

Royal Hospitality and Geopolitical Constitution of the Western Zhou Polity*

Maria Khayutina

(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Abstract

The present article examines how political communication and administration were effected in the Western Zhou polity (1046/5-771 BC) and investigates the significance of the royal residences as political and administrative centers. Bronze inscriptions referring to royal receptions that were offered to Zhou regional rulers, rulers of non-Zhou polities, royal officers and other subjects provide the basis for this study. It is argued that the form of “royal hospitality” described in these inscriptions was a political and, partially, administrative institution of the Zhou kings, and that its territorial localization both reflected and defined the geopolitical constitution of the polity. The article concludes by arguing that in the “larger Zhou polity” embracing the regional states of the *zhuhou*, political communication was decentralized, and that none of the royal residences held the status as political “capital” throughout the entire period. It is further found that a process of territorial centralization was underway in the territories under the direct control of the king, and that the oldest royal residence Zhou-under-Qi was gradually established as political and administrative capital.

Résumé

Cet article s'intéresse à la façon dont opéraient la communication politique et l'administration dans le régime des Zhou Occidentaux (1046/5-771 av. J.-C.) et cherche à

* The present study was supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation and the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität of Munich. It developed from my talk “Hospitality of Western Zhou Kings and the Place of the Western Zhou Capital,” presented to the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University on October 23, 2006. I am indebted to Prof. Michael Puett, Prof. Edward L. Shaughnessy, Dr. Dennis Schilling, Dr. Shing Müller, Dr. Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Prof. Hans van Ess, Prof. Thomas Höllmann, Prof. Wolfgang Behr, Prof. E. Bruce Brooks, and Prof. Kai Vogelsang for their comments and advice at various stages of this research, and to Tatyana Gardner M.A. and Dr. Ruth Schubert for their help with proofreading. Special thanks to Prof. Martin Kern and to one anonymous reviewer for their thoughtful reading of the manuscript and suggestions for its improvement. All errors are my responsibility.

évaluer l'importance des résidences royales et des centres administratifs. Il se fonde sur les inscriptions sur bronze se référant aux réceptions offertes par le roi aux souverains régionaux Zhou, à ceux des régimes extérieurs aux Zhou, aux officiers royaux des Zhou et à d'autres de leurs sujets. L'argument est que la forme d'"hospitalité royale" décrite dans ces inscriptions constituait une des institutions politiques et, pour partie, administratives des rois Zhou, et que leur localisation territoriale reflétait et en même temps définissait la constitution géopolitique du régime. L'article conclut que dans l'"entité politique étendue des Zhou", incluant les États régionaux des *zhuhou*, la communication politique fonctionnait de façon décentralisée et qu'aucune des résidences royales n'a conservé le statut de "capitale" politique pendant la totalité de la période. On constate en outre qu'un processus de centralisation territoriale était à l'œuvre dans les territoires directement contrôlés par le roi, et que la résidence royale la plus ancienne, "Zhou au pied du mont Qi", est progressivement devenue la capitale politique et administrative.

Keywords

Western Zhou, capitals, hospitality, receptions, politics, communication, mobility

In most scholarly accounts, the Western Zhou 西周 polity (1046/5-771 BC) is represented as a state territorially organized around its capital Feng-Hao 豐鎬/鄗 / Zongzhou 宗周 (near present-day Xi'an, Shaanxi), while Luoyi 洛/雒邑 / Chengzhou 成周 (at present-day Luoyang, Henan) is regarded as its eastern, secondary capital. Archaeological discoveries of the last century have revealed that Zhou 周 under Mount Qi 岐山 on the boundary between present-day Fufeng 扶風 and Qishan 岐山 counties (Shaanxi), previously regarded as an old and abandoned residence of the Zhou kings, was another place of major significance during the entire Western Zhou period. However, few scholars recognize it as equal to the two "capitals" Zongzhou and Chengzhou. Although these sites are usually assessed as "capitals," the territorial organization of the Western Zhou polity and the functions of the capitals are unclear. Whilst Paul Wheatley, referring to both Shang 商 (ca. 1600-1046 BC) and Zhou China, identified the royal capital as the "point of absolute reality about which the world revolved, intimately connected with the welfare of the kingdom,"¹ Mark Edward Lewis has recently remarked that "the Western Zhou inherited and

¹ Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters. A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1971), 444.

extended the model of the state as a league of cities bound together by the power of the ruling house” where the royal capital was not particularly significant.² In another recent study, dedicated specifically to the territorial organization of the Western Zhou state, Li Feng has argued that contemporary bronze inscriptions mentioning “the capital Hao 鎬, more often called Zongzhou, ... demonstrate its paramount importance as the Zhou political center where the state ritual and receptions for the regional rulers were frequently held.”³ The present article considers the latter statement as an appeal to look more closely at what Western Zhou bronze inscriptions on royal receptions of various kinds of persons suggest about the geopolitical constitution of the Western Zhou polity.

About three hundred Western Zhou inscriptions on ritual bronze objects mention Zhou kings.⁴ Most of them report on receptions that kings offered to the commissioners of the bronzes, or, if the latter were of a more modest standing, to their overlords. During receptions, Zhou kings made appointments of persons to various offices, charged them with particular tasks, bestowed on them power insignia, or merely handed down gifts. Many inscriptions referring to royal receptions have already been studied with regard to the nature of the Zhou state, the structure of the royal administration, and the social hierarchy and communication in the Zhou society. These analyses suggest to understand royal “hospitality”⁵ as a political and, to some extent, administrative

² Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 2006), 137, with reference to David N. Keightley, “The Late Shang State: When, Where, What?” in *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*, ed. David N. Keightley (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1983), 523-564, esp. 552.

³ Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou, 1045-771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), 46.

⁴ Most of the inscriptions consulted for this study are listed in Zhongguo kexue yanjiuyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學研究院考古研究所, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 (hereafter *Jicheng*), 18 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984-1994), *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng shiwen* 殷周金文集成釋文, 6 vols. (Hong Kong: Chinese Univ. Press, 2001); Zhang Yachu 張亞初, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng yinde* 殷周金文集成引得 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001); and the Chinese Ancient Texts Database CHANT at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (www.chant.org). All inscriptions are noted with their *Jicheng* numbers; recently (post-1980) discovered inscriptions not included in the *Jicheng* are referred to separately in the footnotes.

⁵ To refer to royal receptions as instances of “hospitality” might sound unusual, as one customarily relates this concept to informal communication and the particular cordiality

institution of significant impact on the coherence of the Zhou polity. However, more attention must be paid to the territorial localization of the royal receptions to clarify how politics and administration were realized in the physical geographical space of early China.⁶ The present study takes off from the assumption that the practices of royal hospitality dialectically reflected and affected both the operation and constitution⁷ of the Western Zhou political system on the sociopolitical as well as on the geopolitical level.⁸ Demonstrating first the significance

offered by a host to his guests, whereas in some cases in our consideration the kings acting as hosts inspired awe rather than radiated generosity. Nevertheless, both less and more formal royal receptions did represent a form of hospitality which, at a formal level, can be defined as a form of interaction and communication between a “host” and a “guest.” This simple scheme of hospitality underlies a great variety of social practices and institutions, from maintaining friendly relations between individuals or families to establishing hospitals, accommodating refugees, and the tourist industry. For references to works dedicated to various forms of hospitality, see Maria Khayutina, “Host-Guest Opposition as a Model of Geopolitical Relations in Pre-Imperial China,” *Oriens Extremus* 43 (2002): 77, n. 2. I have investigated various aspects of hospitality in early China elsewhere, including in “Instituty ‘druzei’ i ‘gostei’ v drevnem Kitae. Evolyuciya social’nyh i politicheskikh yavlenii i sootvetstvuyushei terminologii v periody Zapadnogo Zhou, Chunqiu i Zhanguo” [Institutions of “friends” and “guests” in Ancient China: Evolution of the social and politic phenomena and of the appropriate terminology during the Western Zhou, Spring and Autumns and Warring States periods] (Diss., Moscow: Institut Vostokovedeniya RAN, 1999); “Welcoming Guests—Constructing Corporate Privacy? An Attempt at a Socio-Anthropological Interpretation of Ancestral Rituals Evolution in Ancient China (ca. XI-V cc. BC),” *Berliner China-Hefte* 24 (2003): 35-50; “Die Geschichte der Irrfahrt des Prinzen Chonger und ihre Botschaft,” in *Kritik im alten und modernen China*, ed. Heiner Roetz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 20-47. For further bibliography, see my website www.sinits.com.

⁶ For the “spatial turn” in contemporary Western Zhou studies, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Historical Geography and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms,” *Asia Major*, 3rd ser. 2.2 (1989): 1-22; Li Feng, “‘Offices’ in Bronze Inscriptions and Western Zhou Government Administration,” *Early China* 26-27 (2001-2002): 1-72; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*.

⁷ The distinction between the operative and constitutive functions in a state goes back to Jeremy Bentham’s political theory developed in the late 1770s and early 1780s: “In a political state, all power is either operative, or constitutive: operative is that, by the immediate exercise of which, obsequiousness and obedience are called for at the hands of individuals: constitutive . . . is that, by the exercise of which, operative power is created and conferred,” in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham, Published under the Superintendence of his Executor, John Bowring* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1843), 9: 127.

⁸ Some constitutive socio- and geopolitical effects of imperial hospitality rituals in the Qing Empire have been identified in James Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1995); Hevia, “Rulership and Tibetan Buddhism in Eighteenth Century China: Qing Emperors, Lamas

of the royal receptions for constructing relationships between the Zhou king and rulers of Zhou regional states, non-Zhou rulers, officers of the Zhou royal administration, and other Zhou subjects, I will further suggest that we interpret the territorial arrangement of these meetings as both an indicator of, and a factor in, the geopolitical constitution of the Zhou polity. From the inscriptional data on the contents and places of receptions, this study aims to evaluate to what extent political communication and administration in the Western Zhou polity were territorially centralized and which, if any, of the royal residences⁹ was the “capital of the Western Zhou state.” Finally, I shall discuss how the epigraphic data may correlate with representations of royal reception practices in some received texts from the early period.

Place references in bronze inscriptions

The identification of place was typical for reporting events in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. Place references became regular already during the early period of this epoch,¹⁰ when inscriptions usually contained minimal details and before the date notations became widely adopted as another medium of documentation.¹¹ Diagram I, based on the

and Audience Rituals,” in *Medieval and Early Modern Rituals: Formalized Behavior in the East and West*, ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 279-302.

⁹⁾ I thank Prof. Thomas Höllmann for his advice to assess seats of the Western Zhou kings as “residences” (or Germ. “Residenzen”) instead of “capitals” (personal communication, January 2006).

¹⁰⁾ Western Zhou history is conventionally divided into three periods: early (King Wu to King Zhao, 1045-957 BC), middle (King Mu to King Yi, 956-858 BC), and late (King Li to King You, 857 to 771 BC).

¹¹⁾ Although the exact dating of vessels to particular reigns is only rarely possible, their approximate classification under these periods allows for a diachronic analysis of the inscriptions. In the following, identical texts reproduced on several bronze objects will be considered one text. Among the inscriptions listed in *Jicheng* and referring in some way to Zhou kings, dates were indicated in only one sixth of the inscriptions of the early period. During the middle period, their number already exceeded one third, whereas during the late period, it included two thirds; see Khayutina, “The Royal Year-Count of the Western Zhou Dynasty (1045-771 BC) and its Use(r)s: a Sociological Perspective,” in *Time and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Xiaobing Wang-Riese and Thomas O. Höllmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 125-51, esp. 139-42. For time references and studies of the “fully-dated inscriptions” published in Western languages, see David S. Nivison, “Dates of Western Zhou,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43 (1983): 481-580; David

analysis of inscriptions in the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 殷周金文集成 that specify locations of kings (including those not necessarily related with receptions), shows that Zhou kings frequently moved around their realm and engaged in various activities in the main royal residences of Zhou (Zhou-under-Qi),¹² Zongzhou,¹³ and Chengzhou,¹⁴ as well

W. Pankenier, "Astronomical Dates in Shang and Western Zhou," *Early China* 7 (1981-82): 2-37; Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991), 134-55, 217-87; David W. Pankenier, "Reflections of the Lunar Aspect on Western Chou Chronology," *T'oung Pao* 78 (1992): 33-76.

¹²⁾ The long list of papers in Chinese dedicated to the localization of the royal residences of Western Zhou kings cannot be presented here in full. Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, reflects the by now widely accepted views on the identification of Western Zhou place names and may hence be used for reference. According to Li, the place name Zhou in bronze inscriptions corresponds to Qi Zhou 岐周 or Qixia 岐下 in received texts. It was located on the Zhou Plain 周原, dominated by Mount Qi (Qishan 岐山, 1651 m); see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 46-48. I designate the settlement of Zhou as "Zhou-under-Qi" to distinguish it from the name of the dynasty.

¹³⁾ For one recent review of various opinions on localizations of Zongzhou, cf. Shao Ying "Zongzhou, Haojing yu Pangjing" 宗周、鎬京與莽京, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2006.2: 41-45. Most scholars identify the place name Zongzhou with Feng-Hao 豐鎬 mentioned in received texts and located in the Feng 豐 River valley near present-day Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi (Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 30). However, some scholars suppose that the name Zongzhou, i.e., "Clan's Zhou," or "Ancestral Zhou," referred to the place where most ancestral temples of deceased kings were located, i.e., Zhou-under-Qi; see Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai" 西周銅器斷代, in *Jinwen lunwen xuan* 金文論文選, ed. Wang Mengdan 王夢旦 (Hong Kong: Zhuda shudian, 1968), 53-126, esp. 113-15; Chang Kwang-chih 張光直, "Xia Shang Zhou sandai duzhi yu sandai wenhua yitong" 夏商周三代都制與三代文化異同, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan xuekan* 55.1 (1984): 51-71, esp. 59; Kim V. Vassil'ev, *Istoki kitaiskoi tsivilizatsii* [Sources of Chinese civilization] (Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 1988), 121; Leonard S. Vassil'ev, *Istoriya Vostoka* [The History of the East] (Moscow: Vysshaya shkola, 1993), vol. 1, 186; *Dreimij Kitai*, Tom I: *Period Zapadnogo Zhou* [Ancient China, vol. I: Western Zhou Period] (Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 1995), 225. I previously also adhered to this conception, see Khayutina, "Povar ili ministr: dragozennye trenzhniki dobrogo muzha Ke" [Cook or Minister: the Good-Man Ke's Treasured Tripods], in *Kasus: Individual'noe i unikal'noe v istorii*, ed. Mikhail Boytsov and Igor Danilevskiy (Moscow: OGI, 2004), 15-98, esp. 17-20. I now concur with the majority view that Zongzhou could be applied to Hao. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, it should be noted that the toponym Zongzhou became mixed up with Chengzhou during the Eastern Zhou period; see Khayutina, "Western 'Capitals' of the Western Zhou Dynasty (1046/5-771 BC): Historical Reality and Its Reflections until the Time of Sima Qian," *Oriens Extremus* 47 (2009): 25-65, esp. 42, 46. It cannot be excluded that this toponym also shifted between places during the Western Zhou period.

¹⁴⁾ Chengzhou, referred to in received sources as Luoyi, was situated in the Luo River valley in present-day Henan; see Hsu Cho-yun and Katheryn M. Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1988), 123-26; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*,

as in some secondary residences, including Pangjing 莽京¹⁵ and Zheng 鄭.¹⁶ Moreover, it shows how often the kings stayed in places other than residences, sometimes on the way to or from a military campaign, sometimes in connection with religious activities, but sometimes without any other clear objective beyond meeting their subjects.¹⁷ Place references were provided in seventy-five to eighty per cent of inscriptions concerned specifically with royal receptions.¹⁸ This high rate suggests that the identification of place was the norm in recording royal receptions in bronze inscriptions, and that these data are representative of the spatial arrangement of Western Zhou royal hospitality.

To move from statistics to particular examples, it is instructive to consider the inscriptions of Xing, the Elder of Wei 衛伯癘,¹⁹ a high royal officer residing near present-day Zhuangbai 莊白 village in Fufeng county near the royal residence Zhou-under-Qi. Xing regularly

63-65. Some authors distinguish between Chengzhou and Wangcheng 王城, “king’s city,” regarding them as two different sites.

¹⁵ Most scholars assume that Pangjing was located in the vicinity of Zongzhou in the Feng valley, see Guo Moruo, *Liang Zhou jinwen ci*, vol. 6, 32-33; Huang Shengzhang 黃盛璋, “Guanyu jinwen zhong de ‘Pangjing (Pang), Hao, Feng, Bang’ wenti bian cheng zheng” 關於金文中的‘莽京(莽),蒿,豐,邦’問題辯稱正, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 1981: 183-98, esp. 183-85; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 56. For the alternative localization of Pangjing near Zhou-under-Qi, see Li Zhongcao 李仲操, “Pangjing kao” 莽京考, *Renwen zazhi* 1983.5: 118-21; Li Zhongcao, “Wang zuo gui yu mingwen jianshi” 王作歸孟銘文簡釋, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1998.1: 82-83; Lu Liancheng 盧連成, “Xi Zhou jinwen suojian Pangjing ji xiangguan dui taolun” 西周金文所見莽京及相關都邑討論, *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 1995.3: 97-127; Luo Xizhang 羅西章, “Xi Zhou wang yu kao jian lun Pangjing diwang” 西周王孟考兼論莽京地望, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1998.1: 76-81.

¹⁶ Chang Zheng 常征 has localized Zheng in Wugong 武功 county, Shaanxi, between Zhou-under-Qi and Zongzhou; see Chang Zheng, “Zhou du Nan Zheng yu Zheng Huan fengguo bian” 周都南鄭與鄭桓封國辯, *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 1981.3: 15-24. Other authors localize Zheng in Fengxiang 鳳翔 county, Shaanxi, west of Zhou-under-Qi; see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 56.

¹⁷ Place references were included in about three-fourths of the early and middle period inscriptions. During the late period, their number decreased to three-fifths, probably in connection with the growing importance of the royal year-count as a means of documenting events.

¹⁸ For the quantitative analysis of date and place references, see Khayutina, “The Royal Year-Count,” 140.

¹⁹ For character variants commonly seen in inscriptions (e.g., 才 for 在), I use the standard orthography without indicating the epigraphic form. I have also changed some personal names accordingly but have left most place names in the transcription provided by CHANT. The *Jicheng* numbers allow the reader to verify the original characters.

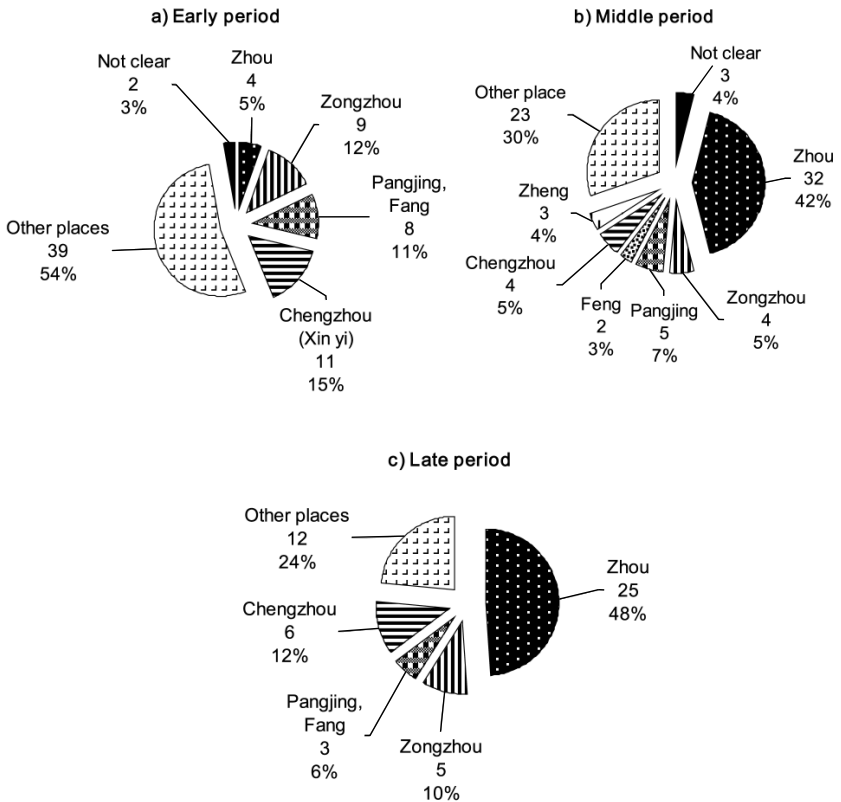


Diagram I: Locations of kings' stays during the three periods of the Western Zhou

accompanied his king or two successive kings on journeys during the mid-ninth century BC:²⁰

²⁰ For the first publication of the Zhuangbai hoard, see Zhouyuan kaogudui, "Shaanxi Fufeng Zhuangbai yi hao qingtongqi yaocang fajue jianbao" 陝西扶風莊白一號青銅器窖藏發掘簡報, *Wenwu* 1978.3, 1-18. Cf. also Yin Shengping 尹盛平, *Xi Zhou Wei shi jiazhu qingtongqi qun yanjiu* 西周微氏家族青銅器群研究 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1992). The identity of the king or kings in Xing's inscriptions and the dates of his inscriptions remain subjects of debate. In the present paper, they are ordered according to the number of the year in their dating formula. However, these dates are not compatible within one single calendar, which probably means that Xing served at least two different kings. Thus, the sequence of the referred events is not evident. Until recently, most scholars shared the opinion that Xing's inscriptions dated around the first quarter of the ninth century BC; see Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Xi Zhou zhong qi qingtongqi de zhongyao biaoqi—Zhouyuan Zhuangbai, Qiangjia liang chu qingtongqi yaocang de zonghe yanjiu" 西周中期青銅器

1) 唯三年四月庚午。王在豐。王呼虢叔召癘。賜駒兩 [...]

It was the third year, the fourth month, day *gengwu*. The king was in Feng. The king ordered Guoshu to call Xing. He bestowed on him a pair of stallions [...]
(*Xing ding* 癘鼎, *Jicheng* # 2742)

2) 唯三年九月丁子。王在鄭。饗醴。呼虢叔召癘。賜羔俎。己丑。王在句陵。饗逆酒。呼師壽召癘。賜彘俎 [...]

It was the third year, the ninth month, day *ding-zi* (?).²¹ The king was in Zheng. He gave a feast [and] offered sweet wine. The king ordered Guoshu to call Xing. He granted him one receptacle of lamb meat. On the day *yichou* the king was in Gouling. He gave a feast [and] offered wine. He ordered Captain Shou to call Xing. He bestowed on him one receptacle of pork [...] (Third year-*Xing hu* 癘壺, *Jicheng* # 9726)

3) 唯四年二月既生霸戊戌。王在周師条宮。格大室。即位。司馬共右癘。王呼史年冊 [...]

It was the fourth year, second month, after the nascent brightness, on the day *wuxu*. The king was in the Palace of Captain Lu in Zhou. He entered the Great Chamber and took his place. Sima Gong entered, accompanying Xing on the

的重要標尺——周原莊白、強家兩處青銅器窖藏的綜合研究, *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 1979.1: 29-36; David S. Nivison: "Dates of Western Zhou", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43 (1983): 481-580, esp. 577; Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, *Shang-Zhou qingtongqi mingwen xuan* 商周青銅器銘文選 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 3: 192-95, 206; Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, 114-15, 284. By contrast, Lothar von Falkenhausen has proposed a mid-ninth-century date based on his analysis of both stylistic criteria of the bronzes and the content of their inscriptions; see Luo Tai 羅泰, "Youguan Xi Zhou wanqi lizhi gaige ji Zhuangbai qingtongqi niandai de xin jiashuo: Cong shixi mingwen shuoqi" 有關西周晚期禮制改革莊白青銅器年代的新假說: 從世係銘文說起, revised trans. by Li Ling, in *Zhongguo kaoguxue yu lishixue zhi zhenghe yanjiu* 中國考古學與歷史學之整合研究, ed. Tsang Cheng-hwa 臧振華 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, 1997), 2: 651-76; Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Costen Institute of Archaeology, Univ. of California, 2006), 56-70. Similar dates have recently been proposed by Shi Hongqing 史紅慶, "Shisan nian Cheng hu duandai xinkao" 十三年禹壺斷代新考, *Yindu xuekan* 2007.4: 54-60. For the purpose of the present study, I do not revise the more established chronology and assess Xing's bronzes as objects from the late middle period prior to King Li.

