bowuguan, *Kaogu Yantai* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2006), pp.10-14,106-120.

Therefore, during the Western Zhou period, the indigenous pottery tradition is represented by the late phase of the Zhenzhumen culture and the Nanhuangzhuang culture.<sup>14</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Two, the ceramic assemblage of the Zhenzhumen culture mainly consists of reddish brown plain-surfaced wares, tempered with mica flakes or ground talc and mostly hand-shaped and fired at low-temperature. The representative vessel types include *li*-tripods, *wan*-bowls, *yan*-steamers, *guan*-jars and *gui*-tureens (Fig.4.1a). Fang Hui has argued that the Zhenzhumen culture was derived from the Yueshi culture in eastern Shandong and that the Yueshi culture probably collapsed due to the incursion of the early Shang culture which may have caused social stresses and cultural changes in the peninsula.<sup>15</sup> For the Nanhuangzhuang culture, the most representative discovery is the 22 slab-chambered tombs at Nanhuangzhuang in Rushan 乳山.<sup>16</sup> The main area of distribution of the Nanhuangzhuang culture is the eastern part of Jiaodong Peninsula, concentrating in the southeastern coast area at sites like Rushan, Wendeng 文登, Rongcheng 荣城, etc. It has been suggested that Nanhuangzhuang was developed from the Zhenzhumen culture and thus dates to the Western Zhou period.<sup>17</sup> The main vessel types of the Nanhuangzhuang culture include *ding*-cauldron, *li*-tripod, *gui*-tureen, and *guan*-jar (see Fig. 4.1b). Although research on both cultures is still in the

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<sup>14</sup> Li Buqing and Wangxiping, "Jiaodong bandao xinshiqi wenhua chulun", *Kaogu* 1988.1, 66-77. Han Rong, "Jiaodong shiqian wenhua chulun," in *Shandong shiqian wenhua lunwenji* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1986), pp. 96-120.

<sup>15</sup> Fang Hui, "Yueshi wenhua de jige wenti," *Guanzi xuekan* 1988.4, 65-69.

<sup>16</sup> See Beijingdaxue kaoguxi et al., "Shandong Rushan Nanhuangzhuang" pp.332-36.

<sup>17</sup> See Wang Xiping, "Jiaodong bandao Xia Shang Zhou shiqi de yiren wenhua," *Beifang wenwu* 1987.2, 22-23.

preliminary stage and has failed to reveal the possible social organization that might have supported them, the archaeological record indicates the existence of an indigenous pottery production tradition in the eastern peninsula, with the following common features:

- 1) The indigenous ceramic assemblage comprises red or red-to-brown pottery with a rough temper; the body material is mixed with a high proportion of white quartz, mica and sand, fired at a relatively low temperature.
- 2) The majority of the vessels are plain surfaced, undecorated, and red-to-light brown in color.
- 3) The typical pottery types are plain-surface *li*-tripod, *ding*-cauldron, and *gui*-tureen.
- 4) Hand-shaping technique was the main method of pottery-making.

As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, the Zhenzhumen culture did not extend beyond the Mi River in the west and the Shang culture did not penetrate into the Jiaodong Peninsula and southeastern Shandong. Although sporadic findings of Shang-style pottery such as *gui* and *li* exist in some of the Zhenzhumen sites, it is clear that the spread of Shang cultural influence was weak and restricted, judging by the predominance of material remains belonging to the indigenous culture.

#### ***IV.1.3 Advances of the Zhou culture and regional social integration***

The above picture, however, changed dramatically after the Zhou conquest of the Shang. Materials of Zhou cultural features started to increase in the local pottery



assemblage of the eastern Shandong peninsula until they constitute the majority of the local cultural assemblage.

#### IV.1.3.1 Settlement Clusters in the Jiaodong Peninsula during the Zhou Period

The Jiaodong peninsula followed its own cultural evolution before the Zhou culture arrived, and its material culture does not seem to be as developed as that in western Shandong. Since the late phase of the Early Western Zhou period, the Jiaodong Peninsula underwent dramatic changes as bronze culture started to prosper in this region. Based on currently available archaeological materials, we can identify three main settlement clusters in the Jiaodong Peninsula during the Zhou period that best reflect the sociopolitical integration in this area: The settlement cluster in the Huangshui 黃水 River area in the north coast, the settlement cluster in the south, centered around the Wulong 五龍 River area and the settlement cluster in the Yantai 煙臺 area at the eastern tip (Fig.4.2).

##### 1) The settlement cluster in the Huangshui River area:

In comparison to the settlement cluster in the Wulong River and Yantai area, the settlement cluster in the Huangshui River area is the largest and most complex in the Jiaodong Peninsula. The settlements are distributed around the Huangshui River, the second-longest river in the Jiaodong Peninsula, which flows 51 kilometers from western Mount Ai in Qixia 栖霞, northward across 11 counties of Longkou 龍口 and Penglai 蓬萊 before entering the Bohai Sea. Due to the frequent discoveries of bronzes and other cultural relics that date to the Zhou period, the Huangshui River area has been described

as the “cradle of bronze culture of Jiaodong peninsula.”<sup>18</sup> It includes many sites and some wall-enclosures, which can be further classified as the Guicheng settlement cluster, the Dongqucheng settlement cluster, the Cunliji settlement cluster and the Qixia settlement cluster.

In the Guicheng settlement cluster, the Guicheng city-site itself is located in the center of a large system network and the neighboring sites at Zhuangtou 莊頭, Dongying Zhoujia 東營周家, Jiqian Zhaojia 集前趙家, Lujiagou 魯家溝, and Zhangzhengjia 張鄭家 represent cemeteries or perhaps secondary residential centers around it. Further away from Guicheng are the smaller sites at Huangheyong gugang 黃河營古港, Xiaohanshan rongdong 小寒山溶洞, Nanwangxu 南王緒, Qianshan 乾山, Tangshan 唐家, Xujia 徐家 and Shaojia 邵家遺址 where Zhou pottery shards were collected. At Dongqucheng 東曲城 and Cunliji, large wall-enclosure remains and graveyards nearby have been discovered and represent the other two centers of the settlement clusters in the north coast area of the peninsula.<sup>19</sup> These three settlements form an integrated network with the walled Guicheng site situated at the center. It has been suggested that while the Guicheng site undoubtedly continued to be the center of this network during the Western Zhou to mid-Spring and Autumn period, the Cunliji site was transformed into a new regional cultural center during the late Eastern Zhou period.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Tang Luting, “Jiaodong Huangshuihe liuyu qingtong wenhua yu guguo xintan,” in *Jinian Shandong daxue kaogu zhuanke chuangjian 20 zhounian wenji* (Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1992), pp.295-302.

<sup>19</sup> The material has yet to be reported, see *Kaogu Yantai* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2006), p.136.

<sup>20</sup> Li Feng, unpublished report of the Sino-American Archaeological Team on the Guicheng site.

For the Qixia settlement cluster, a series of tombs that date from mid-Western Zhou to Spring and Autumn period with distinctive features of the local culture tradition have come to light. Qixia is located in the central Jiaodong peninsula and is dominated by low mountains and hills, with an average elevation of 178 meters. A local archaeologist has suggested that there should be large residential remains and a Western Zhou cemetery located at Dabeizhuang in Qixia.<sup>21</sup> This implies the existence of another settlement cluster at the edge of the Huangshui River area. Although the Qixia settlement is much smaller than that at Guicheng, communication and relationships between these two might have been established as early as the Western Zhou period.

## 2) The settlement cluster in the Wulong River area

The settlement cluster in the Wulong River area includes some sites in the southern peninsula where bronze objects were discovered. The Wulong (Five dragons) River originates in the south-east mountain area of Qixia and runs 73 km southward into the Dingzi 丁字 Bay in Yellow sea. The Wulong River system that consists of five large tributaries including the Bailong 白龍, Xian 蜺, Qingshui 清水, Moshui 墨水 and Fushui 富水 Rivers. These tributaries cover a total area of 2,700 square kilometers, of which 1,400 square kilometers is in the territory of the Laiyang city. The settlement cluster in the Wulong River area includes the Laiyang Qianheqian settlement and the Zhuiziqian settlement. The Qianheqian settlement consists of a cemetery and wall-enclosure, the latter of which was already destroyed. Five tombs were excavated at the cemetery, which

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<sup>21</sup> Li Buqing and Wang Xiuping, “Jianguo lai yantai diqu chutu Shang Zhou mingwen qingtongqi gaishu,” in *Jiaodong kaogu yanjiu wenji*, p. 354.

date from the Late Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period. The cultural remains around the site include elements of both Zhou and the indigenous cultural traditions. This site has been identified as the “new land” of the Ji 紀 state in the southern half of the peninsula during the Late Western Zhou period.<sup>22</sup>

The Zhuiziqian site is a late Spring and Autumn elite cemetery belonging to the Tian 田 lineage of the state of Qi. It has been suggested that a residential settlement should be found around the cemetery, which might have been a “fief”-settlement of Qi after it conquered the Jiaodong Peninsula. Beginning in the late Spring and Autumn period, settlements may have been turned into domains for advisors, statesmen, diplomats, and generals from a variety of social origins. This reflects the sociopolitical transformation of Laiyang-Haiyang area in the process of its incorporation into the state of Qi. Other discoveries within the Haiyang area include bronze-yielding tombs at Shangdu 尚都 and Guochengzhen 郭城鎮.<sup>23</sup>

### 3) The settlement cluster in the Yantai area

The settlement cluster in the Yantai area consists of the Zhishui 芝水 site (Phase III), the Shangkuang 上夙 site and sites at the eastern tip such as Weihai 威海, Rongcheng 榮城 and Wendeng 文登 where bronzes-yielding tombs were discovered. Phase III of the Zhishui site represents an early and mid-Western Zhou occupation, with

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<sup>22</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p.316.

<sup>23</sup> Zhang Zhen, “Haiyang Shangdu faxian Xi Zhou tongqi,” *Kaogu* 2001.9, 91-93. Gao Jingping, “Shandong Haiyang Guochengzhen chutu Zhanguo qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1994.3, 44-45.

the indigenous elements dominating the local cultural assemblage.<sup>24</sup> At Rongcheng and Wendeng, early mid-Western Zhou bronze *ding*, *yan*, *zun* of were also discovered, indicating that Zhou culture influence had arrived by that time.<sup>25</sup> At Weihai, one mid-Western Zhou and two Eastern Zhou tombs were excavated, yielding Zhou bronzes.<sup>26</sup> At Yantai a Late Western Zhou tomb was found, yielding a group of bronzes cast by the ruler of Ji 己, indicating that Ji had expanded into the Yantai area.

Although the bronze culture in this area is not as prosperous as that in Huangshui River area, these discoveries indicate the local social transformation under Zhou influence at the eastern tip of the peninsula.

#### IV.1.3.2 Zhou's Advances in the Jiaodong Peninsula and the Material Evidence

Li Feng's study of the inscriptional evidence has presented us with a good picture of the Zhou expansion into the whole Shandong area.<sup>27</sup> After the Zhou's second conquest in the east and its successful colonization of the western and northwestern parts of Shandong, the Zhou continued to expand into the hilly Jiaodong Peninsula. On the cultural level, in contrast with the limited discovery of Shang-style materials, more Zhou culture-style bronzes and pottery objects have been observed in the Jiaodong Peninsula beginning from the late phase of the Early Western Zhou period. The best inscriptional evidence that reflects Zhou penetration into the Jiaodong Peninsula comes from the

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<sup>24</sup> Yan Wenming, "Yantai Zhishui yizhi fajue baokao," in *Jiaodong Kaogu*, pp. 96-151.

<sup>25</sup> Collection in Rongcheng wenwuguan; see Lin Xianting, "Jiaodong qingtong wenhua chutan", note. 14, and note 15.

<sup>26</sup> Zheng Tongxiu, "Shandong Weihai faxian Zhou dai muzang," *Kaogu* 1995.1, 23-27.

<sup>27</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 300-18.

wellknown Qi *zun* 啟尊 (JC 5983) and Qi *you* 啟卣 (JC 5410) found at Xiaoliuzhuang 小劉莊 in the Huangxian 黃縣 area, in fact, within the wall-enclosure of Guicheng.<sup>28</sup> The inscriptions on these two bronzes record that Qi accompanied the Zhou king on a southern campaign. As early as 1896, the Yu *yan* 鬲甗 (JC 948) and Yu *ding* 鬲鼎 (JC2721) were discovered in the Huangxian area, bearing an important inscription that mentions a campaign under the command of Shi Yongfu 師雍父 (Fig.4.3 a).<sup>29</sup> In addition, many more standard mid-Western Zhou bronzes have been found in the Huangxian area. They are associated with a walled site called Guicheng, which will be mainly discussed in a later section for its significant role in the regional transformation. From the late stage of the Early Western Zhou, the Zhou state had achieved at least some territorial gains in eastern Shandong and had probably established effective control over the Jiaolai plain.<sup>30</sup> From the beginning of the mid-Western Zhou, Zhou troops advanced further into the hilly regions to the east mainly along the northern coastline, reaching as far as the northern tip of the peninsula and occupying places in the Huangxian region.<sup>31</sup> To the southwest of Guicheng, in the adjacent area known as Zhaoyuan, a mid-Western Zhou bronze *gui* cast by an elite member of the state of Qi 齊 was excavated (Fig.4.3b).<sup>32</sup> Further to the eastern edge of the peninsula is Weihai 威海 and Rongcheng 榮城 where mid- and Late Western

<sup>28</sup> See Qi Wentao, “Gaishu jin nian lai Shandong chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi,” pp. 5-8.

<sup>29</sup> On the provenance of the Yu *yan*, see Luo Zhenyu, *Zhensong tang jigū yiwēn* (1930), 4, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 312-14.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.

<sup>32</sup> Li Buqing and Lin Xianting, “Shandong Zhaoyuan chutu Xi Zhou qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1994.4, 377-78.

Zhou tombs have been found, yielding standard Zhou-style bronze *ding* and *yan* (Fig.4.3 c, d).<sup>33</sup> In Qingdao at the southeastern edge of Shandong was found a bronze *ding*, showing typical mid-Western Zhou decoration patterns (Fig.4.3 e).<sup>34</sup> Another important discovery along the southeastern coast of the peninsula was the discovery in Xi'an 西庵, where a typical Zhou-style chariot was found buried with four horses and standard Zhou bronze fittings and weapons. It is hard to say whether these bronze vessels of typical Zhou cultural styles all represent the existence of a “Zhou” population in the areas where they were discovered -- probably not, for people who shared the Zhou material culture might not be all ethnic “Zhou”. And it is possible some of the sites with Zhou culture contents in the settlements system analyzed above, particularly those which are located in the Wulong River region in the southeast part of the peninsula, were probably occupied by the indigenous or people with varying backgrounds, given the ongoing process of cultural assimilation in the whole peninsula. But given the explicit expression of political relations with the Zhou central court and the Zhou elites in Shaanxi in bronzes inscriptions locally discovered, concentrated in the north part, particularly the Guicheng region where the Zhou material culture was dominant, a population associated with the Western Zhou state including at least some ethnic Zhou from Shaanxi or even from some of the regional Zhou states must have been active in the region. This situation is also corroborated by inscriptions discovered in the Zhou central region that document Zhou’s military actions in the Shandong region.

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<sup>33</sup> Zheng Tongxiu, “Shandong Weihai faxian Zhou dai muzang,” pp. 23-27.

<sup>34</sup> Sun Shande, “Qingdao faxian xizhou muzang,” *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 6 (1982): 169.

Bronze inscriptions from the reigns of Kings Kang and Zhao provide a lot of information about the fighting between the Zhou and the indigenous communities in Shandong, and document a continuous military expansion from the west into the eastern Shandong Peninsula. For instance, the X *ding* 鬲鼎 (JC2741) mentions the Zhou king on a campaign against the Dong Yi attacking a place called Yu 豫, where the Zhou troops captured seashells. The Xiaochen Lai *gui* (JC4239) mentions that Bo Maofu led the Eight Armies of Yin to attack the Dong Yi, pursuing them as far as the seashore and Bo Maofu rewarded his soldier with cowries captured on the campaign. They prove the best evidence of the Zhou expansion into the coastal areas of eastern Shandong and provide the background of the archaeological findings of Zhou-style bronzes and pottery in the region.<sup>35</sup>

## **IV.2 The Issue of Dong Yi and the Non-Zhou States with Dong Yi origins in Shandong**

Zhou's expansion in the Shandong region led to the situation that some of the Dong Yi communities were annihilated and some became Zhou allies, while others still remained antagonistic to the Zhou state. Both inscriptional and textual sources indicate that many non-Zhou states in Shandong not only survived the Zhou conquest but also played active roles in region afterwards.

### ***IV.2.1 Dong Yi in the Western Zhou: concept and evidence from the bronze Inscriptions***

In the Shang Oracle bone inscriptions, people in the eastern periphery were called Ren Fang or Yi Fang (or Shi Fang), whereas “Dong Yi” is a term that did not appear until

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<sup>35</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p. 313.



the Western Zhou period, referring to the indigenous people in the east who were collectively called by the Zhou as “Eastern Barbarian” in bronze inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> Another term that is closely associated with Dong Yi (Eastern Barbarians) is Huai Yi (Huai Barbarians), the appellation for people who lived in the Huai River valley of eastern Henan, southern Shandong, northern Anhui and Jiangsu region. Huai Yi was often considered part of Dong Yi in the past studies;<sup>37</sup> but they represent two different groups of people referred to as “barbarian” by the Zhou people. Dong Yi was a term primarily for the people in the Shandong area, while Huai Yi was used to refer to people located further to the south at the Huai River valley. In bronze inscriptions, Huai Yi is sometimes prefixed with the character *nan* 南 (south) as southern Huai Yi (southern Huai Barbarian).<sup>38</sup> The Zhou people intentionally differentiated between the Dong Yi and the Huai Yi. For instance, on the Yu *ding* 禹鼎 (JC 2834) it says that the Border Protector, Lord of E, leads the southern Huai Yi and Eastern Yi to attack the southern and eastern states as far as Lihan. Nan Huai Yi and Dong Yi are listed together as the enemy of the Zhou state, which means they were delineated as different branches of Yi groups. As my study does not deal with the Huai River region, I will only discuss the Dong Yi people, the indigenous groups in the Shandong area.

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<sup>36</sup> For an extensive discussion of the textual and inscriptional evidence for the Dong Yi, see David Cohen, “The Yueshi Culture, the Dongyi, and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China,” pp. 42-210.

<sup>37</sup> Li Baifeng, *Dong yi zaokao* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1981), p.47.

<sup>38</sup> For Huai Yi in bronze inscriptions, see Edward Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, pp.178-79.

Contemporary records of events pertaining to the Dong Yi are available to us through the bronze inscriptions. Shaughnessy in his *Sources of Western Zhou History* provides us with some inscriptions describing Zhou military campaigns against the Dong Yi, Huai Yi or Nan Yi (Southern Yi).<sup>39</sup> I list all the bronzes directly pertaining to Dong Yi in Table 4.1. In these inscriptions, Dong Yi are exclusively described as the enemies of Zhou, and all of the incidents of the wars between Zhou and Dong Yi in inscriptions record victory for the Zhou. Regarding the nature and meaning of inscriptions, there has been much discussion among Early China scholars. Although Falkenhausen has strongly argued that Western Zhou bronze inscriptions must be understood primarily as relics of ritual activities and religious documents instead of as archival ones aiming at delivering information to later descendants,<sup>40</sup> Li Feng's discussion presents us with a much larger social context, or more precisely multiple social contexts in which inscribed bronzes were created and used.<sup>41</sup> The historical value of bronze inscriptions cannot be neglected.<sup>42</sup>

The majority of bronzes in the above table date to the Early Western Zhou period, when Zhou was energetically engaged in a series of campaigns against the Dong Yi polities in the east. It has been argued that all of the Dong Yi people were subjugated by

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>40</sup> See Falkenhausen, "Issues in Western Zhou Studies," *Early China* 38 (1993):146-47.

<sup>41</sup> Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp. 11-20; *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 8-10.

<sup>42</sup> For the historical value of bronze inscriptions, see Herrlee G. Creel, "Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Chou Dynasty as Historical Documents," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936), 335-49; Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, pp 175-82.

the Zhou through the Zhou's expansion process.<sup>43</sup> Considering the geographic characteristics and the immense size of the peninsula and the features of material cultures disclosed by archaeological works, it is more likely that only some Dong Yi groups were subjugated; some became Zhou allies while others remained hostile to the Zhou state.<sup>44</sup> In this table, two Late Western Zhou period bronzes, *Yu ding* (JC2834) and *Hu zhong* (JC 260) indicate that Dong Yi groups were able to sustain their power and repeatedly attacked Zhou state throughout the entire length of the Western Zhou period.

What we should be aware of is that the concept of Dong Yi is not a self-determined appellation, but a name used by people from the Zhou central area. There are no historical annals or other documents recorded by the Dong Yi themselves and no early texts that focus primarily on the Dong Yi; nor do we have contemporary inscriptions with certain length from areas thought to belong to the Dong Yi.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, Dong Yi is not a single polity or organization. More importantly, the composition of Dong Yi group is complex, flexible and fluctuated through time. It is extremely difficult to know if the Dong Yi during the reign of King Cheng consisted of the same groups as the Dong Yi referred to during King Li's reign. Therefore, Dong Yi and Huai Yi are labels applied generically in the Zhou inscriptions to outside groups in a certain general region who came into interaction with Zhou, either attacking Zhou or bringing tributes to the state. In this sense, although their relationship with the Zhou might have changed from time to

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<sup>43</sup> Yang Kuan, "Xi Zhou Chunqiu shidai dui dongfang he beifang de kaifa," *Zhonghua wenshi luncun* 1984.4, 109-13.

<sup>44</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p. 313.

<sup>45</sup> David Cohen, "The Yueshi Culture, the Dongyi, and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China," p. 248.

time, when the Zhou elite used the term “Dong Yi” in their inscriptions it referred to the groups or communities that essentially opposed the rule of the Zhou, as they were considered by the Zhou as outsiders, if not enemies of the Zhou state.

#### ***IV.2.2 The rise of non-Zhou states with Dong Yi or Yi origin in Shandong: the bigger picture***

Many non-Zhou states in the Shandong region existed through the Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn period. In the received texts we see such names as Zhu 邾 (Zou 鄒), Zeng 鄆, Ju 莒, Xiaozhu 小邾, Zhu 鑄 (州), Zhuanyu 顓臾, Tan 鄆, Biyang 偃陽, Lai 萊, Yi 夷, Xuju 須句, Yu 郟, Xiang 向, Si 郟, Su 宿, Mu 牟, and Zhuanyu 顓臾. Most of them are obviously of indigenous background, worshipping legendary figures such as Taihao 太皞 and Shaohao 少皞 as their ancestors, while their true origins remain obscure in history.<sup>46</sup> It has been suggested that the Western Zhou was a period when the indigenous populations in the periphery of the Zhou world moved swiftly to form their own states modeled on the regional states established by the Zhou court.<sup>47</sup> The rulers of most of these small states were called by the title *zi* 子 by their Zhou neighbors, who previously used that title for their foreign ally and enemy Chu 楚, though some of these

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<sup>46</sup> See David Cohen, “The Yueshi Culture, the Dongyi, and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China,” pp.255-308.

<sup>47</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p. 318.

states apparently adopted the title themselves, along with others such as *hou* and *bo*, as is evidenced by the bronze inscriptions.<sup>48</sup>

Our knowledge that these polities are related to the so-called “Dong Yi” comes from the *Zuo zhuan* and *Guoyu*, which contain some clear indications of the Yi origins of these small states (see Table 4.2 for reference). The indigenous states of Zhu 邾, Ju 莒, Zeng 鄆, Tan 鄆, Biyang 偃陽, Qi 杞, and Lai 萊, are known from the political history of the Spring and Autumn period. In the Qi-Lu meeting at Jiagu 賴谷 (499 BCE), the ruler of Qi sent Lai soldiers to intimidate Confucius. Confucius condemned Qi for sending “barbarian” captives to threaten and thus harm the good relationship between the two states. On another occasion Zhu and Ju filed a complaint at the court of Jin 晉 against their neighbor Lu, but they were refused assistance because of their “barbarian” origin. Later, Zhu captured Zengzi 鄆子, the ruler of the small state of Zeng, sacrificed him on the order of the ruler of the state of Song 宋 who wanted to use this incident to intimidate the Dong Yi people, because Zeng was a state with Dong Yi origin.<sup>49</sup> Tanzi 鄆子, the ruler of Tan, once paid a visit to the court of Lu where he recounted in detail the “bureaucracy” created by his ancestor Shaohao 少皞. Afterward, Confucius remarked that “when the Son of Heaven has lost his government, it must be sought among the four barbarians.”<sup>50</sup> Biyangzi 偃陽子, the ruler of Biyang, was captured by the troops of Jin

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<sup>48</sup> Li Feng, “Transmitting Antiquity: The Origin and Paradigmatization of the ‘Five Ranks’,” in *Perceptions of Antiquity in Chinese Civilization*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Helga Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2008), pp.103-34.

<sup>49</sup> See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p.317, note 67.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

and was sacrificed as a *yifu* 夷俘, “barbarian prisoner.”<sup>51</sup> Chen Pan’s well-known and extensive study on the existence and annihilation of the regional states in Spring and Autumn also suggests the Dong Yi origin of these small states.<sup>52</sup>

Moreover, as documented in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Zuozhuan* (Zuo Commentary), some of these polities also played an active role in interstate affairs during the Spring and Autumn period. For instance, Ju and Zhu are frequently listed among the participants in inter-polity alliances. They hoped to join the Zhou alliance system to insure the survival of their polities, but this strategy did not meet with long-term success and they were finally annexed by the Zhou-affiliated polities of the area. Based on the locations of the states mentioned in Chen’s study and other related sources, the distribution of these non-Zhou states with Dong Yi origin may be summarized as follows in Table 4.3 (see Table 4.3, Map 4.2).

These small states with Dong Yi origins were geographically interspersed with Lu, Qi and Teng in western and central southern Shandong but few were located in the remote eastern Jiaodong Peninsula. This phenomenon has been described by Wang Xiantang as a “flower-arranging” pattern, in which some small non-Zhou states were distributed around the major Zhou regional states. This distribution not only reflects the cultural and political complexity of the Shandong area but also highlights the political strategy of Zhou court when installing its colony-states in the strategic location of the

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Chen Pan. *Chunqiu da shibiao lie guo jue xing ji cun mie biao zhuan yi*, 2, pp.128-38; 4, 304-305, 385-86, 388-93, 442-43.

region. It is noteworthy that in recent decades archaeological discoveries have provided solid material evidence for the existence of some small states with Dong Yi origins. The important discoveries are the following: 1) the Shi 郟 cemetery at Wande and Xianrentai, Changqiang;<sup>53</sup> 2) Xiaozhu 小邾 cemetery at Dongjiang 東江 in Zaozhuang 棗莊;<sup>54</sup> 3) Yu 郟 tomb at Fenghuangliang 鳳凰嶺 in Linyi 臨沂;<sup>55</sup> 4) the tomb of the ruler of Ju 莒 at Liujiadianzi 劉家店子 in Yishui 沂水;<sup>56</sup> two large mounded tombs of the Ju elite at Dadian 大店 in Junan 莒南 and more Ju tombs at Zhongqiagou 中洽溝 in Linyi 臨沂, Tianjingwang 天井旺, Juxian 莒縣, etc;<sup>57</sup> 5) the Guicheng 歸城 site, the central site of Lai 萊 in Longkou.<sup>58</sup> The elite cultures of these small states have many identical features with what may be observed in the other parts of the Zhou cultural realm at the time for example in the types of bronzes they use; but also demonstrate clear idiosyncrasies such as the unusual eleven *ding* set in the tomb of a Ju ruler and the unusually large number of human victims in several tombs at Liujiadianzi; the distinct shape of the bronze *hu* vessel

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<sup>53</sup> Ren Xianghong, “Shandong Changqingxian Xianrentai Zhou dai mudi,” *Kaogu* 1998.9, 11-26. Shandong daxue lishi wenhua xueyan kaoguxi, “Changqing Xianren tai wuhaomu fajue jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1998.9, 18-30, 97-98. Chang Fang, “Shandong Changqing Shiduzhuang chutu Zhou dai tongqi,” *Wenwu* 2003.4, 85-92.

<sup>54</sup> Li Guangyu, “Shandong Zaozhuang Chunqiu shiqi xiaozhuguo mudi de fajue,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2003.5, 65-67.

<sup>55</sup> Shandong sheng Yanshi tielu wenwu kaogu gongzuodui, *Linyi fenghuangling Dong Zhou mu* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1988).

<sup>56</sup> See *Wenwu* 1984.9, 1-10.

<sup>57</sup> Ma Xilun, “Shandong Yishui faxian yizuo Xi Zhou muzang,” *Kaogu* 1986.8, 756-758. Qi Wentao, “Gaishu jinnianlai Shandong chutu Shang Zhou qingtongqi,” pp.11-12.

<sup>58</sup> Li Buqing and Lin Xianting, “Shandong Huangxian Guicheng yizhi de diaocha yu faxian,” *Kaogu* 1991.10, 910-918; see also Zhongmei lianhe guicheng gaogu dui, “Shandong Longkou shi Guicheng liangzhou yizhi diaocha jianbao,” *Kaogu* 2011.3, 30-39.

in Xiaozhu cemetery at Zaozhuang and the naked figurine on the bronzes cast by the ruler of Shi at Changqing.

Of the above finds, the Guicheng site has the most systematic record in the archaeology of the eastern Shandong peninsula. Lai was one of the few states with Yi origins in the Jiaodong Peninsula and was perceived as the main enemy of the regional state of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period. Therefore, it will be most interesting to explore its developmental trajectory from a non-Zhou polity to a central power in the Jiaodong Peninsula.





### **IV.3 The Rise of Lai as a Central Power in the Jiaodong Peninsula**

The concentric wall-enclosure called Guicheng in the Longkou region of the Jiaodong Peninsula was the site of Lai. As mentioned earlier, the region was dominated by Zhou material culture during the Western Zhou period, but indigenous cultural tradition never disappeared; instead, there is a trend that indigenous elements increased over time and became prevalent in the Spring and Autumn period as the region became the center of the state of Lai. The study of Lai thus will also shed light on how the local cultural traditions impacted conditions of regional material cultures in Bronze Age China.

#### ***IV. 3.1 The origin of Lai***



In bronze inscriptions pertaining to the state of Lai, it is widely accepted that the character *li* 釐 is identified as a loan for the character *lai* 萊. The character Li 釐 appears



on bronzes as “𦉳”, with the graph  (Li *ding* 釐鼎)<sup>59</sup> or  (Libo *ding* 釐伯鼎 JC2044), or  (師寰簋 JC4314). On the Early Western Zhou period bronze Lü *ding* 旅鼎, the graph , transcribed as character Lai “來” by Tang Lan, was explained as the emblem of Lai 萊.<sup>60</sup>

According to the “Shicao” 釋草 (Explaining Plants) chapter of the Erya 爾雅 dictionary and Xu Shen’s *Shuowen* 說文 dictionary, the character *li* 釐 or *lai* 萊 is defined as a certain type of wild leafy plant, which is a fast-growing weedy annual plant in the genus *Chenopodium* (萊, 蔓華). Some elements of the natural landscape in the Jiaodong Peninsula were named after the character Lai, such as Lai Mountain in Huangxian and Lai River (the northern branch of Jiaolai River). But in other early texts, Lai is always described as Yi (barbarian)- the so-called Lai Yi, which represents the Dong Yi origin of Lai. Besides the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, in which the Yi origin of Lai was sometimes mentioned as shown above in Table 4.2, another earliest description of

<sup>59</sup> See Zeng Yigong, *Shandong jinwen jicun* (Qi Lu daxue guoxue yanjiu suo, 1940), p.11.

<sup>60</sup> See Tang Lan, “Lun Zhou Zhaowang shiqi de qingtongqi mingke,” in *Tang Lan xiansheng Jinwen lunji* (Beijing: Zijincheng, 1995), p.242. The Late Shang and Early Western Zhou period bronze Ban *gong* 般觥 (JC 9299) bears an inscription with the character  來 at the end. On the Zuoce Ban *yan* 作册般甗 (JC944), cast by the same Ban, the graph  at the end s also transcribed as character “來”. It has been identified as the emblem of Lai. See Fang Hui, “Cong kaogu faxian tan Shang dai monian de zheng yifang,” pp. 365-66. Actually at the end of the inscription, there are two characters “來冊”, indicating that Lai 來 made the document. Lai seems to be more likely name of the person who made the document. These two Late Shang bronzes are not related to the state of Lai.

Lai is in the received “Yugong” 禹貢 (Tribute of Yu) chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents):<sup>61</sup>

“海、岱惟青州：嵎夷既略，濰淄其道……萊夷作牧，厥筐縶絲……”

Between the sea and Mount Dai was the land of Qingzhou; After the Yu Yi 嵎夷 (barbarians of Yu) was put in order, it channeled the Wei and Zi Rivers... The Lai Yi (barbarians of Lai) were herdsmen: their basket tribute was mountain mulberry silk...

The “Yugong” was possibly compiled during the Eastern Zhou period and is supposed to record a well-established tributary system in earlier times.<sup>62</sup> Many archaeological findings corroborate “Yugong’s” records, suggesting that its text possesses considerable value for the natural resources in particular regions attributed to the early dynastic center of North China.<sup>63</sup> In the “Yugong,” Lai was called Lai Yi (barbarian), indicating its origin as Yi and the mulberry silk was identified as the main product of Lai.

Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645), in his commentary to the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty), suggests that Lai Yi refers to the Yi people of Lai mountain. This implies that Lai Yi may have occupied the area of the Shandong peninsula around the Jiaolai Plain and Lai Mountain further to the east. The Tang dynasty “Suoyin” 索隱

<sup>61</sup> For translation, see David Cohen, “The Yueshi Culture, the Dongyi, and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age China,” p.265.

<sup>62</sup> But it has been argued in a recent study that “Yugong” was composited during the mid-Western Zhou period, based on the study of bronze vessel Bingong *xu*, see Yue Hongqin, “Bingong *xu* Yugong de chengshu niandai,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2009.3, 63-68.

<sup>63</sup> Shao Wangping, “Yugong jiuzhou de kaoguxue yanjiu,” pp. 11-30.

commentary to the *Shiji* places the Lai Yi in the Huangxian area, thus near Lai Mountain, located to the south of the Guicheng city-site.

Furthermore, in the “Qing Zhong” 輕重 chapters of *Guanzi* 管子, Guan Zhong responds to Duke Huan of Qi that the territory of Qi was formerly controlled by Lai Yi, a statement that again recalls the Yi origin of Lai. This refers to the fact that the land previously inhabited by the Lai Yi was annexed by Qi and became a part of the Qi territory. This happened in 567 BCE, according to the *Zuozhuan* (see below).

What we can learn from these sources is that the state of Lai was a polity in the Jiaodong Peninsula, located probably near the Lai Mountains, and it had a Yi origin. It may have been established by an indigenous community based on the model of the Zhou state, adopting the title “*bo*” (the elder) of the Zhou system. Two groups of bronzes cast by the ruler of Lai are well-known to us: the Libo *ding* and the Libo *li* (see below), both of which indicate that the rulers of Lai called themselves “*bo*”. But in the received texts, the ruler of Lai was called *Zi* 子 by the Zhou, who previously used the title for their foreign allies or enemies.<sup>64</sup> This indirectly suggests the Yi origin of Lai.

#### ***IV.3.2 Lai as a political ally of the Western Zhou: The Shi Mi gui and Shi Yuan gui***

Although the transmitted texts do indicate Lai’s origin in the indigenous Dong Yi population of the Shandong Peninsula, they speak little about the early history of Lai before the Late Western Zhou period. From earlier sections, we are already familiar with the inscriptions associated with Zhou’s campaigns against the Dong Yi groups during the

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<sup>64</sup> For the title of *Zi* and its meaning in the Zhou political system, see Li Feng, “Transmitting Antiquity: The Origin and Paradigmatization of the ‘Five Ranks’,” pp.103-34.

Early Western Zhou period. Since Lai was a group with Dong Yi origins, it is possible that Lai might have been one of the early polities that challenged Zhou's authority. However, information from two inscriptions clearly indicates that Lai was one of the political allies of the Western Zhou state. It participated in the campaigns against the enemies of the Zhou state and provided military assistance to the Zhou court. Let us first look at the *Shi Mi gui* 史密簋 (JL489), which has been recently discovered in Shaanxi:<sup>65</sup>

隹(唯)十又一月，王令師俗、史密曰：“東征。會南尸（夷）盧虎、會杞尸（夷）、舟尸（夷），讎不墜，廣伐東或（国）。齊師、族土（徒）、馭人，乃執鄙寬亞。師俗率齊師、馭人左 [週] 伐長必；史密右率族人、釐白（伯）、夔、鼠，周伐長必，獲百人。對揚天子休，用乍（作）朕文考乙白（伯）尊簋，子子孫孫其永寶用。

It was the king's eleventh year, the king commanded Shi Su and Shi Mi, saying: "Campaign in the east. The southern Yi, the Lu Yi, the Hu Yi, together with Qi Yi and Zhou Yi, would not give up their mission and attacked our eastern states. The Qi army, the lineage members, charioteers fought and captured Bi Kuan Ya (?). Shi Su led Qi army, charioteers and attacked Changbi from the left side; Shi Mi led the lineage people, Libo, □, □, and Zhou, and attacked Changbi, capturing one hundred people. (Mi) dares in response to extol the beneficence of the Son of Heaven, therefore makes this sacrificial vessel for my cultured father Yibo. May my sons' sons and grandsons' grandsons for ten thousand years eternally treasure and use [it] in offering!"

The *Shi Mi gui* 史密簋 (JL489) dates to the reign of King Xiao or King Yi, and records when the eastern Zhou regional states were attacked by five indigenous groups of Yi people. At the time a joint military operation was launched by the Zhou King and under the command of two officials sent directly from the Zhou court. Libo, the ruler of the state of Lai led his troops to be a part of the joint army and was under command of the official Shi Mi.

<sup>65</sup> See Li Qiliang, "Shaanxi Ankang shi chutu Xi Zhou Shi Mi gui," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1989.3, 7-9. See also Zhang Maorong et al., "Ankiang chutu Shi Mi gui ji qi yiyi," *Wenwu* 1989.7, 64-65.

Another Late Western Zhou bronze, the Shi Yuan *gui* 師寰簋 (JC4314) mentions a major campaign against the Huai Yi in which military troops from the states of Qi, Ji and other polities in the Shandong region were enlisted to fight alongside the Zhou royal army under the command of Shi Yuan (Fig.4.4):<sup>66</sup>

王若曰：“師寰，越，淮尸（夷）繇（舊）我帛晦（賄）臣。今敢博厥众假，反厥工吏，弗迹我東國。今余肇令（命）女（汝）率齊師、鬲、齊（釐）、樊、胤，左、右虎臣，正（征）淮尸（夷）。即（殘）（厥）邦酋，曰冉，曰 ，曰鈴，曰達。”師寰虔不墜，夙夜卹厥將事。休既又（有）工（功），折首執訊，無謀，徒馭歐孚（俘）士女、羊牛，孚（俘）吉金。今余弗遐組（沮），余用乍（作）朕後男 腊尊簋，其萬年子子孫孫永寶用享。

The king said as such: “Shi Yuan, Hey! The Huaiyi have long been our obscure tributary subjects. Now they force their people in indolence (in matters of sending in tributes), rebel against their officials, and will not follow our eastern states. Now I initiate by commanding you to lead the Qi Army, [that of ] Ji, □, □, X □, X □, as well as the Tiger Servants to campaign against the Huaiyi. Quickly cut off the “beasts” (rebel chiefs) of their polities – named Ran □, X □, Ling □, and Da □!” Shi Yuan was cautious and did not fail [the mission]; morning and night he was faithful to his military duty. It was good that he has had accomplishments, cutting off heads and taking in prisoners. [His] fearless foot-soldiers and charioteers wounded and captured men, women, sheep, and cows, [and they] captured auspicious metal. Now, I have no leisure to go there [again]. I herewith make [for] my son (*hounan* □□) X □ [this] sacrificial *gui* vessel. May [my] sons’ sons and grandsons’ grandsons for ten thousand years eternally treasure and use [it] in offering.

The Shi Yuan *gui* 師寰簋, dating to the reign of King Xuan, tells of the Huai Yi neglecting to perform their perceived duty of providing tribute to Zhou, resulting in the Zhou king ordering an attack on the Huaiyi as punishment. This punitive attack was fought mainly by the troops from the states Qi, Ji, Lai and other two small states Bo 樊, X

<sup>66</sup> This bronze dates to King Xuan. For the inscription and date of the Shi Yuan *gui*, see Ma Chengyuan, *Shang Zhou qingtongji mingwen xuan ji*, 3, pp. 307-308; Shirakawa Shizuka, “Kinbun tsūshaku,” 29.178: 600-12. I follow Li Feng’s translation; see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p.135.

𤛎 that also participated in the battle mentioned on Shi Mi *gui*. They were under the chief command of Shi Yuan, the official from the central court. This campaign is recorded as a success with the allied Zhou troops.

These two bronzes show the normal pattern of military collaboration between the Zhou court and regional states during the Western Zhou period. The two battles were launched against the Huai Yi and Nan Yi polities in the south, which had been one of the main threats to the Zhou state. Lai was enlisted together with Qi, Ji (in Shi Yuan *gui*) and two other small states, Bo 𤛎 and #𤛎, in Shandong to fight against the enemies of the Zhou. These multiple regional armies were not commanded by their own ruler, but by officials sent directly from the central court. These two bronzes clearly reflect Lai's relationship with the Zhou court as political ally from mid to Late Western Zhou period. Lai, as a non-Zhou state with Dong Yi origin, actively participated in the joint army and fought for the interests of the Zhou state.

#### ***IV.3.3 Possible location of the capital of Lai***

There are different opinions regarding the location of the Lai capital. The following places have been suggested: 1) Huang xian 黄縣;<sup>67</sup> 2) former Jimo 古即墨;<sup>68</sup> 3)

<sup>67</sup> Wang Xiping and Sun Jingming, "Laiguo yiming shi shi ji lun youguan wenti," *Dongyue luncong* 1984.1, 5-10. Fan Wenlan, *Zhongguo tongshi* (Shanghai: Renmin press, 1978), vol.1, p.119. Guo Moruo, *Zhongguo shigao* (Shanghai: Renmin press, 1976), vol. 1, p. 298. Li Baifeng, *Dongyi zakao* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1983), p.52. Wang Shuming, "Laiyi suoyin," in *Kaoguxue yanjiu* (Beijing: Kexue, 2007), vol.6, pp.193-211. Pang Zhenhao, *Shandong guguo yu xingshi* (Jinan: Shandong renmin, 2006), pp.74-75.

<sup>68</sup> Ye Guishou, *Xu Shandong kaogu lu* (Jinan: Shandong wenyi, 1997), pp. 350-53.

Linqu 臨朐;<sup>69</sup> 5) Changle 昌樂;<sup>70</sup> and 6) Anqiu 安丘.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, some scholars suggest that Lai relocated its capital city that the capital of Lai was moved to different places during the different stages of its development, which was common in early China. For instance, during the Western Zhou period Shouguang 壽光 may have served as the capital of Lai while during the Spring and Autumn period Lai may have moved its capital to Huangxian.<sup>72</sup> In fact, we do not have too many inscribed bronzes that can be used to identify the capital of the Lai state. The only available source is the Libo *ding* 釐伯鼎 (JC2044), identified with Laibo 萊伯,<sup>73</sup> which was discovered at Lujiagou in Huangxian (present-day Longkou city), 10 km away from the Guicheng site, at the end of the Qing dynasty. The local gazette of Huangxian in 1934 documents the details of the discovery of the Libo *ding*. The Libo *ding* was discovered in the fields of Lujiagou, together with nine other vessels: three *zhong*, two *ding*, one *hu*, one *pan*, one *yan*, one *he* and one *zhi*. Based on the features of the characters in the inscription, “Libo makes this treasured vessel,” this vessel is dated to mid- Western Zhou period (Fig. 4.4a). If we look into the textual sources about the location of Lai, the earliest text that records the location of Lai is Du Yu’s commentary to the *Zuo zhuan*: “Lai state is located at Huangxian in the east”. In many later texts such as the *Yuanhe junxian zhi* 元和郡縣志, *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平

<sup>69</sup> see Wang Xiantang, *Shandong guguo kao* (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1983), p.13; Chi Kejian, “Gu laiguo chutan,” *Qilu Xuekan* 1984.1, 81-86.

