

## Historical Geography and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms

Readers familiar with recent developments in the study of Chinese culture will need no persuading that the phenomenal archaeological discoveries of the present era have greatly expanded our understanding of the culture of ancient China. Almost certainly the most important of these discoveries came at the close of the last century: the recognition of inscribed oracle bones from the Shang 商 dynasty. This discovery not only verified that dynasty's historicity; it also led directly to the development of modern archaeology in China. This development in turn has resulted in the unearthing of cultural artifacts of various types throughout China. To mention just discoveries of literary materials from the earliest historical periods, in addition to a considerable increase in the corpus of Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, inscribed oracle bones of Chou 周 origin have now also been discovered. Moreover, thousands of inscribed bronze vessels from the Western Chou dynasty illustrate much about the political structure of this paradigmatic Chinese state hitherto known mainly through such historiographically problematic sources as the *Book of Documents* (*Shang-shu* 尚書) and *Book of Poetry* (*Shih-ching* 詩經). Paralleling the sophistication shown by these new literary materials, extensive discoveries of artifactual material that can be labeled either Shang or Chou also attest to the impressive cultural developments of these periods. The geographic extent of these discoveries encompasses far more than just the Yellow River valley where these two states were centered, extending from Liao-ning in the north and Kwangsi in the south, to Kansu in the west and the Yangtze River delta in the east. Indeed, there have even been suggestions recently that routine contact was maintained with regions as distant as Yunnan and Sinkiang.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For convenient catalogues of Shang and Western Chou archaeological discoveries, see Kwang-chih Chang, *Shang Civilization* (New Haven: Yale U. P., 1980), pp. 289–321; and Choyun Hsü and Kathryn M. Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1988), pp. 186–226. Evidence of routine contact with Yunnan based on the appearance in Shang bronzes of lead isotopes perhaps deriving from this area was discussed by Chin Cheng-yao 金正耀 in her paper “Wan-Shang chüng-yuan ch’ing-t’ung te k’uang-liao lai-yüan” 晚商中原青銅的礦料來源, presented to the Third International Conference on the History of Science, Peking, August 1984. (I am grateful to W. T. Chase for making this paper available.)

It is not surprising that the nature and extent of both of these sorts of cultural discoveries have led institutional historians to reconsider the extent and nature of political control achieved by the Shang and Western Chou kings. Whereas a generation or two ago it was fashionable for iconoclastic historians to argue that the Shang and Chou kingdoms were but incipient states, extremely circumscribed geographically, most contemporary historians, both Chinese and Western, now argue that they were much more expansive, even "vast" states.<sup>2</sup> This revisionist geography has led one notable historian to describe the Western Chou state as a historiographical "dilemma," for "it was, indeed, impossible" for the Western Chou kings "with the resources and techniques available to them, [to] organize and maintain a centralized administration adequate to control the broad territories to which they laid claim."<sup>3</sup> This same dilemma would seem to pertain a fortiori to the preceding Shang state. And yet, the claim is made with regard to the Chou, and maintained either explicitly or implicitly in recent studies of the Shang state, that the kings did indeed succeed in controlling these broad territories.

The apparent existence of this dilemma should lead us to reconsider the question of the nature and extent of these earliest Chinese kingdoms. Either our understanding of the resources of government available to the kings of this period is faulty, or else the new vision of a geographically vast state is faulty. Rather than attempting to gauge the sophistication of the governing apparatuses, an enterprise capable of producing only relative conclusions, it would perhaps be best first to examine in some detail the more objectively demonstrable political geography of the Shang and Chou states. When we do so, I believe we will find that the area under the direct political control of the Shang and Chou kings was far less than the area influenced by Shang and Chou culture.

Similar evidence that jades found in the "Fu Hao" 婦好 tomb at Anyang (M5) may derive from quarries in western Sinkiang was presented by Shen Min 申斌 in his paper "Fu Hao mu yü-ch'i lai-yüan te k'ao-ch'a" 婦好墓玉器來源的考查, for the International Conference on China's Yin-Shang Culture, Anyang, September 1987. These two papers explicitly argue that such cultural contact attests to Shang political control over these areas. While this is certainly an extreme position, it is my sense that most scholars in China today implicitly accept the identification of political with cultural spheres.

<sup>2</sup> For a characterization of the Shang state as "vast," see Chang, *Shang Civilization*, p. 210; and below, n. 5. For a characterization of the Western Chou state using the same word, see Hsü and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, p. 380; also see below, n. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Herrlee G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China, Volume One: The Western Chou Empire* (Chicago: U. of Chicago P., 1970), p. 417.

## THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE LATE SHANG STATE

While all scholars would agree that the geography of the Shang state must be reconstructed primarily on the basis of oracle-bone inscriptions, analyses of this evidence tend to divide (or are perceived to divide) more or less strictly into two types: those that rely heavily on the traditional historical-geographical methods of matching inscriptional place names with state names known from later literary sources (examples of which might be the works of Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家 and his one-time associate Li Hsüeh-ch'in 李學勤),<sup>4</sup> and those that attempt to rely exclusively on geographical evidence contained within the inscriptions themselves (especially the study of Shima Kunio 島邦男).<sup>5</sup> The first of these two methods has resulted in a map depicting a relatively circumscribed Shang state, concentrated primarily in northern Honan, centered around present-day Anyang 安陽 and somewhat farther west around the city of Ch'in-yang 沁陽 and the Ch'in 沁 River (see map 1, the C locations). The second method, on the other hand, has resulted in a map of a much more extensive Shang state, encompassing at least parts of present-day Honan, Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, and Shensi; in short, the entire Yellow River valley inclusive of its major tributary, the Wei 渭 River (see map 1, S locations). Because this second method has been regarded as more acceptable methodologically, the maps reconstructed on its basis have been adopted by the leading Western historians of Shang China: K. C. Chang and David N. Keightley.<sup>6</sup> For instance, Chang has written, "the

<sup>4</sup> Ch'en Meng-chia, *Yin-hsü pu-tz'u tsung-shu* 殷虛卜辭綜述 (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1956), pp. 249-312; Li Hsüeh-ch'in, *Yin-tai ti-li chien-lun* 殷代地理簡論 (Peking: K'o-hsüeh, 1959).

<sup>5</sup> Shima Kunio, *Inkyo bokuji kenkyü* 殷墟卜辭研究 (Hirotsaki: Chugokugaku kenkyukai, 1958), pp. 349-423; see, too, Chung Po-sheng 鍾柏生, "Pu-tz'u chung so-chien Yin-wang t'ien-yu ti-ming k'ao — chien-lun t'ien-yu ti-ming yen-chiu fang-fa" 卜辭中所見殷王田遊地名考 — 兼論田遊地名研究方法 (M.A. thesis, National Taiwan U., 1972), which follows closely the methodology and conclusions of Shima.

<sup>6</sup> See Chang, *Shang Civilization*, pp. 210-30; David N. Keightley, "The Shang State as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions," *Early China* 5 (1979-80), pp. 25-34; and Keightley, "The Late Shang State: When, Where and What," in David N. Keightley, ed., *The Origins of Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1983), pp. 523-64, esp. pp. 532-39. While reproducing the maps of Shima and basing their analyses of the Shang state on his geography, both Chang and Keightley qualify to some extent their acceptance of it. Chang attempts to combine the conclusions of the two methodologies: "The many placenames at or near which royal hunts took place were distributed throughout the Shang state, but a large number of them appear to be concentrated in the Ch'in-yang area" (*Shang Civilization*, p. 215). Unfortunately, these maps and the methodologies on which they are based are not susceptible to this sort of compromise. As shown below, the contradictory results of the two historical-geographical methods are based on differing locations of certain key place names. If these place names are relocated, the entire

Shang state can be characterized, simply, as the network of . . . [walled] towns that was under the Shang king's direct control. . . . Such a network was vast."<sup>7</sup> Keightley qualifies this somewhat, comparing the Shang state to Gruyère cheese, arguing that although the area over which the Shang king could claim nominal control was indeed extensive, it must also have contained many holes.<sup>8</sup> Before accepting these conclusions about the nature of the late Shang state, we should first examine some of the details of Shima's maps. I believe we will find that their methodology is open to question.