²¹) The cyclical combination *dingzi* does not exist. It is commonly believed that *zi* was mistakenly written instead of *si* because of the phonetical closeness of these words. Thus, the first date in this inscription should be *dingsi* (day 54). However, it is noteworthy that the second date is *yichou* (26), which obviously was not in the same month as *dingsi*. In this case, the inscription would rather introduce the new day date with a new month's number, whereas its absence suggests that both dates laid within one month. The two days preceding *yichou* are *dinghai* (24) and *chengzi* (25), of which the former contains the first and the latter the second part of the combination *dingzi*. It is not unlikely that the scribe confounded the designations of two successive days, or, perhaps, used the form *dingzi* as an abbreviation for "*dinghai* and *chengzi*" to indicate that the king spent two days in Zheng.

right. The king ordered Secretary Nian to [announce] the written [bestowal²² to Xing] [...] (*Xing xu* 癘盪, *Jicheng* # 4462)

4) 唯十又三年九月初吉戊寅。王在成周司土澆宮。格大室。即位。癘父右癘。王呼乍冊尹冊賜癘 [...]

It was the thirteenth year, ninth month, first auspicious day *wuyin*. The king was in Chengzhou, at the Palace of the Administrator of Lands Hu. He entered the Great Chamber and took his place. Yifu accompanied Xing on the right. The king ordered the Chief Maker of Documents to [announce] the written bestowal to Xing [...] (Thirteenth year-*Xing hu* 癘壺, *Jicheng* # 9723)

As Xing's inscriptions demonstrate, this single person was offered more or less formal receptions in the royal residences of Feng and Zheng, as well as in other places such as Goulin in the vicinity of Zheng, the residence of Captain Lu on the Zhou plain, and the residence of the Administrator of Lands Hu near Chengzhou. Being a royal courtier accompanying the king on his travels, Xing was in an exceptional position, as he was offered receptions more often and in a greater variety of places than most of the other Zhou subjects. At all these receptions, he was not the only and not necessarily the main guest of the king. Inscriptions commissioned by Xing's contemporaries witness that during the king's stays, or series of stays, in the same places, he received various kinds of people for different purposes. For example, in the Palace of the Administrator of Lands Hu, where Xing was given gifts of ceremonial garment, and probably on the same day, the king made a donation of bronze to a certain Xian 鮮, possibly another member of the king's retinue of a more modest status.²³ In the Palace of Captain Lu, possibly the head of one of the six garrisons stationed

²² As Martin Kern has shown, the verb *ce* 冊 did not signify "to write down [on bamboo slips]," but "to announce"; see Kern, "The Performance of Writing in Western Zhou China," in *The Poetics of Grammar and the Metaphysics of Sound and Sign*, ed. Sergio La Porta and David Shulman (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109-76, esp. 156. Usually, it was a written charge, *ming* 命, or a written bestowal, *ci* 賜, that was announced, *ce* 冊.

²³ The *Xian zhong* 鮮鐘 (*Jicheng* # 143), was discovered somewhere in Shaanxi. Xian's relatively modest status is suggested by the fact that the king gave him bronze, which was not donated to high-ranked persons. The date in the *Xian zhong* inscription lacks the number of the year, and the number of the month and the first part of the *ganzhi* day designation are obliterated. The second part of the *ganzhi* notation is the character *yin*, which is the same as in the date on the Thirteen year *Xing hu* (*Jicheng* # 9723). The Administrator of Lands Hu was mentioned in all the other inscriptions except for the *Xing hu* and the *Xian zhong*. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Zhou king stayed at his place only once and that Xing and Xian were received by him on the same day.

on the Zhou plain, the king formally received high-ranked military and civil officers on a regular basis: as of today, inscriptions about appointments of four other persons in this place have already come to light.²⁴

Considering how frequently the Zhou kings traveled, it remains to explain the absence of place references in the remaining twenty to twenty-five per cent of inscriptions about royal receptions. In some cases their commissioners did not specify the place if the locations of the reception and of their own residence overlapped;²⁵ it seems that royal guests were more likely to specify the location if they were summoned elsewhere. Due to the unclear provenance of most vessels collected before the mid-twentieth century, it cannot be verified whether or not this was an actual rule. Theoretically, place references might also be omitted if one place functioned as a center where all receptions or receptions of some particular kind were held regularly. The following analysis aims to clarify whether some rules existed regarding the spatial localization of receptions with particular purposes, or offered to particular categories of visitors, and whether any place was ever established as the central reception place for one category of visitors.

Receptions of Zhou regional rulers: purposes and places

The larger Western Zhou polity embracing the territories of the regional states never represented an integral economic entity, and regional rulers (“all the lords,” *zhuhou* 諸侯) were administratively autonomous within their domains. Yet politically, the larger Zhou realm was

²⁴ These are *Shi Chen ding* 師晨鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2817), and *Shi Yu gui* 師餘簋 (*Jicheng* # 4277), both dated to the third year, third month, first auspiciousness, day *jiayu*; *Jian gui* 諫簋 (*Jicheng* # 4285) dated to the fifth year, third month, first auspiciousness, day *gengyin*; and the recently discovered *Zai Shou gui* 宰兽簋 dated to the sixth year, second month, first auspiciousness, day *jiayu*, see Luo Xizhang 羅西章, “Zai Shou gui ming luekao” 宰兽簋銘略考, *Wenwu* 1998.8: 83-87.

²⁵ A late period *Shi Ke xu* 師克盨 (*Jicheng* # 4467) recited a royal command to Captain Ke 師克 without identifying its place. This vessel was found in Fufeng county. Captain Ke most probably was the same person as Provisioner Ke 善夫克, who commissioned a large number of other vessels that were also discovered in Fufeng county (see Khayutina “Povar ili ministr,” 29-58). As Ke’s residence was in Fufeng, i.e., in the royal center Zhou-under-Qi where Zhou kings held many receptions, it is understandable that he did not provide a reference for a reception in the place of his own residence. Notably, in other inscriptions Ke identified places of receptions that occurred elsewhere, e.g., in Zongzhou (*Shanfu Ke ding* 善夫克鼎, *Jicheng* # 2836).

considered a whole, and regional rulers continued nominally to accept the terms of hierarchical subordination to the Zhou king long after the royal house had lost the ability to enforce obedience. As political integrity was realized mostly on the level of communication between the Zhou king and the regional rulers, it is important to consider how, when, and where this communication took place.

The purposes of the receptions offered to the regional lords could be investiture,²⁶ revision of loyalty, and issue of a particular command. Most of the Zhou regional states were established during the early Western Zhou period.²⁷ In the course of the investiture ceremonies,

²⁶ Qi Sihe 齊思和 regarded the Zhou royal procedure of the “announcement of the command” (*ce ming* 冊命) as analogous to the European feudal investiture ceremony (cf. Qi Sihe, “Zhou dai ximing li kao” 周代錫命禮考, *Yanjing xuebao* 32 (1947): 197-226, cit. after Qi Sihe, *Zhongguo shi tanyan* 中國史探研 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 50-66. His interpretation was adopted by some other scholars; see Chen Hanping 陳漢平, *Xi Zhou ceming zhudu yanjiu* 西周冊命製度研究 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1986); Yeung Ching-kong/Yang Jingtang 楊靜剛, “Did the Royal Investiture Ceremony Exist in Early Western Zhou?” in *Ancient Chinese and Southeast Asian Bronze Age Cultures: The Proceedings of a Conference held at the Edith and Joy London Foundation Property, Kioloa, NSW, 8-12 February, 1988*, ed. David F. Bulbeck (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1996-97), 469-86. However, it is not appropriate to regard all the different kinds of *ce ming* ceremonies as “investitures.” Virginia Kane has suggested distinguishing between “investiture,” implying the establishment of feudal land-owning relationships, and “appointment” as an assignment of an official duty (Kane, “Aspects of Western Chou Appointment Inscriptions,” 16). In fact, even in the European context, investiture was not necessarily bound up with the transfer of land rights but could involve appointment to an office, or nomination to a certain status. The term derives from Latin *vestis* (“robe,” “garment”) and thus emphasizes not the character of the newly established relationships but the transfer of certain material objects, comparable to insignia, that visually represented the new status of the recipient; see “Investir” in D. Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oeconomische Encyclopädie, oder allgemeines System der Staats-, Stadt-, Haus- und Landwirthschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung* (Berlin: Pauli, 1773-1858), Bd. 30 (1784), 539-40. From this perspective, the appointment of regional lords and the appointment of royal officers both represented investitures, since they were both accompanied by the transfer of such objects, notably ceremonial garments. Nevertheless, in the present article I follow the convention in modern Western Zhou studies and apply the term “investiture” when referring to the ceremonies entitling regional rulers to govern their domains, while the term “appointment” refers to the assignment of duties to royal officers. For further studies of the *ce ming* ritual, see also Chen Mengjia, “Xi Zhou tong qi duandai,” *Jinwen lunwen xuan*, 184-98; Herrlee Glessner Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, vol. 1: *The Western Chou Empire* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970), 125-27, 366-73; Vassili M. Kryukov, *Ritualnaya kommunikaciya v drevnem Kitae* [Ritual communication in ancient China] (Moscow-Taibei: Institut Vostokovedeniya RAN, 1997), 122-36; Li Feng, “‘Feudalism’ and Western Zhou China: A Criticism,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63 (2003): 115-44.

²⁷ On the establishment of regional states, see Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, ed.

the king pronounced a command entitling a person to be the ruler of a domain or acknowledged the right of a deceased ruler's heir to replace him in his position. Only few inscriptions witnessing investitures of regional lords are available. They indicate that this significant act of power delegation did not have to be performed in a royal residence.

Several inscriptions are related to investitures of regional lords that occurred during the reigns of Kings Cheng 成 (1042/35-1006 BC) and Kang 康 (1005/03-978 BC). One of them refers to the investiture of Kangshu Feng 康叔封, the younger brother of King Wu 武 (1049/45-1043) and King Cheng's uncle in Wei 衛 (in present-day Henan), and commissioned by Yi, Administrator of Lands in Mei 冢司土疑:

王來伐商邑。誕令康戾〔候〕冢(鄙)于衛。[...]

The king came to punish the Shang cities. [He] thereupon ordered Kang to watch the border town (i.e. to be *hou* 候 of a borderland state – M. Kh.) in Wei [...] (*Kang hou gui* 康侯簋/*Mei situ Yi gui* 冢司土疑簋, *Jicheng* # 4059)²⁸

Supposedly, the king's campaign against the Shang cities was King Cheng's response to the rebellion of the Shang scion Wugeng 武庚 and King Wu's younger brothers.²⁹ The inscription suggests that King Cheng established the ruler of Wei on his way to the war, possibly while passing through the territory of this domain.

Another initial investiture of a regional ruler is documented by two identical inscriptions on the *Ke lei* and *Ke he* discovered in 1985 in the cemetery of the state of Yan 匱 (燕) at Liulihe 琉璃河, ca. 40 km from present-day Beijing:³⁰

Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 292-351, esp. 311-13; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 49-82.

²⁸ The interpretation of *bi* 冢 as 鄙, a "border town," is according to Wolfgang Behr, "Placed into the Right Position—Etymological Notes On *Tu* 圖 And Congeners," in *The Power of Tu: Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, ed. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtman, Georges Metailié (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109-34, esp. 116. Behr, however, suggests that in the discussed inscription, *bi* is used as a verb. I rather propose reading *hou* 戾 as a verb 候, "to watch," and *bi* as a noun.

²⁹ On the rebellion, see Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959, rpt. 1973), "Zhou ben ji" 周本記, 4.132. For the date of the inscription, see Chen Mengjia, "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai," in *Jinwen lunwen xuan* 金文論文選, 1-59, esp. 25-29; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 67.

³⁰ See Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo, Liulihe kaogu dui 中國社會科學院考古研究所, 北京市文物研究所, 琉璃河考古隊,

王曰：「太保，唯乃明乃鬯享于乃辟。余大對乃享。令克戾〔候/侯〕于匭〔燕〕。𠄎〔事/使?〕𠄎〔羌〕馬，𠄎，𠄎，𠄎，𠄎，𠄎，𠄎，𠄎」。克匭〔燕〕。入土〔社〕。眾有司，用作寶尊彝。

The king said: "Great Protector! You brought your clear offerings and the offerings of millet wine to your sovereign. I greatly respond to your offerings. [I] order to [your son] Ke to be on guard (or to be *hou*, Lord) in Yan. Shall he employ Qiang [and] Ma [and] marshal [them] to Yu [and] Wei (or "Shall he use Qiang horses to direct himself by chariot to Wei)."³¹ Ke moved (?)³² to Yan. [There, I, Ke,] entered the [Altar of] Soil.³³ On account of this, together with

"Beijing Liulihē 1193 hao damu fajue jianbao" 北京琉璃河1193號大墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu* 1990.1: 21-31, esp. 25. For alternative dates of Ke's vessels, cf. e.g. Yin Weizhang 殷璋璋 and Cao Shuqin 曹淑琴, "Zhou chu Taibao qi zonghe yanjiu" 周初太保器綜合研究, *Kaogu xuebao* 1991.1: 1-20. For an English translation and discussion, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "New Sources of Western Zhou History: Recent Discoveries of Inscribed Bronze Vessels," *Early China* 26-27 (2001-2002): 73-98, esp. 76-78. On Yan inscriptions and archaeology, cf. Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 335-40.

³¹ The last sentence is much debated by palaeographers. The character interpreted as *shi* 事/使 in fact consists of only the upper part of the latter and is therefore uncertain. The following six words are often interpreted as names of peoples or lineages that had to follow Ke to Yan, or otherwise as place names. It is true that Qiang, Ma and Wei can be found among the designations of peoples of the Shang period. However, the word *ma* 馬, "horse," can be also read in its literal sense. Qiang occasionally delivered horses to the Shang, and the Shang called some groups of the Qiang "Horse-Qiang." The definition "Qiang horse" could point at the superior quality of these animals obtained by the Zhou from the Qiang. The character 𠄎 represents an earlier form of *cu* 𠄎 listed in the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字 dictionary with the meaning "to go to." 𠄎 corresponds to *yu* 于 and is interpreted by some authors as the preposition "in" or "to." Accordingly, they regard the following two words as place names. However, in this and some other inscriptions *yu* 𠄎 is used concurrently with a regular *yu* 于. In some contexts, the first *yu* may have functioned as an emphatic particle accentuating the following action or object. It is noteworthy that the word *yu* 𠄎 means "to drive a chariot pulled by horses," for which the horses obtained from Qiang could be employed. In other inscriptions the verb *yu* can directly precede a place name to designate the destination of a ride. However, in the context of the present inscription it is unlikely that Ke was sent to Yan and then had to drive by chariot to Wei, which was already entrusted to Kangshu Feng.

³² This character does not appear in other inscriptions. I follow the interpretations suggesting its meaning as a verb of movement.

³³ The expression *ru tu* 入土 in the *Yan hou gui* finds a parallel in the *Yi hou Ze gui*. In the latter case, to be discussed below, *tu* was a place where the ceremony of the investiture of a *hou* took place. This parallelism possibly suggests that in both cases *tu* was a kind of shrine, and that the act of entering the *tu* was a significant element in the legitimation of newly established regional lords. Several scholars suggest reading *tu* in the *Yi hou Ze gui* as *she* 社, altar of the soil (see, e.g., Ma Chengyuan, *Shang-Zhou qingtongqi*, 34). This reading was criticized by Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, 368-371. Edward L. Shaughnessy has proposed reading *tu* in the *Yi hou Ze gui* as *zong tu* 宗土, "ancestral temple," and while there could be an obliterated character preceding the *tu* in the latter inscription, it is not possible to verify it as *zong*. The "Shao gao" 召誥 chapter of the *Shang*

holders of administrative posts, [I, Ke,] made [this] treasured venerated ritual vessel.³⁴

Ke 克, the first Lord of Yan, was son of Duke Great Protector Shao 公太保召, one of the closest fellow combatants of King Wu. The first ruler of Wei, he was given the command to rule over Yan while the king was on a military campaign.³⁵ However, if King Cheng could invest the first ruler somewhere in the territory of Wei, he hardly could do the same with regard to the ruler of Yan, located at a much greater distance. In both cases, the delegation of power happened “on the fly,” in places originally without any special significance—neither in a royal residence, nor in the future center of a regional lord’s domain—perhaps due to the inconstant situation of war. This might also be the reason why, sometimes, places of investitures are not even mentioned in the inscriptions.

Both inscriptions quoted above are very short and do not provide any details about the ceremonial context of the meetings between the king and the newly established regional lords. As of today, the inscription on the *Yi hou Ze gui*, made by the Lord of Yi 宜 (probably residing on the Yi 宜 River in central present-day Henan),³⁶ and possibly dating to the reign of King Kang, represents the only available description of a formal investiture of a Zhou regional ruler:

shu notes that after the foundation of Luoyi, the Duke of Zhou proceeded to *she yu xin yi* 社于新邑, i.e. to perform sacrifices at the altar of the soil in the newly built city; see Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1974), 48. Both inscriptions possibly reflect a similar situation.

³⁴ For transcriptions, palaeographical analysis, and discussion of Ke’s inscriptions see “Beijing Liulihē 1193 hao da mu fajue jianbao,” 25; Zhang Yachu 張亞初, “Taibao lei, he mingwen de zai tantao” 太堡壘、盃銘文的再探討, *Kaogu* 1993.1: 60-67; Du Naisong 杜迺松, “Ke lei Ke he mingwen xinshi” 克壘、克盃銘文新釋, *Beijing Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 1998.1: 61-64.

³⁵ This is suggested by inscriptions on vessels discovered during the nineteenth century in western Shandong and possibly owned by Ke’s brother Xian (cf. *Xian ding* 鬲鼎, *Jicheng* # 2749; *Taibao gui* 大保簋, *Jicheng* # 4140). One of them, the *Taibao gui*, indicated that the king was on a campaign against a certain Lu-zi Ye 子耶.

³⁶ On the location of Yi, cf. Huang Shengzhang 黃盛璋, “Tongqi mingwen Yi Yu Ze de diwang jiqi yu Wu guo de guanxi” 銅器銘文宜虞矢的地望及其與吳國的關係, *Kaogu xuebao* 1983.3: 296-298; Shaughnessy, “Historical Geography and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms,” 13-19. For the date of the *Yi hou Ze gui*, see Li Feng, *Land-scape and Power*, 322.

唯四月。辰在丁未。【王】省武王，成王伐商圖。誕省東或〔國〕圖。王位于宜。入土〔社〕。南向。王令虞侯矢曰：「遷侯于宜」。[...]

It was the fourth month. The year-planet was in day *dingwei*. [The king] inspected tokens of the Shang conquered by King Wu and King Cheng, and then proceeded to inspect the tokens of the Eastern states.³⁷ The king assumed his position in Yi. [He] entered the Altar of Soil. [He] faced south. The king gave order to Ze, the Lord of Yu, saying: "Move [and be the] Lord in Yi" [...] (*Yi hou Ze gui* 宜侯矢簋, *Jicheng* # 4320)³⁸

Here, the place of the investiture was indicated, possibly because it was performed on the site already laid out to become the center of the new domain. Importantly, the *Yi-hou Ze gui* shows that, although the rebellions of King Cheng's days were long pacified, his successor King Kang continued practicing investitures in the new domains instead of in a royal residence. Having once emerged as a response to the necessity of wartime, the *in situ* investitures probably continued as ritual practices that symbolically recreated the situation of the birth of the Zhou statehood. Coming from the outside, the Zhou king presented himself as the host of the place, where he received the investee as his guest and personally inaugurated the latter as a new host. In this, the king signaled that the legitimacy of the regional ruler fully derived from his beneficence.

Considering the exceptionality of the *Yi hou Ze gui*, it is difficult to verify whether investitures of regional lords were normally conducted in the course of personal receptions. It cannot be excluded that the formal command "to be a Lord" could be transmitted via intermediaries. The inscriptions on Ke's vessels do not make clear whether the king had a meeting with the investee or his father, the Great Protector Shao. Another inscription of King Kang's reign, the *Xing hou gui*, may also

³⁷ In my interpretation of the word *tu* 圖 I follow Wolfgang Behr, who argues that before it started to signify a chart or a map (as this word is often interpreted in translations of the *Yi hou Ze gui*), *tu* designated "some sort of representational token which was used in feudal or military exchanges of the Western Zhou royal house, and aimed at the visual anchorage of territorial affiliation or rank in a court ritual" (see Behr, "Placed into the Right Position," 120). *Huo* 或 in this place is rather *guo* 國 than *yu* 域.

³⁸ For the full translation, see Shaughnessy, "Historical Geography and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms," 14.

reflect a mediated investiture of the Lord of Xing 邢 (in southern present-day Hebei):³⁹

唯三月。王令榮眾內史曰：「藹〔割〕邢侯服。賜臣三品州人。重人。章人。」【邢侯】拜稽首。魯天子受厥瀕福。克奔走上下。帝無冬令于有周。追孝對。不敢彖墜。邵朕福盛。朕臣天子。用典王令。乍周公彝。

It was the third month. The king gave order to Rong and the Internal Secretary, saying: "Cut a dependency to the Lord of Xing!"⁴⁰ [The king] bestowed [on the Lord] three kinds of subjects: men of Zhou, men of Zhong, and men of Gao. [The Lord of Xing] bowed touching his head to the ground. "[May] the generous Son of Heaven obtain his great prosperity [and] be able to reach those on high and those below. [May] the Deity not discontinue the Mandate to the Zhou dominion! [I will be] zealous in filially responding, [I will] not dare to fail! [I will] propagate my prosperity and fame, my service to the Son of Heaven. In order to register the King's charge, [I made] the ritual vessel for the Duke of Zhou." (*Xing hou gui* 邢侯簋, aka *Rong gui* 榮簋, *Jicheng* # 4241)

Although this inscription gives enough space to expressions of gratefulness and loyalty, it does not inform about the ceremonial context of the transaction between the regional lord and the king. It is not unlikely that the king sent his officer Rong and his Internal Secretary, usually responsible for the announcement of royal commands, on a journey in order to perform a *de jure* recognition of a regional lord in a domain where the latter had already *de facto* established himself. On the other hand, the *Xing hou gui* did not necessarily record an investiture ceremony. The king's officers might have been ordered to augment the land possessions and to transfer additional population to the Lord of Xing who might have been personally invested by the king earlier.