<sup>70</sup> Zhou Changfu, “Laiguo xingshi yu diwangkao,” *Qilu xuekan* 1984.1, 77-81.

<sup>71</sup> see Du Zaizhong, “Laiguo yu Laiyi wenhua tanlue,” *Dongyue luncong* 1984.1, 16-19.

<sup>72</sup> Wang Entian, “Ji, Ji, Lai wei yi guo shuo,” *Qi Lu xuekan* 1984.1, 73-79.

<sup>73</sup> Chen Mengjia, “Xizhou qingtongqi duandai 5,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1956.3, 18-35.

寰宇記, *Lushi* 路史, and *Tongzhi* 通志, Huangxian is recorded as the central site for the Lai state.<sup>74</sup> In the Huangxian area, there is a large-walled enclosure located to the southeast of present-day Longkou 龍口 city, the Guicheng site. Because texts record that Lai played a significant role in the region, most scholars tend to accept that the capital of Lai should be located at the Guicheng site. It is also traditionally believed that the vast area of the Jiaodong Peninsula was under the control of Lai by late Spring and Autumn period.<sup>75</sup> The Guicheng site has become a hot spot in Western Zhou archaeology in recent years. The next section focuses on the Guicheng site to see how the social transformation proceeded in the central site of Lai. Questions that will be explored include what the material culture of Lai looked like under the circumstances of cultural intermixing and accommodation, and how to perceive the maintenance of the indigenous tradition and local agency.

#### **IV.4. The Guicheng Site and Regional Political Transformation**

The Guicheng site is located about 6.5 km to the southwest of the old town of Huangxian County, Longkou City, and 16 km off the Bohai Sea coast. It is marked by two concentric walled enclosures, which make the Guicheng site the second known walled settlement of the entire Western Zhou period. So far no other walled enclosures have been confirmed for any of the major cities in the central area of the Western Zhou

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<sup>74</sup> See Wang Xiantang, *Shandong guguo kao* (Jinan: Qilushushe, 1983), p.11.

<sup>75</sup> Although inscribed bronzes discoveries at Laiyang and Yantai suggest their affiliations of Ji state, the majority area of Jiaodong peninsula is supposed to be controlled by Lai state.



state in Shaanxi and Henan.<sup>76</sup> The ruin of the walled settlement was first surveyed in 1973, when archaeological remains came to light. In recent years, a large-scale and full coverage survey program, launched jointly by Columbia University, the Institute of Archaeology (CASS), and the Shandong Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics, has been carried out in five seasons during 2007-2011.

In contrast to other archaeological survey programs in China, this collaborative team did a systematic and thorough surface collection over the entire survey area of 8 square km with collection points at 20 m intervals. Apart from the high-resolution study area, three areas were chosen as Complete Collection Units (CCUs) in places where there was shown to be a high concentration of surface shards. The CCUs provided a large enough sample for analysis of vessel types, relative level of activity between cultural periods, and types of activities performed in ancient times (CCUs II and III are located between the outer and inner city walls and CCU I is within the inner city).<sup>77</sup> In the following section, I will discuss the nature of the Guicheng site from the elite and non-elite culture perspective to see how the distinct local cultural tradition and local agency played off on another and were presented in the material culture in Jiaodong under the control of Lai state. Unless reference is made to published sources, the following information about the Guicheng site is wholly based on the unpublished archaeological data of the Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team.

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<sup>76</sup> A remaining section of a wall-enclosure of certain Western Zhou date was found in Liulihe, Beijing. See *Liulihe Xi Zhou yan guo mudi* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1995), pp.4-5. But we have noticed that another wall-enclosure of “possible” Western Zhou date has been found at Shuigou site, in the present-day Fengxiang area, 20 km to the west of Zhougongmiao. See Xu Tianjin, “Zhougongmiao yizhi de kaogu suohuo ji suosi,” *Wenwu* 2006.8, 55–62.

<sup>77</sup> Unpublished archaeological data of the Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team.

#### ***IV.4.1. The process of city construction***

Five-season-long surveys and test excavations have yielded much information concerning the various components of the settlement, and provide invaluable evidence for the city's construction process (Fig. 4.5a).

##### **IV.4.1.1 The Inner City: Layout and Organization**

The inner wall runs roughly in an “L” shape, with a rammed earth enclosing wall that measures some 490 meters north-south and 525 meters east-west, and which covers an area of 295,000 square meters. Although they have been severely damaged, the three remaining sections of the inner rammed walls still stand as high as 8 meters measuring 16-27 meters wide at their bases.

Intensive coring in the inner city confirmed 17 architectural foundations, 2 sections of road network, the main city gate, the water system and a moat. According to the preliminary report, in the middle of the city was an ancient river running from north to south, along with a wall dividing the city into two halves. One of the streams entered the Guicheng city from the northwest, connecting with the moat surrounding the inner city (Figure 4.5b). Palace or platform foundations no.1, no.2, and no.3, were located slightly off the central avenue of the city.<sup>78</sup>

The archaeological unit ash pit (H20) found during the test excavation in 2009 intruded the base of the inner wall and thus represents the earliest cultural remains. This provides us with solid stratigraphic proof of the construction date of the inner city wall.

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<sup>78</sup> See Zhong Mei lianhe Guicheng kaogudui, “Shandong Longkoushi Guicheng liang Zhou chengzhi diaocha jianbao,” *Kaogu* 2011.3, 30-39.

Pottery types such as *li*, *dou*, *guan* and an intact *gui* from H20 date to the late phase of the Early Western Zhou period (Fig. 4.6). Therefore the inner wall enclosure of Guicheng was constructed some time no later than the late phase of the Early Western Zhou period. Test excavations also found the traces of continuous repairs and flood flushing on the inner walls, indicating that they were repaired and improved over time. Several sections of the moat were found along the southern wall, northern wall and western wall, measuring 4.8 meters at the deepest part. But it should be noted that the dates of the cultural remains such as the palatial foundations and the road await for further analysis and research. It is most likely that they were constructed during the Late Western Zhou and Eastern Zhou period, which is in accordance with the general pattern of the city construction trend in the central plain.

According to the survey report, there are two areas of concentration of pottery shards, during the Western Zhou period, one centered on the inner city, the other in the areas surrounding the wide subsurface platforms on the northwest portion of the outer wall in Area 2. Clearly this suggests that human activities during much of the Western Zhou period were concentrated in the west half of the Guicheng site.

#### IV.4.1.2 The Outer Wall: City Expansion

The outer wall runs in the form of an irregular oval-shape, covering an area of about 8 sq. km. It stretches to a total length of 8.15 km, running over the hilltops north of Lai Mountain, which was used as a natural barrier to protect the city. Eight sections of the outer walls were discovered by the survey project in 1983, and 45 more sections were confirmed by the Columbia-CASS joint team in the 2008-2009 season. Among them,

four remaining sections of the rammed walls are well preserved, still standing 2.5 meters above ground. However, the survey did not provide us much information on the structure or layout of the settlements within the outer wall. It is expected that future work will determine how the whole city was arranged into different functional areas, such as the residential areas, workshop locations for bronze-casting, bone-carving and pottery making, and the cemeteries.

Systematic surface sampling between the inner and outer walls suggests a continuous distribution of pottery shards during the Eastern Zhou period. It shows a tripling of ceramic remains and the expansion of activity to the east side of the Laiyin River and the surrounding hilltops. This indicates that the Guicheng site greatly expanded as time went on. The fact that shards datable to Eastern Zhou are densely distributed along the outer wall particularly in the east suggests that the outer wall of Guicheng might have indeed been constructed during the Eastern Zhou period to protect the city's enlarged population and residential activities. In fact some units excavated in the inner city, for instance, H3, date to late Spring and Autumn period, suggesting the continuous occupation of the Guicheng site until then (Fig. 4.7).

To date, this two-concentric walled settlement is the largest-scale city-remain in the Jiaodong area. It is worth comparing the remains with the capital site of other Zhou states in the west, such as Lu and Qi, which have been more completely excavated. The Guicheng site covers an area that is close to the size of the capital site of the Lu state at Qufu in central Shandong. The Lu city is more or less in the form of a rectangle lying on its long side. It is 3.7 km at its longest from east to west and 2.7 km at its greatest north to

south measurement. The circumference is 11 kilometers and the wall is surrounded by a moat which follows the channel of river on the northern and western sides. Large residential areas and many sites of workshops, including bronze, iron, bone, and pottery have been identified. Eleven city gates have been found. The roads are constructed to cross at approximate right angles and the palace precincts are situated as a compound in the center of the entire settlement. We do not have solid archaeological evidence of Lu at Qufu in Early Western Zhou period. The city walls were most likely constructed during the Late Western Zhou period, and continuously reinforced during the eastern Zhou period without altering their overall shape (Fig.4.8).

The Guicheng site is still of a modest size if compared with agglomerations such as Linzi, the capital of the state of Qi. But it provides an illuminating example of the continuous construction and transformation of an ancient city. It was built at a strategic location at the northern coastal region to control the pass entering the eastern part of the peninsula. Guicheng developed from a small enclosure to protect the early settlement, then expanded into a larger area as a capital city, running in a “double-city” pattern, which differs from the Lu and Qi capitals, both of which had only one walled-enclosure in a rectangular shape without an inner city structure by the Spring and Autumn period. Further the construction date for the inner wall enclosure is during the late phase of Early Western Zhou period, much earlier than the construction of city walls at Qufu and Linzi.<sup>79</sup> The Guicheng site presents us another form of “double-city” pattern during the Spring and Autumn period.

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<sup>79</sup> Linzi has a small palace city in the southwest corner of the large city, but it was constructed during the Warring States period.

#### ***IV.4. 2 The elite culture and bronze production in Lai***

The significance of the construction of the inner wall of Guicheng at such an early time lies in the fact that, on the one hand, building walls and moats around the core of the early settlement was for the purpose of the defensive needs in the early time; on the other hand, the walls and moats also indicate a basic cultural pattern of city construction to define the center of the elite culture. In the case of Guicheng, what was the elite culture during the city's early construction?

As the material manifestation of elite culture, many bronzes were found within or around Guicheng area (see Table 4.4). From this table, two groups of bronzes were discovered between the inner and outer walls of the Guicheng site: The first group includes the wellknown *Qi zun* and *Qi you*, found at Xiaoliuzhuang and the second group include 8 bronzes found from Caojia tomb no.1. In addition, more bronzes were found within 10 kilometers from the Guicheng site, forming an integrated network with the Guicheng situating at the center. The discovery of these inscribed bronzes represents elite cemeteries or residential settlements. Inscriptions, together with stylistic decorative patterns on the bronzes, suggest that most of them were manufactured during the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou period. They show a high degree of uniformity with bronzes found in the Zhou metropolitan area. It is also worth mentioning that together with these Zhou cultural style bronzes, a few local-style bronzes also appear in the Guicheng-Huangxian area. For instance, a bronze *yan* found in the Huangxian area in 1958 demonstrates the most distinctive local features (Fig. 4.9a). It differs from the mainstream of the bronze *yan* in the Zhou culture sphere for its plain-surface and three

bag-like legs, indicating that it is obviously modeled on the local pottery *yan* which can be traced back to the Yueshi culture.<sup>80</sup> But it seems to me that this bronze *yan* shows much stronger connection to the Zhenzhumen culture. Although its shape and decoration reflect an earlier indigenous cultural tradition, two pairs of thread relief lines (*tu xuanwen* 凸弦纹) underneath the lip suggest a date of manufacture during the Western Zhou period. Another local-style *yan* that was not commonly found in the central plain is from Dongjiacun, Guicheng site. It is also plain-surfaced and decorated with one thread relief line beneath the lip. It differs from the above described *yan* in its joint crotch and slender leg. It is dated to the Late Western Zhou period (Fig. 4.9b). Another local style case is the inscribed bronze *li* found within the Guicheng site, which seems to have been adapted from the local pottery *li*-tripod (Fig.4.9c). Though in small numbers, these local style bronzes follow a similar distribution to that of Zhou style bronzes, geographically overlapping the above Zhou style bronzes.

These Zhou-style bronzes from the Guicheng area testify their close political ties with the Zhou court through their inscriptional contents. Let's first look at *Qi zun* and *Qi you* found in Xiaoliuzhuang (Fig 4.10):<sup>81</sup>

啟從王南征 遭山谷，才（在）舟水上。啟乍祖丁旅寶彝。戊□

Qi followed the king on the southern campaign against Ceshangu. [The king] was stationed at the valley at the upper Zhoushui River. Qi made for Grandfather Ding this campaigning treasured vessel. (Emblem)

王出兽(狩)南山寇，遭(巡)山谷，至于上侯、澆（顺）川上。啟从征，谨不煌(扰)，乍祖丁宝旅尊彝，用句鲁福，用夙夜事。戊□

<sup>80</sup> Li Buqing, "Shandong Huangxian chutu yijian qingtong yan," *Kaogu* 1989.3, 233.

<sup>81</sup> Qi Wentao, "Gaishu jin nian lai Shandong chutu de Shang Zhou qingtongqi," 3-16.

The King went to campaign against the bandit of the southern mountain named Ceshangu. [The King] arrived at Shanghou at the upper Jing river. Qi followed the King on the campaign, cautiously and without disturbing. (Qi) herewith made this campaigning sacrificial vessel for Grandfather Ding to pray for great fortune morning and night.(Emblem)

These two bronzes record that Qi accompanied Zhou King on the campaign against the enemy in the south. Tang Lan dated these two bronzes to the reign of King Zhao, for he related this campaign to King Zhao's southern campaign.<sup>82</sup> This identification has been rejected and they have been dated to the early phase of the mid-Western Zhou based on their shapes, decoration and correlations with other mid Western Zhou bronzes.<sup>83</sup>

Actually the context of these two inscriptions parallels closely the inscription on the Shi Yu *ding* 師殫鼎 (JC: 2733) and Shi Yu *zun* 師殫尊 (JC: 5995) in which the Zhou King arrived at the same place called Shanghou 上侯. Shanghou is also mentioned on the Buzhi *ding* 不指鼎 (JC: 2735), which was excavated from the tomb no.3 in Fufeng, Shaanxi and records that the Zhou King went to the garrison at Shanghou.<sup>84</sup> In a recent study, Shanghou is identified with the present-day Houzhen 厚鎮, located between the Lantian 藍田 county and the Weinan 渭南 county in Shaanxi province.<sup>85</sup> These two bronzes suggest that the campaign Qi participated in may have taken place somewhere south of the Zhou capitals, right on the travelling route to the south during the Western

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<sup>82</sup> Tang Lan, "Lun Zhou Zhaowang shiqi de qingtongqi mingke," in *Tang Lan xiansheng Jinwen lunji*, p.277-78.

<sup>83</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and power in Early China*, p.308.

<sup>84</sup> See Zhou Wen, "Xin chutu de ji jian Zi Zhou tongqi," *Wenwu* 1972.7, 9-13.

<sup>85</sup> Dong Shan, "Qi zun and Qi you xinkao," *Wenbo* 2012.5, 49-53.



Zhou period. Yu 𣪠 *yan* (JC: 948), discovered as early in 1896 also bears an inscription that mentions Zhou campaign in the south.

隹(唯)六月既死霸丙寅，師雍父戍在古師，𣪠從師雍父，肩史(事)𣪠事  
(使)與馯(胡)侯，侯蔑𣪠，賜𣪠金，用乍旅甗。

It was the sixth month, the *bingyin*-day, after the dying brightness, Shi Yongfu was keeping guard at the Gu garrison and Yu followed Shi Yongfu. Shi Yongfu had Yu enter the service of the ruler of Hu (Huhou).<sup>86</sup> The ruler of Hu (Huhou) appraised Yu's merit and awarded Yu with precious metals which were used to cast this campaigning steamer.

This bronze, together with Yu *ding*, belongs to the group of inscriptions cast in the reign of King Mu, when the Zhou experienced the major invasion by Huaiyi in the south.<sup>87</sup> The Gu garrison was located near present-day Runan in Henan province and the polity of Hu was located in Fuyang in Anhui province, which was mentioned in the Yu *ding* (JC 2721) that Yu followed the commander Shi Yongfu and arrived at the polity Hu. These bronzes were cast by Qi and Yu, who participated in the military defense of the Zhou state against the invasion by the Huaiyi. They provided explicit references to the Zhou royal court and they were discovered in the Guicheng-Huangxian area, showing the relationship of that region to the Zhou royal court. Given their shape and ornamentation identical to their counterparts in the Zhou metropolitan area, these bronzes were very likely brought to the Huangxian area by the Zhou elites during the Zhou expansion into the peninsula after they participated in the respective campaigns in the south.

The 17 bronzes found in Zhuangtuo reflect a similar situation (Fig 4.11). In particular, inscription of the bronze *gui* on a square pedestal reads: “Ruigong Shu makes

<sup>86</sup> For the identification of Hu 馯 with the polity of Hu 胡, see Li Xueqin, *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu* (Beijing: Wenwu: 1990), p.265.

<sup>87</sup> See also XX *you* (JC5411) and Jian *zun* (JC 6008), Lu Dong *you* (JC 5419) and Dong *gui* (JC4322).

this treasured *gui* vessel for Lü Gong.” Ruigong (the Duke of Rui) 芮公 is the head of the elite members of the Rui state, which is a Ji-surnamed polity originally founded in the royal area of the Zhou state in eastern Shaanxi.<sup>88</sup> The bird decoration on this bronze suggests typical mid-Western Zhou ornamentation pattern. A recently discovered Rongzhong *fangding* 榮仲方鼎 suggests the connection to both Ruibo (the Elder of Rui state) and Huhou (the ruler of Hu) mentioned above in Ruigong *gui* and Yu yan.<sup>89</sup> These bronzes were also possibly brought to the Huangxian area by the elite members of the state of Rui. Moreover, not far away from the 17 bronzes in Zhuangtou, another two bronzes *gui* from tomb no.2 in Zhoujia were clearly cast by elite member of the Shan lineage from the Zhou central area.<sup>90</sup> Actually, many more inscribed bronzes with typical Zhou features have been found around the Guicheng area. Most recently in 2004, at Zhaojia another group of 14 bronzes were excavated. The identifiable types include *ding*, *hu*, *gui*, *jue*, *zun*, *you*, which show strong adherence to those from the Zhou core areas. Among them, one *gui* on a square pedestal records that Bo Yingfu rewarded Shu Suo some metal. The other square-pedestalled *gui* was cast by Lifu 里父 as evidenced by the inscriptions we can transcribe. Judging by the literacy, writing format, calligraphy and the style of the bronzes, this group of bronzes show standard Zhou features, identical to those found in Zhuangtou, Xiaoliuzhuang, Zhoujia, and Caojia.

<sup>88</sup> see Wang Xiping and Tang Luting. “Shandong Huangxian Zhuangtou Xi Zhou mu qingli jianbao,” *Wenwu* 1986.8, 69-72. A mid-Western Zhou Ruishu *gui* 芮叔簋 was excavated in Wugong county, Shaanxi province, see Lu Liancheng and Luo Yingjie “Shaanxi Wugongxian chutu chu yin zhuqi,” *Kaogu* 1981.2, 128-33.

<sup>89</sup> Li Xueqin, “Shilun xin faxian de fang ding he Rong zhong fang ding,” *Wenwu* 2005.9, 59-65.

<sup>90</sup> See Tang Luting, “Shandong Huangxian Dongying Zhoujiacun Xi Zhou qingli jianbao,” *Haidaikaogu* 1(1989): 314-19. The location of Shan state might be around Mengjing, Henan.

The high concentration of standard mid-Western Zhou bronzes and tombs in such a distant region around the Guicheng area is evidently related to Zhou's penetration into the north coast of the peninsula. On the basis of their colonization in western and northwestern Shandong, as evidenced by so many bronzes recording the campaigns against the Dong Yi after the two conquests in Early Western Zhou period, the Zhou proceeded rapidly further into the remote area in Jiaodong. Some of these bronzes with clearly Zhou cultural features and inscriptions showing connections to the Zhou court and the Zhou elites in Shaanxi are most likely to have been brought to the Huangxian area by the Zhou elites, as the presence of the vigor of the Zhou state and its material culture, rather than as diplomatic gifts, as part of a dowry, as war booty, or through commercial exchange.

In addition to bronzes of the Zhou manufacture, there are also bronzes that were made locally in the Guicheng area. A bronze *gui* with a long inscription was found at Xujia, Longkou city (Huangxian). The inscription records a royal inspection of the east, on which occasion the caster of this bronze had the opportunity to meet with the king. Judging by the style and shape, this vessel was modeled on the Zhou prototype, but the decoration beneath the neck was cast in a blurred and cursory manner, which is in contrast with the clear and sophisticated decoration on the counterpart bronze *gui* from the central plain. Moreover, the calligraphy of the inscription is idiosyncratic, poor in quality and does not meet the standard of writing in the core Zhou areas. It is hard to read due to the frequent mistakes and distorted calligraphic forms (Fig.4.12a). All this implies that this is a locally manufactured vessel, belonging to a new category of bronzes

classified according to their origin of production, calligraphy, literacy and in this case, cast in a non-Zhou peripheral area.<sup>91</sup> Another piece of possibly locally manufactured bronze that is modeled on a Zhou prototype is the X Jian *ding* 監鼎, found at Hanluan county, the present-day Longkou city, 10 km southwest of Guicheng in 1954.<sup>92</sup> This *ding* dates to the Early Western Zhou, and is inscribed with “Inspector X makes this treasured vessel” (監乍寶尊彝), reflecting the Zhou practice of Inspectors of the regional states (Fig. 4.12b).

In short, the Guicheng-Huangxian region had a predominant Zhou-style elite bronze culture that geographically overlaps the distribution of some “locally” produced bronzes of a much smaller number during the mid-Western Zhou period. The evidence from the inscriptions clearly shows connections with the Zhou central court and the Zhou elites in Shaanxi. Therefore, though not every bronze can be identified with Zhou or a local agent, it is likely that there was a certain concentration of Zhou elite settlements within Guicheng at the center, mixed up with settlements that were possibly occupied by the indigenous agents or communities at a distance from Guicheng. It is also possible that the inner wall-enclosure of Guicheng was constructed to protect the early settlement of

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<sup>91</sup> The manufacture of bronzes was systematically addressed by Matsumaru Michio based on analyses of the inscriptions, while Li Feng used calligraphy to study the background of the creation of Western Zhou bronzes. See Matsumaru Michio, “Sei-Shū Seidoki seidaku no haikai 西周青銅器製作の背景,” in *Sei Shū seidōki to sono kokka 西周青銅器とその国家* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku, 1980), pp.11-136; and “Sei Shū seidōki chū no shokō seisakuki ni tsuite 西周青銅器中の諸侯製作器について,” in *Sei Shū seidōki to sono kokka*, pp.137-84. Li Feng, “Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders: Evidence from the Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Zhou Period (1045-771 B.C),” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 74 (2002): 210-42; “Ancient Reproductions and Calligraphic Variations: Studies of Western Zhou Bronzes with Identical Inscriptions,” *Early China* 22 (1997):1-41.

<sup>92</sup> Libuqing and Lin Xianting, “Shandong longkou shi chutu xi zhou tongding,” *Wenwu* 1991.5, 84-85.

the Zhou elites, thus serving as a frontline base for the Zhou elite during the mid-Western Zhou.<sup>93</sup> Because of the presence of many standard Zhou bronzes and tombs with inscriptions that show strong link to the Zhou elites, we currently hesitate to identify the Guicheng site with the capital of Lai during the early occupation period of this site. The close connections and communications in both material and personnel between Guicheng and the Zhou core region brought new ideas, organization, and new modes of social interaction, and thus had important impacts on the indigenous community with Dong Yi origin. The cultural contact between the two areas must have increased the social complexity of the local polity and greatly encouraged the formation of the state of Lai under Zhou influence, since it seems that there was no pre-existing state-level polity either documented in the texts or evidenced in archaeological materials in the Jiaodong Peninsula before the Zhou period. Under such circumstances in which external forces stimulate and have great influence on the local community, a process of state formation is initiated. The discovery of the Libo *ding* 釐伯鼎 (Fig 4.13a) at Lujiagou provides us with clues of the activities of Lai around the Huangxian area during the mid-Western Zhou period.<sup>94</sup> Lai actively took part in the Zhou campaign against the Huai Yi and fought for the interests of Zhou state as what was inscribed on the Shi Mi *gui*. As mentioned earlier, the Libo *ding* and Libo *li* indicate that the ruler of Lai adopted the Zhou rank system by referring to himself as ‘bo’. This is in accordance with how he is referred to by its Zhou neighbor--that is “Libo” as shown on the Shi Mi *gui* inscription. But during the mid-

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<sup>93</sup> see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 308-14.

<sup>94</sup> On the identification of the character Li 釐 with Lai 萊, see Chen Mengjia, *Xi Zhou tongqi duandai*, pp. 110-11.

Western Zhou period, it seems that Lai did not occupy the Guicheng site. Very likely Lai was in the region, although the specific location of its capital, if any at this early stage, cannot be determined.

Another group of objects that link to the state of Lai is a set of bronze vessels cast by Libo during the Late Western Zhou period. These bronzes were found in Rizhao instead of the Guicheng area because they were dowries cast by Libo. The identical inscription on the four bronze *li* clearly indicates that they were made by Libo for his daughter (Fig. 4.13b). This group of bronzes of Lai shows an idiosyncratic workshop tradition. For instance, the inscribed *li*, in contrast to the typical bronze *li* of the central plain, seems more likely to have been modeled on the subtype of ceramic *li* with slender legs and lateral flanges which is called *fang tong li* 仿铜鬲 “imitation of bronze *li*”. It is quite interesting that this subtype of ceramic *fangtong li* was originally right modeled on bronze *li* and has its own temporal development. The decoration on the surface is a combination of double-ring pattern (*chonghuan wen* 重环纹) and band-wave (*huandai wen* 环带纹) pattern, frequently seen on Zhou bronzes further west. The ceramic bowl on the top as the lid further makes this *li* distinct in style. Another special piece is the bronze *hu*, characteristic for its bag-shape body, hanging down with four ring-like handles. It is unique for its local zigzag net pattern, combined with typical Zhou-style dragon ornamentation.<sup>95</sup> The other few pieces seem to have been modeled on the Zhou prototypes, but the pottery lid on the bronze pan and the flat lid on the bronze *ding* make

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<sup>95</sup> A very similar piece was found in Qufu, Lu capital which suggests the “drift away” of regional culture from the main stream of Zhou culture. See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp. 119-21.

them look distinct. This group of bronzes was cast coarsely, modeled on Zhou prototypes, combining the distinct local decoration with typical Zhou ornamentation. They represent the local bronze culture of Lai beginning in the Late Western Zhou period.

According to the survey report on the Guicheng site, a piece of clay mold used for bronze casting was found in pit H9 in the test-excavation trench in the inner city of Guicheng, indicating that a local bronze industry existed and produced bronzes to meet the needs of the local elites of Lai.<sup>96</sup> In contrast, the Late Western Zhou bronzes of standard Zhou manufacture decreased significantly around the Guicheng area. From Table 4.4, what we know about the Late Western Zhou bronzes in the Guicheng area is not as much as what we know about the mid-Western Zhou period. The currently available data is the bronze *ding* and *pan* from Dongjiacun. As for the group of bronzes found in Nanbucun, they were imported to Guicheng as dowries cast by Jihou, ruler of the state Ji (see next chapter). The increased appearance of local-style bronzes and the decreased occurrence of Zhou style bronzes at the Guicheng site imply that local bronze production started to make its way into the bronze production of Lai. The bronze culture of Lai developed under the Zhou's strong influence and began to show distinct local features from Late Western Zhou period on.

#### ***IV.4.3 Ceramic system: comparison between Zhou and indigenous pottery***

The large-scale ground survey program by the Sino-American Collaborative Team yielded a rich inventory of pottery that shows two distinctive cultural traditions: Zhou

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<sup>96</sup> Unpublished data of the Sino-American Guicheng archaeological team.

and the indigenous tradition. Pottery shards from the Guicheng site can be differentiated in terms of material, fabric, texture, techniques, and decoration.

Zhou cultural pottery tradition includes elements evidently introduced from the central plain in the west. As mentioned in Chapter III (see Fig. 3.7), the commonly seen vessel types at Guicheng include *li*, *gui*, *dou*, *guan*, and *pen* (Fig.4.14). Type *li* is characteristic for its sunken but joint crotch and the cord-impression decoration on its exterior surface. The Zhou-style pottery shards from the Guicheng site share the following common features with those found in the Zhou area: cord-impression on the high-fired grey and sometimes black fine surface. And based on topological change, they could be further divided into Western Zhou and Eastern Zhou period.

As mentioned earlier, the indigenous pottery tradition derives from the Zhenzhumen-Nanhuangzhuang culture and features the plain-surfaced, handmade, mica- or sand-tempered and red-to-brown low-temperature-firing technique. The main assemblage includes plain-surfaced *ding*-tripods, plain surfaced *li*, high based-*gui* and *yan*. In Guicheng the indigenous pottery shards are easily differentiated because of the above described characteristics and are best represented by the plain-surfaced *ding* and *li*. In particular, the indigenous type *ding* is not seen in other Zhou culture spheres (Fig.4.15).

According to the survey report, the Guicheng site is predominately occupied by Zhou cultural materials, because a total of 84% of shards collected were identified as Zhou culture pottery judging by their texture and decoration pattern. The indigenous shards constitute 5% of the total. But the indigenous type pottery follows a similar distribution pattern to that of Zhou pottery, in that during the Western Zhou period it was



mainly distributed to the west of Yaque River, and expanded to the outer wall during Eastern Zhou period. This suggests that the indigenous pottery was used simultaneously, though in smaller numbers, from a span of time from the Western to Eastern Zhou period. Moreover, in the test excavations, shards of the two pottery traditions were intermixed and found together at each stratum level and in every unit. This phenomenon is often observed from other tombs in the Jiaodong peninsula, where indigenous pottery is found side by side with the Zhou styled-pottery in the same grave unit.

So far we don't have complete statistics for the percentage of each vessel type from the entire site, but the analysis of the pottery shards from the three CCUs shows that *dou* and *gui* account for a combined high rate (46%) of uses in CCU I and CCU II has a higher combined percentage of *li* and *guan* (56.6%) (Fig.4.16). The CCU method not only creates a rich inventory of vessel types, but also highlights the differences in vessel types used in different areas, and show that *dou* and *gui* appear in large numbers in the inner city and *li* and *guan* appear more between the inner and outer wall.<sup>97</sup> Although the data from the CCUs cannot be assumed to represent the entire site, they are likely to contain a good representation of the site's ceramic population.

Based on the above table, we also find a high use-rate of types like *dou* and *guan*, but in contrast the use of cooking vessel *li*, is at a lower level : 7.8%, 13.3% and 9.8% in respectively. It seems that *li* comprised about 10% of the diagnostic shards from three CCUs. This low rate of occurrence of *li* type vessels in Guicheng contrasts markedly with the high-frequency use of *li* in the Zhou central area, where *li* is one of the most

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<sup>97</sup> Unpublished data of the Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team.

significant cultural elements and has extremely high occurring rate in the tomb assemblage (see Table 4.5, and Fig. 4.17 d). For instance, in the Zhangjiapo cemetery of Western Zhou period, one hundred and eighty-two pottery *li* constitute 41.7% of excavated pottery vessels (Fig. 4.17a). In Luoyang Beiyao cemetery, *li*-type vessels account for 58.7% of the entire ceramic population through the Western Zhou period (Fig. 4.17b). Another extreme case is the high percentage of pottery *li* in the Spring and Autumn period Shangma cemetery, whose 887 *li* represented 90.9% of the ceramic assemblage (Fig. 4.17c).

The above statistics from the three sites in the Zhou central area testify to the significant role of *li* in tomb assemblages while other ceramic types such as *dou* and *gui* have low levels of occurrences. An understanding of the rate of occurrence of different vessel types provides insights into their relative importance in peoples' lives and cultural traditions. The comparison of the percentage of *li* between Guicheng and Zhou central areas reflects the difference in cultural preference and the variation in the cultural practice. By emphasizing the use of a certain type of vessel, the social importance of each vessel type and cultural preference in different area is highlighted. This is consistent with what we have found in the Jiaodong Peninsula (see Table 4.6). *dou* and *gui* seem to have achieved more popularity than those in the Zhou culture sphere, while the ceramic *li* that is more frequently encountered in the Central Plains has a low rate of occurrence in the Jiaodong area. The standard ceramic assemblage centered on *li* gave way to an assemblage that accentuated food containers such as *dou* and *gui*. For instance, at Dongying Zhoujia, 10 km west of the Guicheng site, tomb M2 yielded 114 *dou* and 31

*gui*, which respectively accounted for 65.5% and 17.8% of 174 excavated pottery vessels. In contrast, only five *li* were found, two of which were plain-surface *li*, accounting for only 2.9% of the assemblage. At Qixia Lüjiabu, tomb M1 yielded sixteen *gui*, eight *dou* and eight plain-surface *li* of indigenous tradition. Another two instances are from tombs M2 and M3 at Xingjiazhuan, Xixia. They both yield sixty *dou* and more than twenty *gui*, but no *li* at all. The general impression is that besides *dou*-plate, *gui*-tureen achieved much more popularity in Jiaodong and continued to be manufactured through the Spring and Autumn period, despite the fact that pottery *gui* had already gone out of fashion elsewhere in the Zhou realm by the Late Western Zhou period.

Accompanying the low rate of occurrence of ceramic *li* in Guicheng, is the appearance of plain-surface local style pottery *ding*, which is not seen in Zhou central area. Although each vessel type underwent some stylistic development and change, the assemblage comprising *ding*, *li*, *gui*, *dou*, *guan* persists throughout the Zhou period. Not only were they produced throughout the Zhou period, but also were found side by side with the pottery of the Zhou tradition in the same archaeological unit, either in a stratum level or in a tomb. Although in small numbers, this unique ceramic type represents another distinct characteristic of local material culture in Lai.

It is also notable that there is a trend toward the increasing occurrence of the indigenous pottery in the ceramic assemblage from Late Western Zhou on. The test excavation at Guicheng in 2009 disclosed that later strata at the site (dated to the Eastern Zhou) have a much higher proportion of indigenous shards than early (Western Zhou) units. This suggests that over time the indigenous tradition gradually made its way into

the mainstream pottery production industry in Guicheng, as the local state of Lai gradually became politically and culturally independent of the Zhou tradition.<sup>98</sup>

#### ***IV.4.4. The nature of the Guicheng site and its socio-political transformation***

From the preceding discussions, the Guicheng site is predominately occupied by a material culture that was identical with the Zhou culture in both elite and non-elite culture levels. However, the local production tradition constituted another important cultural element that coexisted with the Zhou culture throughout the entire Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn period. The indigenous tradition maintained, persisted and gradually made its way into the mainstream of the production of bronzes and pottery around the Guicheng area. During the mid-Western Zhou, it is likely Guicheng was occupied by a population whose elite core was closely linked to the Zhou elites in Shaanxi. Some of the elite members might have come from the Shaanxi region; others might have been from other regional Zhou states like Qi, Lu, Teng. During the same period, Lai formed its own state under the Zhou's influence somewhere in the Guicheng-Huangxian region and actively participated in the affairs of the Zhou state as one of its close political allies. The discovery of the Libo *ding* suggests that Lai was active around the Huangxian area, but there is no evidence to link it to Guicheng directly during this period. Since the Late Western Zhou period, the Zhou central control over the eastern regions increasingly weakened and the communication between Guicheng and the Zhou centre must have decreased. More local factors and indigenous elements appeared in the cultural assemblage. In the Guicheng region, local style bronzes and local pottery traditions

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<sup>98</sup> Unpublished data of the Sino-American Guicheng archaeological team.

started to show increasing occurrence. The Libo *li* found at Rizhao together with other six bronzes represent the distinct bronze culture of Lai. Although the current evidence is not enough to allow us to delineate the political transition from a mainly Zhouelite dominated base to a local center dominated by a local agent, it is nevertheless likely that from Late Western Zhou period through the mid Spring and Autumn period, the Guicheng site served as the central site of the indigenous state of Lai.

The expansion of the Guicheng city during the Eastern Zhou period indicates the elite leaders of Lai managed to expand their power base. They were able to command the labor power of a considerable number of people to build the largest defensive fortifications in the Jiaodong Peninsula, which can be an indication of the increasing state power of Lai and the consolidation of its rule in the peninsula. This development closely follows the trend of city expansion seen frequently in the Central Plains during the Eastern Zhou period, when rulers of various states were engaged in feverish construction to enhance existing city walls, multiply enclosures and barricades. In the case of Guicheng, it might also be a response to the heightening military tension in the region, particularly promoted by Lai's troubled relation with the hegemonic state of Qi in western Shandong, as documented in the received texts (see next section).

#### **IV.5 Competing for Political Supremacy: Lai during the Spring and Autumn Period**

In contrast to the dearth of written sources about Lai in its early stage, more textual and inscriptional materials present us an enriched picture of the Lai state during the Late Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn period when Guicheng continued to prosper under Lai. As mentioned in the previous chapter on the rise of the state of Qi, the Spring and

Autumn period witnessed the weakening of the Zhou king and the rise of the regional rulers to throw off the mantle of Zhou rule in order to pursue their own military, political and economic goals. Centered on Guicheng as its political and military center, the state of Lai during this time was also engaged in such a process of self-strengthening, and building its own power base for political independence from the Zhou court.

#### ***IV 5.1 Lai and regional interactions***

As the contact with the Zhou court decreased, interactions took place more frequently between Lai and other regional states like Ji, Ju, Qi and Lu, in the forms of marriages, commercial trades, and the most often warfare.

In 1951, a group of bronzes was brought to light in Nanbucun 南埠村, in south of the Guicheng city-site.<sup>99</sup> The vessel types include a set of four *xu*-vessels, one *pan*, one *yan*, one *ding*, one *li*, one *yi*, and one *hu*. From the inscriptions on the *xu*, *pan*, and *yi*, we are informed that this group of bronzes was cast by a son of the ruler of Ji 冀, Renfu 寗父 and the Ji ruler himself as dowries for his daughter (Fig. 4.18 a-b). The inscription on the *pan* and *yi* reads: “Bo Renfu makes this *pan*-vessel as dowry for Jiangwu,” clearly indicating the purpose of casting these bronzes for his daughter Jiangwu’s marriage. Based on their shape, style, and ornamentation, these bronzes are dated to the Late Western Zhou - Early Spring and Autumn period.

Another bronze vessel *li* that also suggests the close relationship between Ji and Lai through marriage alliance was discovered within the Guicheng site. The *li* was inscribed “Jihou cast this vessel for Jiang#; may son and grandson eternally treasure it”

<sup>99</sup> See Wang Xiantang, *Shandong guguo kao* (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1983), pp. 20-23, 38-49 53-59.

(己侯□姜□□，子子孫孫永寶). Since the Ji state was Jiang-surnamed, and the character after Jihou 己侯 is possibly *ying* 媵, this makes the sentence follow the general pattern of inscriptions of vessels cast for marriage and dowry. This *li* was cast by Jihou for his daughter on the occasion of her marriage into the Lai state (Fig. 4.19a). However, these two cases are not the only instances that reflect the close relationship between Ji and Lai. It is worth mentioning that two more bronzes cast by the ruler of Ji were found in the Guicheng region. One is the Jihou *zhong* found earlier in Huangxian which is now in the collection of Yantai Museum.<sup>100</sup> The bronzes found at Zhaojia in 2004 also include a bronze *ding* that was cast by the ruler of the Ji state (Jihou).<sup>101</sup> The discoveries of many bronzes associated with the Ji state in the Guicheng-Huangxian region have led some scholars to believe that Ji and Lai were the same state.<sup>102</sup> This is problematic because both Ji and Lai played independently significant roles in the regional history of Shandong area as shown by many bronzes cast by the ruler of Ji (Jihou) and the ruler of Lai (Libo). Also, much information about these two states is well recorded in received texts. Furthermore, both Ji and Lai appeared in the Shi Yuan *gui* in which they are listed together as political allies of Zhou in the fight against Huai Yi. It is quite clear that they were two different states that had a close political relationship solidified through marriage alliance.

<sup>100</sup> Li Buqing and Wang Xiping, “Jianguo lai Yantai diqu chutu shangzhou mingwen qingtongqi gaishu,” in *Jiaodong kaogu yanjiu lunwen ji*, pp.342-56.

<sup>101</sup> Lin Xianting, “Pushuo mili kan ji guo,” in *Kaogu Yantai*, p.130.

<sup>102</sup> Wang Entian: “Ji, Ji, Lai wei yi guo shuo,” *Qi Lu xuekan* 1984.1, 73-79.

Another polity that had a close relationship with Lai through marriage alliance is the local state located in Rizhao area, southeastern coast of Shandong area. The evidence is the Libo *li* mentioned above. The inscription on the four bronze *li* indicates that they were dowry vessels cast by the ruler of Lai for his daughter (Fig. 4.19 b). The report gives the transcription as: “釐伯□女子作寶鬲.”<sup>103</sup> As the analysis of the bronze *li* found in Guicheng, the character after Libo 釐伯 is possibly *ying* 媵, which follows the general inscription pattern for marriage alliance. It is traditionally believed that the Rizhao area was under the control of the Ju state, another powerful local state with Dong Yi origins.

#### ***IV.5.2 Lai's competition with Qi***

The relationship between Lai and Qi is documented in some detail in the textual tradition. The most well-known record on the relationship between Qi and Lai is from the *Shiji*: When the Grand Duke Jiang established Qi, the ruler of Lai came to compete for the place of Yingqiu. The narration of the *Shiji* has created such a lasting impression and led many scholars to push the competition further back in time. Regardless whether it is an accurate record of the antagonistic situation between Qi and Lai during the Early Western Zhou period, or it is a reflection of the intense relationship between the two during the Spring and Autumn period that was anachronistically projected back onto the early circumstance, Sima Qian's description clearly shows that Lai was a powerful competitor to the Qi state.

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<sup>103</sup> See Yang Shenfu, “Shandong Rizhao Guheya chutu yipi qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1984.7, 594-97.



The competition between Qi and Lai is best reflected in two respects. First, textual sources such as the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Zuo zhuan*, and the *Guoyu* (Discourses of the States) do not document the inter-state meetings between Lai and any Zhou regional states like Lu and Qi. It seems that Lai never participated in any such multi-state meetings. However, another two local states with Dong Yi origins, Ju and Zhu often appear in the inter-state meetings and came to audience in the Lu court although they were often discriminated against for their Dong Yi origins, as mentioned above. In contrast, textual sources record a series of campaigns against Lai, conducted by Qi or by the joined forces of Qi and Lu (see Table 4.8). For instance, during the reign of Duke Huan of Qi (685-643 BCE), Lai was one of the targets in the numerous campaigns against the Yi polities in the southeast. In 602 BCE, a joined army made up of the troops from Lu and Qi attacked Lai.<sup>104</sup> Two years later, in 600 BCE, the ruler of Qi attacked Lai again.<sup>105</sup> In 573 BCE, Wang Qiu as the loser in the power struggle and political turmoil of Qi court fled to the state of Lai, the major competitor of Qi and thereafter the relationship between them became even worse.<sup>106</sup> In the second year of Duke Xiang of Lu (571 BCE), the ruler of Qi attacked Lai again but Lai successfully arranged Zheng Yuzi to bribe Su Shawei, the commander of the army of Qi with one hundred horses and one hundred cows and as the result, the army of Qi returned.<sup>107</sup> In the same year, the ruler of Qi find another excuse to launch a campaign against Lai for the ruler of Lai did not

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<sup>104</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, p.615 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p.300).

<sup>105</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, p.620 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p. 409).

<sup>106</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, p.801 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, pp.414- 415).

