THE ORIGIN, FUNCTIONS, AND NATURE OF THE TRIBUTARY SYSTEM IN THE CHOU TIMES

by

Choon S. Lee

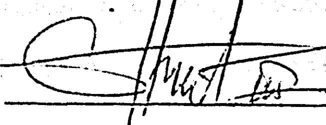
B.A., Korea University, 1963
M.A., Brigham Young University, 1974

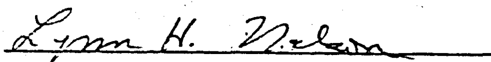
Diss
1980
L511
c. 2

Submitted to the Department of History and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:

Chairman





ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In preparation of this dissertation, I would like to express my deep appreciation to Dr. John W. Dardess for his kind yet rigid training in various ways including anthropology and Chinese bronze instriptions. My thanks should extend to my valuable committee members, Dr. Lynn Nelson, Dr. Dionysios A. Kounas, Dr. Chae-jin Lee, and Dr. Cameron G. Hurst. Dr. Nelson guided me in understanding western feudalism, Dr. Kounas introduced the city-states of ancient Greece. The definition of the tributary system in Ch'ing times by Dr. Lee was a basis for analyzing the tributary system in ancient China, and the study of Japanese feudalism with Dr. Hurst was also crucial in comparing ancient China with the Japanese society and medieval Europe in terms of the rise of feudalism. My work was carried out on the basis of a historical background of both east and west, even though the topic was exclusively Chinese.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to Mrs. Mary Tefft and Mr. Eugene Carvalho, who are staff members of the Eastern Asian Study Department in Watson Library, and who helped me to find materials and to read Japanese.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. i

TABLE OF CONTENTS ii

INTRODUCTION. 1

CHAPTER

I THE ORIGINS OF THE FENG-CHIEN SYSTEM IN WESTERN CHOU TIMES. 7

II INTERNAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN CHOU TIMES. 25

III THE CONTROL MECHANISMS OF THE WESTERN CHOU DYNASTY. 45

IV THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TRIBUTARY SYSTEM. 75

V CHANGES IN THE FUNCTION AND NATURE OF THE TRIBUTARY SYSTEM IN THE CH'UN-CH'IU PERIOD. 102

CONCLUSION. 127

FOOTNOTES 130

APPENDIX: THE NAMES OF THE DEPENDENCIES OF WESTERN CHOU TIMES. 155

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 167

INTRODUCTION

Down to modern times, China's educated elites always looked to the Western Chou Dynasty (about 1122-771 B.C.) as the classical age _par excellence_, an era in which the basic norms of all higher civilization were developed and put into effect by the sage rulers who lived early in that period. An integral part of the political order instituted by the sage kings and regents of the early Chou was a combination of devices that permitted that dynasty to control efficiently and for a long time the vast landscape of north and central China, which they conquered from the Shang Dynasty late in the second millennium B.C.

It is usually impossible to make clear distinctions between the ideal and the actual in the surviving accounts of those devices -- which include the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven, the idea of one world "all under Heaven" (_t'ien-hsia_), the ruler as Son of Heaven, the development of a proto-bureaucracy, strategically placed royal garrisons, and the so-called "tributary system," the topic under consideration here. But while the sources may give us an idealized state of affairs, they also give us a picture that is plausible and consistent, and it is possible to interpret the small stock of existing concrete data (archaeological remains, bronze inscriptions, etc.) in such a way as to support the main outlines of that picture.

The "tributary system" of the Western Chou was a solution to the problem of controlling a very big and recently conquered territory.

The Chou royal house, having no means to rule its vast possessions centrally, parcelled them out to kinsmen, meritorious retainers, and other parties and maintained control over all these dependencies by methods described in the following chapters.

The tributary system in later times gradually developed into a regular international diplomatic order among the states of East Asia. The system continued in use until the Nineteenth Century, when it was superseded by the British treaty system, after the defeat of China in the Opium War of 1839-1842.

The tributary system in its later history characterized China's relationships with foreign states or tribal groups, making clear-cut distinctions between superior and inferior, senior and junior, and suzerain and dependent in a geographical and religio-political framework, with China as the suzerain state and every other state attached to it in various degrees of subordination. Until the Nineteenth Century, the system persisted despite great changes over the centuries in the economies and societies of East Asia.

Many scholars have studied the institutional development, and the political, commercial, and cultural aspects of this system. The study of Dr. Ying-shih Yü focuses on the institutional development of the tributary system in the Han period (202 B.C. - 220 A.D.), when China was centralized and began to expand its influence abroad. Ise Shintaro has analyzed the tributary system during the T'ang (618-907), as it affected China's relationships with such states as Po-hai, Japan, and Korea. According to the study, the tributaries were

linked closely or distantly to the T'ang in accordance with their perceived degree of support for that beacon-light of civilized culture. Dr. T.F. Tsiang stresses the input of the Neo-Confucian philosophy into the tributary system in Sung times (960-1279). His study shows that in this era, any possibility of international relationships on terms of equality between China and other states was in theory denied by the Cunfucian dogma, which automatically imposed an inferior status upon any state that wished to enter into relations with China. The Ch'ing tributary system, which was inherited from the Ming, consisted of two parts, the Board of Ceremonies and the Li-fan yüan, according to the studies of J.K. Fairbank and S.Y. T'eng. The Board of Ceremonies controlled tribute-bearers from the east and south including some European countries, while the Li-fan-yüan dealt with the tributaries from the north and west. Their study shows in great detail the complexity of the tributary system as it had evolved on the eve of modern times.

As far as the tributary system of the classical period is concerned, the studies on the subject are few, and little has been done on the origin and nature of the system in its formative period. As to the origin of the tributary system, it is commonly said that it grew out of the political relationship of the early Chou kings with their feudal lords. Dr. H.G. Creel deals with the Western Chou tributary system as one of the secondary techniques by which the royal house of Chou controlled its feudal lords. Richard L. Walker and Roswell S. Britton regard the tributary system as it worked later

on in the Ch'un-ch'iu period (721-486 B.C.) as equivalent to its system of interstate intercourse. Neither study, however, investigates closely enough the nature and function of the tributary system during the Ch'un-ch'iu period, or the question of its evolution from the earlier system as practiced in the Western Chou. The lack of such an investigation makes it impossible to understand the real historical foundations of the tributary system of later imperial times. The present work attempts to fill that gap. It essays a study or the origins, nature, and function of the Western Chou system, and of the important changes that system underwent in the Ch'un-ch'iu period. It deals mainly with the political, social and religious aspects of the system.

This dissertation contains five chapters. The first chapter considers the geographical conditions of the Western Chou dynasty right after its conquest of the Shang. It considers the tribal character of the royal house of Chou; the number and distribution of its dependencies; and the scope of their distribution; and the origin of each dependency. The chapter considers the *feng-chien* system as mainly a tributary system, rather than as a "feudal" or "patrimonial" system as often described.

Chapter Two discusses the internal organization of the settlements which the tributary dependencies were based upon. It also identifies the ruling class in the dependencies, and its role in the framework of the *feng-chien* system.

The control devices of the Western Chou dynasty are discussed

in Chapter Three. It further details the purpose, function, and nature of each control device, and its role and influence in maintaining the _feng-chien_ system.

Chapter Four is a concentrated study on the origin, function, and ideological meaning of the tributary system in the Western Chou times; while the growth and change of the tributary system into a multi-state system, and a comparison of that system with its antecedents in the Western Chou is the subject of Chapter Five.

In carrying out this study, I have tried to do my best to make good use of earlier scholarly contributions in Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages. Without the contributions of these other scholars, I could not, I think, have found my way through the subject. I cannot claim that the present work is as well done as I had hoped.

I should mention something of the existing debate about the nature of the _feng-chien_ system, and my own approach to the matter. H.G. Creel insists that the _feng-chien_ system of the Western Chou was a kind of feudalism, because political authority and military power were parcelled out by the royal court to its subordinates, who were the rulers of certain districts. Paul Wheatley disagrees, and says that the _feng-chien_ system was a kind of patrimonialism, because it involved the extension of the principle of paternal authority and filial duty among all the members of the royal lineage. Li Tsung-t'ung argues that the _feng-chien_ system was an extension of the _tsung-fa_, or conical clanship system. In fact, the _feng-chien_ system was partly feudal, in that it was characterized by dependent tenure,

immunity, and the exercise of certain political and military power and authority. The system also contained a strong element of patrimonialism, inasmuch as the Chou royal house appointed and controlled its subordinates as junior kinsmen. The final definition of the nature of the feng-chien system depends upon further study by comparative historians and other specialists. My own approach is to view the feng-chien system as an extension of a satellite settlement system centering upon the royal city, and dating from the pre-conquest period. It fitted closely with the concurrent system of conical clanship. It could be said that my understanding is close to that of Paul Wheatley. As for the terms "dependency" and "holder of a dependency," these are terms devised by myself in connection with my understanding of the feng-chien system.

In the process of carrying out the study, I became aware of many problems owing to my lack of anthropological knowledge, and my insufficient comprehension of the bronze inscriptions of the Chou dynasty, which are critical in supporting some of the information in the texts such as the Li-chi and Chou-li. However, I believe that this offering may serve as a starting-point for future work on the subject.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE FENG-CHIEN SYSTEM IN WESTERN CHOU TIMES

The Western Chou (about 1122-771 B.C.) was not the earliest dynasty to rule in China, but its ruling system is the first that is known in any kind of systematic detail.

Before founding their dynasty, the Chou people lived in the basins of the Wei and Fen Rivers,[1] along the great bend of the Yellow River, in modern Shensi and Shansi provinces. These basins were rich agricultural districts and fairly well isolated by natural barriers. There the Chou people engaged in agriculture under the leadership of what should probably be called tribal leaders until around the time that they founded their dynasty.[2]

Ethnically, the Chou people may have differed from the Shang people, although most traditional Chinese opinion had it that they were essentially like the Shang people. The material culture of Chou, possibly related to the _Yang-shao_ or Painted Pottery Culture, was different from that of the Shang, which sprang out of the _Lung-shan_ or Black Pottery culture. In other respects, however, they shared important similarities.[3]

The early development of the Chou people can be discerned in the ancestral myths of their origins as a tribe and as an urban society. The ancestral myth of the Chou tribe is associated with the birth of Hou-chi, the founding ancestor of the Chi clan, which

was later destined to be the Chou royal clan. The myth of Hou-chi is preserved in the Ta-ya section of the Shih-ching, and in the Shih-chi. According to the record of the Shih-ching;[4]

> She who in the beginning gave birth to the people
> This was Chiang Yüan.
> How did she give birth to the people?
> Well she sacrificed and prayed
> That she might no longer be childless
> She trod on the big toe of God's footprint
> Was accepted and got what she desired
> She gave birth, she nurtured,
> and this was Hou-chi.

The passage attributes the birth of Hou-chi, the founding ancestor of the Chou people, to the blessing of Heaven, which became the supreme diety of the Chou tribe later. According to some anthropological views, the miraculous birth into a primitive society of a certain individual can signify the incarnation of the tribe's totemic power into that person.[5] The legendary event may also indicate the emergence of a chiefdom out of a segmentary tribal society. A chiefdom is generally characterized by the creation of a rudimentary political hierarchy under the leadership of a chieftain who, partly by virtue of his miraculous birth, possesses power and universal authority, as well as wealth, strength, and magical expertise. This change is usually accompanied by the development and increasing specialization of the village economy.[6] Socially, the chiefdom is often integrated and consolidated by various ritual practices such as religious ceremonial and ancestor worship which symbolize the main social values, spiritual beliefs, and mutual

relationships.[7] In this regard, the miraculous birth of Hou-chi, the progenitor of the Chou tribe, indicates a point at which the Chou cast off their segmentary totemic tradition and evolved into a more elaborate stage of development. It means at the same time that the Chou tribe was becoming an independent territorial group under the leadership of a powerful chieftain who monopolized the totemic emblem of the tribe and who had a special relationship with a powerful guardian god. In fact, the Chou traditions suggest that the Chou people experienced a long period of chieftainship under the leadership of the Chi clan before founding their dynasty around 1111 B.C.

The beginning of Chou urban life also seems to have taken place in the pre-dynastic period. According to the Chou tradition, the Chou people first lived north of the Wei and Fen basins. But they were forced out of their homelands by the pressure of other war-like tribes. Accordingly, they moved southward to the plain of Chou, from which they may have derived their name of Chou. Sometime after settling down at the foot of the Ch'i mountain, their urban life began. The Ta-ya section in the _Shih-ching_ and the Chou pen-chi in the _Shih-chi_ provide a vivid description of their early urban life. The _Shih-ching_ relates:

> When (our) people first was born, it came from Tu, from Ts'i and Ts'u; the ancient prince Tan-fu, he moulded covers, he moulded caves; as yet they had no houses. The ancient prince Tan-fu, at day-break he galloped his horses; he followed the bank of the Western river, he came to the foot of

> (mount) K'i; . . . he called the Master of Works, he called the Master of the Multitudes, he made them build houses; their plumb-lines were straight; they lashed the boards and thus erected the building frames; they made the temple in careful order, (the walls) rising high; . . . he raised the outer gate, . . . he raised the principal gate; . . . he raised the grand earth-altar, . . . the roads were cleared; . . . .[8]

The Chou pen-chi in the Shih-chi runs:

> Tan fu took his family and left the Pin. He crossed the rivers of Ch'i and Chü and went over the Liang mountain to arrive in the foot of the Ch'i mountain. All of the people of Pin followed Tan fu there. The neighboring states heard that Tan fu was benevolent and gathered about him. Therefore, Tan fu discarded the customs of the Jung and Ti. He built up houses and walls. He set up the separate towns to be lived in (by people). He arranged the five authorities and officials. The people were happy with them and sang his virtue.[9]

The passages above describe the earliest permanent settlements of the Chou. The Shih-ching passage indicates that the Chou people did not have houses and lived in caves and huts before they settled down at the foot of Ch-i mountain. The building of a city started after they moved into the plain of Chou. The city of Chou at this time seems to have contained houses, temples, altars, roads, gates, and walls, indicating a walled city which remained typically Chinese throughout succeeding periods.

The description of the city in the passage of the Shih-chi indicates another fact: that separate towns or villages were set up around the walled city for kinsmen and followers. This could be

understood to mean that the Chou developed satellite communities centering on the main city. In many primitive societies, the expansion and spread of urbanism was caused by constant population increase coupled with a limited subsistence technology and lack of immediately exploitable land resources,[10] as well as by a need to protect scarce resources against raiding and pillage from outside. This expansion of urbanism often results in the development of satelite communities or villages oriented toward the original or parent city. Mutual relationships among such settlements demanded the subordination of the offshoot village to the parent city on the basis of kinship.[11] The Chou's construction of separate villages for its kinsmen and followers seems to have followed such a scheme. It seems likely that through the urban system the Chou could solve a population problem by dispersing people into new villages, a possible internal power struggle among members of the ruling family by appointing junior branches as heads of the separate settlements, and a security problem by forming military alliances on the basis of kinship. In fact Henri Maspero suggests that in the latter period of the Shang, vast areas of the Wei and Ching basins were occupied by many Chou clans.[12] After the Chou conquered the Shang and founded their own dynasty, numerous branch families and relatives of the Chou royal house were established as holders of dependencies at strategic points throughout North China. This indicates that the Chou already consisted of many clans under the leadership of the Chi family in the pre-conquest period.

Another implication of the passage above is that some unrelated

tribal groups already joined the Chou during this time. The Ta kao section of the Shang-shu, one of the reliable sections of that classical text, suggests that many tribal groups were associated with the Chou tribe in the conquest of the Shang dynasty. The Tso-chuan and other related texts preserve names of some of these dependencies (such as Ch'i, Lai, Hsiang, and so on) which did not belong to the Chou royal surname. All of this indicates that the emerging Chou dynasty was made up of a group of clans with many branches based upon staelite communities, and associated with other tribal groups over which the Chi royal clan occupied a position of leadership. In fact, the Chi clan came to command a powerful confederation on the western border of the Shang state. Seizing upon the misrule of the last Shang ruler, the disloyalty of his dependencies, and a debilitating war in the east, King Wu of Chou pushed his army, which had been formed by an alliance among various tribal groups, across the Yellow River, and defeated the Shang army, thus founding the Chou dynasty.

However, the Chou people and their allies constituted a minority over the much larger Shang population they had conquered. Some of the former Shang elites revolted against the Chou dynasty shortly after the death of King Wu. There were also many other groups of hostile tribes who carried out raids against the Chou. Pressure from war-like tribes on the west was especially formidable, and demanded the maintenance of a defense force. The Chou allies expected to be rewarded, and these were not the only difficulties. The territory to be administered by the Chou was huge, stretching from the basin of the Wei

River to the eastern extremity of Shantung, and from southern Manchuria to the middle and lower valley of the Yang-tsu River. This territory included huge mountains, vast marshes, rivers, and uncultivated forests. There were as yet no roads. Within the territory there lived numerous indigenous people still at a primitive cultural level, and ethnically different from the Chinese. These conditions made it difficult for the Chou rulers to dispatch armies rapidly or to send communication rapidly.

