

THE PIONEER KINGDOMS OF MACEDON AND QIN

The Pioneer Kingdoms of Macedon and Qin critically compares the cultures of ancient Greece and early China in the first millennium BCE through following the histories of two of its peripheral cases: Argead Macedon and Qin. Emerging from being fringe states to producing Alexander the Great and the First Emperor of China, then rapidly collapsing, these polities had a unique parallel historical experience, though vastly separated by the political developments brought on by the unique features of Greek and Zhou culture within which they operated. Jordan Thomas Christopher undertakes a holistic comparison of these states from their earliest origins through to the reigns of Alexander the Great and the First Emperor, which receive an extended and multilayered analysis. He thereby highlights the particularities of Greek and Zhou cultures that often go underappreciated as causal factors in history.

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The Pioneer Kingdoms of Macedon and Qin: A Triumph of the Periphery

Jordan Thomas Christopher

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A Triumph of the Periphery

JORDAN THOMAS CHRISTOPHER

Loyola Marymount University



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Acknowledgments

This book was developed out of my dissertation of the same title which I defended in May of 2022 at the University of Münster. The true origin of the project, however, lies in a suspicion I developed in 2011 during my undergraduate studies at Loyola Marymount University. While composing a presentation on “Dialogue and Development in Axial Age Philosophies” with my classmate, close friend, and now colleague, Dr. Christopher Gipson, I was consistently struck by the many parallels between the histories of Macedon and Qin that seemed to shadow our project. The growing instinct that a dedicated comparison of Macedon and Qin could be quite fruitful led me ultimately to this work.

Moving beyond the abstract world of ideas, I undertook the pursuit of this concept more tangibly when I began my PhD at McGill University in Montreal in 2017, as part of McGill’s Global Antiquities Research Network. I am tremendously thankful to my supervisors there, Dr. Hans Beck and Dr. Griet Vankeerberghen, for their insight in shaping the direction my work would take while I was in Canada. In 2019, I followed Dr. Beck in relocating to Münster, where the bulk of my research on this project was conducted. As a part of that transition, Dr. Armin Selbitschka was brought onboard as supervisor to the dissertation, and I am immensely grateful for the tireless efforts he and Dr. Beck made in helping me develop the manuscript and the ideas contained herein, and the academics of both McGill and Münster for their support on this project. After defending my dissertation, I returned to my native Los Angeles to become a lecturer at Loyola Marymount University, where the manuscript was refined into the book you now hold in your hands (or are reading on a screen). In Los Angeles, I once again benefitted from the colleagueship of Dr. Christopher Gipson, as well as Dr. Katerina Zacharia, who provided further advice and guidance on the refining of my work.

The bulk of the research for this project was undertaken during the Covid Pandemic of 2019–2022. Access to some libraries and hard copies of

sources became difficult, so resource-sharing between peers became the order of the day. Accordingly, this project would have been impossible without the assistance of a large number of academics and friends helping with tasks large and small in the composition of this work. For this reason, I would like to thank (in alphabetical order) Anthony Barbieri-Low, Wolfgang Behr, Lukas Duisen, Nils Fischer, Wentian Fu, Chandra Giroux, Thomas Grosser, Matthias Haake, Adam Hall, Shuyue He, Marian Helm, Maria Khayutina, Hyun Jin Kim, Maxim Korolkov, Alexis Lemonde-Vachon, Andrew Lepke, Jiajing Li, Yuri Pines, Xiaodan Qu, Jessica Schellig, and Lin Zhang. I would also like to specifically thank my professors beyond those already mentioned who in one way or another contributed to my ability to undertake this project: Paul D'Ambrosio, Matthew Dillon, Phillip Horky, Liangjian Liu, Robin Wang, and Guorong Yang.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, and especially my father, Dr. Daniel L. Smith-Christopher. If he had been a carpenter, this book would be a cabinet.

Note on the Text

There are a few helpful points to raise regarding the format of this book. I have capitalized and italicized Chinese titles when used as part of a name due to its ordering in name-title sequence (i.e. Chu Zhuang *Wang* – referring to the *Wang* of Chu whose posthumous regnal name was Zhuang) to better distinguish the romanized Chinese for terms against names where the same spelling would appear. Readers should not be put off by the appearance of alternate romanizations of names such as Macedon (alternately, Makedon) and Qin (alternately, Ch'in) where they appear, left as-is in cases such as quotations which use the alternate renderings. Where such alternates might prove slightly confusing, I have clarified matters in the text. I have opted to italicize all Chinese transliterations in pinyin and all transliterated Greek.