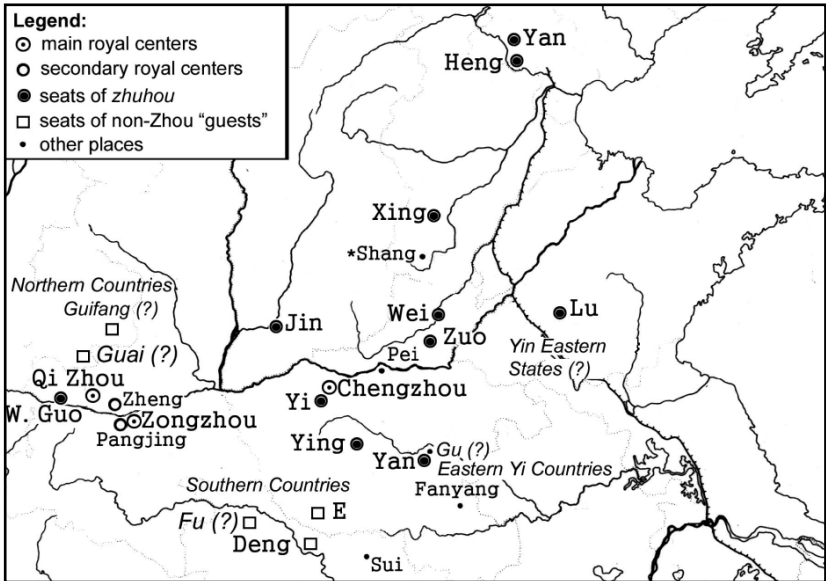
³⁹) On the date of vessels related to the first Lord of Jing/Xing and on the localization of Jing/Xing, see Guo Moruo 郭沫若, *Liang Zhou jinwen ci daxi tulu kaoshi* 兩周金文辭大系圖錄考釋 (1935; rpt., Beijing: Kexue, 1957), vol. 6, 40-42; Chen Mengjia "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai," *Jinwen lunwen xuan*, 145-209, esp. 155-59; Ma Chengyuan, *Shang-Zhou qingtongqi*, 45-50; Li Xueqin 李學勤 and Tang Yunming 唐云明, "Yuan shi tongqi yu Xi Zhou de Xing guo" 元氏銅器與西周的邢國, *Kaogu* 1979.1: 56-59, 88; Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, 318-19; Shaughnessy, "Historical Geography," 19-22 (includes translation on pp. 19-20); Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 68. Alternatively, Tang Lan dated the *Xing hou gui* to the reign of King Cheng; see Tang Lan 唐蘭, *Xi Zhou qingtongqi mingwen fendai shizheng* 西周青銅器銘文分代史徵 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 159-62.

⁴⁰) The character 藹 interpreted here as *ge* 割 does not occur in any other Western Zhou text. Therefore, the specific action of the royal officials in this context remains unclear.

Of the bronze inscriptions composed during the middle Western Zhou period, the *Bo Chen ding* witnesses the re-investiture of the Elder Chen 伯晨 as a hereditary Lord of Heng 鞞 (in southern Hebei).⁴¹ Similar to the earlier examples, this inscription does not specify where the ceremony took place:

唯王八月。辰在丙午。王令鞞侯白晨曰：「以乃且考侯于鞞」。[...]

It was the eighth month of the king. The year-planet was in the day *bingwu*. The king gave order to the Lord of Heng Elder Chen, saying: "By virtue of your ancestors and your deceased father, be the Lord in Heng." [...] (*Bo Chen ding* 伯晨鼎, *Jicheng* # 2816)



Map I: Zhou royal centers and the residences of regional and non-Zhou rulers who according to bronze inscriptions were received by Zhou kings

In contrast to accounts about investitures that lack place references, inscriptions about visits of regional lords to the kings always specify where their meetings took place. In some cases, the purpose of a lord's

⁴¹ Cf. Ulrich Lau, *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Dynastie (1045?-771 v.Chr.)* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica, 1999), 124.

trip was defined as *jian* 見—“to visit,” or “to present something before someone’s sight.”⁴² *Jian* not necessarily indicated a specific type of reception ceremony but rather that the “guest” went somewhere—a fact not always self-evident, since kings also received persons as guests in their own places.⁴³ The regularity with which locations are noted in reports about visits to the king’s residences supports the conclusion that investitures reported without place references were held elsewhere or performed via intermediaries.

During regular meetings with regional lords, Zhou kings refrained from pronouncing formal commands and only presented themselves as hospitable hosts. The visits of regional rulers were nevertheless of high political importance, as they confirmed the king’s authority to summon and supervise this category of persons as well as the readiness of the latter to be summoned and to manifest loyalty. As the examples below show, the receptions of regional lords could be held in any of the royal residences.

The famous *He zun* inscription, apparently composed by the head of a collateral branch of the royal house residing somewhere near Baoji 寶雞 (Shaanxi), witnesses a meeting of the “ducal lineages” in the fifth year of King Cheng’s reign:

唯王初遷宅于成周。復稱武王禮。裸自天。在四月丙戌。王誥宗小子于京室。曰：「昔在爾考公氏。克達文王。肆文王受茲大命。唯武王既克大邑商。則廷告于天。曰：『余其宅茲中或〔國/域〕。自之辟民！』鳥虡！爾有唯小子亡識。視于公氏。有爵于天。攝命。敬享哉！惠王恭德裕天。順我不悔！」王咸誥。殪賜貝卅朋。用乍□公寶尊彝。唯王五祀。

The king moved to reside in Chengzhou for the first time. [He] returned [in order] to carry out the ritual of King Wu. [He performed] libation sacrifices starting from Heaven’s [altar?]. In the fourth month, day *bingxu*, the king addressed the younger sons of the [royal] lineage in the High [i.e., royal – M. Kh.] Chamber. [He] said: “Formerly, your deceased fathers, [heads of] ducal lineages were able to come to King Wen. Thereupon, King Wen received this Great Mandate. Later on, King Wu conquered the Great Settlement of Shang and, staying in the courtyard [of a temple], announced [the conquest] to Heaven, saying: ‘I shall reside in this central state (or “area”), and govern the people from there!’ *Wu hu!*”

⁴² “To visit” seems to be an appropriate translation of *jian* (originally “to see”). Cf. lat. *videre*, “to see”; *visere*, “to go to see”; “to visit”, *visitare*, “to visit”.

⁴³ Cf. the usage of *jian* in the inscription on the *Ju Fu xu* 駒父盃 (*Jicheng* # 4464), referring to a visit of a Zhou ambassador to the Yi of the Huai River.

You are but young children having no duties! Look at [the example of your ancestors, heads of] the ducal lineages, acquire rewards from Heaven! Carry out [my] charges! Respectfully offer sacrifices! Shall the king's reverent virtue satisfy Heaven! Follow me, [and you will have] no regret!" The king completed his address. He* was bestowed with thirty bundles of cowries. On account of this, [I, He*] made the treasured sacrificial vessel for Patriarch (or "Duke") X. This was the fifth sacrificial year of the king. (*He zun* 何尊, *Jicheng* # 6014)⁴⁴

In this inscription, *jing* 京 points at the location of the building (*shi* 室) where the meeting of the royal lineage was held. Originally, *jing* signified "high hill" or "high structure" before acquiring the meaning "capital." In texts dating from or referring to the Western Zhou period, *jing* was not applied exclusively to one single place but could be associated with each of the royal residences.⁴⁵ Although no longer clear to us, to the commissioner and his contemporaries *jing* in the *He zun* provided a concrete geographical reference to one of the western residences.⁴⁶

The *Shu Ze fangding* discovered in 2001 near present day Tianma 天馬 (Shanxi) in the Jin 晉 state cemetery in a tomb possibly occupied by its first or second ruler shows that the early Zhou kings also used their eastern residence Chengzhou for meeting the regional lords.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ For the transcription and interpretation, see Tang Lan, "He zun mingwen jieshi" 何尊銘文解釋, *Wenwu* 1976.1: 60-63; Ma Chengyuan "He zun mingwen jieshi" 何尊銘文解釋, *Wenwu* 1976.1: 64-65. The vessel was found in 1963 in a court of a peasant in Gu 賈 village north-west of Baoji, where it was most probably hidden by some workers employed by the warlord and treasure hunter Dang Yukun 黨玉琨 during the 1920s. For details about its discovery and for a suggestion about He's connection to the Duke of Zhou, see Gao Ciruo 高次若 and Liu Mingke 劉明科, "Doujitai mudi chutu qingtong qi yu Zhou gong jiazou wenti de sikao" 斗雞台墓地出土青銅器與周公家族問題的思考, *Baoji shehui kexue* 2006.1: 38-42, esp. 40.

⁴⁵ *Jing* was a part of the toponym Pangjing appearing in many bronze inscriptions especially during the early Western Zhou period. In some late period inscriptions, Chengzhou could be called *jing shi* 京師—"high garrison" "royal residence's garrison" (cf. *Ke zhong, Jicheng* # 204; *Duo You ding* 多友鼎, *Jicheng* # 2835). In received sources, the following residences could be designated as *jing*: 1) the residence of Patriarch Liu, ancient ruler of pre-dynastic Zhou (*Shi jing*, "Gong Liu" 公劉, Mao 250); 2) Zhou-under-Qi (*Shi jing*, "Wen wang" 文王, Mao 235; "Da ming" 大明, Mao 236; "Si qi" 思齊, Mao 240); 3) Hao, i.e. Zongzhou (*Shi jing*, "Wen wang you sheng" 文王有盛, Mao 244).

⁴⁶ The word *fu* 復 ("to return," or "again") indicates that this was not his new residence Chengzhou. This interpretation is reasonable also because King Wu died and was buried in the west. Therefore, King Cheng returned to the west in order to perform sacrifices for the spirit of his father.

⁴⁷ It is debated whether Shu Ze was the first Jin ruler Shu Yu 叔虞, or his son Xie fu 燮父. For alternative opinions on Shu Ze's identity, cf. Li Boqian 李伯謙, "Shu Ze fangding

唯十又四月。王醕、大禴、禋在成周。咸禋。王呼殷厥士。齊叔矢以冏衣，車馬，貝卅朋。敢對王休。用乍寶尊彝。其萬年揚王光厥士。

It was the fourteenth month. The king [performed] the libation sacrifices, the great ancestral invocation, and the exorcist ritual in Chengzhou. When the sacrifices were completed, the king called to perform the *yin* [ritual] for his men. [He] gave a cap, a robe, a chariot with horses, and thirty bundles of cowries to Shu Ze. [I, Shu Ze] dared to respond to the king's beneficence. On account of this, [I] made this treasured sacrificial vessel. [I] shall extol the king who distinguishes his men for ten thousand years!⁴⁸

The *yin* mentioned in this text possibly corresponds to the so-called “rituals of the Yin [dynasty]” (*Yin li* 殷禮) which, as suggested by the “Luo gao” 洛誥 chapter of the *Shang shu* 尚書, had to be held in Chengzhou with some regularity.⁴⁹ Further inscriptions show that later on, Zhou kings delegated the hosting of the Yin rituals to their representatives when they stayed in the west.⁵⁰ It cannot be verified whether the Yin rituals without the king were attended by regional lords or their officers, or whether they were purely religious matters, not serving as a pretext for any important meetings.

Several inscriptions of the early period dating from after King Cheng's reign witness receptions of regional rulers in Zongzhou. One of them, discovered in the cemetery of the state of Wei, states:

唯公遽逐于宗周。陸从公 [...]

The Duke hurried up to Zongzhou. Lu followed the Duke [...]⁵¹

mingwen kaoshi” 叔矢方鼎銘文考釋, *Wenwu* 2001.8: 39-42; Li Xueqin, “Tan Shu Ze fangding ji qita” 談叔矢方鼎及其他, *Wenwu* 2001.10: 67-70; Huang Shengzhang 黃盛璋, “Jin hou mudi M114 yu Shu Ze fangding zhuren, niandai he muzang shici niandai pailie xin luntan” 晉侯墓地M114與叔矢方鼎主人, 年代和墓葬世次年代排列新論談, in Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, *Jinhou mudi chutu qingtongqi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 晉侯墓地出土青銅器國際學術討論會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua: 2002), 212-31.

⁴⁸ For the rubbing, see “Tianma—Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jin hou mudi diliuci fajue” 天馬——曲村遺址北趙晉侯墓地第六次發掘, *Wenwu* 2001.8: 4-21, 55, esp. 9.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Shang shu*, “Luo gao”; 95-102, James Legge, *The Shoo King or the Book of Documents* (rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Press, 1960), 438, 447; Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1974), 52.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Xiaochen Zhuan gui* 小臣傳簋 (*Jicheng* # 4206), *Zuoce X you* 作冊卣 (*Jicheng* # 5400), *Shi Shang you* 士上卣 (*Jicheng* # 5421).

⁵¹ Cf. Guo Baojun 郭寶鈞, *Junxian Xincun* 濬縣辛村 (Beijing: Kexue, 1964), 35.

Another one, commissioned by Zhi 旨, a ruler of the state of Yan, implies that such meetings could be held with some regularity:

匱侯旨初見事于宗周。王賞旨貝廿朋 [...]

Lord Zhi of Yan [went] to pay visit [and to lay the account of his] affairs to Zongzhou for the first time. The king gave him twenty bundles of cowries [...] (*Yanhou Zhi ding* 匱侯旨鼎, *Jicheng* # 2628)

The famous inscription on the *Mai zun*, commissioned by an official of the ruler of Xing during the reign of either King Kang or King Zhao 昭 (977/75-957), provides many details about a reception of a regional lord in Zongzhou:⁵²

王令辟邢侯出昃，侯于邢。掣若二月。侯見于宗周。亡訖。合王饗莽京。酏祀。掣若翌日。在璧雍。王乘于舟。為大禮。王射大鴻。禽。侯乘于赤旂舟從。死〔尸〕咸。之日。王以侯內于寢。侯賜玄珣戈。掣王在放。已夕。侯賜赭蹠臣二百家。劑用王乘車馬。金勒。冂衣。市舄。唯歸。揚天子休。告亡訖。用恭儀寧侯。顯孝于邢侯。

[...] The king ordered [my] suzerain the Lord of Xing to leave Pei⁵³ [and to be] the Lord in Xing. In the second month, the Lord paid visit to Zongzhou. There was no blame. Together with the king, [he] banqueted in Pangjing. [There was] a libation sacrifice. On the next day, [they were] at the Ring-shaped Pond. The king rode a boat. [He] performed a Great Ritual. The king shot at a large wild goose. [He] hit it. The Lord rode a boat with a red banner [and] followed [the king]. The ritual was completed. On the same day, the king and the Lord were inside the [king's] private quarters. The Lord was bestowed with a black, decorated dagger-axe. As the king was in Gan,⁵⁴ at the evening [reception], the Lord was given two

⁵² The *Mai zun* is sometimes regarded as the account of Jing *hou*'s investiture ceremony (see Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 318; Lau, *Quellenstudien*, 105-19, esp. 113). However, the inscription does not mention any commands (like "go and be *hou* in Jin!"), but only gifts received by Jing *hou* from the king. Therefore, it is more plausible that the first line of the *Mai zun* briefly referred to the investiture that preceded the events constituting the main subject of its account, namely the visit of the already established Xing *hou* with the king (cf. Guo Moruo, *Liang Zhou jinwen*, vol. 7: 41, Ma Chengyuan, *Shang-Zhou qingtongqi*, 47).

⁵³ Located near present-day Rongyang, Henan.

⁵⁴ The location of Gan is problematic. Possibly, it was near the conjunction of the Wei and Qian 汧 rivers in present-day Fengxiang 鳳翔 county, Shaanxi; see Tang Lan 唐蘭, "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai zhong de Kangong wenti" 西周銅器斷代中的康宮問題, *Kaogu xuebao* 1962: 15-48, esp. 33; Lau, *Quellenstudien*, 118 with reference to Lu Liancheng 盧連成, "Gan di yu Zhao wang shijiu nian nan zheng" 汧地與昭王十九年南征, in *Xi Zhou shi yanjiu* 西周史研究, Supplement no. 2 to *Renwen zazhi* 1984: 232-48. Li Zhongcao, "Pangjing kao," 121, has suggested that Gan may have been located on the

hundred families of slaves red-branded on their ankles. He was given a privilege to use horses [that previously] drew the king's carriage; [he was also given] a metal-[decorated] bridle, a cap, a robe, kneepads, and slippers. As he came back, he extolled the beneficence of the king. He announced that there was no blame. On account of this, [he performed] reverent ceremonies in order to repose [the deceased] Lord [of Xing]. [He performed] illustrious filial sacrifices to [his deceased father former] Lord of Xing [...] (*Mai zun* 麥尊, *Jicheng* # 6015)

Although these three inscriptions seem to point at Zongzhou as the central point for meetings between the king and regional rulers, new materials acquired during the last decades show that it was used for this purpose not exclusively but concurrently with other royal residences. The inscription on the *Zha/Zuo bo gui*, commissioned by the ruler of the state of Zuo 胙 (in present-day Yanjin 延津 county, Henan), reports on his trip to Zhou-under-Qi. There, Elder of Zuo, a son or grandson of the Duke of Zhou, competed at a “great archery contest” (*da she* 大射), possibly together with some other regional rulers.⁵⁵ A mid- to late period inscription commissioned by Jiangong or Shigong 見(視)工, the Lord of Ying 應 (at present-day Pingdingshan 平頂山, Henan), documents his reception in Zhou-under-Qi. Moreover, it mentions that immediately before this reception the king returned from Chengzhou. Possibly, Shigong was first summoned to Chengzhou where he was given the honor to accompany the king back to Zhou-under-Qi. Thereupon, similar to the royal retainer Xing mentioned above, he was rewarded for having escorted the king on his trip:

唯正二月初吉。王歸自成周。應侯見〔視〕工遺王于周。辛未王格于康。榮白內右應侯見〔視〕工。賜彤弓一。彤矢百。馬四匹[...].

It was the second month, the first auspicious day. The king returned from Chengzhou. Lord Shigong of Ying made a present to the king in Zhou. On the day *xingwei* the king entered the Kang [Palace]. Elder Rong entered accompanying the Lord of Ying Shigong to his right. [Shigong] was bestowed one vermilion

bank of the river Qi 漆, i. e. on the eastern edge of Fufeng county, which sounds preferable to me. Ma Chengyuan, *Shang Zhou qingtongqi*, 47, suggested that Gan meant “bank” (*an* 岸) and referred to the bank of a large ring-shaped pond.

⁵⁵ For details, see Wang Longzheng 王龍正, Jiang Tao 姜濤, and Yuan Junjie 袁俊杰, “Xin faxian de *Zha bo gui* ji qi mingwen kaoshi” 新發現的柞伯簋及其銘文考釋, *Wenwu* 1998.9: 53-58. For the full English translation, see Shaughnessy, “New Sources of Western Zhou History,” 81.

bow, one hundred vermilion arrows, and four horses [...] (*Ying-hou Jian/Shi Gong zhong* 應侯見/視工鐘, *Jicheng* # 107)⁵⁶

Both the earlier *Mai zun* and the middle period *Ying hou Shigong gui* reflect an interesting feature of the royal hospitality: it was not necessarily limited to one royal residence but could be prolonged to include a journey around the royal territories. Thus, the arrival of the Lord of Xing at Zongzhou was only the prelude to a longer joint journey of the regional lord and the king to Pangjing and then to Gan. By contrast, the Lord of Ying only briefly mentioned Chengzhou, located not very far from his own domain, but stressed that he was granted the gifts in more distant Zhou-under-Qi. Being taken along on a tour with the king was likely considered a favor and a matter of prestige. At the same time, it diminished the significance of the royal residence, because the king staged himself as such not only at this particular place, but at various locations.

That representatives of regional states were supposed more or less regularly to present themselves at royal receptions is reflected in the *topos* “countries that do not pay court” (*bu ting fang* 不廷方)⁵⁷ used to characterize foreign polities in some Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, in distinction to members of the Zhou political agglomeration (see below). However, although a considerable number of inscriptions commissioned by regional lords during the middle and late Western Zhou

⁵⁶ For details see Shaughnessy, “New Sources of Western Zhou History,” 79 (includes the full translation). For the reading of the name see Lothar von Falkenhausen, “The Bronzes of Ying and Their Inscriptions,” in *Studies on Ancient Chinese Bronzes in the Shouyang Studio*, ed. Jenny So (Hong Kong: Chinese Univ. Press, forthcoming).

⁵⁷ In Shang oracle bone inscriptions, *fang* 方 after an ethnonym designated political entities of foreign, i.e. non-Shang peoples. It is often translated as “tribe,” which seems inappropriate to me, since it implies an evolutionist model in which “tribe” is assessed as a political entity below the level of the “state.” The lack of information does not allow us to verify whether political entities of non-Zhou people were inferior to the Zhou regional states in terms of complexity or size (see Morton H. Fried, “Tribe to State, or State to Tribe?” in *The Origins of Chinese Civilization*, 467-93). In other Shang and Western Zhou contexts, *fang* signified a “quarter [of the world],” the world being represented as a whole consisting of “four quarters” surrounding the center which was occupied by the ruling dynasty; for an investigation into the *si fang* system and its evolution into the *wuxing* cosmological system, see Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000). Considering both political and special aspects of this word, I accept Keightley’s translation of *fang* as “country” (see, e.g., Keightley, “The Late Shang State,” 548).

periods are available, apart from those of Lord Shigong of Ying none is concerned with a visit to a royal residence just for the sake of confirming loyalty. Therefore, it remains unclear whether after the early days of the dynasty, the kings were still able to regularly summon regional lords to the royal residences. Rather, their visits were bound to special occasions, whereas the routine communication could be delegated to envoys. The king's rotation between the three main residences, Chengzhou, Zongzhou, and Zhou-under-Qi, should have been a factor complicating the communication with regional states. Even today, the distance by road between Xi'an and Luoyang is 400 km, and between Xi'an and Qishan 157 km.⁵⁸ There does not seem to have existed a rule about holding meetings at certain times in certain places. While both the *Mai zun* and the *Ying hou Shigong gui* date their receptions to the second month, one meeting was in Zongzhou, the other in Zhou-under-Qi, although one should perhaps refrain from comparing inscriptions from very different periods. However, inscriptions of the same period also do not display a clear system of meeting schedules. The assembly referred to in the *He zun* took place in Chengzhou in the fourth month, whereas that of the *Shu Ze fangding* occurred in the fourteenth, intercalary month. The archery contest in Zhou-under-Qi referred to in the *Zuo bo gui* was held in the eighth month. If each king appointed meetings at different times and at different places, one can only guess how intricate the logistics of royal hospitality must have been.

Royal inspection tours through the territories of regional states could have been a response to the growing unwillingness of regional lords to try to meet the king in his extensive domain without being certain whether and where they could find him. In cases where the king met regional lords during his inspection trips,⁵⁹ he acted as host just like during investiture ceremonies that had been conducted in the domains of the regional lords. Later on, while touring the regional states, the

⁵⁸) See road distance calculators at <http://distancecalculator.globefeed.com/> and <http://56.czinfo.net>.

⁵⁹) The *Yi hou Ze gui* defined the aim of the king's travel in the course of which he attended Yi as *xing* 省 ("to observe", "to examine", "to inspect"). The same word was employed in the *Zhong jia* (*Jicheng* # 6514), dating to the reign of King Zhao: "the king made a great inspection of the 'ducal' lineages in Geng" 王大省公族于庚.

kings confirmed their rights of overlords and supreme hosts by gathering assemblies in the territories of the regional lords and by handing down gifts to them. The middle period *Yi he* vessel, commissioned by a member of the royal retinue, witnesses the king's inspection tour to the state of Lu (near Qufu in present-day Shandong):

唯十又一月。既生霸甲申。王在魯。饗即邦君，者侯，正，有司。大射。
It was the eleventh month, after the nascent brightness, day *jiashen*. The king was in Lu. He made a feast for rulers of [foreign] states, rulers of regional states, governors, [and] administrators. [There was] a great archery [contest]. (*Yi he* 義盃, *Jicheng* # 9453)

The recently discovered inscription on the *Cheng gui*, also dating to the middle period and made by Lord Cheng of Ying, an ancestor of Lord Shigong of Ying, reports a reception in Gu 姑 (supposedly near present-day Luohe 漯河市, south-eastern Henan):⁶⁰

唯王十又一月初吉丁亥。王在姑。王弗忘應公室。減甬甬身。賜貝卅朋。馬四匹。[...]
It was the eleventh month of the king, first auspicious day *dinghai*. The king was in Gu. The king did not forget the House of the Dukes of Ying! [He] praised Cheng's person [and] bestowed on him thirty bundles of cowries and four horses as a present [...] ⁶¹

Both inscriptions indicate the trend toward making royal hospitality “ambulatory” and toward transposing it to the geographical periphery of the Zhou sphere of influence. Interestingly, in both cases, receptions

⁶⁰ The location of Gu is unclear, as all known Gu 姑 were located very far from both Ying and any royal center. I tentatively suggest that Gu was located in the Ku River 枯河 valley near present-day Luohe city. Gu 姑 and Ku 枯 sounded similar in Old Chinese. Luo could easily be reached from Ying by the Sha 沙 River. The source of the Ku River is located only a few kilometers northeast of Luohe city and separated from the Sha River's bank by a thin strip of soil. Luohe was an important regional center already before the Shang (see Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo et al., “Yancheng Haojiatai yizhi de fajue” 鄆城郝家臺遺址的發掘, *Huaxia kaogu* 1992.3: 62-91). Supposedly, during the Shang and Zhou epochs, Luohe was the center of the small state of Yan 鄆. Western Zhou remains have been found in this area; see Zhang Ruli 張汝鯉, “Gu Yanzi guo kaobian” 古鄆子國考辨, *Shixue yuekan* 1998.2: 113-15.