The one basic premise of all reconstructions of Shang geography is that if two or more place names appear together in a single inscription or even on a single bone or shell, they must have been located relatively near each other. By extending this principle to include place names that share an indirect relationship, it is possible to group states together into networks that presumably cohere in relatively localized areas. (For example, if A and B appear together in one inscription and B and C appear together in another inscription, then it is assumed that A and C must also be related.) And if one state of the network can be located on the map of China, there is a prima facie reason to believe that the entire network to which that state belongs can also be located in general proximity. In this way, certain states take on considerably more geographic importance than other states and their placement will dictate the overall configuration of the map. Radical differences in the placement of two such key states, Chou 周 and Yü 孟 (or Yü-fang 孟方), have resulted in the radically different maps of the Shang state drawn by Ch'en Meng-chia and Shima Kunio. Let us consider each of these cases separately.

The name Chou, which appears as a state name with some frequency in the Pin 賓-group inscriptions of King Wu Ting 武丁 and probably Tsu Keng 祖庚, inscriptions that date to about the first two decades of the twelfth

configuration of the map necessarily changes. Keightley, after reviewing the problems faced in any reconstruction of Shang geography, concludes that "the fact that Shima [*Inkyo*, pp. 382-83] and Chung ["Pu-tz'u chung," facing p. 170] have drawn Shang maps that are generally similar encourages us to accept their reconstructions as valid working hypotheses" ("The Late Shang State," p. 539). Despite the similarity of the maps drawn by Shima and Chung, the radical discrepancy between them and the map drawn by Ch'en and supported by Li should encourage us to question their validity. It should be pointed out that while Keightley accepts Shima's maps and consequently describes a geographically extensive Shang state, one of his major conclusions is that Shang political control was generally weak and unstable. This characterization is consistent with the geography of the Shang state described here.

<sup>7</sup> Chang, *Shang Civilization*, p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> Keightley, "The Shang State as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions," p. 26.

century B.C.,<sup>9</sup> is universally identified with the state of Chou that eventually conquered Shang. In most of these inscriptions, Chou forms part of an extensive network of states allied with Shang and located to its west but apparently east of Kung-fang 孟方, the most powerful adversary of Shang at this time.<sup>10</sup> Ch'en and Shima agree in locating Kung-fang along the north-south stretch of the Yellow River, either in Shansi or Shensi depending on which bank of the river is chosen (see map 1). They also generally agree that the network of Shang allies must therefore be located in central or south-eastern Shansi. Primarily for this reason, Ch'en Meng-chia locates Chou along the Fen 汾 River of Shansi.<sup>11</sup> Despite the inscriptional evidence supporting this location, however, Shima places Chou far to the west, near Ch'i-shan 岐山, Shensi.<sup>12</sup> (See map 1.) He bases this placement on the

<sup>9</sup> For this date, see David N. Keightley, *Sources of Shang History: The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1978), pp. 171-76; see also David N. Keightley, "Shang China Is Coming of Age — A Review Article," *JAS* 41:3 (May 1982), pp. 350-52.

<sup>10</sup> Among the states with which Chou shares a relationship, Ch'a 虢, Yueh 戍, Chih 訖, and P'ei 緡 were all attacked by Kung-fang. The location of Kung-fang to the west not only of Shang but also of at least Chih can be seen from the well-known inscription on *Ching-hua* 2 (throughout this paper, references to collections of oracle-bone inscriptions will be given as in Keightley, *Sources of Shang History*, pp. 229-31):

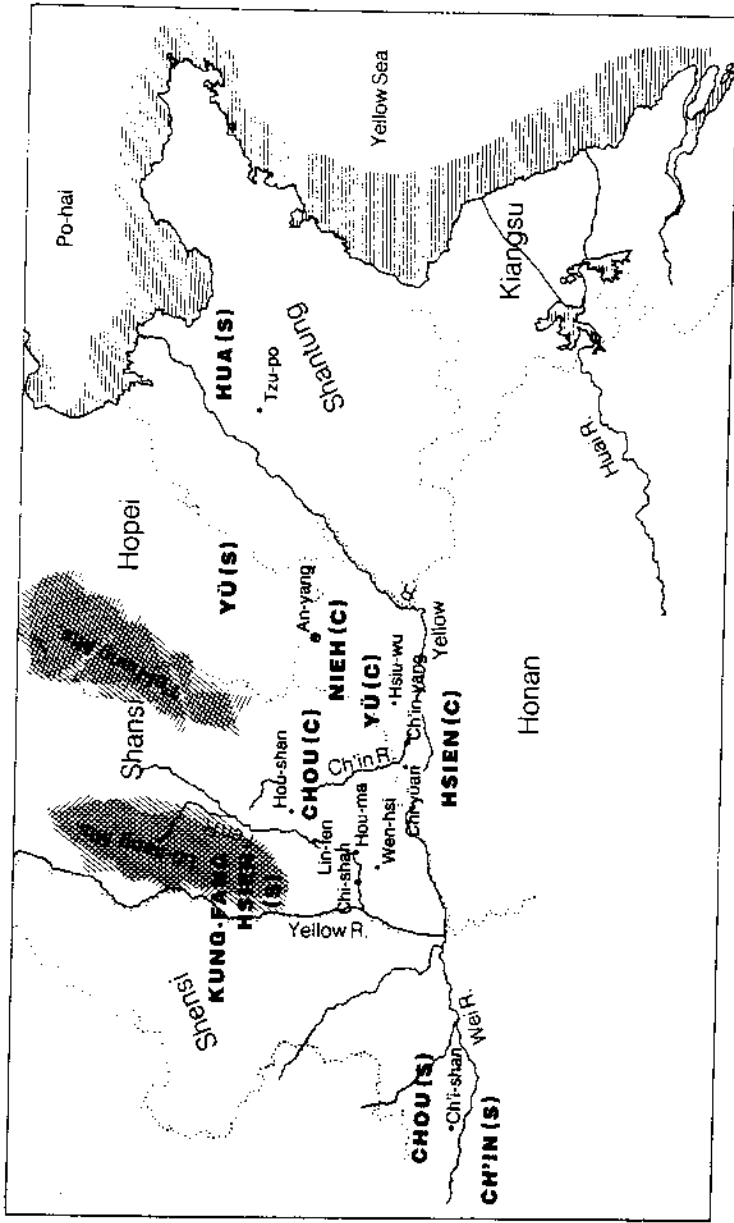
癸巳卜殼貞旬亡囡王固曰出龜其出來艱乞至五  
日丁酉尤出來艱自西沚臧告曰土方正于我東  
孟方二邑舌方亦授我西孟田

Crack on *kuei-szu* (day 30), Ch'üeh divining: "In the coming ten-day week, there will be no harm." The king prognosticated saying, "There is an evil omen. There will come misfortune." Coming to the fifth day *ting-yu* (day 34), there really did come misfortune from the west. Chih Kuo reported saying, "T'u-fang has campaigned in our eastern regions, destroying two cities; Kung-fang has also invaded our western regions and lands."