In response to these conditions, the Chou royal house developed various political and ideological control devices. Most of these measures and devices were initiated and carried out during the time of King Wu and his brother the Duke of Chou, the founders of the dynasty. The first thing they had to do was to create a stable and permanent political system as the backbone of the dynasty. An answer to this problem was found in the establishment of the feng-chien system, which has often been called "feudalism."

The term feng-chien contains two characters, feng (封) and chien (建). The earliest known example of the word feng is on a bronze inscription in the form of a pictograph of a plant with a hand or two hands holding it.[13] This has been interpreted as either a mound of earth indicating the wall of a city or town[14] or a growing tree on a mound of earth which came to indicate a city or town boundary.[15] From this, it developed the sense of "establish."[16] The term chien is first seen in the Book of Changes and in the Tso-chuan. It also means "establish."[17] The earliest combination of both

characters into the term *feng-chien* is found in the *Tso-chuan*. Both characters together have the same meaning as that of *feng* or *chien* separately, that is "establish."[18] As a political system, the *feng-chien* system may have appeared as early as the latter period of the Shang dynasty.[19] Ch'i Ssu-ho suggests that the Chou already had a *feng-chien* system in their pre-dynastic period.[20] However, it is likely that the systematic imposition of a *feng-chien* system was carried out only in the time of King Wu and the Duke of Chou.[21]

After the conquest, King Wu established a number of new dependencies. He also permitted Wu K'ang, the son of the last Shang king, to continue the sacrifices to his ancestors.[22] To forestall any possible revolt against the Chou royal house, King Wu appointed his brothers Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu to maintain surveillance over the Shang royal heir. These were the so-called *San-chien* (三監), or "Three inspectors."[23] However, the rebellion of Shang people against the Chou and the coalition of the *San-chien* with the Shang rebels compelled the Chou royal court to mount a great punitive expedition. Under the command of the Duke of Chou, the expedition marched as far as the eastern extremity of the Shantung peninsula. Then, after defeating and relocating the various rebel groups including the subjugated Shang people in accordance with the interests and safety of the Chou royal house, the Duke of Chou established his relatives as holders of dependencies (*chu-hou*) at strategic points through North China. These included the sixteen dependencies of Kuan, Ts'ai, Ch'eng, Lu, Ho, Chieh, Mao, P'ing, Yung, Kao, Chao, T'eng, Pi, Yüan, Feng, and Hsun which were

given to the descendants of King Wu's father King Wen; the four states of Chin, Ying, Han, and Yü to the sons of King Wu, and the six dependencies of Fan, Chiang, Hsing, Tsu, Hsü, and Chi to his own descendants.[24] Among these dependencies, the most important were the Lu, Wei, T'ang, and Ch'i states. The State of Lu was established near modern Ch'ü-fu in Shantung to watch and control the Wan-mai, Huai-i, and Nan-i barbarians,[25] who in fact did revolt against the Chou royal house later. The state of Wei inherited the previous surveillance responsibility of the san-chien over the Shang royal heirs.[26] The T'ang state, located in modern T'ai-yüan in Shansi, was given the responsibility of maintaining defenses against the Hsi-i.[27] Also in the Shantung area, the Ch'i state was put in charge of checking the T'ung-I barbarians, who were earlier allied with the Shang dynasty.[28] At the same time, the Chou royal house built up another capital at Lo-yang in Honan which was more in the heart of North China and a more convenient place from which to control the various newly-established dependencies. By putting trust in dependencies placed at strategic points in the territory, and by building a second capital at Lo-yang to control them, the Chou royal house laid down the foundation of their state.

However, establishment of dependencies by the Chou royal house was not limited to these. The establishment of new dependencies continued throughout the Western Chou period in response to political and military needs. Many sources relating to the Western Chou reveal the existence of numerous dependencies, but the number of dependencies

is reported very differently in different texts, ranging from 1,800 to less than one hundred.[29] Substantially, there is no way to confirm the exact number of dependencies established by the Chou royal house at any point in time. Fragmentary sources stemming from the Western Chou period itself, and some sources dating from later periods, make possible some guesswork about the number of dependencies, their location, and their genealogical connections.

First of all, as to the number of dependencies of the Western Chou, the Hsün-tzu, which is a late source, says:

> At the beginning of Chou, seventy-one states were established, of which fifty-three were given to members of Chi surname.[30]

The passage implies that in the early period of the Western Chou dynasty the relatives of the Chou royal house occupied more than half of its dependencies. Another source giving a number of the Western Chou dependencies is the tale of Ch'eng-chuan in the Tso-chuan. It runs:

> Formerly when King Woo subdued Shang and obtained grand possession of all the land, fifteen of his brothers received states, and forty other princes of the surname of Ke [Chi] did the same. . . . these were appointments of kindred.[31]

The tale of Ch'eng-Chuan indicates a total of fifty-five states conferred upon holders of the Chi surname early in the Western Chou period. The Han lai chu-hou nien-piao in the Shih-chi also reports

that there were fifty-six states of Chi surname in the Western Chou period.[32] The Hsün-tzu, the tale of Ch'eng Chuan in the Tso-chuan, and the report of the Shih-chi thus agree that there were about fifty-five or fifty-six states of the Chi surname in the Western Chou period. Of these states, as already mentioned, twenty-six states were identified by name in the tale of Fu Ch'eng in the Tso-chuan. Ma Tuan-lin, who during the Sung period studied the number of states on the basis of the data in the Tso-chuan, identified yet another twenty-six states of Chi surname by name. These were the states of Cheng, T'ung-kuo, Hsi-kuo, Shui, Jui, Chia, Tan, Hsi, Hua, Yü, Chou, Kan, Pa, T'ang, Chao, Yin, Pei-yen, Hu, Liu, Ching, Wei, Wen, Chiao, Yang, Tun, and Yü.[33] The Shih-chi also lists the state of Wu as a state of the Chi surname.[34] Altogether, then, one can come up with a total of fifty-three states of the Chi surname which can be identified by name. On the other hand, a modern scholar, Ch'en P'an, identifies fifty states of the Chi surname in his study, and lists thirty-eight more states whose kinship connection he could not identify.[35] The nineteen states of unidentified surname must certainly contain a few states of the Chi surname, so the number of Chi states in the study of Ch'en P'an could easily be increased. The indications are, therefore, that there probably existed some 53 to 56 states of the Chi surname in the Western Chou period.

In addition, many tribal groups who were allied with the Chou in the conquest of Shang were also granted dependencies. Some local rulers who had long exercised power in various local places were per-

mitted, after submitting to the Chou, to continue to rule as Chou dependencies. Some lands were given to the presumed descendants of such sage kings as Yao and Shun. As to the number of states of non-Chi surname, the relevant sources have little to say. Ma Tuan-lin lists forty-five states of known non-Chi surname together with thirty-one states of unidentified surname, while Ch'en P'an notes seventy states of non-Chi surname. The total number of holders of dependencies of the Western Chou royal house, including both kin and non-kin, is listed as one hundred thirty-three in Ma Tuan-lin's study, while Ch'en P'an lists one hundred seventy-six.[36] Henri Maspero estimates that the number of one hundred states is too low.[37] While Li Tung-fang lists one hundred seventy states,[38] Ku Tung-kao mentions two hundred and nine.[39] The total number of the Western Chou dependencies is different according to each scholar.[40] A reasonable estimate would be something like 100-170 dependencies all told.

Looking into the kinship background of the dependencies, there were about fifty-three or fifty-five states of Chi surname in the Western Chou period. Aside from the twenty-six states given descendants of Kings Wen and Wu and the Duke of Chou, the rest of the Chi surname states are believed to have been given to branch families or relatives of the Chou royal house. Thus there were two kinds of dependency of the Chi surname: one kind was occupied by the direct descendants of King Wu, Wen, and the Duke of Chou who were the founders of the dynasty, while the other kind was composed of branch families of the Chou royal house, which constituted a part

of the larger Chou clan since before the founding of the dynasty. The states of non-Chi surname consisted of various tribal groups as already mentioned. According to the study of Ch'en P'an, these include Ch'i, Lai, Chou, Chi, Hsü, Shen, Chang, Hsian, and Li from the Chiang tribe; Sung and T'an from the Tzu tribe; Ch'u and Kuei from the Chieh tribe; Chen and Sui from the Kuei tribe; Huang, Hsü, Yen, Ku, Ch'in, Chiang, and Ko from the Ying tribe; Shu, Shu-liao, Liao, Ying-shih, and Liu from the Yen tribe; Chu and Hsiao-chu from the Ts'ao tribe; Chü, Wen, and T'an from the Chi tribe; Su, Jen, Hsü-chu, and Chuan-yu from the Feng tribe; Teng from the Man tribe; Lo from the Hsiung tribe; T'ang and Chu from the Ch'i tribe; I, Hui, Pi-yang and Yü from the Yun tribe; Hsien from the Wei tribe; Yu-yü from the Yao tribe; and Tsung-i from the Tung tribe. This indicates that the rulers of the dependencies of the Western Chou came from some twenty different tribes (or surnames) including the Chi surname of the Chou royal house.[41]

Among these dependencies of non-Chi surname, the state of Sung was granted to Wei-tzu, a descendant of the Shang royal family, to continue the sacrifices to his ancestors. The state of Ch'en was given to Lu Shang who had rendered sage counsel and distinguished service in the conquest of Shang. Lu and Yen were granted to the Dukes of Chou and Shao not only as relatives of the Chou royal house, but also in recognition of their discinguished service to the Chou royal house. The states of Pi, Hsü, Jen, and Su were older local societies permitted to continue their rule as Chou dependencies after

they submitted themselves to the Chou. This demonstrates that the Western Chou dependencies consisted of relatives of the Chou royal house, meritorious retainers and tribes, descendants of ancient sage kings, together with some existing states which surrendered to the Chou. The dependencies of the Western Chou were highly diverse and heterogeneous in their origin and character.

As to the time when each dependency was established, there are only a few mentions in the Shih-chi and the Tso-chuan. According to the Chou pen-chi in the Shih-chi, the states of Ch'i, Lu, Kuan, Ts'ai, Ch'en, Ch'ai, Chu, Chi and Ch'i were established during the time of King Wu. However, that source suggests that still other states were granted by King Wu.[42] The same source has it that the states of Sung and Ch'u were the only states which were granted during the time of King Ch'eng.[43] There is no mention of the exact time when each dependency was granted. The Tso-chuan provides only some vague indications as to the time of establishment of a few of the dependencies. As already mentioned, the tale of Fu Ch'en in the Tso-chuan indicates that the Duke of Chou established twenty-six states to protect and screen the Chou royal house after the great expedition toward the east which followed the suppression of the Shang rebellion. The Tso-chuan also mentions fifteen dependencies of the king's brothers and forty states of relatives of the Chou royal house during the time of King Wu. After that there are only occasional notices of the establishment of new dependencies, such as Ch'in in the time of King Hsiao[44] and Cheng in the reign of King Li.[45] Another passage

in the Tso-chuan vaguely indicates a period when the majority of the total number of dependencies had already been created during Western Chou times. It runs:

> King Woo subdued Yin; King Ch'ing secured tranquility throughout the kingdom, and King K'ang gave the people rest. They all invested their brothers with the rule of state, which might serve as defence and screen for Chow.[46]

The passage indicates that grants of new dependencies to holders of the Chi surname in the Western Chou were carried out in the reigns of Kings Wu, Ch'eng, and K'ang, which was the formative period of the Western Chou. However, considering that the feng-chien system was a political institution set up to protect the Chou royal house, and that the more important dependencies were allotted to bearers of the Chi surname in the early period of the Western Chou, and that there were only occasional new grants mentioned later, it is likely that the feng-chien system was already nearing completion in the time of King Wu who initiated the practice of the feng-chien system right after the destruction of the Shang dynasty, and of King K'ang who expanded the territory of the Chou to the extreme east at the time of the Duke of Chou's great expedition. It thus appears that the establishment and development of the feng-chien system of the Western Chou dynasty followed very soon after the expansion and diffusion of royal political power and military strength, and then slowed down quickly.

The location of each dependency in the Western Chou times is

also hard to pinpoint because there are not enough source materials and modern studies do not always mutually agree. According to the study of Ch'en P'an, there were fifty-one states (Sung, Ch'en, Huang, Hsü, Kuan, Yü, Jo, Shen, Ts'ai, Wei, Ch'i, Hsü, Chi, Shen, Nan-yen, Fan, Tsi, Teng, Hua, Yüan, Tan, Po, Ting, Kung, Tai, Chiang, Mao, Ying, Chiang, Tsu, Pu-kung, Tung-kuo, Liao, Lai, Ko, Hui, Tao, Wen, Liu, Mi, Lü, Shan, Chiao, Yung, P'ei, Shih-wei, Ying, Feng-fu, Tun, Yu-yü, and K'un-wu) in the modern privince of Honan; thirty-nine states (Chi, Cheng, Lai, Shih, Kuo, Yen, Lu, T'eng, Ch'i, Pi, Chu, Chü, Hsiao-chu, Su, Mou, Sui, Chang, Jen, Ts'ao, Ch'eng, Hsu-chu, Mao, Shou, Yü, I, Chi, T'an, Chuan-yü, Pi-yang, T'an, Yang, Han, Chia-fu, Yu-li, Ch'en-kuan, Ch-en-Kuan, Ch'en-hsin, Kuan, and P'u-ku) in the modern privince of Shantung; ten states (Yu, Ching, Ho, Chin, Hsün, Chi, Yü, Wei, Li, and Yang) in the modern province of Shansi; three states (Yüeh, Ni-man and Chou) in the modern province of Cheking; twelve states (Jui, Chia, Liang, Pi, Feng, Han, Tu, Hu, T'ai, Ch'i, Ch'un, and Hsi-kuo) in the modern province of Shensi; a state of Pa in the modern province of Szechuan; seventeen states (Ch'u, Li, Chiao, T'ang, Yung, Kuei, Sui, Ku, Yu, Erh, Chen, Yüan, Lo, Chou, Ch'uan, Fang, and Tan) in the modern province of Hupeh; three states (Wu, Hsien, and Chung-wu) in the modern province of Kiangsu; fifteen states (Liu, Hsü, Hsiao, Ch'ao, Chou-lai, Hsiang, Hsü-liao, Liao, Tsung, T'ung, Ying-shih, Hsü, Hsu-chiu, Chung-li and Hu) in modern Anhwei; two states (Ch'in and Mi-hsü) in the modern province of Kansu; and five states (Pei-yen, Hsing, Ku, Kuo, and

Hsien-yu) in the modern province of Hopeh. Ch'en P'an also lists nineteen states (Yü-yü-ch'iu, Pi, Ch'ung, Chu-yung, Shu-chiu, Shen, Ssu, Ju, Fei, Yu-hsin, Yu-ch'iung, P'ei, Jen, Yu-min, Feng, Ch'ueh-kung, Feng and Tsung-i) whose surname or location he cannot yet identify, together with several unlocated barbarian states (Mao-jung, Chia-shih, Shan-jung, Pai-ti, and so on).[47]

The distribution and location of the known dependencies of the Western Chou dynasty (which consisted of more than one hundred and seventy altogether) show that most dependencies stretched from the basin of the Wei River in the West to the eastern end of Shantung along both banks of the Yellow River, and north-to-south spread from southern Manchuria to the middle and lower valley of the Yang-tzu River, covering some 3,500,000 square miles of northern and central China.

To summarize the above, in the period leading up to their conquest of the Shang, the Chou people developed a chiefdom based upon groups of related clans with many branch families and a system of satellite settlements centering upon a main city under the leadership of the Chi clan. The Chou people also allied with other tribal groups over which the Chi clan of Chou occupied a position of leadership. After the conquest of the Shang, the royal house of Chou established the _feng-chien_ system as the main territorial control system of the dynasty. Within the framework of the _feng-chien_ system, numerous branch families and relatives of the Chou royal house were appointed as holders of the dependencies at strategic points throughout

the territory to support the royal house of Chou. However, the number of these dependencies was quite large. Included were more than twenty tribal groups which preserved their own tribal organizations and traditions. They were divergent and heterogeneous in their origin and character. To understand the internal organization and nature of the feng-chien system, it is necessary to investigate the internal organization and control systems of each dependency, because these related to and affected the feng-chien system as a whole both directly and indirectly.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN CHOU TIMES

As already mentioned, after the conquest of Shang, the Chou royal house established its relatives, branch families, and the heads of the allied tribes as holders of dependencies at strategic points throughout the old Shang cultural realm and further afield, particularly in the east, which had never been brought under Shang political control. The establishment of these dependencies in Western Chou times was named feng-yi (封邑) or feng-kuo (封國).[1] The Shang term for a local settlement was yi (邑) and this continued in the same form throughout the Chou period.[2] The terms pang (邦) and kuo (國), like yi, were also used in referring to larger local settlements along the lines of a city or town.[3] As to the original meaning of yi, the Shang oracle bones depict an enclosure above a man in a deep-kneeling position, implying presumably an enclosed place where men dwelt. The Shuo-wen chieh-tzu says that the character yi consisted of two components, an enclosure (囗) and a tally (信). The original meaning of yi was an inhabited settlement.[4] The Shuo-wen chieh-tzu also analyzes the character pang as made up of two elements, establishment (丰 or 封) and settlement (邑).[5] The original meaning of pang was the same as that of feng (封), which meant a growing tree on a mound of earth or boundary of a settlement. With the passing of time, the meaning of pang came to include the

entire settlement including the people and the surrounding land area. In the meantime, the meaning of *feng* changed to signify the boundaries of a local settlement. The old form of the character *kuo* (國) was composed of an enclosure (囗) and defense capability as indicated by a halberd (戈). In time, however, the term *kuo* came to mean a state.