⁶¹ See Li Jiahao 李嘉浩, “Ying guo Cheng gui” 應國甬簋, in *Baoli cang jin* 保利藏金, ed. Baoli yishu bowuguan guwen weiyuanhui 保利藝術博物館顧問委員會 (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu, 1999), 75-78.

took place in the eleventh month, although they quite certainly did not date to the same year. Hopefully, new inscriptions will help to verify whether some regularity existed in the scheduling of royal inspection tours.

Besides the regular visits of regional lords to the royal residences, having but a revision of the status quo as their purpose, extraordinary meetings could be held at which the kings issued particular commands and rewarded their subsequent execution. These commands never concerned internal affairs of regional states or interregional communication but only wars with non-Zhou neighbors for which Zhou kings borrowed help from the regional lords. Wei 韋, supposedly an early period ruler of Jin, received a command to go on a mission to Fanyang 繁陽 (a non-Zhou, Yi 夷 polity located in the Huai 淮 River valley near present-day Xincai 新蔡 [Henan]) during his visit to Zongzhou.⁶² Su 蘇胤, the ruler of Jin during the late Western Zhou, was first formally offered a reception by King Xuan 宣 (827/25-782 BC) in Su's own encampment, where he received a command to launch an attack against Xun 薰 (another Eastern Yi polity). Later on, Su was rewarded for his accomplishments in Chengzhou, where he possibly returned from campaign together with the king.⁶³ Guoji Zi 伯 虢季子伯, a member of the ruling house of Western Guo 虢 (near present-day Baoji), was rewarded by King Xuan for liberating the area of Chengzhou from Xianyun 玁狁 invaders in the course of a reception held in Zhou-under-Qi, i.e., the royal residence situated most closely to his own place.⁶⁴ These examples demonstrate that if regional lords were involved

⁶² See Sun Qingwei 孫慶偉, "Cong xinchu Wei yan kan Zhaowang nanzheng yu Jinhou Xiefu" 從新出韋甗看昭王南征與晉侯燹父, *Wenwu* 2007.1: 64-68.

⁶³ For the transcription and analysis of the inscription, see Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, "Jin hou Su bianzhong" 晉侯蘇編鐘, *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 1996.7: 1-17; for the English translation and analysis, see Jaehoon Shim, "The 'Jinhou Su Bianzhong' Inscription and its Significance," *Early China* 22 (1997): 43-75, esp. 49-56. The dating of the inscription remains a subject of debate, see Shim, esp. 44, n. 7, with a bibliography of articles to 1997. See also Feng Shi 馮時, "Jin hou Su zhong yu Xi Zhou lifa" 晉侯蘇鐘與西周曆法, *Kaogu xuebao* 1997.4: 407-40; David S. Nivison and Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Jin Hou Su Bells Inscription and its Implications for the Chronology of Early China," *Early China* 25 (2000): 29-48; Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, *Jin hou mudi chutu qingtongqi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 晉侯墓地出土青銅器國際學術討論會論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua, 2002).

⁶⁴ See *Guoji Zibo pan* 虢季子白盤 (*Jicheng* # 10173).

in a common business with the king, they would betake themselves to a royal residence either to receive orders or to report on their execution. However, such communication was scheduled at none of the residences exclusively, even during the reign of one king. Moreover, in order to issue a command to the regional lords, the king not necessarily summoned them to his residence but also met them elsewhere, if it was reasonable under the conditions of war. In each case, the spatial localization of extraordinary meetings between the king and regional rulers depended on the particular situation and was not indicative of the status of one of the royal residences as the central “meeting point” for this category of guests.

Receptions of non-Zhou rulers: purposes and places

If in the relationship between the king and Zhou regional states political communication was not concentrated in one royal residence, we might ask whether the Zhou polity represented itself as a territorially centralized entity toward its non-Zhou counterparts. A number of bronze inscriptions witness that Zhou kings had personal meetings with rulers of non-Zhou polities that were styled as receptions where the king assumed the role of a host, while a non-Zhou ruler behaved as his guest. Inscriptions reveal that the purpose of these receptions was the revision of loyalty, probably (but perhaps not always) related to the delivery of tribute gifts by the guests and including the bestowal of presents by the king.

The first “foreigners” with whom Zhou kings dealt were descendants and former vassals of the conquered Shang dynasty. According to an early period inscription, Bao 保, a ruler of Shang parentage,⁶⁵ went to Zhou-under-Qi either together with or on behalf of “the five lords of the eastern Yin states” (possibly located in present-day Shandong) to deliver “six sorts of products” (*liu pin* 六品) as tribute. In response,

⁶⁵ The Shang parentage of Bao is suggested by the temple name of his father Fu Geng 父癸. It included one of the twelve cyclical signs, which was typical for Shang designations of ancestors. For Bao's identity, see Peng Yushang 彭裕商, “Zhou chu de Yin dai yimin” 周初的殷代遺民, *Sichuan daxue xuebao*, *Zhexue wenxue ban* 2002.6: 112-14.

the king gave Bao or all of them “guest presents” (*bin* 賓).⁶⁶ Bao, whose name can also be interpreted as “Protector,” might have been a regional lord, perhaps even one of the above-mentioned “five lords.” Considering that the rulers of these states were already included in the Zhou nomenclature of ranks, this inscription can be regarded as further evidence for the usage of Zhou-under-Qi for receptions of regional lords.

A reception of “guests from [foreign] states” (*bang bin* 邦賓)⁶⁷ is attested in the inscription on the *Xiao Yu ding*, dating to the reign of

⁶⁶ See *Bao You* 保卣 (*Jicheng* # 5415). Huang Shengzhang 黃盛璋 has suggested that these five Yin states could be Bogu 薄姑, Xu 徐, Yan 奄, Xiong 熊 and Ying 盈; see Huang Shengzhang, “Bao you ming de niandai, dili yu lishi wenti” 保卣銘的年代、地理與歷史問題, in Huang Shengzhang, *Lishi dili yu kaogu luncong* 歷史地理與考古論叢 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1982), 213. This hypothesis seems more persuasive than Chen Mengjia's identification of the five states as Qi 齊, Lu 魯, Yan 燕, Guan 管 and Cai 蔡, all of which were located “to the east of Yin” (see Chen Mengjia, “Xi Zhou tong qi duandai,” in *Jinwen lunwen xuan*, 53-126, esp. 121-22). Chen interpreted *ji* 及 in the sentence “*ji Yin dong huo [guo] wu hou* 及殷東或[國]五侯” as a conjunction, understanding that Bao went together with other rulers. Peng Yushang reads *ji* as “arrive at” and that Bao was ordered by the king to go to the places of the five *hou*, to collect the tributes and to come to court alone, bringing along these goods; see Peng Yushang 彭裕商, “Bao you xinjie” 保卣新解, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1998.4: 68-72. Peng has also argued that the Zhou referred to in this text was not Zhou-under-Qi, but Chengzhou. This he bases on the traditional assumption that Chengzhou's location “in the center” made it more suitable as a meeting point. I doubt that place names could so deliberately be interchanged in inscriptions. Considering that nearly at the same time, the Lord of Yan travelled from the vicinity of modern Beijing to Zongzhou, it is not impossible that Bao travelled from western Shandong to Zhou-under-Qi.

⁶⁷ In bronze inscriptions, both terms *bang* 邦 and *guo* 國 were used in the sense of “state,” i.e., a geopolitical unit with a certain territory. However, *guo* rather identified regional states within the Zhou network, whereas *bang* identified political units with greater autonomy. In particular, Zhou was referred to as a *bang* (see *Da Yu ding* 大盂鼎, *Jicheng* # 2837; *Da Ke ding* 大克鼎, *Jicheng* # 2836). *Bang* referred to a dependency given to Yu by King Kang (see *Da Yu ding* 大盂鼎, *Jicheng* # 2837). In this case, the king did not order Yu “to become a Lord (*hou*)”, which could signify that Yu enjoyed a higher autonomy in his domain in comparison to ordinary regional rulers (in terms of the “feudal” model, often applied to early China, this difference could parallel that between *allodium* and *feudum* in the European Middle Ages). At the same time, a hereditary ruler of a Zhou regional state, most probably with the status of a *guo*, could identify his dominion as *bang* (see *Yu ding* 禹鼎, *Jicheng* # 2833). The commissioner of the latter inscription contrasted his *bang* Xing (the rulers of which were indeed “lords” [*hou*]) with “southern and eastern *guo*” which he rescued from the invasion organized by Lord Yufang of E. The terminological difference can be explained by the perspective of the speaker, distinguishing between his own state and other regional states, and, possibly, stressing his authority within his own territory. However, in other contexts *bang* was applied to non-Zhou polities, as

King Kang. It took place in the course of the celebration of the Zhou victory over the northern Guifang 鬼方 people⁶⁸ in the Temple of Zhou in Zhou-under-Qi.⁶⁹ It is usually assumed that *bang bin* were representatives of other northern non-Zhou peoples, although this text does not permit us to specify their affiliation.⁷⁰

Non-Zhou rulers not necessarily volunteered to be the king's guests and ceased to deliver tribute at every occasion. In response, Zhou kings sent war parties to "pacify" (*an* 安 or *ning* 寧) them. If the "pacification" was successful without the use of arms, the non-Zhou rulers provided the king's emissaries with guest-presents (*bin*).⁷¹ If they resisted by force, they could be required to deliver tribute in person.

Two mid-Western Zhou inscriptions provide an insight into the history of relations between Zhou and the kingdom of Guai 乖 (possibly

implied by the explicit reference to Guai as "another country" *ta bang* 它邦 and by the juxtaposition of the rulers of these countries and the regional lords (see *Guai bo gui*, *Jicheng* # 4331; *Jing gui* 靜簋, *Jicheng* # 4273; *Yi be* 義盃, *Jicheng* # 9453). The otherness, or at least a high degree of autonomy, of the *bang* referred to in the *Xiao Yu ding* inscription is also suggested by the word *bin* 賓, "guest," which was usually applied to strangers (see Khayutina, "Host-guest Opposition," 92-100). For an alternative view of *bang* and *guo* see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), 47-49 and 183-89. Although Li also assumes the higher autonomy of the *bang* as compared to *guo*, he believes that the *bang* "were incorporated into the general administrative structure of the Western Zhou state." Although I agree that this was the case in respect of the *bang* ruled by Yu 孟 or Yu 禹, I hold that in other cases, the *bang* was completely outside the Zhou hierarchy.

⁶⁸ Unlike Shang texts, Western Zhou inscriptions referred to foreign polities simply by their ethnonym, e.g. Rong, a toponym, e.g., Guai, or a combination of a toponym and ethnonym, e.g., Huai Yi, but without such determinatives. Although the quoted example demonstrates that the Zhou referred to some foreign peoples in Shang terms, it is likely that they perceived the combination of the ethnonym and the *fang* as a single ethnonym "Guifang."

⁶⁹ See *Xiao Yu ding* 小孟鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2839). This is the only instance where participants of royal receptions were literally defined as "guests" (*bin*). Evidently, it was not common to write "I was received as a guest by the king" or the like in first-person reports of royal receptions. However, it is even more likely that in the course of royal receptions, regional rulers and royal officials were not assessed as "guests" but as regular visitors, whereas the term "guest" was applied only to foreigners. Visits by foreigners were referred to extremely rarely, which explains why "guests," paradoxically, are seldom mentioned in the records of royal hospitality.

⁷⁰ For the discussion of this ceremony, see Chen Mengjia, "Xi Zhou tong qi duandai," in *Jinwen lunwen xuan*, 210-20; Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou History," 293-351 (includes a translation), esp. 320-22; Khayutina, "Host-Guest Opposition," 94-95.

⁷¹ See *Gong Mao ding* 公賈鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2719), *Shi Song ding* 史頌鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2787), *Zuoce Huan zun* 作冊鬲尊 (*Jicheng* # 5989).

located to the north of the Zhou core territories on the edge of Shaanxi and Gansu provinces).⁷² According to the *Wei ding*, in the ninth year of King Gong's reign (917-900 BC), an envoy sent by Guai's ruler Mei'ao 眉敖 paid a visit (*jian*) to the Zhou king in Zhou-under-Qi.⁷³ Later on, as reflected in the *Guai bo gui*, a confrontation between the two polities emerged. Hence, the Zhou king (probably King Yih, 899-873 BC) sent a war party into Mei'ao's territory. As a result, Mei'ao came to visit (*zhi jian* 至見) the king to express his submission, bringing gifts of silk and cowry shells. In return, he received a badger coat.⁷⁴ Thus, the meeting served to fix the relationship between the Zhou and Guai.

Similar to the situations reflected in the early period *Xiao Yu ding* and mid-period *Guai bo gui*, the late period inscription on the bell *Hu zhong* commissioned by King Li 厲 (857-842 BC)⁷⁵ demonstrates that also during his time, personal visits of non-Zhou rulers immediately followed the preceding warfare:

王肇適省文武勤疆土。南或〔域, or 國〕服子敢陷虐我土。王敦伐, 其至撲伐厥都。服子迺遣間, 來逆邵王。南夷東夷具見, 廿又六邦。唯皇上帝百神保余小子。朕猷有成亡競。我唯司配皇天。王對作宗周寶鐘。

The king set forth on an inspection tour through the borderlands acquired by the efforts of Kings Wen and Wu. Fu *zi* from the southern areas (or states) dared to bring detriment to our lands and to invade them. The king launched a ferocious attack, even making an assault on his residence. Fu *zi* then sent a negotiator,⁷⁶

⁷² Mei'ao dedicated his ritual vessel to his father, King Ji of Guai. This indicates that he ruled as a king in his own domain. Guo Moruo, *Liang Zhou jinwen*, vol. 7: 147-48, suggested that Guai was located in western Hubei province. However, Li Feng argues that Guai was located rather on the northwestern frontier of Zhou and may originally have been affiliated with the Northern Rong people (see Li Feng, "Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders: Evidence from the Bronze Inscriptions of the Western Zhou Period (1045-771 BC)", *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 74 (2002): 210-42, esp. 220-21; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 185.

⁷³ See the Ninth-year *Wei ding* 九年衛鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2831).

⁷⁴ See *Guai bo gui* 乖伯簋 (*Jicheng* # 4331).

⁷⁵ After the discovery of other bronzes cast by King Li, the attribution of the *Hu zhong* to him is now generally accepted; see Mu Haiting 穆海亭 and Zhu Jieyuan 朱捷元, "Xin faxian de Xi Zhou wangshi zhongqi wusi Hu zhong kao" 新發現的西周王室重器五祀獸鍾考, *Renwen zazhi* 1983.2: 118-21, Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, 170.

⁷⁶ The meaning of *jian* 間 is "crevice," "interstice," "interval," "space between," or "leisure." Tang Lan 唐蘭, *Xi Zhou qingtong qi mingwen fendai*, 503, argued that here, it was merely a personal name. Ma Chengyuan suggested reading *jian* as *xian* 閑 in the meaning of

after which he [personally] arrived to welcome the king.⁷⁷ The southern and eastern Yi all came to pay visits, twenty-six [foreign] states altogether! Oh! August Deity on High! Myriads of spirits! Protect me, the small child! Let my plans be successful and not meet opposition! May we govern and conjoin with August Heaven! [I], the king, make in response [to my ancestors' assistance] this precious bell for Zongzhou. (*Hu zhong* 馱鐘, *Jicheng* # 260)

The reception offered by King Li to the non-Zhou ruler Fu *zi* crowned the success of the Zhou army and symbolized the submission of a former enemy. The victory over Fu, possibly one of the Han 漢 River polities,⁷⁸ triggered a chain of visits of neighboring rulers with promise of loyalty, as it also may have been in the case documented in the *Xiao Yu ding*. In this light, the involvement of non-Zhou peoples into hospitality relationships with the Zhou kings can be regarded as resulting from—or representing an alternative to—violence. This clearly

fangxian 防閑, “to defend,” “to guard.” However, in this sentence *jian* is the object of the verb *qian* 遣 “to send.” In bronze inscriptions *qian* had objects of two kinds: people, while sent on a mission (usually a military one), or gifts (often granted by an ancestor, like “blessings,” or “happiness”). This sentence evidently refers to Fu *zi*'s actions signifying his capitulation after his residence was destroyed by the Zhou king. Thus, it is plausible that he sent someone or something in order to negotiate peace. The goal of these negotiations, i.e., “peace,” is one of the derivative meanings of *jian* as attested in the *Zuo zhuan* (see Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa, Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 29 [1957]: 1-332, 69, no. 191). Another derivative meaning of *jian* is “to intermediate.” It is possible that *jian* points to a person or an object used to mediate the suspension of arms. Another connotation of *jian*, “to spy on,” seems even more interesting to our investigation. The etymologically connected word *jian* 簡 (“bamboo strip”) could be used in the sense of “to examine.” Both meanings are related to the action of seeing. Sergei Starostin suggested that *jian* 簡 might have been phonetically related to *jian* 見 (“to see,” “to visit”); see *The Tower of Babel: An International Etymological Database Project* (<http://starling.rinet.ru>). I suggest that the meaning of *qian jian* 遣間 in the *Hu zhong* inscription might be similar to *qian shi* 遣使 “to send an envoy”, or to *shi jian* 使見 “to send [someone] to visit [someone]” in literary texts. A very similar expression can be found in *Han shu*, “Xiongnu liezhuan” 匈奴列傳: “The Huhanye *shanyu* sent an envoy to visit the lesser *kunmi* Wujiutu” (呼韓邪 遣使見小昆彌烏就屠); see Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 94B.3800.

⁷⁷ The character *shao* 邵 (“high,” “lofty”) in bronze inscriptions often corresponds to *zhao* 昭 (“bright,” “illustrious,” “to manifest,” “to display”). However, in this case it should be read as *shao* 紹 (“to continue,” “to transmit”). Tang Lan, op. cit., 505, suggested that *shao* 邵 in the *Hu Zhong* is a verb, specifying in which way the king had to be welcomed. I am indebted to Prof. Wolfgang Behr for his advice on this issue.

⁷⁸ The location of Fu is not clear. Possibly, it was identical with Fu 復. Rulers of the latter intermarried with Deng (see below). The location of the second Fu is also not known, but its intimate relationship with Deng allows suggesting that it was one of the Han or Huai River polities.

had consequences for the future, as Zhou kings considered the arrival of non-Zhou rulers as a sign of their subordination.

Depending on whether they responded to the royal hospitality or rejected it, a line was drawn between “those who are with the Zhou” and “those who are against Zhou.” In an inscription on another bell commissioned by King Li, he distinguished between those who came or did not come to “pay court” (*ting*):

明韞文乃應受大令。匍有四方。余小子肇嗣先王。配上下。乍厥王大寶。用喜侃前文人。前文人 [...] 受余屯魯。用敬不廷方。猷其萬年永歌尹四方。保大令 [...]

...Bright, prosperous, [and] cultivated [kings] adopted the Great Mandate [and] embraced the four quarters [of the world]. I, the small child, just succeeded the former king, joining together those above and below. [I] made my royal great treasure, so to gladden the former cultivated men. The former cultivated men [...] offer me their undisturbed benevolence, so to [make] respectful the countries that do not pay court.⁷⁹ May [I], Hu, rule continuously for ten thousand years [and] forever over the four quarters [of the world and] protect the Great Mandate [...] (*Hu zhong* 馱鐘, *Jicheng* # 358).

This inscription does not make very clear whether or not the king regarded “the countries that do not pay court” as part of the “four quarters” of the civilized Zhou world. From the *Hu zhong* inscription, it seems that the king hoped that at some point, the *bu ting fang* would “come to visit” and thus become part of the *si fang*, which would then be united under his rule.

The representation of whether or not the foreign countries should be brought to the court probably changed with the currents of time. The mid-period *Shi Qiang pan* boastfully ends the dedication to the commissioner’s sovereign, King Gong, as follows:

...厚福。豐年。

方蠻亡不迅見。

[Shall he have] thick prosperity, plentiful years,

Among all the Man [peoples], there won’t be any who do not hasten to visit [the king]! (*Shi Qiang pan* 史牆盤, *Jicheng* # 10175)⁸⁰

⁷⁹) Note that in this text, *fang* is used in both its senses as “a quarter [of the entire world]” and a “[foreign] country.”

⁸⁰) In this case, *fang* is used in the sense of “on all sides,” “all” (compare with *fang xia*, “all the Xia” 方夏, in the “Wu cheng” 武成 chapter of the *Shang shu*).

However, King Xuan's words in the *Mao gong ding* inscription sound much smoother:

不顯文，武！皇天引厭厥德。配我有周。雁受大命。率裹不廷方。亡不聞于文武耿光。 [...]

Greatly illustrious were [Kings] Wen [and] Wu! Great Heaven prolonged and made abundant their virtue, conjoining with our dominion Zhou.⁸¹ [The former kings] adopted the Great Mandate. They led and cherished the countries that did not pay court, so that there was none who was not attracted (?) by the bright light of [Kings] Wen [and] Wu" [...] (*Mao-gong ding* 毛公鼎, *Jicheng* 2841)

The last quotation leaves an impression that King Xuan recognized that “not paying court” was a permanent and normal condition of some neighbors, who nevertheless were able to admire the great founders of the Zhou from a distance, not necessarily being inimical to the Zhou. This sounds like a renouncement of the earlier doctrine of forcing the non-Zhou rulers to attend royal receptions in favor of a policy of *laissez-faire*. The inscription on the *Ju fu xu*, dating to 810 BC, corroborates that during King Xuan's reign, rulers of the non-Zhou polities of the Huai River basin were expected to visit or to send envoys to the Zhou regional states in the south, whereas the latter were obligated to pay visits in return.⁸² The southern regional lords were then responsible for delivering to the king his share of the gifts offered by the foreign guests.

Even if before King Xuan's reign some non-Zhou rulers had personal meetings with the kings, it is not attested that they ever took place at royal residences. After the early Western Zhou period, localizing the receptions noted in bronze inscriptions is problematic. It is noteworthy that the *Guai bo gui*, providing many details about the reception

⁸¹ In various early Chinese texts, political entities were defined as *you* 有 (normally, a verb “to have”, “to possess”) in a nominal sense. The closest English equivalent would be *dominion* as this term was used in the European Middle Ages and early New Time. *Dominion* derives from Latin *dominium*, signifying “ownership, property, right of possession” in Roman law. In premodern Europe, *dominion* designated “the lands or domains of a feudal lord” and “the territory owned by or subject to a king or ruler” (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

⁸² See *Ju Fu xu* 駒父鬲 (*Jicheng* 4464). For the suggestion about the bilaterality of these relations, see Xia Hanyi 夏含夷 (Edward L. Shaughnessy), *Wengou zhixin lu: Shang Zhou wenhua shi guanjian* 溫故知新錄——商周文化史管見 (Taipei: Daohuo, 1997), 160-65.

of Mei'ao, "forgets" to specify its location. By way of analogy with the inscriptions commissioned by regional lords, this possibly implies that the meeting took place not in the king's residence but elsewhere. Similarly, although King Li made his bell for use in the royal residence Zongzhou, its inscription did not state that Zongzhou was the location where the meetings with the twenty-six non-Zhou rulers took place. Therefore, it is more likely that, like King Yih, King Li was not able or did not wish to summon foreign rulers to his residences but arranged their receptions somewhere else. Several other inscriptions strengthen the assumption that the royal hospitality offered to non-Zhou rulers was usually "ambulatory." One of them is the *Yi he* of the middle period, already cited above, stating that the "rulers of the countries" (*bang jun*), possibly of Huai Yi origin, were summoned to a great archery contest in Lu together with the neighboring regional lords.⁸³

The inscription on the *E hou Yufang ding* documents King Li's individual meeting with perhaps the most powerful of the "twenty-six Southern and Eastern Yi" polities referred to in the *Hu zhong*. Lord Yufang 馭方 of E 噩 (in present-day Deng 鄧 County, Henan) was the leader of the coalition of the Yi peoples of the Huai River basin during the reign of King Li. Rulers of E intermarried with the royal house of Zhou and, as Lord Yufang's inscription demonstrates, were even included among the regional lords. Although Yufang was assigned the Zhou rank of a regional lord, the fact that he raised an anti-Zhou rebellion several years later speaks for his own repudiation of this "favor."⁸⁴ The meeting between Yufang and the king took place in Pei 坏 (possibly in the vicinity of Lord of E's territory). The king went by this location when returning from a campaign against the Southern Yi polities Jiao 角 and Jue/Sui 僑 (邇/隨?), possibly in north-eastern present-day Hubei.⁸⁵ A short mid- to late-Western Zhou inscription

⁸³ See *Yi he* 義盃 (*Jicheng* # 9453).