For all sources, all translations are my own, except when otherwise noted. In keeping with good practice in Sinology, I have opted to cite published translations of Chinese texts where they exist. In cases where I based my own readings on these translations, I have noted when I have made modifications to their rendering. Accordingly, editions in both the original classical Chinese as well as in English translation can be found in the bibliography of primary sources. However, I provide these with some reservation: the field of Sinology in Europe and North America does not yet have the centuries of intensive scholarship that classical studies has enjoyed. Accordingly, many translations provided are for general audiences and not always explicitly intended for academics, and especially not academics in Sinology. In many cases, translations are unavailable, over a century old, poorly done, or some combination of these. As sinologists are aware, there is no complete translation of even Sima Qian's *Shiji* (arguably the Herodotus' *Histories* of China) into English yet, though the ongoing effort by William Nienhauser Jr. is nearing completion.

Because translations of classical texts are easily found in multiple Western languages targeted at demographics from the layperson to the

academic, I have opted not to provide citations to translations for these sources, as they are easily found in the *Loeb Classical Library*, or the *Sammlung Tusculum*, which have no equivalent for the study of early China.

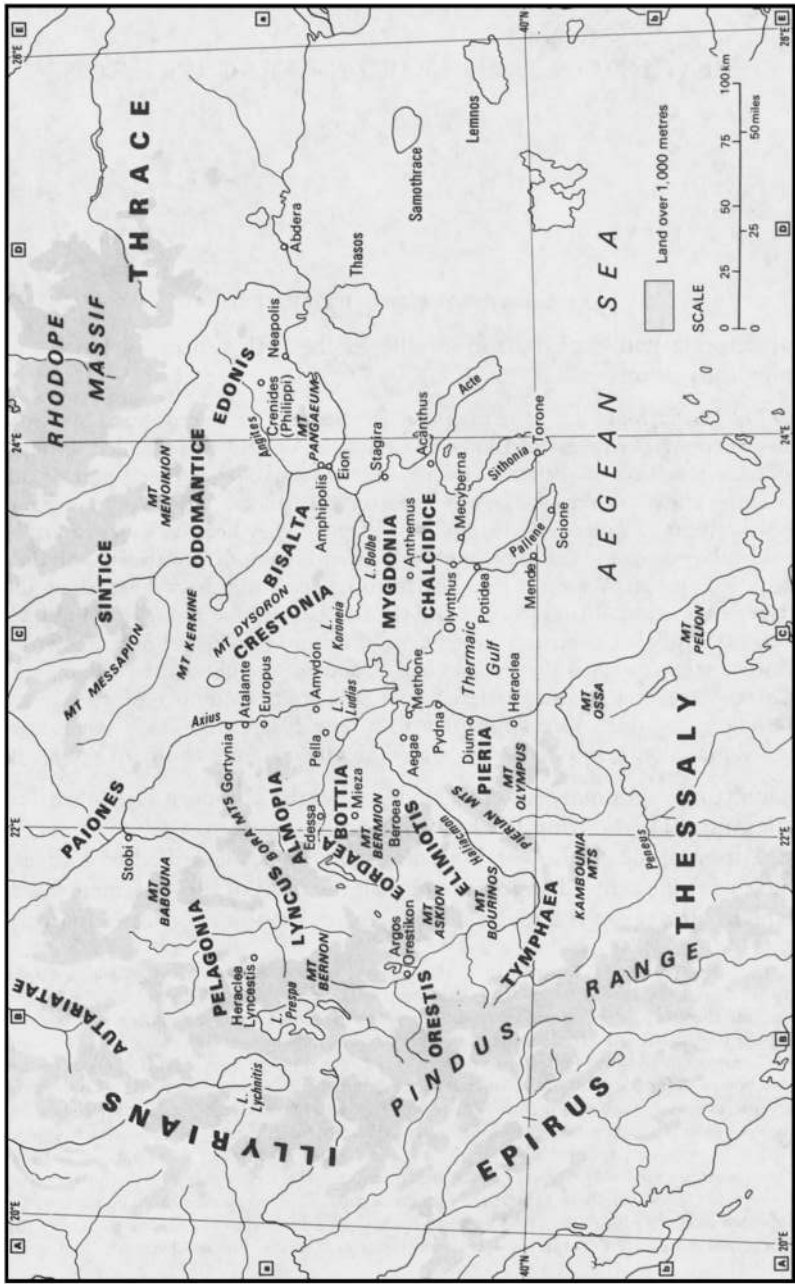
Classical texts are cited according to their *Oxford Classical Dictionary* abbreviations and can be found specified in the bibliography. References to a few select standard compendiums are referred to by the standardized abbreviations listed below.