Chou tradition seems to show some differentiation among the terms *yi*, *pang*, and *kuo*. First of all, the *Shang-shu* has the term *ta yi* Chou (大邑周)[6] which meant the great city Chou. The *Shih-ching* mentions the *ta yi* Shang (大邑商)[7] which meant the great city Shang. The "great *yi*" in the *Shang-shu* and the *Shih-ching* were the names of the main or central cities of the Shang and Chou dynasties. The names of these cities were also the names of the two dynastic states. Also, the *Tso-chuan* says that *yi* designated cities and towns that lacked temples for ancestor worship.[8] On the other hand, the *I-ching* apparently implies that 300 households constituted a representative size for an *yi*,[9] while the *Lun-yü* mentions an *yi* of ten households.[10] All these indications suggest that the *yi* was a nucleated settlement of no determinate size. As to *pang*, the *Chou-li* says that a large settlement was referred to as a *pang*, while a small one was called a *kuo*, forming the component form *pang-kuo* (邦國). The *pang-kuo* meant an enclosed and defended settlement inhabited by groups of people who were united through territorial and blood relationships.[12] The *kuo* was an urban form of settlement which contained the fortified cult center of the ruler as well as his territory, without which a

state could not come into being.[13] However, exact definitions of _yi_, _pang_ and _kuo_ in terms of their size and nature are impossible, because descriptions of these cities and towns are very different in different texts. However, as time passed, _yi_, _pang_, and _kuo_ gradually became synonymous and interchangeable, all indicating a walled city or town.[14] The _Tso-chuan_ mentions that there were about 3,000 _pang_ in the time of King Ch'eng of Shang, about 1,800 _pang_ in King Wu's time, and 1,200 _pang_ right after the transfer of the Chou capital to Lo-yang. These numerous _pang_, or _pang-kuo_, substantially meant local settlements which originated in the Lung-shan neolithic period and developed throughout the Shang period.[15] The _yi_, _pang_, and _kuo_ in Western Chou times designated these local settlements. The _feng-yi_ or _feng-kuo_ referred to the establishment of local settlements called _yi_, _pang_, or _kuo_ at places designated by the Chou royal house after the conquest of Shang. A vivid description of the process of establishing a local settlement can be found in the _Shih-ching_ and the _Tso-chuan_. One description, in the Lu sung section of the _Shih-ching_, says:

> Uncle, I set up your eldest son and make him prince in Lu; I grandly open up for us a domain to be a support for the house of Chou. And so he appointed the prince of Lu, and made him prince in the east. I gave him mountain and rivers, lands and fields and attached states.[16]

The passage clearly indicates that the holder of the Lu state, the eldest son of the Duke of Chou, received a certain territory, including mountains, rivers, and fields, from the Chou royal house

on the condition that he would protect the Chou royal house. The holder of the Lu state received not only land but also people, military authority, and gifts in token of his duties and prerogatives. A description in the Tso-chuan indicates this:

> To the Duke of Loo (Phih-k'in, the Duke of Chow's son) there were given--a grand chariot, a grand flag with dragons on it, the hwang-stone of the sovereigns of Hea, and the (great bow), Fan-joh of Fung-foo. (The Head of) six clans of the people of Yin--the T'eaou, the Seu, the Seaou, the Soh, the Chang-choh, and the We-choh, were ordered to lead the chiefs of their kindred, to collect their branches, the remoter as well as the near, to conduct the multitude of their connections, and to repair with them to Chow, to receive the instructions and laws of the Duke of Chow.[17]

According to the study of Kaizuka Shigeki, the grant chariot was a large ceremonial carriage which the Duke of Lu had to use on the occasion of his visit to the Chou royal court. The hwang-stone of the sovereigns of the Hea (i.e., Hsia) was a jewel handed down from the kingdom of Hsia which served to advertise the high rank of the Duke of Lu at court gatherings. The great bow was a symbol of the military authority by which the Duke of Lu could defend his community from alien tribes, or subdue enemies who resisted the Chou royal house.[18] Another item in the passage is a gift of people to the Duke of Lu. Six clans of Yin people (the T'ao, Hsü, Hsiao, So, Chang-shao, and Wei-shao) were ordered to assemble their main and branch clans under the command of the Duke of Lu. These Yin people were destined to be the population base of the Lu state in the Ch'un-ch'iu period, along with the indigenous population of the Lu

territory. The passage quoted also indicates that some instructions or laws concerning the ruling of the new state were given by the Chou royal house. A description in the Tso-chuan suggests that some functional groups accompanied the Duke of Lu when he left for his new state:

> Lands (also) were apportioned (to the Duke of Loo) on an enlarged scale, with priests, superintendants of the ancestral temple, diviners, historiographers, all the appendages of state, the tablets of historical records, the various officers and the ordinary instruments of their officers.[19]

The implication of this passage is that these various officers, diviners, historiographers, and superintendants were to serve the new Duke of Lu as functionaries in charge of the performance of specific duties and particular missions. It is believed that these functional groups must have constituted the basic element of the Chou leadership in the formative period of the Lu state, and they gradually became an aristocracy.

This state-founding procedure was not confined to the case of the Lu state. Wei, Ts'ao, and other dependencies of the Western Chou were all set up in a similar way. In other words, the holders of the Western Chou dependencies received land, people, some military authority, and official staffs, together with some kind of operational code from the Chou royal house. In this way a transplanted Chou elite under the command of the holders of the dependencies was fully equipped, self-sufficient, and capable of imposing its rule in their new territories.[20]

However, the Chou elites were a small minority in any of their new territories, even if they were fully equipped and self-sufficient. The majority of the population in the new territories was non-Chou, including many independent or semi-independent tribal groups, remnants of the Shang state, and pockets of neolithic survivors who were hostile to the Chou people. Under the circumstances, the Chou people were forced to take special precautions to guarantee their own safety. Therefore, their seats or foundations were typically garrison-style establishments. They built walled cities or towns at strategic locations where they could retreat and defend themselves in case their subjects turned hostile or other tribal groups invaded them.

According to the archaeological evidence, walled cities and towns in the Western Chou period were generally built on level plains near waterways and hills. They were surrounded by stamped earth walls of _hang-t'u_ or pisé construction, which remained typically Chinese throughout succeeding periods. The majority of the cities were rectangular or square in overall plan. Their sizes varied: smaller ones were about 1,000 meters to a side, and the largest was 8,000 meters east to west. Most cities contained the holder's ancestral temple and other palatial structures which were also surrounded by walls of _hang-t'u_. The orientation both of the city itself and the ceremonial and palatial structures within it was in line with the four cardinal directions. Earthen platforms or mounds served as the foundations for ceremonially important

structures. Other urban components included farming hamlets, workshops, and houses.[21]

The textual studies of such cities and towns by Marcel Granet and Ōshma Riichi describe more vividly the detailed functions of each component of the cities and towns. According to their studies, within the walled cities and towns, there were located the ancestral temple, which probably also served as the ceremonial center, the miao (廟); the altar to the god of the soil, the she (社) or she-chi (社稷); and the palace.[22] Ancestral temples varied in size from humble earthen edifices with thatched roofs to magnificent structures with tall pointed columns and roofs. The altar of the god of the soil was usually a simple affair of beaten earth. It was square in shape. Trees were planted to mark the sacred place. The god of the soil represented fertility and also served as guardian of the city's territorial integrity. The palaces also varied greatly in size and shape. They were generally located at the center of the city or town and were surrounded by walls of hang-t'u. Each building had its assigned places, such as audience halls and living rooms. With the passing of time, the tendency was toward increasing magnificence. Cities or towns also had various ancillary settlements which consisted mostly of workshops, houses, and cemeteries, and farming hamlets appear to have been scattered around the ancestral and ceremonial center and the palace.[23] Beyond the settlement, there were farming, grazing, and hunting lands, forests, and border areas.[24] Both the archaeological evidence and the textual studies agree that these were the main components of the Western Chou cities and towns.

The society that inhabited the walled cities and towns seems to have consisted of two classes: an aristocracy on the top, and the skilled artisans and the peasantry at the bottom. The aristocracy consisted chiefly of the holder of the dependency, together with his family and his collateral and other relatives. Originally they were related to the Chou royal house, in that their surname was the same as that of the Chou royal house. In early times, however, people divided into sub-groups according to their proximate kinship. All related groups did not share a common ancestor to the same degree. Each regarded only the founder of its own sub-group as its proper ancestor.[25] Each sub-group of this kind was referred to as a tsung (宗). Each tsung was segmented into smaller groups called tsu (族). One of these tsu was supposed to be the main family, referred to as the ta-tsung (大宗), and the others including the younger brothers and their descendants were minor families known as the hsiao-tsung (小宗). The main family was composed of a direct oldest heir (tsung-chu [宗主] or tsung-sun [宗孫]), who was keeper of the tsung's ritual chamber, the tsung-shih (宗室), in which the lineage ancestor's tablets were stored. This sacred line of descendants was always traced through the eldest son of the group. The branch families and their descendants were bound to their main family through regular worship of the common ancestor and the clan feast, which followed the worship of the common ancestor at the ancestral temple.[26]

This linear kinship system, known as the tsung-fa (宗法), may

be regarded as a kind of conical clanship system. A conical clanship system played a critical role in consolidating the political power and organization of certain clans in primitive societies. Generally, a conical clanship system served to make power and wealth distinctions on the basis of genealogical distance from the remote founding ancestor.[27] For example, when a certain clan began to expand its military and political power and influence in a primitive society, the members of the clan assumed positions of responsibility and enjoyed the benefits unequally. The territory which was acquired by the clan's political and military expansion was subdivided among the branch families of the clan and their chieftains. As a result, each branch family usually had a regional appanage, a district in which it was supreme and over which the chief of the branch family presided. Extensive chiefdoms could be constructed on the basis of this sub-division of the territory, forming a political hierarchy according to kinship distance. The aristocracy of the walled cities and towns of Western Chou China were branch families and relatives of the royal house of Chou who were established by the King of Chou in accordance with the *feng-chien* system, when the Chou people expanded into northern China after destroying the Shang dynasty. They were branch families of the Chi (姬) clan called *tsu* (族), whose main line was occupied by the royal house of Chou. They were given power and responsibility in certain territories granted them by the royal house of Chou, and they enjoyed the economic benefits that resulted from political and military expansion. In this regard, the

aristocracy in the walled cities and towns were the localized branch families of the Chou royal house. They formed units of political order in subdivisions of the Chou territory, in a fashion that closely resembled a conical clanship system.

Also, the members of the aristocracy possessed a unique surname, the Chi (姬), which indicated descent from the common mythical ancestor.[28] They were strongly united and constituted a corporate group owing to their consciousness of common kinship and their possession of a unique surname (hsing). The aristocracy of non-Chi surname who submitted to the Chou royal house and who were allowed to continue to rule in their territories were admitted into the order of the Chou tsung-fa system by intermarriage with one of the families of the royal house of Chou. Therefore, the aristocracy were conquerors or rulers of the walled cities and towns and the surrounding agricultural land, and they were linked together through a kind of conical clanship system. They occupied palaces in the cities and towns, supervised the territory including the farming land, and defended the walled cities and towns in case of attack.

The commoners consisted mostly of the conquered Shang people and the indigenous populations. It is probable that the Shang people mainly became skilled artisans and craftsmen, and engaged in commercial transactions and trade. The indigenous population engaged in agriculture.

According to the Western Chou bronze inscriptions, these subject people were at first called the mang (氓) or the hsiang (相),

and later on the min (民) and the pai-hsing(百姓).[29] In the earlier period of the Western Chou, they seem to have been organized in their own tribal groups and lived in their own villages. In contrast to the aristocracy, they did not possess any surname (hsing), and therefore, had no need of genealogies. It seems likely that they paid a sort of tribute to the ruling aristocracy.[30] When eventually they merged with the Chou people through a combined process of political and cultural absorption, they became serfs of their ruler.[31] In this regard, they did not own their land. They just cultivated it and were transferred with it whenever the land changed hands. The society of the walled city and town was organized in a pyramidal form with a closed aristocracy at the apex, supported by a broad base of peasant agriculturalists.

The functions of the walled city or town were various and divergent. The temple of ancestor worship (the miao) was the most sacred place in the city or town. Important functions and affairs were carried out at this sacred place. Heirs to the throne were named here. It was here that coronation ceremonies took place. The king's vassals were invested with their fiefs in the ancestral temple, demonstrating the concurrence of the deities in the proceedings. The ancestral temple was also the place where the Chou kings held their audiences with the holders of the dependencies and their officials, issued orders concerning both civil and military matters, heard news of victory in battle, received the spoils of war, and dispensed rewards to meritorious officials. It was the sacred

place which seasonally reaffirmed a mutual relationship between the living and the dead members of the aristocratic families. All these ceremonies and activities conveyed the warning that attempts to depose the kings or to disobey their commands would lead not only to royal but also to divine disapproval and punishment.[32] In this regard, the temple of ancestor worship was the most important symbolic center of the aristocracy. The walled cities and towns which included such sacred places were the ceremonial and administrative seats of the aristocracy.

When a holder of a dependency set up a walled city or town, there was usually set up a garrison to protect the city as well as the surrounding agricultural land and area. The expansion of agriculture under Chou auspices required a large number of conscripted laborers. There also existed a constant demand for men to carry out the clearing, draining, and protective diking of new farm land, and this in turn demanded a high level of organized effort. The establishment of irrigation systems, the building of embankments, and the maintenance and protection of these irrigation complexes were carried out under the direction and control of the rulers of the walled cities and towns, who possessed the requisite authority and power. In other words, the surrounding agricultural lands were both developed and protected by the walled cities and towns. Gradually an intensive agricultural zone emerged from the Great Plain of the north to the middle and lower reaches of the Yang-tzu River, its landscape dotted with increasing numbers of walled cities and towns.

The maintenance of large garrisons in the walled cities and towns, and the large number of the laborers needed for the establishment of irrigation systems and the building of river embankments created a heavy demand for grain stores, both for emergencies and to supply the soldiers and laborers.[33] At the same time, the expanding scale of production must have occasioned a greater need for tools, which were supplied from the walled cities and towns. When a party of Chou people under the command of the holder of the dependency arrived in a new territory, this group included skilled artisans and craftsmen such as carpenters, potters, sword-makers, blacksmiths and so on. These artisans produced cloth, tools, luxury goods, and other commodities in the city's workshops. These various products attracted outsiders to the cities. All these factors increased the commercial and industrial functions of the walled cities and towns.[34] A developing need for salt, iron, silk, copper, tin, and exotic luxuries led to an increase in long-distance trade.[35] Eventually there appeared separate groups of merchants in charge of short-range commercial functions between the city and its hinterland, and long-distance trade among the cities and towns themselves. However, as Paul Wheatley points out, the early industrial activities of the city were restricted to crafts producing prestige items in bronze, jade, lacquer, pottery, and bone for the Chou aristocracy and manufacturing the stone and bone implements used by the peasantry in the farm and field. Commerce did not develop to a high level until the Ch'un ch'iu period. In this regard, commercial activities still

played only a very limited role in Western Chou times. The walled city or town had for the most part a self-contained manorial-style economy.[36]

Another function of the walled city or town was to serve as a holy place for the peasantry. The holy place in earliest times bore the totemic name either directly or in some purposely disguised form,[37] and its chieftain as the embodiment of sacred power received the worship of the hierarchical community group. There one communed with one's native soil and invited one's ancestor to come and be symbolically reincarnated. Various festivals were held there to celebrate these activities. The sanctity of the holy place was concentrated in the altar of the soil, the ancestral temple, and the ramparts and gates of the walled city or town, and was embodied in the person of the ruler of the city.[38] In this regard, the walled city or town became the successor of the primitive holy place.[39]

As already mentioned, the walled city or town was built as the seat of the ruler of the dependency and his ministers. At the time the walled city or town was built, the founding aristocracy, in full dress and wearing all their jewels and jades and bearing magnificent swords, first inspected the cardinal points of the compass. They examined the angles of sunlight and shadow. Account was taken of the direction of the running water. Finally the tortoise oracle was consulted to determine whether the previous calculations were correct. Once the site was settled, the order was given to build,

and a large workforce of builders was set to work so that the city took form with great speed.[40] The procedure and process of constructing the city or town indicates that they were built according to a plan rather than as the result of natural growth.[41] After erecting the walls, the construction of the ancestral temple and the placement within it of the lineage treasures were given the first and most prominent attention. The stables and the arsenal came next, and the ruler's residence the last. This indicates that the walled city or town was not just a settlement whose inhabitants engaged in commercial transactions and susbistence enterprises of various kinds. It was a religious and ceremonial locus of the politically prominent clan and its wealth.[42] Also, each walled city or town included a religious and ceremonial center, contained facilities for the storage of the grain, the residences of the military, and enjoyed autonomous judicial and tax authority. These units were repeated indefinitely all over northern and central China. In this regard, each walled city or town was a cell in a sort of cellular territorial structure which maintained local autonomy and self-sufficiency.[43]

On the other hand, when the holder of a dependency established his state in a new territory, he in turn granted certain areas to his collateral kinsmen and followers, putting these under their direct control, in order to create powerful supporters for his rule. This process was carried out by subdividing the lineages into small groups called _shih_, which were given special names as a mark of

honor. Usually the name was that of a territory or an administrative function.[44] The members of a shih, composed of descendants of a common recent ancestor, shared an attitude of solidarity which in a specific situation might afford united action. By contrast, the hsing was a much larger and looser common descendant group.[45] There gradually appeared numerous cities and towns of various sizes which were the seats of this sub-aristocracy of shih. These cities and towns were called ordinary yi, tsung-yi, tu, and kuo according to their function and size. Generally, ordinary yi referred to villages and hamlets which were not walled. Tsung-yi, tu, and kuo in most cases were surrounded by a wall of hang-t'u.[46] These cities and towns were ranked by a hierarchical kinship system by which the aristocracy was localized. Accordingly, the cities and towns consisted hierarchically of ordinary yi; tsung-yi with the temples of the aristocratic lineage; tu with the temples of the grand lineage; kuo with the temples of the supreme lineages;[47] and the tsung-chou, which was the seat of the Chou royal house, at the apex of the hierarchy. Kinship thus determined the system of urban ranking.