<sup>107</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, p.817 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p.416).

come to attend the funeral of the Jiang-lineage elite woman of Qi. On this account, Yan Ruo walled Dongyang to exert a pressure on Lai.<sup>108</sup> The interaction between Lai and Qi usually took the form of resistance and military campaigns. Different from other local state with Dong Yi origins, Lai stayed away from the inter-state affairs with these two important Zhou states Qi and Lu in Shandong and became a major enemy to Qi. This may reflect different strategies taken by different local states with Dong Yi origin in dealing with their relations to the other Zhou states. Lai seemed to have become one of the major threats to the state of Qi in its development as evidenced by many campaigns recorded in the textual sources.

Second, competition between Qi and Lai also took place in the economic realm. In the “Qiyu” (the Discourse of the Qi state) chapter of *Guoyu*, it is recorded that Duke Huan of Qi advocated trading fish and salt with Lai but did not charge the traders’ duties at the custom stations and markets in order to bring profit to the regional lords. This measure was appraised as an act of generosity of Duke Huan. The “Xiaokuang” 小匡 chapter of *Guanzi* also gives the same description of Duke Huan’s “benevolent” act in economic activity and competition. Although there is considerable controversy about the date of composition of the *Guanzi*, most scholars believe they were compiled during the Han, consisting of anonymous essays written between the fifth and first centuries B.C. “Xiaokuang” is closely connected with the “Qiyu” chapter of *Guoyu* for the two works parallel each other in presenting the same basic story, often in identical language.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.819 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p.417).

<sup>109</sup> See Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic and Philosophical Essays from Early China* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 318.

Another important chapter of *Guanzi*, the “Qingzhong” 輕重 (Light and Heavy) chapter also provides reference to the commercial interaction between Qi and Lai. The “Qingzhong” chapter describes economic policies or how Guanzi is able to use them to solve Qi’s problems with its enemies. Lai appears in several sections of the “Qingzhong” chapter as an example in Guan Zhong’s articulation of his economic thought and measures to compete with other states. For instance, in the Wu 戊 section of “Qingzhong” chapter:<sup>110</sup>

桓公問于管子曰：“萊莒与柴田相并，为之奈何？”管子對曰：“萊莒之山生柴，君其率白徒之卒，鑄莊山之金以为币，重萊莒之柴價。”萊莒之君聞之，告左右曰：“金币者，人之所重也。柴者，吾國之奇出也。以吾國之奇出，尽齊之重寶，则齊可并也。”萊莒即釋其耕農而治柴，管子即令隰朋反農。二年，桓公止柴，萊莒之衆三百七十，齊柴十錢，萊莒之民降齊者十分之七。二十八，月，萊莒之君請服。

Duke Huan questioned Guanzi, saying, “Lai and Ju attach equal attention to the gathering of firewood and farming. How to deal with this?” Guanzi replied: “the mountains of Lai and Ju produce firewood. My lord should lead untrained conscripts to coin money from the metal of Mount Zhuang, thereby rising up the price of Lai and Ju’s firewood. When the ruler of Lai and Ju heard about it, they informed their officers on the Right and Left, saying, “Metal coins are what people value highly. Firewood is our state’s specialty. If by making use of our specialty, we can exhaust Qi’s wealth, then Qi would be annexed.” Lai and Ju then gave up farming and concentrated on collecting firewood. Guanzi then ordered Xi Peng to revive agriculture and two years later, Duke Huan ceased the purchase of firewood from Lai and Ju. Grain cost 370 cash in Lai and Ju but sold for only 10 cash in Qi. Seventy percent of Lai and Ju’s people then went over to Qi and by the twenty-eighth month, the rulers of Lai and Ju asked to surrender.

In this case, Guan Zhong explains the importance of manipulating the price of rice to compete with Lai. Lai originally gave equal attention to agriculture and brushwood but

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<sup>110</sup> I follow Rickett’s translation, see Rickett, pp.503-504.

gave up farming and were fully engaged in collecting brushwood to trade with Qi. Its purpose is clear to compete with Qi by taking advantage of its specialty and exhausting Qi's wealth. But this proved to be a failure for it was already set up by Guan Zhong as part of his economic strategy. Qi was able to force Lai into submission by offering very high price for Lai's special products so that Lai abandoned agriculture and concentrated on its specialty. Once this has happened, Qi ceased its purchases and the people of Lai were left with a surfeit of their special products but no rice to eat. According to this chapter, Guan Zhong used this general technique to weaken Lai.

In another case, Guan Zhong also advocated manipulation of the amount of coinage in circulation to control the supply of grain or commodities and Lai was again on the disadvantage side in the trade of the purple silk.<sup>111</sup>

昔萊人善染。练茈之于萊純緇，緇綬之于萊亦純緇也，其周中十金。萊人知之，闻纂茈空。周且斂馬作見于萊人操之，萊有推馬。是自萊失纂茈而反准于馬也。

In the past, the people of Lai were skilled in dyeing cloth. In Lai a *chun* of silk dyed a rich purple cost only one *zi* of gold, but in Zhou, it amounted to ten catties. When the people of Lai learned of this, they immediately gathered together all of their purple silk for sale. At the same time, Zhou assembled bills of exchange to serve as pledges to the men of Lai and thus acquired control of the silk. The people of Lai had only bills of exchange as compensation. This was a case of Lai on its own losing the purple silk it had gathered together and being compensated by mere bills of exchange.

From above examples, the image of Lai presented to us is multifaceted. Lai appeared in the detailed scenarios as the competitor to the state of Qi in both military and economic activities. It seems that the Lai people had some economic advantages, are skilled at

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<sup>111</sup> I follow Rickett's translation; see Rickett, *Guanzi*, 2, p.486.

dyeing cloth, and Lai is rich of silk, fish, and sea products. This accords with what was described for the Lai Yi in the “Yugong” chapter of the *Shangshu*. Although “Qingzhong” was not a contemporaneous textual source for the study of Lai and Qi, it provides us with some useful secondary references to the interactions between Qi and Lai and reflects how people in later time view the relationship between Qi and Lai. The intense relationship between Qi and Lai during the Spring and Autumn period should have made later compilers take Lai as an important part of the region’s historical and cultural memory. Lai seems to have been always on the disadvantageous side in economic competition with Qi or was defeated by the Qi army in military campaigns.<sup>112</sup> However by surviving through the late Spring and Autumn period in the Jiaodong Peninsula, Lai proved itself to be a powerful state during the process of regional interaction.

Therefore, the power dynamics between Qi and Lai underwent some changes during the Spring and Autumn period. During the Western Zhou period, Lai was one of Zhou political allies and ever fought side by side together with the state of Qi for the interests of the Zhou state under the command of officials from the Zhou central court, as shown on the *Shi Mi gui* and *Shi Yuan gui*. But since the Spring and Autumn period, the regional interaction between Lai and Qi usually took the form of warfare and resistance. Lai stood as an antagonistic polity to the Zhou regional states Qi and Lu. Competition between Qi and Lai took place in both military and economic spheres. This may also

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<sup>112</sup> Another example recorded in *Guanzi* is that Duke Huan of Qi went to war and attacked Lai. They fought at Bishili in Ju 莒. Consequently, the army of Lai was defeated and its territory absorbed, and its marshal was captured. This was a stratagem of issuing awards in advance, see Rickett, *Guanzi*, p.475.

indirectly reflect the fact that Lai rose as a major competitive power in the Jiaodong Peninsula and achieved independence from the Zhou state; in that sense, Lai became a major obstacle to Qi in the process of Qi's expansion into a territorial state.

#### ***IV.5.3 Shuyi zhong and the fall of Lai***

In 567 BCE, Lai was annihilated by Qi, and Qi became the most powerful state in the Shandong region. Two bronze inscriptions record the campaign that caused the fall of Lai. The first one is the inscription on the famous Shu Yi *zhong* (JC0285), which is one of the longest bronze inscriptions, bearing 494 characters, and which probably dates to 566 BCE, one year after the fall of Lai state. It records that Duke Ling of Qi rewards to Shu Yi for his military victory in taking the state of Lai.<sup>113</sup>

The Shuyi bells were discovered at Linzi in 1123 during the Song Dynasty. They were destroyed in later dynasties but the inscriptions are recorded in many catalogue collections.<sup>114</sup> Chen Mengjia believes that the complete Shu Yi *zhong* set should include three groups of bells, 51 (or 48) bells in sum.<sup>115</sup> This inscription could be regarded as an “appointment inscription” of the regional state of Qi, recording the reward by the duke of Qi to Shu Yi. Following the general pattern of Western Zhou period appointment inscriptions, the Shuyi *zhong* inscription begins with a statement recounting Shu Yi's great merit and achievement, then announces the appointment and lists the rewards to the

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<sup>113</sup> Both Shirakawa and Guo Moruo read the place name Li 釐 in the inscription as a loan for Lai 萊 and thus date this inscription to the year after Qi destroyed Lai. See Guo Moruo, *Liang Zhou jinwen ci daxi tu kaoshi*, pp.357-59; Shirakawa Shizuka, “Kinbun Tsushaku”, *Hakutsuru bijutsukanshi*, vol.38, no.215.

<sup>114</sup> Xue Shangong, *Li dai zhong ding yi qi kuan shi fa tie* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), vol.8, pp.58-75.

<sup>115</sup> Chen Mengjia, “Shu Yi Zhong Bo Kao,” *Yanjing xuebao* 1999.4, 8-9.

awardee – Shu Yi. Finally, the awardee Shuyi extols the Duke’s beneficence and states that he makes this vessel for his ancestors. In the following, I mainly translate the second and third paragraph of this inscription that mention the fall of Lai.

公曰：尸（夷），女（汝）敬共（龔）臺辛（臺）命，女（汝）  
 （膺）鬲公家，女（汝）巩（鞏）綦（勞）朕行師，女（汝）肇敏于  
 戎攻，余易（賜）女（汝）釐（萊）都□□，其縣三百，余命女（汝）嗣  
 （臺）釐（萊）~~釐~~，或徒四千，為女（汝）敵寮，夷敢用拜稽首，弗敢不對  
 揚朕辟皇君之賜休命。

The Duke said: Yi, you respectfully received the command. You are responsible for the ruling house and simultaneously responsible for managing my army. You are capable in warfare. I award you the capital city of Lai, the place # #, and three hundred *xian* (settlement). I command you to take in charge of four thousand people at Lai as your attendants. Yi therefore dares to bow with his head touching the ground, and extols the brilliant lord’s award and mandate.

公曰：“尸（夷），女（汝）康能乃又事（有吏），眾乃□□（敵寮）……命  
 女□（汝職）左正□（卿），命于外內之事，中尊（敷）盟（明）井（刑），臺  
 （以）尊（敷）戒公家，□（膺）恤余于盟（明）卹。女（汝）以恤余朕身，  
 余賜女車馬、戎兵、釐僕三百又五十家，女（汝）臺（以）戒戎鉞（作）。”  
 夷用或敢再拜稽首，膺受君公之賜光，余弗敢廢乃命。

The duke said: “Yi, you are capable of managing your officers and subordinates...I command you to take the office as Minister on the Left, managing the major affairs in the inner and outer spheres; to spread the luminous model and to protect the ruling house. I award you the chariots, horses, militia and three hundred and fifty households of Lai as your servants, specifically for use in warfare.” Yi takes this opportunity to repeatedly bow with his had touching the ground and takes on the responsibility of receiving the lord’s awarded glory. I, Yi, dare not discard your mandate.

The capital city of Lai, three hundred *xian* settlements and four thousand people are awarded to Shu Yi for his victory in taking Lai. Furthermore, three hundred and fifty households of servants of Lai were awarded to Shu Yi as his army’s soldiers. This indicates that Lai was defeated and that the capital city was taken by Shuyi, the marshal who led three armies of Qi to fight against Lai.

Another bronze that also records the fall of Lai is the Geng *hu*, with an inscription of 172 characteristics.<sup>116</sup> The inscription narrates about Geng's heroic performances in two battles, one with the Lai state and the other with the Ju state. For the battle against Lai, the inscription reads as follows,

齊三軍圍釐（萊），毋（崔）子（執）鼓，庚大門之，□（執）者□（獻）于□  
（靈）公之所。公曰：甬甬（庸庸），商（賞）之臺（以）邑，□（嗣）  
衣、裘、車、馬于□（靈）公之□（廷）。

The three armies of Qi besieged Lai. After Cuizi struck the drum, Geng broke into the main gate of the city. Geng presented the captives at the palace of Duke Ling. Duke said: Great, I award you the yi-settlement, cloth, fur, chariot and horses at the court of Duke Ling.

In this inscription, Cuizi is the person we are familiar with, whose full name is Cui Shu, the high official at the Qi court. Cui Shu seems to have been the main commander of this battle. Geng in this event played a heroic part because he broke into the gate of Lai city. Geng was therefore awarded for his braveness and military achievement during the battle.

It seems that the Shu Yi *zhong* and the Geng *hu* present us with a picture of the conquest of Lai from two angles, one from the high officials, the Minister on the Left 左正卿, Shu Yi, and the other from a less-prominent military elite, Geng. Due to their different roles and duties in the battle, they were rewarded by Duke Ling differently.

The conquest campaign is also documented in the received textual sources.

In the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (Xiang 6), the annihilation of Lai by Qi was mentioned

<sup>116</sup> Zhang Zhenglang, "Geng hu shiwen," in *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985), vol.1, pp.126-33. Li Jiahao, "Geng hu mingwn jiqi niandai," *Guwenzi yanjiu* (19)1992: 89-101. Zhang Guangyuan, "Chunqiu wanqi Qi zhuangong shiqi genghu kao," *Gugong jikan* 16.3 (1982):82-107.



quite briefly. However, the *Zuohuan* provides much more information on the conquest.

The following quotation discloses the details of the fall of Lai.<sup>117</sup>

十一月，齊侯滅萊，萊恃謀也。于鄭子國之來聘也，四月，晏弱城東陽，而遂圍。甲寅，堙之環城，傅于堞。及杞桓公卒之月，乙未，王湫帥師及正與子，棠人軍齊師，齊師大敗之。丁未，入萊。萊共公浮柔奔棠。正與子，王湫奔莒，莒人殺之。四月，陳無宇獻萊宗器于襄宮。晏弱圍棠。十一月丙辰，而滅之。遷萊于郟。高厚、崔杼定其田。

It was in the eleventh month, the Duke annihilated Lai. Lai was extinguished by Qi because of Lai's reliance on the bribes (which it had offered to Qi) and employing intrigues rather than enhancing its own strength. In the fourth month when the Zheng state came on his friendly mission to Lu, Yan Ruo fortified Dongyang and proceeded to lay siege to the capital of Lai. On the *Jiayan* day, he raised an earth platform surrounding the wall which was gradually brought close to the parapet. It was in month of the death of Huan Gong of Qi, *yiwei* day, Wang Qiu, together with Zheng Yuzi, and troops from Tang, launched the campaign against the army of Qi, but received a great defeat. On *dingwei* day, the Qi army entered Lai. Fu Rou, Duke Gong of Lai fled to Tang. Zheng Yuzi and Wang Qiu fled to state of Ju, where they were put to death by the Ju people. In the fourth month, Chen Wuyu presented the most precious temple vessels of Lai in the Palace of Duke Xiang. Yan Ruo laid siege to Tang. In the eleventh month, *bingchen* day, Tang was extinguished and Lai was removed to Er. Gao Hou and Cui Shu superintended measuring and laying out of the lands of Lai. (Xiang 6)

In this narration, from the Lai side three forces fought Qi, which were led by Wang Jiao, Zheng Yuzi 正與子, and the Tang people. Wang Qiu had been an official of the Qi state who fled to Lai due to the failure in power struggle of the Qi court. Duke Gong of Lai, Furou fled to Tang, a settlement of the Lai state in the south. The treasured vessels in the temple of Lai were presented at the Xiang palace. Together with Cui Shu who was mentioned in *Geng hu*, Gao Hou measured the lands of Lai after its fall. The Lai state came to an end by losing its territory, capital, land, and people. The temple vessels, the symbol and marker of a state polity were presented as war booty, and the land was

<sup>117</sup> *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi*, pp.848-849 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p.429).

measured, and the people were assigned to the military elites of Qi who played important roles in the final battle, like Shuyi.

Regarding the reason of the fall of Lai, the *Zuo zhuan* suggests that it is because Lai did not focus on strengthening its own military, but relied only on intrigues and plots. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the Spring and Autumn period witnessed the transformation of the state of Qi from a regional state to a territorial state. On the one hand, the fall of Lai was the result of the long-term competition and antagonistic relationship between Lai and Qi; on the other hand, it was one of the consequences of secondary transformation of Qi state into a territorial state. After the conquest, Qi controlled the whole Jiaodong Peninsula.

### **Conclusion**

Centering on the Lai state with Dong Yi origins in the Jiaodong Peninsula as a case, this chapter examined the second type of secondary state formation. Lai was a local polity on the periphery and was a hybrid entity combining both indigenous and Zhou cultural elements. The high concentration of standard mid-Western Zhou bronzes around Guicheng in the north coastal area indicates that it was likely a political and military base for the Western Zhou state during this period of Zhou expansion into the Jiaodong Peninsula. During the mid-Western Zhou, it is very possibly that Lai was founded by a Dong Yi group under Zhou influence and participated in Zhou state affairs as Zhou's important military ally. Beginning in the Late Western Zhou period, however, the Zhou state faced both internal crisis and serious external threats. Taking advantage of the decline of the Zhou state and the weakening of the influence of central power in the east,

the state of Lai, which was deeply rooted in the local cultural tradition, began to engage in a developmental process to rise as a major power in the east. Although Zhou style material culture was the mainstream in the Guicheng region, starting in the Late Western Zhou and through the Spring and Autumn period, both the Guicheng site and the whole Jiaodong Peninsula at large witnessed the rise of a local bronze culture and the increasing trend of indigenous cultural tradition, which maintained itself and persisted for a long time until the end of Spring and Autumn period.

While the elite of Lai enjoyed a developed local bronze culture under Zhou influence, the local population in the Jiaodong Peninsula continued to produce pottery according to the local standards that had their own roots and cultural traditions. This reflects the agency of the local communities to maintain their cultural traditions and distinctiveness. By emphasizing their own tradition of material culture production, the local communities modified the Zhou influence and, as a result, the cemeteries and settlements in the region gradually adopted more distinct local features. This does not mean a lack of interaction with the Zhou culture, but rather indicates an emphasis on cultural distinctiveness in the face of a political and cultural threat.

This reflects an endogenous developmental process stimulated by external Zhou influence, in which the local communities maintained their own cultural traditions which gradually made their way into the mainstream of material culture. This may be characterized as an “indirect stimulation mode,” in which the growth and formation process of the state was triggered in response to external influences, i.e. through dissemination of ideas, materials but not necessarily due to the presence of core agents.

They are polities that manage to remain independent from core dominance while evolving towards states.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONQUEST, CONCORD AND INTEGRATION: TRANSFORMING FROM THE PRO-SHANG POLITY TO ZHOU REGIONAL STATE

#### Introduction

Besides the new regional states established by the Zhou court like Qi, Lu and Teng, and non-Zhou polities with Dong Yi origins like Lai, Ju, and Zhu, there were some pre-existing polities that had been encompassed in the former Shang network in the Shandong region. With the conquest of Shang, these former Shang polities acknowledged and accepted Zhou legitimacy and the Zhou court also recognized the de facto power of these local leaders.<sup>1</sup> They were re-conferred on as regional states of Zhou.

The former Shang allies or pro-Shang polities in the Shandong area can be divided into two groups. The first group joined the great Rebellion of Three Supervisors but were annihilated by the Zhou court such as Yan 奄, Pugu 薄姑, and Feng 豐. The Ran *fangding* (JC: 2739) and Qin *gui* (JC: 4041) record the extermination of the above three pro-Shang polities during the second conquest. The second group is represented by those that had possibly cooperated with the Zhou and continued to exist through the Spring and Autumn period such as Ji 紀, Xue 薛, Qi 杞, and Feng 邶.<sup>2</sup> Xue is located in the Tengzhou area of southwestern Shandong, where the recent excavation at Qianzhangda 前掌大 suggests that it is the possible cultural remains of Xue from the Late Shang to the

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<sup>1</sup> Cho-yun Hsu and Linduff Katheryn, *Western Chou Civilization*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> For the location and heritage of Xue and Qi, see Chen Pan, *Chunqiu dashi biao lieguo juexing*, 2, pp.128-30.

Early Western Zhou period.<sup>3</sup> Qi 杞 appears with some frequency on the oracle bone inscriptions, and its origin has been traced back even further to the Xia period. During the Shang period, it was originally located in Qixian 杞縣 in eastern Henan, but was moved to Xintai 新泰 in Western Shandong during the Western Zhou period.<sup>4</sup> As for Feng, its origin was mentioned in the *Guoyu* and bronzes excavated in Jiyang 濟陽 in northern Shandong are considered by some to be associated with the state of Feng.<sup>5</sup> Although whether the character *feng* on the Jiyang bronzes is a personal name or the name of a state is still open to question, the bronze Fengshu yi 夆叔匱 (HC10282) cast by an elite member of Feng was found in Tengxian to the south.<sup>6</sup> In Shouguang 壽光, the discovery of a tomb at Gucheng 古城 from which a group of Shang bronzes was excavated is believed to be the evidence of the state of Ji 紀 during the Shang period.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter will examine the formation and development of this type of secondary state in the Shandong area — the polities that may have been part of the former Shang political network but had accepted Zhou rule after the conquest. The state of Ji is a good example of this type and I will take it as a case study of the states transforming from former Shang polities to regional powers of Zhou. The significance of the choice of Ji lies

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<sup>3</sup> See *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi* (Beijing: Wenwu, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> For the Qi 杞 bronzes found in Xintai, see *Jungu lu jinwen* (1895), 2, pp.2, 24, 43-50.

<sup>5</sup> See *Wenwu* 1996.12, 4-25.

<sup>6</sup> See *Tengxian jinshi zhi* (Beijing: Fayuansi, 1944), pp.13-14.

<sup>7</sup> See Shouguang xian bowuguan, “Shandong Shouguang xian faxian yipi Jiguo tongqi,” *Wenwu* 1985.3, 1-12. This point is widely accepted among scholars. See also Jessica Rawson, “Western Zhou Archeology,” in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, p. 409.

in the fact that it was another important power in northern Shandong during the Western Zhou period, neighbor to Qi and Lai, representing the other two types of secondary states we have discussed in the preceding chapters (Map.4.3). Since Ji was located between them, it would be interesting to observe and contrast their different developmental trajectories and the strategies they adopted in dealing with the Zhou court and with each other. More importantly, the transformation of a polity from a Shang one to a Western Zhou one poses interesting questions about whether the pre-Zhou conditions had any impact on the development of the regional powers and how the pre-existing polities were incorporated or integrated into the Zhou system. Moreover, many Ji-related inscribed bronzes have been found in the most recent decades and this provides us with plenty of information for this discussion.

To date studies of the Ji state are mainly based on two groups of Ji-related bronzes: those inscribed with the character Ji 己 and those inscribed with the character Ji 巽. The biggest disagreement among scholars over these bronzes is whether these two characters Ji 巽 and Ji 己 on bronzes represent the same Ji state, or two different states. Most scholars, including Guo Moruo, Chen Mengjia, Li Xueqin, Dong Zuobin, Shima Kunio, Yang Kuan, Feng Shi, Li Feng, and Li Jiahao, take Ji 巽 and Ji 己 to be the same state Ji 紀 in received texts;<sup>8</sup> and among others, Rong Geng, Wang Xiantang, Wang Shuming

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<sup>8</sup> See Dong Zuobin, “Wudengjue zai yinshang,” in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishiyuyansuo jikan* 6.3 (1936): 413-30. Guo Moruo, *Liangzhou jinwen cidaxi tulu kaoshi*, p.120; Li Xueqin, *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu*, pp.247-252; Zeng Yigong, *Shandong jinwen jicun*, vol.1, section for “Ji” state; Cheng Mengjia, “Xi Zhou tongqi duandai,” *Kaogu xuebao*; Wang Entian, “Ji, Ji, Lai wei yiguo shuo,” *Qilu Xuekan* 1984.1, 73-79. Yang Kuan, “Xizhou lieguo kao,” in *Yang Kuan gushi lunwen xuanji* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 2003), pp.220-21. Feng Shi, “Qianzhangda mudi tutu tongqi mingwen huishi,” in *Tengzhou Qianzhangda mudi*,

and Shim Jae-hoon etc., refuse to equate the two and argue that Ji 己 and Ji 冀 were two different states during the Zhou period.<sup>9</sup> Most scholars approach the case of Ji 紀 from the perspective of geography based on bronze inscriptions and received texts, but few have addressed the Ji state in the much larger social context of Zhou expansion in the Shandong region, in which the Ji state accepted the Zhou and became an active ally of the Western Zhou state.

In 1969, a Late Western Zhou bronze *ding* cast by a brother of the Ruler of Ji (Jihou 冀侯) and another by Ji Huaifu 己華父 were excavated with seven other bronzes in Shangkuangcun 上夙村 in Yantai 煙臺, confirming that Ji 冀 and Ji 己 were the same state. Some scholars doubted this identification because the coexistence of two bronzes in the same tomb does not necessarily mean that they belonged to one state, given the possibility of exchange, war booty, and trade between different states. However, if we look closely at these two bronze *ding*, they show identical features of typical Late Western Zhou bronzes, simply decorated with two strands of line decors or lozenge shape design, and both with deep belly, and horseshoe-shaped legs extending out from the sides of the belly. Further considering the contents of these two inscriptions, I think it is likely that these two bronzes were cast by a younger brother of Jihou, whose courtesy name is

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pp. 596-597. Shima Kunio (Dao Bangnan), *Yinxu buci yanjiu*, trans. Pu Maozuo (Shanghai:Guguji chubanshe, 2006), p.835; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p.315.

<sup>9</sup> see Rong Geng, *Shangzhou yiqi tongkao*, p280. Wang Xiantang, *Shandong guguo kao*, pp 159-229. Jay-Hoon Shim, "A New Understanding of Kijia Choson as a Historical Anachronism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 62.2 (2002): 271-305. Wang Shuming, "Liang Zhou jinwen yu Ji shi xunzong," in *Qi Lu xuekan* 1999.3, 86-90. Cui Lequan, "Ji guo tongqi ji qi xiangguan wenti", pp.19-27. In a most recent study, Li Jingheng argues that the Ji 冀 state in Western Zhou period is not related with the 冀 lineage in the Shang period. see Li Jingheng, "Shang Zhou shi dai de Ji guo," *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 2010.4,73-75.



Huafu (Fig. 5.1).<sup>10</sup> This chapter is based on the premise that Ji 𠄎 and Ji 己 represent the same state in the Western Zhou bronzes.<sup>11</sup>

Building on previous scholarship, this chapter examines the transformation of Ji from a Shang polity to a Western Zhou regional state, mainly focusing on the following issues: 1) the origin of the Ji polity during the Shang period; 2) the clarification of the relationship between the Ji polities represented by so many 己 and 𠄎 bronzes within the different spatial and chronological framework; 3) integration of Ji into the Zhou political system and its relations with the Zhou court and other polities; and 4) cultural connection manifested by the material remains of Ji.

## **V.1 Before the Conquest: Ji 己 and Ji 𠄎 during the Late Shang**

As explained in Chapter Two, during the Late Shang period, northern Shandong underwent a process of cultural assimilation with the Shang. The Gucheng site in Shouguang represents a pre-conquest site under heavy Shang influence; it is also a site that provided important evidence relating to the state of Ji from clearly archaeological context. Therefore, I will first analyze the findings from this site.

### ***V.1.1. Ji 己, Bing 𠄎 (𠄎) and Ji Bing 己𠄎 during the Late Shang period***

The excavation at Gucheng yielded an inventory of typical Late Shang bronzes and pottery, suggesting close connections between Anyang and the Shouguang region. The substantial findings include a deposit of a total number of sixty-four bronzes

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<sup>10</sup> Li Xueqin, *Xinchu qingtongqi yanjiu*, pp.247-52.

<sup>11</sup> Feng Shi, “Qianzhangdamudi chutu tongqi mingwen huishi,” pp. 583-88.

including vessels, tools, and weapons, among which 19 out of the 64 bronzes bear the lineage emblem Ji Bing 己并 (並 is transcribed as 𠄎) or simply the character Ji 己 (Table 5.1).<sup>12</sup> Bronze *ding*, *jue*, *gu* and *you* vessels were inscribed with emblem Ji Bing 己并 and the character Ji 己 was inscribed on two *ben*-adz and one blade (Fig. 5.2). The discovery of this tomb confirms the existence of the Ji 己 polity during the Late Shang period.<sup>13</sup>

The Ji Bing 己並 emblem includes two parts, Ji and Bing. It is a composite lineage name, reflecting the union or fission of perhaps two lineages. While some scholars believe the composite name represent the union of two lineages, others argue for the segmentation of one lineage from the other. Both theories have their own value, but no matter which interpretation is correct, in any case the composite name reflects the close relationship between the two lineages. Bing was a lineage or polity during the Late Shang period, which can be proved by the discovery of a series of bronzes.<sup>14</sup> The name Bing 并 occurs with much frequency in the oracle bones, which record that Bing participated in many royal campaigns and sacrifices (HJ4391, HJ 40911, HJ52, HJ23569, HJ4387, HJ33113, etc).<sup>15</sup> Bing's possible affiliation with the Shang royal lineage has also been suggested.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See Shouguang xian bowutuan, "Shandong Shouguang xian faxian yipi Ji guo tongqi," pp.1-12.

<sup>13</sup> Jessica Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, p.409.

<sup>14</sup> The finds include one bronze *ge*-dagger in Shilou, Shanxi and two *gu*-beakers in Anyang and Xinxiang in Henan as well as the bronze *jue*, *you*, *jia*-vessel. They are inscribed with bing 並. See *Wenwu* 1976.2, 94 and JC 6597, JC 6579, JC 7401, JC 8736, JC 7401. For the discussion of the Bing lineage, see Ding Shan, *Jiaguwen suo jian shizu jiqi zhidu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1988), p.114. See Peng Bangjiong, "Bing qi, Bing shi yu Bingzhou," *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 1982. 2, 28-36.

<sup>15</sup> See Zhu Fenghan, *Shang Zhou jiazhu xingtai yanjiu*, pp.29-32.

Ji 己 is another lineage/polity that existed since the reign of Wu Ding. The name of Ji 己 appears in a few cases of bone inscriptions of Oracle-Bone Phase I:

1) 丙寅，二，自己入。(HJ21857)

On *bingyin* day, (the king) came from Ji.

2) 御于己。(HJ15139)

*Yu*-rite was performed at Ji.

3) 丁亥卜，己貞，子商妾冥，不其嘉。(HJ14036)

Crack-making on *Dinghai* day, Ji divined, “Zishang’s wife gave the birth and the result was not good”.

The first two inscriptions indicate that Ji is a place or lineage name. In another inscription (HJ14036), Ji is a diviner, divining that the prince Zishang’s consort gave birth but the result was not good.<sup>17</sup> This is in accordance with the study on the diviners during the Shang period that the diviners were associated in some way with the surrounding settlements and polities. They were particularly likely to appear as diviners when the Shang king had established relations with (or had conferred titles upon) their leaders, or had married a woman of their groups. Those groups, including some archer-lords (*hou*), which produced diviners in this way, were presumably Shang allies and potential members of the Shang state.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it is very likely that the Ji polity sent one of his lineage members to the Shang court, serving as a diviner, henceforth he was

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<sup>16</sup> David Keightley, “Late Shang State, When, Where and What,” in *The Origins of Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p.535.

<sup>17</sup> Ding Shan, *Jiaguwen suojian shizu ji qi zhidu* . pp.101-102.

<sup>18</sup> David Keightley, “Late Shang state: When, Where and What,” p.549.

referred to as “Ji” in the Shang royal divinatory records. A similar case is the diviner Gu 古, one of the well-known diviners of Bin Group Diviners. Gu is also the name for the polity of Gu, as shown on the oracle bone inscription (HJ 462) “people from Gu” and on bronze vessel as the emblem within a Ya-shaped frame (JC 3861, JC 7239).<sup>19</sup>

Besides the Ji 己 bronzes found in Gucheng, as early as in 1950s, a bronze weapon *ge*-dagger bearing the character 己 was found in Anyang;<sup>20</sup> another bronze *gui* inscribed with Ji was also found in Hebi 鶴壁, Henan province.<sup>21</sup> From the Shang side, these discoveries suggest a close political and cultural connection between the Shang court and the Ji polity in Shandong. It is possible that they might have been left behind in Anyang by a Ji polity member, if not actually the royal diviner from Ji mentioned above. In this case, the short distance (470 km) between the Shang capital and Shouguang with no major geographical obstacles in between except for the Yellow River makes this connection quite plausible.

Therefore the emblem 己并 indicates the union of the Ji 己 and Bing 并 lineages. The co-occurrence of Ji Bing bronzes and Ji-bronzes in the Gucheng site suggests that Ji Bing is likely one branch of Ji.

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<sup>19</sup> Other similar case is the diviner Que 殼, on one oracle inscription (HJ 13505), it records that “Crack-making on *Wuxu* day, Gu divined: there is no disaster in X and Que.” This indicates Que is a place name or polity. Another example is diviner Yi 兕 during the reign of King Zu Geng, who was titled as Ya Yi and developed into a prominent lineage/polity, see next section. Zhu Fenghan gives more examples of the name of diviner as the name of place, lineage or polity, see Zhu Fenghan, *Shang Zhou jiazhu xingtai*, p.78.

<sup>20</sup> Guo Baojun, “1950 nian chun YinXu fajue baokao,” in *Kaogu xuebao*1952.5, 1-61.

<sup>21</sup> See Zhou Dao and Zhao Xinlai, “Henan Hebi Pangcun chutu de qingtongqi,” *Wenwu cankao ziliao congkan* 3 (1980): 35-40.

It is also worth noting that the Gucheng site is not an isolated discovery of cultural remains under heavy Shang influence in this region. Only about two kilometers to the southwest of the Gucheng site is an important political center in the Qingzhou region during the Late Shang period- the Subutun site, where four elite tombs and a chariot pit were excavated in 1965-1966 and eight more burials were excavated in 1986. These tombs are dated to Yinxu Phases III and IV. The largest tomb no.1 has four ramps, which resembles the shape of royal tombs in Anyang. On the whole, Subutun did not show local idiosyncrasy, but suggests an unusually close relationship with Anyang. Yachou 亞醜, the emblem on many bronzes, was identified by some scholars with Xiaochen Chou (Minor Officer Chou) in Oracle-Bone Period V inscriptions who had participated in the eastern campaign against Ren Fang enemies in the Shandong region during the Late Shang. The Subutun cemetery was probably associated with a powerful pro-Shang polity, where the lineage of this prominent official in the Shang court resided (see Chapter 2).<sup>22</sup> Therefore, based on current information, it is likely that the Shang state had some substantial influence in northern Shandong centered on the Shouguang-Qingzhou region, which must have seen a mixture of outpost bases of the Shang state occupied by Shang officials or elites and more locally oriented polities. The bronzes unearthed in Gucheng are roughly contemporary with the findings in Subutun and the Gucheng site is likely associated with Subutun, possibly under the control of Shang.

Correlating all above discoveries, the group of Shang bronzes bearing the character 己 in the Shouguang area represents the Ji 己 polity in the Late Shang period. Compared

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<sup>22</sup> Fang Hui, "Shang Zhou shiqi Lbei diqu haiyanye de kaoguxue yanjiu," *Kaogu* 2004.4, 53-67.

with the Yachou tombs, the Shouguang tomb was apparently of a lower rank. Although it is not clear as to whether the Ji polity originated in the Shouguang region, or it moved out from the more centrally located Shang regions, the material and written evidence from both the region and the Shang capital Anyang suggests that it was very likely a political ally of Shang during the Late Shang period. But it survived the Zhou conquest and went on to exist as a regional state of the Zhou.

### ***V.1.2 Ji 己, Qi 其, and Ji 冀 during the Late Shang period***

Qi 其 was a lineage or polity during the reign of King Wu Ding, evidenced by the 21 bronzes inscribed with Ya Qi 亞其 found in the tomb of Wu Ding's consort- Fu Hao (Fig. 5.3). These bronzes were tributes sent by the Qi lineage, indicating its close political relation to the Shang court.<sup>23</sup> The name of the Qi 其 lineage also appears in the Shang divinations and is called Ya Qi 亞其 in some cases.<sup>24</sup>

Since the character 冀 is composed of two parts 己 and 其, some scholars argue that 己 was the phonetic part of the character 冀, signifying the different pronunciation of the character Qi 其 in different region and therefore Ji 冀 can be identified as Qi 其.<sup>25</sup> However, this interpretation is uncertain. From the above discussion, it is clear that the lineage/polity Ji and Qi 其 represented two different lineages/ polities since Wu Ding's reign, the place Ji 冀 is more likely a new place name, signifying the union of the

<sup>23</sup> Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiu suo, *Yinxu fuhao mu* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1980), pp.78-88.

<sup>24</sup> For instance, see HJ5686, HJ 20371, H5710, HJ 5693, HJ36346.

<sup>25</sup> Wang Xiantang, *Shandong guguo kao*, pp. 23-24.

branches of Ji 己 and Qi 其. Two inscriptions (HJ 9570) and (HJ 9571) of Oracle-Bone Phase I, record that divination was done at Ji 冀 to see whether it would rain at Ji 冀.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that Ji 己 is the mother lineage of Ji 冀.

It was in the latter half of Late Shang period that the Ji 冀 lineage was entitled as *hou* and called Jihou 冀侯 (Archer-Lord of Ji). Usually Ji 冀 appears on Late Shang bronzes as part of the lineage emblem (or clan insignia) in the form of Ji Ya Yi 冀亞夙 or Jihou Ya Yi 冀侯亞夙, in which Ji 冀 or Jihou 冀侯 is placed within the Ya 亞-shaped frame. For instance, On the Xiao Zu Ding *you* 孝祖丁卣, it says that on the *Yihai*-day, Xiao was rewarded with cowries and thereby made this vessel for Grandfather Yi (JC5377). At the end of the inscription was the emblem of Jihou Ya Yi. In total, 11 bronzes carry the emblem 冀亞夙 or 冀侯亞夙 (Fig.5.4) are known to date.

Ji Ya Yi 冀亞夙 or Jihou Ya Yi 冀侯亞夙 is a composite name, revealing the union or fission of the two lineages Ji and Ya Yi. We notice that Ji 冀 or Jihou 冀侯 appear most often with the character Yi 夙 and within the Ya 亞-shaped frame. Despite several theories having been proposed interpreting the Ya-shaped square emblem,<sup>27</sup> it seems

<sup>26</sup> Hu Houxuan and Hu Zhenyu, *Yin Shang Shi* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 2003), p.270.

<sup>27</sup> Scholars have disagreement over the meaning of Ya, which was understood as 1) a rank; 2) an official title 3) a maternal lineage.4) a symbol which signified centrality. See Tang Lan, *Wuyingdian yi qi kaoshi*, p.2; Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the turtle: Myth, At and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp.89-102; See Zhu Fenghan, "Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen zhong de fuhe shiming," *Nankai xuebao* 1983.3, 55-56; Zhang Guangzhi, "Shuo Yin dai de Ya xing," in *Zhongguo qingtong shidai* (Beijing: Sanlian press, 1999), pp.305-317. Ding Shan, *Jiaguwen suo jian shizu ji qi zhidu*, pp.45-48.. Wang Xiantang, *Shandong guguo kao*, pp.81-86; Li Boqian, "Ju zu zuxi kao," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1987.1,62. Zhou Fagao, *Jinwen kulin* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1974),

more likely that the emblem designates an official title with prestige or a prominent military title.<sup>28</sup> Yi 兕 originally was identified as the personal name of a diviner, for it occurs with high frequency in the bone inscriptions during Oracle-Bone Period II (the reigns of Shang Kings Zu Geng and Zu Jia). Since the position of diviner was highly strategic, and Yi was titled with Ya 亞 prestige, Ya Yi 亞兕 became a large and prosperous lineage during the Late Shang period. A recent study of the 124 Ya Yi bronzes presents us its distribution and development in different stages.<sup>29</sup> The composite name Ji Ya Yi 冀亞兕 or Jihou Ya Yi 冀侯亞兕 was created when the Ya Yi lineage was further granted lands at the place Ji 冀, indicating the Ji 冀 lineage's relations with Ya Yi. The Ji 冀 lineage was further conferred the title *Jihou* 冀侯 (the archer-lord of Ji) during the time of Di Yi or Di Xin, that of the last two Shang kings.

This point is further supported by the evidence from Late Shang oracle bone inscriptions. Among the seven Late Shang inscriptions that mention Ji 冀 or Jihou 冀侯,<sup>30</sup> two clearly show that “Jihou” 冀侯 was the name for a polity.

- 1) 癸未卜, 在師貞: 今巫九备, 王與冀侯缶师, 王在其在冀 咎 征。(HJ 36525)  
Crack-making on *Guiwei* day, divined at Shi: Be prepared to divine today. The king meets Jihou and Fou at Shi... should the King stay at Ji and launch the

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vol.15, p.7864; Li Ling, “Subutun de Ya Qi tongqi”, *Wenwu tiandi* 1992.6,42-45; Li Xueqin, “Kaogu faxian yu gudai xingshi zhidu,” *Kaogu* 1987.3,256-7.

<sup>28</sup> Chen Mengjia, *Yinxu Buci Zongshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), p.511.

<sup>29</sup> He Jingcheng, “Ya Yi zu tongqi yanjiu,” *Guwenzi yanjiu* 25 (2004):148-55.

<sup>30</sup> For the other five inscriptions, see HJ 36524, which records that the king host sacrificial rite and H J 9570 and HJ 9571, recording the divination at 冀 to see whether it is going to rain at 冀. The last instance records divination at 冀.



campaign.

2) □ □ 贞: 翌日, 乙酉小臣 □ □ 其 □ □ 又有老 彛 侯, 王其 □ □ 以商. (HJ 36416)  
XX divined: the next day, *Yiyou* day, Minor officer XX, and the senior Jihou .... The king awarded.

In the inscription (HJ 36525), the king meets with the lord of Ji 彛 (Jihou 彛侯) and the leader of the polity Fou 缶, divining about whether or not he should stay at 彛 and launch the campaign. The king in another inscription (HJ 36416) appears together with a Minor Officer (*Xiaochen* 小臣) to meet with Jihou. Since the two inscriptions are from Oracle-Bone Period V, Jihou 彛侯 must have had a close relationship either with Di Yi or Di Xin, the last two Shang kings. There is no direct evidence for the location of the Ji 彛 polity in the Shang period, but the following two bone inscriptions indirectly suggest that Ji 彛 may have been located in Shanxi.<sup>31</sup>

3) 庚寅卜, 在彛贞; 王步于 卣 无灾。(HJ 36956)

Crack-making on gengyin day, at Ji, divined: “The king will walk to Bi. There will be no disasters.”

4) 庚子卜, 穀贞, □工方于好 卣 (HJ 6153)

Crack-making on *gengzi*, Que divined: “(We will) harm Gongfang at Hao and Bi.”

In the study of the geography of Late Shang, most scholars depend on one important premise, that when two or more places appear on the same oracle bone it can be assumed that they were located relatively close to each other.<sup>32</sup> If X and Y appear on one bone and Y and Z on another, there is strong presumption that X and Z were not too distant; and X,

<sup>31</sup> See Jae-hoon Shim, “A new understanding of Kija Choson as a Historical Anachronism,” pp.271-305.

<sup>32</sup> See David Keightely, “Late Shang State: What, When and Where,” pp. 537; and Edward Shaughnessy, “Historical Geography and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms,” *Asian Major* 2.2 (1989): 4.