For a detailed study of the network of states with which Chou was related in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, see Hsia Han-i 夏含夷 (Edward L. Shaughnessy), "Tsao-ch'i Shang Chou kuan-hsi ch'i ch'i tui Wu Ting i-hou Yin-Shang wang-shih shih-li fan-wei te i-i" 早期商周關係及其對武丁以後殷商王室勢力範圍的意義, *Chou-chou hsieh-k'an* 九州學刊 5 (September 1987), pp. 19-32; see below, n. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Ch'en, *Tin-hsi pu-tz'u tsung-shu*, pp. 291-93. In addition to this evidence drawn from the oracle-bone inscriptions, Ch'en has cited the argument of Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 based on traditional historical geography, which I discuss below. Both of these studies have subsequently been corroborated by archaeological evidence. The lack of a continuous cultural sequence prefiguring the Early Chou (*Tsao Chou* 早周) culture in western Shensi and affinities between that culture and the earlier Kuang-she 光社 culture of western Shansi also seem to indicate that the Chou originated to the east of the Yellow River, rather than to its west; see Tsou Heng 鄒衡, *Hsia Shang Chou k'ao-ku-hsueh lun-wen chi* 夏商周考古學論文集 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1980), pp. 279-355. Although the association of Early Chou and Kuang-she cultures has been questioned (see, e.g., Yin Sheng-p'ing 尹盛平 and Jen Chou-fang 任周芳, "Hsien-Chou wen-hua te ch'u-pu yen-chiu" 先周文化的初步研究, *WW* [1984.7], pp. 42-49), the lack of any direct cultural precedent for Chou in western Shensi seems well established.

<sup>12</sup> Shima, *Inkyo bokuji kenkyū*, pp. 409-13.



Map 1

The Late Shang State.

This shows both the disparities in locating Chou, Yü, and other place names as suggested by Ch'en Meng-chia (C) and Shima Kunio (S), and also the different approximate extents of the Late Shang state as implied by them. Note: The ancient place names are given in boldface capital letters; their locations and extents should be considered approximate. Place names in smallest type correspond to modern places and their locations.

uncontestable fact that this was the location of Chou just before it finally conquered Shang. In pressing this argument, however, Shima not only has violated his own stated methodology of relying exclusively on inscriptional evidence, but has also failed to account for the well-known tradition that it was not until the time of Ku-kung Tan-fu 古公實父, the "Great King" (*T'ai-wang* 太王) and grandfather of King Wen 文 (r. 1099-1050 B.C.),<sup>13</sup> that the Chou migrated to Ch'i-shan to escape pressure from other tribes.<sup>14</sup> Although there are various traditions regarding the location of the Chou before this migration, considerable evidence in traditional sources suggests that they did in fact move out of the valley of the Fen River. This evidence, which has been collected and discussed at length by Ch'ien Mu 錢穆,<sup>15</sup> can be summarized in the following points.

First, at Chi-shan 稷山, on the north bank of the Fen River some twenty-five kilometers west of present-day Hou-ma 侯馬, are several temples commemorating Hou Chi 后稷, the progenitor of the Chou people. Moreover, the reputed tomb of Chiang Yüan 姜原, his mother, is at Wen-hsi 聞喜, about twenty-five kilometers south of Hou-ma. (See map 1 for this and the following discussion.)

Second, the city of Pin 邠, from which Ku-kung moved the Chou people to Ch'i-shan, is also written in early texts as 邠 or 汾,<sup>16</sup> both of which variants employ as phonetic the *fen* 分 of the Fen River, presumably indicating a genetic relationship between the two names and, thus, geographic proximity.

Third, in present-day Lin-fen 臨汾 county, some fifty kilometers north of Hou-ma, is located a tributary of the Fen River anciently known as the Ku 古 River. It is presumably from the area of this river that the name of Ku-kung, the Duke of Ku, derives.

<sup>13</sup> Dates given in this paper for the last two Shang kings and for the various Western Chou kings are based generally on the chronology proposed by David S. Nivison in "The Dates of Western Chou" (*HJAS* 43.2 [December 1983], pp. 481-580), but also include some revisions that will be substantiated in full in my forthcoming "Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels." For further discussion, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The 'Current' *Bamboo Annals* and the Date of the Zhou Conquest of Shang," *Early China* 11 (1985-87), pp. 33-60.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, *Mencius* 1B/15. The *Bamboo Annals* dates the Chou migration to Ch'i-shan in the first year of Shang king Wu I 武乙, two or three generations after the oracle-bone inscriptions that mention Chou; *Chu-shu chi-nien* 竹書紀年 (SPPY edn.) 1, p. 17b. Whether this record of the *Bamboo Annals* is accepted as historically accurate or not, since T'ai-wang was the grandfather of King Wen, a contemporary of Shang king Ti Hsin 帝辛 (r. 1086-1045 B.C.) six generations after the reign of Wu Ting, the Chou migration must have occurred after the time of these Pin-group inscriptions.

<sup>15</sup> Ch'ien Mu, "Chou ch'u ti-li k'ao" 周初地理考, *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 燕京學報 10 (1931), pp. 1955-2008.

<sup>16</sup> *Mencius* 1B/14, 15; *I Chou-shu* 逸周書 (SPPY edn.) 5, p. 3a.

Fourth, the *Shih-ching* poem "Kung Liu" 公劉 (Mao 250) describes the Chou ancestor Kung Liu as going "to the hundred springs" in his migration to Pin. This description fits well the eastern valley of present-day Wan-ch'üan 萬泉 (lit., ten-thousand springs) county, just south of Chi-shan, which has more than 100 sites of wells or springs.

Fifth, in the *Mencius* it is said that Ku-kung "left Pin and crossed the Liang 梁 Mountains, settling at the base of Ch'i-(shan)."<sup>17</sup> These Liang Mountains are conceivably the Lü-liang 呂梁 Mountains that run parallel to and just west of the Fen River.

Shima, on the other hand, seeks to substantiate his location of Chou far to the west not only of Shang but also of the network of states with which it is associated in inscriptions, by noting its relationship with another historically identifiable state whose name appears in the inscriptions, Ch'in 秦, no doubt ancestral to the state that subsequently united China under the Ch'in dynasty.<sup>18</sup> Shima notes that Chou and Ch'in occur together on a single inscription (*I-pien* 7312) and reasons properly that they must have been located very near each other. But he further argues that since in later historical times Ch'in was located in western Shensi, this association corroborates his placement of Chou at Ch'i-shan. Far from corroborating his earlier geography, this argument too violates the basic historical injunction against using evidence from widely divergent time periods. As in the case of Chou, had Shima examined the history of Ch'in he would have found that it too moved to Shensi at a date much later than that represented by these Shang oracle-bone inscriptions. According to the *Shih-chi* 史記 of Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (c. 145-89 B.C.), the Ch'in migration to Shensi did not occur until the reign of King Hsiao 孝 (r. 872-866 B.C.) in the mid-Western Chou dynasty. Before this time, Ch'in was certainly located in the vicinity of Huo-shan 霍山, Shansi, very near the Fen River location indicated for Chou.<sup>19</sup>

Thus the map that Shima has drawn showing most of the Shang western allies to be located in southern Shansi but with a couple of states located much farther west can be shown in this instance to violate both

<sup>17</sup> *Mencius* 1B/15. <sup>18</sup> Shima, *Inkyo bokuji kenkyū*, p. 410.

<sup>19</sup> *Shih-chi* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 5, p. 174, describes the Ta Lien 大廉 branch of the Ch'in house as living "among the Yi 夷 and Ti 狄" or "among the Western Jung 戎" during the Shang dynasty, extremely reminiscent of the descriptions of Chou at this same time. After the Chou conquest, Fei Lien 蜚廉, an official of Ch'in who had been serving at the court of Shang king Ti Hsin, "returned to Huo-t'ai-shan 霍太山." Later, King Mu 穆 (r. 956-918 B.C.) of Chou enfeoffed Tsao-fu 造父, also a scion of the Ch'in nobility, with Chao-ch'eng 趙城, in present-day Chih 絳 county, Shansi, in which Huo-shan, which all commentators identify with Huo-t'ai-shan, is located.

his own stated methodology and the best evidence regarding the location of historically identifiable states. What is more, the map also violates good historical sense. How would it have been possible for Chou and Ch'in to maintain close associations with the Shang allies in Shansi, much less with Shang itself, when the considerable distance separating them was either uninhabited or else controlled by adversaries of the Shang?