The founders of the new Chou dependencies constituted in every case a very small elite ruling much larger populations of varied origins. It became a leading policy of each dependency in its formative period to unify these non-Chou people with the Chou. Assimilation gradually proceeded through mutual interdependence, as when the Chou people needed labor for construction work, or when the indigenous population sought to obtain the implements,

tools, and ornaments that were produced in the city's workshops.[48] In the process of assimilation, one important measure was that the ruler of the dependency himself took charge of the celebrations and festivals of the indigenous population, and the worship of their gods. These native festivals usually took place on river banks or near mountains, where the divine forces that produced wind, rain, and the like were believed to reside.[49] By taking charge of the local worship of these forces, the ruler entered a sort of partnership between the holy place and himself. He tried to unify the people under his rule by allying with the supernatural order to instill harmony in society and in the universe.[50] The ruler directly took charge of sacrifices to the local gods. At the court of each ruler was the altar of the god of soil and grain, the she-chi. The term she-chi consists of two compounds, she (社) and chi (稷). Originally the she was the local earth deity or god of soil, a primitive god of fertility.[51] In some sense, he was also a protector of the people of the land and of those who had gone before.[52] The chi was the god of grain or, according to one study, it designated Hou-chi who was Lord of Millet and giver of agriculture to the people.[53] With the passing of time, the she began to absorb most of the other local deities, and gradually merged with the god of grain, the chi, becoming a generalized god of agriculture, the she-chi.[54] This god of soil and grain was worshipped by local people in Western Chou times.

Owing to the belief that ancestral deities would not accept

the sacrificial offerings of men who were not of the same blood and would not allow the participation of alien people in their worship, the ruler set up the altar of the god of soil and grain on the opposite side of the ancestral temple at the court. Therefore, in Western Chou times, the ancestral temple was always placed on the left side, and the altar of the god of soil and grain on the right side, at the court of each dependency.[55] This was one of the essential features of the Western Chou city or town. At the same time, the altar of the god of soil and grain was established in various other cities in accordance with their hierarchical ranking. These altars of the god of soil and grain were referred to as the ta-she (大社) for various clans, the wang-she (王社) for the king himself, the kuo-she (國社) for the holder of a dependency and his people, the hou-she (侯社) for the holder of a dependency, and the chih-she (置社) for the local people.[56] Also, the functions and nature of the god of the soil and grain came to have new roles; he became a god of war, of judgment, and of the territory.[57] With the passing of time, the most important roles became those of a god of war and a guardian god of the region. As a guardian god of the region, the worship and sacrifice to the altar of the soil and grain by the ruler of a state, and participation by local people in the worship and sacrifice, provided an important link between the ruler of the state and the local population, who were excluded from the tsung-fa kinship system.[58] The role and function of the god of soil and grain as a god of war provided the ruler with military support from

the local population. The military forces included clans of the local population. The sanctity and dignity of the altar of the god of soil and grain thus helped consolidate the diverse military forces that the ruler led.[59] Therefore, sacrifices for victory, or report after the conclusion of wars, were always carried out at the altar of the god of soil and grain. That altar became the sacred center of military affairs in a state. The altar gradually became one of the state's important control devices.[60] The principal altar of the god of soil and grain actually came to represent the state. Many records in the Tso-chuan indicate this trend.[61] A description in the book particularly reflects this:

> Is it the business of the ruler of the people to merely be above them? The altars of the State should be his chief care. Is it the business of the minister of a ruler merely to be concerned about his support? The nourishment of the altars should be his object. Therefore, when a ruler dies or goes into exile for the altars, the minister should die or go into exile with him. If he die or go into exile for his seeking his own ends, who, excepting his private associates, would presume to bear the consequences with him?[62]

The passage stresses that the business of a ruler should be concentrated on the altar of the god of soil and grain, which meant the state, and that the business of a minister should also be devoted to its preservation. As James Legge explains, the she-chi became the altar of state. The altar of state became a symbol of state which included not only the family of the ruler but also the various clans and the local population. This reflects the gradual process whereby

the kin-based dependencies were transformed into independent, territorial, and sovereign states in the Ch'un-ch'iu period, after the breakdown of the feng-chien system. The roofing over of the she-chi, or damage to it, signified the extinction both of the ruler's line and the state he ruled.[63] In the meantime, the ancestral temple remained solely for the private use of the ruler and his family.

In sum, the holders of dependencies built up their control systems by grants of towns to collateral families, by making local people into his subjects through intermarriage and mutual dependency in social and economic affairs, and by taking charge of the worship of the altar of the god of soil and grain (the she-chi) which was the god of agriculture, war, and the region for the local population.

The dependencies of the Western Chou court were originally politically autonomous units, self-sufficient in economy. The royal house of Chou itself was a great chiefdom before the founding of its dynasty, commanding various tribal groups including branch families and clans. This meant that the royal house of Chou did not have any experience with bureaucratic rule. The feng-chien system of the Western Chou was based upon the wide distribution of territories to its relatives, meritorious allies, and others. Despite this decentralization, the Chou royal house successfully ruled for more than three hundred and fifty years, and managed to monopolize religious and ceremonial authority for a long time after it had lost its actual military and political strength in the Ch'un-ch'iu period. This indicates that the royal house of Chou must have possessed some highly developed control devices to maintain its supremacy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONTROL MECHANISMS OF THE WESTERN CHOU DYNASTY

After the conquest of the Shang, the Chou royal house began to develop and elaborate a number of political devices and measures for the permanent and stable control of their new possessions. These included a number of ideological and practical devices.

One of the ideological devices was the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven. The Mandate of Heaven, or t'ien-ming (天命), consists of the words heaven, or t'ien (天); and mandate or decree, ming (命). The word t'ien is seen often in Chou literature, such as the Shih-ching, the Tso-chuan, and the Shang-shu, and also in the bronze inscriptions of the Western Chou period. The character t'ien represents a man with a strongly marked head. According to the analysis of the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu, which was compiled in Han times (around the first century), the character t'ien is composed of one (一) and great or large (大), and means "the highest."[1] Lo Chen-yü says that the t'ien consists of two (二) and man (人) and that it means the top of a man.[2] Wang Kuo-wei also suggests that t'ien means the top of a man.[3] More recently, H.G. Creel has stated that the original character for t'ien was a variant form of the character ta (大), meaning great or large. The character ta was a pictograph of a large or great man. This became specialized to refer to the great man among the Chou people, the king, and especially the dead kings who from Heaven controlled the fate of

men. In this sense, the character ta acquired a head on the man and came to have its own pronunciation, t'ien. T'ien gradually became the single and powerful supreme deity of the Chou people.[4]

The nature and conception of the Heaven was variously elaborated and specified during Chou times:

> Heaven's grace evermore arrived.[5]
> Heaven protect and secure you.[6]
> Receive blessing from Heaven.[7]
>
> All things originated from Heaven.[8]
> Heaven arranges the existing rule.[9]
> Heaven regulate the existing rites.[10]
>
> Consider our Heaven's majesty arrived.[11]
> Heaven gives charge to those who have virtue . . . Heaven punishes those who have guilt.[12]
> The merciless Heaven sends down injury on our house.[13]
>
> Heaven's mandate is not easy to keep.[14]
> Son of Heaven receive only mandate from Heaven.[15]

According to these passages, it is apparent that Heaven in Chou times was considered the creator of all things, a fearful, irresistible, and omniscient being, and that it gave a summary mandate or decree to rule the world to whomever it chose. In fact, the Chou people attributed their successful conquest of Shang to Heaven's favor. The term "Mandate of Heaven" thus appeared around the time of the conquest of the Shang. The first mention of the Chou having received Heaven's mandate is seen in the K'ang-kao section of the Shang-shu:

> Your greatly illustrious (dead) father Wen Wang was able to make bright the virtue and to be careful about the punishments. He dared not maltreat the widowers and widows. Very meritorious, very respectful, very majestic, he was illustrious among the people. . . . In our one or two states there was thereby created order, and our western territories relied on him. It was seen and heard by God on High, and God favoured him. Heaven then grandly ordered Wen Wang to kill the great Yin, and grandly receive its mandate.[16]

The passage indicates that King Wen, a predecessor of King Wu, received the Mandate of Heaven because of his just rule, his love of people, and his protection of the state. In fact, it has been said that King Wen planned the conquest of Shang and King Wu, son of King Wen, merely carried the plan out when he found the opportunity. Therefore, both King Wen and Wu were worshipped and received sacrifice as founders of the Chou dynasty by their descendants later on.

More invocations of the Mandate of Heaven are found in the speeches and statements of King Wu and the Duke of Chou. The term "Mandate of Heaven" clearly appears in the speeches of the Duke of Chou after he put down the rebellion of the Shang people against the Chou royal house. For example, the To-fang section of the Shang-shu states:

> But the lord of Hia increased his pleasurable ease, . . . He was greatly lazy towards the people. Also the people of the lord of Hia, their grief and annoyance became daily more intense. He destroyed and injured the city of Hia. Heaven then sought a (new) lord for the people, and grandly it sent down its illustrious and felicitous mandate to Ch'eng T'ang, and it punished and

> destroyed the lord of Hia. . . . But now, when it came to your sovereign (i.e. the last Yin [or Shang] king), he could not, having your numerous regions, enjoy Heaven's mandate. . . . It was that your last king of Shang . . . enjoyed his pleasurable ease, despised his government work and did not bring pure sacrifices. Heaven then sent down that ruin. . . . Heaven then searched in your numerous regions and greatly shook you by its severity. . . . Heaven then instructed us to avail ourselves of its grace, it selected us and gave us Yin's mandate.[17]

According to the above passage, originally the Mandate of Heaven was possessed by the rulers of the Hsia dynasty. Because of their misrule of the people and their neglect of the sacrifices to Heaven, Heaven withdrew its Mandate from the Hsia and gave it to the Ch'eng T'ang, the founder of the Yin (or Shang) dynasty. Displeased with the misrule and sloth of the degenerate last King of the Shang, Heaven selected the Chou to receive its Mandate. According to the study of H.G. Creel, the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven was created by the Chou royal house, especially the Duke of Chou, to pacify and control psychologically the Shang people who possessed a far more advanced and sophisticated culture than the Chou did, and revolted against Chou rule.[18] By either creating or elaborating the doctrine,[19] it seems true that the Chou royal house used the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven to help pacify the Shang people. In another statement, the Duke of Chou tried to convince the Shang people that the small state of Chou dared not aim at the Shang on its own initiative; it had merely obeyed the Mandate that Heaven gave it.[20] He also emphasized that the Chou was simply fulfilling the same historical function

that the founder of the Shang dynasty had fulfilled when he accepted the divine command of Heaven to destroy the last unworthy ruler of the Hsia dynasty.[21] He asked the Shang people to cooperate with the Chou as follows:

> I will tell you. It is you who have been greatly lawless, I did not cause your deplacement. . . . I also think of how Heaven has applied to Yin a great punishment, . . . this was the command of Heaven, do not disobey it. I dare not be dilatory. Do not bear resentment against me. . . . It is not that I am at fault, it is Heaven's command. . . . If you cannot be reverently careful, Heaven will not give you favour and pity you. If you cannot be reverently careful, not only will you not have your lands, I shall also apply Heaven's punishment to your person.[22]

In the statement, the Duke of Chou again explains that the Chou destroyed the Shang by the divine command of Heaven. He went on to say that if the Shang people obeyed the command of Heaven and cooperated with the Chou, they would keep their lands and their descendants would prosper.

The indoctrination of the Shang people with the Mandate of Heaven idea ran parallel with a policy of reshuffling the Shang people, transporting them to various new locations such as the states of Lu and Wei, in order to destroy their tribal organization and their political units.[23] After that, the Shang people did not revolt against the Chou royal house again. The Chou royal house did not need to take military action against the Shang people. The eight armies of the Chou consisted mostly of Shang people incorporated into a military force under the direct command of the Chou king.[24] Fu Ssu-nein says

that the state of Lu in the Ch'un-ch'iu period consisted mostly of former Shang people.[25] All these things indicate that the indoctrination of the Shang people with the Mandate of Heaven idea was successful in winning the Shang population over to the Chou royal house. This means that by creation of the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven, the Chou royal house made its military conquest of Shang a holy crusade, and legitimized their rule by making their king an ordained ruler who derived his power and authority from Heaven.[26]

The doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven not only brought the Shang people into the Chou political realm but also provided the Chou royal house with a new political theory and a new world-concept that had an immediate and far-reaching effect in consolidating Chou power and authority over all of its dependencies. From their doctrine, the Chou royal house developed a general political theory. Two passages in the Tso-chuan state:

> When Heaven produced the people, it appointed for them rulers for their profit.[27]
>
> Heaven, in giving birth to the people, appointed for them rulers to act as their superintendants and pastors.[28]

The Tso-chuan was compiled about 468-300 B.C. However, it is believed that the conception of t'ien in the Tso-chuan does reflect the Western Chou understanding fairly well. This conception is also reflected in the Mencius:

> Wan Chang said, "was it the case that Yao gave the empire to Shun?" Mencius said "No, the

> emperor cannot give the empire to another." "Yes; - but Shun had the empire. Who gave it to him?" "Heaven gave it to him," was the answer.[29]

The Chou royal house used the Mandate of Heaven idea to turn its ruler into a universal ruler. A statement in the Hung-fan section of the Shang-shu, which is one of the reliable chapters, reads as follows:

> The Son of Heaven is the father and mother of the people, and thereby is king over the whole world.[30]

Another statement in the same section reads:

> Under the wide heaven, all is the king's land. Within the seas that bound the earth all are the king's subjects.[31]

This was a new concrete conception of the world embracing all people and all land under the jurisdiction of the Chou king, and expanding his benefits and blessings to all mankind who responded to the will of Heaven. To express this new conception of the world, a new term, "all under Heaven," or t'ien-hsia, appeared in Western Chou times. The term t'ien-hsia (天下) is found frequently in such Chou texts as the I-ching, the Shang-shu, the Ta-hsueh, the Lun-yu and the Hsiao-ching.[32] The scope of the t'ien-hsia included the whole world as it was known to the contemporary Chinese.[33]

Furthermore, the Chou royal house elaborated a new relationship of its ruler with Heaven as the supreme deity and the source of all things. In Chou times, Heaven was not only the supreme deity; it was

also the place where the ancestral kings of the Chou lived. It was believed that the ancestral kings in Heaven were more powerful and capable than when they lived, so that they could control the fate and affairs of men and could protect and support their descendants on the earth. They were rulers in Heaven and the living Chou king was their counterpart in the capital.[34] Accordingly, the cult of Heaven was added to the ancestral religion of the Chou house. Worship and sacrifice were offered to Heaven which was proclaimed to be both the primeval creator as well as the ancestor of the Chou royal house. Heaven received sacrifice both as a god of nature as well as an ancestor of the Chou royal house.[35]

The Chou royal house styled its ruler the "Son of Heaven," or t'ien-tzu (天子). The term "Son of Heaven" did not exist in Shang times.[36] It appears only in Chou times, and is found in the Shuo-ming and Hung-fan sections of the Shang-shu, and in the Chiang han section of the Shih-ching.[37] It is believed that the term Son of Heaven was invented by the Chou royal house, which thereby tried to make its king a direct descendant of Heaven, which was the creator of the universe and also its ancestor. This hierocentric doctrine of the Chou became a central cohesive force binding together not only the Chou people but also the entire Chinese people until as late as the nineteenth century.