⁸⁴ The rebellion is reported in the *Yu ding* (*Jicheng* # 2833). On the Lord of E's reception and his anti-Zhou rebellion several years after the meeting in Pei, see Creel, *Origins of Statecraft in China*, 237-38; Shaughnessy "Western Zhou history," 330-31; Li Feng, "Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders," 222-30; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 330-31. For an English translation, see Li Feng, "Literacy Crossing Cultural Borders," 222.

⁸⁵ See *E hou Yu fangding* 噩侯馭方鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2810). Many scholars believe that Pei, where this meeting took place, was the same as the Pei 柅 mentioned in the *Mai zun* and located at Rongyang 滎陽 city in central present-day Henan. This was suggested by Wang

commissioned by the ruler of Deng 鄧, one of the “southern countries” located in the Han River valley (northern Hubei),⁸⁶ reads:

唯十又四月。王在侯。𠄎。鄧公作旅簋。

“It was the fourteenth month, the king was at the Lord’s [place]. [He performed] X (?). The Duke of Deng made this *lü* tureen for travels.” (*Deng gong gui* 鄧公簋, *Jicheng* # 3858)⁸⁷

Guowei (after Guo Moruo, *Liang Zhou jinwen*, vol. 7, 106-9, and Ma Chengyuan, *Shang-Zhou qingtongqi*, 280-81). However, it is hard to believe that the king could pass by this place on his way back from the south, where Jiao and Jue were located. The latter polities correspond to Jiao and Sui of the late period *Liao sheng xu* 廖生徯 (*Jicheng* # 4459) inscription (“The king went on the campaign against the Southern Huai Yi. He conquered Jiao [and] Zhou [of Huai River]. [He] conquered Tong [and] Sui” (王征南淮夷。伐角。甹。伐桐。遙。)). Tong probably refers to Tongbo 桐柏 (in northeastern Hubei), where the Huai River originates, whereas Sui 遙 possibly corresponds to Sui 隨 (in present-day Sui county, not very far from Tongbo; see Map I). Both Tong and Sui were located to the south of E.

⁸⁶ For the localization of Deng near Xiangfan city in Hubei province during the late Western Zhou and Spring and Autumn periods, see Xiangfan shi bowuguan 襄樊市博物館, “Hubei sheng Xiangfan shi Deng cheng yizhi shijue jianbao” 湖北省襄樊市鄧城遺址試掘簡報, *Jiangnan kaogu* 2004.2: 19-26. Earlier, Deng could have been located further north.

⁸⁷ The vessel designation *lü* 旅 appears on many bronze vessels for food, especially rectangular food containers *xu* which were similar in function to the *gui* tureens, but also on some beverage vessels. The word *lü* had several meanings, including “travel,” “stay away from home,” “military troops” (in the latter sense often in the *Shi jing*). *Lü* was also used in the sense of “sacrifice,” which, possibly, also derived from “travel” (in Han times it denoted imperial sacrifices on the Mt. Tai, distant from the capital). The owners of *lü* ritual vessels were often involved in military operations or travels for other purposes, during which they could use these usually small and portable objects for ancestral sacrifices; see Khayutina, “Sacred Space of an Aristocratic Clan in Ancient China under Transformation,” in *Creating and Representing Sacred Spaces*, ed. Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Michael Dickhardt (Göttingen: Peust & Gutschmidt, 2003), 113-44, esp. 119. The argument can be supported by further linguistic evidence. In some cases, *lü* could be replaced by *xing* 行 “to travel” (*Guo shu xu* 虢叔徯, *Jicheng* # 4389) or *zheng* 征 “to go on a journey/military campaign” (*Ji bo zi Ren xu* 紀伯自任徯, *Jicheng* # 4442). An explicit witness of the association of some bronzes with travelling and military activities is the early Western Zhou vessel *Mai he* 麥盃 (*Jicheng* # 9451) that was commissioned by none other than the author of the *Mai zun* inscription who left a detailed account of his lord’s journey to the royal capital: “Mai ... made [this] ewer in order to follow the Lord of Xing in his travels/military campaigns, to travel [perhaps in a carriage, contrasted by the next word—M. Kh.], to go on foot” 麥... 作盃，用從邢侯征事，用旋徒(走). In the *Cai hou ding* 蔡侯鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2441) inscription, the *lü* is written with a determinative *che* 車, “carriage,” which points at travelling in a carriage pulled by horses. The same is suggested by the definition *yu dun* 御敦, where *yu* signifies “to drive a carriage” in the inscription on the late Spring and Autumn *Teng hou dun* 滕侯敦 (*Jicheng* # 4635).

The name of the regional ruler, at whose place the Duke of Deng could meet the Zhou king, is not specified. This could have been a ruler of Ying, as Deng intermarried with the Ying branch of the royal Ji 姬 clan,⁸⁸ or any of the other southern regional lords. Without stating it explicitly, the text implies that the Duke of Deng had a personal meeting with the Zhou king; otherwise, it would be hard to explain why the ruler of a non-Zhou polity would cast a Zhou-styled bronze tureen with an inscription referring to the king's location. This inscription also corroborates that non-Zhou neighbors visited Zhou kings during their stays with regional lords on the Zhou periphery.

In sum, inscriptions referring to royal receptions of non-Zhou rulers show that such meetings were bound to royal residences even less than those offered to the Zhou regional lords. Moreover, they indicate the same trend of transposing royal hospitality to the periphery of the larger Zhou polity, already revealed in the relations between the king and the regional lords.

Receptions in the “smaller” Zhou kingdom: recipients, purposes and places

While the processes of political communication within the larger Zhou polity or between the Zhou and their neighbors are documented very fragmentary, much more can be retrieved about the organization and functioning of the territories under the direct control of the king. Referred to as the “royal domain” (*wang ji* 王畿) in later received sources, this area can also be understood as the “smaller” Zhou kingdom.⁸⁹ Among the inscriptions listed in the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*,

⁸⁸) A vessel made by a Duke of Deng as dowry for his daughter was found at the cemetery of the Ying state (see *Deng gong gui* 鄧公簋, *Jicheng* 3775). See also Zhou Yongzhen 周永珍, “Liang Zhou shiqi de Ying guo, Deng guo tongqi ji dili weizhi” 兩周時期的應國, 鄧國銅器基地地理位置, *Kaogu* 1982.1: 48-53.

⁸⁹) I follow Creel, *Origins of Statecraft*, 363-66, that the “royal domain” was an Eastern Zhou theoretical conception. As I have noted above, Zhou was referred to in bronze inscriptions as a *bang*, but it is not clear whether this *bang* included the Western Zhou polity in its broadest territorial limits or just the core territory. I am not convinced by the theory that all land in the Western Zhou polity belonged to the Zhou king, an idea based on a single quotation from the “Bei shan” 北山 ode (Mao 205) in the *Shi jing* (溥天之下 / 莫非王土) that was certainly written after the Western Zhou period and inaccurate even for the Eastern Zhou. I rather suggest that Zhou was the principal *bang* in the hier-

many are related to royal receptions of persons other than regional lords, their subjects, and non-Zhou rulers: fifty-six from the early, eighty-three from the middle and forty-nine from the late Western Zhou period (cf. the list in the Appendix).⁹⁰ Although the exact places of their discovery are often unknown, most of their commissioners lived in the territories stretching between western Shaanxi and central Henan. The considerable number of such inscriptions allows for their quantitative analysis, revealing how the purposes of receptions correlated with their spatial localization.

Three purposes of the receptions offered to inhabitants of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom can be identified: appointment to an office in the royal administration or military hierarchy, issue of a particular command, or a general revision of loyalty. Inscriptions recording appointments and commands have already received scholarly attention in connection with inquiries about the organization of the Western Zhou “feudalism,” bureaucracy,⁹¹ and the system of social relationships based on the exchange of gifts and services.⁹² Recently, interest has

archy of other *bang* and *guo*. As the latter are identified in English according to the title of their ruler, for instance as “dukedom” or “earldom,” it seems appropriate to define the *bang* of the king as “kingdom.” Since the definition “Zhou kingdom” is often used in the literature as referring to the whole Western Zhou polity, I will define the territory under the direct control of the king as the “smaller” Zhou kingdom.

⁹⁰ In this selection, I exclude all cases where gifts or orders from the king could be transmitted by intermediaries, as well as cases where the commissioners could be rulers or members of regional states.

⁹¹ See Qi Sihe, “Zhou dai xi ming li kao”; Creel, *Origins of Statecraft in China*, 413-14; Chen Hanping, *Xi Zhou ce ming zhudu yanjiu*; Hsu and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, 230-57; Li Feng, “Succession and Promotion: Elite Mobility during the Western Zhou,” *Monumenta Serica* 52 (2004): 1-35.

⁹² See Virginia C. Kane, “Aspects of Western Chou Appointment Inscriptions: The Charge, the Gifts, and the Response,” *Early China* 8 (1982-83): 14-28; Vassili Kryukov, “Dary zemnye i nebesnye (k simbolike arhaicheskogo rituala v rannezhouskom Kitae)” [Earthly and heavenly gifts (on the symbolism of the archaic ritual in Early Zhou China)], in *Etika i ritual v tradicionnom Kitae* [Ethics and ritual in traditional China], ed. Leonard Vassil'ev (Moscow: Nauka, 1988); Vassili Kryukov, “Symbols of Power and Communication in Pre-Confucian China (on the Anthropology of *De*): Preliminary Assumptions,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 58 (1995): 314-33; Constance A. Cook, “Wealth and the Western Zhou,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60 (1997): 253-94; Kryukov, *Ritualnaya kommunikaciya*, 137-56; For studies of the appointment ritual see Yeung Ching-kong, “Did the Royal Investiture Ceremony Exist in Early Western Zhou?”; Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Issues in Western Zhou Studies,” *Early China* 18 (1993): 139-226; Martin Kern, “The Performance of Writing,” 140-71; Lothar von Falkenhausen, “The Royal Audience and its Reflections in Western Zhou

started to turn also to the spatial aspects of the royal receptions where appointments and commands were made.⁹³

When appointments were performed in royal residences, the name of a particular building structure could be specified. These were typically places related to the worship of earlier kings, referred to as *miao* 廟, “temple,” and, most often, *gong* 宮, “[posthumous] palace.”⁹⁴ Besides, many appointment ceremonies were held by Zhou kings in locations other than royal residences. Li Feng recently provided a detailed analysis of this practice,⁹⁵ proposing that a strong, hierarchical, and to a large extent self-organizing bureaucracy administered the royal domain, whereas the king’s role was to ritually inaugurate bureaucrats in their positions during appointment ceremonies.⁹⁶ While other scholars regard the “palaces” as residential buildings and/or temples, Li takes the *gong* as external “offices” of the Zhou administration where royal officials were also allowed to reside.⁹⁷ However, although administrative commands were often delivered in the *gong*, I doubt that the latter primarily represented “offices” constructed by the Zhou state as administrative outposts. At the same time, I also disagree that the *gong* were primarily structures for ancestral worship. Rather, *gong* was normally a name for residential compounds of the Zhou elites, i.e., “palace,” or perhaps “mansion.” Since in early China kinship organizations, residential units and liturgical communities overlapped, palaces were

Bronze Inscriptions,” in *Writing and Literacy in Early China*, ed. Li Feng and David Prager Branner (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, forthcoming).

⁹³ See Li Feng, “‘Offices’ in Bronze Inscriptions,” 1-72.

⁹⁴ For the interpretation of the *gong* as “temples” see Tang Lan, “Xi Zhou tongqi duandai zhong de Kanggong wenti,” 17-18. However, the *gong* dedicated to royal ancestors rather represented a specific case. It is appropriate to regard them as “[posthumous] palaces”; for this term see Martin Kern, “Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shangshu*, and the *Shijing*: The Evolution of the Ancestral Sacrifice during the Western Zhou,” in *Early Chinese Religion*, part one: *Shang Through Han (1250 BC to 220 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 143-200, esp. 160).

⁹⁵ See Li Feng, “‘Offices’ in Bronze Inscriptions,” 1-72.

⁹⁶ See Li Feng, “‘Feudalism’ and Western Zhou China”; “Succession and Promotion,” 1-35; “‘Offices’ in Bronze Inscriptions,” and *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China*.

⁹⁷ Considering that Zhou kings acted as hosts in *gong* occupied by other persons, Li Feng has concluded that these palaces were built by the Zhou state as “offices,” which enabled the king to act as host; see his *Bureaucracy and the State*, 163. I believe that the king was able to act as a host there by virtue of being sovereign, and not because *gong* were built on his account.

used for religious performance. In cases where their owners were engaged in state service, administrative functions were performed there as well. The use of the same structures for various purposes was fully legitimate because, similar to other premodern societies, the private, public and religious spheres of life in Western Zhou society were not separated to such an extent that they needed to be embodied in specific architectural forms.⁹⁸

Li Feng has further argued that

...by paying visits to these offices, the king might have played a role as a check on the bureaucracy when his power was strong. The king's arrival at a *gong* at a prescribed time to announce admonitions, awards, new appointments, and even dismissals, and the ritual presentation of officials to the king by their superiors (the *youzhe*), were elements of an administrative system that defined government in terms of the central position of the king.⁹⁹

The interpretation of royal receptions as procedures of bureaucratic government appears plausible in cases with a clearly pronounced administrative purpose. However, the functions of royal hospitality were not limited to practical administration alone, and receptions without such a purpose were no less significant for the coherence of the Zhou kingdom.

In particular, Li Feng has noticed that in a group of eighteen selected records about royal visits to various palaces, only five mention new or revised appointments. While some receptions discussed by him took place in palaces occupied by persons with official titles, and although many of their participants also held such titles, other receptions occurred in "places with uncertain functions," where the official status

⁹⁸) In my view, the *gong* were, first of all, residential compounds. Second, as they all included spaces for the worship of ancestors, and as for some ceremonies, e.g. funerals, the entire architectural compound could be used for the liturgy, the *gong*, to a certain extent, represented temples. The "[posthumous] Palace of King Kang" (term by Martin Kern, "Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shangshu*, and the *Shijing*," 160) could represent a special case, as its functions as a temple were predominant. Third, in the absence of structures erected exclusively for the performance of government and administration, palaces of kings and their officials were indeed used as "offices" as well. Multifunctionalism was also inherent to palaces of rulers in other early states, e.g., ancient Greece; see Christian Lanke, *Politik und Architektur: Eine Studie zur Wirkung politischer Kommunikation in Bauten staatlicher Repräsentation* (München: tuduv, 1995), 48.

⁹⁹) See Li Feng, "'Offices' in Bronze Inscriptions," 48.

of many other participants cannot be verified.¹⁰⁰ If not all royal receptions could clearly be recognized as administrative acts or at least as acts addressed to persons directly involved in the administration, it is reasonable to question to what extent and from when royal receptions were part of the administrative system.

The status of officers in the Zhou administrative and military hierarchy could be identified not only by their titles. In many cases, participants of royal receptions are not mentioned by title, but administrative involvement can be deduced from the fact that the king issued commands to them or bestowed on them objects recognizable as insignia of official power, usually colored kneepads and slippers.¹⁰¹ However, Zhou kings also often met persons whose status was not displayed with the help of such markers. In their (usually) short inscriptions, these people only indicated the fact of being given gifts by the king and, in some cases, specified the location of the meeting. An example of such an inscription is the early period *Ming gui*:

唯十又一月。初吉甲申。王在華。王賜命鹿。用乍寶彝。命其永以多友簋飲。

It was the eleventh month, the first auspicious day *jiashen*. The king was in Hua.¹⁰² The king bestowed a deer on Ming. On account of this, [I, Ming] made a treasured sacrificial [vessel]. [I], Ming will eternally [use this] tureen to feast with many associates. (*Ming gui* 命簋, *Jicheng* # 4112)

It would be premature to recognize each recipient of a royal gift as a person in the king's service even if, by commissioning such inscription,

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., tables 4 and 5 (pp. 67-69).

¹⁰¹ On the kneepads and other elements of ceremonial garment, see Vassili Kryukov, *Ritualnaya kommunikaciya*, 169-91.

¹⁰² The location of Hua is not clear. During the Spring and Autumn period, Hua was a powerful clan in the state of Song. Some scholars identify the location of Hua of the *Ming gui* near present-day Xin Zheng in eastern Henan; see Ma Shizhi 馬世之, *Zhongyuan guguo—Lishi yu wenhua* 中原古國——歷史與文化 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang, 1998), 218. If this identification were correct, the *Ming gui* would provide another example of the king's ambulatory hospitality outside the smaller Zhou kingdom. However, this suggestion can hardly be verified. The toponym or clan name "Hua" is used in a number of middle and late Western Zhou inscriptions where it occurs in contexts of internal matters of the smaller Zhou kingdom (see *Zhong Yi fu ding* 仲義父鼎, *Jicheng* # 2541; *Shanfu Ke ding*, *Jicheng* # 2836; *He gui* 鬲簋, *Jicheng* # 4202; *Xun gui* 荀簋, *Jicheng* # 4321]. Therefore, it is rather plausible that Hua was a place and the name of an aristocratic clan residing on the territories between Zhou-under-Qi and Chengzhou.

he expressed his loyalty to the king. It can be instructive to consider how, in the course of royal receptions, gift-giving and explicit commands issued by the king correlated with each other. Diagram II, based on the quantitative analysis of inscriptions in the *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* on the communication between Zhou kings and persons other than regional rulers or rulers of non-Zhou polities, juxtaposes these two main contents of the royal receptions. It shows that during the early period, kings in most cases only distributed gifts. During the middle period, gifts were given more often in connection with a command, whereas during the late Western Zhou gift-giving without imposing a duty became very rare. Thus, at the beginning, the royal hospitality was mostly a general means of requesting loyalty from the inhabitants of the Zhou kingdom, but not necessarily of engaging them directly in royal service. Starting from the middle period, kings explicitly required service in exchange for the awards. Only then, royal hospitality began to transform into a routine instrument for recruiting and controlling royal officers. Nevertheless, even when the hierarchical network was already constructed and stabilized, receptions of officers often represented a mixture of formal, ritualized communication between office-holders and unconditioned gift-giving, as illustrated by the following example:

正月既望甲午。王在周師量宮。旦。王格大室。即位。王呼師晨召大師盧。入門。位中廷。王呼宰習賜大師盧虎裘。[...]

In the regulated month, after the full moon, day *jiawu*, the king was in the Palace of Captain Liang in Zhou. At dawn, the king entered the Great Chamber. [He] assumed his position. The king called Captain Chen to invite Grand Captain Cuo. [They] entered the gate [and] took the position in the middle yard. The king ordered to the Master of Ceremonies Hu to bestow a tiger coat on Grand Captain Cuo. [...] (*Taishi Cuo gui* 大師盧簋, *Jicheng* # 4251)

This reception of a high military officer was held in the palace of the head of a garrison somewhere around Zhou-under-Qi and involved the participation of another high military officer. Although it was highly ritualized in order to display the supremacy of the king, it included neither an appointment nor a particular command, but only a gift, which, in turn, was not a kind of insignia, but a luxury, prestige object. Compared with contemporary, all-standardizing

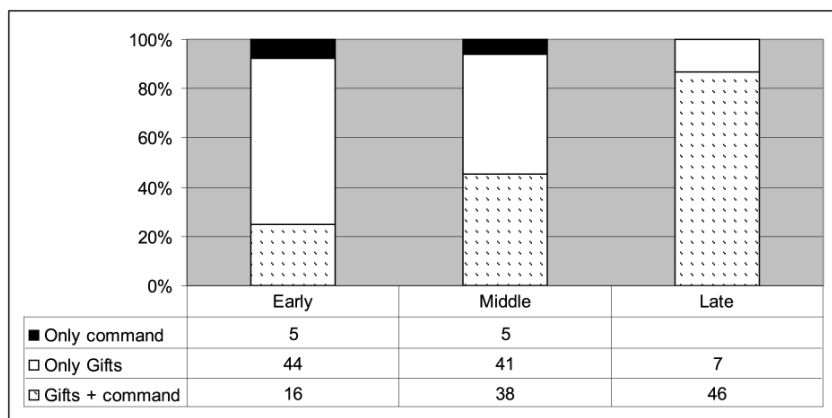


Diagram II: Receptions and their contents during the three periods of the Western Zhou

administrative sessions, accompanied with written documentation, this particular meeting seems quite un- and perhaps even antibureaucratic.

The processes of transformation of royal hospitality from a generally political into a specifically administrative institution were gradual and not simultaneous in every part of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom. They proceeded parallel to the gradual differentiation in the use of royal residences for administrative and political purposes.

A possible qualitative differentiation between the three main royal residences Zhou-under-Qi, Zongzhou, and Chengzhou can be judged by where political or administrative actions of a certain kind were conducted. A number of examples show that such differentiation was not very distinct. Appointments of persons to the same offices in the royal administration or the issue of identical commands could take place in different royal residences as well as in a variety of other places. A mid-period inscription on the *Qi gui* reports:

唯三月。王在宗周。戊寅。王格于大淖。密叔右豈。即位。內史即命。王若曰：「豈！令女乍夔師冢司馬。畜官僕。射。士。訊小大有鄰。授徵五守〔鈔〕。賜女赤市。幽璜。鑿旂。用事！」 [...]

It was the third month. The king was in Zongzhou. On the day *wuyin*, the king entered the Great [name of a structure?]. Mishu accompanied Qi on his right-hand side. [They] took their positions. The Internal Secretary [announced the]

charge. The king approvingly said:¹⁰³ “Qi! I order you to be Grand Administrator of Horses in X-Garrison. [Be responsible] especially for the [military] servants, the archers, [and] the foot soldiers. Interrogate [these from our] neighbors’ estates. Take the toll of five *lue*. [I] bestow on you red kneepads, a dark jade pendant, [and] a banner with tinkling bells. Use [them for] your service!” [...] (*Qi gui* 豈簋, *Jicheng* # 4266)¹⁰⁴

An inscription on the *Lu gui*, dating to the reign of King Mu (956-918 BC), records a very similar command:

唯廿又四年九月既望庚寅。王在周。格大室。即位。司工入右縣位中廷北向。王呼作冊尹冊申命縣。曰。「更乃祖服。作冢司馬。汝其諫訊有鄰。取徵十鈔。賜汝赤市。幽璜。金車。金勒旂。汝迺敬夙夕。勿廢朕令命！」[...]