The second example that we should examine, the location of the state of Yü, is perhaps even more illustrative of the hazards in using Shima's maps. For much of the period covered by the oracle-bone inscriptions, Yü was one of the most important hunting regions for the Shang king. At one point late in the dynasty, however, it seems to have rebelled against Shang, earning for itself the appellation Yü-fang.<sup>20</sup> Ch'en Meng-chia, and, indeed, almost all Chinese historians, locate Yü near the city of Ch'in-yang in northwestern Honan.<sup>21</sup> This location is based in part on the fact that during the Spring and Autumn period this was the site of a state also named Yü. In addition to this historical identification of Yü, several other states closely associated with it in oracle-bone inscriptions can be similarly identified with later states located in the same general vicinity. For instance, the state of Kuei 夔 appears together with Yü in a single inscription (*Ts'ui-pien* 972) and a state by the same name (albeit with a "city" signific, 鄧) is located by the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 to the northwest of present-day Hsiu-wu 修武, which in turn is just northeast of Ch'in-yang. Hsiang 向 appears together with Yü on several oracle-bone pieces (for example, *Ch'ien-pien* 2.20.5; *Chia-pien* 506), and a state with the same name appears in the *Shih-ching* poem "Shih yüeh" 十月 (Mao 193); it is located just south of Chi-yüan 濟源, which is slightly west of

<sup>20</sup> The possibility cannot be ruled out, of course, that Yü and Yü-fang refer to two different states, but at least two points suggest their identity. First, independent analysis of inscriptions concerning these two names and the network of states to which they are related shows both to have been located in one extremely limited locale. Second, the name Yü-fang, the *fang* 方 of which normally indicates a Shang enemy, appears in only a small number of inscriptions, all of which are contemporary, apparently dating to the beginning of Period V, the reign of Ti I 帝乙 (r. 1105-1087 B.C.). It does not seem likely that such a state could have had relations with Shang at only one point in time and have been unknown to them at all other periods. For a study of inscriptions referring to Yü and Yü-fang, including an argument for their identity, see Li, *Yin-tai ti-li ch'ien-lun*, pp. 8-15, 23-30, 92-93. It should be noted that Shima, too, identifies Yü with Yü-fang; *Inkyo bokuji kenkyū*, p. 414.

<sup>21</sup> Ch'en, *Yin-hsi pu-t'ü tsung-shu*, p. 310. The first scholar to make this identification was Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 觀堂集林 (1923; rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1984) 4, p. 1154. That it has now been accepted in standard geographies can be seen, for instance, from its placement in the recently published *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi* 中國歷史地圖集, T'an Ch'i-hsiang 譚其驤, ed. (Shanghai: Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1982) 1, pp. 13-14.

Ch'in-yang. Another state pronounced Yü but written with a different graph, 楡, appears in oracle-bone inscriptions together with Yü (*Chui-ho* 1.403); it also appears in the *Tso-chuan* 左傳, located west of Hsiu-wu and northeast of Ch'in-yang.<sup>22</sup> The dangers of linking inscriptional place names with place names that occur in later texts are obvious, but the dangers can be mitigated when an entire series of identifications is demonstrated.

Evidence in the oracle-bone inscriptions themselves shows at least that Yü was west of Shang. To cite just one example, the following inscription apparently concerns the climactic battle in the war between Shang and its western adversary Kung-fang.

乙酉卜爭貞往復從泉執舌方二月

Crack on *i-yu* (day 22), Cheng divining: "Go and return from Nieh the shackled Kung-fang." Second month. (*Ch'ien-pien* 5.13.5)

There is no later evidence concerning the location of Nieh 泉, shown by this inscription to have been the site of either a major battle (indeed, probably the final battle) between the Shang and Kung-fang or the Shang forward base. But since there is no doubt that Kung-fang lay to the west of Shang and that the Kung-fang War was fought primarily in the central and southern parts of present-day Shansi province, it stands to reason that Nieh must have been in this area, west of the Shang capital.<sup>23</sup> This location of Nieh is relevant to the location of Yü or Yü-fang because several generations after the Kung-fang War, Nieh was once again the site of a divination by

<sup>22</sup> For these locations and the traditional citations on which they are based, see Li, *Yin-tai ti-ti chien-lun*, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> For a preliminary discussion of the dynamics of the Shang war with Kung-fang, see Shaughnessy, "Tsao-ch'i Shang Chou kuan-hsi"; a more detailed study, Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Life and Death of Fu Hao: With Comments on the Sequence of the Shang Campaigns against Bafang, Tufang and Gongfang," was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, March 26, 1988. In the first of these studies, I employ the revisions in oracle-bone periodization suggested by Li Hsueh-ch'in, Ch'iu Hsi-kuei 袁錫圭, and Lin Yün 林漢 (summarized in my "Recent Approaches to Oracle-Bone Periodization: A Review," *Early China* 8 [1982-83], pp. 1-13) to demonstrate that the Kung-fang War postdated King Wu Ting's great expansion to the west of the T'ai-hang Mountains and that several of the Shang ally states that were attacked by Kung-fang appear in inscriptions from still later periods as enemies of the Shang. From this I conclude that far from being an unqualified Shang victory, as most scholars have presumed, the Kung-fang War resulted in the loss of the Shang hegemony in the western regions that had been established by Wu Ting. In the second study, I develop a more precise method of periodization, which I term "micro-periodization," to determine the sequence of the hundreds of inscriptions divined in connection with the Kung-fang War. It is on the basis of this methodology that it is possible to show that the battle at or near Nieh was the final battle of the war and that because of the Shang victory there, Kung-fang failed to penetrate the Shang capital region. I expect to publish this latter study in due course.

the Shang king made during his return from suppressing the Yü-fang rebellion:<sup>24</sup>

... (才) 隸貞旬亡囡... 引吉才三月甲申祭小甲... 隹王來正孟方白炎  
... (at) Nieh divining: "In the ten-day week there will be no harm."

... Extended auspiciousness. In the third month, *chia-shen* (day 21), the *chi*-sacrifice to Hsiao Chia. ... It was when the king was returning from campaigning against Earl Yen of Yü-fang. (*Hou-pien* 1.18.6)

Since Nieh certainly lay to the west of Shang and since the Shang king passed through Nieh on his return from attacking Yü-fang, it stands to reason that Yü-(fang) must similarly have been located in the west.

Despite this evidence, Shima locates Yü northeast of the Shang capital, apparently in southeastern Hopei or northwestern Shangtung.<sup>25</sup> Although his argument for this location seems at first reading to be based on sound methodology, I believe that it too can be shown to have a basic flaw. Shima presents a series of three inscriptions apparently indicating that Yü must be located east of Shang:

1. 王衷孟田省

王其... 豸... 又鹿

The king lets it be Yü where he hunts and inspects.

The king expects ... Yu ... to have deer. (*Shih-to* 1.402)

2. 田豸... 畢

衷灋... 亡災畢

... hunts Yu ... catch.

Let it be Hua ... no disaster; catch. (*Ts'ui-pien* 986)

3. 三日乙酉又來自東灋乎南告宐

The third day *i-yu*, there was (news) coming from the east. Hua calls out to Chu to report that Pang defends. (*Hou-pien* 2.37.2)

The first two inscriptions indicate an indirect relationship between Yü and Hua 灋. The third, according to Shima's interpretation, places Hua

<sup>24</sup> For a demonstration that the phrase "wei wang lai cheng" 隹王來正, which is included in the date notation of this inscription, should be interpreted as indicating the king's return from a campaign, see Ch'en, *Yin-hsiü pu-tz'u tsung-shu*, p. 304.

<sup>25</sup> Shima, *Inkyo bokujū kenkyū*, p. 375, states that the location should be southwest of T'ai-shan 泰山 in Shantung, which is almost due east of Anyang. However, this location is not indicated by the placement of Yü vis-à-vis Anyang on either his specialized maps or his general map.

to the east of Shang and, following the transcription and identification of Tung Tso-pin 董作賓, places it near Tzu-po 淄博, Shantung.<sup>26</sup> Whatever the validity of this transcription, however, the Hua of the third inscription seems not to be a place name at all but rather the personal name of an official at court (he does, after all, "call out").<sup>27</sup> Thus, Shima's sole piece of evidence for locating Yü and its very extensive network of associated states to the east of Shang appears to be invalid.