Hierocentric doctrines were commonly used by the great conquerors of ancient times. In ancient Egypt, the Pharoah claimed that he was ruler of all that was encircled by the sun. He was the Son of God, and none could resist him. All people were subject to him, his bounds

were set at the ends of the earth, and to him the gods promised world dominance.[38] In Babylonia, Naram-sin called himself "king of the Four Regions and king of the Universe."[39] The Assyrian king also called himself "king of the Four Quarters of the world," and "king of the universe." All these claims meant that the monarch rules over all men, that it is god who has ordered him to do so, and thus it is his sacred mission to extend his dominion over the whole world. All his wars are holy wars.[40] The doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven of the Chou royal house was a typical great conqueror's claim, aimed at establishing an exclusive and monopolistic hierocentric idea that in Heaven there is one eternal and supreme god and on earth there is one king, the son of god. The Chou ruler as the son of Heaven and universal ruler reigned over the holders of dependencies and their people. For a long time, this charismatic authority of the Chou royal house continued in effect, even after the royal house had lost its military and political control over the holders of dependencies in the Ch'un-ch'iu period.

Military prowess was another control device used by the Western Chou dynasty. The Western Chou developed a strong standing army under the direct control of the Chou king and it maintained its military strength almost to the end of the dynasty. The Western Chou army consisted of infantry and war chariots. The infantry had a basic unit of five soldiers called the *wu* (伍). Five families provided the men. Each *wu* was led by a non-commissioned officer, the *kung ssu-ma*. Each village had a unit of twenty-five men called the *liang* under

the order of a platoon commander called the liang ssuma. Each commune (group of villages) provided a company of a hundred men, the tsu. Five companies formed a battalion of 500 men, the shih. Then five battalions constituted a regiment of 2500 men, the lü. The largest operating force, the chün, consisted of five regiments, over 12,500 men.[41] According to a description in the Chou-li, all these units were under the control of the department of war, which was one of six departments directly responsible to the Chou king.

This Western Chou army was equipped with various kinds of weapons, which were mostly made of bronze. The Chou people had been bronze metal workers long before they conquered the Shang. One of the earliest Chou bronze vessels, the ch'en kuei, was unearthed at Ch'i-shan and can be dated to the year when King Wu won his victory over the Shang. The vessel was cast for the grand sacrifice offered to King Wen, father of King Wu. The bronze vessel, a food container, is twenty-four centimeters high and twenty-five centimeters in diameter. It was not inferior to those made by the Shang. In every respect, the vessel shows that the Western Chou people were masters of the bronze industry long before they overthrew the Shang dynasty.[42] These ancient metal workers of the Western Chou also produced a wide variety of weapons, tools, and personal ornaments. The bronze weapons of the Western Chou army may be divided into two categories, offensive and defensive. The offensive weapons included the dagger-axe, or ko (戈); the dagger-axe and knife, or kou-chi (句戟); the dagger-axe and spear, or chi (戟); the spear, or mao (矛); the broad-axe, or yüeh

(鉞); the large knife, or ta-tao (大刀); the knife, or tao (刀); the dagger, or pi-shou (匕首); the bow and arrow, or kung-shih (弓矢); the cross-bow, or nu (弩); and the sword, or chien (劍). The dagger-axe had been the most important armament since the neolithic period in China. In the Chou period, the stone dagger-axe was still used for mortuary purposes. The bronze dagger-axes of the Western Chou were notably advanced. They were used for pecking and scything, and were efficient weapons for attacking a horse or chariot. The dagger-axe and knife was made by casting two blades in one piece to give the dagger-axe two extra cutting edges at the base parallel to the shaft. The dagger-axe and spear was used for piercing forward, scything to the left, hooking to the right, and jabbing backwards. It was more efficient than the dagger-axe and knife. The spear was an offensive weapon of the Chou army. It had a broad leaf-shaped blade with a slender socket mounted on a round shaft. The broad-axe was a small weapon of about seventeen centimeters in length, pierced with four perforations for hafting and decorated with t'ao-tieh masks. The blade was made of iron and was attached to the bronze butt-handle by the mortise and tenon method. This indicates that iron was introduced into China in early Western Chou times. The large knife was used as a weapon in war and as an executioner's knife. It had a sharpened cutting blade, and was a formidable weapon in actual use. The knife was generally slender and short. It had a thin cutting edge and a thicker ridge on the back. It served more as a scraper than as a military weapon. The dagger was a small weapon of about

twenty centimeters in length. The blade had two cutting edges meeting in a point at the end. It was a favorite weapon for surprise or secret assaults. The Chou bows had a double curve like a Cupid's bow, and was about 139 centimeters long. The core was made of four bamboo plates, thick and heavy in the middle with tapering ends and notched wooden tips to receive the cord. The whole bow was bound and glued with rattan strips and finished with a close binding of silk and lacquer. The crossbow was the most outstanding in the Chou armory. It had a stock of wood, a bow of laminated bamboo, and a trigger mechanism of bronze. The stock was mortised to support the bow and had a channel for the dart or small arrow and a pistol grip. The trigger mechanism was an assemblage of four precisely cast bronze parts, fitted together and onto the stock with two bronze pins. Together with the bow, the crossbow constituted a major offensive weapon. The defensive gear included suits of armour with helmets and shields. The Chou battle dress included bronze buttons, plaques and strips. The shields were make of wood and lacquer, fitted with a bronze grip at the back, and were round in shape.

The war chariot constituted sometimes the main striking force in the Chou army. The war chariot originated in Western Asia during the second millenium B.C. Then, owing to its great efficiency as a source of power, it was soon employed throughout the civilized parts of the ancient world. It was introduced into China during Shang times and constituted a basic unit of the Shang army. The Chou people knew about the war chariot before they overthrew the

Shang dynasty, but they adopted the war chariot of the Shang only after the conquest. The Chou war chariot was driven by first two and later four horses. Both teams were yoked in the same way, only with a longer cross-bar to harness the four animals. Both wheels had twenty-one spokes and strong conical wheel-hubs which were reinforced with bronze caps. The cab was divided by a barrier into a box at the rear and a small platform in front. The pole curved upwards in a slightly convex manner at the end, carrying there the cross-bar whose bent up ends were each mounted with a spear-like bronze weapon.[44]

The ordinary Chou war chariot carried three men; the driver, a spear man or lancer, and an archer. There was also another special chariot which functioned as a flagship, carrying the commander of the army or of a unit of it, and a drum and flag by which the signals to advance or retreat were given. These command chariots, carrying perhaps a duke or even a king, were naturally focal points of a battle because of their role in directing the fighting.[45] However, the war chariot was not a formidable weapon like the tank, even though it constituted sometimes a quick striking force, especially to barbarians who were not used to them. Generally the war chariot was used by the commander as a mobile command post. It gave him a much better view of the situation, and an ability to observe all of the movements of the enemy.[46] He also could transport himself quickly wherever he wished to go. Another important function of the war chariot was display; its splendor could have an impressive psychological effect upon both Chinese and barbarians.[47] In war, the foot soldier and the war chariot in most cases operated together, the war chariot forcing

open a path for the foot-soldiers to follow. However, the Western Chou army depended most heavily on the foot-soldiers.

The Chou military forces were recruited from and supplied by the peasantry. The Ch'in section of the Shih-ching states:

> The king raises his army, we put in order our dagger-axes and mao lances. I will have the same enemy as you.

Another passage in the same section runs:

> The king raises his army, we put in order our mao lances and ki lances; together with you I will start (on the expedition).[48]

Both the passages indicate that the husbandmen joined the army when the king summoned them. The soldiers were often sent to guard the frontiers against the barbarians:

> The king has ordered Nan-chung to go and to build a wall in Fang; the out-going carriage sounds pwang-pwang, the dragon banner and tortoise-and-snake banner are brilliant; . . . the Son of Heaven ordered us to build a wall in that Shuo-fang; awe-inspiring is Nan-chung; the Hsien-yün are expelled. Long ago, when we marched, the millets were just in flower; now when we come (back) the falling snow settles on the mud; the service to the king has many difficulties, we have no leisure to kneel down or sit at rest.[49]

Another poem describes the same situation:

> The Hsien-yün were scornful of us, they encamped at Chiao-kuo.
> They invaded Hao and Fang . . .

With woven pattern of bird blazonry
Our silken banners brightly shone
Big chariots, ten of them
went first, to open up a path . . .
We smote the Hsien-yün . . .
Mighty warrior is Chi-fu.[50]

These two poems deal with or mention the campaigns of the Chou people against the fierce Hsien-yün tribes. The two Chinese generals, Nan-chung and Chi-fu are both traditionally placed in King Hsuan's reign (ca. 827-782 B.C.). The Hsien-yün tribe was a dread foe who invaded Shensi, the home-country of the Chou, and were driven back in a series of campaigns, some of which took place around 800 B.C. These two poems describe the fatigued and wearisome life of the husbandmen while on guard duty at the borders.

The husbandmen also received military training when they were at home during the slack seasons. According to the Ku-liang chuan, there were four periods of military training for the peasants during the year; these were the spring military training referred to as the t'ien (田); the summer training, the miao (苗); the autumn training, the sou (蒐); and the winter training, the shou (狩).[51] In the Tso-chuan there appear the military training of the sou (蒐) for spring, the miao (苗) for summer, the hsien (獮) for autumn, and the shou (狩) for winter.[52] The Kuan-tzu says that there were only two military training periods: the sou (蒐) in spring, and the hsien (獮) in winter.[53] These sources indicate that there was regular military training for the peasantry in accordance with the change of seasons. They also suggest that military training in the

spring, summer, and autumn was shorter because of busy agricultural affairs, while the training period in the winter was longer.[54] However, this was compiled much later, after the end of the Western Chou period. The number and names of the military training periods varies from source to source. In this regard, these are not very reliable in figuring out the details of military training in the Western Chou times. However, a few poems in the Shih-ching do state that there was military training in Western Chou times. One poem says:

> In the days of the second there is the meet, and so we (continue to) keep up our prowess in warfare; we keep for ourselves the young boars, we present the older boars to the prince.[55]

The poem implies that the military training of the peasantry was carried out through hunting. Another poem likens hunting preparations to military maneuvers:

> The hunting carriages are fine, the four stallions are very big; in the East there are the grasslands of the (royal) parks, we yoke and go (there) to hunt. These gentlemen go to the summer hunt, they count the footmen with great clamour; they set up the tortoise-and-snake banner and the oxtail flag; they catch animals in Ao. . . . the meeting (of the princes) is grand. The thimbles and armlets are convenient, the bows and arrows are well-adjusted; the archers are assorted, they help us to rear a pile. . . . if the footmen and charioteers are not attentive, the great kitchen will not be filled. These gentlemen go on the expedition, it is audible but there is no noise; they are noblemen; indeed a great achievement.[56]

Included in the hunting expedition were big and small chariots;

the tortoise-and-snake banners which were also used in military campaigns; footmen and charioteers; bows and arrows; and the assembly and deployment of the peasants. H.G. Creel interprets the term of "meet" used in the poem as a great hunt which was used as training for warfare.[57] All these things seen in the hunting scene are also essential for military campaigns and strongly resemble descriptions of military expeditions. Also, the literal meanings of the names of military training periods for the peasantry in the Tso-chuan all refer to hunting. This suggests that military training and great hunting meets were closely related affairs.

It is likely that the Western Chou army was well-trained and disciplined. The army was firmly under the control of the Chou king. Under the king, the Chou-li mentions a department of war under the supervision of the minister of war, the ssu-ma (司馬). The Shih-ching uses the title tsou-ma (趣馬), meaning the director of horses. There is nothing to show what function attached to the title of tsou-ma in the Shih-ching. However, it is beyond doubt that there must have existed some kinds of institution and officials who were in charge of military affairs for the king in the Western Chou times, although the Chou li description of these things is probably not entirely reliable.

This Western Chou army was divided into three divisions, the six armies, the Cheng-chou armies, and the Yin armies, according to their organization, functions, and strategic location. The term "six armies" is frequently met with in the Chou traditions, in the

bronze inscriptions, and in the Mencius. The Shih-ching suggests that the six armies had existed from the early period of Chou.[58] King Wu is said to have led six armies in his conquest of the Shang dynasty. It therefore seems likely that the six armies were a basic element of Chou military power. The six armies are always mentioned with the king. In the Shang-shu, two of the chief ministers are quoted as urging King K'ang in about 1079 B.C. to "display and make august the six armies."[59] The Shih-ching mentions "so he raises the six armies (of the king)," and "the king of Chou marches and the six armies go along with him."[60] All these indicate that the six armies were a main military force under the direct control of the Chou king. According to the study of Cheng Te-K'un, the six armies formed the garrison forces of the capital and were under the direct command of the king himself. The Cheng-chou armies consisted of the eight armies. These armies were composed of the conquered Shang people who were assimilated into a part of the military force led by the Chou king. These armies were stationed in and around Lo-yi, and controlled the territories to the south where the Huai-yi lived. The Yin eight armies are frequently mentioned in the bronze inscriptions. Some of them took over the Shang military and hunting grounds at Ch'ao-ko and garrisoned the old Shang capital area. These forces could easily be sent out into the Tung-yi barbarian territories to the east in case of emergency.[61]

The Chou royal house also maintained individual garrisons in certain border areas. Several bronze inscriptions mention such

garrisons established by the Chou royal house. One inscription says that "the king was at the Ch'eng garrison." Another says that Commander Yung-Fu was on guard duty at the Yu garrison.[62] All these disclose that the Chou royal house had several garrisons in certain strategic areas. The study of Ulrich Unger on the bronze inscriptions which can be dated in the later half of the Western Chou period shows that the Western Chou royal house had a garrison in the Fen River area. The Fen valley was one of the northern border areas frequently in danger of barbarian attack in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries.[63]

Besides the Western Chou royal armies, each holder of a dependency controlled military forces as well. As indicated in the previous chapter, the cities and towns in the Western Chou times were fortified. They possessed their own garrisons by which they could defend themselves in case of emergency. A statement in the Chou-li says that the king has six armies, a large dependency has three armies, a dependency of the next size has two, and a small dependency has one.[64] Some powerful dependencies in the border areas maintained a considerable military force to prevent barbarian attacks. There they were pinned down.[65] It is also believed that the military forces of the other dependencies were much inferior to the royal armies in terms of size, organization, and equipment. Thus the central Chou forces remained supreme.

The royal army was firmly under the direct control of the Chou king. None of the officials was entrusted by the king with full power over the military. The king himself often led and commanded

his armies in person. Only in special cases did he appoint a selected individual to command a specific military campaign. In fact, the Western Chou royal armies were ready any time to be sent out to meet a crisis or emergency case under direct command or by order of the Chou king.

In the period of the Western Chou, there occurred about fifty wars. Of these wars, two-thirds were against the barbarians who made incursions into Chou territory.[66] There were few wars featuring Chinese against Chinese. Whenever there was a great barbarian incursion, it was the Western Chou royal armies which provided the main task force for deterring the barbarian attack.[67] The holder of a dependency who went out to colonize the distant land from Kiangsu to Jehol had full military support from these royal armies and garrisons.[68] Unfaithful holders of dependencies were removed from their positions by this powerful royal army. It was the Western Chou royal armies which made the royal house's authority felt among the dependencies. This military supremacy of the Western Chou royal house continued down to the end of the dynasty in the Eighty Century B.C., when the royal forces were defeated by the army of the state of Cheng.