It was the twenty-fourth year, ninth month, after the full moon, day *gengyin*. The king was in Zhou. [He] entered the Great Chamber. [He] assumed his place. The Administrator of Works X entered, accompanying Lu on the right-hand side, [and] took the position in the Middle Yard facing north. The king called the Chief Maker of Documents to announce the extended mandate to Lu, saying: “Replace your ancestors [in their] duties. Be Grand Administrator of Horses. May you admonish and interrogate [these from our] neighbors’ estates. Take the toll of ten measures. [I] bestow on you red kneepads, a dark jade pendant, a metal-decorated chariot, a banner with a metal bridle. May you then be reverent mornings and evenings! Do not abandon my charge!” [...] ¹⁰⁵

Both persons, Qi and Lu, were appointed by the king to the same office of the Grand Administrator of Horses, and, apparently, were charged

¹⁰³ Lothar von Falkenhausen has recently suggested a new interpretation for the *wang ruo yue* 王若曰 formula as “the king approvingly said.” According to Falkenhausen, the words of the king represented a response to a “report of the person received in the audience.” This interpretation throws a completely new light on the royal receptions, revealing them as reciprocally communicative, dialogical situations (see Falkenhausen, “The Royal Audience”). I thank the author for sharing his yet unpublished paper. Even though the present inscription does not record the supposed report of Qi, the translation of *ruo* as “approvingly” can nevertheless be accepted.

¹⁰⁴ Li Feng, “Succession and Promotion,” 32, has translated part of this command differently. My translation is based on the comparison with the *Shi Lu gui* inscription, which became available after Li Feng’s article was published (see below).

¹⁰⁵ For the rubbing, transcription, discussion, and dating, see Li Xueqin, “Lun Lu gui de niandai” 論縣簋的年代; Xia Hanyi 夏含夷 (Edward L. Shaughnessy), “Cong Lu gui kan Zhou Mu wang zai wei nianshu ji niandai wenti” 從縣簋看周穆王在位年數及年代問題; Zhang Yongshan 張永山, “Lu gui zuoqizhe de niandai” 縣簋作者器的年代, *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 2006.3: 7-13.

with the communication with some non-Zhou neighbours. Both appointments were conducted in the same ceremonial way, as was typical from the mid-Western Zhou period onward. The insignia given to them to identify them as Zhou officials were partly identical, although some differences in the sets of their gifts might indicate the higher status of the second person. These two very similar appointments were made at two different royal residences: Zongzhou and Zhou-under-Qi. More examples can be provided to corroborate that none of the royal residences was reserved for performing appointments of a certain kind. It can only be speculated whether officials were usually summoned to a residence or other place closer to where they lived and performed their duties, or rather to the royal residence where the king stayed at the time when the reception was scheduled. Possibly, the former was the rule for petty local officers, whereas officers with larger responsibilities in the whole Zhou kingdom or taking charge of communication with regional states or non-Zhou neighbours could be called to each of the royal residences, depending on where the king was presently located. Examples corroborating the latter rule can be found throughout the Western Zhou. In particular, Yu 盂, the commissioner of the already mentioned *Xiao Yu ding* and a warlord of King Kang's time, received his first charge in Chengzhou, another one in Zongzhou, and, two years later, was rewarded for his accomplishments in the Temple of Zhou in Zhou-under-Qi.¹⁰⁶ During the late Western Zhou period, Secretary Song 史頌, a trustee of either King Li or King Xuan, received one charge in Zongzhou and another one in Zhou-under-Qi¹⁰⁷—both of them concerning administrative matters in the Chengzhou area. Another official of King Xuan, Provisioner Ke 善夫克, was summoned either to Zongzhou or to Zhou-under-Qi where he was charged with missions also to be conducted in Chengzhou.¹⁰⁸ These examples (more could be adduced) suggest that although most important decisions for the administration of the whole “smaller” Zhou kingdom or for the communication with non-Zhou neighbours tended to be made in royal residences, there was no qualitative specialization

¹⁰⁶ See *Yu jue* 盂爵 (*Jicheng* # 9104), *Da Yu ding* 大盂鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2837), *Xiao Yu ding* 小盂鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2839).

¹⁰⁷ See *Shi Song ding* 史頌鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2787), *Song ding* 頌鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2827).

¹⁰⁸ See *Ke zhong* 克鍾 (*Jicheng* # 204), *Xiao Ke ding* 小克鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2796).

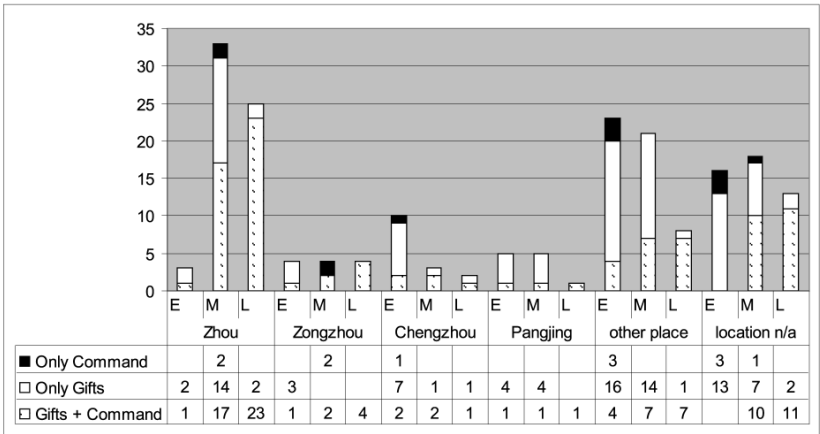


Diagram III: Purposes of receptions with respect to their locations during the three periods of the Western Zhou: early (E), middle (M), and late (L)

of residences for particular political and administrative matters.¹⁰⁹ However, quantitatively, the differentiation was in progress.

As Diagram III shows, during the early period, commands and gifts were given in all the locations without a visible preference of some places mostly for gift-giving or the issue of commands. The situation changed dramatically starting from the middle Western Zhou period. In Chengzhou, similarly as during the early period, most receptions included the distribution of gifts alone and only seldom the issuing of commands. Besides, after the early period,¹¹⁰ these commands did not concern administration on the scale of the whole kingdom, but only military tasks in the east. Thus, as soon as Zhou kings delegated the control of eastern areas to their officials, Chengzhou's significance as a royal administrative center decreased, although it continued as a fortified military post and an important reception place for political meetings.

¹⁰⁹⁾ In like manner, the distinction between Zhou-under-Qi as "sacred" and Zongzhou as "administrative" capitals suggested by Chang Kwang-chih, "Xia Shang Zhou sandai duzhi," 51-71, can hardly be corroborated from the data of the bronze inscriptions.

¹¹⁰⁾ The famous *Ze Ling fang zun* 矢令方尊 (*Jicheng* # 6016) shows that during the early period, Chengzhou indeed functioned as an administrative center. For the translation and discussion of the *Ling yi*, see Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History*, 194-216.

In contrast, receptions held both in Zongzhou and Zhou-under-Qi usually included the issuing of commands. However, during the middle and late periods, receptions in Zongzhou were relatively rare, while Zhou-under-Qi ("Zhou" in the diagram), including the royal residential and religious center as well as its satellite palaces where royal officials resided, became the area where receptions with or without administrative purposes were held most often and where gifts were most regularly accompanied by commands. Based on its quantitative dominance starting from the middle Western Zhou period, Zhou-under-Qi can be identified as both the main center of royal hospitality and the main administrative center of the "smaller" Zhou kingdom.¹¹¹ Zhou-under-Qi's rise in status can plausibly be related to its reinstatement as the main sacred center of the Zhou lineage, especially after the posthumous "Palace of King Kang" became pre-eminent in the worship of the deceased kings.¹¹² The frequent allocation of royal receptions in ancestral temples which led to a remarkable "fusion of religious and administrative practices"¹¹³ could be part of the Zhou kings' attempts to make the royal ancestors relevant for other members of the society without a common religion,¹¹⁴ which, in turn, very likely was a part of the larger "ritual reform" of the mid-Western Zhou period.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, although Zhou-under-Qi rose in prominence, it did not become the exclusive "central place." Receptions, both for

¹¹¹) Its prominence in the records on royal receptions can be explained by the fact that many inscribed bronzes were found in the Zhou plain area, where many royal officials resided. In comparison, the number of bronzes discovered near the two other residences, Zongzhou and Chengzhou, is relatively small. Thus, the discrepancy possibly reflects the fact that Zhou-under-Qi was the main residential center of the Zhou elites.

¹¹²) For the centrality of Kang *gong* in the royal ancestral worship see Kern, "Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shangshu*, and the *Shijing*," 160-62. For an attempt to reconstruct the hierarchy of buildings for ancestral worship on the Zhou plain, see Hwang Ming-chorong, *Ming-tang: Cosmology, Political Order and Monuments in Early China* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1996), 257-62.

¹¹³) See Kern, "Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shangshu* and the *Shi jing*," 162.

¹¹⁴) For a note on the fundamental difference between the cult of ancestors, which can be practiced only within a kinship group, and a general cult of the dead, which allows a wider participation, see Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1985), 21-23.

¹¹⁵) For the "ritual revolution" identified by Jessica Rawson and subsequently reassessed as a "ritual reform" by Lothar von Falkenhausen, see Rawson, "Western Zhou Archaeology," in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*, 352-449; von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 29-64.

the sake of gift-giving and the issue of commands, were still often held in places other than royal residences. This means that, although the trend towards a territorial centralization of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom can be recognized, for the Zhou kings, it did not become an end in itself.

Reassessing royal hospitality in received texts

The dual observations about the lack of a clear territorial center of the larger Western Zhou polity and the role of Zhou-under-Qi as the incipient capital of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom may meet with skepticism by those who view Zhou history through the prism of Warring States and early Han literature, especially the “Basic Annals of Zhou” 周本記 in Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 *Shiji* 史記.

The “Basic Annals of Zhou,” the most consistent account of Western Zhou history, strongly suggests that the first Zhou kings aimed to create a single political capital, valid for their entire polity. The text claims that King Wen removed the capital from Zhou-under-Qi and that Luoyi, i.e., Chengzhou, did not become a true capital before the time of King Ping, whereas Feng-Hao was the main center of royal power.¹¹⁶ This monocentrist view is reflected in a number of scholarly works,¹¹⁷ although more authors modify it by assigning the status of “secondary capital” to Chengzhou/Luoyi.¹¹⁸ The model assumes that the Western Zhou was territorially centered on where the “court,” “the state machinery,” or the “central power” were located, and it does not consider the significance of Zhou-under-Qi during the entire Western

¹¹⁶ *Shi ji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 4.118.

¹¹⁷ See e. g. Beijing daxue lishixi kaogu jiao yanjiu shi Shang Zhou zu 北京大學歷史系考古教研室商周組, *Shang Zhou kaogu* 商周考古 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1979), 147; Yang Kuan 楊寬, *Xi Zhou shi* 西周史 (Shanghai: Shangai renmin, 1999), 115; Ray Huang, *China: A Macro History* (New York: Sharpe, 1989), 9. Huang even speaks of “geographical determinism” in Chinese history according to which Xi’an, the place where the Zhou rose to power, became the political center for many centuries.

¹¹⁸ See e. g. Li Xueqin 李學勤, *Xi Zhou shi yu Xi Zhou wenming* 西周史與西周文明 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu wenxian, 2007), 54, 60, 62-63; Creel, *Origins of Statecraft in China*, 73; Hsu and Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization*, 46, 124-126; Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 292-351, esp. 310, 312; Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 30; John Keay, *China: A History* (New York: Harper Press, 2008), 52-53, 57. Some authors, defining Luoyang as the secondary capital, avoid stating which place they regard as the western center of the Western Zhou state, roughly referring to the Wei River valley or even render Western Zhou history without any geographical information.

Zhou period. The model is based either on the “Basic Annals of Zhou” alone, or on attempts to reconcile this text with data from the *Shang shu*, the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, and the *Bamboo Annals* 竹書紀年. These texts, which except for the *Bamboo Annals* served as sources for Sima Qian, contradict one another in many ways, and none of them clearly supports Sima’s central argument that for the entire Western Zhou period, the main political center was located near present day Xi’an. His conclusion is very much the result of guesswork, deciphering meanings behind poetry and all sorts of “documents” whose authenticity and reliability have often been questioned since his time.¹¹⁹

Transmitted texts provide much evidence that in early Chinese representations, hospitality and power were closely bound together.¹²⁰ The most authoritative of these texts indicate that Zhou kings were supposed to offer hospitality to their subjects and to do so primarily in their residences. According to the “Great Odes” 大雅 of the *Shi jing* 詩經, the Zhou multitudes had “to line up” (*hang* 行) in Zhou-under-Qi; people from all four directions had to come to Feng-Hao to “perform their duties” (*fu* 服), or to “gather” (*qiu* 逖) in Chengzhou, referred to in the respective text as “the central realm” (*zhong guo* 中國) and “the Royal Residence’s Garrison” (*jing shi* 京師).¹²¹

Thus, individual texts of the *Shi jing* represent all three royal residences as places where Zhou kings received their loyal subjects and do not suggest that a single royal residence functioned as the ultimate center where all significant political actions had to be scheduled. However, the focus of the *Shang shu* on Chengzhou/Luoyi in combination with its indifference toward the western residences indicates that its compilers, after the end of the Western Zhou, promoted the eastern residence as the main seat of Zhou kings.¹²² The *Shang shu* chapter

¹¹⁹) For the analysis of the sources of the “Basic Records of Zhou” see Khayutina, “Western ‘capitals,’” 25-65.

¹²⁰) In particular, such representations are ostensible in the *Bamboo Annals* which I understand as a retrospective account from the Warring States; see Khayutina, “Host-guest opposition.”

¹²¹) See the *Shi jing* odes “Mian” 綿 (Mao 237), “Wen wang you sheng” 文王有盛, and “Min lao” 民勞 (Mao 253). On the reflections of Western Zhou royal residences as “meeting points” and “communication knots” in literary texts, see Khayutina, “Western ‘capitals,’” 31-35.

¹²²) The monocentrist perspective is also detectible in the compilation of the *Shi jing*, achieved during the Spring and Autumn period; see Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Vents

“Duo shi” 多士 purports to transmit the words of King Cheng in the newly constructed Chengzhou:

今朕作大邑于茲洛。予惟四方罔攸賓〔攢〕

Now I have built this great city here at Luo [River]. There will be no one from the four quarters [of the world] whom I will treat inhospitably.¹²³

The monocentrist perspective on Chengzhou/Luoyi was articulated more straightforwardly in the “Zuo Luo” 作雒 chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu*, possibly composed during the Warring States period and pretending to render the speech of the Duke of Zhou, represented as the designer of the new geopolitical layout of the Zhou polity:

予畏周室不延，俾中天下，及將致政。乃作大邑成周于土中[...]以為天下之大湊

“I fear that the House of Zhou will not last long. [Therefore, I wish to] make it central in the All-under-Heaven, and then I will retire from government.” Thus, [he] made the Great City Chengzhou in the center of the Earth [...] so to become the great gathering [point] for the All-under-Heaven.¹²⁴

One may suppose that the monocentrist view of early Zhou history with its focus on Luoyi, which became the seat of the Eastern Zhou kings, was promoted by the latter. Up to the end of the pre-imperial period, the view that this place was the capital of the larger Zhou polity since the reign of King Cheng was generally accepted, while the memory of western capitals was suppressed. It was in this form, as Sima Qian resentfully registered, that the historical memory of the Western Zhou was transmitted into the Han period.¹²⁵

Few received pre-Qin texts show awareness that from the foundation of Chengzhou/Luoyi to King Ping’s “move to the east,” Zhou kings resided in the west. These texts, including the *Guo yu* 國語 and the *Bamboo Annals*, do not explicitly and unambiguously point to any

des royaumes’ (*Guo feng*): un schéma géographique,” *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident* 13 (1991): 58-91.

¹²³ Karlgren, *The Book of Documents*, 56, reads *bin* 賓 as 攢: “In the four quarters there I have none whom I reject.”

¹²⁴ See Zhu Youzeng 朱右曾 *Yi Zhou shu jixun jiaoshi* 逸周書集訓校釋 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1931), “Zuo Luo” [48], 76-79.

¹²⁵ *Shi ji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 4.118.

place as “the capital of the Western Zhou state,” possibly realizing its geopolitical polycentrism.¹²⁶ Sima Qian’s failure to recognize that Zhou-under-Qi, Zongzhou, and Chengzhou were simultaneously and continuously in use as a network can be explained by the scarcity of sources on the one hand and by his adoption of the monocentrist paradigm on the other. Trying to rehabilitate the importance of the west in the early history of the Zhou but lacking reliable written evidence, Sima Qian suggested that before 771 BC, Feng-Hao was *the* capital of the Zhou kings.¹²⁷

But what, beside the general representation of royal residences as communication knots, can identify them as capitals in which functions relevant to the operation of the whole Western Zhou polity were discharged? The examples presented below concern three kinds of royal receptions with political purposes, indicative of the polity’s geopolitical constitution: investitures, individual visits and assemblies of regional rulers.

Some Eastern Zhou texts pretending to document the establishments of the first Zhou kings suggest that regional lords had to be invested in the royal capital. In particular, the already mentioned “Zuo Luo” chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* states that the investitures had to be performed in Chengzhou.¹²⁸ The “Kang gao” 康誥 chapter of the *Shang shu* providing the account of the investiture of Kangshu Feng as the ruler of Wei seems to support this. Its introduction presents the great assembly of Zhou subjects, starting from regional lords and ending with craftsmen and ordinary people in Luoyi, as the stage for King Cheng’s (or the Duke of Zhou’s) address to Kangshu.¹²⁹ However, it has long been suggested that the introductory lines referring to this assembly did not belong to the original “Kang gao” but were added to this text by later editors, possibly in order to focus historical memory onto a center.¹³⁰ Furthermore, as noted above, the inscription on Kangshu’s investiture does not mention a royal residence.

¹²⁶ For Eastern Zhou representations of the geopolitical organization of the Western Zhou polity see Khayutina, “Western ‘capitals,’” 36-59.

¹²⁷ See *Shi ji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 4.170.

¹²⁸ See Zhu Youzeng, *Yi Zhou shu jixun jiaoshi*, “Zuo Luo” [48], 78-79.

¹²⁹ See Legge, *Shoo King*, 381-98; Karlgren, *Book of Documents*, 39-43.

¹³⁰ As suggested by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072); see Legge, *Shoo King*, 382; Karlgren, *The Book of Documents*, 41. The first line of the “Kang gao” refers to the foundation of

Texts concerned with investitures of regional rulers in the *Shi jing* likewise do not place them in royal residences. The “Han yi” 韓奕 ode (Mao 261), dedicated to the re-investiture of the Lord of Han 韓 by King Xuan (827/25-782), reads:

奕奕梁山	Grand-great is Mount Liang
維禹甸之	By Yu [the Great] was it cultivated!
有倬其道	Grand are his ways!
韓侯受命	The Lord of Han received the charge.
王親命之	The king personally gave order to him:
續戎祖考	“Follow your ancestors and deceased father,
無廢朕命	Do not neglect my charge!
夙夜匪解	Morning and night do not neglect,
虔共爾位	Be pious and reverent in your position!
朕命不易	My charge will not be changed!
韜不庭方	Deal with countries that do not come to court
以佐戎辟	As to assist your sovereign!” ¹³¹

This ode states that the Zhou king personally announced his command to the Lord of Han, but, like the bronze inscriptions on investitures, it does not identify the place of this ceremony. Commenting on this text, James Legge noticed:

The most natural interpretation of these lines is that the prince of Han, after the death of his father, came by the regular route of communication, which was in a good condition, to the capital, to receive the king’s confirmation of his succession. Mao, however, refers the *dao* to the method of King Xuan’s administration, brilliantly reformed from the disorder which marked the reign of his father. [...] To this I cannot agree.¹³²

the “new great city in the Eastern State Luo,” i.e., in Luoyi, by the Duke of Zhou. However, Kangshu was invested as a *hou* before Luoyi was constructed, and, therefore, the great assembly in Luoyi and his investiture could not be contemporary. Like three of the five “gao” chapters of the *Shang shu*, the original “Kang gao” may have begun with “the king said approvingly.” The preface referring to the meeting in Luoyi may have been added by later editors, perhaps—intentionally or not—by shifting an inscribed slip from the original “Luo gao” bamboo manuscript to the “Kang gao.”

¹³¹⁾ This is the translation of the first stanza. For the full translation, see James Legge, *The She King or the Book of Odes* (rpt. Hong Kong Univ. Press, 1960), 546-548; Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), 230-232.

¹³²⁾ See Legge, *She King*, 546.

Although Legge reasonably denied the traditional understanding of *dao* as a moral value and chose, like most of the later translators or commentators, to interpret it as a physical “way” or “road,” this does not need to be understood as a road leading to the capital or the royal residences. “Han yi” notes only one location—Mount Liang, the geographical marker and the sacred mountain of the regional state of Han, whereas *qi dao* 其道 may refer to Yu the Great 大禹 who regulated the flood, ordered the earth, and provided the living place to all beings.¹³³ Besides, the allusion to Yu the Great who traveled the entire realm may represent a projection of Western Zhou royal mobility. “Han yi” leaves several possibilities: the investiture could have taken place in any of the royal residences, somewhere half-way between Han and one of them, or even in Han below its patron mountain. Another *Shi jing* ode reflects how the investiture of regional lords was delegated to royal officers. According to the “Song gao” 崧高 ode (Mao 259), referring to the establishment of the state of Shen (near Nanyang 南陽 in

¹³³) The supposedly earliest epigraphic reference to the flood myth is found in the inscription on the recently discovered bronze container *Bin (Sui) gong xu*, dated by most experts to the middle Western Zhou period. It contains a reference to Yu the Great that parallels the starting line of the “Yu gong”; see Xing Wen (ed.), *The X gong Xu: A Report and Papers from the Dartmouth Workshop. A Special Issue of International Research on Bamboo and Silk Documents* (Hanover: Dartmouth College, 2003). However, some details of this vessel’s appearance, peculiarities of the inscription’s orthography, as well as the very unusual composition rather suggest a later date; see Cheng Ifang, “A Royal Food Container and Its Discontents,” in *The X gong Xu*, 44-48. For a suggestion of a Spring and Autumn date see Khayutina, “*Bin (Sui)-gong xu* i konstruirovaniie proshlogo v kitaiskoi traditsii” [*Bin (Sui)-gong xu* and the construction of the past in the Chinese tradition], in *Istoriya Kitaya: Materialy kitaevdcheskoi konferentsii ISAA pri MGU (may 2004)* [Chinese History. Proceedings of the Sinological Conference of the Institute of Asia and Africa of the M.V. Lomonosov-State University of Moscow (May 2004)], ed. K. M. Tertitskiy (Moscow, 2004), 59-70. The *topos* of “dwelling on the footprints of Yu” (*zhai* 宅 or *chu* 處, and 禹責 [蹟], or 禹之堵, respectively) appears in two significant bronze inscriptions from early to mid-Spring and Autumn times: one, commissioned by Duke Wu 武 of Qin 秦 (697-678 BC) is the *Qin gong gui* 秦公簋 (*Jicheng* # 4315); the other, commissioned by Shu Shi/Yi 叔尸/夷, a high officer of the state of Qi 齊 during the rule of Duke Ling 靈 (581-555 BC) is the *Shu Yi zhong* 叔尸鐘 (*Jicheng* # 276). In both cases, the commissioners claimed they had received the Heavenly Mandate to reside there. As the protagonist of the “Han yi” ode lived during the time of King Xuan, when royal power was still strong—or perhaps because the ode had to conform to ideals of subordination and loyalty—the right of the Lord of Han to dwell in the shadows of Mount Liang could not be claimed in such a straightforward way.

southern present-day Henan)¹³⁴ under King Xuan, the king ordered his trustee the Elder of Shao 召伯 to establish the residence of the Elder of Shen 申伯 and to command (*ming* 命) him, possibly in writing, “to serve as a model for the southern [foreign] states.”

Showing that investitures were performed *in situ* rather than in royal residences, bronze inscriptions do not contradict early received texts, as the latter do not comment on the localities of these ceremonies. Moreover, both received texts and inscriptions indicate that investitures of regional rulers were not to be performed by the king in person. That such investitures were performed not in the king’s place suggests that territorial centralization had yet to emerge. The practice of mediated investitures made the question of “where was the king” irrelevant.