Y, and Z can be treated as a geographical cluster. In the first inscription, the king divines at Ji 冀 about going to Bi 比. This implies that Ji was close to Bi. The next inscription documents the war against Gong Fang 工方 at Bi. Gongfang was unquestionably the strongest enemy of Shang in northwestern Shanxi during the reign of King Wu Ding.<sup>33</sup> Since most battles against Gong Fang were believed to have taken place in the Fen River valley, the place named Bi in the second inscription should be somewhere in the Fen River valley. If this is the case, then Ji in the first inscription should be located in an area near Bi, which is somewhere in Shanxi.<sup>34</sup> The above mentioned inscription (HJ 36525) in which Ji appears together with the polity of Fou 缶, can further confirm that Ji was located somewhere in Shanxi, since the Fou polity was in south-western Shanxi.<sup>35</sup>

Therefore, the Ji 冀 lineage or polity during the Late Shang period was very possibly located in the Shanxi region and it appeared on bronzes as part of a composite lineage emblem, combined together with the Ya Yi 亞夷 insignia in order to honor Ji's 冀 relationship with the Ya Yi lineage. Correlating the discovery of the Ji Bing and Ji bronzes in Gucheng in Shandong, it is likely that during the Late Shang period, two branches segmented from the Ji 己 lineage and evolved into new Ji Bing lineage and 冀 lineage. The Ji 冀 lineage was possibly located in Shanxi and the Ji Bing lineage, together with the Ji lineage, were located in Shouguang, northern Shandong. But as

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<sup>33</sup> Chen Mengjia, *Yindai buci zongshu*, p. 273.

<sup>34</sup> Jae-hoon Shim, "A new understanding of Kija Choson as a Historical Anachronism," pp.271-305.

<sup>35</sup> Chen Mengjia, *Yindai buci zongshu*, pp. 293-94; Xia Hanyi (Shaughnessy), "Zaoqi Shang-Zhou guanxi ji qi dui Wuding yihou Shang wangshi shili fanwei de yiyi," *Guwenzianjiu* (13)1986: 139-41.

mentioned earlier, it is not clear whether the Ji Bing 己並 lineage moved to Shouguang during the Late Shang period. Ji 冀 and Ji Bing were two sub-lineages of Ji. The union and fission of lineages was frequently encountered in Shang period, as shown by many composite names on bronzes. One of the best examples is that the name of the Ge 戈 lineage, whose leaders and members appear in the Shang divinations, is also combined in various sub-lineage insignia on bronzes.<sup>36</sup>

## V.2 Relocation of the Ji 冀 Lineage and the Establishment of Ji during the Early Western Zhou period

After the conquest of Shang, besides establishing regional states in Shandong, the Zhou court adopted another strategy to secure the new regime—to relocate the former Shang people.<sup>37</sup> Many prominent former Shang lineages were split and relocated to different locations. The Ji 冀 lineage was one of them.

### V.2.1 Dispersion of the various descent groups of the former Shang

Actually many more Ji 冀 related bronzes (with the emblem Ji 冀 Ya Yi 亚兕) that date to the Early Western Zhou have been discovered in multiple locations across northern China, in Henan, Shaanxi, Beijing, Liaoning and Shandong.<sup>38</sup> Some individual bronzes may be interpreted as the result of the transmission of goods, exchange or the booty obtained from the conquest of Shang, but the definite dating of most bronzes of the

<sup>36</sup> Zhu Fenghan, *Shang Zhou jiazhu xingtai yanjiu*, pp.90-95.

<sup>37</sup> This measure is the common political strategy adopted by new rulers in dealing with the “old” people as seen among other world civilizations. For instance, the Incas strategically reshaped the demographic landscape through the wide-scale relocation of people settlements. See Terence D'Altroy, *The Incas* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp.180-248.

<sup>38</sup> He Jingcheng, “Ya Yi zu tongqi yanjiu,” *Guwenzi yanjiu* 25 (2004):148-55.

Ji 冀 lineage as Early Western Zhou products indicates that the 冀 lineage or polity with emblem Ji Ya Yi 冀亚禾 was not exterminated during the conquest, but still existed and continued to make bronzes. In this sense, these Ji Ya Yi 冀亚禾 - related bronzes were not booty carried by the Zhou elites to different places, but were closely associated with Zhou's strategy and practice in the relocation of the various Shang descendants in the Early Western Zhou. On the one hand, the relocation of former Shang lineages would reduce the threat to the new regime; on the other hand, they contributed to economic and social development of the Western Zhou state. Shang descendant groups not only provided a large quantity of agricultural labor and military forces, but had also mastered advanced bronze casting techniques and literacy.<sup>39</sup>

Bronze inscriptions and archaeological evidence show that after the Zhou conquest of Shang, various Shang lineages and those associated with the Shang were assigned to some regional states as subjects and moved to different regions of the Zhou state. The former Shang descendants were usually relocated in the following directions: 1) westward to the Zhou homeland in the Shaanxi region, as evidenced by the discovery of the bronze hoard of the famous Scribe Wei lineage in Zhuangbai, Fufeng;<sup>40</sup> 2) to the northern periphery in the state of Yan, where the cemetery contained the burials of Shang elites;<sup>41</sup> 3) Eastward to the state of Lu, where six lineages of Shang people were

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<sup>39</sup> Cho-yun Hsu, *Xi Zhou shi* (Beijing: Sanlian, 1994), p.117.

<sup>40</sup> For the discovery of Zhuangbai hoard, see Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui, "Shaanxi Fufeng Zhuangbi yihao Xi Zhou qingtongqi jiaocang ajue jianbao," *Wenwu* 1978.3, 1-18.

<sup>41</sup> Sun Yan, "Negotiating Cultural and Political Control in North China," pp.97-102.

assigned.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes a large or prominent Shang lineage was divided into several branch lineages and was moved to multiple locations; for example the Ju 夨 (舉) lineage. Some Early Western Zhou bronzes inscribed with Ju 夨 emblem were found in Shandong, Beijing, Shaanxi, and Henan.<sup>43</sup> The relocation of Shang descendants is described in the *Zuozhuan* in records about the establishment of the states of Lu, Wei, and Jin. These records state that six groups of Shang people were relocated to Lu state in mid-southern Shandong; seven groups of Shang people were assigned to the ruler of Wey 衛 in Henan, and the ruler of Jin in Shanxi received from the Zhou court nine lineages of the Huai 懷-surnamed people.<sup>44</sup>

In the case of the Ji 冀 lineage, its situation is similar to the Ju 舉 lineage.

Archaeological discoveries indicate that the 冀 lineages (with the emblem Ji Ya Yi 冀亞 矣, or Jihou Ya Yi 冀侯 亞矣) were mainly relocated to two places: northeastward to the Beijing-Liaoning area and eastward to the Shandong area (see below).

### ***V 2.2 Relocation of Ji to Beijing-Liaoning in the north***

In the 1970s, forty-one Shang and Western Zhou-style bronze vessels were excavated from four caches in three locations in Kazuo 喀左 of Liaoning Province. Most of the bronzes are standard Early Western Zhou forms, and only a few can be dated to the

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<sup>42</sup> See Hsu and Linduff, *Western Chou civilization*, pp.186-90.

<sup>43</sup> He Jingcheng, "Ju zu yanju," *Kaogu* 2008.11, 54-70.

<sup>44</sup> Itō Michiharu studied the establishment of these three states based on textual records, see Ito Michiharu, *Chūgoku kodai kokka*, pp. 78-83, 98-105.

Late Shang.<sup>45</sup> Among these four caches, discoveries from cache no. 2 at Beidongcun 北洞村 are noteworthy. Cache no. 2 contained a set of six wine and food vessels including 1 *fangding*, 2 *ding*, 1 each of *gui* 簋, *lei* 罍, and *bu* 甗. They date to the Late Shang or Early Western Zhou period. The large square cauldron (*fangding*) from cache no. 2 has the emblem “Jihou (Lord of Ji) Ya Yi” 冀侯亞豸 on the bottom (Fig. 5.5). The shape and ornamentation of this vessel resemble those of typical Late Shang vessels such as the Fu Ji 父己 *ding* and Lu *ding* 鹿鼎 from the Anyang area, which indicates that it dates to the Late Shang period.<sup>46</sup> Other than this Jihou (Lord of Ji) vessel, several Late Shang and Early Western Zhou vessels excavated in this region also contain lineage emblems identical to those excavated in the Central Plain. Katheryn M. Linduff treats these ritual bronzes as evidence of possible “exchange of goods and movement of peoples” between the Central Plain and the northeastern region during the Late Shang.<sup>47</sup> Due to the phonetic similarity between the Ji 冀 from the *fangding* and the Ji 箕 of Jizi 箕子 (Kija in Korean), the former Shang scion who was allegedly established as the ruler of Choson in the received texts,<sup>48</sup> some scholars identify the Ruler of Ji (Jihou 冀侯) with Jizi and take

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<sup>45</sup> Rehe sheng bowuguan choubu, “Rehe Lingyuanxian Haidao Yingzicun chutu gudai qingtongqi,” *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 1955 .8, 16-27; Liaoning sheng bowuguan et al., “Liaoning Kazuo xian Beidong faxian Yindai qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1974.4, 225-26, 257; Kazuo xian wenhuaguan et al., “Liaoning Kazuo xian Beidongcun chutu de Yin-Zhou qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1974 .6, 364-71; “Liaoning sheng Kazuo xian Shanwanzi chutu Yin Zhou qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1977.12, 23-33.

<sup>46</sup> Kazuo xian wenhuaguan, et al., “Liaoning Kazuo xian Beidongcun chutu de Yin-Zhou qingtongqi,” p. 369.

<sup>47</sup> Emma C Bunker et al., *Ancient Bronze of the Eastern Eurasian Steppes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1997), p.28.

<sup>48</sup> For textual records, see Jae-hoon Shim, “A New Understanding of Kija Choson as a Historical Anachronism,” pp.273-75.

it as evidence in support of the legend of Jizi's migration eastward.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, some South Korean scholars interpret these bronzes as those of Shang refugees including the Ji 箕 group led by Jizi 箕子 to take refuge in northeastern China after "the Rebellion of Three Supervisors" was subdued and further established the Kija Choson.<sup>50</sup> Recently Shim Jae-hoon has reexamined the historicity of the Kija legend and argued that Kija or the Ji 箕 polity may indeed have been relocated to northeastern China and chosen the upper Daling River valley as a place of exile after the Duke of Zhou subdued the rebellion, but that the notion of Kija's eastward movement into Choson is an anachronistic fabrication.<sup>51</sup>

The excavators, on the other hand, argue for the presence of the Ji 箕 polity in northeastern China during the Early Western Zhou period based on some other "Jihou" related vessels from the Beijing area and the Daling River valley.<sup>52</sup> This point may need further evidence because bronze inscriptions actually indicate an intimate relationship between the Kazuo bronzes and those found in the Yan cemetery in Beijing. Aside from the above mentioned *fang ding* from Beidongcun no.2 bearing the emblems of Jihou Ya

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.,pp. 271-305.

<sup>50</sup> Yi Hyonggu, "Taeruingha yuyok ui Unmal Chuch'o chongdonggi munhwa wa Kija mit Kija Choson, *Han'guk sanggosa hakpo* (1991): 27-33. Yi does not explain clearly conditions in the region before the establishment of Kija Choson, but accepts the story of Kija's enfeoffment as an actual historical event

<sup>51</sup> Jae-hoon Shim, "A new understanding of Kija Choson as a Historical Anachronism," pp.271-305.

<sup>52</sup> Kazuo xian wenhuaguan et al., "Liaoning Kazuo xian Beidongcun chutu de Yin-Zhou qingtongqi," p. 370.

Yi 異侯亞天, which also appears on a *ding* from Liulihe tomb no. 253 (M253:54),<sup>53</sup> several bronze vessels of the Early Western Zhou cast by the same Yu 圉, Yanhou 燕侯 (the ruler of Yan) and 伯矩 Boju, were found both in the upper Daling River valley and Liulihe.<sup>54</sup> For instance, the Yu 圉 *gui* (JC3824) found in Xiaobotaigou 小波太溝 in Kazuo bears the same inscription as its peer from Liulihe M253 (JC3825), saying that Yu was rewarded by the Zhou King in Chengzhou when the king held sacrificial ritual there;<sup>55</sup> a *yan* vessel from Shanwanzi 山灣子 bears the inscription cast by Boju 伯矩, whose bronzes were also found in Liulihe tomb no.251;<sup>56</sup> a *yu* 盂 from Machangou 馬廠溝 was cast by the ruler of Yan.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, these four caches with exclusive Western Zhou features were not the only remains in the Liaoning area, because 50 kilometers to the east eight tombs with wooden chambers and artifacts including standard Western Zhou style chariot fittings and horse harnesses were excavated in Weiyingsi in the upper Xiaoling river valley. In this sense, the bronzes found in the Dalinghe river valley might have been related to an outpost of the state of Yan in the Beijing region.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> See Kazuo xian wenhuaguan et al., “Liaoning Kazuo xian Beidongcun chutu de Yin-Zhou qingtongqi,” *Kaogu* 1974.6, 366. Beijingshi wenwuyanjiusuo, *Liulihe Xi Zhou yanguo mudi*, pp.67, 80.

<sup>54</sup> Guangqian Shou (Hirokawa), “Liaoning Dalinghe liuyu de Yin Zhou qingtongqi,” p. 224.

<sup>55</sup> Beijingshi wenwuyanjiusuo, *Liulihe Xi Zhou yan guo mudi*, pp.106, 151.

<sup>56</sup> See Kazuo xian wenhuaguan et al., “Liaoning sheng Kazuo xian Shanwanzi chutu Yin Zhou qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1977.12, 24.

<sup>57</sup> See Rehe sheng bowuguan choubaisu, “Rehe Lingyuanxian Haidao Yingzicun chutu gudai qingtongqi,” p. 21.

<sup>58</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, pp.338-39.



As for the lineage of Ji 冀 (with the emblem Jihou Ya Yi 冀侯亞夭), it was closely associated with the Yan state after the conquest. Discoveries at Niulanshan 牛欄山 in Beijing, where eight bronze vessels inscribed with the Ji Ya Yi 冀亞夭 emblem were found in 1982, indicate that the Ji (冀亞夭) lineage may have kept an estate or outpost north of Liuliuhe in the Beijing area (Fig. 5.6a).<sup>59</sup> On one *ding* bearing the emblem Ji Ya Yi 冀亞夭, the inscription reveals that the Shang-descendant elite of the Ji 冀 lineage received awards from the Ruler of Yan (Yanhou 燕侯).<sup>60</sup> Another bronze found in the Beijing area further supports this supposition. In 1897, another “Jihou” 冀侯 (or Ruler of Ji) *he* vessel was discovered near Lugouqiao in the suburb of Beijing.<sup>61</sup> Judging by the shape, ornamentation and inscription, it is an Early Western Zhou bronze. The inscription, which begins with the Jihou Ya Yi emblem, records that Ya (the elite member from the Ji 冀 lineage) commissioned the casting of this vessel in order to commemorate a gift from the Ruler of Yan (Fig. 5.6 b). This again confirms the close relationship between the Ruler of Yan (Yanhou) and the Ruler of Ji (Jihou), placing the Ji polity near the Yan state during the Early Western Zhou period.

### V.2.3 Relocation of Ji 冀 in Shandong

<sup>59</sup> See Cheng Changxin, “Beijing Shunyixian Niulanshan chutu yizu Zhou chu dai ming qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1983.11, 64-68.

<sup>60</sup> Cheng Changxin, “Beijing shi Xunyi xian Niulanshan chutu yizu Zhou chu daiming qingtongqi,” *Wenwu* 1983.11, 66; Zhang Yachu, “Yan tongqi mingwen yanjiu,” in *Yan wenhua lunji*, ed. Chen Guang (Beijing: Shehui kexue, 1995), pp. 223-30.

<sup>61</sup> Ma Chengyuan, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuanji* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1988), vol. 3, pp. 30-31.

The recently published report of seven elite tombs in Tengzhou shed much light on the relocation of the Ji 𣎵 lineage (with the emblem 𣎵亞禾) to the Shandong region during the Early Western Zhou period. In 1989, seven Early Western Zhou tombs were found in Zhuanglixi county 莊里西, Tengzhou, Shandong province, yielding a large number of bronze vessels, weapons, horse harnesses, and chariot fittings. This group of bronze vessels shows typical Early Western Zhou features, identical to those found in the Zhou homeland in Shaanxi, and is dated to the reign of King Cheng.<sup>62</sup> Tomb no.7 is noteworthy and provides us important information about the Ji 𣎵 lineage. In total, 124 bronzes were found in tomb no.7, including 12 bronze vessels, 11 weapons, and 118 horse harnesses and chariot fittings. The bronze vessel types include *ding*, *gui*, *zhi*, *zun*, *you*, and 9 of the 12 vessels bear inscriptions referring to the tomb occupant (Table 5.2). An identical inscription is found on the bronze *you* (M7:4), *gu* (*Shouyang jijin* 22), *zun* (M7:5) and *jue* (M7:7), recording that (Fig. 5.7 a-c):<sup>63</sup>

史 𣎵 乍父癸寶尊彝

Scribe Qiao makes this sacrificial vessel for Father Gui.

And on the other *you* (M7:3), it reads as (Fig. 5.7.d)

𣎵亞禾對乍父癸尊彝。

Ji Ya Yi in response made this sacrificial vessel for Father Gui.

<sup>62</sup> Du Chuanmin et al., “1989 nian Shandong Tengzhou Zhuanglixi xi Zhou mu fajue baokao,” *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 2012.1, 91-107.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103. Shanghai bowuguan et al., *Shouyang jijin* (Shanghai: Guji, 2008).

It is very clear that the occupant of the tomb no.7 is Shi Qiao 史騫 (Scribe Qiao). All the above bronzes were dedicated to the same ancestor Father Gui and moreover, the calligraphy on these bronzes is quite uniform and identical. Therefore, it is reasonable to identify Shi Qiao as belonging to the Ji 冀 lineage. The 冀亞禾 emblem also appears in another tomb no.4, where a bronze *zhi* 觶 cast by a member of Ji Ya Yi for Father X was found (Fig. 5.7.e).

Furthermore, another 3 bronzes in the collection of *Shouyang Jijin* are from tomb no.7. They were all commissioned by the same Scribe Qiao, and bear an important inscription about Qiao 騫 and his lord. The Qiao *zhi* 騫觶 records (Fig 5.8a):

隹(唯)伯初令(命)于宗周, 史騫易(賜)馬二匹, 用乍(作)父癸寶尊彝。

The Elder was initially enfeoffed in Zongzhou. Shi Qiao was rewarded two horses and thereby making this treasured sacrificial vessel for Father Gui.<sup>64</sup>

On another important vessel, the Qiao *gui* 騫簋, it records that (Fig.5.8 b):

隹(唯)九月, 者(諸)子具(俱)服。公迺令(命)才(在)廡, 曰: 凡(朕)臣興田每。騫敢對公休, 用乍(作)父癸寶尊彝。

It was the ninth month; many nobles were all in service. The Duke sent order at the palace of Bi, saying that “All my officials should advocate farming.” Qiao in response extolled the Duke’s beneficence, therewith making for Father Gui this treasured sacrificial vessel.

From these two bronzes, Shi Qiao is the subject to the Duke (Gong 公) and the Elder (Bo 伯). The first inscription records Shi Qiao receiving the award from the Elder after the Elder first took office to give order in the Zhou capital. The second inscription

<sup>64</sup> This phrase is similar to that in Yanhe zhi *ding*, which records the establishment of the state of Yan.

tells about the Duke's admonishment to his subjects, including Qiao. So the situation described by the inscriptions is likely to have happened in the Zhou capital, as the Bi 辟 in fact refers to the Bi-Pool mentioned in other inscriptions as main city feature in the Zhou capital. The duke referred to here is very likely one of the prominent Zhou dukes at the central court. Qiao may have provided official service in the Zhou court, which is similar to the Scribe Wei family whose descendants also served as scribes in the Zhou court as evidenced from the Zhuangbai Hoard in Shaanxi. But the place Zhuanglixi in Tengzhou, where these Qiao bronzes were excavated, is generally believed to be the state of Teng, the Ji-surnamed state established by the royal order after the second conquest. A series of bronzes have clearly identified this area as the central location of the Teng state. For instance, in 1978 a bronze dedicated to the Duke of Teng (Tengong 滕公) was found in Zhuanglixi, Tengxian, where four years later three bronzes cast by the ruler of Teng (Tenghou 滕侯) were also found.<sup>65</sup> Tomb no. 7 and the other 6 tombs were located in Zhuanglixi, not far away from the places where Tenghou (the ruler of Teng) *gui* and *ding* were found.

Therefore, the discovery of these bronzes inscribed with the emblem Ji Ya Yi in Tengzhou suggests that the Ji 鬲 lineage had a close relationship with the Teng state. During the Early Western Zhou period, one branch of the 鬲 lineage, as the former Shang descendants, was relocated to the Teng state, a situation analogous to that of the Ji 鬲 lineage (also with the emblem Ji Ya Yi) in the Yan state.

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<sup>65</sup> See Yang Xiaoyi, "Shandong Tenxian chutu Xi Zhou Teng guo tongqi," *Wenwu* 1979.4, 88-89.

#### V.2.4 The Ji 箕 lineage and the establishment of the Ji state

The discoveries described above indicate that branches of the Ji 箕 lineage were relocated to Beijing and Shandong area after the second conquest, reflecting the Zhou practice of dispersion and relocation of Shang descendants. They were in close association with other Zhou regional states and maintained their social status as elites. They served the regional state with which they were associated and may have been part of a political coalition with the Zhou elites. This point is also noted in another inscription on the lid of the Gao *you* 高卣 (JC5431), a vessel that is no longer extant but known from its line drawing and inscription rubbing in the collection *Xuanhe bogu tu* 宣和博古圖, a bronze catalog composed during the Song dynasty (AD 907-1279). The text is cast within the Ya-shaped frame (Fig.5.9). Chen Mengjia suggests a Cheng-Kang period date and Liu Yu and Tang Lan believe that it was cast during the King Kang period.<sup>66</sup>

(亞) 佳十又二月, 王初饗<sup>窶</sup>旁, 唯還在周, 辰在庚申。王飲西宮, 烝, 鹹<sup>釐</sup> (釐)。尹賜臣, 唯小斲。揚尹休, 高對乍父丙寶尊彝。猷尹其亘萬年受<sup>厥</sup> (厥)永魯, 競在服。箕長<sup>夬</sup>, 其子子孫孫寶用。

It was the twelfth month, the king first feasted at Pang; on the morning of the *gengshen*-day, the king returned to Zhou. The King hosted drinking at the Western Palace and performed the *zheng* offering. The rites were performed well. The Chief awarded a servant named Xiao Bo. Extolling the chief's beneficence, Gao in response thereby makes this treasured sacrificial vessel for Father Bing. May the Chief continue for ten thousand years to confer his eternal brilliance, without peer in service. May the descendants of Jihou Ya Yi treasure and use it.

<sup>66</sup> Liu Yu, "Jinwen Liaoji de duandai yiyi", in *Xi Zhou Zhuwang niandai yanjiu*, ed. Zheng Fenghan and Zhang Rongming (Guizhou: Guizhourenmin, 1998), pp.358-66. Tang Lan, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fendai shizheng* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), p.135.

<sup>67</sup> According to Tang Lan, this character should be *hou* 侯, which was mistakenly transcribed as 長 by later compiler during copying. For the reading of this inscription, see Tang Lan, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fendai shizheng*, p.133-35.

Gao may have been the Chief's subordinate, to whom the Chief gave the servant Xiao Bo 小燹. The chief may have been the king's subordinate, who took part in the drinking event and the *zheng*-rite, performed by the King. Xiao Bo 小燹 has been identified with the Bo 燹 people that appears on the Shi Mi *gui* and Shi Yuan *gui*. In the latter, the Ji state was listed side by side with troops from the states of Qi and Lai as having fought against the Huaiyi. Here, Yin 尹 is a regular member of the royal court whom Tang Lan had identified as Duke of Shao, one of the most prominent figures during the Early Western Zhou, whose son was the first ruler of the state of Yan.<sup>68</sup> This in some way links the Ji 鬲 lineage with the state of Yan and makes the Gao *you* another good example of the Ji 鬲 lineage's association with the Yan state and even in the Zhou capital.

Nevertheless, from this inscription we are not certain whether this Chief was the Duke of Shao; nor do we have strong evidence to identify which regional state Gao provided service to and resided in. What we can be sure is that the 鬲 lineage survived the conquest and continued to serve the Western Zhou state.

Returning to the connection between the Ji 鬲 lineage and the state of Ji in the Early Western Zhou period, another bronze *jue* with the emblem Ji Ya Yi 鬲亞兕 was found in Linqu 臨朐, south to Shouguang, in 1975.<sup>69</sup> At present this vessel is housed in the Linqu County library, but for some reason the image has not been published yet. An important

<sup>68</sup> Tang Lan, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fendai shizhen*, p.135.

<sup>69</sup> Sun Jingming, "Jiagu jinwen suo jian Shandong guguo yu Shang wangchao guanxi," *Weifang gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 1999.4, 63. See Sun Jingming, "Kaogu faxian yu Ji shi xunzong," in *Jiaodong kaogu faxian yanjiu wenji*, p.293.

question that this bronze raises is whether or not it provides evidence of or implies the further movement of the Ji 𠄎 lineage to Shouguang, where the Shang bronzes related to the Ji 己 polity were found (see above). Considering the historical context in the early expansion of Zhou in the Shandong region and the Ji 𠄎 lineage must have been part of the transition (see next section), it is very likely that based on its relocation in Tengzhou, the Ji 𠄎 lineage (with the emblem 𠄎亞夙) further moved northward to Shouguang, merged with the original Ji 己 lineage which had been in Shouguang area since the Late Shang period. This may explain why characters 己 and 𠄎 were used simultaneously to represent the state of Ji on bronzes from the late phase of the Early Western Zhou to the early Spring and Autumn period, as also evidenced by the coexistence of Ji 𠄎 and Ji 己 related bronzes from the tomb in Yantai.

To summarize, Ji 𠄎 was one branch of the Ji 己 lineage and appeared on the bronzes as part of the composite emblem Ji Ya Yi 𠄎亞夙 or Jihou Ya Yi 𠄎侯亞夙, in which Ji or Jihou is within the *ya*-shaped frame. After the Zhou conquest of Shang, like other prosperous Shang lineages Ju 举 and Ge 戈, the Ji 𠄎 lineage was further divided into several branches and relocated to different Zhou regional states. This is different from the previous view that the descendants of the Ji 𠄎 group moved continuously first toward northeast Liaoning, and then southward to Hebei and Shandong.<sup>70</sup> The Ji 𠄎 lineage mainly migrated into two peripheral areas: to the northeast, one branch of Ji 𠄎

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<sup>70</sup> Jae-hoon Shim, “A New Understanding of Kija Choson as a Historical Anachronism,” p. 292.

was relocated to Beijing and was in close association with the Yan state. It may have kept some lands in the Beijing area and was sent to the outpost of Yan in Liaoning by the ruler of Yan. To the east, another branch of Ji 冀 was relocated to Tengzhou, in association with the Teng state. From its base in western Shandong, this branch of the Ji 冀 lineage moved further northward to the Linqi 臨朐 and Shouguang area, and established the state of Ji.

### **V. 3 Becoming a Regional State of Zhou: the State of Ji during the Western Zhou**

This section examines the development of Ji from the late phase of Early Western Zhou period. Bronzes and archaeological materials show that Ji was integrated into the Zhou political and cultural system and became an important regional power in northern Shandong along the southern shore of the Bohai Bay. To some degree Ji even achieved more favor and trust in the Zhou court than Qi. This transformation is mainly reflected in the following three aspects.

#### ***V.3.1 Close political connection with the Zhou court***

In his discussion of the relationship between the regional states and the Western Zhou court, Li Feng identified three ways in which the regional states participated in the Western Zhou state: 1) participation of the personnel of the regional states in the political and ritual ceremonies conducted by the Zhou central court; 2) personal interaction between the Zhou king and the regional rulers through the regional rulers' visits to the Zhou capital; and 3) military assistance provided by the regional states for the Zhou royal



army to fight the enemies of the Zhou state.<sup>71</sup> For the state of Ji, its close political connection with the Zhou court in general corresponds to all three categories above.

### V3.1.1 Participation in Royal Events

There is no doubt that royal ceremonies and events helped to establish and maintain the patronage relationship between the Zhou kings and their subordinates. During the Early Western Zhou, the Zhou king employed both political and ritual paraphernalia to draw all regional rulers coherently into the Zhou system. These royal ritual activities leveraged individual cases of recognition and efficiently encouraged the continued enrollment of subordinate rulers in the Zhou collective.<sup>72</sup> Usually these ceremonies and events involved the conferral of both material gifts and prestige, and thus created great opportunities for the interactions between the king and his high-ranking elites.

Let us first look at the Hezi *you* 貉子卣 (JC5409), which records how Hezi, the ruler of Ji (Jihou 己侯), received gifts from the King( Fig. 5.10 a):

佳(唯)正月丁丑，王各于呂黽（畋）。王牢于陸，咸宜。王令士道歸（饋）貉子鹿三。貉子對揚王休，用乍寶尊彝。

It was the first month, on the *dingchou*-day, the king arrived at the place Lü to hunt.<sup>73</sup> The King led in herding the animals into a ravine until all was well

<sup>71</sup> Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*, pp. 257-68.

<sup>72</sup> For the discussion of the Western Zhou ritual, see Paul Vogt, “Between Kin and Kingship: Social Aspects of Western Zhou Ritual” (Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, 2012).

<sup>73</sup> Tang Lan read Lu and X as place name, See Tang Lan, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fen dai shi zheng*, p.336. I follow Chenmengjia transcription that Lu is the place name and X should be read as tian 畋, meaning to hunt.

complete.<sup>74</sup> The king commanded his retainer Dao to award three deer to Hezi. Hezi in response extolled the king's beneficence, herewith making the treasured sacrificial vessel.

Hezi in this inscription has been identified as the same person as Hezi in the Jihou Hezi *gui* 己侯貉子簋 (Fig. 5.10 b), which records that the ruler of the Ji state, Hezi, made a treasured *gui* vessel for his daughter Ji Jiang.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, Hezi was the personal name of Jihou. Chen Mengjia dates the Hezi *you* and the Jihou Hezi *gui* to the reign of King Kang, based on the ornamentation and calligraphy on both vessels.<sup>76</sup> The Hezi inscriptions show us some ritual courtesies between the king and the ruler of Ji connected with hunting activities. The king hunted at the place of Lü and penned the animals in a ravine. From the inscription, it is quite clear that Jihou Hezi received royal gifts of livestock animals from the king, but the gift was conveyed through an intermediary, the king's retainer, rather than by the king himself. Jihou Hezi at the time may have followed the king to the hunting place Lü and witnessed the royal hunting event.

Alternatively, Tang Lan provided us with a different reading of the inscription: that in the place Qu 祛, the king feasted many rulers with great *lao* animals and after the ritual finished, the king awarded Hezi three deer. The differences between Chen and Tang's reading are mainly concentrated in the early part of the inscription, the reading of three characters *lao* 牢, *qu* 祛 and *tian* 畋. *Lao*, is generally understood as pen-raised livestock

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<sup>74</sup> Tang Lan also offers a different explanation of the character 祛 as a place name. see Tang Lan, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fen dai shi zheng*, p336.

<sup>75</sup> Chen Mengjia, *Xi Zhou tongqi duandai*, pp.122-24.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

animals, especially those intended as sacrificial offering in both the Shang oracle bones and the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Also it was used as a verb indicating the offering of those animals- a rite known by the name *lao*. But here in this inscription, it seems that the king did not perform the rite, but just penned the animals for hunting and chose three deer to award Hezi with. In this sense, the Hezi *you* more likely records Jihou attending the royal hunting activity at Lü and receiving the reward from the King.

Through this royal hunting activity and the reward afterward, the political ties between the Zhou court and the Ji state was reinforced, and the enrollment of the regional ruler of Ji into the Zhou system was sustained. This was not only an expression of a political recognition and acceptance, but also intended to cement his ties to the Zhou state. The case of Hezi, justified this political relationship, the royal patronage of Jihou through gifts of livestock offerings. The establishment of this patronage relationship was as important to the Zhou royal house as to any regional ruler. From the side of Jihou, during the initial period of its establishment, it is particularly important for him to attain the recognition and support from the Zhou king, and thus reinforced his authority and legitimacy in his regional polity.

#### V.3.1.2. Military Assistance to the Zhou Court

The best example of Ji military assistance to the Zhou state comes from the inscription on the Shi Yuan *gui* (JC4314), which we have mentioned in the preceding chapters, in which Ji participated in the campaign against Huaiyi, the enemy of the Zhou state in the south.

Besides this instance, two more recent discoveries also show that Ji actively participated in the Zhou expansion in the eastern Jiaodong Peninsula during the early mid-Western Zhou period. The first evidence is the newly excavated tomb in the Guicheng site, Longkou city. In 2004 in Zhaojia 趙家 in Jiqian 集前, a group of early mid-Western Zhou bronzes was excavated. The identifiable types include a set of *ding*, *hu*, *gui*, *jue*, *zun*, and *you*, which show strong adherence to those from the Zhou core areas. Among these 14 bronzes, 4 carry inscriptions. Two *gui* with square pedestal were cast by Shu Suo 叔索 and one was cast by Lifu 里父.<sup>77</sup> The most surprising piece is the *ding* bearing the inscription related to Jihou 冀侯. This *ding* has been broken into a few segments and currently only two characters Jihou 冀侯 are visible on one remnant (Fig. 5.11 a).<sup>78</sup> Although we do not know the detailed content of the inscription, considering that the Guicheng site might have played a role as a base of the Zhou state in the Jiaodong Peninsula in the mid-Western Zhou period as we have discussed in the previous chapter, and many typical Zhou bronzes that can be identified with different states in the west were found in Guicheng, it is very likely that members of the Ji state were a part of the Zhou troops in this expansion, providing military assistance, together with other Zhou regional states.

The second piece of evidence is a bronze wine vessel *jue* discovered during a construction project for a school building in Yantai in 1994 (see Fig. 5.11b). The character Ji 己 was cast on the body surface that is underneath the handle arch. According

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<sup>77</sup> This is not published yet.

<sup>78</sup> Lin Xianting, “Pushuo mili kan Ji guo,” *Yantai Kaogu*, pp.121-30.

to the note of an archaeologist who had been to the site, this *jue* probably came from a tomb; but unfortunately, the tomb was completely destroyed due to the construction and no further information about the burial and other mortuary goods is available for analysis. This *jue* has a low, flat bottom and is simply decorated with a pair of line ornamentation beneath the mouth. Judging from the body shape and decoration, it should be dated to the mid-Western Zhou period. The character Ji 己 cast on the outer surface indicates that this *jue* was cast by an elite member of the Ji state. This is not the only discovery of Ji-related bronze in Yantai. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a Late Western Zhou bronze cast by a brother of the ruler of Ji (Jihou) was excavated with seven other bronzes earlier in 1969 in Shangkuang in Yantai. Although it is possible that this *jue* was brought to the Yantai area as war booty or an exchange good, given the historical and cultural context of Zhou expansion in the Jiaodong Peninsula, and correlated with the discovery of 1969 tomb in Yantai, it is also possible that Ji participated in the Zhou expansion in the northern coastal area of the Jiaodong Peninsula and even came as far as to Yantai area, which later became part of the new land of Ji in the Jiaodong Peninsula (see next section).

### V3.1.3 Serving in the Zhou Office

Ji may have not only provided troops and military assistance for Zhou expansion into the peninsula area, but also likely sent its lineage members to serve in the Zhou court, though not in high positions. The following inscriptions show evidence that Ji lineage members served in the Zhou court (JC2733).

衛肇乍（作）厥文考己中（仲）寶將鼎，用奉壽永福，乃用鄉（饗）王出入事（使）人，多朋友，子孫永寶。

Wei made this treasured *jiang*-cauldron for his cultured father Jizhong, thereby to make *hui*- entreaty for long life and for lasting fortune, and also thereby to feast the King's emissaries that come and go as well as many friends and colleagues.(May) my son and grandson eternally treasure it.

This vessel was cast for Wei's father Jizhong 己仲. In the Zhou naming practice, *zhong* 仲 marks the seniority of a person in the lineage. Jizhong is the second eldest noble in the Ji lineage. Although this vessel is dedicated to Wei's father, his stated purpose was to feast the royal emissaries and entertain his friends and colleagues, which indicates that there must have been important motivation for the performance of feasts, through which Wei and the Ji lineage members had the opportunity to interact with representatives of the Zhou court and interacted with his friends and colleagues in the court, with whom he shared a professional or personal relationship.<sup>79</sup>

The commissioner of this vessel, Wei 衛, has been identified as the same Wei who cast the Yuzheng Wei *gui* 御正衛簋 (JC4044), which reads:

五月初吉甲申，懋父賞御正衛馬自王，用乍父戊寶尊彝。

It was the fifth month, on *Jiashen* day, Maofu rewarded Chariot Officer Wei with a horse from the king.<sup>80</sup> (Wei) thereby made this precious sacrificial vessel for father Wu.

<sup>79</sup> Paul Vogt, "Between Kin and Kingship: Social aspects of Western Zhou Ritual," p.81.

<sup>80</sup> Chen Mengjia suggests that "wang" as a place name; Rong Geng explains that Wei returned from the King's place. Yang Shuda thinks this horse was awarded by the king to Wei, but was conveyed by Bo Maofu. Hu Dianxian understands this horse as awarded by Bo Maofu to Wei. But the horse was originally granted by the King to Bo Maofu, See Chen Mengjia, *Xi Zhou tongqi duanda*, p34. Rong Geng, *Wuyingdian yi ming tu lu*, p.92. Hu Dianxian, *Jiaguwen jinwen shilin* (Hefei: Anhui renmin, 2006), p 310.

In this inscription, Wei from the Ji lineage cast this *gui* in order to commemorate an occasion upon which he received a horse as an award from Maofu. Wei served as a chariot officer and is the subordinate of the military personnel Maofu. Maofu is Bo Maofu, a great military commander during the early Zhou state expansion in the east.<sup>81</sup> He is mentioned in a number of inscriptions cast by his subordinates including the Xiaochen Lai *gui* 小臣速簋 (JC: 4238), Shi Lüding 師旅鼎 (JC: 2809), Lüxing hu 呂行壺 (JC 9689), etc. Most of these bronzes are from the late phase of the Early Western Zhou or early phase of the mid-Western Zhou, corresponding to the reigns of King Zhao and King Mu. We cannot determine whether or not Wei participated in the campaign in the eastern Shandong region under the command of Bo Maofu as described on the Xiaocheng Lai *gui*, but it is very likely that Wei, the Ji lineage noble, served in the Zhou army as chariot officer and participated in campaigns under the leadership of Bo Maofu. The horse rewarded to Wei might have been the redistribution of a corresponding reward given by the Zhou king to Bo Maofu for his military achievements.

#### V.3.1.4. Ji and the Incident of Duke Ai of Qi

Ji achieved royal favor and trust during the reign of King Yi. According to the *Ancient and Current Bamboo Annals*, in the third year of King Yi, many regional rulers were summoned to audience with the king in the capital. It was due to Jihou's report that Duke Ai 哀, the ruler of Qi, was boiled to death in a huge cauldron by the order of King

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<sup>81</sup> Guo Moruo proposed that Bo Maofu was Kangbo Mao 康伯毛, the second ruler of the state of Wey in northern Henan. Many scholars support his identification. See Guo Moruo, *Liang Zhou jinwen*, p. 23; Chen Mengjia, "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai," 1.171; Ma Chengyuan, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi*, 3, p. 50, 59-60.

Yi.<sup>82</sup> This accident triggered the succession turmoil in the state of Qi. After Duke Ai was killed, one of his brothers, Duke Hu 胡, was appointed the ruler of Qi by the Zhou court. But soon after, Duke Hu was killed by another brother of Duke Ai, who established himself as the ruler of Qi- Duke Xian 獻.<sup>83</sup> This led to a series of conflicts between the Qi and the Zhou royal will, and the Zhou court took punitive action against the state of Qi. Associated with this is the Fifth Year Shi Shi *gui* (JC: 4216), which records a campaign against Qi commanded by the king two years after the execution of the Duke Ai.<sup>84</sup> This incident not only reflects the close political relationship between Ji and the Zhou court, but also implies that Ji was a strong competitor to Qi in northern Shandong. Thereafter, the rulers of Qi felt great animosity toward Ji and this incident became the excuse for Qi's annexation of Ji during the early Spring and Autumn period.<sup>85</sup>

### ***V.3.2 Ji's relationship with other states or polities: reflection from Ji-related bronzes***

This section examines the social interactions of the Ji lineage members, reflected in the communication among individuals, within both domestic social segments and with other polities. The discussion is based on bronzes cast by Ji lineage members or by individuals related to the Ji lineage. But it is still necessary to clarify that some bronzes that bear the title “Jigong” 己公 and “Jibo” 己伯 may raise confusion as to whether they

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<sup>82</sup> Fan Xiangyong, *Guben Zhushu jinian jizheng*, p.30. *Zhushujinian*, 2, p.12

<sup>83</sup> See *Shiji*, 32, pp.1481-82.

<sup>84</sup> On the dating of Fifth Year Shi Shi and its relation to the turmoil in the state of Qi, see Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, pp.267-78.

<sup>85</sup> For the details about the annexation by Qi, see the last section of this chapter.



are Ji lineage members or simply the ancestors' posthumous names; this is because the character Ji 己 is also used as the sixth *tiangan* (heavenly stems) in naming the Shang ancestors, and because so many bronzes are dedicated to Jigong and Jibo.<sup>86</sup> In Table 5.3, I list the bronzes that carry the name Jigong and Jibo. Wang Xiantang took these bronzes to be those of the Ji 己 state when differentiating the Ji 己 state and Ji 巽 state as two different states,<sup>87</sup> and they have been treated as important sources for the study of Ji.<sup>88</sup> In my understanding, they are in most cases of posthumous titles using the *tiangan* designation for the ancestors of the commissioners of bronzes, and are thus unrelated to the Ji 己 lineage.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Ji had a close relationship with the state of Lai, as shown by the discovery of two groups of dowry bronzes at Guicheng. One set was cast by Jibo 巽伯, and includes *pan*, *yi*, *xu* etc, and the other set is a bronze *li* cast by Jihou 己侯 for his daughter. Due to the geographical proximity and the interspersed distribution of Ji settlements with those of Lai in Jiaodong peninsula, Ji seems to have had a lot of interaction with the Lai polity in the Jiaodong peninsula.

Besides the marital relationship with Lai, Ji also established a marriage alliance with Xing 邢, a Ji 姬-surnamed Zhou regional state in Hebei. A bronze *gui* belonging to a

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<sup>86</sup> “Gong” was commonly used as honorable title for deceased ancestors in the bronze inscriptions, carrying certain social prestige. It is necessary to discern “Jigong” as a posthumous title for the ancestor of the commissioner, or the honorable title for the head of Ji lineage ( the Duke of Ji). The same treatment should also apply to the Jibo, to discern whether it is the posthumous title of the ancestor naming by the heaven stem, or the title for the eldest noble of the Ji lineage.

<sup>87</sup> Wang Xiantang, *Shandong guguo kao*, p176.

<sup>88</sup> See Cui Lequan, “Jiguo tongqi ji qi xiangguan wenti,” *Wenbo* 1990.3, 19-27.

private collection was introduced by Zhang Guangyu at the Third International Conference of Chinese Paleography in Hong Kong in 1997. This vessel is self-identified as a *gui*, but its shape is more like a bronze *dou* with shallow belly. The inscription is cast inside the bottom of the vessel, and says:

𠄎侯乍𠄎井（邢）姜妘母媵簋，其萬年子子孫孫寶用。

Jihou casts this *gui* vessel for Ji Xing Jiang Fenmu as dowry. For ten thousand years, may her sons and sons and grandsons and grandsons treasure and use it.

Based on the decoration of the bronze, this vessel is dated to Late Western Zhou period.<sup>89</sup> From this inscription, we can see that Jihou married his daughter Jiang Fenmu into the state of Xing in the west. Actually, bronzes cast by the ruler of Ji (Jihou) for his daughter as dowry that date as early as from the late phase of the Early Western Zhou to the mid- Western Zhou period have been found, which suggests that Ji was actively interacting with other polities: for instance, the Jihou Hezi *gui* 己侯貉子簋 we have mentioned earlier, and a mid Western Zhou *gui* cast by Jihou for his daughter, Jiang Wu (Fig. 5.10 c). Given the close relationship between Ji and Lu during the Spring and Autumn period, it is likely that Ji might have also established marital relationships with the Lu state and other Ji-surnamed states during the Western Zhou period.

An early mid-Western Zhou bronze in the Shanghai museum also sheds light on the interaction between the Ji and Peng lineages (Fig. 5.12).