- BNJ** – *Brill's New Jacoby*
FGrH – Jacoby, Felix. 1929–1959. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 1–3.
FHG – Müller, Karl. 1841–1873. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* 1–5.
IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*
SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
JC – *Yin Zhou Jinwen Jicheng* 殷周金文集成

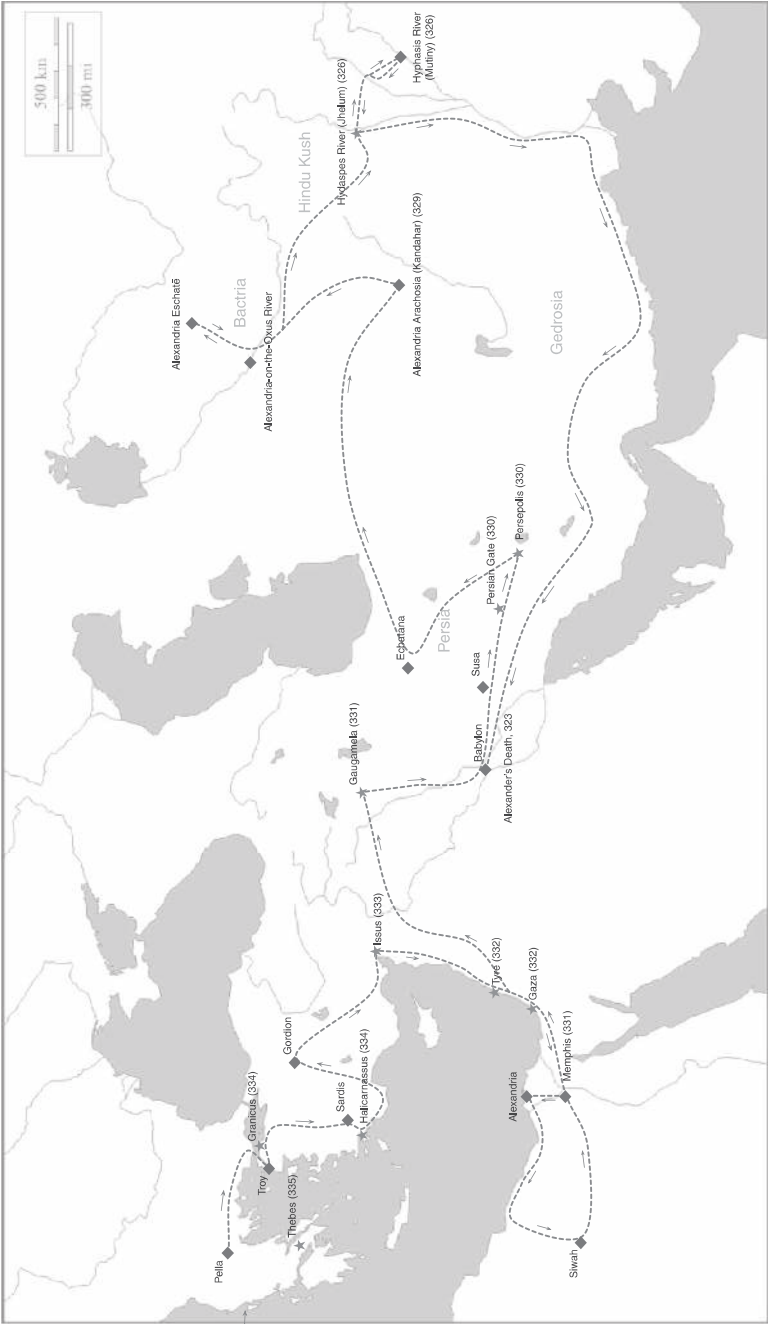
Lastly, all dates in this study are BCE, except when otherwise noted.