Differing interpretations of an oracle-bone inscription are understandable. Less understandable is the rigidity with which Shima pursues his methodology with respect to this northeastern location for Yü. He notes, for instance, that another state, Hsien 先, associated with Yü in hunting inscriptions, is shown by several inscriptions to have been located both along the Yellow River and west of Shang.<sup>28</sup> To accommodate all these considerations, Shima locates Hsien in northwest Shansi. But this location of Hsien is over 700 kilometers away from his proposed location of Yü, farther than we might reasonably expect a hunting party to travel. Moreover, looming between the two is the all but impenetrable barrier of the T'ai-hang 太行 Mountain range. Again, good historical sense, as much as any other factor, should have suggested that a map such as this is unreasonable. When we accept the location of Yü near Ch'in-yang favored by almost all Chinese scholars, Hsien can readily be located both to the west of Shang and along the Yellow River less than twenty-five kilometers from Yü (see map 1).

Correcting Shima's location of Yü affects not only the placement of Hsien but also that of the other states with which Yü is associated. When this is done, the area shown to be under the control or even the influence of the Shang king is again drastically reduced. Rather than our seeing the center of Shang power as controlling vast stretches across northern Shansi, Hopei, and Shantung, we once again interpret it as comprising a relatively circumscribed area roughly from present-day Anyang to no more than about 200

<sup>26</sup> Tung Tso-pin, "Tung Hua yü Hua" 東董與董, *Tü kung* 禹貢 6.2 (1936), pp. 37-39.

<sup>27</sup> Shima regards the graph *hu* 乎 (to call out) as part of the personal name of the ruler of Hua, i.e., Hua Hu-chu. Possible support for locating Hua to the east might be found in another inscription, which reads in part, "there really did come trouble from the east; Hua reported saying" (*yün yü lai chien tzu tung Hua kao yüeh* 允出來艱自東董告白; *Ch'ien-pien* 7.40.2), but the question here, too, is whether this figure Hua should necessarily be identified with the state of Hua, and if so, whether he came from the east or was already at the capital reporting news from the east.

<sup>28</sup> Shima, *Inkyo bokuji kenkyü*, p. 381. In many inscriptions, Hsien is the site of sacrifices to the (Yellow) River (e.g., *Hou-pien* 1.15.4). It is also associated with She 射 (*I-t'ün* 273) and through it with Ch'ang 長 (*Ch'ien-pien* 2.8.3), the latter of which was involved in the Kung-fang War (*Ching-hua* 2), testifying to its western location.

kilometers west. It is unfortunate that the best Western studies of the nature and extent of the late Shang state have been misled by the apparent methodological rigor of Shima Kunio's maps into describing a Shang state far more extensive than was actually the case.

## THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WESTERN CHOU STATE

Recent historians have also argued that the area under the control of the king during the Western Chou period was extensive, indeed "gigantic" in the words of the most recent study of the period, encompassing all the lands drained by the Yellow River and extending even into the lower Yangtze River valley.<sup>29</sup> This geography is based primarily on the discovery of one very important inscribed bronze vessel. In 1954 in Tan-t'u 丹徒 county, Kiangsu province, on the southern bank of the Yangtze River just east of Nanking (see map 2), an early Western Chou vessel was discovered with a 121-graph inscription, the "I-hou Tse kwei" 宣侯矢戩. Since this inscription is not only an extremely important piece of evidence for the geography of the Western Chou state but also one of the earliest complete records of an investiture ceremony, and thus of great interest for discovering the means by which the Chou kings attempted to control their realm, it is deserving of a complete translation.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, *Chung-kuo shih kao* 中國史稿 (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-p'an-she, 1976) 1, p. 229; Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft*, p. 405; Hsü Cho-yün 許倬雲, *Hsi-Chou shih* 西周史 (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-p'an shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1984), pp. 135-37; and, for the description of the Chou kingdom as "gigantic," Hsü and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, p. 143.

<sup>30</sup> For the report of the discovery of this vessel, see "Chiang-su Tan-t'u hsien Yen-tun-shan ch'u-t'u te ku-tai ch'ing-t'ung ch'i" 江蘇丹徒縣烟墩山出土的古代青銅器, *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* 文物參考資料 (1955.5), pp. 58-62. Among the many studies of the inscription, the following have been the most influential: Ch'en Meng-chia, "I-hou Tse kwei ho t'a-te i-i" 宣侯矢戩和它的意義, *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* (1955.5), pp. 63-66; Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai" 西周銅器斷代, *K'ao-ku hsieh-pao* 考古學報 (1955.9), pp. 165-67; Kuo Mo-jo, "Tse kwei ming k'ao-shih" 矢戩銘考釋, *K'ao-ku hsieh-pao* (1956.1), pp. 7-9; Tang Lan 唐蘭, "I-hou Tse kwei k'ao-shih" 宣侯矢戩考釋, *K'ao-ku hsieh-pao* (1956.2), pp. 79-83; Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜, *Kimbun tsūshaku* 金文通釋 (Kobe: Hakutsuru bijutsukan, 1964), fasc. 10, item 52, pp. 529-60; and Li Hsüeh-ch'in, "I-hou Tse kwei yü Wu-kuo" 宣侯矢戩與吳國, *W/W* (1985.7), pp. 16, 25. The inscription has been translated and discussed at some length by Noel Barnard in "A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date," *MS* 17 (1958), pp. 12-46, although it should be noted that Barnard has romanized the name of the maker of this vessel as Nieh, a reading that almost all subsequent Western scholars have followed. In addition to the reading of this graph, the translation offered here differs from that of Barnard in several other important respects.

## "I-hou Tse kuei" Inscription

佳四月辰才丁未(王)省城王

It was the fourth month, the *ch'en* was on *t'ing-wei* (day 44), (the king) inspected<sup>31</sup> the King Wu

成王伐商圖征省東或圖

and King Ch'eng attack on Shang map, [then] went to inspect the eastern countries map.<sup>32</sup>

王立于宜宗土南鄉王令

The king stood in the I ancestral temple, facing south. The king commanded

虞侯矢曰鄩侯于宜易鬯

Lord Tse of Yü, saying: "Move<sup>33</sup> to be lord at I. [I] award *sao*-fragrant

鬯一卣商鬯一□彤彤一彤矢百

wine one *yu*, one Shang wine vessel, . . . one red-lacquered bow and 100

red-lacquered arrows,

旅弓十旅矢千易土厥川

ten traveling bows and 1,000 traveling arrows; award land: its acreage<sup>34</sup>

三百□厥□百又□厥□邑卅

300 . . .<sup>35</sup> its . . . 100 and . . . , its . . . towns 35,

又五厥□百又卅易才宜

its . . . 140;<sup>36</sup> award at I

<sup>31</sup> The graph rendered here as *hsing* 省 (to inspect) is only partially visible in the rubbing of the inscription. This transcription, as well as the reading *wang* 王 (king) for the totally obliterated preceding graph, follows T'ang, "I-hou Tse kuei k'ao-shih," p. 79.

<sup>32</sup> The reading of 圖 as *t'u* 圖 (diagram, map) is discussed below.

<sup>33</sup> Following the reading proposed by Li, "I-hou Tse kuei yü Wu-kuo," p. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Both Kuo Mo-jo and T'ang Lan interpret *ch'uan* 川 as the unelaborated form of *ch'uan* 畝, which they in turn equate with the word *ch'uan* 畝; Kuo, "Tse kuei ming k'ao-shih," p. 8; T'ang, "I-hou Tse kuei k'ao-shih," p. 80. Kuo further suggests that one *ch'uan* is the equivalent of one-third of a *mu* 畝 (acre), while T'ang suggests instead that it is a general term for rich bottomland. For reasons elaborated in the following note, I have adopted Kuo's reading here.