Another control mechanism of the Western Chou dynasty was its development of an administrative or bureaucratic system. According to Chou traditions, the Chou people seem to have had a kind of governing system in the pre-dynastic period of the pre-conquest of Shang. The <u>Shih-chi</u> says that when the Chou people migrated to the foot of Mt. Ch'i, they set up officials to maintain peace and order in the newly

established cities and towns.[69] Another hint of a governing system in the early Chou period comes from the Ta-kao section of the Sha-ching:

> The king spoke thus: I will greatly tell and discourse to you, (princes of) the numerous states, and to you, managers of affairs . . . . Thus I tell you, princes of my friendly states, you (local) officials, you various officers and managers of affairs . . . You princes of the various states, and you officers and managers of affairs. . . .[70]

The Ta-kao, or "great announcement," might have been issued by King Ch'eng or the Duke of Chou to appeal to the supporters and allies of the Chou royal house when it was faced with a great revolt of Shang people in which some Chou elites were involved. The announcement reveals the titles of managers, officers, and directors which might have existed in the period of King Ch'eng and the Duke of Chou. The functions of the holders of these titles are unclear, however. A statement of the Duke of Chou in the Li-cheng section of the same text states:

> Chou Kung spoke thus: Now I admonished the king about all and said: (Those in the left and right of) the nearest assistants of the king are the permanent leader, the permanent (man in charge) manager, the man of law, the stitcher of garments and the (chief of the) tiger braves . . . when it came to Wen Wang and Wu Wang . . . they reverently served God on High, and established governors for the people. In the establishment, the (man in charge) manager, the man of law and the pastor were the three executives. The (chief of) the tiger braves, the stitcher of garments, the equerry were minor functionaries. The carriers were minor functionaries. The carriers and attendants of the

> left and right were (hundred) many officers. The various repository keepers, the captains of the great cities, and the accomplished (ministers) directors of decorum were many officers. The grand scribe and the chiefs of the secretaries were several permanent auspicious officers. (After) the director of the multitudes, the director of the horse and the director of works there were next-following officers.[71]

The statement was delivered by the Duke of Chou to King Ch'eng when he was enthroned after the death of King Wu. The purpose of this statement was to convince the young king of the accomplishment of Kings Wen and Wu, and to remind him of his heavy responsibility as a new king. In the statement, the Duke of Chou outlines a governmental system which might have been established by Kings Wen and Wu. The offices and the officers mentioned in the statement might be classified as follows: As executives there were managers (任人), the man of law (準夫), and pastor (牧). The functionaries include the commanders of the tiger braves (虎賁), the stitcher of garments (綴衣), and the equerry (趣馬). The officers consist of carriers and attendants of the left and right (左右攜僕, the repository keepers (庶府), the captains of the cities (大都小伯, and directors of decorum (藝人表臣). The higher offices are occupied by the directors of the multitude (司徒, of the horse (司馬), and of the works (司空). It seems likely that the grand scribe (太史) and the chief secretary (尹伯) held the highest offices. These titles of offices and positions indicate that there were classified and specialized officials and functionaries arranged hierarchically in the Western Chou governing system. However, the exact organization,

functions, and jurisdictions of the offices are not known.

The Ku-ming section of the book discloses further titles which might be the highest:

> The grand guardian, the grand scribe, the grand master of rites all had hempen state caps and ant(-colored) skirts."[72]

The titles of the grand guardian, the grand scribe, and the grand master of rites fragmentarily appear in other parts of the Shang-shu. The title of the grand guardian, the t'ai-pao (太保) was held by the Duke of Chou and then by the Duke of Shao after the death of the Duke of Chou.[73] These two persons were brothers of King Wu and uncles of the new king. As is well-known, both the Duke of Chou and the Duke of Shao were powerful and trusty holders of the Lu state. At the same time, both men were high retainers of the Chou royal house in the formative period of the Chou, and held the principal power at court. Also in the ceremony of the investiture of the new king, the grand guardian played a very important role, guiding the princes of the western states to the newly enthroned king and delivering an opening address.[74] All these indications show that the position of grand guardian was very important. Next was the position of the grand scribe, the t'ai-shih (太史). In the ceremony of investiture of the new king, the grand scribe held the document which was the last order of the dead king, and presented it to the new king.[75] Other functions and duties of the position are not known from the Chou traditions. However, the original meaning of the

character shih (史) was the scorekeeper in archery contests or the custodian of written records. Another meaning of the character was an official who dealt with books.[76] On these grounds, the grand scribe is believed to be the chief secretary. The last was the grand master of rites, the t'ai-tsung (太宗). This title is translated as "the minister of religion" by James Legge, and as "the grand master of ceremonies" by H.G. Creel. The study of Karlgren on the title shows that this position was in charge of all religious rites and ceremonies. In the investiture of the new king, there also attended the assistant master of rites, the tsung-jen (宗人), who took part in the ceremony.[77] The speculation exists that the grand master of rites had supreme charge of religious and ceremonial functions, although there is little information to support it. As H.G. Creel suggests, the grand guardian, the grand secretary, and the grand master of rites seem to have constituted the three highest dignitaries in the Chou court.[78]

The Chou-li is the only source that contains a complete and detailed description of the governing system of the Chou dynasty. According to the description in the Chou-li, the governing system of the Western Chou included a cabinet headed by the prime minister, the tai-tsai (大宰) or the t'ai-tsai (太宰). Under the control of the prime minister, the cabinet was composed of six departments: the royal household, the multitude, the cult, war, justice, and public works. The royal household department was headed directly by the prime minister and his two assistants, the hsiao-tsai (小宰)

and the tsai-tu (宰夫). The palace personnel were controlled by the kung-cheng (宮正). A large group of functionaries such as cooks and butchers belonged to the kitchen department. The chief accountant, the ssu-hui (司會), had special clerks in charge of the account-books in the department. Food and drink were supervised by the shih-i (司医) who belonged to the medical department. The royal camp, its furniture, and the tents, and their pitching were the responsibility of the kung-jen (宮人). The government repositories were headed by the ta-fu (大府). There was a department which took care of the royal harem and female attendants; it was under the control of the nei-tsai (內宰).[79] The department of the multitude supervised the people and their instruction as well as the land and its administration. The department was headed by the ssu-tu (司徒) and his two assistants, the hsiao ssu-tu (小司徒 and the hsiang-shih (鄉師). The jurisdiction of the department was divided into two fields, that of the territories, and that of instruction. The field of the territories, which was divided into the Hsiang (鄉) and the Sui (遂), was taken charge of by governors, vice-governors, and administrators in hierarchical order. They controlled subordinate functionaries who were in charge of the markets, the forestry departments, the taxation of land and grain, and irrigation and so on. The field of instruction was supervised by the instructor and guardian of the king, the princes, and the sons of the aristocracy. He was also responsible for the investigation and punishment of irregularities and faults, and he ordered censors to investigate the conduct of the

people.[80] The department of cult consisted of the six main bureaus under the supervision of the ta-tsung (大宗), who was assisted by the hsiao-tsung-po (小宗伯) and the ssu-shih (司士). The six main bureaus were in charge of rituals, musicians, oracle officers, pray-masters, recorders, and officials in charge of carriages. The ritual officers such as the yü-gen (鬱人) and the chi-jen (雞人) supervised the libations and were in charge of jade and valuable objects. The musicians, the ku-meng (瞽矇) and the tien-t'ung (典同) were in charge of instruments including musical stones, drums, flutes and so on. The pray-master, headed by the ta-chu (大祝), had the duty of praying at burials, hunts, and the making of covenants. The recorders included astronomers, astrologers, and secretaries. The officers in charge of carriages were also keepers of the nine kinds of flags.[81] The department of war had the minister of war, the ta ssu-ma (大司馬) and his assistants, the hsiao ssu-ma (小司馬), the chün ssu-ma (軍司馬), and the yu ssu-ma (右司馬). The general duty of the department was to control the fortification of cities and towns, land surveys, and the like. The general staff of the department consisted of the subordinate functionaries; the ssu-hsün (司勳) was in charge of rewards and punishment; the hou-gen (候人) took care of roads in various regions; the she-jen (射人) directed the ritual archery; the arsenals were entrusted to the ssu-ping (司兵) and the ssu-kung (司宮); the chariots were managed by the jung-p'u (戎僕); and the ta-yu (大馭), the mu-shi (牧師) and the sou-jen (廋人) were functionaries in charge of the pasture-grounds.[82] The department

of justice was in charge of judicial affairs. The head of the department was the *ta ssu-k'ou* (大司寇) with his assistants, the *hsiao ssu-k'ou* (小司寇), the shih-shi (師氏), and the *hsiang-shih* (鄉士). There were special law officers such as the *hsiang-shih* (鄉士), the *sui-shih* (遂士), and the *hsien-shih* (縣士) who were in charge of judicial affairs in the provincial cities and the palace towns of dignitaries. The criminal code was entrusted to the *ssu-hsing* (司刑). The prisons were controlled by the *ssu-yüan*(司圜). There were also special law officers in charge of litigation, who proclaimed the punishments imposed in the states, investigated matters under the control of the chief criminal judge, and checked cases of disorder and imprisonment.[83] However, the last section of the *Chou-li*, which dealt with the department of works, was lost and was replaced by a work called the *k'ao kung chi* (考工記), which describes the various artisans and craftmen attached to the Chou royal house.[84] A Few functionaries, such as the *kung-jen* (工人) or the kung-shih (工師), belonged to the works department are found in other books. This indicates that there did exist a department of works in the cabinet of the Western Chou royal house.[85]

This is the general description of the Western Chou governing system in the Chou-li.[86] In a word, the administrative system of the Western Chou as described in the *Chou-li* was well developed and highly specialized. However, the authenticity of the *Chou-li* has been hotly debated among the scholars, both Chinese and Western.[87] The opinions vary. Bernard Karlgren, who based his study on the

comparative grammar of this and other pre-Ch'in texts, says that the Chou-li existed at any rate in the middle of the Second Century B.C.[88] Sven Broman claims that the governing system of the Western Chou in the Chou-li prevailed in middle and late feudal Chou in the various states and has its roots in the system that existed in the late Shang and early Chou.[89] However, a more careful investigation of the authenticity of the Chou-li was carried out more recently by H.G. Creel. He says that the Chou-li was compiled by one or more scholars to describe the Western Chou government on the basis of the information available to them, and that the governing system in the Chou-li was presented as an ideal government. Their description was heavily influenced by the preoccupations of the Warring States period. In this regard, even though the Chou-li preserves some accurate information in some matters of detail, it is useful only when used in conjunction with other genuine sources of Western Chou times.[90] H.G. Creel carried out his study of the governing system of the Western Chou on the basis of the newly discovered bronze inscriptions of the Western Chou period. His study reveals that the Western Chou administrative system might have consisted of the departments of justice and finance under the control of the grand protector, the t'ai-pao or the grand secretary, the t'ai-shih. The justice department did as its title implies, while the financial department dealt with trade, media of exchange of various kinds, and financial operations.[91] His study also shows that under the control of the grand secretary or the grand protector, there were a large number of

of administrative and functional officials. These officials were in charge of the performance of specific duties or carried out particular missions. They were selected according to their talent and ability, were educated for official service, and spent their whole lives in their fields. However, these officials seem to have been hereditary. The Chou royal house gave them income feifs in lieu of salaries. In carrying out certain specific functions and duties, however, they were proto-bureaucratic in character.[92] In this regard, the administrative apparatus of the Western Chou seems to have consisted of certain departments to which functional officials and staffs were attached under the control of the prime minister.

However, it is not clear to what extent this proto-bureaucratic system functioned outside the domain of the Western Chou royal house itself and made its power felt in the various territorial dependencies. The direct evidence of archaeology and the bronze inscriptions is extremely meager on this point. In fact, Ssu Wei-chih, who compiled the comprehensive annotated catalogue of Chou official titles on the basis of both bronze inscriptions and literary sources, says that the Chou official system remains difficult to verify.[93] Paul Wheatley also points out that it is difficult to investigate the extent and degree to which the proto-bureaucratic system worked in the domains of the king and of the dependencies, according to the bronze inscriptions which have been discovered so far.[94] More recently, Elman R. Service insists that personal rule in the Chou feng-chien system was the most important and basic element, and attacks the view of H.G.

Creel, who stresses that the Western Chou practiced an effective and centralized administrative rule on the basis of its proto-bureaucratic system.[95] In fact, the territory of the Western Chou dynasty was divided into numerous dependencies in the framework of the *feng-chien* system. Local affairs and control in each dependency were left to the discretion of the holders of the dependencies, who were remote from the Chou capital. Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to think that the *feng-chien* system must have prevented the extension of the central proto-bureaurcacy much beyond the royal domain itself. Yet the main concern and attention of the Western Chou royal house naturally would have been focused on the control and management of numerous and various dependencies which were politically autonomous units under the charismatic authority of the Chou royal house, and under the protection of its military force. The next chapter examines the ways in which the Court exerted its control over them.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

After the conquest of the Shang, the Western Chou royal house granted dependencies to its close relatives, branch families, and the heads of tribal groups by means of a ceremony known as the tz'u-ming (錫命).

This ceremony was conducted according to a definite ritual procedure and with considerable pomp at the royal ancestral temple or the palace of the Chou king. Attending the ceremony were the king; the nei-shih (内史) or the shih (史), who kept the document of appointment; the appointee, and some other holders of dependencies who were invited as guests by the king.[1] The document of appointment was read aloud; it praised the appointee or his ancestors for their service to the royal house, and it enjoined the appointee to serve the royal house faithfully in the future. In return for this, the holder in pledge of his good faith presented jade vessels, and swore to serve the Chou royal house with unswerving loyalty.[2] The ceremony also included instructions and gifts from the king. Among the gifts were a written tablet describing the granted land and the term of the enfeoffment, together with valuable items such as bronze vessels, weapons, carriages, and clothing.[3] The ceremony cemented a political relationship between the Chou king and the holder of the dependency on the basis of the relationship of sovereign and subject which bound the holder to the Chou royal house. At the same time, various

political duties and obligations were assigned to the appointee. According to Chou tradition, one obligation was to visit the court at certain stipulated times. Such a mandatory court visit was called the ch'ao (朝) or the ch'ao-chin (朝覲).

These terms are seen in the sources related to the Western Chou period. For example, the Li-chi states:

> When the Son of Heaven stands with his back to the screen with axed-head figures on it, and the princes present themselves before him with their faces to the north, this is called kin (autumn audience). When he stands at the (usual point of reception) between the door and the screen and the dukes have their faces toward the east, and the feudal princes theirs towards the west, this is called khao (the spring audience).[4]

Another description in the Li-chi says:

> When King Wu died, King Khang being young and weak, the duke took the seat of the Son of Heaven, and governed the kingdom. During six years he gave audience to all the princes in the Hall of Distinction; instituted ceremonies, made his instrument of music, gave out his (standard) weights and measures, and there was a grand submission throughout the kingdom.[5]

Both passages in the Li-chi indicate that the holders of dependencies in Western Chou times had a political duty to make court visits to the Chou royal house in spring and autumn. However, the authenticity of the Li-chi has been doubted. According to the analysis of the Wei-shu T'ung-k'ao, the Li-chi was compiled in the first century B.C. It is a very miscellaneous collection of documents on many subjects.[6] However, the book sometimes preserves accurate information

about the Western Chou political, administrative, and social system. Other Chou sources such as the *Chou-li*, the *Kuo-yü*, the *I-li*, and the *Chu-shu chi-nien* contain some accurate information handed down from early times. Therefore, each chapter and passage in the traditional sources must be compared with evidence known to be reliable, such as the *Shih-ching*, the bronze inscriptions, and other archaeological discoveries. In this regard, a description in the Ts'ai shu section of the *Shih-ching* supports the idea that the holders of dependencies visited the Chou royal house in Western Chou times. The description runs:

> When the princes see the king
> Their coming they express
> In various ways, Now here I see
> Their flags, with dragon blazonry
> All waving in the wind.[7]

The passage underlined above is written "chün-tzu lai-ch'ao" (君子來朝) in the original text of the *Shih-ching*. The commentary says that "chün-tzu" (君子) means the feudal princes and that "lai ch'ao" (來朝) means a court visit. James Legge translates "lai-ch'ao" as "to see the king." Actually this means a court visit of the holders of dependencies to the Western Chou royal house. Another poem in the Hsiao-ya section of the book states:

> We gather the beans, we gather the beans, we put them in square baskets and in round; the lords come to court for an audience. . . . Squirting is the straight-jetted fountain; we gather the cress; the lords come to court for an audience, we see their banners; their banners flutter; this is where the lords arrive.[8]

This poem also mentions the court visit of the holder of a dependency, even though nothing is said of the frequency of such visits. A bronze inscription from the late Chou period has to do with a court visit of the ruler of Yen in the remote northern corner of the Western Chou dynasty.[9] According to all these indications, it is not out of the question that the holders of dependencies were supposed to make court visits to the Chou royal house at certain fixed times.

As to how often the holders of dependencies were required to visit the Chou royal court, there seems to be no evidence in the authentic sources of Western Chou times. The Li-chi and the Chou-li alone mention the frequency of the court visits and specify some of the regulations concerning them. A description in the Ming't'ang section of the Li-chi says:

> In their relation to the Son of Heaven, the feudal princes were required to send every year a minor mission to the court, and every three years a greater mission; once in five years, they had to appear there in person.[10]

The Chou-li is more specific. A description in the Ch'un-k'uan tsung-po section of the Chou-li states:

> The audience for the spring was called the ch'ao, the audience for the summer the tsung, the audience for the autumn the chin, the audience for the winter the yü, and the audience for the occasion the hui.[11]

However, the ch'iu-kuan ssu-kou section of the Chou-li describes the

arrangements differently:

> The hou-fou made audience once a year . . . the tien-fu once in two years . . . the nan-fu once in three years . . . the pien-fu once in four years . . . the wei-fu once in five years . . . and the yao-fu once in six years . . . and outside the nine provinces once in a life time.[12]

According to the commentary, the territory of the Western Chou outside the Chou royal domain was divided into nine provinces called the nine chou (九州) or the nine fu (九服) in the time of the Duke of Chou. the six fu, which consisted of the hou-fu, the tien-fu, the nan-fu, the pien-fu, the wei-fu and the yao-fu, were included in the nine provinces. However, the existence of the nine fu or the nine chou as administrative units in Chou times has been debated among the scholars. For example,Ch'ü Wan-li says that the theory of the nine chou was a legend which appeared about the time of King Mu, and that it is hard to believe that the nine chou really existed as administrative units.[13] Shigeki Kaizuka claims that the territory of the Western chou was divided into the inner regions, the nei-fu (內服) and the outer regions, the wai-fu (外服). The inner regions contained the areas surrounding the Chou royal domain and were occupied by the holders of dependencies who were closely related to the Chou royal house. The outer regions were the regions beyond the nei-fu and were occupied by the heads of tribal groups who were allied with the Chou in the conquest of the Shang dynasty.[14] In any case, the passage indicates that each fu paid visits to the Chou royal house, and that the number of visits varied according to the distance from the Chou

royal domain. However, the indications of the frequency and of some of the regulations of the court visit are recorded differently in different texts, and even in the same book. These contradictions make it impossible to figure out the system. The most reliable source about court visits is a bronze inscription which was unearthed in Cheng-chou. The bronze inscription bears five characters: "Ming pao yin ch'eng chou nein." According to the commentary of Kuo-Mo-jo, Ming pao was the name of Po Ch'in (伯禽) who was one of the sons of the Duke of Chou and the ruler of the Lu state. He identifies the character of yin (殷) with the yin (殷) in the Ch'un kuan section of the Chou-li,[15] which means an occasional court visit paid by a holder of a dependency. Ch'eng Chou was Lo-yang which was the eastern capital of Western Chou during the time. The whole sentence could be translated as follows according to the commentary of Kuo Mo-jo:

> Ming pao, the ruler of the Lu state, made a court visit at Lo-yang.