𠄎仲乍棚生飲壺。

<sup>89</sup> Zhang Guangyu, “Xinjian Jihou ningqi jianshi,” in *Di san jie guoji Zhongguo guwenzixue yantaohui lunwenji* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1997), pp.10-25.

Jizhong made this drinking kettle for Pengsheng.

This vessel was cast by an elite member of the Ji lineage, Jizhong 彘仲 (the second eldest noble of Ji lineage), for Pengsheng 棚生, who was an elite member of the Peng lineage, which is now proven to have been a powerful polity in southern Shanxi whose ruler had the surname Huai. In 2004, a cemetery of the Peng lineage was excavated in Hengshui, Jiangxian, southern Shanxi, which provides important information about Peng polity.<sup>90</sup>

That Jizhong, an elite member of Ji, made this vessel for another elite from the Peng lineage suggests that the commission of bronze casting was not just to commemorate the good relationship between the two lineages of Ji and Peng, but also to honor Jizhong's personal friendship with Pengsheng. Another bronze records further personal interaction between Ji lineage members and other elites:

佳十又二月初吉，壬午，叔氏吏貧安彘伯。賓貧馬轡乘。公賈用揚修，用乍寶彝。

It was in the twelfth month, first auspicious, *renwu* day. Shushi sent Fu to placate the Elder Of Ji (Jibo 彘伯); Fu was granted a horse, bridle with reigns and carriage. Gongmao extols the beneficence (of Jibo?) and thereby made treasured vessel.

In this inscription (JC: 2719), Gong Mao 公賈 was sent by Shushi to placate Jibo.

This inscription does not mention who granted the gift to Gong Mao or who this vessel

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<sup>90</sup> Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiu suo, et.al. "Shanxi jIangxian Hengshui xi zhou mudi," *Kaogu* 2006.7,16-21. For brief report of this cemetery, see Song Jianzhong, "Shanxi Jiangxian Hengshui Xi Zhou mu di jiqi kaogu fajue xin shouhuo," *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, 2007, 9, 14. "Shaxi jiangxian hengshui Xi Zhou mudi fajue jianbao," *Wenwu* 2006.8, 4-18.

was cast for. It seems that it should be Shushi who sent Gong Mao on the mission. However, given the courtesy and social etiquette among Zhou elites, it is also likely that Jibo granted horse, bridle with reins and carriage to Gong Mao as token to thank Gong Mao for coming to placate him. Gong Mao thereby extolled Jibo's beneficence and thus made this vessel to commemorate this event. This reflects a normal case of personal interaction between Jibo, the head of Ji lineage and another elite sent on the mission.

The bronze Fan *gui* 繁簋 (JC 4146) records another personal interaction between Jibo and Fan:

公令繁闕于鬲伯，鬲伯蔑繁曆。

The Duke commands Fan to report his achievement to Jibo, Jibo recount Fan's merits.

In this inscription, we cannot identify the Duke and the character “Fa” 闕 may be interpreted as *fayue* 闕閱, associated with the official promotion and evaluation. Since *mieli* is an important part in the official appointment inscriptions beginning from mid-Western Zhou period, this inscription suggests Fan is possibly a member of the Ji lineage and the head of the Ji lineage is participating in the evaluation of personal service.

All of the above inscriptions reflect the different social interactions of Ji lineage members within multiple social contexts. The use of the inscribed bronzes cast by Ji elites or recording the activity of Ji elite not only signify their social status and political power, but also reflect the communication among individuals, within different social segments, and between different polities. The Ji lineage established marriage alliances with both Zhou and Non-Zhou states, maintaining friendly and supportive relations with

other polities; Ji lineage members provided services in the Zhou official system, interacting with friends and colleagues in the court with whom they shared a professional or personal relationship. This personal interaction with other elites reflected the engagement of Ji lineage into the Zhou society. The Ji lineage seems fully integrated into the Zhou system.

### ***V.3.3 Cultural integration and the material bases of Ji***

It is generally believed that the Ji state was originally located in Shouguang. Scholars are generally in agreement about locating Ji geographically between the powerful Qi in northern Shandong and the powerful Lai in the Jiaodong Peninsula (Map 5.1). Ji covers the area westward to the present-day eastern edge of Linzi, and eastward to the Wei River. And according to the received texts, another four *yi*-settlements named Jin 鄆, Bing 邢, Wu 鄆, and Xi 鄆 were the main affiliated settlements under the control of the state of Ji. In his commentary to the *Zuozhuan*, Du Yu located Bin 邢 in the present-day Linqu 臨朐, where the Ji 翼 (Ji Ya Yi 翼亞矣) *jue* was discovered; Wu 鄆 in present-day Anqiu 安丘; Jin 鄆 in present-day Changyi 昌邑, and Xi 鄆 in present-day Linzi 臨淄.<sup>91</sup>

Moreover, Ji may have explored “new territory” further east in the Jiaodong Peninsula in the Laiyang and Yantai areas, for Ji-related bronzes and settlements have been found there (see below), and most of these bronzes were cast during the Late Western Zhou -- the Spring and Autumn period. And as discussed earlier, the Ji state may

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<sup>91</sup> Yang Boju, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua 1990), p. 104, 156.

have been part of the Zhou expansion in the northern coastal area of Guicheng area during the late phase of Early Western Zhou and early mid Western Zhou period. It seems very likely that Ji had acquired some new land and subsequently granted it to its subordinate officials or lineage members. The following observation of the material culture mainly include the archaeological findings in the area between the Zi River and the Wei River--Shouguang, Linxu, Anqiu, Changle, and sites in Laiyang and Yantai where Ji related bronzes were found.

### V 3.3.1 The Central Site in Shouguang and the Neighboring Areas

To date, there have been few official excavations in the Shouguang area, but a series of ground surveys in Shouguang in the 1980s brought to light evidence of Shang and Zhou cultural presence. The field investigations reveal that there exist extensive cultural remains at present-day villages including Guasongtai 冪宋臺, Zhengjia 鄭家, Baojia 鮑家, and Diaoyutai 釣魚臺. Among those, Guasongtai is of great importance. A large number of pottery vessels have been collected there, but so far they remain unpublished. Further to the west of Guasongtai, at the Xitun site, a Western Zhou bone-tools workshop was found.<sup>92</sup>

Ground surveys show that the pre-conquest materials in Shouguang demonstrate strong Shang features. In total, 41 sites contain Shang-style remains, mainly distributed at Sunjiaji 孫家集, Jitaizhen 幾臺鎮, Fenghuangtai 鳳凰臺, and Dingjiadianzi 丁家店子,

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<sup>92</sup> Jia Xiaokong, *Shouguang kaogu yu wenwu*, p.127; Shouguang xian bowuguan, "Shouguangxian gu yizhi diaocha," *Haidai kaogu* 1 (1989):51.

etc.<sup>93</sup> Coexisting with the Shang styled materials are pottery of the indigenous production tradition, represented by plain-surfaced vessels fired at low temperature. Correlating the discovery of the tomb in Gucheng where the Ji bronzes were excavated, the Shouguang area was under heavy Shang influence beginning in the Late Shang period.<sup>94</sup>

During the Western Zhou period, the material culture in Shouguang underwent similar evolution as that in the core area of Qi. The assemblage of the Early Western Zhou demonstrates strong local traditions, entailing a combination of indigenous and former Shang traditions. Starting in the mid Western Zhou period, the Zhou cultural influences increased and began to dominate the material assemblage. Pottery vessel types include *li gui*, *dou*, and *guan*, which show similar features to those in the Zhou central area.<sup>95</sup> Although currently available materials do not allow us to have a statistical analysis of the percentage of each vessel type, Figure 5.13, which was provided by the local archaeologist Jia Xiaokong, excavator of the Gucheng site, based on the sample vessels he has collected for many years, presents some basic ideas about the chronological development of pottery during the different stages from the Late Shang through the Spring and Autumn period in Shouguang. Although some vessels may not be the best examples and were selected based on his personal criteria, Jia's effort is still helpful for our understanding of the development of local material culture.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Jia Xiaokong, *Shouguang kaogu yu wenwu*, p.81.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* p.81

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.81, 141.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*,p.125.

In the neighboring area of Shouguang between the Zi 淄 and the Wei 潍 Rivers, changes in material culture are evidence of the advance of the Zhou culture since the mid-Western Zhou period. In particular, a large number of mid Western Zhou pottery vessels were found in Yujia and Hexi in Changle. The pottery assemblage demonstrates clear similarity with those from the Zhou core area. Zhou cultural features are most evident in the assemblage from tomb no.1 in Yujia, represented by the *li* with flanges on the sides that was modeled on the contemporaneous bronze, cord-pattern *guan*, wide-mouthed *gui* and the high-pedestalled *dou* (Fig.5.14).<sup>97</sup> The appearance of these typical Zhou types of pottery in such a distant region strongly suggests the prowess of Zhou cultural influence, reflecting the ongoing historical process of Zhou expansion into eastern Shandong.<sup>98</sup>

#### V.3.3.2 “New Land” in the Jiaodong Peninsula: Discoveries from Qianheqian and Yantai

The Jiaodong Peninsula was traditionally believed to have been under the control of the state of Lai with Dong Yi origins, but the discovery of bronzes inscribed by the ruler of Ji found in Laiyang and Yantai indicates that Ji not only control the coastal area of northern Shandong, but was also able to penetrate into the inner and remote eastern tip of the peninsula. These sites were thereby interspersed with those locally-rooted settlements in which indigenous traditions dominated the overall material culture assemblage, such as the sites in Dabeizhuang, Xingjiazhuang in the Jiaodong peninsula.

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<sup>97</sup> See Weifang shi bowuguan, “Shandong Shangle xian Shang Zhou wenhua yizhi diaocha,” *Haidai Kaogu* 1(1989): 299-302.

<sup>98</sup> Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China*, p.312.



This accords with Li Feng's insights into the organization of the Western Zhou society in which the *yi* 邑-settlements constitute the basic social entity and wherein exists overlaps between the perceived "territories" of the regional states as the constituent parts of the Western Zhou state: "the settlements belonging to a regional state might not necessarily all be located close to the central site where the ruling lineage was located. There could very well be a situation in which a settlement belonging to state A was located closer to the central site of state B and was surrounded by the settlements of the latter state."<sup>99</sup> The two sites at Laiyang and Yantai were closer to the central site of Lai in the Huangxian area than to the central site of Ji in Shouguang.

Let us first look at what was found in Laiyang. In 1975, a cemetery of five tombs was excavated in Qianheqian, dating from the mid-Western Zhou to the early Spring and Autumn period. Judging from the burial context, they were all rectangular vertical shaft tombs with an east-west orientation. Among these five tombs, only tomb no.2 is briefly reported. In tomb no.2, eight bronzes were discovered, including 2 *ding*, 2 *hu*, 1 *yan*, 1 *yi*, 1 *pan*. Most bronzes show clear Zhou cultural features, identical to those found in the Zhou central site. For instance, two bronze *ding* are of Late Western Zhou style, featuring deep round body with horse-toe legs (but already broken) and simple ornamentation of pairs of lines in relief and double-ring 重環紋 pattern beneath the mouth, which are the typical Late Western Zhou decoration pattern on bronzes. The bronze *yan*, *pan*, and *yi*, are all decorated with double-ring pattern, and their shapes are similar to their counterparts found in Shangcunling (M1820:25); therefore they are dated to the Late

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<sup>99</sup> Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and The State in Early China*, p.297.

Western Zhou period, paralleling the phase VI according to Li Feng's periodization of bronzes in the Yellow River region (Fig.5.15 a).<sup>100</sup> However, two *hu*-vessels demonstrate distinct local features ((Fig. 5.15 b, c). One has a long, bag-like body with a small mouth and four handles bearing animal-head adornments. One pair of the handles is beneath the mouth and the other pair is cast on the lower belly close to the bottom. This vessel is decorated with multiple layers of ornamentation including scales, band waves, zigzags, and dragons of Late Western Zhou style. Inside this *hu*-vessel was inscribed a thirteen-character inscription, reading:

己侯作鑄壺，事（使）小臣臺（以）汲，永寶用。

Jihou makes this *hu*-vessel and commanded his minor servant to use it to fill in water. May (he) eternally treasure and use it.

From the inscription, this bronze *hu* was cast by the ruler of Ji and he granted it to his servant for daily use. The “Minor Servant” (*xiaochen*), which is a title inherited from the Shang, has appeared with some frequency on Early Western Zhou bronzes. But in the Western Zhou context, the term refers to the domestic servants of the king or of the regional rulers rather than a specific government office. From the inscription, this *hu* vessel is to be used by the minor servant (*xiaochen*) for the ruler of Ji. So the “minor servant” of Jihou was possibly the occupant of this tomb. This tomb is also buried with 20 *li*, 37 *guan*, 30 *dou*, 20 *gui*. The pottery images are not available to us, but judging from the excavator's description of the features of the *li*, *dou*, and *guan*, they are of the Zhou production tradition. As for the four other tombs, the excavators did not provide

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<sup>100</sup> Li Feng, “Huanghe liuyu Xi Zhou muzang chutu qingtong liqi de fengqi yu niandai,” *Kaogu xuebao* 1988.4, 383-419.

much information. On the surface of the site, many red-to-brown plain-surfaced pottery shards were observed, representing the local production tradition. This situation is quite similar to what we found in Guicheng. The local tradition also existed alongside the Zhou cultural tradition. It is said that a wall-enclosure remains had been found during the past field investigation work and there was a high platform in the center of the site, but they were all destroyed. Correlating this with what we have found from tomb no.2 and the ground collection, the Qianheqian site is likely a “settlement” (*yi* 邑) affiliated with the state of Ji. It is located in the hilly inner land of the vast Jiaodong Peninsula where local tradition constituted an important part of the material assemblage. While the elite culture demonstrated clear Zhou features, the pottery were more with the local tradition.

Another important tomb related with the Ji state was found in Yantai, on the eastern tip of the Jiaodong Peninsula, where two bronzes cast by the members of Ji state together with six other bronzes have come to the light. One was cast by Jihou 冀侯 for his brother named Sou, and the other one was cast by Sou, whose courtesy name was Huaifu. Judging from their shape and decoration, they were cast during the Late Western Zhou period (see Figure 5.1). The *ding* resembles the Duoyou *ding*, dating likely to the reign of King Li, the early stage of Late Western Zhou period. It is interesting to see the similarities between these two *ding* and those in the tomb no.2 in Qianheqian, and a similar local style bronze *hu*-vessel with the zigzag decoration was also found. This represents the local bronze feature of the Jiaodong peninsula.

Since Ji was geographically located between the two regional powers in northern Shandong, the trajectory of its material culture was gradual integration into the Zhou

culture system. But in its new land in the Jiaodong Peninsula, indigenous traditions had deeper influences on material culture of Ji.

#### **V.4. In the Shadow of Powerful Neighbors: the Ji State during the Early Spring and Autumn period**

During the Spring and Autumn period, Ji did not play as big a role in northern Shandong as it had during the Western Zhou period. With the decline of the influence of Zhou court on the regional states, Ji gradually lost its advantage in the competition with Qi. The next section focuses on the regional interaction and the fall of Ji during the early Spring and Autumn period.

##### ***V.4.1 Negotiating within the triangle: power relations between Ji, Lu, and Qi***

During the Spring and Autumn period, Ji still kept close ties with the Zhou court. A bronze *yi* (Wangfu Ji Mengjiang *yi* 王婦鬯孟姜匜) cast by the King's consort indicates that Ji married its lineage woman Meng Jiang to be the consort of the Zhou king. The vessel is not longer extant, only a rubbing of the inscription is available (Fig. 5.16). Judging by the calligraphy and writing format, this vessel dates to the early Spring and Autumn period. According to the *Zuozhuan*, in the eighth year of Duke Huan (704BCE), one of Jihou's daughters was married as the consort of King Huan. Although we cannot identify the commissioner of this vessel, Meng Jiang, with the woman married to King Huan, this vessel still indicates that Ji state had amicable relations with the Zhou king through marriage.

But undoubtedly the authority of Zhou kings diminished quickly during the Spring and Autumn period. Close political ties with the Zhou court from the Western Zhou

period did not provide the state of Ji with any prestige and advantage in the new competitive inter-state system. The relationship between Qi and Ji became formidable and antagonistic, possibly due to the tragedy of Duke Ai of Qi during the reign of King Yi. When Qi began its rise as a super power on the multi-state stage in the Early Spring and Autumn period, Ji, its nearest neighbor, on the contrary, had a difficult time looking for help to mediate its conflict with Qi, and to further prevent it from being attacked and annexed by the state of Qi. The main survival strategy of Ji during this period was to multiply political alliance and extend affinal relations with other states, because marriage alliances firmed up the friendship between states and helped secure the support and protection of affines in the interstate and sometimes domestic struggle for power and survival. Lu was the most important ally of Ji and they were closely linked through marriage. According to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Zuo zhuan*, the eldest daughter, Bo Ji 伯姬 and another daughter Shu Ji 叔姬 of Lu were married into Ji state in the second and seventh years of Duke Yin (720BCE and 715BCE).

Due to the close marriage relationship between Ji and Lu, Ji mediated the meeting between Lu and Ju 莒, another Non-Zhou state with Dong Yi origin in southeastern Shandong, to heal the long-standing alienation between the two states. In the second year of Duke Yin (720BCE), Zibo 子帛 of Ji and the representative of Ju made a covenant in Mi 密. As a result, five years later, Lu and Ju made a covenant at Fulai 孚来 to carry out the good wishes of Ji. By the same token, Ji expected Lu to help restore and mediate Ji's relations with Qi, since Qi's enmity and attempts on Ji became more obvious. In the fifth year of Duke Huan (707BCE), Qihou and Zhengbo went to the court of Ji with the

intention of attacking.<sup>101</sup> Thereafter, according to the *Zuo zhuan*, Jihou came to the court of Lu to consult with Lu about his difficulties with Qi and beg the duke of Lu to ask the king's order to bring about peace between Ji and Qi. But the duke responded that he could do nothing in this matter. In retrospect, as mentioned earlier, Lu helped arrange the marriage between Ji and the Zhou King. Ji took this marriage as a forlorn hope against the attempts of the ruler of Qi on Ji. But the relationship between Qi and Ji seemed to worsen. In 699 BCE, the thirteenth year of Duke Huan, Song 宋 led an allied force of three states Qi, Wei, and Yan on campaign against Zheng. Lu joined the fight on the side of Zheng, and Ji as the ally of Lu also joined Zheng. As the result, the Zheng, Lu, Ji alliance defeated Song and Qi.

The triangle of relations between Qi, Lu, and Ji can be summarized as three bilateral relations, in which Lu had kept amicable bilateral relationship with both Qi and Ji; but Ji and Qi were in enemies. Obviously Lu stood in the most advantageous “pivot” position in the triangle, maintaining amity with the two other players while pitting them against each other. Lu tried to keep a delicate balance between its relations with the two wings: its support of Ji, on the one hand, was meant to maintain the close alliance with Ji; on the other hand, Lu tried hard to restrain and encumber Qi's further expansion and development. As for Qi, it never stopped exploring opportunities to break this triangular relationship. Its expansion to become a hegemon began with annexing the state of Ji.

#### ***V.4.2. The fall of Ji***

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<sup>101</sup> *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*. p.930.

Despite all the diplomatic efforts, Ji was not able to prevent itself from being victimized by Qi, and it became one of the earliest states to be eliminated in the process of Qi's expansion.

In the seventeenth year of Duke Huan (694BCE), Lu had arranged a meeting between Qi and Ji, which made Qi and Ji enter a covenant at Huang 黃 with the purpose to reconcile their relations.<sup>102</sup> After this, Duke Huan of Lu was killed during his visit to Qi, thus providing Qi with the opportunity to annex Ji. By taking advantage of the death of Duke Huan, Qi carried out its plan. In 693BCE, the first year of Duke Zhuang of Lu, the Qi army moved away the inhabitants of Ji at the three *yi* including Bing 邶, Jin 鄆, and Wu 鄆.<sup>103</sup> In 691BCE, the death of Zhou King Huan signified the consequential loss of the influence of Ji's marriage with the Zhou court on the state of Qi. In that year, the brother of Jihou had to submit to Qi with the town Xi 郟 in order to preserve and maintain the existence of state. The state of Ji began to be divided.<sup>104</sup> In the fourth year of Duke Zhuang, which is in 690 B.C., the ruler of Ji made a grand leaving of his state because he was unable to cope with surrendering to Qi.<sup>105</sup> The state of Ji was completely annexed by Qi.

In the *Gongyang* commentary, the fall of Ji has been attributed to the nine generations of hatred between Qi and Ji, arguing that Duke Xiang (of Qi) avenged the

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<sup>102</sup> *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.209 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, 68).

<sup>103</sup> *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.217 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p.74).

<sup>104</sup> *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.222 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p.75).

<sup>105</sup> *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi*, p.226 (James Legge, *The Chun Tsew with Tso Chuen*, p.77).

“wrong done” to Duke Ai of Qi, who was boiled to death at the Zhou court because of having been slandered by the ruler of Ji. Duke Xiang of Qi was therefore discharging a duty of revenge by destroying Ji. Among others, the *Guliang* commentary praised Jihou and criticized the wickedness of Duke Xiang and Jihou in later commentaries was described as a righteous figure.<sup>106</sup> In the “Qingzhong” chapter of the *Guanzi*, and the “Chunqiu neipian” chapter of the *Yanzi*, *Guanzi* and *Yanzi* explain the fall of Ji that Ji was not skilled at governing and managing state wealth.<sup>107</sup> But all these interpretations ignore the fact that it is the consequence of Qi becoming a territorial state in Shandong.

### Conclusion

This chapter examined the transformation of the state of Ji from a pro-Shang polity to an important Zhou regional power. By tracing the origins of the Ji polity, this study shows that the establishment of the state of Ji was also associated with the relocation of former Shang Ji 冀 lineage (with the emblem 冀亞矣 or 冀侯亞矣). During the Late Shang period, the Ji 己 lineage developed into a few branches including the lineage Ji 冀 and lineage Ji Bing 己並. The former was located in the Shanxi region and Ji Bing 己並 was located in Shouguang, northern Shandong. After the Zhou second conquest of Shang, one branch of the Ji 冀 lineage was relocated to Tengzhou in western Shandong, closely

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<sup>106</sup> For instance, Qing scholar Gu Donggao commented that: “The ruler of Ji had to leave the state in order to maintain sacrifices in the ancestral temple; this is not about losing the ethics and righteousness,” see Gu Donggao, *Chunqiu das hi biao* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1993), p. 2291.

<sup>107</sup> Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi*, p.472.



associated with the Teng state; then, Ji possibly further moved northward to the Linqu-Shouguang area and merged with the Ji Bing 己並 lineage.

Since the late phase of Early Western Zhou, the lineage emblem Ji Ya Yi 異亞矣, a typical Shang heritage disappeared from the bronzes and Ji started to transform into a typical Zhou regional state, located in the middle between Qi and Lai. Archaeological and inscriptional evidence shows that Ji was well incorporated into the Zhou political and cultural system: its close political connections with the Zhou court, and active participation in the Zhou expansion into the Jiaodong Peninsula; the opening of “new land” in Laiyang and Yantai; multi-marriage alliance with both Zhou and Non-Zhou states. During the Spring and Autumn period, the Ji state still maintained close marital connection with the Zhou king, but this amiable relationship with the Zhou court did not help it in the competition with neighboring powers. Despite all the diplomatic efforts, the Ji state was still one of the earliest states to be extinguished by the state of Qi in the early Spring and Autumn period.

Above all, the development of the Ji state seems to follow the general mode of “acculturation”: be well assimilated into the new system, both culturally and politically. The transformation was modeled on a Zhou construct. During the development, there are no clear signs among the elite members to keep their own cultural heritage, nor intentions to take control challenging the core hegemony. The influence of local agency is restricted and there is no evidence of drifting-away from the central court or the impetus to be independent from the Zhou court. This poses a contrast with the development of Lai and Qi. The pre-Zhou conditions seem to have little impact on the state development in new

contexts and being cooperative and keeping good relationship with the royal court are the main survival strategies for the state of Ji.

## CONCLUSION

After their victory over Shang in 1045 BCE, the Zhou proceeded from their homeland in the Wei River valley in Shaanxi to the Central Plain and then expanded further into the peripheral areas, establishing more effective and extensive regional control than the Shang ever had. The Western Zhou state emerged as a superpower in the middle and low Yellow River region and beyond.

In the eastern periphery-the Shandong region- the arrival of Zhou after the second conquest and its continuing push to the east provided an important initial drive for a wide-range social and cultural transformation both in regions that the Zhou were able to control and regions that lay beyond it. The hallmark of this transformation is the emergence of new state-level societies from different cultural contexts and complex political relationships. These were the regional states of varying cultural backgrounds that henceforth embarked on different paths of development, and some of which eventually developed into significant regional powers. The present dissertation studies the specific process of the secondary formation of these states as a way to understand the broad social-cultural transformation in the Shandong region during the late Bronze-Age by focusing on three scenarios: the regional states established by the Zhou court, represented by the state of Qi; the pre-existing Shang polities, represented by the state of Ji; and local states with Dong Yi origins, represented by the state of Lai in the Jiaodong Peninsula.

Overall, the dissertation has two main research questions that are important for defining the process of secondary state formation in each case: The first concerns cultural interaction in the forms of adaption, assimilation, persistence, and resistance, as reflected

in the archaeological materials from the region. The second addresses the varying degrees of political dependency and changes in the relationship between the peripheral states and the dynastic center. The combination of the two questions enables us to identify significant differences in the three parallel processes of the state formation.

### **1. The Material Basis for the Rise of Secondary States**

For the state of Qi, during its early development in the Western Zhou period, the material culture shows much adherence to the Zhou culture both at elite and non-elite cultural levels, and Qi culture can be designated as part of the Zhou material culture. But beginning in the mid-Spring and Autumn period, the material culture in the domain of the Qi state began to show many distinctive features from that of the Central Plain. A regional culture developed and laid foundation for its later prosperity in the Shandong region. Meanwhile, the internal restructuring and changes in the political system strengthened the military and economic power of Qi and accelerated its transformation into a territorial state in the east.

The state of Lai presents us a case in which the process of interaction with the Zhou state did not lead to direct and full incorporation and assimilation, but to the persistence of indigenous tradition and a certain degree of resistance to the Zhou cultural assimilation. Although Zhou-style material culture was the mainstream in the region from which Lai rose, beginning in the Late Western Zhou period, the regional material assemblage exhibited an increasing trend moving towards indigenous tradition and this trend was maintained for a long time until the early Warring States period. The local material culture showed distinctive features as Lai gradually became culturally and politically

independent from Zhou. This developmental process is complex, rather than simple and fast acculturation. Local agency was obvious and had an impact on the material assemblage, suggesting an attempt to achieve independence from the core dominance.

As for the state of Ji, its formation was in association with the relocation of former Shang lineages after the Zhou conquest, and its developmental trajectory is clearly indicated by Ji's integration into the Zhou state system. The bronzes, which represent the elite culture, show a high degree of adherence to the metropolitan Zhou tradition in terms of their shape, artistic design, and their standard of literacy. But Ji lacked the agency or impetus to challenge the core hegemony. As a result, Ji remained in the Zhou system until it was annexed by the state of Qi.

## **2. Three Trajectories and Different Strategies**

The relationship between the Zhou court and the above transforming states varied from state to state. Each state adopted a different developmental strategy in the search for political balance. The state of Ji constantly demonstrated its dependence on the Zhou court: its social-political integration was achieved by implementing the key strategy of adhering to the Zhou court. During the Western Zhou period, Qi received delegated authority from the Zhou court as the mandated ruler of the region, and was engaged in the reproduction of not only the material components of the Zhou culture, but also the social and political system of the Zhou state. But in the Spring and Autumn period, Qi successfully transformed itself from a common regional state that depended on the Zhou court to a "hegemon" with undisputed military superiority on which the Zhou king relied. The nominal purpose of the "hegemon" pattern initiated by Qi was to assist and respect

the Zhou king, but in fact it replaced the royal authority of Zhou rather than restoring it. Lai was founded by a Dong Yi community under Zhou influence and participated in Zhou state affairs as Zhou's important military ally. During the Spring and Autumn period Lai became the enemy to the other Zhou states. Although in the long run, Lai was extinguished by its powerful neighbor Qi, the developmental process of Lai shows us dynamic change in its interrelation with the Zhou and the persistence of its indigenous tradition. The relationship between the peripheral states and the dynastic center underwent significant changes as their state power grew or waned.

The above observation of the changes in the material culture and political strategies of three states from the Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period provide us three scenarios or modes of secondary state formation in the Shandong peninsula:

For the first type of secondary states, including Lu, Teng, and represented by the regional state Qi that was established by the Zhou court, a "direct installation" scenario may describe the early development of this type where local communities are subjugated and dominated by the core agents. The new social process associated with state development was due in large to the presence of colonial agents, who were responsible for the reproduction of Zhou material culture and for carrying out the royal expansion agenda. It involved the execution of colonial strategies to bridge the core and the periphery and the political dependency with the central court. The policies made at the center could exert extensive pressure on local communities to evolve with the assistance of the colonial agent—the regional state. But in the long run, with the decline of the Zhou kings' authority and the gradual breakdown of the Western Zhou system during the

Spring and Autumn period, the relationship between regional states and the central court changed. Some regional states tended to reject Zhou rule and develop into independent states. “Reorganization” or “restructuring” best describes the process of transformation from a regional state to an independent power. The process of restructuring affected not only the internal political social structure of the state as seen also in the case of Jin, but also the formation of self-identity as seen in the case of Qin. The rise of regional cultures may be the material reflection of this broad social-political change. To summarize, “direct installation – restructuring” describes the process of the transformation of regional states to independent territorial states.

For the second type, secondary states with Dong Yi origins including Zhu, Ju, and represented by the state of Lai in the Jiaodong peninsula, the “indirect stimulation” scenario may explain the swift process of secondary state formation triggered by an external catalyst--the Western Zhou state. In the case of Lai, it was due to the Zhou’s continuous territorial expansion that the cultural interaction between the Zhou and the indigenous polity was set in motion. Contact with the Zhou core and its colonial agents like Qi and Lu resulted in increased social complexity and led to state formation. However, this was not a case of forceful structural imposition by a distant core on the people in the periphery. They received external influence and intervention from the core area to a considerable degree, but they were not completely dominated by the core. It can be considered as a response to the wave of external influences stemming from a more complex cultural sphere with which there had been no regular interaction before. The formation of Lai was prompted by the influence of the Zhou during the latter’s

prosperous years, but the long-time maintenance of the Zhou cultural elements seems to have depended largely on local choice. There was also a strong tendency, even when the Zhou cultural impact was overwhelming, to maintain certain indigenous characters as the local population strove for independence from the core in the long run. This could be demonstrated from the discoveries of the Guicheng site, but it is also clearly shown in the material assemblage in the whole Jiaodong peninsula. The local tradition lasted a much longer time and did not disappear until the Warring State period. This mode conveys a considerable level of agency to the periphery as opposed to the colonial models of secondary state formation that assumes the forceful imposition of core structures upon the host communities. To summarize, the “indirect stimulation” scenario describes secondary state formation in response to external influences, through the dissemination of ideas and materials but not due to the presence of Zhou agents. These states managed to remain independent from core dominance while evolving towards the organization of states.

For the third type of secondary state, those which had been within Shang orbit, including Xue and Ji, “cooperative” or “integrated”, “acceptance” may be used to describe their transformation after Shang was overthrown. The core’s dominance played a role in the socio-political evolution to a considerable extent though there were also some local agents. The regional leaders, whose lineages used to control polities during the Shang period, accepted the Zhou rule and were re-conferred as regional powers, contributing to the formation of a new sociopolitical system that could take the shape of core structure. In the case of Ji, it actively participated in the Zhou expansion in Shandong and developed close relationship with the Zhou court. This scenario is that the



growth of the state results from the core interference of the relocation of the former Shang people. Interaction with the Zhou core and other regional states are important for the political and social development of this type of state. In contrast with the other two types of secondary state, its assimilation into the Zhou system seems to have been smooth.

### 3. Some Common Threads

Among the many theories proposed to explain state formation, the circumscription theory and the institutionalized leadership theory are very influential. Robert Carneiro's circumscription theory emphasizes the decisive role of warfare in the creation of states given the three socio-ecological conditions of environmental circumscription, resources concentration, and population pressure.<sup>1</sup> Elman Service's theory on institutionalized leadership situates the origin of state in a process of institutionalization of centralized leadership.<sup>2</sup> The concentration of leadership is reflected in the centralization of political power, economic production, trade and ideology. In addition, the need for more complex information processing was also a key factor in some cases of state formation.<sup>3</sup> In summary, many factors are involved in state formation: population pressure, demands for resources, environmental impacts, control of trade, ideology, economic and political

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<sup>1</sup> See Robert Carneiro, "A Theory of the Origin of the State," *Science* 169 (1970):733-738. "Political Expansion as An Expression of the Principle of Competitive Exclusion," in *Origins of the State: The Anthropology of Political Evolution*, ed. R. Cohen and E.R. Service (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978), pp. 205-223. "The Role of Warfare in Political Evolution: Past Results and Future Projections," in *Effects of War on Society*, ed. G. Ausenda (San Marino: Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, 1992), pp.87-102.

<sup>2</sup> Elman Service, *The Origins of the State and Civilization: The Process of Cultural Evolution* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975).

<sup>3</sup> This point has been proposed to explain the Mesopotamian state formation (Henry Wright and Gregory Johnson, "Population, Exchange and Early State Formation in Southwestern Iran," *American Anthropologist* 77 (1975): 267-89.

centralization, etc. The causes of state formation are likely to have varied according to particular circumstances.

In this study of the secondary formation of states like Qi, Ji, and Lai, some common factors can also be identified and they have important impacts on the trajectory of state development: changes to the old sociopolitical system; the impact of local cultural traditions; the role of regional level interaction; the importance of political relationship with the dynastic center as well as the regional geographic and economic context. It is noteworthy that no single factor explains the rise and fall of the states; on the contrary, different combinations of these factors seem to have played a part in different developmental processes. Or perhaps, the same factor seems to have exercised different degrees of impact in different cases.

First of all, these three states all existed in the cultural settings defined by the Zhou culture during their early development in the Western Zhou period. They all show political dependency and a close relationship with the Zhou court, but their relationships to the Zhou court were of different natures. But in the Spring and Autumn period, the *fengjian* system dissolved and the Zhou king existed only as a ritual figurehead. Independent states emerged directly out of the collapse of royal power and this period has been defined as the “city-state” age in China, in which the league of the city-states was under the leadership of the most powerful state.<sup>4</sup> Qi and Lai did not show their political dependency on the Zhou court as they did in the Western Zhou period, whereas Ji

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<sup>4</sup> Mark Edward Lewis, “The City-State in Spring and Autumn China,” in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-state Cultures: An Investigation*, ed. Mogens Herman Hansen and Københavns universitet (Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2000), pp. 359–73. See also *The Construction of Space* (Albany: State University of New York, 2006), pp.138-41.

demonstrated significant reliance on the royal authority through the whole process of its development.

Second, regional-level interaction provided good opportunities for the transformation of these three states into important regional powers. Marriage alliances, interstate meetings, interregional trade, and warfare were the major forms of the interaction between states during the Spring and Autumn period. More notably the *Ba*-hegemon system initiated by Qi, led to frequent interstate contacts. The direct connection between the Zhou court and the regional states or non-Zhou states during the Western Zhou period was replaced by the network of hierarchically grouped independent states. Among these three states, Qi benefited most from the regional-level interaction; Ji also enjoyed multiple interactions with both Zhou and non-Zhou states. In contrast, Lai's involvement in the regional interaction was restricted. The current available evidence shows that Lai did not participate in the interstate meetings. Its engagement in the regional interaction is reflected from the limited exchange and diplomacy with states Ji, Ju and Qi.

Third, the changes to the existing system and the local cultural tradition played crucial role in the direction of state development. For the states of Qi and Ji, their establishments were due to the replacement of the Shang by the Western Zhou. Their formations are secondary via historical succession and are basically based on the Zhou construct. However, Qi made further revisions and changes to the Zhou social political system during the Spring and Autumn period. Internal reshaping and restructuring became a key factor in the transformation of Qi into one of the most powerful peripheral

states. The transformation of Qi shared some similarities with other powerful peripheral states like Chu, Qin, and Jin in the fact that they all underwent significant changes to the old social political system and reshaped the state structure through a process of concentration of royal authority. Among them, Qi was the first state to start such a restructuring. The internal changes to the existing system strengthened the political, economic, and military power of Qi and lay solid foundation for its up-rise as the powerful territorial state in the east during the Warring States period.

For the non-Zhou states in the Jiaodong Peninsula, there was no preexisting state structure in that area and the state formation of Lai was due to the expansion of the Western Zhou state. Its formation was secondary via interaction. However, this interaction is not as what “World-Systems” theory describes as a trade mechanism because there was no large-scale trade in bulk or any other commodities between the Western Zhou state and Lai. And it is neither an “Acculturation” example because local cultural traditions significantly affected the development of Lai. The local cultural tradition persisted and was maintained for a very long time as is clear from local material composition. It was described as the Yi (barbarian) state for its indigenous cultural origin and was an enemy state to the Zhou world.

In contrast, the current sources about Ji show that its historical origin and Shang cultural tradition did not have significant impact on the regional cultural development and there is no clear sign of internal restructuring or “drift-away” from the Zhou system. The extent of the changes to the existing system and the impact of the local tradition are less extensive than they are in the state of Qi and the state of Lai respectively.

Fourth, the geographical location and ecological settings also contributed to the different outcomes of the three states. Qi lies in the alluvial plain centered on the Ji River and it was initially installed by the Zhou court at the strategic location to control the route to the Jiaodong peninsula. This location on the eastern frontier gave Qi much space to expand beyond the Zhou world. After Qi extinguished Ji and Lai, the fertile region of the northern Shandong and the Jiaodong peninsula ringed with hills became a major source of Qi's economic and military power. This region provided Qi with highly productive salt production and sea resources, from which Qi accumulated wealth overtime. In addition, its location at a junction of trade routes also allowed it to profit from interstate trade.

The state of Ji lies just to the east of Qi and to the west of Lai, right between two regional powers. Its location as a buffer state between the Zhou state and the non-Zhou state may have restricted its further development. The Qingzhou and Shouguang area is right within the brine zone around the south Bohai Bay, which is rich of salt resources. Regardless the hatred between Qi and Ji due to the alledged tragedy of Duke Ai of Qi, the geographic proximity to Qi and the richness of salt resources of Ji provided enough stimuli for Qi to annex Ji and expand the eastward.

Lai was centered around the Huangxian area in the north coastal region in the Jiaodong Peninsula. During the mid-Western Zhou period, this region might have been reached by the Zhou armies, but the Zhou court did not set up a colonial agent to rule this area. Given the distance from the Zhou court far in the west and the pre-existence of an indigenous cultural tradition, maintaining political dominance over such a distant area

would have seemed too difficult and costly for the Zhou. In such circumstance, Lai was founded by the indigenous community under the political and cultural influence from the Zhou. The Jiaodong Peninsula is an area with vast land, productive agriculture, rich deposits of minerals, plenty of sea resources and textile products, which provides economic basis for the rise of Lai in the Spring and Autumn period. The distance to the Zhou court and the ecological settings made it possible for Lai to remain independent and antagonistic to the Zhou world till the end of the Spring and Autumn period.

Above all, several factors contributed to the different trajectories of the three states. If correlating the theoretical models for cultural contact mentioned in Chapter one, the three different scenarios of secondary state formation on the periphery in the Shandong peninsula reflect the process of the acculturation, culture persistence and resistance, and transculture. The three states all experienced two sequential stages of development: the Western Zhou period was the early stage of the state development of Qi, Ji, and Lai; and the Spring and Autumn period witnessed their further transformations and sociopolitical evolution. It is without doubt that the decline of Zhou central power was one of the key factors that triggered the wave of the transformation of states and their move to independence from the core. Both archaeological materials and textual sources suggest that such transformation took place during the Spring and Autumn.<sup>5</sup> This transformation brought changes that profoundly influenced the course of Chinese civilization.

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<sup>5</sup> See Falkenhausen, "The Waning of the Bronze Age: Material Culture and Social Developments, 770-481 BCE," pp.450-545. Cho-yun Hsu, *Ancient China in Transition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965). "The Spring and Autumn Period," pp. 545-586.

The limitation of choosing Qi, Ji, and Lai to represent three types of secondary states has to be admitted because they may not fully represent the developmental trajectories of some other polities in Shandong. But, the fact is that if there were other states that took a path completely different from the trajectories analyzed above, there is not enough information at present to delineate it in a consistent way. At the three cases stand now, I hope that this study has provided meaningful insights into the issue of cultural interaction and secondary state formation, and by extension, into the social evolution in the Shandong region.