Some post-Western Zhou texts suggest that Zhou kings sometimes performed investitures of non-Zhou regional rulers with whom they cooperated, bestowing on them Zhou titles in order to include them in the Zhou political hierarchy. In particular, the ruler of Xu 徐, a Huai River polity, who previously styled himself “king,” King Dan 王誕, was allegedly appointed by King Mu formally as the “Elder” 伯 over the neighboring non-Zhou states in order to accommodate him and keep him away from the Zhou central states.¹³⁵ A Spring and

¹³⁴ Shen was one of the “southern countries” of the Huai River basin with a ruling house affiliated with the Jiang clan. King You’s divorce from his Shen-born queen caused the Earl of Shen to head a joint attack of non-Zhou peoples on Zhou, which resulted in the fall of the dynasty in 771 BC.

¹³⁵ “The scion Dan of Xu came [to have] an audience [and] was granted the command to be the Elder (*bo*)” (徐子來朝，錫命為伯); see Wang Guowei 王國維, *Jin ben Zhushu jinian shu zheng* 今本竹書紀年疏證, in *Gu ben Zhushu jinian jizheng* 古本竹書紀年輯證, ed. Fang Shiming 方詩銘 and Wang Xiuling 王修齡 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1981), 278. According to the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), “Dong Yi liezhuan” 東夷列傳, 85.2808, “The Yi of Xu usurped the royal title and then led the nine Yi in an attack against Zongzhou. In the west, they advanced to Heshang 河上 (near Dali 大荔 county of Shaanxi, meaning that they crossed the Wei River—M. Kh.). King Mu feared that [the insurrection] would set other countries ablaze. Therefore, he separated regional rulers of eastern [non-Zhou] states and ordered King Dan of Xu to be their head.” Inscriptions corroborate that during the Spring and Autumn period, the rulers of Xu called themselves “king,” confirming the account of the *Hou Han shu*; see, e.g., *Xu wang Liang ding* 徐王量鼎 (*Jicheng* # 2675). However, it is not certain whether this was perceived as a “usurpation” of the privilege of the Zhou king, since there were a number of other non-Zhou kings on the Zhou borders. For the war between Zhou and Xu, see Shaughnessy, “Western Zhou History,” 323-24.

Autumn-period inscription commissioned by Rong sheng 戎生 suggests that King Mu entered into privileged partnership with some non-Zhou rulers, entrusting to them the communication with other aliens:

憲公 [...] 稱穆天子霽〔令?〕。用建于茲外土。適司蠻戎。用軌〔翰〕不廷方 [...]

Duke Xian [...] carried out the charge (?) of the Son of Heaven Mu. On this account, [he] established [his state] in this external land to govern over the Man and the Rong so as to deal with the countries that do not pay court. [...]¹³⁶

Neither the King Dan account nor the Rong sheng inscription indicates the place of the appointment ceremony. Considering that King Dan was received when the joint armies of several Huai River polities were about to invade Chengzhou and Zongzhou, it is unlikely to have been scheduled in a royal residence. Similarly, it is plausible that the king passed through the territory of Duke Xian, negotiated with him, and recognized him as a mediator between the Zhou and other non-Zhou peoples. Still, the epigraphic evidence so far does not explicitly concur with post-Western Zhou texts that during personal receptions by Zhou kings, non-Zhou rulers were formally assigned certain titles¹³⁷ and not *de facto* recognized as political counterparts.

The second kind of political receptions discussed here are individual visits of regional rulers and non-Zhou rulers demonstrating their loyalty to the Zhou king. In early Chinese representations, personal visits of regional rulers were an essential instrument used by the king in order to hold the polity together. Its proper functioning was the most

¹³⁶) For the transcriptions and analysis of the *Rong sheng bianzhong*, see Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, "Rong sheng zhong de tantao" 戎生鐘的探討, in *Baoli cangjin*, 361-64; Li Xueqin, "Rong sheng bianzhong lunshi" 戎生編鐘論釋, in *Baoli cangjin*, 375-78, and *Wenwu* 1999.9: 75-82; Khayutina, "Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (*sheng* 甥 and *hungou* 婚媾) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions," forthcoming.

¹³⁷) The *Fan sheng gui* 番生簋 (*Jicheng* # 4326) might reflect the case of a formal inauguration of the ruler of Fan (located in Gushi 固始 county in southern present-day Henan); see Khayutina, "The Royal Year-Count," 145-49). Other scholars regard Fan sheng as a high-ranked officer in the royal administration (see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 209). The inscription notes neither Fan sheng's rank or office, nor does it identify the location of the ceremony.

sensitive indicator of the political legitimacy of royal power.¹³⁸ The relationship of non-Zhou neighbors toward the Zhou was often represented in terms of their “coming as guests” (*lai bin* 來賓) or even as being subject to a “duty [to come as] guests” (*bin fu* 賓服). Their visits were regarded as an additional measure of royal political strength.¹³⁹ Most received texts do not specify where Western Zhou regional rulers or foreign emissaries presented themselves as “guests.” As an exception, the “Song gao” ode identifies the place where, after his new residence was constructed with the help of Zhou craftsmen, the Elder of Shen personally met with the king, similar to post-investiture visits of Zhou regional lords in bronze inscriptions. Notably, his audience took place in Mei 鄆 (possibly on the banks of the Wei River near present-day Meixian, Shaanxi) forty km south of Zhou-under-Qi.¹⁴⁰ This did not make this meeting less prestigious. Although in other cases reflected in bronze inscriptions, regional rulers could visit the king in his residence, “Song gao” suggests that meetings in other places were seen as normal. Another ode, “Chang Wu” 常武 (Mao 263), glorifies the victory over the rebellious Xu during the reign of King Xuan. After the decisive battle, its ruler “came to pay court” (徐方來庭) on “the

¹³⁸) Therefore, persuaders of the Warring States period represented charismatic kings of antiquity as an example for contemporary rulers: “Even with a territory of only one hundred square *li* and yet governing it [properly, they] were able to receive regional lords at audiences [and thus] to get the All-under-Heaven” (得百里之地而君之，皆能以朝諸侯有天下) (see *Mengzi*, “Gongsun Chou” 公孫丑 2A.2). The inability of a king to receive the regional rulers at audiences was recognized as a dramatic loss of power. Thus, according to the “Basic Annals of Zhou,” when King Li of Zhou became oppressive, “the regional lords stopped coming for audiences” (諸侯不朝); see *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 4.142. This system, in which the ability of the king to rule depended on his ability to attract the regional rulers to audiences, was severely criticized by Li Si in his famous speech of 213 BC which led to the persecution of scholars and the ban of the classics and of historical works, but which was primarily directed against a feudal system in favor of a bureaucratic organization of the state; see *Shiji*, “Qin Shihuang benji” 秦始皇本紀, 6.236.

¹³⁹) *Bin fu* is often paraphrased as “to submit themselves.” I have suggested previously that *fu* can be translated as “duty,” which, in the case of non-Zhou neighbors, consisted of visiting the Zhou king, possibly bringing along tribute or presents (Khayutina, “Host-Guest Opposition,” 98-99). For examples representing non-Zhou neighbors as “guests” see *Jinben Zhushu jinian*, *passim*; Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Mozi jiangou* 墨子閒詁 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 126; *Guo yu* 國語, ed. Shanghai Shifan daxue guji zhengli zu 上海師範大學古籍整理組 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1978), 527; Guo Moruo 郭沫若, *Guanzi jijiao* 管子集校 (Beijing: Kexue, 1956), 392; Wu zeyu 吳則虞, *Yanzi chunqiu jishi* 晏子春秋集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 188.

¹⁴⁰) “Song gao.”

banks of the Huai River, the place of the king's garrison" (淮浦，王師之所)，¹⁴¹ reminding us of the situation in King Li's *Hu zhong*. These examples indicate that meetings with non-Zhou rulers took place in designated places outside of royal residences. The reasons for this remain unclear.

The last type of political reception, perhaps most indicative of Western Zhou decentralist tendencies, were assemblies of regional lords. Several Eastern Zhou texts state that assemblies (*hui* 會) or collective audiences (*chao* 朝) of regional lords had to be held in a special architectural structure, the Clear Hall (*mingtang* 明堂) erected by King Cheng and the Duke of Zhou "to make clear who of the regional lords were superior or inferior" (明諸侯之尊卑) in the capital Chengzhou.¹⁴² In 538 BC, King Ling 靈 of Chu (540-529 BC), eager to become a hegemon and to summon regional lords to assemblies, received the following advice on historical precedent from his counselor Jiao Ju 椒舉:

[...] 諸侯無歸。禮以為歸。今君始得諸侯。其慎禮矣。霸之濟否。在此會也。夏啟有鈞臺之享。商湯有景亳之命。周武有孟津之誓。成有岐陽之蒐。康有酆宮之朝。穆有塗山之會。齊桓有召陵之師。晉文有踐土之盟。君其何用？[...]

[...] If the regional lords do not come back [to the leader],¹⁴³ the [appropriate] ritual [can be used] in order to make them come back. Now [you, my] ruler, are starting to attract the regional lords. So, [you] have to be cautious about ritual. Whether being a hegemon will be beneficent or not depends on this meeting. Qi of the Xia [dynasty] had the "Feast at Juntai"; Tang of the Shang [dynasty] had the

¹⁴¹ "Chang wu."

¹⁴² Zhu Youzeng *Yi Zhou shu jixun jiaoshi*, "Zuo Luo" [48], 78; "Ming tang" 明堂 [55], 100-101; Sun Xidan 孫希但, *Li ji jijie* 禮記集解 (Xinhua shuju: 1989), "Ming tang wei" 明堂位, 839-58). The "Ming tang" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* gives Zongzhou as the location of the Clear Hall. However, the editors of the *Book of Zhou*, like some other Eastern Zhou authors, mixed up the toponyms Zongzhou and Chengzhou (for more details on toponym confusion in Eastern Zhou texts, see Khayutina, "Western 'capitals,'" 42-46).

¹⁴³ *Gui* 歸 means "to return to one's place of origin." Here, as often, it is used even though the subject had never been at his destination of *gui*. The idea behind such use of *gui* is that basic values, e.g., virtue, humaneness, or true sovereignty are independent of a particular place, and if a ruler appears who embodies them, the regional lords, the populace, or, especially in later texts, All-under-Heaven may "return" (天下歸之) to him.

“Charge in Bo-under-Jing [Mountain]”;¹⁴⁴ [King] Wu of Zhou [dynasty] had the “Oath at Meng Ford”; [King] Cheng had a “Hunt on the Southern [slope of Mount] Qi”; [King] Kang had the “Audience at the Palace of Feng”; [King Mu] had the “Meeting on Mount Tu”; [Duke] Huan of Qi had the “Hosting at Zhaoling”;¹⁴⁵ [Duke] Wen of Jin had the “Covenant at Jiantu.” Which [of these rituals] will [my] ruler use? [...]”¹⁴⁶

Thus, at least in some post-Western Zhou perceptions of the past, possibly already under pressure from increasingly monocentrist representations, the flexible nature of royal political hospitality that allowed for meetings in various royal residences and even places at the distant periphery remained legitimate.

In sum, both bronze inscriptions and certain post-Western Zhou sources (see Map II) reflect that the larger Western Zhou polity was not constituted as centralized around a particular geographical point. Received texts further suggest that in early Chinese representations, the right to host regional rulers and to summon them to the royal residence could be claimed only by kings of untainted virtue. After King Kang, King Xuan was probably the first king who dared to gather *zhuhou* for such large-scale receptions near one of the royal residences. The *Bamboo Annals* state that in his ninth year (819 BC) he gathered *zhuhou* in Chengzhou and proceeded to hunt with them in Fu 甫.¹⁴⁷ He could possibly rely on his counsellor Duke Mu of Shao 召穆公, who had started to promote Chengzhou as a meeting point for regional rulers and members of the Ji clan during the Gonghe interregnum.¹⁴⁸

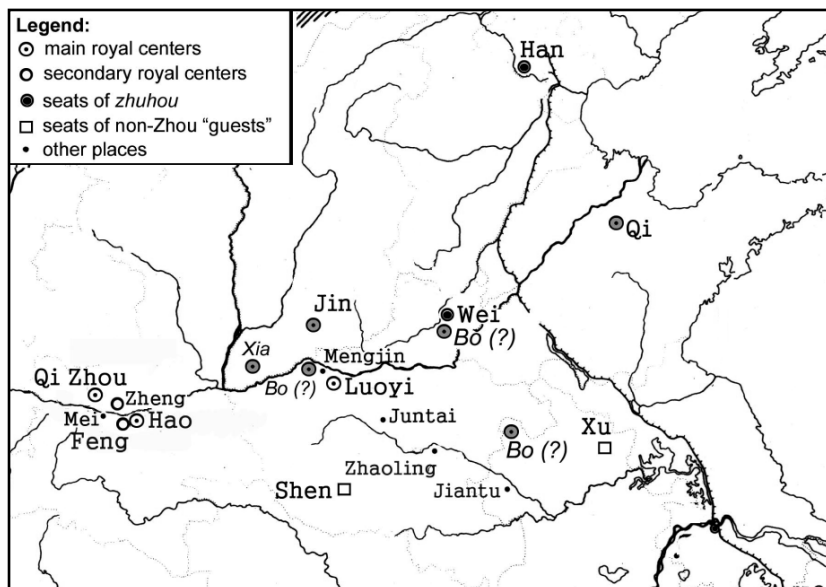
¹⁴⁴ The localization of Bo-under-Jing is problematic; see Zhu Yanmin 朱彦民, “Shang Tang ‘Jing Bo’ diwang ji qita” 商湯景亳地望及其他, *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 2002.6: 44-51.

¹⁴⁵ I choose “hosting” as an English equivalent for *shi* 師, which in this context signifies the gathering of the troops for battle. The text suggests that the king performed a ritual for his troops, which was possibly similar in function, but different in form from the oath that King Wu took with the participants of the battle at Muye. Zhaoling was located near Luohe city in Henan (i.e., near Gu, mentioned in *Ying hou Cheng gui*).

¹⁴⁶ See Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhongshu shuju, 1981) “Zhao 4” (538 BC), 1251-52.

¹⁴⁷ See Wang Guowei, *Jin ben Zhushu jinian*, “Xuan 9,” 289. It is possible that Fu was not a place name but a misspelling of *pu*—“meadows,” as in the next example. It might refer to the meadows around Chengzhou.

¹⁴⁸ “Duke Mu of Shao thought that the virtue of the Zhou became diffuse. Therefore, he united his clansmen [rulers] in Chengzhou (召穆公思周德之不類。故糾合宗族于成周); Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan* ”Xi 24,” 423.



Map II: Seats of kings and rulers, as well as places of meetings according to some received sources

According to the “Ming gui” 明鬼 chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子, King Xuan in 782 BC gathered “several hundred hunting chariots, and several thousand attendants” for a “hunt in the meadows” (*tian yu pu* 田於圃).¹⁴⁹ The “Discourses of Zhou” (“Zhou yu” 周語) in the *Guo yu* identifies the location of this hunt as Hao 鄆, another reading of Hao 鎬, i.e., Zongzhou.¹⁵⁰ According to both these accounts, King Xuan was fatally wounded during the hunt by the spirit of the Elder of Du 杜, whom he had unjustly killed three years before. Thus, King Xuan’s ambition to compete with the virtue of the most famous kings of the past by calling an assembly near his residence finally led to his death. This legend implies disapproval of attempts at political and territorial centralization by rulers whose own virtue was below the high standard set by the dynastic founders.

Most dramatically, the possible attempts by late Western Zhou kings to transform their residences into meeting points where they could

¹⁴⁹) See Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangou*, 203.

¹⁵⁰) See *Guo yu*, 32.

summon regional rulers at will were ridiculed in the legend about the end of King You 幽 (781-771 BC). Like his father King Xuan, he probably called assemblies, although there is no evidence for this in any received sources. However, his attempts may be seen behind the story about his consort Bao Si 褒/褒姒 who had him use beacon fires to call on the regional lords for help, yet in reality only for her own amusement. When later in real danger, the lords left the king to face the peril alone. As noted in the “Yi si” 疑似 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, King You’s death below Mount Li 麗 “made All-under-Heaven laugh at him.”¹⁵¹

Political functions of royal hospitality and the place of the “Western Zhou capital”

Although the commission of sacrificial vessels with inscriptions commemorating royal receptions could be more or less a “private” issue of aristocratic lineages, royal hospitality reflected in them was a political institution facilitating communication between Zhou kings and the Zhou “public.”¹⁵² In general, the political system serves to hold a social-territorial aggregation together, maintains order within it, transforms it according to changing circumstances, and regulates its relationship with its environment. In order to meet these tasks, political agents make decisions, establish rules, and ensure their application. The performance of these operational or governmental functions represents—in the terms of political anthropologist Gabriel Almond—“outputs” of a political system.¹⁵³ The appointment of persons to certain positions and the issue of particular orders by Zhou kings in the course of

¹⁵¹ See Chen Qiyu 陳奇猷, *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋 (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984), “Yi si” 疑似, 1497; see also *Shiji*, “Zhou ben ji,” 4.148-49. Geographical mismatch and fictitious details call the reliability of this account into question.

¹⁵² For a distinction between the “corporate private sphere” of a clan and a public sphere of a larger aristocratic society, see Khayutina, “Studying the Private Sphere of Ancient Chinese Nobility through the Inscriptions on Bronze Ritual Vessels,” in *Chinese Concepts of Privacy*, ed. Bonnie S. McDougall and Anders Hanson (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 81-96; Khayutina, “Welcoming Guests,” 35-50.

¹⁵³ Gabriel Almond specified three “output” functions: 1) rule-making, 2) rule application, and 3) rule-adjudication. As four “input” categories he identified 1) political socialization and recruitment, 2) interest articulation, 3) interest aggregation, and 4) political communication; see Gabriel A. Almond, “Introduction: A functional Approach to Comparative

receptions can be easily recognized as such “outputs.” Whether or not they were connected with specific administrative issues, royal receptions also provided vital “inputs” to the Zhou political system, constituting it, reaffirming its legitimacy, and allowing for its reproduction. Such effects could be achieved even without verbalized commands because hospitality *per se* was a medium of enabling and structuring interaction, as well as a device of communication.

Most commonly, hospitality is offered in a house, i.e., in a physical space under the control of the household’s head(s). Presuming a distinction between the individual “self” and its “own,” “inner” circle of household members on the one hand and the “external” environment inhabited by “others” on the other, hospitality opens a channel for communication between these spaces for a limited period of time and facilitates social integration. Thus, in the horizontal dimension, hospitality can be perceived as an instrument of inclusion and for creating proximity. At the same time, in every society, the “others” eligible to be received as guests usually have to meet some general requirements as to their participation in larger spaces of social interaction, such as the cultural sphere and the social strata.¹⁵⁴ A guest not only enjoys proximity to the host but also attains membership in the circle of selected persons for whom such proximity is allowed. Thus, by defining its own limits, hospitality also fixes the boundaries of other spaces and functions as an instrument of exclusion and distinction. By offering receptions and distributing gifts,¹⁵⁵ Zhou kings won the hearts of their subordinates even without explicitly engaging them for service. The recipients of the royal hospitality commemorated the receptions in their precious bronzes not least because by doing so they positioned themselves as elites, distinguished by the king as members of his chosen circle. By displaying material gifts received from the king and by reporting on receptions, royal guests transmitted politically relevant

Politics”, in *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, ed. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1960), 3-64, esp. 17.

¹⁵⁴) Hospitality toward everyone was not even thinkable in most historical cultures; exceptions to this rule existed rather in theory than in practice; see Philippe Gauthier, “Notes sur l'étranger et l'hospitalité en Grèce et à Rome,” *Ancient Society* 4 (1973): 1-21.

¹⁵⁵) I understand gift-giving as a component of hospitality, since gifts were usually transferred during a meeting between a donor (king or overlord) and a recipient. Only in exceptional cases could they be forwarded to the recipient via an intermediary.

information, including the message about the king's centrality and superiority, to a broader audience that admired them and desired to attain the same royal favors. Material objects retained in ancestral temples, their inscriptions, and orally conveyed memories inspired future generations to follow the example of their distinguished ancestors and to seek proximity to the king.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the royal guests, their associates, and their offspring constituted a pool of the "king's men" who potentially could be recruited for royal service. The socialization of people into the Zhou political order, centered on the Zhou king, was the most general "input" or constitutive sociopolitical function of royal hospitality. This explains why so many receptions, especially during the early Western Zhou period but also those meetings conducted away from the royal administrative centers, did not have any specific "output" objective. As the receptions became more regular, formal, and task-oriented during the middle and late periods, the constitutive "input" significance of the royal hospitality gradually waned while its operative "output" functions increased. This dynamic, measurable through the quantitative analysis of bronze inscriptions, demonstrates that in the Western Zhou polity, the shift from mere political association to an administratively managed state was a gradual long-term process both reflected in and defined by the practices of royal hospitality. Not by chance, the changes in the functions of the royal hospitality coincided with the "ritual reform" of the middle Western Zhou period.

In the vertical dimension, even in the domestic context, hospitality produces relations of domination and subordination that derive from the host's right to control his reception space. Displaying his right to choose, to accept or to reject, hospitality reaffirms and reproduces his authority and sovereignty over his own space.¹⁵⁷ In the hierarchical sociopolitical context, hospitality provides a convenient tool for claiming and representing authority and sovereignty, as well as for constructing and reconfiguring hierarchy in the social space.¹⁵⁸ Although,

¹⁵⁶ About the commemorative functions of the ancestral rituals and of writing in Western Zhou, see Kern, "Bronze Inscriptions, the *Shangshu*, and the *Shijing*."

¹⁵⁷ Although I use the masculine form, the household head could also be a female.

¹⁵⁸ I previously identified such representations in transmitted texts of the Warring States period (Khayutina, "Host-Guest Opposition," 98-100, with further references).

unlike literary texts, ritual bronze inscriptions only reported events but did not render attitudes, the fact that royal receptions were their main subject speaks for itself. It indicates that through the right and ability to host all kinds of people anywhere within the reach of their authority, Zhou kings manifested themselves as sovereigns and suzerains. Constructing, reaffirming, and representing the multifold centrality of the king can be recognized as another major constitutive sociopolitical “input” of royal hospitality. As royal receptions were transforming from verbally flexible acts of hospitality (i.e. not conditioned by explicit commands)—as in the case of the Lord of Xing—into routine administrative sessions—as in the case of officials Qi and Lu—the king lost his charismatic radiance while acquiring bureaucratic solidity. That not all hospitality was reduced to the formalized issue of commands and tallies—as with the non-conventional gifts to Great Captain Cuo—signals resistance to being transformed into the mere head of a bureaucratic state who then becomes himself subject to protocol prescriptions.

In demarcating spaces of social interaction and positioning people in them, hospitality physically embodies these concerns. Unlike heads of private households, political regimes must develop specific strategies to justify their claims of authority and sovereignty over the space of a polity and its inhabitants, their subjects. Different strategies of hospitality may be developed:

1) A ruler can travel in person and offer hospitality to people in their own places. By inverting the relationship between host and guest, he reaffirms his authority, but does so only locally, as these places do not function as central meeting points for a larger area. It is irrelevant where the ruler has his own base, but his mobility is crucial for his exercise of authority.¹⁵⁹

2) A ruler can demand that others gather to meet him in places he has chosen anew for each meeting. The selected place is a “no man’s

¹⁵⁹⁾ For examples from other pre-modern societies, see Aron Ia. Gurevich, “The Early State in Norway,” in *The Early State*, 403-23; Yurii M. Kobishchanow, “The Phenomenon of Gafol and its Transformation,” in *Early State Dynamics*, ed. Henri J. Claessen and Pieter van de Velde (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 108-28; Yurii M. Kobishchanow, *Polyud’ye. Yavlenie otechestvennoi i usemirnoi istorii civilizacii* [“Polyud’ye.” The Phenomenon of Russian and World Civilizations’ History] (Moscow: Nauka, 1995).

land”: the residence of neither the ruler nor the local political actors. The ruler represents himself as the master of his guests coming from various locations and thus affirms his authority over a larger area. The place functions as a central meeting point only once if it is not revalidated thereafter. As in the first case, the location of the ruler’s own base is irrelevant, but his dual ability to move and to move others is significant.