<sup>35</sup> The graph at this spot in the inscription has been almost completely obliterated; Kuo Mo-jo suggests that it must be *wan* 萬 (ten thousand), for if one *ch'uan* were equal to only one-third of a *mu*, then an award of any less than about three million *mu* would be too little land to support the number of villages and retainers enumerated below ("Tse kuei ming k'ao-shih," p. 8). T'ang Lan suggests instead that the graph must be *t'ien* 田 (fields), used as a specifier of *ch'uan* 川 ("I-hou Tse kuei k'ao-shih," p. 80). Simpler though this second reading is, since none of the following numerical phrases has a specifier, it would seem that Kuo's interpretation of the word as a number is preferable, even though it is impossible to determine the exact number.

<sup>36</sup> Kuo Mo-jo suggests *li* 里 (hamlet) for the missing graph here, with classical citations to support his reading, on the basis of which he proposes a fourfold land-distribution system in the early Western Chou ("Tse kuei ming k'ao-shih," p. 8). For a deeper discussion of this proposed land-distribution system, see Shirakawa, *Kimbum isshaku*, pp. 542-46. It is unfortunate that

王人□□又七生易鬯七白

king's men . . . and seven clans, award seven earls of Cheng

厥鬯千又五十夫易宜庶人

and their retainers 1,050 men, award I common men

六百又□又六夫宜侯矢揚

600 and . . . (and) six men." Lord Tse of I extols

王休乍虞公父丁降彝

the king's beneficence, making (for) Father Ting, the Duke of Yü, (this) sacrificial vessel.

The inscription relates the transfer of Lord Tse 矢 from his original domain of Yü 虞 (not to be confused with the Shang state discussed above) to a new state named I 宜. (For these and the locations discussed below, see map 2.) The investiture ceremony is described as taking place in the ancestral temple at I with the Chou king personally presiding. It has been assumed by almost all scholars that the I with which Lord Tse was invested is none other than the area in which the vessel was discovered; that is, in and around Tan-t'u, Kiangsu. It has also been argued by some that the name of Lord Tse's original domain, Yü, might be ancestral to the later state of Wu 吳, which was also south of the lower Yangtze River.<sup>37</sup> However, a recent study by Huang Sheng-chang 黃盛璋 has shown conclusively, I believe, that this assumption is incorrect and that the vessel must in fact have been transported to this distant region from the Yellow River valley sometime after the close of the Western Chou period.<sup>38</sup> His argument can be summarized in the following four points.

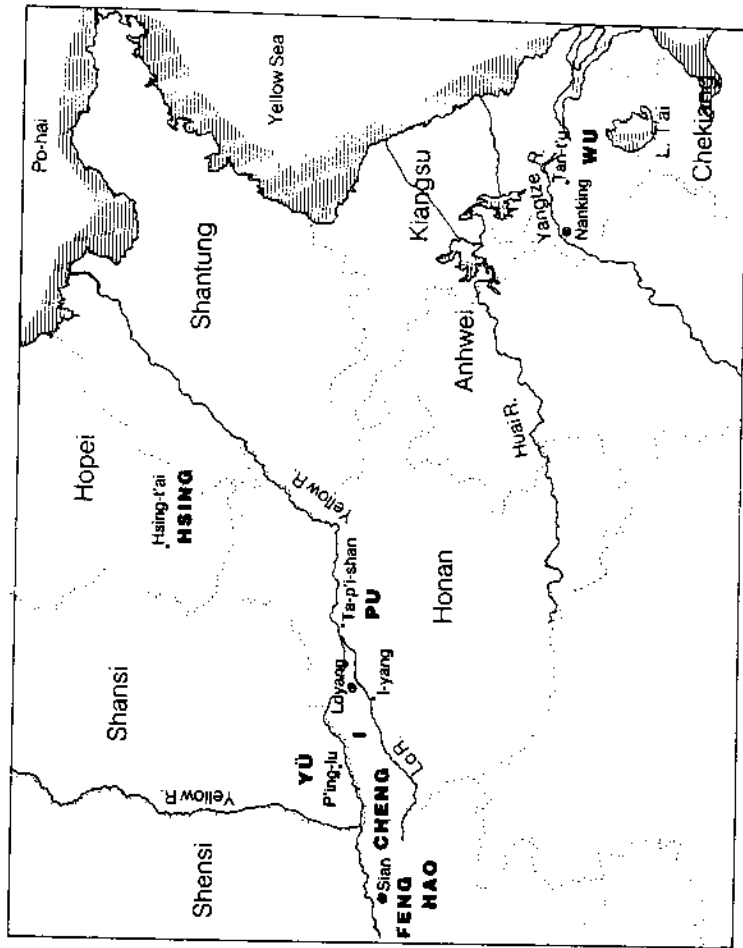
First, the cache of vessels in which the "I-hou Tse kuei" was discovered included eleven other vessels of various periods, at least one of which could date no earlier than the Spring and Autumn period. The date of this latest vessel provides the *terminus post quem* for the burial of these treasures at Tan-t'u, Kiangsu, suggesting in turn that the "I-hou Tse kuei," which was certainly cast during the reign of King K'ang 康 (r. 1005-978 B.C.) two or

here and throughout this portion of the inscription graphs have been obliterated by damage done to the vessel in the course of its exhumation.

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance, T'ang, "I-hou Tse kuei k'ao-shih," p. 82; Li Hsüeh-ch'in, "Ts'ung hsün-ch'u ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i k'an Ch'ang-chiang hsia-yu wen-hua te fa-chan" 從新出青銅器看長江下游文化的發展, *WW* (1980.8), pp. 37-39.

<sup>38</sup> Huang Sheng-chang, "T'ung-ch'i ming-wen I, Yü, Tse te ti-wang chi ch'i yü Wu-kuo te kuan-hsi" 銅器銘文宜虞矢的地望及其與吳國的關係, *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* (1983.3), pp. 295-305.





Map 2

The Early Western Chou State.

This shows locations of I and Hsing, and related place names.

Note: The ancient place names are given in boldface capital letters; their locations and extents should be considered approximate. Place names in smallest type correspond to modern places and their locations.

three centuries earlier,<sup>39</sup> could have been cast elsewhere and then brought to this location in a subsequent migration.<sup>40</sup>

Second, the first two lines of the inscription on the "I-hou Tse kuei" describe the Chou king's inspection on day *ling-wei* of the fourth month of two different "t'u" 圖, one pertaining to the attacks on Shang led by kings Wu 武 (r. 1049/1045-1043 B.C.) and Ch'eng 成 (r. 1042/1035-1006 B.C.) and one pertaining to the eastern countries. Although Ch'en Meng-chia's initial interpretation of this word as a "frontier settlement" (*pi* 鄙), with the king's inspection consequently entailing a long-distance tour, has been followed by many subsequent scholars,<sup>41</sup> the graph here is clearly distinct from contemporary examples of *pi* and in this case undoubtedly refers to a map. In addition to the epigraphic evidence in support of this reading, there is an overriding practical requirement for it. As Huang notes, if these *t'u* were in fact two different frontier settlements, it is unreasonable that the king should have been able to "inspect" both on a single day, as the inscription indeed states that he did. Instead, it is entirely likely that before establishing