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## APPENDIX A

## TABLES

Table 2.1 Bronze Inscriptions Describing Shang Wars with the Ren Fang

Vessel	Contents	Source
作册般鬲 Zuoce Ban yan	王宜人方无攷，咸。王赏作册般貝，用乍父丁寶彝。来册 The king performed ritual before attacking the Wuwu of the Ren Fang. The king defeated him. The king awarded <i>zuoce</i> (document maker) Ban cowries. Ban therefore made this treasured vessel for Father Ding. (Lai made the document)	JC944
罔簋 Wang gui	癸巳，□賞子罔貝十朋，在葑□。隹令伐人方莓。（罔）用乍文父丁尊彝。在十月，彤。举 On <i>guisi</i> day, Wang was awarded ten strands of cowries, at Gou. Wang was commanded to attack Mei of the Ren Fang. Wang made this treasured vessel for his cultured Father Ding. In the eleventh month, the <i>Tong</i> -ritual was performed. Emblem Ju.	<i>Sandai jinwen jicun</i> SD 8.33.2
小臣餘犀尊 Xiaochen Yu xizun	丁巳，王省夔，隹王易小臣餘夔貝。隹王来正人方，隹王十祀又五，彤日。 On <i>dingsi</i> day, the King inspected Kui. The king awarded minor official Yu cowries. The king came from attacking the Ren Fang. In the fifteenth ritual cycle, on the <i>tong</i> -ritual day.	JC5990
夆卣 Feng you	子令小子夆先以入于葑，子光商貝二朋…… 惟子曰：“令望人方 <sup>罍</sup> 莓。” The prince commanded Feng to go to Jin and Feng was awarded two strands of cowries. The prince said: “I command you to inspect Mei of the Ren Fang.”	JC5417
罍 簋 Mei gui	癸巳， <sup>罍</sup> 赏小子 <sup>罍</sup> 貝四朋，在上裔。隹令伐人方……用作文父丁尊彝，在十月四。举 On <i>guisi</i> day, Mei was awarded four strands of cowries, at Shangyi. Mei was commended to attack the Ren Fang. Mei made this treasured vessel for his cultured Father Ding, in the tenth month. Emblem Ju	JC4138

Table 2.2 Selected Oracle-bone Inscriptions Containing Shang Warfare with the Ren Fang

Oracle Periodization	Contents	Source
Phase I	隹尸方受吝（佑）。 The Ren Fang receives the blessings.	HJ 20612
Phase I	庚辰卜，王，人見（獻）鬲（囿）妣。生十月。 Crack-making on <i>gengchen</i> day, the king (says): “the Ren (fang) presents a garden-land to Lady Yi. The eleventh month.	HJ 21172, HJ 2402, HJ19976
Phase I	辛未卜，貯乎正人。 Crack- making on <i>xinwei</i> day, the Zhu attacked the Ren	HJ39934
Phase I	王令妇好从侯告正人。 The king commanded Fuhao to join the Archer-Lord Gao to attack the Ren.	HJ6480
Phase I	贞：王重侯告从正人。六月。 Divined: the king commands the Archer- Lord Gao to join in to attack the Ren. The Sixth month.	HJ6460
Phase I	贞人方不出。 Divined: “The Ren Fang will not come to attack.”	HJ 6456
Phase I	王勿惟人征。 The king would not attack the Ren.	HJ6476
Phase I	侯告正人。 The Archer- Lord Gao attacked the Ren.	HJ6457
Phase I	庚寅卜，賓貞，今貞王其步伐人。 Crack-making on <i>gengyin</i> , Bin divined, “Today the king will go to attack the Ren”	HJ6461
Phase I	壬午卜，王重妇好令正人。 Crack-making on <i>renwu</i> day, the king commanded Fuhao to attack the Ren.	HJ6459
Phase I	侯告伐人方。 The Archer Lord Gao attacked the Ren Fang.	HJ33039
Phase I	癸巳卜，王言人征。 Crack- making on <i>guisi</i> , the king said he would attack the Ren.	HJ33112
Phase I	〔王〕其正人。 The king will attack the Ren.	T02038
Phase I	癸酉卜，才口奠河邑，永貞王旬亡禍，隹來征人方。	HJ41754



	Crack making on <i>guiyou</i> day, at the dian-area Heyi, Yong divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.	
Phase I	癸巳卜，才□雷封子商誅，永貞王旬亡禍。佳來征人方。 Cracking-making on <i>guisi</i> day, at the place of Leifengzi Shangshi, Yong divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ41754
Phase I	癸亥卜，永貞王旬亡禍。才□，王正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guihai</i> day, Yong divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” At the place of X, the king attacked the Ren Fang.	HJ36490
Phase I	癸酉卜，才攸，永貞王旬亡禍。王來正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guiyou</i> day, at the place You, Yong divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ36494
Phase III	王族其誅人方邑舊。 The royal lineage attacked and occupied the place Jiu, which was formerly under the Ren Fang’ control.	T02064, T2350
Phase IV	辛巳卜，生月伐人方。八月。 Crack-making on <i>xinsi</i> day, (divined): “The Ren Fang will be attacked next month .” The eighth month.	HJ33038
Phase IV	癸酉卜，戊伐，右牧啟人方，戌有□ Crack-making on <i>guiyou</i> day,	T2320
Phase IV	乙卯卜，貞王其征人方亡絡。 Crack-making on <i>Yimou</i> day, divined: “There will be no calamity to the king, who is going to attack the Ren Fang.”	HJ2370
Phase IV	王其正人方。 The king will attack the Ren Fang	T 02038
Phase IV	癸卯王卜，貞旬亡禍。才十月吝一，王征人方才商。 Crack-making on <i>guimao</i> day, the king divined : “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In the eleventh month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at the place Shang.	HJ41753
Phase V	癸丑王卜，貞旬亡禍。才十月吝一，王征人方才毫。 Crack- making on <i>guichou</i> day, the king	HJ41753

	divined: "There will be no calamity in the next ten days." In the eleventh month, the king attack the Ren Fang, at the place Bo.	
Phase V	癸亥王卜，貞旬亡禍。才十月啓一，王征尸方才□。 Crack-making on <i>guihai</i> day, the king divined, "There will be no calamity in the next ten days." In the eleventh month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at the place X.	HJ41753
Phase V	癸酉王卜，才□，貞旬亡.. (才) 十月啓二，王正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guiyou</i> day, the king divined at the place X: "There will be no calamity in the next days." In the twelfth month, the king attacked the Ren Fang.	HJ41753
	癸丑卜，黃貞，王旬亡。才正月，王來人方，才攸侯喜鄙永。 Crack- making on <i>guichou</i> day, Huang divined: "There will be no calamity to the king" In the first month, the king came to attacked the Ren Fang, at the place of Yong, the settlement of the Archer Lord Xi of You.	HJ36484
Phase V	癸亥王卜，(貞旬亡) □□。才九月，正人方，才雇。 Crack-making on <i>guihai</i> day, the king divined. In the ninth month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at the place Gu.	HJ36485
Phase V	癸未王卜，貞旬(亡)禍。才十月啓二。(王) 正人方，才舊。 Crack- making on <i>guiwei</i> day, the king divined: "There will be no calamity in the next ten days." In the twelfth month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at the place Jiu.	HJ36486
Phase V	癸亥卜，黃貞王旬亡禍。才九月，正人方，才雇。彝。 Crack- making on <i>guihai</i> day, Huang divined: " There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days." In the ninth month, attack the Ren Fang at the place Gu and the Yi- ritual was performed.	HJ36487
Phase V	□□王卜，貞旬亡禍。王...，隹王來正人方。 The king divined: "There will be no calamity in the next ten days." The king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ36488
Phase V	癸亥王卜，貞旬亡禍。王(曰)：(吉)。	HJ36489

	<p>(才) ...月.甲子寃, 妹工典其 ( ) ... , 王正人(方)。 Crack-making on <i>guihai</i> day, the king divined: ...The king said: Auspicious. On <i>Jiazi</i> day, ...the king attacked the Ren Fang.</p>	
Phase V	<p>癸巳王卜, 貞旬亡禍。才十月吝二, 隹正人 方, 才□。 Crack-making on <i>guisi</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In the twelfth month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at the place X.</p>	HJ36491
Phase V	<p>丙午卜, 才攸, 貞王其乎...倂執胃人方<sup>ㄅ</sup>, 焚...弗每。才正月。隹來正... Crack-making on <i>bingwu</i> day, at You, divined: “The king.....led a campaign against the Ren Fang, burnt....” In the first month, (the king) came to attack (the Ren Fang).</p>	HJ36492
Phase V	<p>癸巳卜, 貞王旬亡禍。才二月, 才齊, 隹 王來正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guisi</i> day, divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” In the second month, at the place Qi, the king came to attack the Ren Fang.</p>	HJ36493
Phase IV or V	<p>癸丑王卜, 貞旬亡禍。王來正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guichou</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.</p>	HJ36499
Phase V	<p>癸未王卜, 貞旬亡禍。王來正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guiwei</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.</p>	HJ36500
Phase V	<p>(癸) 未王卜, 貞旬亡禍。...正人方。 Cracking-making on <i>guiwei</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” (The king) attacked the Ren Fang</p>	HJ36502
Phase V	<p>癸酉王卜, 貞(旬) 亡禍。才十... (月) ... 正人方... Crack-making on <i>guiyou</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity.” In the tenth month, ...(the king) attacked the Ren Fang.</p>	HJ36504
Phase V	<p>□丑(卜) ...于商, 亡禍...正人方。</p>	HJ36506

	Crack- making on X <i>chou</i> day, at Shang, divined: “There is no (calamity).....” (The king) attacked the Ren Fang	
Phase V	癸卯卜，黃貞王旬亡禍。王）來正人（方）。 Crack-making on <i>guimao</i> day, Huang divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren (Fang).	HJ36505
Phase V	（貞）今蠱巫九□，余寃朕桎... 蔑人方。□于□示受余吝吝... 于大邑商，亡禍，才□。 Divined: “Today nine-tortuous style divination is made. I.....eliminate the Ren Fang. Blessing was granted. At the Great Settlement Shang. There will be no calamity. At the place X.	HJ36507
Phase V	甲午王卜，貞余寃朕□酉，余步比邲（侯）喜，正人方。上下、□示受余吝吝。不彼，蠱。告于大邑商，（亡禍）才□。王曰：吉。才九月。邁上甲，隹十祀。 Crack-making on <i>jiawu</i> day, the king divined: “I joined the Archer-Lord Xi to attack the Ren Fang. All above and under was blessed.....at the Great Settlement Shang. The king said: “Auspicious.” In the ninth month. The king made sacrifices to Shangjia, in the king’s tenth ritual-cycle.	HJ36482
Phase V	甲午王卜，貞余寃（朕桎）（酉），余步比邲（侯）喜，正人方，其... Crack-making on <i>jiawu</i> day, the king divined: “.... to join the Archer-Lord Xi to attack the Ren Fang....”	HJ36483
Phase V	癸巳卜，黃貞王旬亡。才十月吝二，隹正人方，才□。 Crack-making on <i>guisi</i> day, Huang divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” In the twelfth month, (the king) attacked the Ren Fang, at the place X.	H36484
Phase V	癸卯卜，黃貞王旬亡禍。才正月，王來正人方，攸侯喜隹永。 Crack making on <i>guimao</i> day, Huang divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” In the first month, the king came to attack the Ren Fang, at the place of Yong garrison of the Archer- lord Xi of You.	HJ36484
Phase V	癸亥王卜，貞：.....禍。在九月，王征人	HJ36485

	方，在雇。 Crack making on <i>guihai</i> day, the king divined: “(whether there is) calamity.” In the ninth month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at the place Gu.	
Phase V	癸亥卜，黄贞，王旬无祸。九月征人方，在雇彝。 Crack making on <i>guihai</i> day, Huang divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” In the ninth month, (the king) attacked the Ren Fang, at the place Gu and Yi-ritual was performed.	HJ36487
Phase V	〔癸〕□〔卜〕...〔贞〕王旬〔亡〕祸。 王來〔正〕尸方。 (Divined): “(There will be no calamity) to the king in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ36494
Phase V	癸巳卜，贞王旬无祸。在二月，在齊，佳王來征尸方。 Crack-making on <i>guisi</i> day, divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days”. In the second month, at Qi garrison, the king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ36493
Phase V	癸卯卜，贞王旬亡祸。才五月，才□，佳王來正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guimao</i> day, X divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days”. In the fifth month, at the place X, the king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ36495
Phase V	癸巳卜，黄贞王旬亡祸。王來正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guisi</i> day, Huang divined: “There will be no calamity to the king in the next ten days.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ36496
Phase V	癸未王卜，贞旬亡祸。王來正人方。 Crack-making on <i>guiwei</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity this month.” The king came to attack the Ren Fang.	HJ36497
Phase V	丁巳王卜，〔贞〕...隸人方，余...受吝.... 才□，王□〔曰〕：〔大吉〕。 Crack-making on <i>dingsi</i> day, the king divined: “...to defeat the Ren Fang, I get the great blessing”. At X, the king said: “Great Auspicious.”	HJ36498
Phase V	癸酉王卜，贞旬无祸□在十，征人方， 〔才〕嘉。	HJ36504

	Crack-making on <i>guiyou</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In the tenth year, (the king) attacked the Ren Fang, at the place Jia.	
Phase V	〔乙〕亥王〔卜〕，〔貞〕...人方不大出。王曰：吉。才二月，邁祖乙釐，佳九祀。 Crack-making on <i>yihai</i> day, the king divined:“ ...the Ren Fang will not launch an attack.” The king says: Auspicious. In the second month, make sacrifices to grandfather Yi. In the ninth year.	HJ37852
Phase V	癸未王卜，貞旬无禍。在十又二月，在舊。 Crack-making on <i>guiwei</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In the twelfth month, at the place Jiu.	HJ35486
Phase V	癸卯王卜，貞旬亡禍。才十月吝一，王征人方才商 Crack-making on <i>guimao</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In the eleventh month, the king attacked the Ren Fang at the place Shang.	HJ41753
Phase V	癸丑王卜，貞旬亡禍。才十月吝一，王征人方才亳。 Crack-making on <i>guichou</i> day, the king divined:”There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In th eleventh month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at Bo.	HJ41753
Phase V	癸亥王卜，貞旬亡禍。才十月吝一，王正人方才□（淮）。 Crack making on <i>guihai</i> day, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In the eleventh month, the king attacked the Ren Fang, at Wei.	HJ41753
Phase V	癸酉王卜，才攸。貞旬亡禍。〔才〕十月吝二，王征人方。 Crack-making on <i>guiyou</i> day, at You, the king divined: “There will be no calamity in the next ten days.” In the twelfth month, the king attacked the Ren Fang,	HJ41753

Phase V	<p>丁巳王， ... 或， ... 戈人方。 Crack-making on <i>dingsi</i> day, the king (divined): ... (The Ren Fang attacked our eastern) state... to defeat the Ren Fang.</p>	Yinxu jiagu shiyi xu 殷墟甲骨拾遗续 no. 054 <sup>1</sup>
Phase V	<p>丙午卜， 在攸贞， 王其乎□止执胃人方□， 焚□□弗每。在正月， 佳来正人方。 Crack-making on <i>bingwu</i> day, divining at You: “The king should perhaps call out to ..to bring the manacled leader of the Reng Fang... and a burn-offering of....captives.” In the first month, we come to attack the Ren Fang.</p>	HJ36452

<sup>1</sup> Li Xuqin 李学勤, “Lun xin chuxian de yipian zheng Ren Fang buci 论新出下的一片征人方卜辞,” *Yindu xuekan* 2005.1, 1-3.

Table 3.1 Bronze Assemblages Excavated from Qi Elite Tombs

Bronzes	<i>ding</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>xu</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>xiao guan</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>dou</i>
Capital of Qi Tomb no.1	3	2			1	1	1	1			
Nanyang tomb	1				1						
Linqu Quantou tomb no.1	2		5		1		1				
Lianqu Quantou tomb no.2	3					2	1	1	1		
Feicheng Xiaowangzhu ang	2		2			2	1	1		3	
Zouping Dasheng tomb no.1	1			1	2		1				
Zouping Dasheng tomb no.3	1				1		1			1	1
Zichuan Cicun  Tomb no.1	1			1							
Zichuan Cicun  Tomb no.2	1			1							
Zichuan Cicun  Tomb no.01	1			1	1						



Zichuan Cicun Tomb no.03	1			1	1						1
Linqu Yangshan	5			1	1					3	

Table 3.2 The Unique Pattern of Date Notation in Qi Inscriptions

Bronze	Inscription	Date
Guo Chai <i>zhan</i> 國差簠 (JC10361)	國差立時歲歲,咸月丁亥,工師鑄西墉寶簠四乘,用實旨酒,侯氏为福眉壽。  It was in the year of Guo Chai holding his position, <i>xianyue</i> month, <i>dinghai</i> day, supervisor of construction (craftsman's supervisor) made four <i>bing</i> of treasured vessels for holding mellow wine, to pray for the Duke's longevity and happiness.	Mid Spring and Autumn Period
Gongzi Tuzhe <i>hu</i> 公子土折壺 <sup>2</sup>	公孫灶立事歲,飯者月公子土折作子仲姜涂皿只般壺,用祈眉壽萬年,永保其身,子子孫孫永寶用之。  It was in the year of Gongsun Zao holding his position, <i>fanzhe yue</i> month, Tuzhe made this <i>hu</i> vessel for ZhongJiang to pray for ten thousand year longevity. May sons and grandsons treasure and use it eternally.	Late Spring and Autumn Period
Chen Ni <i>gui</i> 陳逆簋 <sup>3</sup>	冰月丁亥,陳氏裔孫逆作皇族大宗簋,以匄永命眉壽,子孫是保。  It was <i>bing yue</i> month, <i>dinghai</i> day, Chen Ni, the descendent grandson of Chen lineage made this <i>gui</i> vessel for the August Great Lineage to pray for longevity. May sons and grandsons treasure it.	Late Spring and Autumn Period

<sup>2</sup>See Qi Wentao, "Gaishu jinian lai Shandong chutu de Shang Zhouqing tong qi" 1972.5,3-16.

<sup>3</sup> See *Wenwu* 1961.5,12-8.

<p>Chen Xi <i>hu</i> 陳僖壺 (JC9700)</p>	<p>陳僖再立事歲□月己酉,为佐大族, 以待民选。宗詞客敢为湮壺九□。</p> <p>It was in the year of Chen Xi's second tenure of office, X <i>yue</i> month, <i>yiyou</i>day, Chen Xi assist the great lineage and make people revere. Zongcike? made a <i>hu</i>-vessel using nine <i>shu</i>.</p>	<p>Late Spring and Autumn Period</p>
<p>Chen Chun <i>fu</i> 陳纯釜</p>	<p>陳猶立事歲, □月...</p> <p>It was in the year of Chen Chun holding his office, X month...</p>	<p>Early Warring States period</p>
<p>Zi he zi <i>fu</i> 子禾子釜</p>	<p>□□立事歲, 稷月 丙午。</p> <p>It was in the year of X holding his office, in the <i>ji yue</i> month, <i>bingwu</i> day...</p>	<p>Early Warring States period</p>
<p>Chen Zhang <i>fanghu</i> 陳□方壺</p>	<p>住主五, 陳曼再立事歲.....</p> <p>After taking the post for five years, Chen Man reassumed the tenure of his office...</p>	<p>Warring States period</p>

Table 3.3 Government Offices of Qi Reflected from Bronze Inscriptions

Office Title	Bronze	Periodization
Grand Superintendent Taizai 太宰	Qi Taizai <i>pan</i> 齊太宰盤 (JC10151) <sup>4</sup>	Mid Spring and Autumn period (632-609)
	Ling <i>bo</i> 鞞罇	Mid Spring and Autumn period (around 632-609, Duke Zhao 昭公 or Duke Yi 懿公)
Grand Scribe 太史	Ling <i>bo</i> 鞞罇	Mid Spring and Autumn period
Grand Supervisor of Construction 大工 (大司 工)	Ling <i>bo</i> 鞞罇	Mid Spring and Autumn period
Grand Supervisor of Multitude  大徒 (大司徒)	Ling <i>bo</i> 鞞罇	Mid Spring and Autumn period
Supervisor of Construction 工師	Guochai <i>zhan</i> 國差簋 (JC10361)	Mid Spring and Autumn period (589BCE. Duke Qing 頃公)
High official on the Left  左正卿	Shuyi <i>zhong</i> 叔夷鐘	Late Spring and Autumn period (Duke Ling 靈公)

<sup>4</sup> Guo Moruo, *Liang Zhou jinwen ci da xi tulu kaoshi*, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958.

Table 4.1 Bronze Inscriptions Pertaining to Dong Yi

Date	Vessel	Content
Early Western Zhou	Ran <i>fangding</i> 聖方鼎 (JC 2739)	The Duke of Zhou undertook a punitive campaign against the Dong Yi, the Fengbo, and Pugu and wiped them out.
	Lü <i>ding</i> 旅鼎 (JC 2728)	The grand protector came from attacking the rebelling Dong Yi, in the eleventh month, <i>gengshen</i> day.
	Minggong <i>gui</i> 明公簋 (JC 4029)	The king commanded Duke Ming to send three lineages to attack eastern states. The ruler of Lu was called on for assistance.
	The Xiaochen Lai <i>gui</i> 小臣詛簋 (JC 4239)	Dong Yi rebelled. Bo Maofu 伯懋父 led the Eight Armies of Yin ( <i>Yin bashi</i> 殷八師), to attack the rebelling Dongyi.
	The X <i>ding</i> 寧鼎 (JC 2741)	The king attacked the rebelling Dong Yi
	the X <i>ding</i> 寔鼎 (JC 2731)	The king asked Qian to annihilate the rebelling Dong Yi, X therefore follows Qian on the campaign.
mid Western Zhou	Ban <i>gui</i> 班簋 (JC4341)	The king commanded the duke of Mao to attack the eastern states.
Late Western Zhou	Yu <i>ding</i> 禹鼎 (JC2834)	The Border Protector, Lord of E, led both southern Huai Yi and Dong Yi in launching extensive attacks on Zhou's southern and eastern states. The Zhou court sent out both the eight armies and the six armies to battle against the rebels. Yu led Duke Wu's personal troops to attack and capture the Lord of E.
	Hu <i>zhong</i> 馱鐘 (JC260)	The southern states have dared to attack our territory; the king attacked their capital; the southern Yi and Eastern Yi presented themselves.

Table 4.2 Non-Zhou States with Yi Origin in Received Texts

Year	Sources	Content	States with Yi origin
Xi 19 (641BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	Zhu captured Zengzi 鄫子, the ruler of its small neighbor that had a Dong Yi origin, and made him a human sacrifice under order by the greater state Song 宋 whose ruler wanted to use that incident to intimidate the “eastern barbarian” (Dong Yi) people.	Zeng 鄫
Xiang 10 (563BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	Biyangzi 偃陽子, the ruler of Biyang, is captured by the troops of Jin and is made human sacrifice called “barbarian prisoner” <i>yifu</i> 夷俘 presented in the Wu Palace. Biyang is yun-surnamed.	Biyang 偃陽
Xiang 29 (544BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	Shuhou says: “ Qi, originated from Xia and was therefore eastern barbarian”	Qi 杞
Zhao 13 (529BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	Zhu and Ju complained against Lu to at the court of hegemon Jin. Lu responded that Jin should not trust the accusation by the “barbarian” and abandon the brother-like state, established by the Duke of Zhou.	Zhu 邾, Ju 莒
Zhao 13 (529BCE)	<i>Guoyu Luyu</i>	The Jin doesn't ally with Lu. Zifu huibo responds disappointed that Jin would rather trust “barbarians” and abandoned brother-like state.	Zhu 邾
Zhao 17 (525BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	In the autumn, the ruler of Tan paid visit to the court of Lu where he recounted in detail the “bureaucracy” created by his ancestor Shaohao. Afterward, Confucius remarked that “when the Son of Heaven lost his government, it must be sought among the four ‘barbarians’.”	Tan 鄆
Zhao23 (519BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	The Zhu complained at the court of Jin. Jin arranges the ambassador Shusun of Lu and high official “Dafu” of Zhu to sit together. This is believed not be accordance with the Zhou rank system for Zhu is “barbarian” state.	Zhu 邾
Ding 10 (500BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	During the Qi-Lu meeting at Jiagu, the ruler of Qi sent a Lai soldier to kidnap and intimidate Confucious. Confucious condemned Qi for sending a “barbarian” soldier to threaten and harm the good relationship between the two states. By doing this, the ruler of Qi is not eligible to command other regional states.	Lai 萊
Duke Huan (685-643BCE)	<i>Guanzi Qing Zhong</i>	The Duke Huan asks Guan Zhong on shepherding people. Guanzhong responded the territory of Qi was formerly under the control of barbarian Lai Yi.	Lai 萊
Duke Huan (685-643BCE)	<i>Guoyu Qiyu</i>	During the reigns of Duke Huan, there were revolts in the east south from Lai, Ju, Xu barbarian, Wu, Yue. The Duke put down the revolts and thirty-one states surrendered.	Lai 萊, Ju 莒

Table 4.3, Non-Zhou States with Yi Origins in the Shandong Area

Area	Non- Zhou States with Dong Yi Origins
Western-Central Shandong	Shi 郛, Xujux 須句, Ren 任, Su 宿, Sui 遂, Zhu 鑄, Zhuanyu 顛 與, Qi 杞, Mou 牟
Southeastern Shandong	Tan 鄆, Ju 莒, Xiang 向, Yu 郟, Zengz 鄆, Zhu 邾(zou 鄒), Biyang 偃陽
Jiaodong Peninsula	Lai 萊, Guo 過, Yi 夷

Table 4.4 Discoveries of Zhou-Style Bronzes around the Guicheng Area

	Bronzes	Location	Inscription content	Ceramics	Sources
Mid-Western Zhou	Qi <i>zun</i> , Qi <i>you</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i>	Xiaoliuzhuang, between the inner and outer walls of the Guicheng site	Qi accompanied a Zhou King in the southern campaign		<i>Wenwu</i> 1972.5, 3-17.
Mid-Western Zhou	8 bronzes Including 2 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>zun</i> , 1 <i>you</i> , 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>hu</i>	Caojia tomb no.1 between the inner and outer walls the Guicheng site	(This vessel is) made for father Xin	1 <i>guan</i>	<i>Kaogu</i> 1992.10, 910-917.
Mid-Western Zhou	10 bronzes including Yu <i>yan</i> , Yu <i>ding</i> , Libo <i>ding</i>	Lujiagou 10 km southeast of the Guicheng site	Campaign against invasion by Huai Yi		<i>Zhensong tang jigu jinwen</i> (1931),4, p.21. <i>Shandong guguo kao</i>
Mid-Western Zhou	1 bronze bell	Hepingcun within the Guicheng site			<i>Jiaodong kaogu yanjiu lunji</i> , p. 344
Mid-Western Zhou	17 bronzes Including 3 <i>ding</i> , 2 <i>gui</i> , 1 <i>hu</i> , 1 <i>yan</i> , 2 <i>jue</i> , 1 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>gu</i> , 1 <i>zhi</i> , 1 <i>you</i>	Zhuangtou, Shiliangzhen, 10 km southeast of the Guicheng site	Duke of Rui made the sacrificial vessel. Xiongxi made the treasured vessel <i>hu</i>		<i>Wenwu</i> 1986.8, 69-72.
Mid-Western Zhou	2 <i>gui</i>	Zhoujia, Shiliangzhen, 10 km southeast of the Guicheng site	Therewith made my treasured <i>gui</i> . May thousand years eternally use it. Shan.	<i>dou</i> , <i>guan</i> , <i>li</i> ,	<i>Haidai kaogu</i> 1(1989):314-16.
Mid-Western Zhou	14 bronzes Including <i>ding</i> , <i>zun</i> , <i>you</i> , <i>gui</i>	Zhaojia, Jiqian 10 km southeast of the Guicheng site			Unpublished data, housed in Longkou city museum
Late Western Zhou	3 bronzes Including 1 <i>yan</i> , 1 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>ding</i> ,	Dongjia within the Guicheng site			<i>Kaogu</i> 1992.10, 915.
Late Western Zhou	1 bronze <i>li</i>	Hepingsun within the Guicheng site	Jihou cast this vessel for JiangX		<i>Wenwu</i> 1983.12, 5
Late Western Zhou- Early Spring and Autumn	8 bronzes including 1 <i>ding</i> , 1 <i>li</i> , 4 <i>xu</i> , 1 <i>pan</i> , 1 <i>yi</i>	Nanbu within the Guicheng site			<i>Shandong guguo kao</i> , p.5



Table 4.5 Distribution of Vessel Types from Three Cemeteries in the Zhou Central Culture Sphere

	li 鬲	gui 簋	dou 豆	guan 罐	yu 盂	weng 瓮	pan 盘	pen 盆	hu 壺	zu n 尊	lid 盖	bu 甗	other s 其他	total
Zhangjiapo	182 41.70%	32 7.3%	52 11.9%	98 22.5%	14 3.2%	3 0.7%	3 0.9%	4 0.9%	4 0.9%	13 3%	19 4.4%	10 2.3%	0.5%	436 100%
Luoyang	54 58.7%	6 6.5%	3 3.2%	19 20.7%		2 2.2%		1 1.1%	1 1.1%			4 4.3%	2 2.2%	92 100%
Shangma	877 90.9%		23 2.4%	28 2.9%				8 0.8%	13 1.3%				11 1.2%	965 100%

Table 4.6 Tomb Assemblages in the Jiaodong Peninsula

Periodization	Pottery							Burials	Bronze vessels	Bronze weapon
	<i>ding</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>Li</i>	<i>Dou</i>	<i>guan</i>	<i>yu</i>	Others			
Mid-Western Zhou	5	31	5	114	6		13	Dongying Zhoujia M2		
	n/a	n/a	n/a		1			Guicheng M1 (Quantity is not reported)	8	
	1	2		2	2		2	Qixia Dabeizhuang		
		1			1			Weihai M1	4	
		1			1			Qingdao	1	
Late-Western Zhou		2	4		1		1	Guicheng M2		
		20	20	30	37			Laiyang Qianheqian M2 (kaogu yantai)	6	
	n/a	n/a	1	5	1			Dongying Zhoujia M1	2	
			2		3			Nanhuangzhuang M2		
	2	1						Nanhuangzhuang M3		
	1		2					Nanhuangzhuang M6		
		1	1		2			Nanhuangzhuang M15		
	1		3		4			Nanhuangzhuang M5(chunqiu?)		
Early Spring and Autumn Period		16	8	8	2			Qixia Lvjiabu M1	4	
	8	12		8	22		3	Qixia Lvjiabu M2	2	
		1		3				Liugezhuang M1		
			n/a		n/a			Liugezhuang M2 (Quantity is not reported)		2
Mid-Spring and Autumn Period	n/a	14	n/a	n/a	n/a			Liugezhuang M4 (Quantity is not reported)	1	2
	n/a	10	n/a	n/a	n/a			Liugezhuang M6 (Quantity is not reported)	1	

Late Spring and Autumn Period	n/a	n/a		n/a	n/a			Haiyang Zhuiziqian M4 (quantity is not reported)	14	
	1			33	3		1	Qixia Xingjiazhuang M1		
	5	22		61	5		3	Qixia Xingjiazhuang M2	4	
	7	27		61	12	2	4	Qixia Xingjiazhuang M3	3	
			5	4	3		1 <i>hu</i>	Changdao Wanggou M3		
			5	2	2			Changdao Wanggou M4		
			2	4	1	1		Changdao Wanggou M5		

Table 4.7 Chronological Table of Qi-Lai Relations

Date	Sources	Historical Development
Duke Huan of Qi (685-643BCE)	Qiyu (Discourse of Qi) chapter, <i>Guoyu</i>	Duke Huan of Qi put down the rebellions of thirty-one states in the southeast. Lai was among the rebellious states.
Duke Huan of Qi 685-643BCE	Qiyu chapter, <i>Guoyu</i>	Duke Huan advocated trading fish and salt with Lai in the east but did not tax the traders' duties. This measure was called an act of beneficence.
Duke Huan of Qi 685-643BCE	Xiaokuang chapter, <i>Guanzi</i>	Duke Huan advocated trading fish and salt with Lai in the east but tax the traders. This measure was called an act of generosity.
Duke Huan of Qi 685-643BCE	Xiaokuang chapter, <i>Guanzi</i>	Duke Huan attacked Tan and Lai but did not annex them. This was said to be an act of benevolence.
Duke Huan of Qi 685-643BCE	Qingzhong chapter, <i>Guanzi</i>	Duke Huan attacked Lai at Bishili of Ju. Lai was defeated and its land was annexed and its marshal was seized.
Duke Huan of Qi 685-643BCE	Qingzhong chapter, <i>Guanzi</i>	In the trade of purple silk, Lai lost its silk it had collected and got compensated mere by bill of exchange.
Duke Huan of Qi 685-643BCE	Qingzhong chapter, <i>Guanzi</i>	Duke Huan of Qi asked Guanzi on shepherding people and Guan Zhong responded that Qi was originally a state occupied by the Lai people, a branch of Yi.
Duke Huan of Qi 685-643BCE	<i>Guanzi</i> <i>Qing zhong</i>	Lai and Ju attached great importance to agriculture and brushwood. Guan Zhong suggested to increase the price of brushwood first and thus made Lai and Ju stop agriculture and were fully engaged in producing brushwood. Two years later, Qi stopped buying brushwood from Lai and Ju. The price of rice up rised highly in Lai and Ju, while in Qi rice was much cheaper. Seventy percent people of Ju and Lai would like to submit to Qi. In twenty-eight months, the ruler of Lai and Ju submitted to Qi

Xuan 7 (602BCE)	<i>Chunqiu</i>	The Duke had a meeting with the ruler of Qi to attack Lai and several months later the Duke came back from attacking Lai.
Xuan 7 (602BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	The Duke had a meeting with the ruler of Qi to attack Lai.
Xuan 9 (600BCE)	<i>Chunqiu</i>	The ruler of Qi launched a campaign against Lai.
Cheng 18 (573BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	The loser in the power struggle of Qi court, Wang Qiu fled to Lai.
Xiang 6 (567BCE)	<i>Zuozhuan</i>	Lai was extinguished by Qi

Table 5.1 Ji-related Bronzes in the Gucheng Site

Bronzes inscribed with emblem 己并	5 <i>ding</i>	5 <i>jue</i>	3 <i>gu</i>	1 <i>you</i>	2 <i>zun</i>
Bronzes inscribed with character 己	2 <i>ben</i>	1 knife			

Table 5.2 Material Assemblages at the Zhou Cemetery at Zhuanglixi, Tengzhou 1989

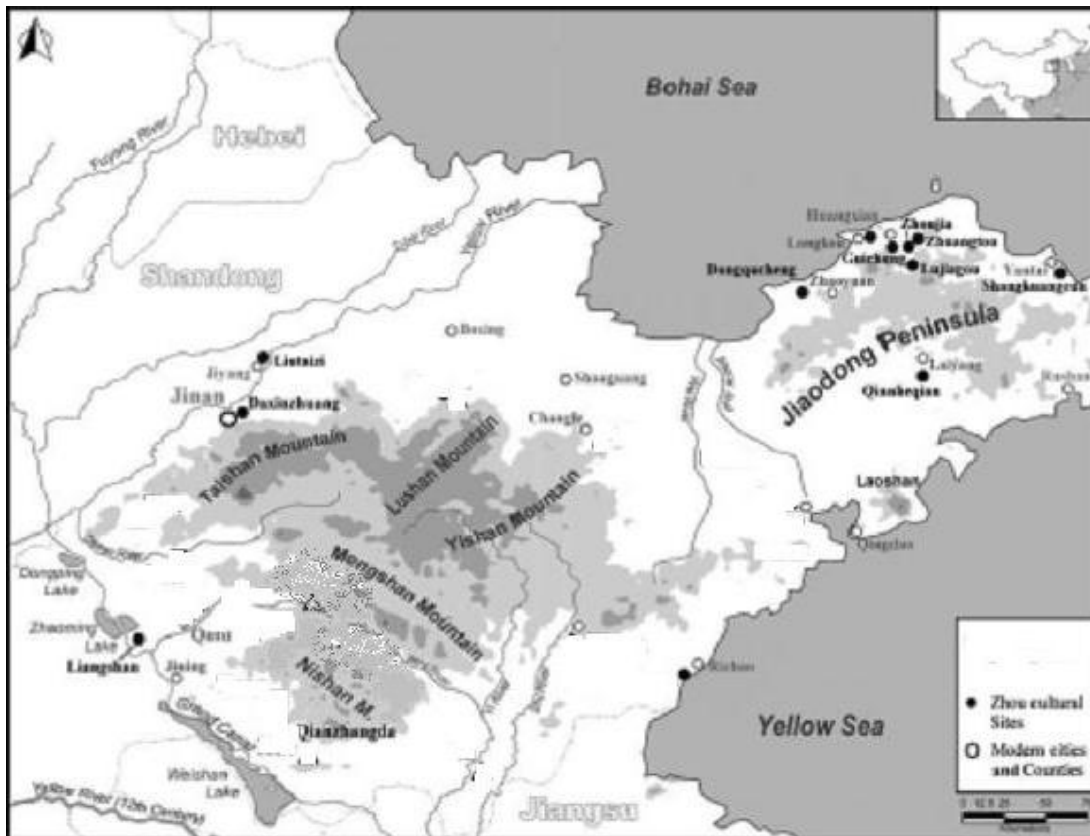
	Tomb no.1	Tomb no.2	Tomb no.3	Tomb no.4	Tomb no. 5	Tomb no.6	Tomb no.7
Orientation	north	north	north	north	north	north	looted, unclear
Bronze Vessels							
<i>ding</i>					1	1	1
<i>gui</i>					1	1	2
<i>gu</i>				1			2
<i>you</i>							2
<i>zun</i>							1
<i>jue</i>				1			2
<i>zhi</i>				1			2
Bronze weapons			1 <i>ge</i> - dagger, 1 spear	1 <i>ge</i> -dagger, 1 bow- shaped object	1 <i>ge</i> - dagger, 1 spear, 1 knife		10 <i>ge</i> - daggers, 1 blade
Ceramics	6 <i>guan</i>	5 <i>guan</i>				1 <i>guan</i>	
Miscellaneous				1 horse trapping	2 chariot fitting, 2 horse trappings	71 cowries	118 chariot fittings

Table 5.3 Jibo or Jigong as Dedicatees in Bronze Inscriptions

Inscription	Dedicatee	Date
Shenzi Ta <i>gui</i> 潘子它簋 (JC 4330)	Jigong 己公	Early Western Zhou
Da <i>ding</i> 大鼎 (JC2807)	Jibo 己伯	Mid-Western Zhou
Huo <i>ding</i> 霍鼎 (JC2413)	Jigong 己公	Mid-Western Zhou
Ju <i>ding</i> 盧鐘 (JC0088-91)	Jibo 己伯	Mid- Western Zhou
Shuding <i>li</i> 叔鼎鬲 (JC0614)	Jibo 己伯	Late Western Zhou
Xizhong <i>zhong</i> 兮仲鐘 (JC65-71)	Jibo 己伯	Late Western Zhou

## APPENDIX B

## MAPS

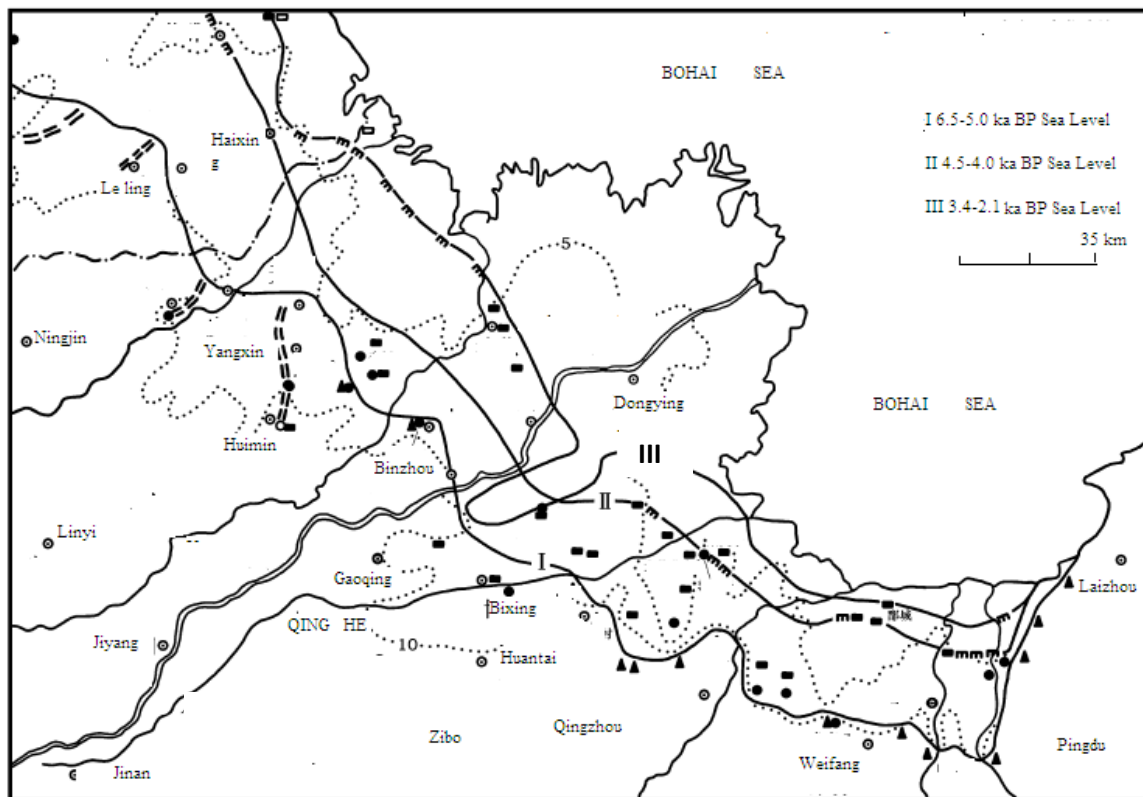


Map.2.1 Landscape Map of Shandong Region (based on Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, p. 302, map16)

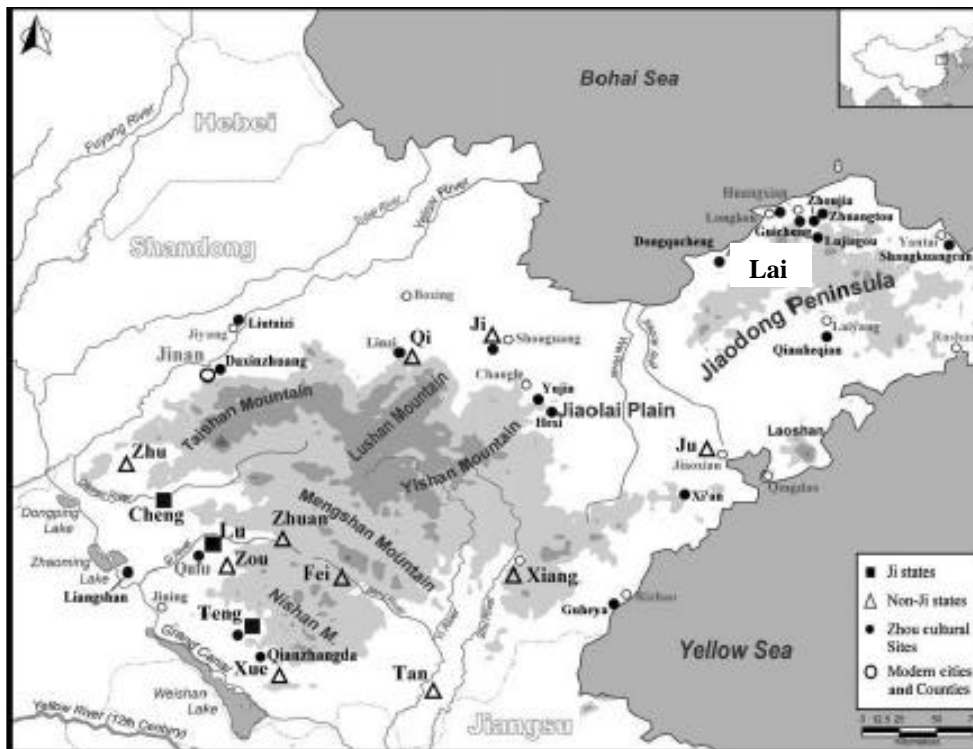




Map. 3.1 Qi during the Late Spring and Autumn period (from Cho-yun Hsu, "The Spring and Autumn Period History," p.548.