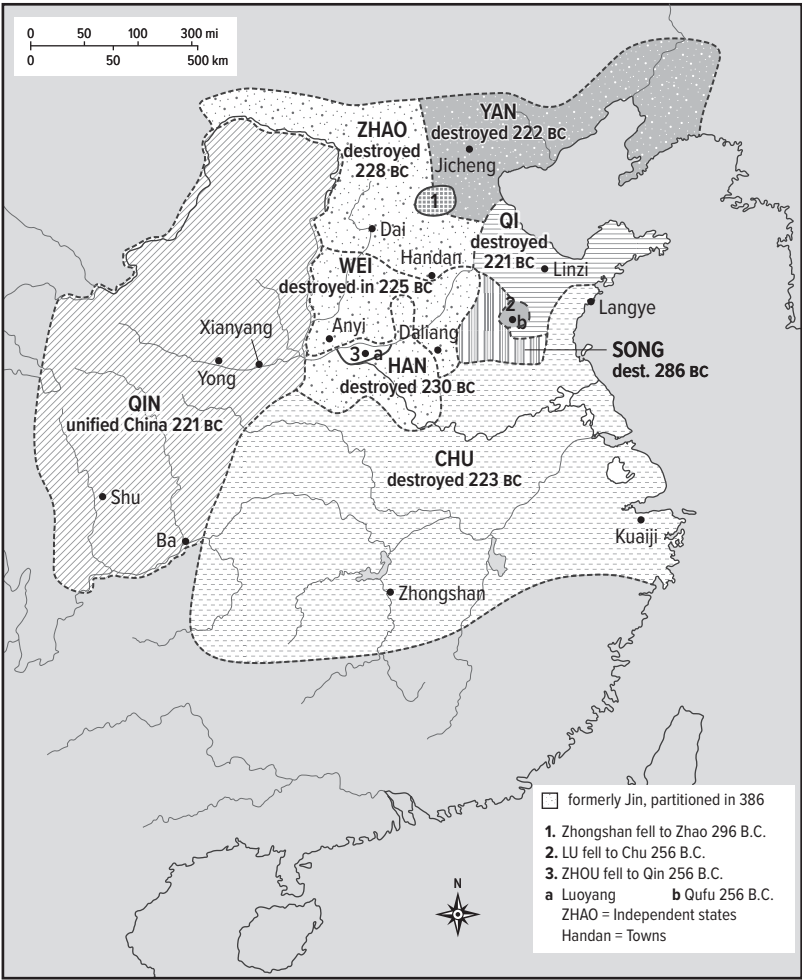
Map 1 The Greek Peninsula and Western Asia Minor, showing the gradual expansion of Argead Macedon under Philip II. Map by David McCutcheon FBCart.S
 www.dvdmmaps.co.uk. Adapted from Simon Hornblower, 1994, "Sources and Their
 Uses," in *Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 6: The Fourth Century BC*, edited by
 D. M. Lewis, John Boardman, Simon Hornblower, and M. Ostwald, Cambridge:
 Cambridge University Press, 3.



Map 2. Macedon and its environs. In J. R. Ellis, 1994, "Macedon and North-West Greece," in *Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 6: The Fourth Century BC*, 2nd ed., edited by D. M. Lewis, John Boardman, Simon Hornblower, and M. Ostwald, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 724.

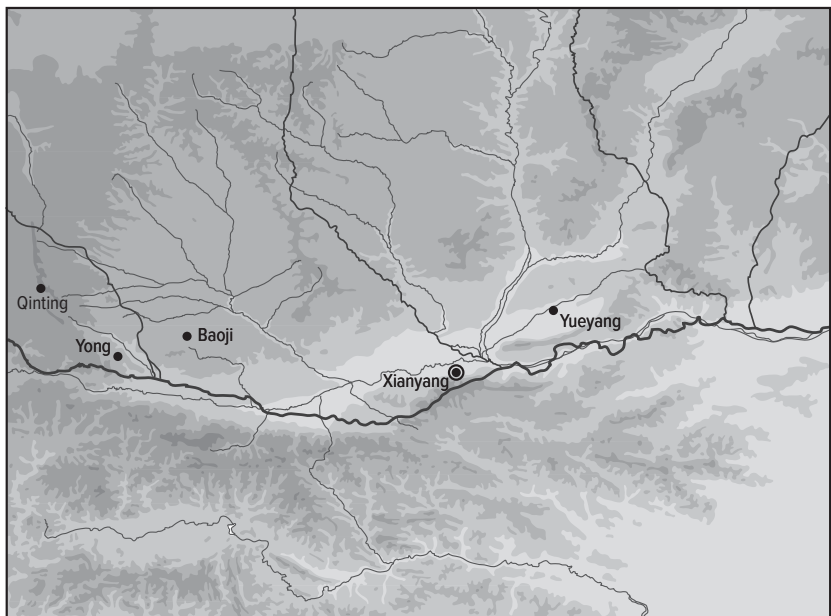


Map 3 The route of Alexander III's invasion of Asia. In Christopher W. Blackwell and Thomas R. Martin, 2012, *Alexander the Great: The Story of an Ancient Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, xiv.



Map 4 The major powers of the Warring States period. Map by David McCutcheon
FBCart.S www.dvdmaps.co.uk. Adapted from Dirk Bodde, 1986, “The State and
Empire of Ch’in,” in *Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1: The Ch’in and Han Empires*
221 BC–AD 220, edited by Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 39.





Map 6 The Guanzhong basin and important sites of the Qin state. Map by David McCutcheon FBCart.S www.dvdmaps.co.uk. Adapted from Li Feng, 2008, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 102.