The identity of the term for a court with the same term in the Chou-li makes it possible that the court visit of the holder of a dependency in Western Chou times was carried out under certain special names or titles. Another bronze inscription has to do with a court visit paid by the barbarians to the royal house of Chou. The bronze inscription reads:

> Barbarians of Fu-tzu invaded our territory. The king defeated and chased them into Ch'ao . . . Fu-tzu sent an envoy to meet the king. Then, the southern and eastern barbarians came to see the king. All these were twenty-six states.

According to the commentary of Kuo Mo-jo, the king mentioned in the

bronze inscription is King Chao, who ruled from 1052 to 1002 B.C.[16] Although there is no evidence concerning the frequency of any of these visits, the Mencius, a relatively dependable source, does contain such information:

> (If a feudal lord) once failed to appear at court he was reduced in rank. If he failed to appear a second time, he was deprived of some of his territory. If he did so a third time, the six armies removed him.[17]

Though the passage of the Mencius does not mention the exact frequency of the court visits, it shows clearly that the holders of dependencies were required to make court visits at certain fixed times. Although it is hard to verify the statements in the Chou-li and the Li-chi that the court visits were regularly made at fixed times under special names, the indications in the Shih-ching, the bronze inscriptions, and the Mencius reveal that the holders of dependencies of the Western Chou were required to make periodic personal visits of some sort to the Chou court.

Chou tradition has it that when the holders of dependencies paid their visits to the Chou royal court, they paid a tribute called the kung (貢) to the Chou king. In fact, the term kung is seen in many Chou sources such as the Shang-shu, the Chou-li, and the Tso-chuan. The Chou-li says about the kung that the:

> Hou-fu . . . paid tribute in sacrificial victims . . . the tien-fu . . . sent silk; the nan-fu contributed dishes for sacrifice . . .; the ts'ai-fu offered cloth . . .; the wei-fu presented eight kinds of timbers . . .; the yao-fu gave in tribute its national products.[18]

The passage indicates that each region and the barbarians outside the nine provinces were supposed to pay various tribute to the Chou king when they visited. However, as has been pointed out, the *Chou-li* is a questionable source. Some scholars claim that the regular practice of the court visit and the presentation of the tribute as stated in the *Chou-li* are an invention of later Confucianists trying to idealize the Chou administrative system. Yet the *Shang-shu* has some trustworthy information about the *kung* which was paid to the Chou royal court. The section called the Yu-kung, which is one of the reliable Western Chou works,[19] says that the Chou territory was divided into nine *chou* (九州). These were Chi-chou (冀州), Yen-chou (兗州), Ch'ing-chou (青州), Hsü-chou (徐州), Yang-chou (揚州), Ching-chou (荊州), Yü-chou (豫州), Liang-chou (梁州), and Yung-chou (雍州). Then it mentions tribute from eight of these chou. Yen-chou sent lacquer, silk, and patterned woven stuffs in baskets; Ch'ing-chou presented salt, fine cloth, sea products of various kinds, silk, hemp, lead, pine-wood and strange stones; Hsü-chou paid earth of five colors, variegated pheasants of the Yu valley, solitary t'ung trees from Mt. Yi's south slope, and musical stones that floated in the water; Yang-chou sent bronze of three colors, *yao* and *kun* stones, fine and coarse bamboos, teeth, hides, feathers, and hair and timbers; Ching-chou tribute included feathers, hair, teeth, hides, bronze of three qualities, grindstones and whetstones, and arrow-head stones and cinnabar. Yü-chou paid lacquer, hemp, fine and coarse cloth, and silken fabrics and floss silk. Liang-chou sent gold, iron, silver, steel, arrow-head

stones, musical stones, black bears, foxes and wild cats; Young-chou tribute included lin and lang-kan stones.[20] The Lu-ao section of the Shang-shu, which is not reliable, indicates some tribute from the Western barbarians.[21] However, the presentation of tribute by the holders of dependencies to the Chou royal house has been doubted by some scholars such as H.G. Creel because of the lack of evidence in the Shih-ching, the bronze inscriptions, and in the Tso-chuan, which are considered to be genuine sources of Chou times. However, the Tso-chuan does provide some information about tribute. It mentions a conflict that arose between the states of Ch'i and Ch'u when the state of Ch'u failed to send its proper tribute to the Chou royal court. The state of Ch'i, which was the hegemonic state during the early Ch'un-ch'iu period, sent its army into the territory of Ch'u with the help of other states. Ch'u then sent an emissary to Ch'i to ask the reason for this invasion. Kuan-chung, the Ch'i minister, answered as follows:

> Duke K'ang of Shaou delivered the charge to T'ae-kung, the first lord of our Ts'e, saying, 'Do you undertake to punish the guilty among the princes of all the five degrees . . . in order to support and help the House of the Chow.' So there was given to our founder rule over the land, from the sea on the east to the Ho on the west, and from Muh-ling on the south to Woo-te on the north. Your tribute of covered cases of the three-ribbed rush (p'ao-hsü) is not rendered, so that the king's sacrifices are not supplied with it . . . .' The messenger replied, 'That the tribute has not been forwarded is the fault of the lord; - how should he presume not to pay it?'[22]

H.G. Creel regards this incident involving the states of Ch'i and Ch'u

as part of an elaborate diplomatic maneuvering for the hegemony, and he denies that the issue of the tribute has any real meaning.[23] However, as will be discussed later, the tribute of Ch'u to the Chou royal court had a serious political meaning. Tribute was supposed to consist of characteristic local products.[24] Most of the tribute was used in the Chou royal sacrifices. In ancient times, participation by one tribal group in another's sacrifices meant political submission.[25] In this regard, the p'ao-hsu which was used to strain liquor for the Chou royal sacrifice, was one of the important items used in the sacrifices of the Chou royal house. Its presentation signified the political submission of Ch'u to the Chou royal house. In this regard, Ch'u's failure to send it to the Chou royal house was a good excuse which the Ch'i army exploited so as to invade the territory of Ch'u legitimately. This incident clearly shows that the holders of dependencies were supposed to send certain stipulated tribute to the Chou royal court.

Another dispute about tribute occurred when Tzu ch'an, the prime minister of the state of Cheng, argued about the amount of tribute required from the state of Chin, which was at the time the hegemon state. The state of Cheng was one of the small states that lived under pressure from the powerful states of Chin and Ch'u, who were vying to control the hegemony. Tzu-ch'an as the premier of this small state was a man who had a deep insight into reality by dint of his reasonable character and his broad knowledge. He tried to carry out the political renovation of his state by sometimes overlooking

traditional customs and ideas and undertaking radical reforms, such as the enactment of written law, which was against the traditional idea of rule-by-<u>li</u> (禮治). However, in the diplomatic field, he utilized the traditional ideas and system to reduce the burden of tribute which was imposed on his state from Chin.[26] He mentioned the traditional custom concerning tribute in a diplomatic conference which was held under the auspices of the state of Chin. He reportedly said:

> Formerly, the Son of Heaven regulated the amount of the contribution (貢) according to the rank of the state. Where the rank was high, the contribution was heavy . . . this was the rule of Chow.[27]

At another assembly of states, Tzu-Ch'an mentioned another regulation or custom which was said to have existed in Western Chou times:

> When the states were assembled to adjust the business of their contribution, it was according to rule.[28]

By citing this traditional rule of Chou, Tzu-ch'an was successful in reducing the amount of tribute which was imposed on Cheng. His statements indicate that the holders of dependencies of the Western Chou paid a certain type of tribute in graded amounts to the Chou royal house.

As to the nature of the tribute, the <u>Ku-liang chuan</u> says:

> Formerly the holders of dependencies contributed national products to the Son of Heaven.[29]

The <u>Tso-chuan</u> mentions that:

> In spring the Son of Heaven sent Chia Fu to ask for carriages. This mission was contrary to propriety. It did not belong to the princes to contribute carriages or dresses to the king; and it was not for the Son of Heaven privately to ask for money or valuables.[30]

Both passages suggest that the tribute of the holders of dependencies was confined to the indigenous and special products of the localities. As already related, the Yu-kung section of the Shang-shu stipulates as much. It can be presumed that the holders of dependencies in Western Chou times were required to make court visits and to present tribute to the Chou royal court, although we do not know the frequency or the detailed regulations.

The court visits seem to have had several purposes. First of all the court visits provided the Chou king and the holders of dependencies with opportunities for social intercourse. According to the Ch'iu-kuan ssu-kou section of the Chou-li, there was an office called the hsiao-hsing jen (小行人) which was in charge of tribute from dependencies, and prepared the entertainments for the tribute bearers. It is unknown whether there really was such an office in Western Chou times or not. However, it is believed that there must have existed some person or institution which took care of these things for the king. This social intercourse would have promoted good will and friendship among the holders of dependencies and between the holders and the Chou king. The visits also undoubtedly fostered a sense of solidarity and a common bond which must have facilitated joint action in case of barbarian invasion. The Shih-ching

indicates a political purpose behind the court visits. It runs:

> The lords came to court for an audience . . . they are rewarded by the Son of Heaven; happy be the lords, the Son of Heaven gave them charges; happy be the lords, felicity and blessing (extend, prolong them;) cause them to continue (in favor) . . . their leaves are abundant; happy be the lords, they protect the state of the Son of Heaven . . . The Son of Heaven (measures, scrutinizes) supervises them; happy be the lords, may felicity and blessings strengthem them; how pleasant, how (rambling) easy they are when arriving.[32]

Two passages in the Tso-chuan reveal some more details:

> The princes attended at the court of the emperor, which was called "giving a report of office.[33]

The other passage states:

> Formerly, when princes of states appeared at the king's court to receive instructions about their government, the king gratified them with an entertainment . . . the princes receiving his commands . . . .[34]

Both passages clearly indicate that the purpose of the court visit of the holders of dependencies was to give a report of their state's affairs to the Chou king and to receive instructions from the king. The court visit of the holders of dependencies to the Chou royal house was one of the devices by which the Chou king controlled the holders of dependencies in that he received their reports and gave them instructions on how to manage their states.

In controlling the holders of dependencies, the Chou royal house

had another device called the hsün-shou (巡狩), or "tour of inspection." As to the tour of inspection by the Chou king, the Chou-li, the Li-chi, and the Tso-chuan preserve mention of it. According to the Li-chi:

> The Son of Heaven, every five years, made a tour of inspection through the fiefs. In the second month of the year . . . he gave audience to the princes; inquired out those who were 100 years old . . . where any of the spirits of the hills and rivers had been unattended to, it was held to be an act of irreverence, and the irreverent ruler was deprived of a part of his territory. Where there had been neglect of the proper order in the observances of the ancestral temple, it was held to show a want of filial piety, and the rank of the unfilial ruler was reduced. Where any ceremony had been altered, or any instrument of music changed, it was held to be an instance of disobedience, and the disobedient ruler was banished. Where the statutory changed, it was held to be rebellion, and the rebellious ruler was taken off. The ruler who had done good service for the people, and shown them an example of virtue, received an addition to his territory and rank.[35]

The next passage continues to say that the Son of Heaven continued his tour to the south, the west, and the north, observing the same ceremonies and inspecting each state. This implies that through his personal trip, the Chou king examined the condition of government and the realities of the people's lives, and allotted rewards and punishments to the holders accordingly. However, it seems unlikely that the Chou king made a regular practice of such trips to check out all of the dependencies at certain fixed times. But there is no doubt that the Chou king made some trips because these are mentioned in the Mencius, the Shih-ching, and the bronze inscriptions. The Mencius says:

> The emperor visited the princes, which was called a tour of inspection . . . . It was a custom in the spring to examine the plowing, and to supply any deficiency of seed, and in autumn to examine the reaping, and assist where there was a deficiency of the crop. When the emperor entered the boundaries of a state, if the new ground was being reclaimed, and the old fields well cultivated; if the old were nourished and the worthy honored; and if men of distinguished talents were placed in office; then the prince was rewarded . . . if on entering a state, the ground was found left wild . . . if the old were neglected and the worthy unhonored; and if the offices were filled with hard taxgatherers; then the prince was reprimanded.[36]

The Mencius closely echoes the Li-chi. However, the Shih-ching and the bronze inscriptions, which are the most trustworthy sources, offer no details about the king's personal trips to the dependencies, although they do mention such trips. The Chou-sung section of the Shih-ching says: "He makes his seasonable tour in his state."[37] According to the commentary, after the conquest of Shang, King Wu made a triumphal tour across the state and offered a sacrifice to Heaven. A bronze inscription shows that King Ch'eng made an inspection trip to the southeast. The Tso-chuan has a statement about the inspection trip of the king in the Western Chou times. It runs:

> The princes have their services on the king's behalf, and the king has his tours of inspection among the princes.[38]

Another passage says:

> The king made a progress of survey of the fief of Kwoh.[39]

The Shih-ching, the bronze inscriptions, and the Tso-chuan clearly show the king did make inspections tours in Western Chou times, although there is no information about the frequency or the conditions of these tours to support the statements of the Li-chi and the Mencius. Yet it is clear that through the tour of inspection, the king maintained personal touch with the holders of dependencies in various parts of the country, and impressed the Chou royal authority upon the holders.

Another kind of court visit was the more informal Ch'ao-p'ing (朝聘) or p'ing (聘). The P'ing-i section of the Li-chi says about this,

> It was a statute made by the Son of Heaven for the feudal lords, that every year they should interchange a small mission, and every three years a great one; thus stimulating one another to the exercise of courtesy.[40]

This says that in Western Chou times, friendly visits among the holders of dependencies were arranged by the Chou king. A similar mention of this practice is found in the Chou-li.[41] Also the Tso-chuan seems to point to the existence of this practice among the holders of dependencies:

> It was an ancient regulation that the princes of states should interchange these court-visits once in five years, in order to better their observance of the king's commands.[42]

The Li-chi and the Tso-chuan are in contradiction about the frequency of these visits. According to other indications in the Li-chi and

the *Tso-chuan*, it seems sure that the friendly visit among the holders of dependencies mainly occurred when one of them died and a successor was installed. As to the purpose of the friendly visit as arranged by the Chou royal house, the *Li-chi* says:

> When the princes thus stimulated one another to the observance of the ceremonial usages, they did not make any attacks on one another, and in their states there was no oppression or encroachment. In this way the Son of Heaven cherished and nourished them; there was no occasion for any appeals to arms, and they were furnished with an instrument to maintain themselves in rectitude.[43]

The *Li-chi* also says that friendly visits among the holders of dependencies was designed by the Chou royal house to promote good will and friendship among them, and to prevent the rise of disorder and confusion, which could affect the overall stability and order of the kingdom. As already indicated, the authenticity of the *Li-chi* as an historical source is questionable. However, it appears certain that there existed some type of friendly visits exchanged among the holders, as indicated in the *Tso-chuan*. The friendly visits exchanged by the holders must be seen as one of the devices used by the Chou royal house to control them. Among these devices, it seems likely that the court visit was the most important. According to the *Li-chi* and the *Tso-chuan*, the practice of the court visit symbolized the special political relationship between the Chou king and the holders of dependencies. The *Li-chi* says:

> The ceremonies at the court audiences of the

> different seasons were intended to illustrate the righteous relations between ruler and subject.[44]

The Tso-chuan also runs:

> There are court visits, to rectify the true position of the different ranks of nobility, and to arrange the order of the young and the old.[45]

The passages clearly indicate that the court visit served not only as a means for reporting state affairs and receiving instructions, but also as an expression of the relationship between sovereign and subject in the Chou realm. The Mencius says that if the holder failed to appear at the Chou royal court, he was reduced in rank; if he did not appear a second time, he was deprived of some of his territory, and if he failed to appear a third time, then the six armies of the king removed him. The court visit was thus a principal obligation of the holders as vassals of the Chou royal court.