<sup>39</sup> This date, which is based on the posthumous reference to Kings Wu and Ch'eng in the first and second lines of the inscription and is consistent with the shape and decor of the vessel and its calligraphy, is now universally accepted; see, for instance, *Shang-Chou ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i ming-wen hsian* 商周青銅器銘文選 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1986) I, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the other bronzes found in this burial mound at Tan-t'u are typologically distinct from the "I-hou Tse kuei" and, indeed, from all Western Chou bronzes of the Wei and Yellow River valleys. Since the discovery of this site, numerous other burial mounds containing bronze vessels and implements have been discovered in the same general area. For just the most important of these finds, see Anhwei sheng wen-hua-chü wen-wu kung-tso-tui 安徽省文化局文物工作隊, "Anhwei T'un-hsi Hsi-Chou mu-tsang fa-chüeh pao-kao" 安徽屯溪西周墓葬發掘報告, *K'ao-ku hsieh-pao* (1959-4), pp. 59-90; Chen-chiang po-wu-kuan 鎮江博物館 and Tan-yang hsien wen-wu kuan-li wei-yüan-hui 丹陽縣文物管理委員會, "Kiangsu Tan-yang ch'u-t'u te Hsi-Chou ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i" 江蘇丹陽出土的西周青銅器, *WW* (1980.8), pp. 3-9; Nan-ching shih wen-wu pao-kuan wei-yüan-hui 南京市文物保管委員會, "Nan-ching P'u-k'ou ch'u-t'u i-p'i ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i" 南京浦口出土一批青銅器, *WW* (1980.8), pp. 10-12, 34; Chen-chiang po-wu-kuan and Tan-yang hsien wen-wu kuan-li wei-yüan-hui, "Kiangsu Tan-t'u Ta-kang Mu-tzu-tun Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i mu fa-chüeh chien-pao" 江蘇丹徒大港母子墩西周銅器墓發掘簡報, *WW* (1984.5), pp. 1-10. For general surveys of these sites and especially their bronze vessels, see Li, "Ts'ung hsien-ch'u ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i k'an"; Hsiao Meng-lung 肖夢龍, "Mu-tzu-tun mu ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i chi yu-kuan wen-t'i t'an-so" 母子墩墓青銅器及有關問題探索, *WW* (1984.5), pp. 11-15; and Okamura Hidenori 岡村秀典, "Go-Otsu izen no seidoki" 吳越以前の青銅器, *Koshi shunju* 古史春秋 3 (1987), pp. 63-89. All these burial mounds belong to a regional culture, generally termed the Hu-shu 湖熟 Culture, which is clearly distinct from Chou Culture. Except for the "I-hou Tse kuei" and a "Po kuei" 白匭 discovered at Mu-tzu-tun 母子墩 bearing the brief inscription "Po makes (this) treasured sacrificial vessel" (*Po tso pao tsun i* 白乍寶尊彝), the bronzes are not inscribed. More important, they display marked regional characteristics. It would seem reasonable to view the exceptions as intrusions from an outside culture rather than representatives of a foreign ruling class, as has generally been the view to date.

<sup>41</sup> Ch'en, "I-hou Tse kuei ho t'a-te i-i," p. 64; among scholars who have followed Ch'en in this interpretation are Shirakawa, *Kimbon tsūshaku*, fasc. 10, entry 52, p. 534, and Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft*, p. 405.

a new state, the king would have consulted maps of the area. Understood thus, the inscription provides no evidence for any long-distance inspection tour on the part of the king nor any reason to regard either Yü or I as "frontier settlements."

Third, Huang demonstrates that despite the homophony between *yü* 虞 (archaic: *ngo*) and *wu* 吳 (archaic: *ngiwo*),<sup>42</sup> in bronze inscriptions of this period and even later the two graphs were very strictly differentiated and must certainly have referred to different states. He further adduces considerable textual evidence to show that Yü was located just north of P'ing-lu 平陸 in southern Shansi province. Conclusive support for this point was recently unearthed in just this area in the form of an inscribed *hu* 壺 vase cast by a lord of Yü.<sup>43</sup> Huang proceeds from this point to assume that Yü and I, the former and latter fiefs of Lord Tse, must have been located in one general area.

Fourth, the inscription also records the award to Lord Tse of seven earls and 1,050 of their retainers from the state of Cheng 鄭 (that is, 鄭), located at that time in Hua 華 county, Shensi province, just west of the T'ung-kuan 潼關, the principal corridor of communication between the two Chou capitals at present-day Sian and Loyang. Huang argues that for such a large number of men to have been transferred from the jurisdiction of one state to that of another (whether the transfer involved the physical displacement of these people or not), the two states must have been relatively close. Therefore, I must also have been in the vicinity of Cheng.

Given all these considerations, Huang concludes that I ought to be identified with present-day I-yang 宜陽, just west of Loyang at the confluence of the I 宜 and Lo 洛 rivers. This conclusion is consonant with a basic principle of traditional historical geography: rivers and mountains better preserve their original names than do cities and states.

The significance of this conclusion is great indeed. By properly determining the geographical location of I, this inscription shows that by the time of King K'ang, the third king of the dynasty, who was reigning when the "I-hou Tse *kuei*" was cast, the Chou court was still actively consolidating its hold over its own capital region. To be sure, other evidence from about this time does attest to some geographic expansion of the Chou state. But this evidence too suggests that the expansion was around the capital area and

<sup>42</sup> Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1972), p. 36, entries 59a and 59h, respectively.

<sup>43</sup> Huang, "T'ung-ch'i ming-wen I, Yü, Tse," p. 298, n. 3, cites a notice of discovery, "Shansi sheng wen-wu shang-tien shou-chin Ch'un-ch'iu Yü-hou hu" 山西省文物商店收進春秋虞侯壺, *WW* (1980.7), p. 46.

did not involve the establishment of distant colonies in the midst of and even beyond areas that the Chou court was never able to bring under control.

The best-documented case of this Chou expansion concerns the establishment of a state named Hsing 邢 (see map 2). The establishment of Hsing is first mentioned in the lengthy inscription of the "Mai *tsun*" 麥尊, a vessel probably cast in the last years of King Ch'eng's reign.<sup>44</sup> Although the vessel has long been lost and only a line drawing and a woodblock imitation of the inscription survive, the enfeoffment rites narrated in the inscription are even more detailed than those in the "I-hou Tse *kuei*." I believe it too warrants translation in full.<sup>45</sup>

#### "Mai *tsun*" Inscription

王命辟井侯出矜侯弔井霽若二月侯見邦宗周亡途遑王

The king commanded the ruler, Lord of Hsing, to depart Pu and be lord at Hsing. In the second month, the lord appeared (in audience) at Tsung-chou and was without impropriety. [He] joined the king

客莽京訖祀霽若翌日才璧離王乘弔舟為大豐王射

and approached P'ang-ching<sup>46</sup> and performed a libation ritual. On the next day, at Pi-yung Lake, the king rode in a boat and performed the Ta-feng-rite. The king shot

<sup>44</sup> According to the *Tso-chuan* (Hsi 24), Hsing was one of six states awarded to sons of the Duke of Chou, awards that the "Wang Mang Biography" 王莽傳 of the *Han-shu* 漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1962) 99A, p. 4062, further ascribes to King Ch'eng. For bronze inscriptional corroboration of the Lord of Hsing's affiliation with the Duke of Chou, see Shirakawa Shizuka's discussion of the related "Mai *fang-ting*" 麥方鼎 (Shirakawa, *Kimbon tsūshaku*, fasc. 11, entry 60, p. 623). Since the inscription of the "Mai *tsun*" records that the Lord of Hsing's father had already died, and since according to the *Bamboo Annals* (SPPY edn.) 2, p. 3a, the Duke of Chou died in the twenty-first year of King Ch'eng's reign, it appears that the enfeoffment must have taken place late in that reign.

<sup>45</sup> In addition to the not inconsiderable interest it holds for the development of royal control in the Chou state, this inscription is interesting as an example of a secondary presentation of awards. The maker of the vessel, Mai 麥, was a Recorder (*ts'o-t's'e* 作册) for the Lord of Hsing. After the lord had been awarded numerous gifts by the king in conjunction with his transfer of title, he returned to his home state and made an award of metal to Mai. Although the inscription deals almost entirely with the relationship between the king and the Lord of Hsing, it is this secondary award to Mai that is actually commemorated by the vessel.

<sup>46</sup> There are conflicting interpretations concerning the identity and location of P'ang-ching 莽京. Some scholars regard it as the capital Feng 豐, others as Hao 濠, and still others as yet a third, detached capital. For two recent studies of this question, see Huang Sheng-chang, "Kuan-yü chin-wen chung te P'ang-ching, Hao, Feng, Pang wen-t'i pien-cheng" 關於金文中的莽京濠豐問題辨正, *Chung-hua wen-shih lun-t'ung* 中華文史論叢 (1981.4), pp. 183-98; and Liu Yü 劉雨, "Chin-wen P'ang-ching k'ao" 金文莽京考, *K'ao-ku yü wen-wu* 考古與文物 (1982.3), pp. 69-75.