Map 4.1 Sea Level Changes in Northern Shandon (redraw based on Wang Qing et al., "Shandong Beibu Quanxinshi," in *Disiji yanjiu* 26.4 (2006):590, Fig.1)



Map 4.2 Regional States in Shandong during the Western Zhou Period (redraw based on Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, p. 302)

## APPENDIX C

## FIGURES

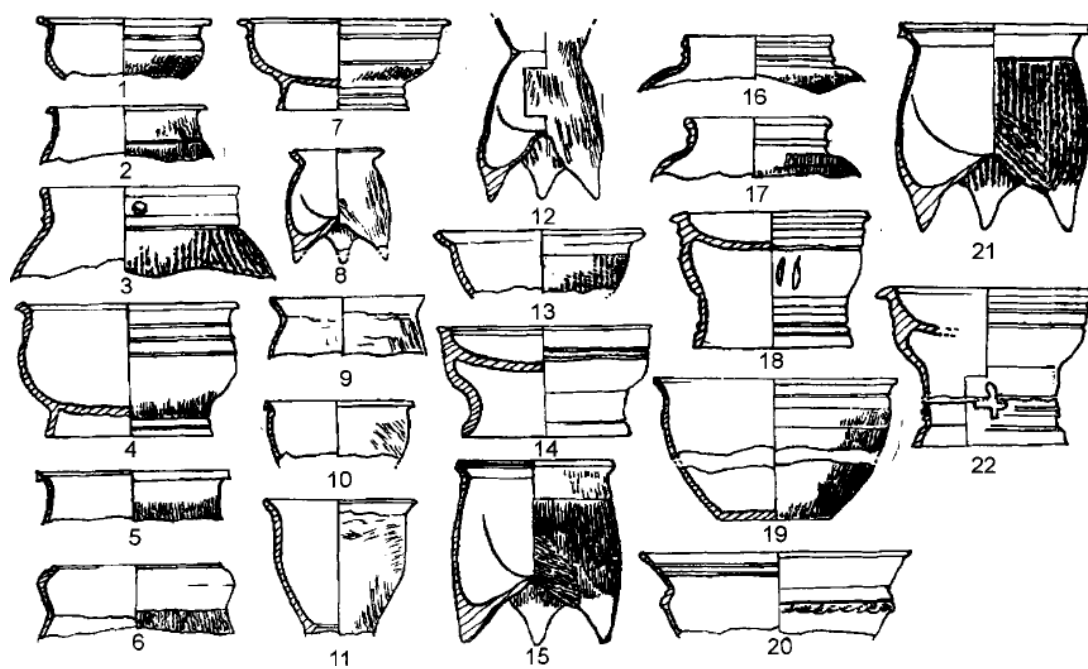


Fig.2.1 Early Shang Style Pottery at the Daxinzhuang Site (from Xu Ji, *Zhongyuan wenwu* 2000.3, 35)

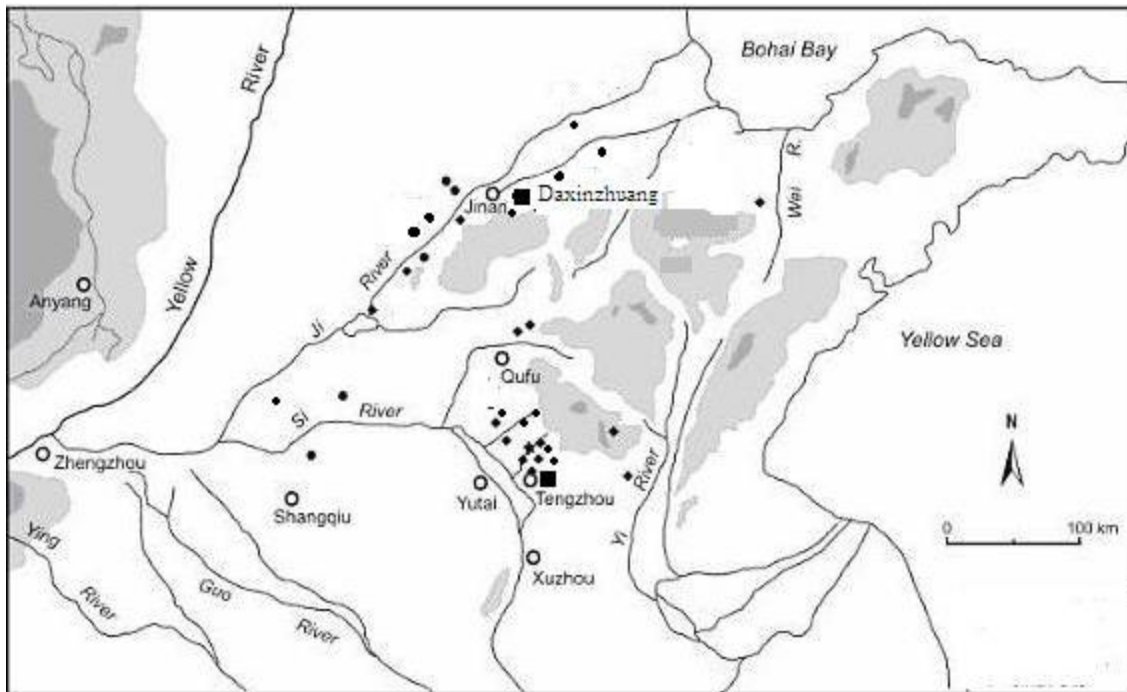


Fig. 2.2 Distribution of Shang Culture Sites in the Middle Shang Period (redraw based on Liu Li, *Archaeology of China*, p.363)

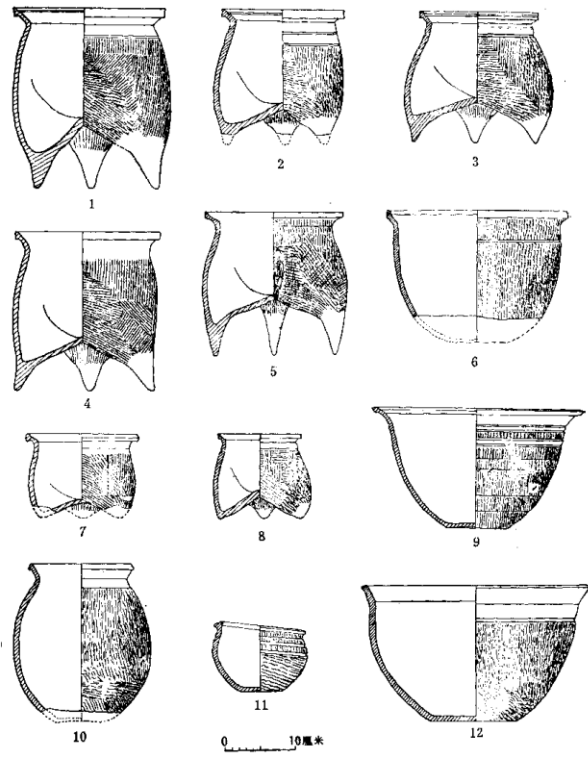


Fig 2.3 Shang Culture Pottery at the Yinjiacheng Site (from *Sishui yinjiacheng*, p.255)

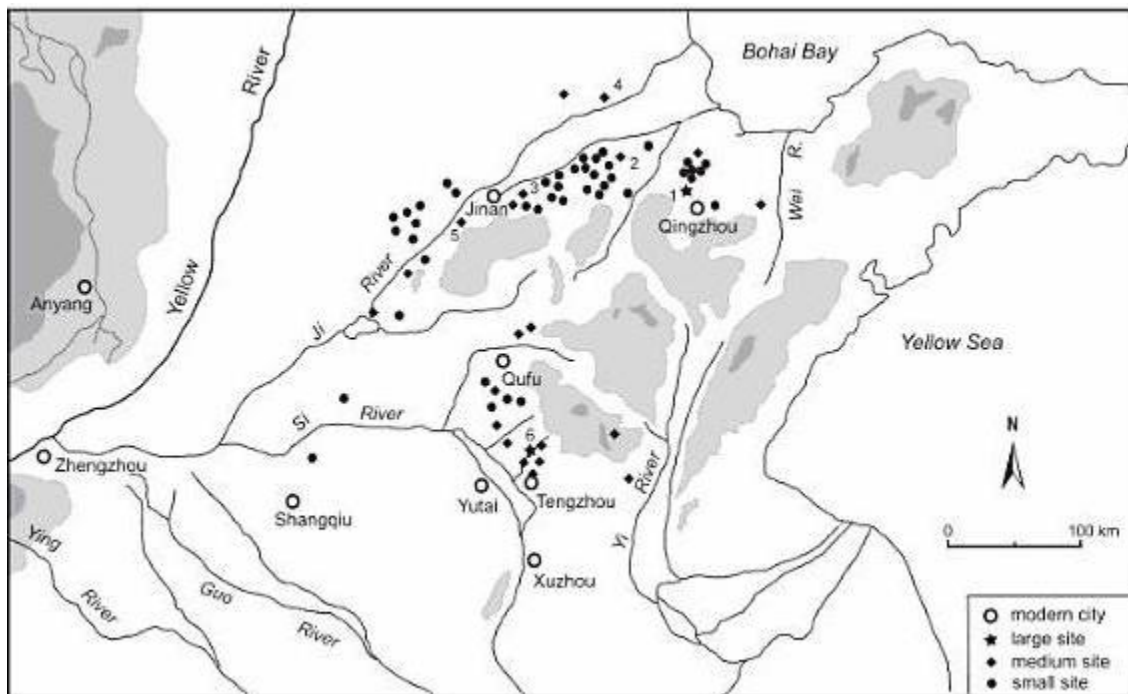


Fig.2.4 Distribute of Shang Sites in the Late Shang Period ((1:Subutun, 2 Shijia 3 Daxinzhuang, 4 Lanjia, 5 Xiaotun, 6, Qianzhangda, from Liu Li, *Archaeology of China*, p.363)

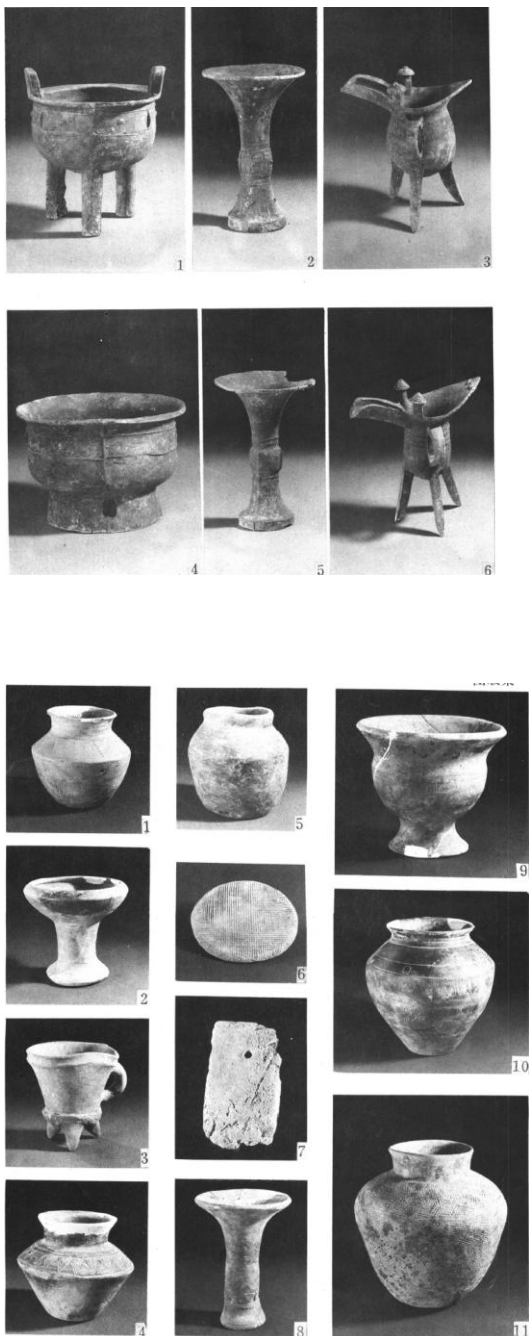


Fig 2.5 Bronze and Pottery Vessels from Tomb no.7 at Subutun

(from *Haidai kaogu* 1 (1989), pl. 6, pl.7)



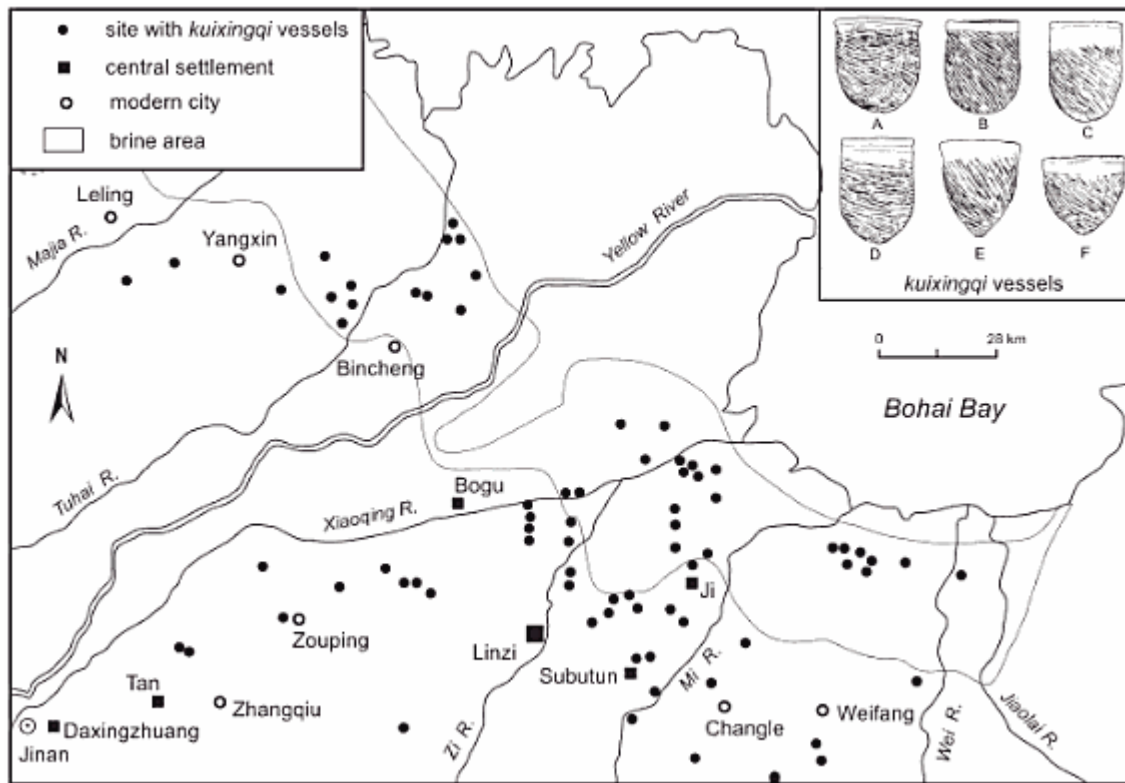


Fig.2.6 Distribution of Salt Production Sites during the Late Shang Period (from Liu Li, *Archaeology of China*, p.365)

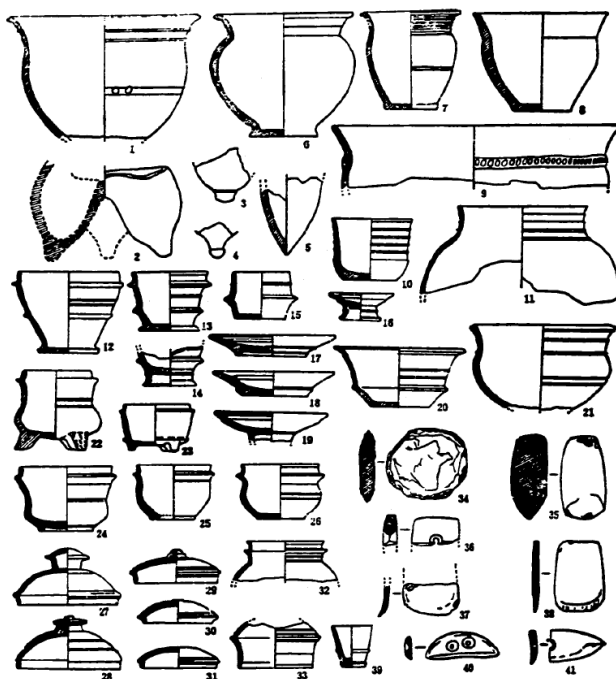


Fig.2.7 Artifacts of the Zhaogezhuang Type, Yueshi Culture (from David Cohen, *The Yueshi Culture*, p.94)

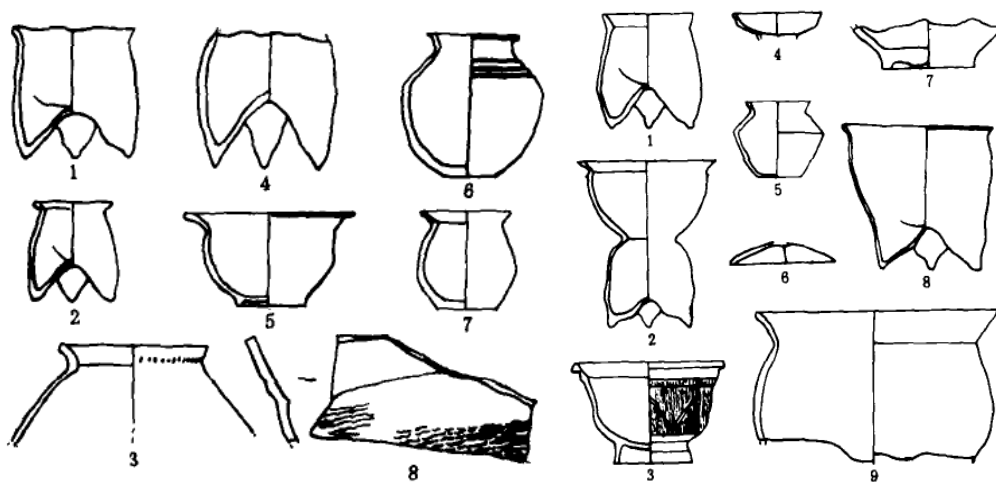


Fig.2.8 Pottery of the Zhenzhumen Culture (from Liu Yanchang, *Huaxia kaogu* 2001.4, 99-100)

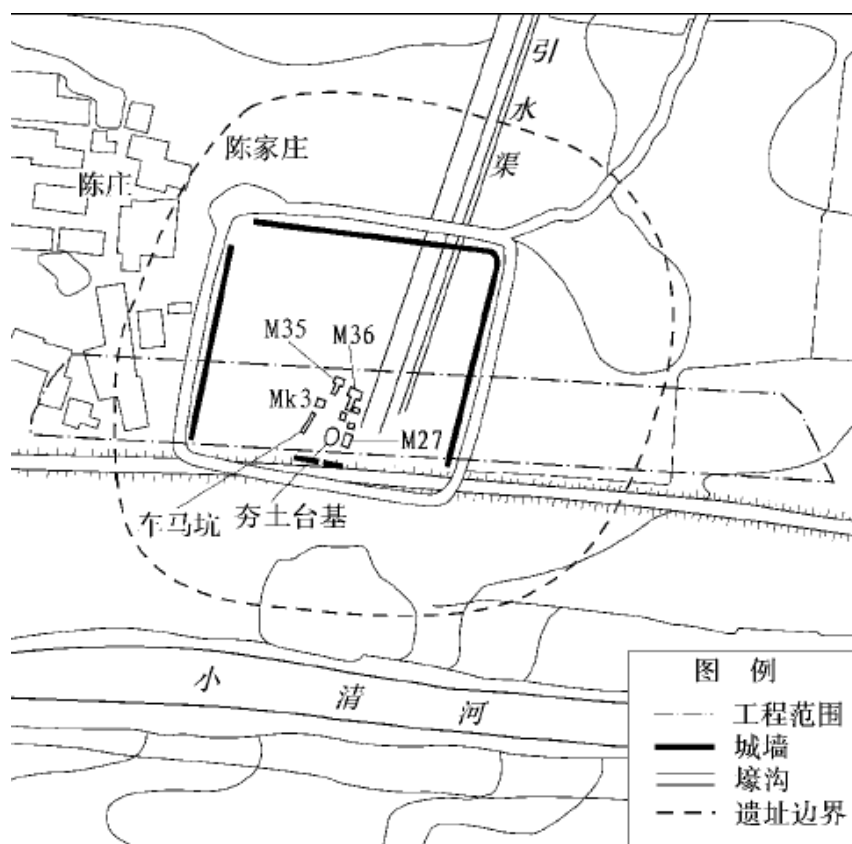


Fig. 3.1 Site Map of the Chenzhuang Site at Gaoqing (from *Kaogu* 2010.8, 28)

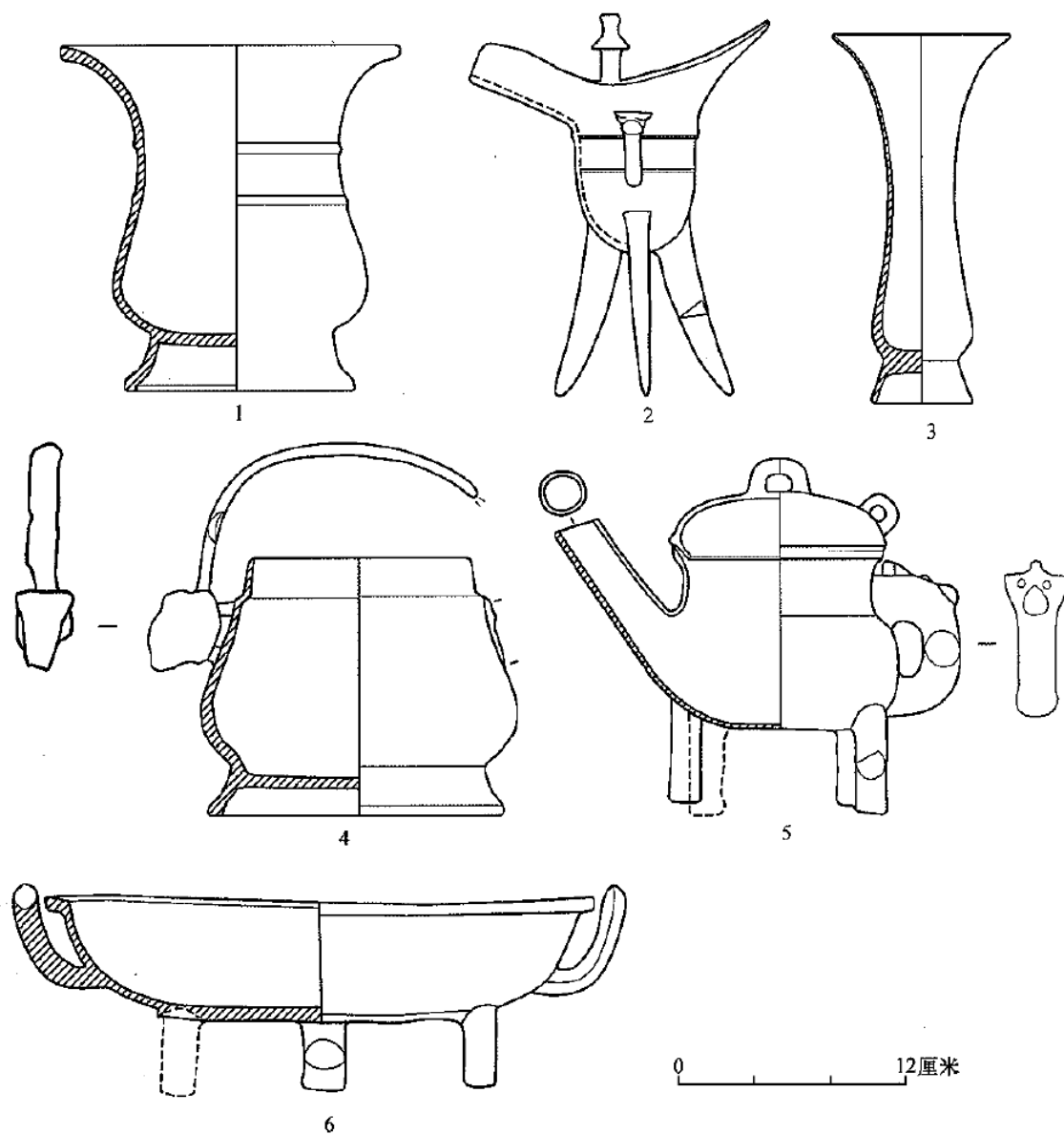


Fig.3.2 a. Bronzes from Tomb no.27 at Chenzhuang, Gaoqing (1. *zun*, 2. *jue*, 3. *zhi*, 4. *you*, 5. *he*, 6. *pan*. from *Haidai kaogu* 4 (2012): 97)



Fig.3.2 b. Jade Objects from Tomb no.27 at Chengzhuang and Tomb no. 116 at Zhangjiapo

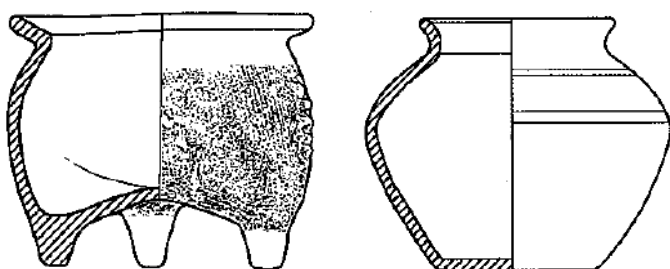


Fig.3.3 Pottery *Li* and *Guan* from Tomb no.26, the Chengzhuang Site (from *Haidai kaogu* 4 (2012): 91,95)



Fig.3.4 Selected Bronzes from Tombs no. 17 and no. 18, the Chengzhuang Site (from *Kaogu* 2010.8, 32)

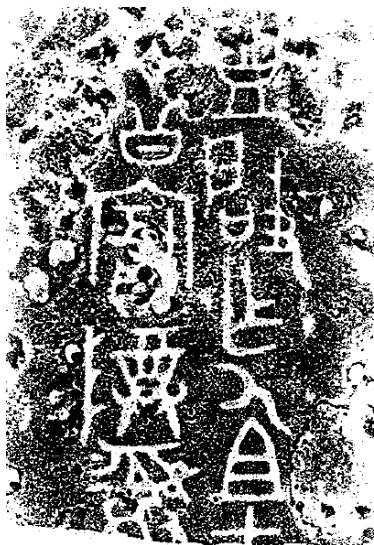


Fig.3.5 Inscription on Bronze *Gong* from Tomb no. 18, the Chengzhuang Site (from *Haidai kaogu* (4) 2012, p.96)



Fig.3.6 Lid of Yin *gui* and its Inscription (from *Haidai kaogu* 4 (2012): 426)

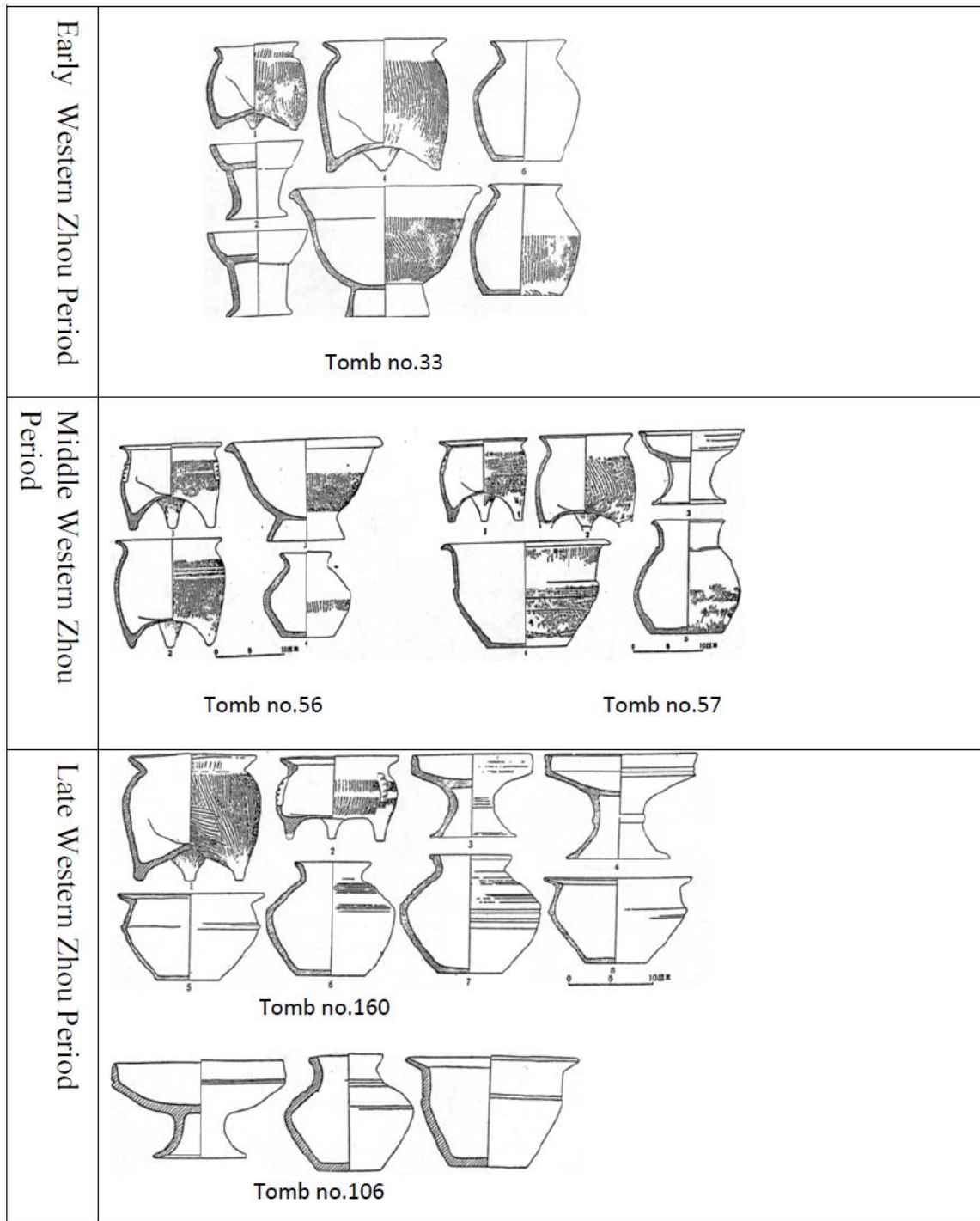


Fig.3.7 Periodized Examples of Zhou Pottery from the Zhangjiapo Cemetery (based on *Kaogu xuebao* 1980.4, 249, 283-285; see also Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, p.79, Fig14.)

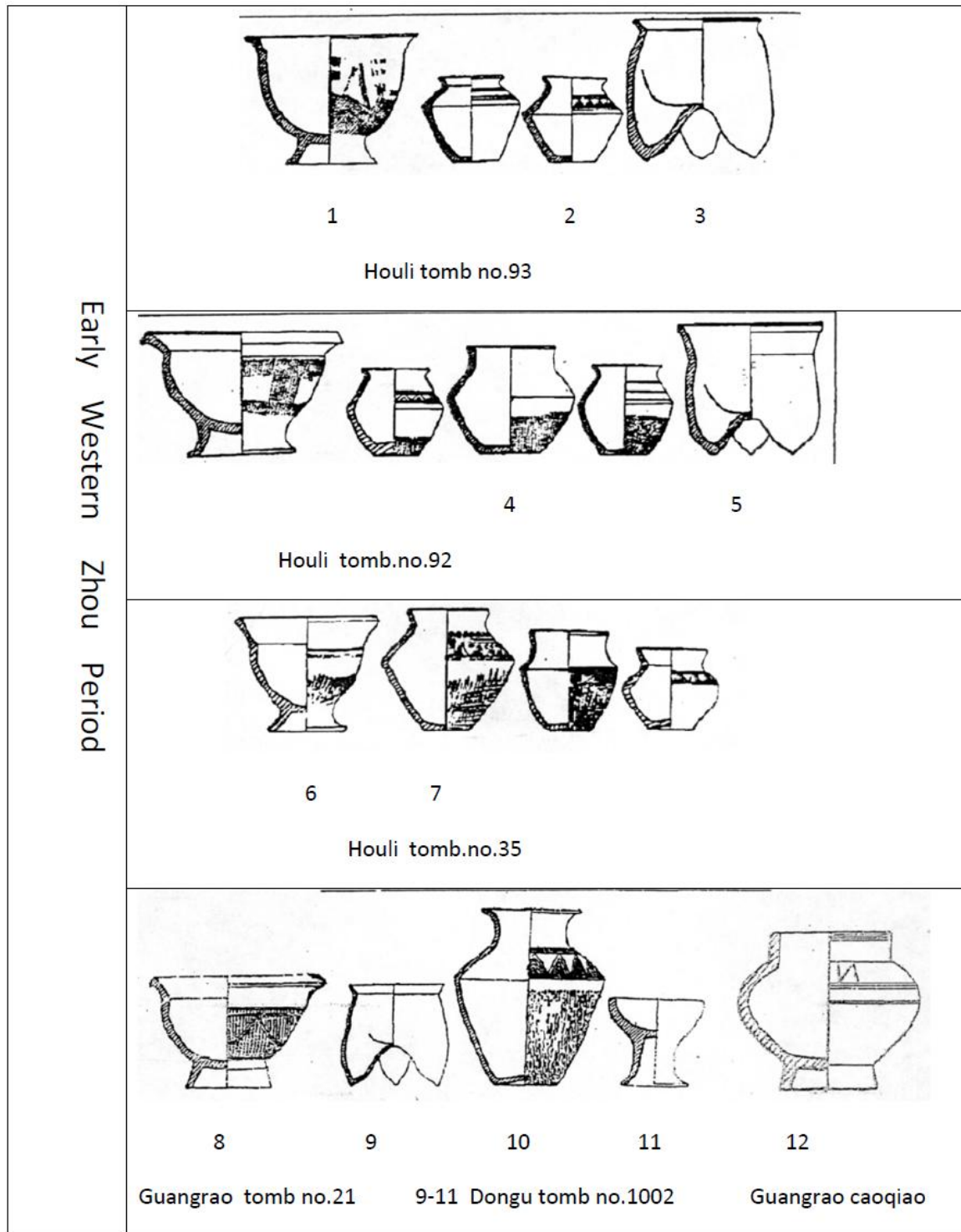


Fig.3.8 Local Pottery Examples of the Early Western Zhou Period in the Zibo area (from *Haidai kaogu* 1 (1989),61-123;274-91)



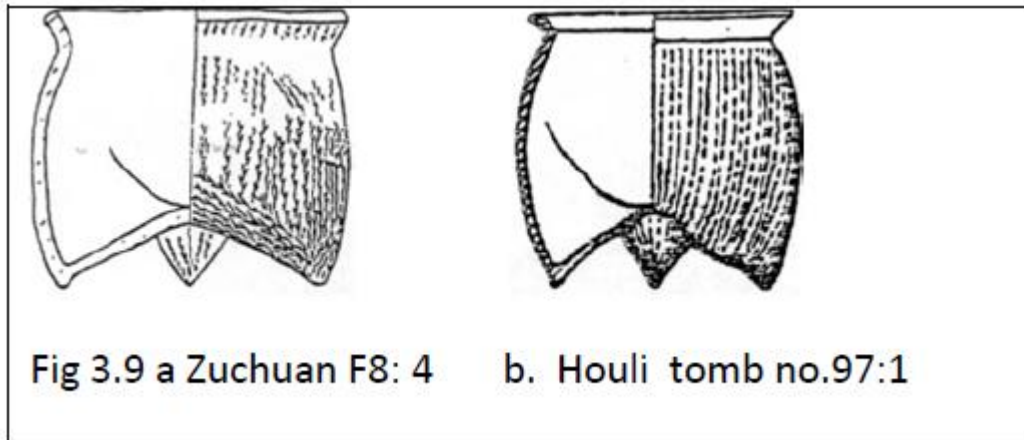


Fig.3.9 Zhou Culture Style *Li* from the Zichuan and Houli Sites

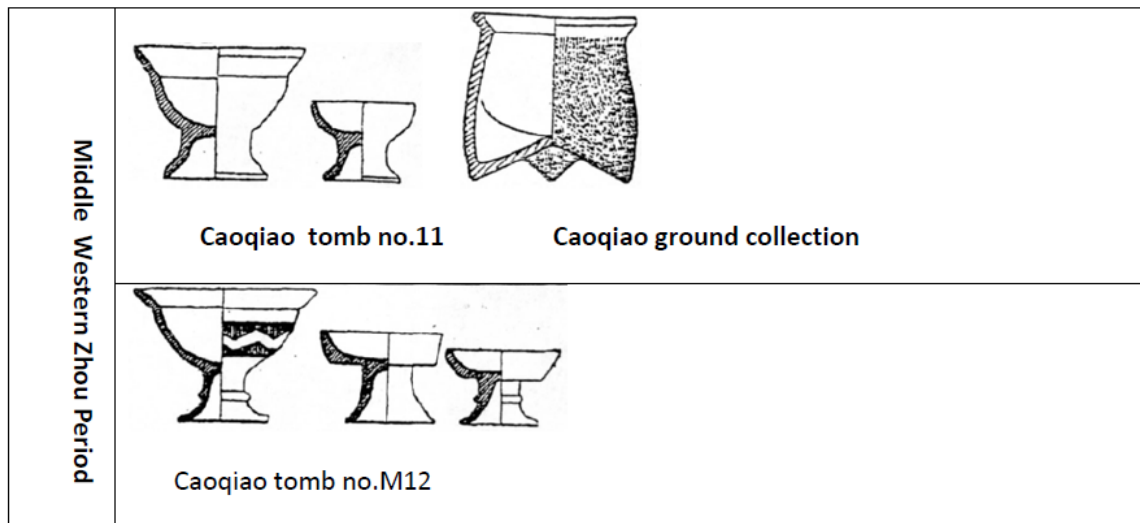


Fig.3.10 Pottery in the Zibo Area during the Mid-Western Zhou Period

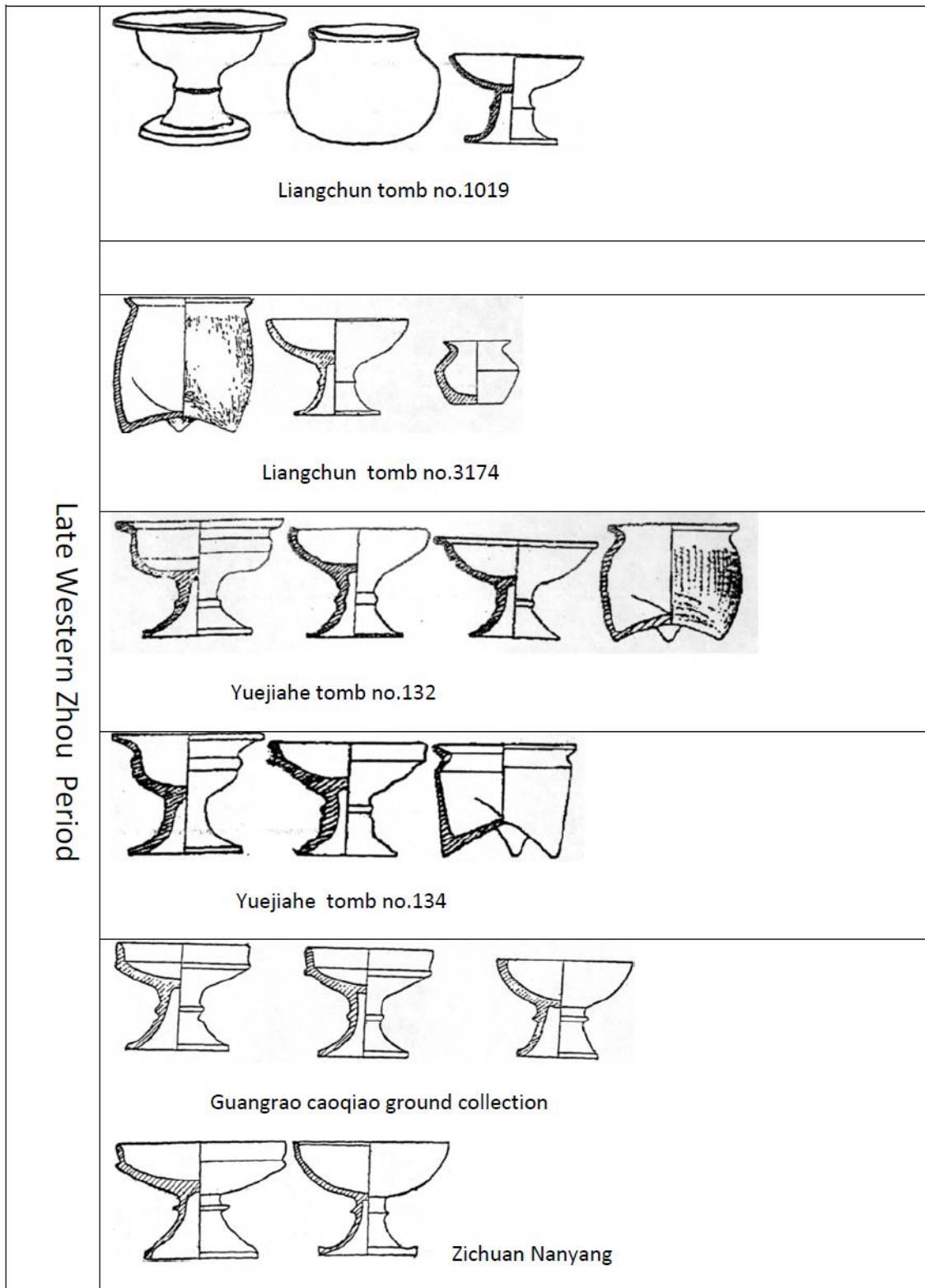


Fig.3.11 Pottery Assemblages within Qi Domain during the Late Western Zhou Period

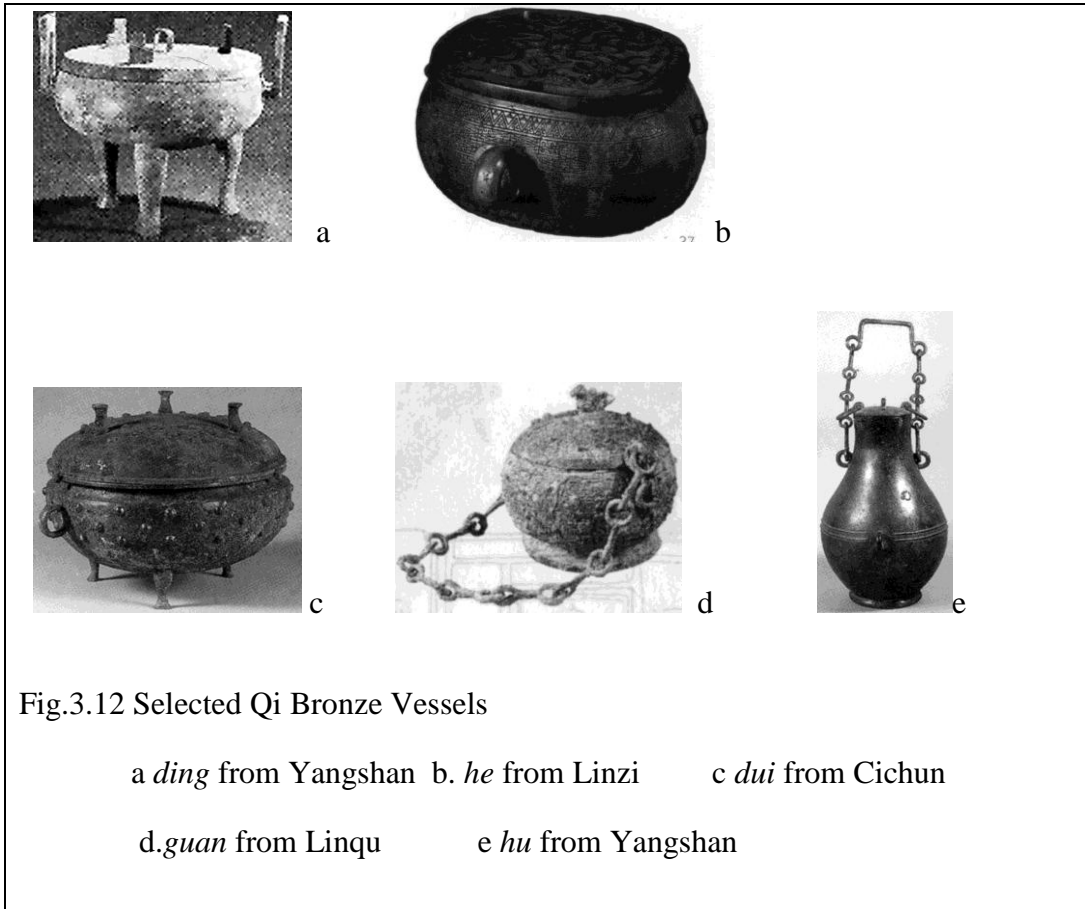


Fig.3.13 The Qihou *Yu* and its Inscription

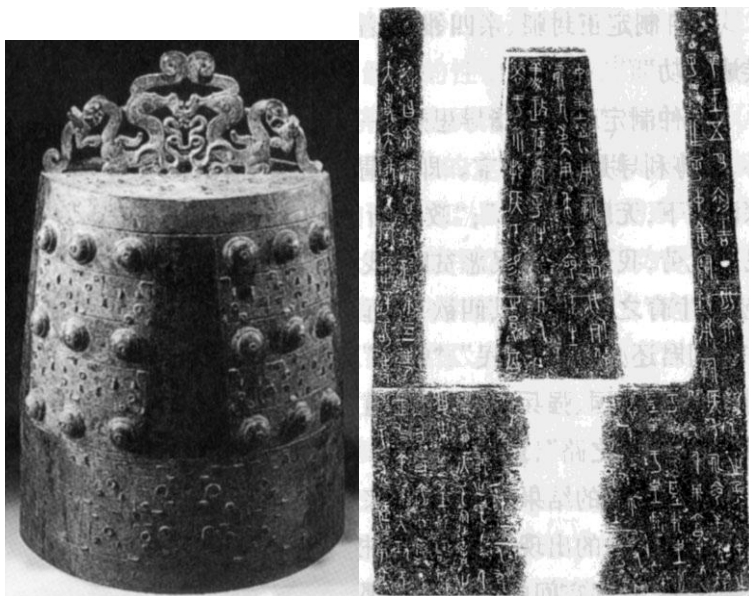


Fig.3.14 The Ling *bo* and its Inscription (from Gao Guangren and Shao Wangping, *Haidai wenhua yu Qi Lu wenming*, p.411, fig.8.2-1)