3) A ruler can summon others to a limited number of his own residences. There, he acts similarly to the head of the household, i.e., in his own space, and unlike in the other cases, his legitimacy as host cannot be questioned. The area from where his guests hail is the area where his authority is recognized. If meetings are held in the ruler’s residences regularly, they acquire significance as geopolitical communication hubs. By establishing one of them as the ultimate meeting point for political actors whose personal attendance is substantial for holding the polity together, the ruler can transform it into the territorial geopolitical center of the polity, i.e. its capital.

All three strategies enable the ruler to exercise his authority and to claim sovereignty over a certain territory. The chosen form does not need to correlate directly with the degree of the ruler’s authority, but it does convey status to specific places in the geopolitical landscape. Thus, only the last strategy characterizes a polity as territorially consolidated around a geographically distinct political center.

Rephrasing the recent observation of Mark Edward Lewis on the Han imperial capital Chang’an, a capital is a place “spatially defined” through the “inward flow of people and goods” and “functioning as a capital only so long as it could draw to itself people and goods from the outside.”¹⁶⁰ The *territorial political capital* is a place where most of the political communication is concentrated, as characterized by the inward flow of political actors to this place. The construction of such a place and its continuous revalidation by regular repetition is the next major constitutive geopolitical “input” of hospitality.

All three strategies of hospitality were employed in China at different times. As David N. Keightley has shown, the predecessors of the Zhou, the kings of the Shang dynasty, were “peripatetic” and “displayed

¹⁶⁰ See Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 169.

their power by frequent travel, hunting, and inspecting along the pathways of their realm.” While touring their domain, they received people and conferred gifts.¹⁶¹ Thus, they employed the first strategy of decentralized hospitality, whereas their residence, although being a “base of operations, a cult center, a necropolis, an industrial and artisanal center,” was neither a “fixed administrative and redistributive center”¹⁶² nor a central reception place of the Shang polity. This polity was an archaic or incipient state, centered on the person of the Shang king, but not yet a state territorially centered. While Shang kings had residence cities, the Shang polity had no political and administrative capital.

The second strategy of hospitality in designated places was adopted after the fall of the Western Zhou dynasty, during the Spring and Autumn period. Eastern Zhou kings were still nominally regarded as sovereigns over the regional states and as suzerains over their rulers, but they were not able to host large meetings of regional lords, which would have been necessary in order to regulate inter-state relationships and to organize the defense against non-Zhou neighbors.¹⁶³ Even if regional lords visited Zhou kings in their residence and at certain intervals paid homage to them, these meetings played a lesser role than collective assemblies of regional lords organized by powerful hegemons (*ba* 霸) who were also called “hosts of covenants” (*meng zhu* 盟主). With only few exceptions, hegemons held these meetings neither in royal Luoyang nor in their own residences, but in a variety of designated places that usually lacked political significance of their own.¹⁶⁴ This form of political hospitality was characteristic for the multi-state

¹⁶¹) See Keightley, “The Late Shang State,” 551. For a cross-cultural comparative perspective on this Shang practice see Nancy Thompson Price, “The Pivot: Comparative Perspectives from the Four Quarters,” *Early China* 20 (1995): 93-120.

¹⁶²) See Keightley, “Late Shang State,” 552.

¹⁶³) On interstate meetings during the Spring and Autumn period, see Richard Louis Walker, *The Multi-State System of Ancient China* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1953), 73-95.

¹⁶⁴) Covenants in the king’s city (*Wang cheng* 王城) or in residences of hegemons were recorded extremely rarely in the *Zuo zhuan*. As Dobson pointed out, meetings with blood covenants were always conducted in insignificant places away from capitals; see W. A. C. H. Dobson, “Some Legal Instruments of Ancient China: The *Ming* and the *Meng*,” in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, vol. 1, ed. Chow Tse-tsung (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 269-82, esp. 276.

system with a floating political center. As the Zhou king did not form the true center of the Spring and Autumn political network, Luoyang was not the territorial center of the Eastern Zhou geopolitical agglomeration. Nevertheless, even if hegemon often served as true political centers within this network, the virtual Eastern Zhou polity was not a territorially integrated state and, therefore, did not need a distinct territorial political capital or administrative center.

The Western Zhou is often contrasted to the Shang as a territorially centralized state where political and, at least within the limits of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom, administrative functions were discharged in the royal capital. Therefore, it seems reasonable that the strategy of centralized hospitality should have been preferred by Western Zhou kings. However, bronze inscriptions show that this was not the case, and that the policies of royal hospitality were different at the interregional and regional levels. The main royal residences Chengzhou, Zongzhou, or Zhou-under-Qi functioned as fixed places where Zhou kings scheduled meetings with various categories of guests, including regional rulers. However, the unwillingness or inability of Zhou kings to establish one of these residences as the ultimate meeting point complicated communication with the regions. Present evidence does not suffice to verify whether or not the kings were able to summon regional lords to their residences regularly, and not just occasionally, during the middle and late Western Zhou periods. A number of inscriptions from these periods show that Zhou kings resorted to the policies of decentralized hospitality, scheduling politically significant receptions at the periphery of the Zhou polity. This practice was reflected in later received literature as royal “inspection tours” and “hunts” (*xun shou* 巡狩).¹⁶⁵ From this perspective, the larger Zhou polity, including regional domains and opposed to non-Zhou neighboring states, was not yet defined as territorially centered around a “capital,” but rather as a political agglomeration centered on the moving person of the king.

¹⁶⁵ “When the Son of Heaven goes to [the places of] regional rulers, this is called an ‘inspection tour’ [or] ‘hunt.’ The [goal of] an ‘inspection tour’ [or] a ‘hunt’ is to inspect those [who] guard [the borders]. When regional rulers come to the audience of the Son of Heaven, this is called ‘to report about duty.’ ‘To report about duty’ means to report about one’s duty” (天子適諸侯曰巡狩·巡狩者·巡所守也·諸侯朝於天子曰述職·述職者·述所職也) (*Mengzi*, “Liang Huiwang” 梁惠王 6B.7).

Nevertheless, as long as the king was able to position himself as host in places all around the large Zhou polity, he maintained his authority. As Lothar von Falkenhausen has remarked recently, in early China

political legitimacy was not bound up with the control of any particular location (or, as seems often to have been the case in the Near East, with the cult of a local deity), but with the correct performance of the ancestral cult. The paraphernalia needed were portable and, if destroyed, replaceable; and the temples were relatively modest by international standards (and needed frequent rebuilding even if they remained in the same location). Political power, in early China, emanated primarily from the internal social organization of the lineage system, not from any tangible manifestation of authority in a particular place.¹⁶⁶

This was even more true of the rituals of hospitality that could be performed literally anywhere.

At the same time, in the “smaller” Zhou kingdom, the process of territorial centralization was slowly underway. Bronze inscriptions demonstrate that Zhou kings simultaneously used the three main residences Chengzhou, Zongzhou, and Zhou-under-Qi, a number of secondary residences including Pangjing and Zheng, as well as residences of their trusted men for receptions of their subjects. Over time, royal hospitality gradually transformed from a generally political instrument for accumulating constitutive “inputs” into a specifically administrative institution for discharging operative “outputs.” Although Zhou kings never ceased to offer hospitality “ambulatorily,” this practice was extremely time-consuming and wearisome. It was only a matter of time before a certain location was chosen where the kings were more constantly and easily approachable for reception seekers actively engaged in the management of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom. It was indeed most suitable to arrange receptions in a place where the kings were present most frequently, the location of their ancestral rituals, Zhou-under-Qi. Although qualitatively both Zongzhou and Zhou-under-Qi had similar political and administrative functions, the quantitative preponderance of Zhou-under-Qi suggests that toward the end of the

¹⁶⁶ See Lothar von Falkenhausen, “Stages in the Development of “Cities” in pre-Imperial China,” in *The Ancient City: New Perspectives on Urbanism in the Old and New World*, ed. Joyce Marcus and Jeremy Sabloff (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press), 209-28, esp. 216.

Western Zhou, its importance in the hierarchy of royal residences increased. Being the original core territory and the sacred pivot of the Zhou people, Zhou-under-Qi also was the cultural and economic center and residence of the highest elites in royal service during the entire Western Zhou period. With royal hospitality as a political and administrative institution, it also was the main political and administrative center of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom, and its capital “under construction.” The representation of the personal centrality and supremacy of the kings as well as the concentration of administrative interactions at a specific location, both achieved through regular receptions in Zhou-under-Qi, was a step from a person-centered political agglomeration toward the creation of a territorially centered, administratively managed state within the “smaller” Zhou kingdom—a project the Zhou kings ultimately were not able to accomplish due to the catastrophe of 771 BC.

Concluding remarks

Both epigraphy and archaeology reveal that the old, pre-dynastic center on the Zhou plain continued to have prominent status in the hierarchy of royal residences from the founding of the Zhou kingdom to its fall in 771 BC. However, many authors respect the authority of Sima Qian and hesitate to recognize Zhou-under-Qi as a “capital” equal to the other two centers near Xi’an and Luoyang. Some scholars regard it as a “sacred” capital, different from the “profane,” political-administrative capital (*sheng du* 聖都 vs. *su du* 俗都);¹⁶⁷ some define the Zhou plain as the place of settlement of the Zhou aristocracy;¹⁶⁸ some argue that this was a place of residence of “other surnames,” i.e., non-members of the Ji clan;¹⁶⁹ some regard it as the fief of the Duke of Zhou;¹⁷⁰ and some go as far as to recognize it as an “important base of the royal

¹⁶⁷ See Chang Kwang-chih, “Xia Shang Zhou sandai duzhi,” 42-59.

¹⁶⁸ See Chen Quanfang, *Zhouyuan yu Zhou wenhua* 周原與周文化 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1988), 17; Zhang Zhou 張洲, *Zhouyuan huanjing yu wenhua* 周原環境與文化 (Xi’an: San Qin, 2007), 122.

¹⁶⁹ Xin Yihua 辛怡華 and Liu Hongqi 劉宏岐, “Zhouyuan—Xi Zhou shiqi yixing guizu de juju di” 周原——西周時期異姓貴族的聚居地, *Wenbo* 2002.5: 22-30.

¹⁷⁰ See Li Xueqin 李學勤, “Qingtongqi yu Zhouyuan yizhi” 青銅器與周原遺址, *Xibei daxue xuebao* 1981.2: 3-8.

power and aristocratic activities, paralleling the capitals Feng and Hao”¹⁷¹—but few scholars attempt an alternative explanatory model for the geopolitical organization of the Zhou polity.

Among this minority, Kim Vassil'ev suggested that four cities—Feng, Hao, Zongzhou (which he identified with Zhou-under-Qi) and Chengzhou—were equal “centers of political-administrative activities and religious life” of the Western Zhou.¹⁷² In his *History of the Western Zhou* published in Chinese in 1984, Hsu Cho-yun 許倬雲 proposed the three-capital (*san du* 三都) model of the Western Zhou polity, regarding Zhou on the Zhou plain, Zongzhou (identified with Feng-Hao) and Chengzhou as political-administrative centers.¹⁷³ However, four years later he avoided using the term “capital” with regard to Zhou on the Zhou plain, in a joint monograph written in English with Katheryn M. Linduff, although he still expressed some scepticism about interpreting the site in Feng Valley as the main political center.¹⁷⁴ Recently, the trend of moving from the two-capital model toward the three-capital, or a multi-capital model, has started to manifest itself in mainland China.¹⁷⁵ In particular, Wang Jian 王健 has written in his work on the political geography of the Western Zhou,

¹⁷¹ See Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*, 47. Although Li Feng mentions the “multi-center” structure of the Zhou polity, he means by that a structure with two capitals, Feng-Hao/Zongzhou and Chengzhou/Luoyi, as well as regional states. Besides, he sees Pang (Pangjing) also as a capital but assesses Zhou-under-Qi only as a place where royal temples and even some governmental offices were located, but not as a capital; see Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and State*, 149-64.

¹⁷² Kim Vassil'ev, *Istoki kitaiskoi tsivilizatsii*, 121.

¹⁷³ See Xu Zhuoyun (Hsu Cho-yun) 許倬雲, *Xi Zhou shi* 西周史 (Taipei: Liangjing chubanshe gongsi, 1984), 86-87.

¹⁷⁴ See Hsu and Linduff, *Western Zhou Civilization*, 46.

¹⁷⁵ Wang Yuxin 王宇信, Wang Zhenzhong 王震中 et al., *Zhongguo gudai wenming yu guojia xingcheng yanjiu* 中國古代文明與國家形成研究 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin, 1997), 533. This book represents a collective monograph written by specialists in Shang and earlier history who provide only a brief outline of the Western Zhou period in the final chapter. Although it is often quoted with reference to the editor-in-chief, Li Xueqin, Li himself does not share the three-capital model of the Zhou state. See also Liang Xingpeng 梁星澎, “Qi Zhou, Feng-Hao Zhou wenhua yiji, muzang fenqi yanjiu” 岐周、豐鎬周文化遺跡、墓葬分期研究, *Kaogu xuebao* 2002.4: 381-420; Wang Jian 王健, *Xi Zhou zhengzhi dili jiegou yanjiu* 西周政治地理結構研究 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 2004), 53-62; Yin Shengping 尹盛平, “Zhouyuan weishenme daliang faxian Xi Zhou qingtongqi yaocang—jianlun Zhouyuan yizhi de xingzhi” 周原為什麼大量發現西周青銅器窖藏——兼論周原遺址的性質, in *Zhou Qin wenming luncong* 周秦文明論從, ed. Baoji qingtongqi bowuguan 寶雞青銅器博物館 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin, 2006), 213-220. Yin

As a whole, in the Western Zhou there were at least three important capital cities that were in use simultaneously, including Zongzhou (Feng-Hao), Qi Zhou, and Chengzhou. Therefore, these three capitals must be regarded as the centers of political rule over All-under-Heaven (天下的政治統治中心). Among these three capitals, Qi Zhou was the core territory of the Zhou people; this was where King Wen received the Great Mandate, where many important sacrificial activities were performed, and in the vicinity of which many fiefs (*feng guo cai yi* 封國采邑) were located; this was the center of activities of the Western Zhou regional rulers and aristocracy. Zongzhou had the status of the political center of the entire state from the beginning until the end, whereas the “central realm” (*zhong guo* 中國) located in Chengzhou/Luoyi became a political center of All-under-Heaven since the time of the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng, and hereafter was used primarily for the control of the eastern states and military activities; besides, it also served as the place of residence for the relocated population of Yin.¹⁷⁶

As this passage makes clear, even when they accept the three-capital model, scholars continue to hesitate about the status of Zhou-under-Qi as a political-administrative center, implying that there were some special political-administrative matters that were carried out in Zongzhou, and, perhaps, in Chengzhou, but not on the Zhou plain. The present paper shows that this was certainly not the case. Among Russian Sinologists, beside Kim Vassil'ev, Leonard Vassil'ev has suggested a radical two-capital model in which not Feng-Hao, but Zhou-under-Qi (which he, like Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, Chang Kwang-chih 張光直 and Kim Vassil'ev equates with Zongzhou) played the principal role, whereas Luoyi had the status of a secondary center.¹⁷⁷ In a paper published in Russian, I have suggested a three-capital model, according to which Zhou-under-Qi (which I at that time also identified with Zongzhou) was the main religious, economical, political and administrative center, whereas both Luoyi and Feng-Hao were secondary centers.¹⁷⁸ To my knowledge, as of today, among Western

Shengping expressed this opinion earlier in his books *Xi Zhou shi zheng* 西周史征 (Xi'an: Shaanxi shifan daxue, 2004) and *Zhouyuan wenhua yu Xi Zhou wenming* 周原文化與西周文明 (Nanjing: Fenghuang, 2005).

¹⁷⁶ See Wang Jian, *Xi Zhou zhengzhi dili jiegou yanjiu*, 57.

¹⁷⁷ See Vassil'ev, *Istoriya vostoka*, 186; *Drevniy Kitai*, 225.

¹⁷⁸ See Khayutina, “Dragozennye trenozhniki dobrogo muzha Ke,” 17-21. I developed this conception in a conference paper “Where Was the Western Zhou Capital?,” presented at the 17th Conference of the Warring States Working Group, University of Leiden, Netherlands, September 17-18, 2003, which initiated the present study.

scholars writing in the principal Sinological languages, only Lothar von Falkenhausen has called Zhou-under-Qi the “principal political center” of the Western Zhou state.¹⁷⁹

My model proposed from the inscriptional data differentiates between political processes in the larger Western Zhou polity and in the “smaller” Zhou kingdom basically comparable to a regional state. Integral parts of the larger Western Zhou polity, i.e. regional states, were subject to both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies which manifested themselves on the macro- and micro-levels, respectively. Whereas the states politically “drifted away”¹⁸⁰ from the center, they were at the same time consolidating internally, progressing from insular outposts amidst yet uncontrolled territories inhabited by non-Zhou peoples toward hierarchically structured, territorially centered political agglomerations that finally evolved into territorial states during the Warring States period. The “smaller” Zhou kingdom also, and perhaps even more intensively, experienced both these tendencies.

Although during the early period, Zongzhou functioned as an important meeting point where Zhou kings summoned regional rulers, Zhou-under-Qi did not lose its status of the royal residence with strong representative, political functions. From the time of King Cheng, the same functions could also be discharged in the third residence, Luoyi. Even if kings Wen and Wu temporarily withdrew from the Zhou plain to the area of modern Xi’an while preparing the war against the Shang, religious duties in the ancestral temples and the concern for their own historical roots always brought further generations of Zhou kings back to Zhou-under-Qi. During both the early and middle Western Zhou periods, Zhou-under-Qi was occasionally used for receptions of regional lords and envoys from non-Zhou polities, whereas meetings of the latter kind are not attested in Zongzhou or Chengzhou. This may indicate that Zhou-under-Qi outscored Zongzhou as a place for political communication between the Zhou and the surrounding territories, but this possibility awaits further inscriptional confirmation. The irregular character of the receptions of political guests from regional states and beyond, as well as the transposition of royal hospitality to designated places and to the geographic periphery, reveal that the

¹⁷⁹⁾ See Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius*, 53.

¹⁸⁰⁾ Expression by Li Feng.

political “capital” of the larger Western Zhou was rather a retrospective idealization. The practices of royal hospitality in relation to regional and non-Zhou rulers both reflected and defined the Western Zhou as a territorially decentralized agglomeration centered on the person of the king. Possibly, during the reign of King Xuan, when the kingdom was again flourishing, some attempts took place to re-establish one of the existing royal residences as the center of communication with regional states and thus to stimulate a territorial centralization of the larger polity. Yet, the attempts of the late kings to stage themselves as new omnipotent sovereigns of All-under-Heaven by summoning regional lords to assemblies near their residences failed as the lords were now unwilling to place themselves at the king’s disposition.

In contrast, the regular arrangement of royal receptions for Zhou officers in Zhou-under-Qi gradually transformed it from the ancient base and center of ancestral worship into the capital of the “smaller” Zhou kingdom. Importantly, by arranging receptions in royal ancestral temples and encouraging their guests to commission inscribed bronze vessels commemorating these meetings in their own ancestral shrines, the Zhou kings created links between otherwise isolated liturgical communities of lineages of different surnames. This did not yet signify the creation of a state religion, as the royal ancestors were not worshiped outside the royal lineage, but it offered the possibility of drawing legitimacy from ancestral cults of other lineages promoting the deceased kings as their benefactors. In this way, the political receptions served to create some sort of common “sacred space” that could in turn be used to support political aims.

One cannot avoid the question what the absence of a single stable center meant for the developments after 771 BC. This question cannot yet be answered unambiguously. On the one hand, the lack of a center might have negatively affected the image of the king, whose political centrality was not represented and monumentalized in tangible forms as something immovable and unchallengeable. However, before the murder of King You, the stability of the Zhou kingship as the centralizing element of the polity was never questioned. On the other hand, the king’s flexibility also entailed some advantages: the loss of the western residences did not signify a complete ruin, which means that subsequent Zhou kings, while reduced to a single eastern residence,

could still command appropriate respect. More harmful to the king's political stature was, probably, his later inability to move around his realm and to act as a hospitable host outside of Chengzhou – neither in the shrunken “smaller” Zhou kingdom, nor in the domains of the regional lords of the Spring and Autumn period.

APPENDIX

Bronze inscriptions concerned with activities and locations of Zhou kings included in the statistics in this article (in *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* numbers)*

Early Period (96 cases):

416, 935, **944**, 949, **2405**, **2425**, **2453**, 2456, **2459**, **2506**, 2531, **2579**, 2615, **2625**, 2626, 2628, **2659**, **2661**, **2682**, **2720**, **2723**, **2725**, 2729, 2730, 2740, **2748**, 2751, **2756**, 2758, **2775**, **2785**, **2791**, **2803**, **2837**, **2839**, 3731, 3732, 3747, 3748, 3791, **3822**, 3907, **3942**, 4029, 4030, **4041**, 4044, 4059, **4060**, **4097**, **4112**, **4121**, **4131**, **4132**, 4140, **4169**, 4201, 4205, **4206**, 4238, 4241, **4261**, 4300, 4320, 5252, **5319**, **5383**, **5397**, **5402**, **5407**, **5409**, 5410, 5415, **5421**, **5426**, **5431**, **5432**, **5959**, **5962**, **5974**, **5977**, **5979**, 5983, **5985**, **6000**, **6001**, **6002**, 6014, 6015, **6016**, 6512, **9104**, **9299**, 9551, **9888**, **10360**.

Middle Period (97 cases):

247, 2487, **2695**, **2705**, **2731**, 2733, 2734, **2735**, **2742**, **2747**, **2754**, **2776**, **2780**, **2781**, **2783**, **2784**, **2789**, **2792**, **2804**, **2806**, 2809, 2812, **2813**, **2817**, **2820**, **2824**, **2830**, **2831**, 2832, **2838**, 3950, 3976, **4046**, **4047**, **4165**, **4178**, **4191**, **4192**, **4194**, **4195**, **4196**, **4199**, **4207**, **4208**, **4209**, **4214**, 4237, **4240**, **4243**, **4250**, **4251**, **4256**, **4262**, **4266**, **4267**, **4268**, **4270**, **4272**, **4273**, **4276**, **4283**, **4288**, **4302**, **4316**, **4341**, **4343**, **4462**, **4626**, **5381**, **5403**, **5408**, **5418**, **5419**, **5423**, **5424**, **5433**, **5956**, **6011**, **6013**, **6516**, 9453, 9455, 9456, **9714**, **9723**, **9727**, **9728**, **9897**, 9898, **10161**, **10170**, **10166**, **10168**, **10169**, 10175, **10321**, **10322**.

Late Period (76 cases):

40, 104, 133, **143**, 187, **204**, 260, 358, 2779, **2786**, **2787**, **2790**, **2796**, **2805**, 2810, **2814**, **2815**, **2818**, **2819**, **2821**, **2825**, **2827**, 2833, 2835, **2836**, **2841**, 3858, **4197**, **4202**, **4215**, **4216**, **4225**, **4244**, **4246**, **4253**, **4255**, **4258**, **4274**, **4277**, **4279**, **4285**, **4286**, **4287**, 4293, **4294**, **4296**, **4298**, **4303**, **4312**, **4313**, 4317, **4318**, **4321**, **4323**, **4324**, **4326**, 4328, 4331, **4340**, **4342**, 4435, 4438, 4454, 4459, 4464, **4465**, **4467**, **4469**, 4579, 4580, 4627, 4628, 9725, 10173, **10174**, 10285.

* In the statistics of kings' locations in Diagram I, all listed inscriptions have been considered. Bold numbers refer to the inscriptions related to receptions in the royal domain, shown in Diagrams II and III.