翼禽侯乘羽赤旂舟從死威之日王以侯內刊幣侯易玄周  
 at a large goose, bagging [it]. The lord rode in a red-pennanted boat  
 following and arrayed [it].<sup>47</sup> That day the king together with the lord  
 entered into the apartments. The lord was awarded a black, carved  
 戈弔王才庠已夕侯易者期臣二百家齋用王乘車馬金勒門  
 dagger-ax. When the king was at An, in the evening, the lord was  
 awarded many ax-men vassals, 200 families, and was offered use of the  
 chariot team in which the king rode, metal harness-trappings, a cap,  
 衣市鳥唯歸遲天子休告亡尤用翼義寧侯願考于井  
 a jacket, kneepads, and slippers. When [he] returned, [he] extolled the  
 Son of Heaven's grace, reporting that there was no error; using a goose  
 feather<sup>48</sup> (to give) repose to the lord's brilliant deceased-father at Hsing.  
 侯乍册麥易金于辟侯麥揚用乍寶障彝用喙侯逆  
 The lord's Recorder Mai was awarded metal by the ruling lord. Mai  
 extolled [the lord's grace], herewith making (this) treasured, sacrificial  
 vessel, to use to perform libations to the lord's return  
 迺逌明令唯天子休于麥辟侯之年盥孫孫子子其  
 visit and to extol the bright command. It was in the year that the Son  
 of Heaven was beneficent to Mai's ruling lord. Together with grand-  
 sons and sons, may  
 永亡冬用迺德妥多受享旌走令  
 [he] eternally be without end; herewith being visited with virtue and  
 soothed with many blessings in implementing the moving command  
 (that is, the command to move to Hsing).

From the inscription, it can be seen that the Lord of Hsing was originally  
 enfeoffed at Pu 𡗗. There is reason to believe that this Pu was near present-  
 day Ta-p'i-shan 大伾山 in northern Honan, only about eighty kilometers  
 due east of the Chou eastern capital at Loyang.<sup>49</sup> The location of Hsing

<sup>47</sup> The interpretation of *ssu* 死 here follows that of Shirakawa (*Kimbun tsūshaku*, fasc. 11, entry 60, p. 637), who notes that in early texts *ssu* is interchangeable with *shih* 尸, which in turn has a meaning of *shih* 矢 (to array).

<sup>48</sup> The interpretation of *kung* 翼義 here as a phonetic loan for *hung* 鴻羽 follows Kuo Mo-jo, *Liang-Chou chin-wen tz'u ta-hsi k'ao-shih* 兩周金文辭大系考釋 (Tokyo: Bunkyo shoten, 1935), p. 41b. *Kung* is clearly used in the sense of "goose" in line 3 above. As for *i* being identifiable with *yü*, Kuo cites the top line of "Chien" 漸 hexagram (54/6) of the *Chou-i* 周易: "The wild goose approaches the land; its feathers can be used as an *i* 儀." However, Kuo does not explain, and I certainly do not understand, how the Lord of Hsing proposed to use this goose feather to give repose to his father.

<sup>49</sup> Pu is a place name that occurs also in the inscription on the "E-hou *ling*" 雁侯鼎 (Shirakawa, *Kimbun tsūshaku*, fasc. 25, entry 142, p. 260): "The king southerly campaigned, attacked Chiao 角 and I 頤. It was when he returned from campaign, at Pu, that Lord Border-Protector of E was internally feasted by the king." Chiao and I can be located with

itself can be determined with more certainty, for in 1978 a cache of vessels cast shortly after the "Mai *tsun*" by a Lord of Hsing was found in Yüan-shih 元氏 county, very near Hsing-t'ai 邢台 in southern Hopei province, long presumed to be the site of ancient Hsing. The inscription on one of these vessels, the "Ch'en Chien *kuei*" 臣謙毘, records an attack on the settlement by unidentified "belligerents" (*jung* 戎).<sup>50</sup>

"Ch'en Chien *kuei*" Inscription

隹戎大出(于)軹井侯屨

It was when the belligerents greatly came out (at) (Shih:) Ti;<sup>51</sup> the Lord of Hsing hit

戎姓令臣謙以□□亞

the belligerents and went to command Vassal Chien to take . . . and the Guard-

旅處于軹. . .

Legionnaires to locate at Ti. . .

Hsing's susceptibility to attack suggests that it was at this time an outpost at the extreme edge of the territory under secure control of the Chou court. If this assumption is not mistaken, since Hsing-t'ai is less than 130 kilometers due north of Anyang, which the Chou would have had obvious reasons to keep under tight control, the establishment of Hsing reflects a historical-geographical situation similar to that in the case of I: by the reign of King K'ang, the Chou court was still actively consolidating its hold over its own capital region. That the Chou king was capable of ordering feudal lords to transfer their rule from one state to another and, as in the case of the "I-hou Tse *kuei*," even able to order the mass transfer of subjects from yet a third state demonstrates an impressive degree of control over this one area. But the governmental structure required for this sort of local control

some confidence in southeastern Honan; see Ma Ch'eng-yüan 馬承源, "Kuan-yü Liao Sheng hsü ho Chu Hsien chung te chi-tien i-chien" 關於麥生盥和者減鐘的幾點意見, *KK* (1979.1), pp. 60-65. Given the direction of this campaign, it would seem that Kuo Mo-jo is probably correct in identifying Pu (which can also be read as *pi* 丕) with the area of Ta-p'i-shan in Ssu-shui 汜水 county of north-central Honan, well within the sphere of the eastern capital at Loyang (Kuo, *Liang-Chou chin-wen-tz'u ta-hsi k'ao-shih*, p. 40b).

<sup>50</sup> For this discovery, see Li Hsüeh-ch'in and T'ang Yün-ming 唐雲明, "Yüan-shih t'ung-ch'i yü Hsi-Chou te Hsing-kuo" 元氏銅器與西周的邢國, *KK* (1979.1), pp. 56-59, 88.

<sup>51</sup> Li Hsüeh-ch'in and T'ang Yün-ming argue that in paleographic sources *shih* 氏 and *ti* 氐 are interchangeable and suggest that this place name corresponds to the Huai 槐 River, which was anciently known as the Ti 氐 River and runs through Yüan-shih county; "Yüan-shih t'ung-ch'i yü Hsi-Chou te Hsing-kuo," pp. 58-59.

is certainly much less developed than would be required to control the extensive areas with which the Western Chou state is often credited.<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion, then, although their cultural influence was certainly widespread, it would appear that neither the Shang nor the Western Chou kings were ever able to project their political authority beyond a relatively circumscribed area, primarily along the middle and lower stretches of the Yellow River. The determination of the geographical limitations of these earliest Chinese states should cause us to reconsider the level of political sophistication attributed to them in much of the recent historical scholarship.

<sup>52</sup>Moreover, the area under direct Chou control seems not to have expanded after this time. Indeed, archaeological evidence suggests that it may have begun to contract shortly after the reign of King K'ang. Itō Michiharu 伊藤道治 has noted that whereas vessels dating to the early Western Chou have been found throughout northern China, vessels dating from after the middle of the Western Chou derive almost exclusively from the Chou capital region in the Wei River valley; see Itō, *Chūgoku kodai ōcho no keisei* 中國古代王朝の形成 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1975), p. 307. I suspect that this retrenchment of the Chou state was a result of the disastrous southern campaign of King Chao 昭 (r. 977-957 B.C.), in which the king is said to have lost not only his own life but also his entire military force. For a related discussion of Chou foreign relations, see Hsia Han-i, "Ts'ung Chū-fu hsi kai ming-wen t'an Chou wang-ch'ao yü Nan Huai-i te kuan-hsi" 從駒父鬲蓋銘文談周王朝與南淮夷的關係, *Han-hsüeh yen-chiu* 漢學研究 3.2 (December 1987), pp. 567-73.