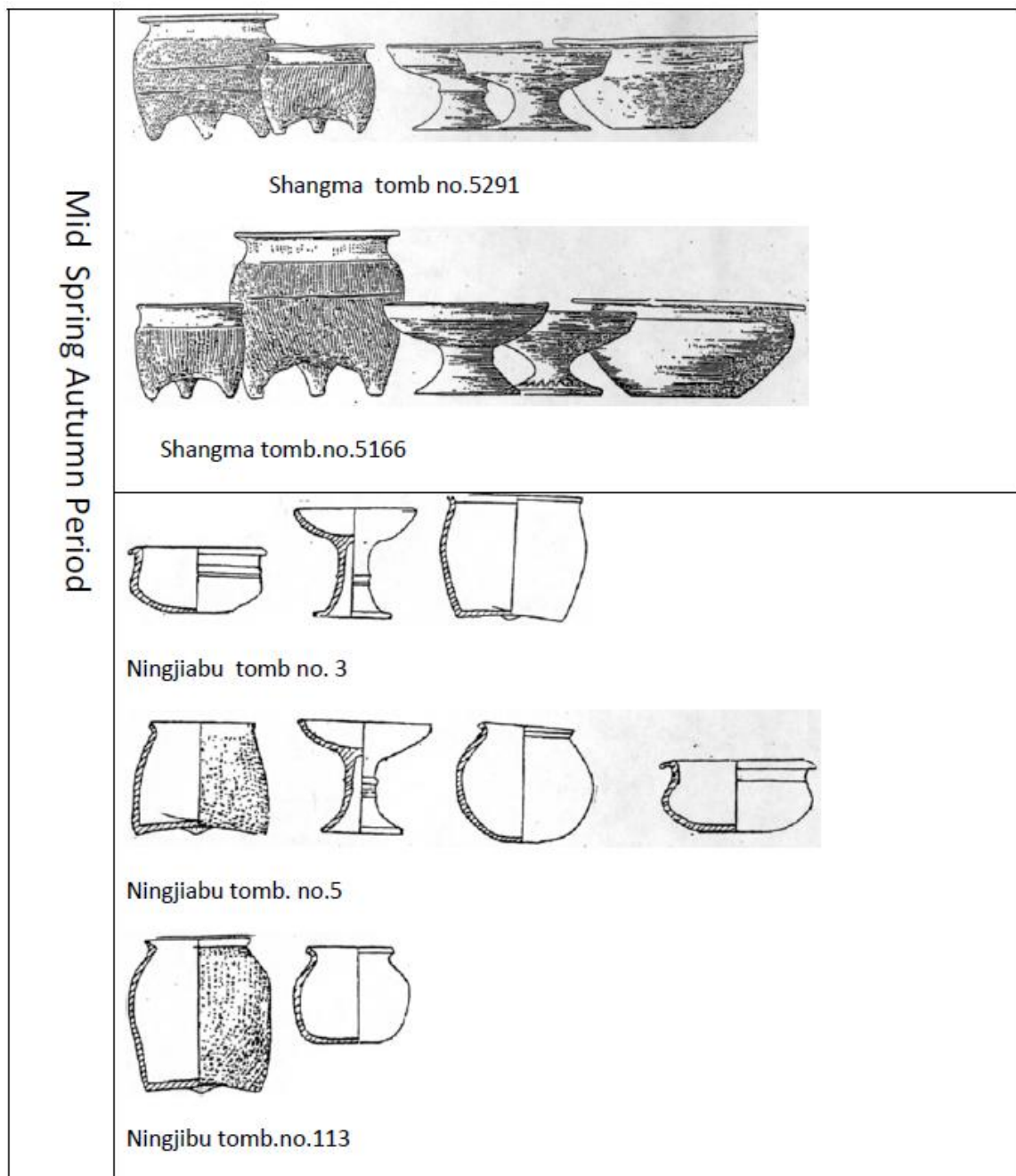


Fig.3.15 Pottery Assemblage from the Shangma and Ningjiabu cemeteries during the Mid- Spring and Autumn Period

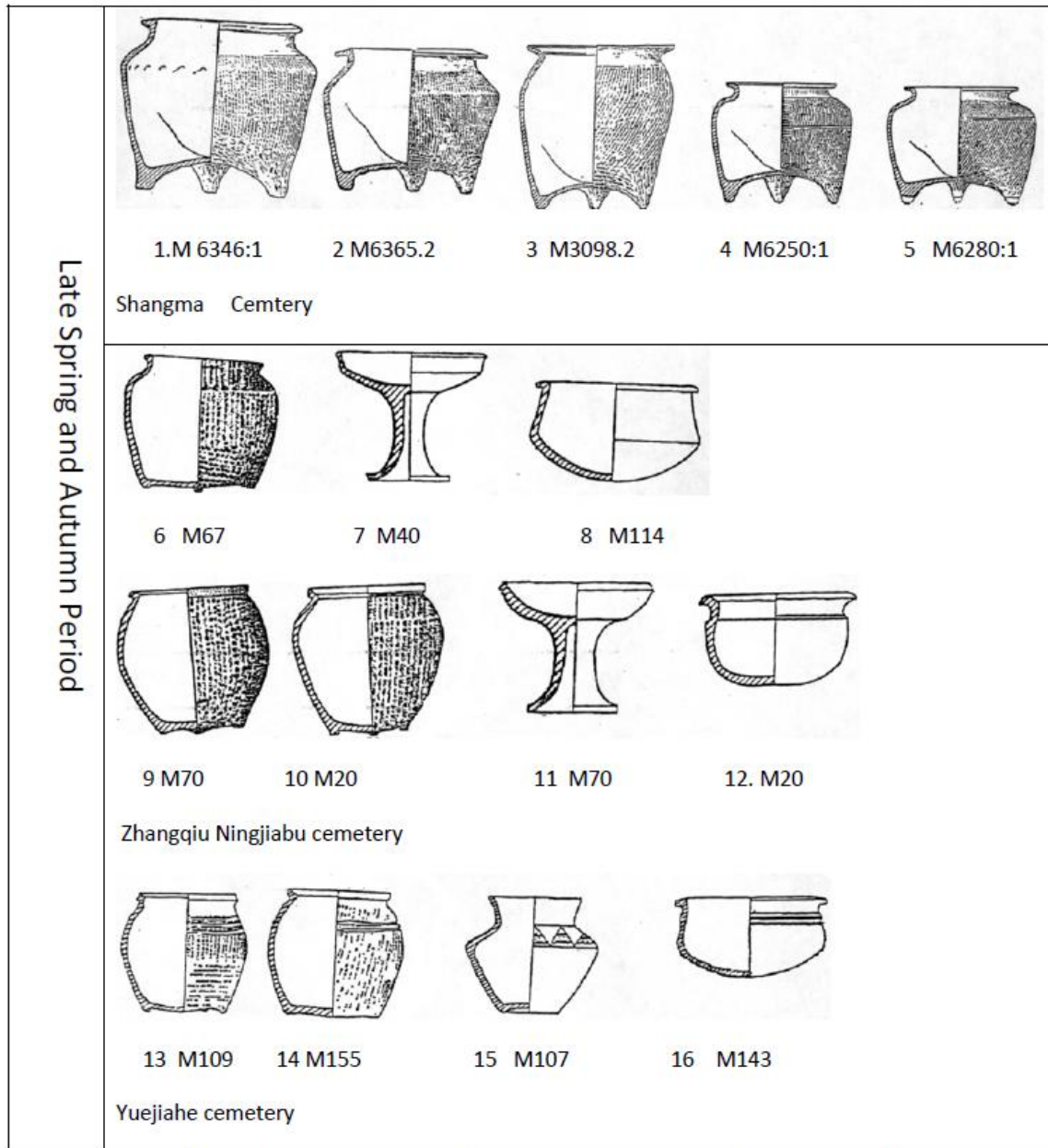


Fig.3.16 Pottery from Shangma, Ningjiabu and Yuejiahe Cemeteries during the Late Spring and Autumn Period



Fig.4.1a Pottery Vessels of the Zhenzhumen Culture (from *Kaogu yantai*, pp.110-113)



Fig.4.1b Pottery Vessels of the Nanhuangzhuang Culture (from *Kaogu yantai*, pp.115-118)

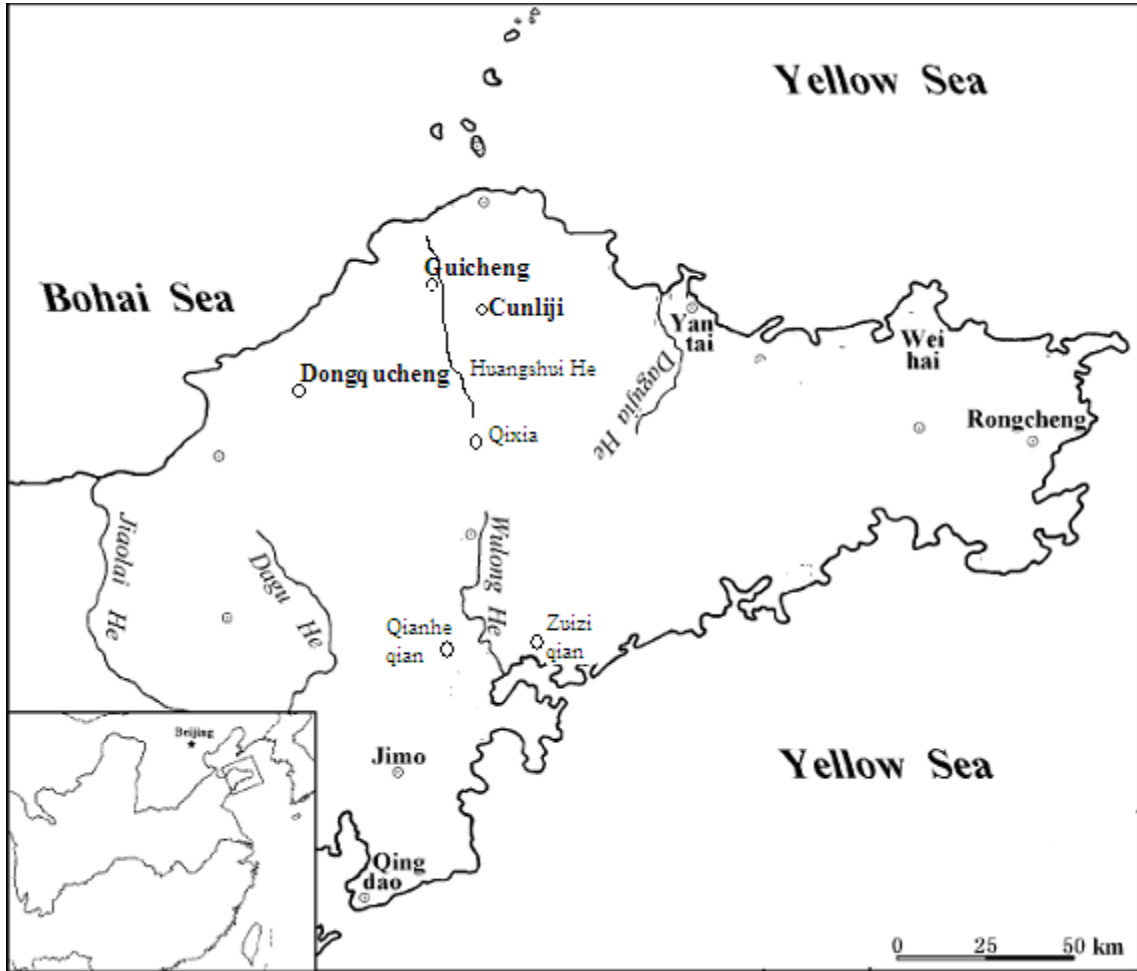


Fig.4.2 Settlement Clusters in the Jiaodong Peninsula

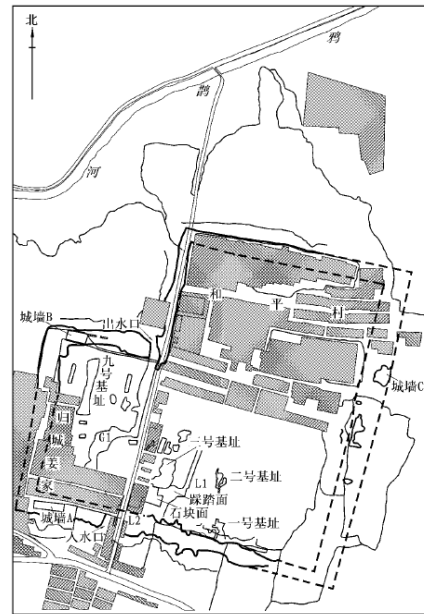
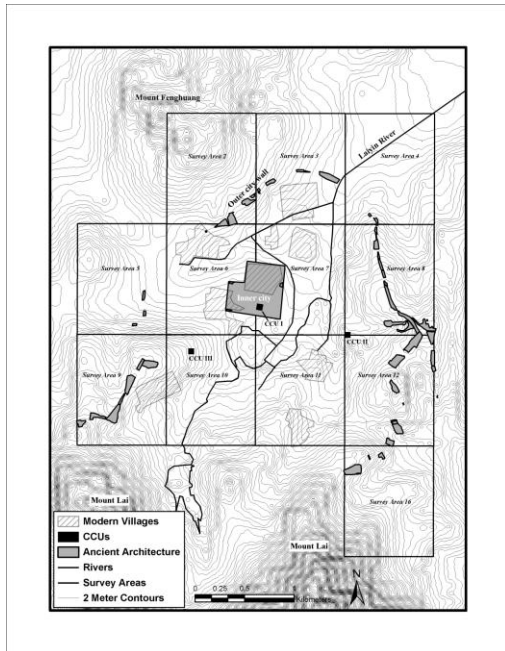




Fig. 4.3 Bronze Vessels Discovered in the Jiaodong Peninsula (a from *Liang Zhou jinwen cidaxi*, fig.46; b from *Kaogu Yantai*, p.166; c & d from *Kaogu* 1995.1, 23-27, 97; e from *wenwuziliao congkan* (6)1982: 169)



Fig. 4.4 The Shi Yuan gui and its Inscription (from Chen Peifen, *Xia Shang Zhou qingtongqi yanjiu*, p.465, p.467)



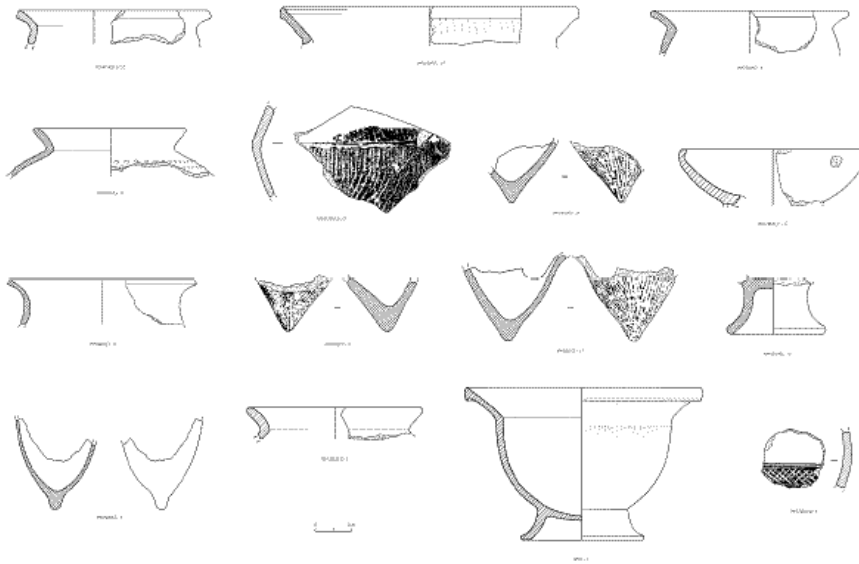


Fig 4.6 Pottery Shards from Pit H20, the Guicheng Site (from unpublished data of Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team)

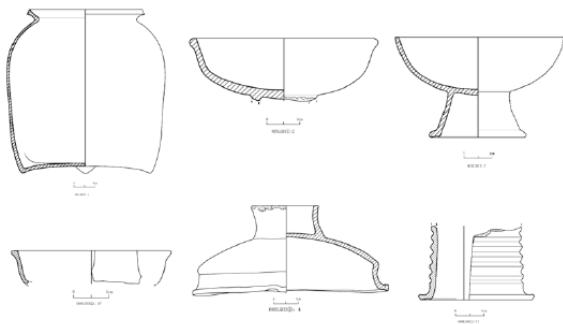


Fig 4.7 Pottery Vssels from Pit H3, the Guicheng Site (from unpublished data of Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team)

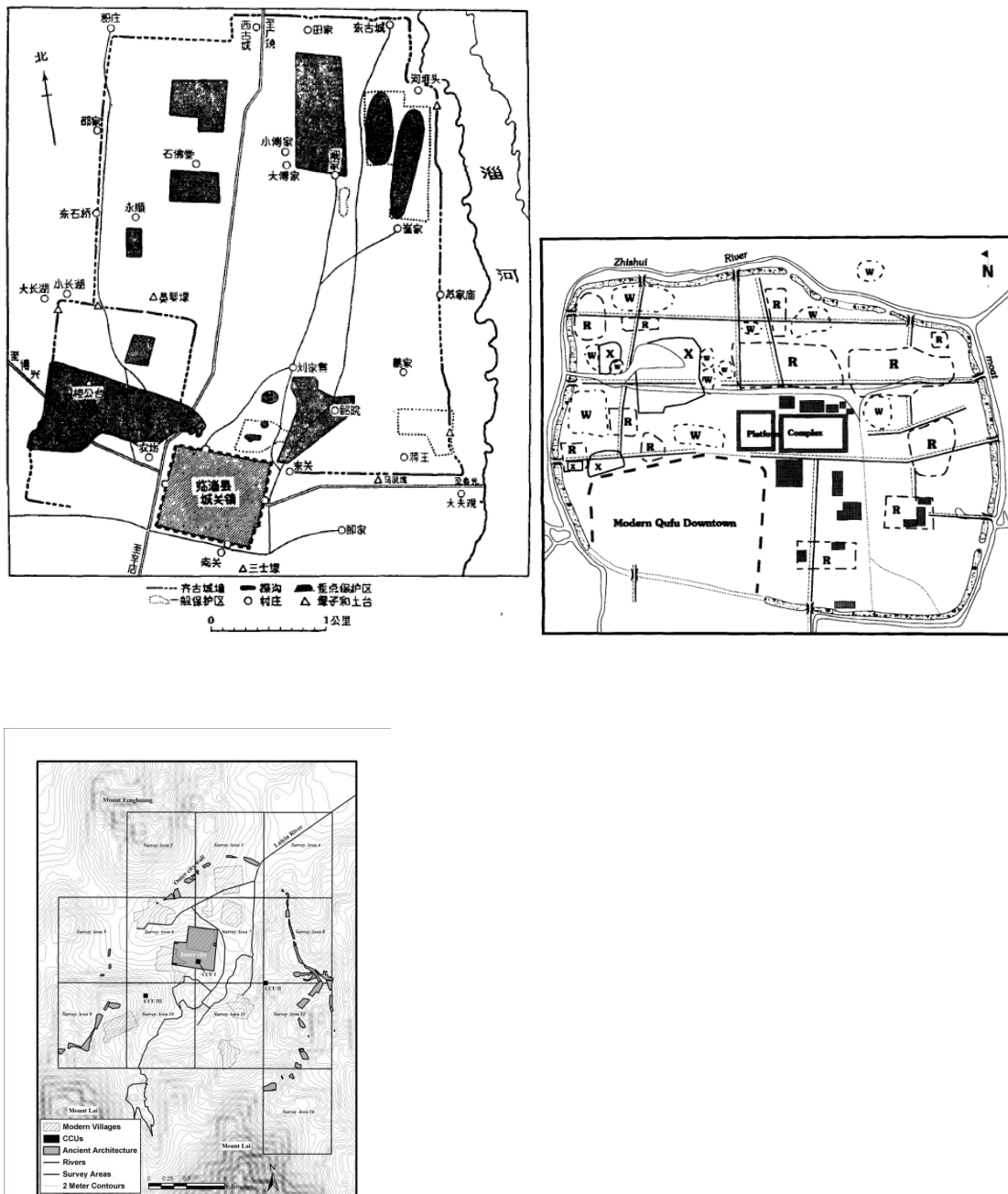


Fig.4.8 Site Map of Linzi City (upper left), Qufu City (upper right), and Guicheng City (lower left) (from *Kaogu* 1961. 6,289; *Antiquity* (68) 1994:724-744; unpublished data from unpublished Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological team)

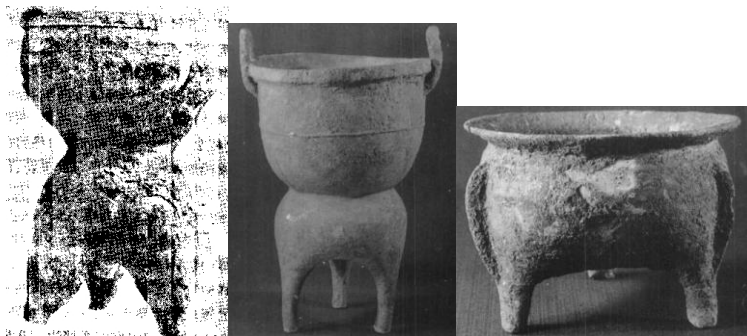


Fig.4.9 Local Styled Bronzes from the Guicheng Site ( from Li Buqing, *Kaogu* 1989.3, 233; *Kaogu* 1991.10, pl.6:5; *Wenwu* 1983.12, pl.3:5 )



Fig. 4.10 The Qi zun, Qi you and Their Inscriptions (from Qi Wentao 1978, in *Wenwu* 1972.5, 3-16)

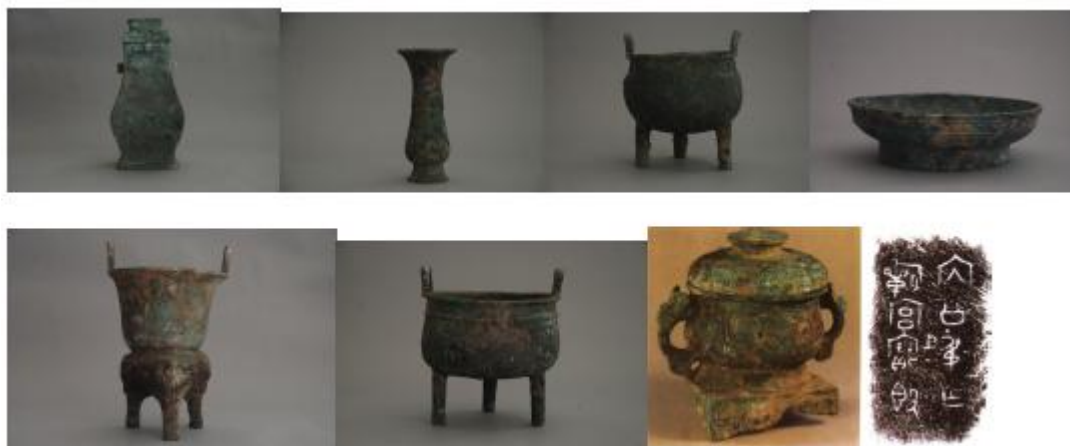


Fig. 4.11 Bronze Vessels Found from Tomb at the Zhuangtuo Site (from *Kaogu Yantai*, p.134 and Longkou museum)



a Bronze *Gui* found at Longkou

b. Bronze *Ding* found at Longkou

Fig. 4.12 Local Manufactured Bronzes Found within the Guicheng Area (from *Wenwu* 2004.8, 79-80)

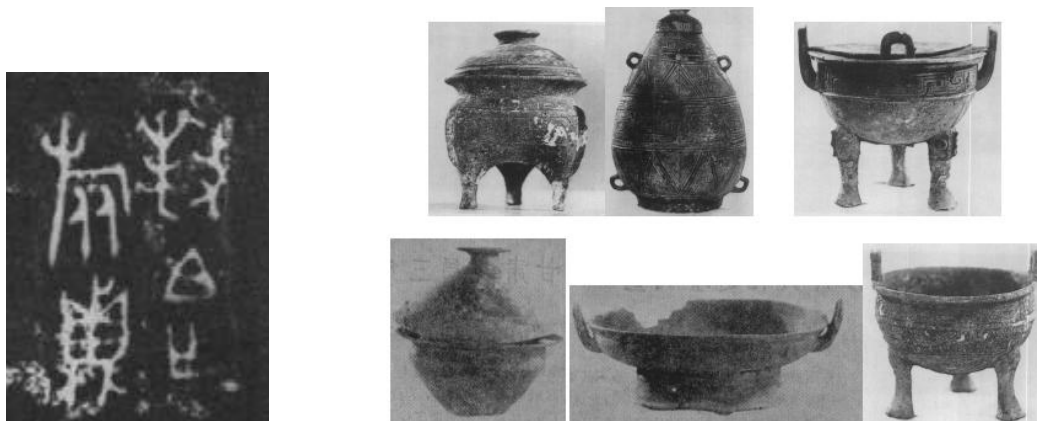


Fig.4.13 a. The Libo *Ding* Inscription

(from Zeng Yigong, *Shandong jinwen jicun*)

b. The Libo *Ding* and Lai-related Bronzes

(from *Kaogu* 1984.7, pl.2)

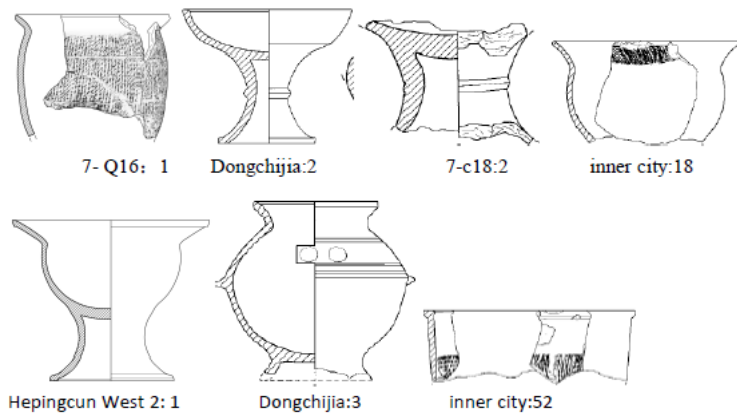


Fig.4.14 Pottery Vessels from the Guicheng Site (from *Unpublished data of the Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team*)

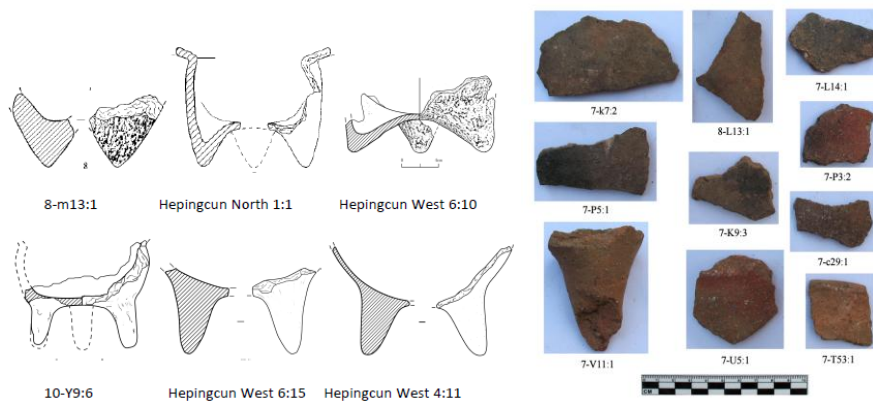


Fig.4.15 Indigenous Pottery Types and Shards (from *Unpublished Data of the Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team*)



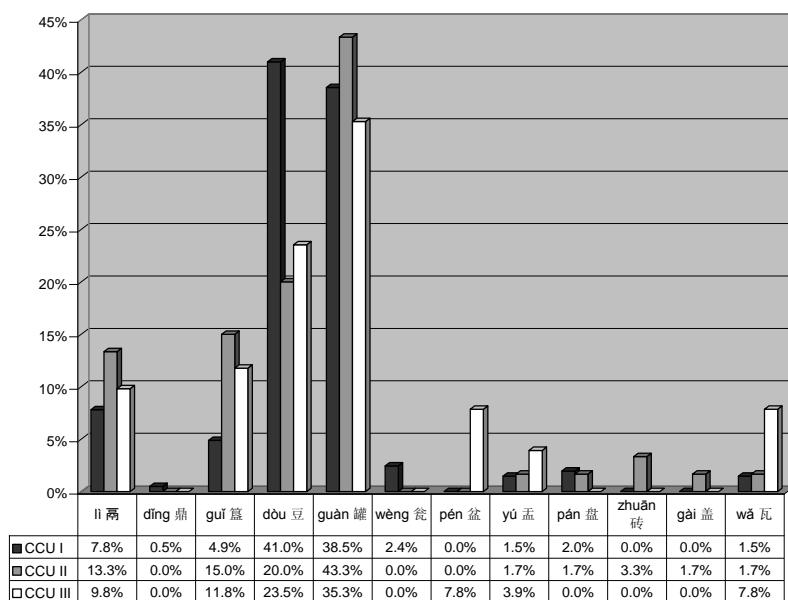


Fig.4.16 Diagnostic Shards by Type, as Percentage of Total Diagnostic Shards for Each CCU (from *Unpublished Data of the Sino-American Guicheng Archaeological Team*)

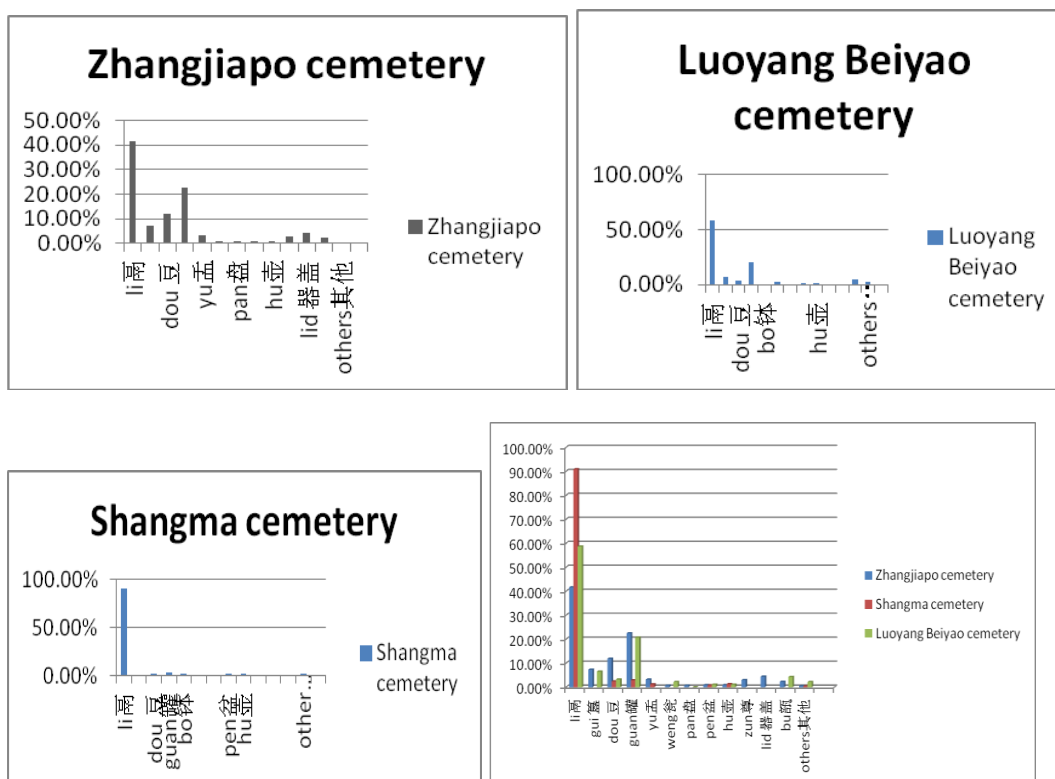


Fig. 4.17 Percentage of Vessel Type at Zhangjiapo Cemetery, Luoyang Beiyao Cemetery and Shangma Cemetery



Fig. 4.18 a. The Renfu Yi b. The Renfu Xu (from *Kaogu Yantai*, p.129.)



Fig.4.19a The Jihou Li (from *Kaogu Yantai*, p.128) Fig.4.19b The Libo Li (from *Wenwu* 1984.7, pl.2)



Fig.4.20 The Geng Hu (from *Haidai wenhua yu Qi Lu wenming*, p.42)

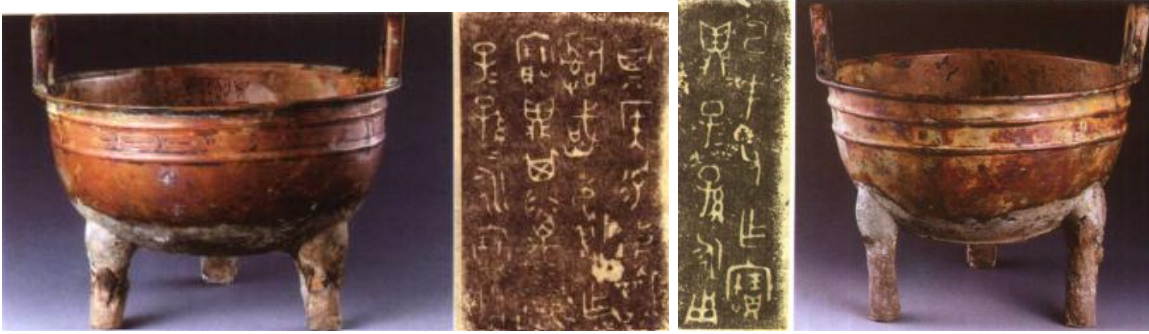


Fig.5.1 *Ding* Bronzes and Inscriptions Found at Shangguang, Yantai (from *Yantai kaogu*, p.127)

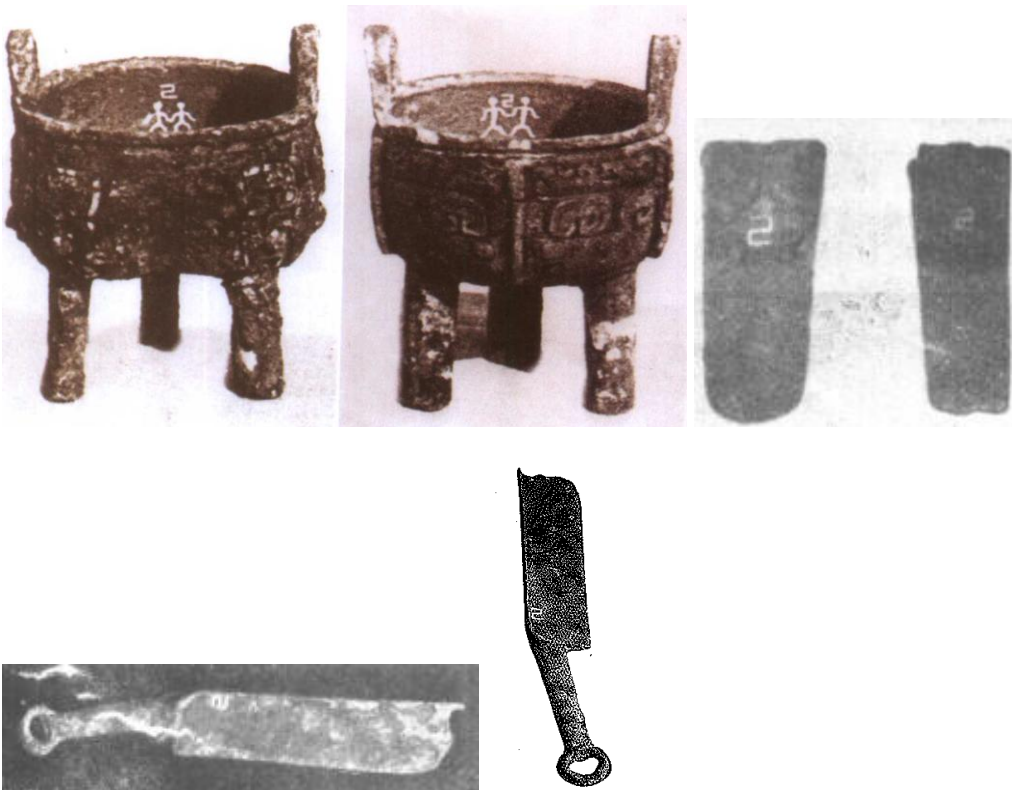


Fig. 5.2. Bronzes from the Gucheng Site, Shouguang (from *Wenwu* 1985.3, 5)



Fig. 5.3 Ya Qi or Qi inscribed on Bronze Vessels *Jia*, *Jue* and *Gu* (from *Yinxu Fuhao mu*, p.83, 84)

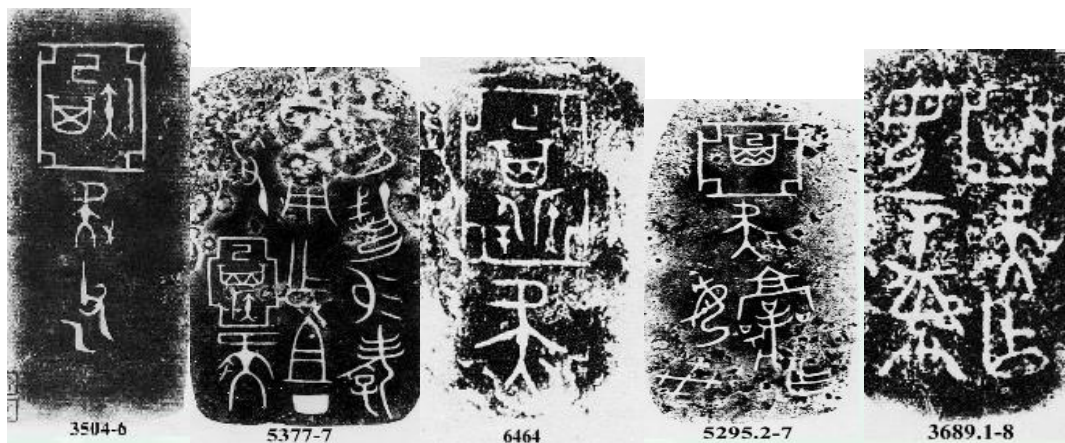


Fig. 5.4 Selected Instances of Jihou Ya Yi or Ji Ya Yi of the Late Shang Period (JC 3504, JC 5377, JC 6464, JC 5295, JC3689)

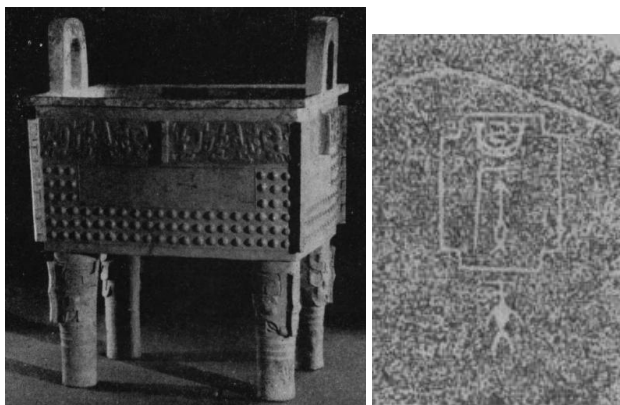


Fig.5.5 The *Fang Ding* from Kazuo Cache no.2 and its Inscription (Jihou Ya Yi) (from *Kaogu* 1974.6, 366)



Fig. 5.6 a. The Ji Ya Yi Emblem on Bronzes from Niulanshan, Beijing (from *Wenwu* 1983.11, 66)

b. The Jihou Ya Yi *He* Inscription from Lugouqiao, Beijing (from *Shang Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 3:31)

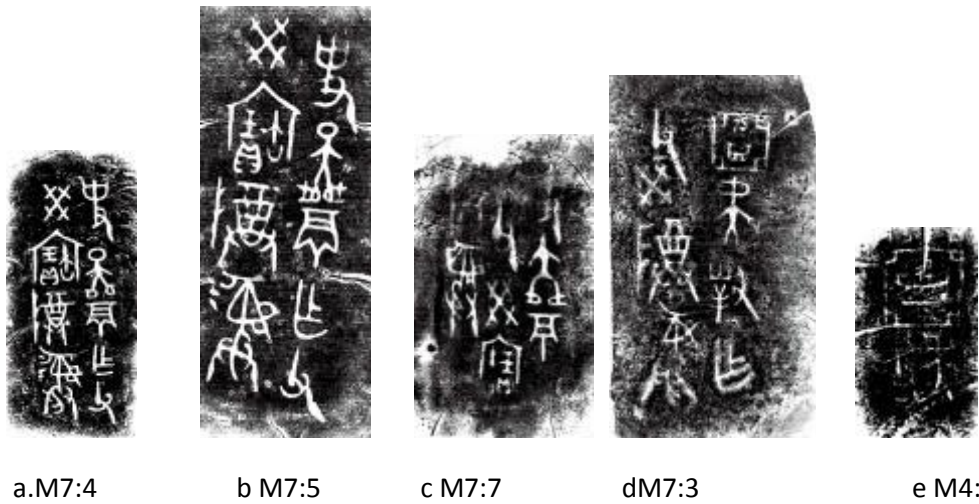


Fig.5.7 Shi Qiao and Ji Ya Yi Inscriptions on Bronzes from Tomb no.7 at Zhuanglixi, Tengzhou (from *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 2002.1,103)

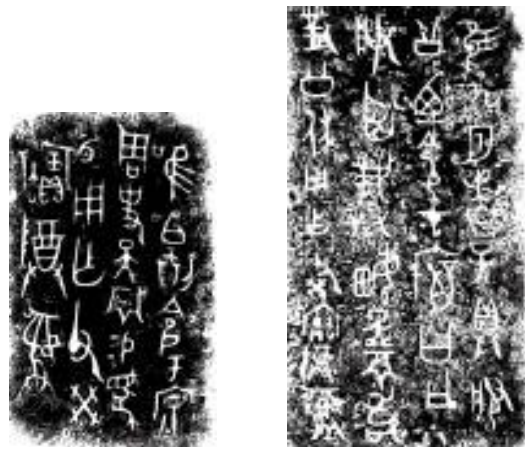


Fig. 5.8 a. Inscription on Bronze Zhi, b. Inscription on Bronze Gui (from *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 2002.1,103)

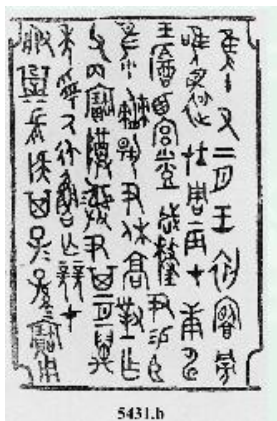


Fig.5.9 Inscription on the Lid of Gao You (JC5431)



a .Hezi you ( JC 5409)



b Jihou Hezi gui



c Jihou gui and its inscription

Fig.5.10 Inscriptions on Jihou Bronzes (from *Wenwu* 1981.9, 36)





a. Fragment of Bronze Jihou *Ding*    b. Bronze *Jue* Inscribed with Character Ji

Fig.5.11 Ji- related Bronzes Found at Yantai (from *Yantai kaogu*, p.130, p.125)



Fig.5.12 The Jizhong *Hu* and its Inscription (from *Wenwu* 1984.6, 21)


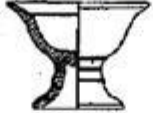

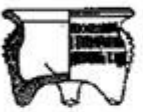
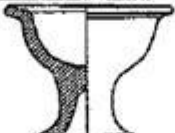



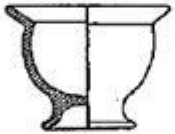



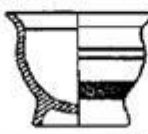






	鬲 li	斝 jia	豆 dou	罐 guan
Spring and Autumn Period				
Late Western Zhou				
Mid-Western Zhou				
Early Western Zhou				
Late Shang				

Fig.5.13 Pottery Periodization of the Shouguang area (from Jia Liankong, *Shouguang kaogu yu wenwu*, p.125)

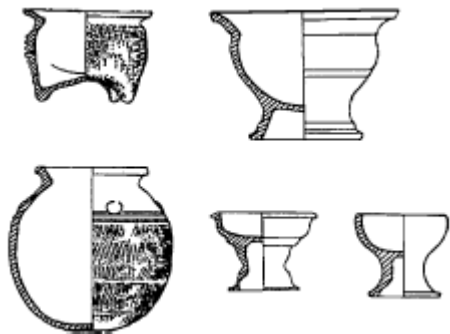


Fig.5.14 Pottery Vessels from Tomb no. 1 at Yujia in Changle (from *Haidai kaogu* 1(1989), 301, fig.7.1,2,5,6,9; see also Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, p.312)



a yan

b hu

c. hu

Fig.5.15 Bronzes from Tomb no.2, the Qianheqian Site (from *Yantai kaogu*, p.123)Fig 5.16 Wangfu Ji Mengjiang Yi Inscription (from *Sandai jijinlu* 17.32.2)