The Chou royal house not only controlled the holders of the dependencies with these devices, but also bound them to the Chou house on the basis of their blood relationships. The holders of non-Chi surname who were the heads of the tribal groups allied with the Chou in the conquest of the Shang received a new surname from the Chou royal house and were brought into the Chou clanship through intermarriage with the Chou royal house. Accordingly, they were addressed as maternal uncle, the Po-chiū (伯舅) by the Chou king. The holders of the Chi surname were called paternal uncle, the

Po-fu (伯父).[46] All were apparently allowed to participate in the Chou ancestor worship. To maintain its leadership as the tsung-chu (宗主), the keeper of the ritual chamber, and to keep order among the numerous branch families, the Chou royal house stressed the ancestor worship and issued special instructions about it to all kinsmen who were granted territorial dependencies. The instructions which were given to Po Ch'in, the son of the Duke of Chou and the future ruler of Lu state, are as follows:

> Reverently and carefully, you discharge your filial duties; grandly and respectfully you behave to spirits and to men. I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great, and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings; the people will be reverently harmonious under your sway. I raise you, therefore, to the rank of High Duke, to rule this eastern part of our great land.[47]

Another passage in the Shih-ching runs:

> The descendant of the Prince of Chou (Chou kung), the son of prince Chuang, with dragon banners presents sacrifice; the six reins are like sinews; in spring and autumn he never (slackens) is neglectful, he offers the sacrifice without error; the very august sovereign God, the august ancestor Hou Tsi, he sacrifices to them with red victims; they enjoy them, they approve of them, they send down blessings that are many; the prince of Chou, the august ancestor, will also bestow blessings upon you.[48]

These passages indicate that when the holders of dependencies were enfeoffed, they were instructed to offer sacrifice to the Chou ancestors including Hou Chi, the founding ancestor of the Chou clan.

The Chou royal house also elaborated an ancestral cult system and laid down the delicate ritual of ancestor worship precisely to the smallest detail, for itself and the holders to observe. The cult calls for seven chapels on raised platforms, or <u>t'ang</u> (堂) in the grand temple called the <u>t'ai-miao</u> (太廟). The central chapel was dedicated to the first ancestor of the Chou clan, Hou Chi. On either side were the chapels of the three <u>chao</u> (昭) and the three <u>mu</u> (穆).[49] Four of these--two on either side--were allotted to closely related ancestors who were entitled to monthly sacrifices. The two other side chapels, those nearest that of the Hou Chi, were reserved for two remote ancestors who were no longer entitled to monthly but only to seasonal sacrifices. These were probably the "perpetual home" (<u>shih-shih</u>, 世室) of Kings Wen and Wu, the founders of the dynasty. The ancestral cult systems of the holders of the dependencies were arranged in the same way, except that they had only five chapels: two for the nearer ancestors, two for more distant ones, and one for the first ancestor Hou Chi. In each generation, a series of tablets was displaced one rank to allow for the new tablet of the just-deceased to be installed. After six generations had passed, the tablet attained its definitive place, in the chapel of the first ancestor, where it took part in the collective sacrifices.[50] The chief mourner in the ancestral rites and the chief officer of sacrifices was supposed to be the eldest son of the principal wife according to the rule of primogeniture. Accordingly, the Chou king who was supposed to be the eldest son of the Chi clan was in charge of

ancestor worship and the offering of sacrifice in the Chou royal house; while the holders of dependencies, who were supposed to be the oldest sons of their clans, were also responsible for ancestor worship in their states. The kinship between the Chou royal house and the holders was supposed to remain closely linked through this common ancestor worship and the system of primogeniture, even after the branch families of the Chi clan had expanded greatly with the passing of time.[51] According to some Chou traditions, this blood relationship between the Chou royal house and the holders was reflected politically. The *Kuo-yü* shows this dualistic relationship between the Chou royal house and its holders. It states:

> In the ancient system, the royal domain was called the *t'ien-fu*, the areas near to the royal domain were referred to as the *hou-fu*, the area after the *hou-fu* and the *wei-fu* was the *pin-fu*. The barbarians of the I and Wan were the *yao-fu*. The barbarians of Lung and Ti were the *huang-fu*. The *t'ien-fu* offered the daily sacrifice, the *hou-fu* carried out the monthly sacrifice. The *pin-fu* conducted the yearly sacrifice. The *yao-fu* contributed the tribute sacrifices once in six years. The *huang-fu* appeared at the Chou royal court for the sacrifice once in thirty years. It was the ancient custom that the holders of dependencies carried out the daily sacrifice, the monthly sacrifice, the yearly sacrifice, the contribution of tribute once in six years, and the appearance for the sacrifice once in thirty years.[52]

While it is questionable whether this zonal system existed or not, the passage indicates that the frequency of participation in the sacrifices or sending in of sacrificial offerings, depended upon the degree of distance from the Chou royal house. The Chou pen-chi section of the

Shih-chi has the same description as the Kuo-yü.[53] A description of the holders' participation in Chou royal ancestor worship is found in the Shih-ching, a genuine source for the Western Chou period. It states:

> There are those who come, very concordant; they arrive and stand, very solemn; assisting (at the sacrifice) are the rulers and princes; the Son of Heaven is very august. Oh we offer the large male animal, assist us in setting forth the sacrifice; great was my august father, he (tranquilizes) comforts me, his pious son . . . .[54]

The Kuo-yü, the Shih-chi, and the Shih-ching all suggest that the Chou royal house had constant contact with its holders through participation in the ceremony of Chou royal ancestor worship. There are some other indications in the Shih-ching, suggesting that the holders' participation in the royal ancestor worship occurred when they came to the capital for audiences. The Shih-ching says:

> When he completed the building of Lo-yi (the eastern capital of Chou), the Duke of Chou received in audience the holders of dependencies and guided them to the shrine of King Wen to offer sacrifice.[55]

Another passage runs:

> The poets say, the holders of dependencies came to help the royal sacrifice and visited the temple of ancestor worship.[56]

The Chou poets composed the following hymn for the ceremony:

> Oh you ministers and officers! Be attentive in your tasks; the king regulates your achievements;

> come and deliberate, come and scrutinize. It is the end of the spring; what do you then further wait for? . . .[57]

The commentary dates the following poem to the time of King Ch'eng and the Duke of Chou:

> The holders of dependencies made first the court visit to King Ch'eng and offered sacrifice at the shrine of King Wu.[58]

According to the commentary, the Duke of Chou retired from the position of regent to King Ch'eng after helping him for seven years. When King Ch'eng became full ruler, the holders made a court visit and offered sacrifice at the shring of King Wu. The *Shih-ching* says:

> They appear before their sovereign king, they seek their emblems of distinction; . . . they are led to appear before the shrined dead father to show their piety, to bring offerings, to increase their vigorous old age . . . .[59]

The poem shows when King Ch'eng took over after the Duke of Chou retired, the holders came to his court and carried out sacrifices at the shrine of King Wu. All the indications in the passages of the *Shih-ching* show that whenever the holders of dependencies made court visits, they also offered sacrifices at the ancestral temple. It seems that the holders' participation in the temple of ancestor worship may not have been confined to those of the Chi surname. The *Shih-ching* implies that the holders of non-Chi surname also participated in the Chou royal ancestor worship:

> The descendants of the two kings came to help the sacrifice.[60]

The contemporary poets composed the following poem for this occasion:

> In a flock the egrets go flying, on that western moat; our guests arrive (dignitaries assisting at the sacrifice), they also have that appearance. There, there is nothing to dislike, here, there is nothing to disrelish (for the spirits, all our offerings are perfect); may we constantly be in attendance (in the temple), in order to perpetuate the fame (of the ancestors).[61]

The Cheng I commentary identifies the descendants of the two kings with the holders of Sung and Ch'i. As is known well, the state of Sung was granted by King Wu to Wei-tzu, who was one of the descendants of the last Shang king and was supposed to maintain the sacrifices to his ancestors. The State of Ch'i was established by King Wu in honor of Yü who was one of the sage kings of ancient China. Both were families of non-Chi surname. The commentary says they came to offer the sacrifice at the Chou ancestral temple. Another commentary on the Shih-ching also says the same thing:

> Wei-tzu made the court visit and offered sacrifices to the Chou royal ancestors in the time of King Ch'eng.[62]

To praise this, the contemporary poets composed the following poem:

> . . . There is a guest who stays one night, there is a guest who stays two nights; we hand him tethers, to tether his horses.--We escort him, we attend upon him and comfort him; he has great dignity, (Heaven) sends down felicity that is very restful.[63]

According to the commentary, after the great rebellion against the Chou was crushed, King Ch'eng established Wei-tzu as the ruler of the Sung state. Wei-tzu came to the Chou royal court for an audience, and then offered sacrifice at the royal Chou ancestral temple. Therefore, it may be concluded that all the holders of dependencies in Western Chou times were supposed to offer sacrifice at the Chou royal ancestral temple when they came to court for audiences, regardless of their surname. When they made the court visit and offered the sacrifice at the temple of the Chou royal ancestor worship, it seems that they had the opportunity to show their piety and filial duty. A verse in the Shih-ching runs as follows:

> The wild-duck are on the Ching;
> The ducal Dead reposes and is at peace.
> Your wine is clear,
> Your food smells good.
> The Dead One quietly drinks;
> Blessings are in the making.
> The wild-duck are on the sands
> The Dead One is calm and well disposed
> Your wine is plentiful,
> Your food is good
> The Dead One quietly drinks;
> Blessings are being made.[64]

This verse was not one which was composed for the occasion when the holders of dependencies came to the Chou royal court for audience and offered sacrifice at the ancestral temple. It was one of the verses used in the ceremony of ancestor worship in Western Chou times. In the verse, the impersonator of the dead man (a former Duke or ruler), was extremely dignified and calm, the sacrificial offerings were sincere, and through him the ancestor enjoyed the offerings and

promised blessings. It was believed in Chou times that when a sacrifice was offered to the ancestor, he came down for the duration of the ceremony, entering a living person chosen beforehand. Such a person was not a representative of the ancestor, but the actual bearer of the ancestor's soul. After the ceremony, the ancestor appreciated the offerings and promised good fortune to his descendants. If he had been a prince, he had wide powers that he could use to bless and protect the whole territory of his descendants.[65] This ceremony of sacrifice for the dead ancestor turned easily into a clan feast. A verse in the Shih-ching says:

> When death and mourning affright us
> Brothers are very dear; . . . .
> When brothers are hard pressed
> Even good friends
> At the most do but heave a sigh. . .
> Brothers may quarrel within the walls,
> But outside they defend one another from insult;
> Whereas even good friends
> Pay but short heed.
> But when the times of mourning or
> Violence are over,
> When all is calm and still,
> Even brothers
> Are not the equal of friends
> Set out your dishes and meat-stands
> Drink wine to your fill;
> All you brothers are here together
> Peaceful, happy, and mild.[66]

The verse shows that after finishing the offering of sacrifice, each member of the clan shared the sacrificial food and tried to promote general good will. Needless to say, the regular practice of offering sacrifice to the common ancestor, and the repeated clan feast, would reaffirm consciousness of a common blood relationship, and engender

friendship among the members. It is not hard to understand how the Chou royal house could build up solidarity and a common bond among the branch families and the relatives through such means. Among all the control devices used by the Chou court to regulate its vassals, the sense of a common relationship inculcated through these communal religious events was certainly one of the more effective.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHANGES IN THE FUNCTION AND THE NATURE OF THE TRIBUTARY SYSTEM IN THE CH'UN-CH'IU PERIOD

The emergence of new states in the Ch'un-ch'iu period (ca 771-481 B.C.) coincided with the breakdown of the feng-chien system of the Western Chou. According to the study of Kuo Chung-t'ao, by the beginning of the Ch'un-ch'iu period there existed one hundred seventy states. With the weakening of the royal house of Chou, these states began to pursue all the more their own individual policies. A few had already started to emerge as important states with sufficient power to enable them to maintain their predominance throughout the Ch'un-ch'iu period. Richard L. Walker classifies the emerging states into two categories, the central and the peripheral, according to their relative geographical position, and the degree to which they preserved Chou cultural values. The central states included the states of Lu, Cheng, Wei, Sung, Ch'i, Ts'ao, Ts'ai, and the royal Chou state in the old cultural heart of North China. The main peripheral states were Ch'in, Chin, Yü, Kuo, and Liang in Shen-si and Shan-si; the state of Yen in the vicinity of modern Peking. In the south, extending in a belt along the Yang-tzu valley, were the states of Ch'u, Sui, Shen, Hsi, Hsü, T'eng, Chiao, Chou, and Pa. In present-day Chiang-su and Che-chiang were the states of Wu and Yüeh. In the outer zone beyond these peripheral states lived the barbarians -- the Ti (狄) in the north, the I (夷) in the east, the Man (蠻) in the south, and the Jung (戎) in the west.[1]

At the beginning of the Ch'un-ch'iu period, the central states had already developed highly regulated and specialized means of communication. They possessed an advanced culture which they had inherited from the Western Chou. The royal house of Chou continued to have some weight with these central states because it constituted a ritual center, and because it could still exercise some political authority when necessary. The central states still recognized the moral law of the _feng-chien_ system. They were compact in size and crowded each other.

The peripheral states had the advantages of more convenience. They were states that had come within the ambience of Chou culture in relatively recent times, and they still preserved some of the old barbarian cultural traits.[2] Therefore, they were less closely tied to the original _feng-chien_ system and its moral law. As they became more and more powerful, they developed a character of their own, and soon they began to outstrip the central states in power. Generally, the central states such as Cheng, Lu, Wei, Sung and the royal Chou were less able to respond quickly to the new situation, and gradually they became minor states, while the periopheral states which had more room for expansion and development quickly consolidated their power through the annexation of smaller states, or the absorption of barbarian territory. The peripheral powers then began to encroach upon the central states.

Statesmen of the time graded all the states into ranks according to their national wealth and strength: the great powers, the

ta-kuo (大國); the secondary powers, the tz'u-kuo (次國), and the small states, the hsiao-kuo (小國). The great powers consisted of Chin in the northeast and Ch'u in the south, the secondary powers included the states of Ch'in and Ch'i, while the central states of Lu, Ch'eng, Sung, Ts'ai, and Ts'ao and Wei ranked among the lesser states.[3] Below the small states were the so-called attached states, the fu-yeng (附庸) and the colonies, the shu (屬). But these were not recognized as independent sovereign states.[4]

The increasing confrontations and struggles among these states encouraged the development of political centralization within each of them. Rulers began to employ kinsmen and non-kinsmen indiscriminately for the sake of greater administrative efficiency.[5] With the rise of bureaucratic systems, political power devolved into the hands of impersonal bureaucracies, whose major goal was to serve the power and aims of the state. The reform of the tax system in Lu,[6] the rise of the chün-hsien (prefectural) system in Ch'u,[7] and the reorganization of the military system in Chin were some of the new measures carried out to increase power capability in the states.

Socio-economic developments and changes were manifest in every aspect of life. There appeared independent farming. Private ownership of the land came into existence as population expanded. Commercial activities and trade spread out rapidly and developed at the interstate level. With the development of commercial activities there came the growth of a money economy. These changes brought about the gradual emergence of new social and economic groups including merchants,

skilled artisans and craftsmen, and the shih (士) or scholar-official class. The Ch'un-ch'iu period was also a turning-point in intellectual development and change. The old concept of the charismatic authority of the nobility underwent radical revision. New values modified or replaced the old, and traditional terms acquired radically different meanings and values.[9] New ideas sprang up in exuberance. These intellectual developments and changes took place within the context of the traditional moral law, which was still held in some respect in the Ch'un-ch'iu period.

Almost all of the states experienced these political and intellectual developments, and evolved into independent and sovereign territorial units. Some statements reported in the Tso-chuan indicate the nature of these new states:

> To pass through our state without asking our permission is to treat our state as if it were a border (dependency of) Ch'u . . . is to deal with it as if Sung were not a state. If we put to death its messenger, Ch'u is sure to invade us, and Sung will perish. In either case Sung ceases to be a state.[10]

It was customary for envoys to obtain permission when they passed through a state which lay in the path of their mission. Envoys who attempted to pass without permission were seized and put to death. The Sung minister, Hua Yuan, put the envoy of Ch'u to death, knowing that Sung was being provoked by Ch'u. Sung then was invaded by Ch'u. This incident indicates the extent to which the small state defended and valued its sovereignty even under the pressure of a great power.

Another passage in the Tso-chuan also shows the role of the concept of sovereign in dealing with internal affairs:

> If when any of the ministers of our ruler leaves the world, the great officers of Chin must determine who shall be his successor, this is to make Cheng a district or border (dependency) of Chin . . . it ceased to be a state.[11]

The state of Cheng was one of the small states under pressure from Chin and Ch'u, who were competing for the hegemony at the time. The passage shows that the state of Cheng was strongly opposed to the interference of Chin in its domestic affairs. The incident discloses the extent to which a small state might insist upon managing its internal affairs completely independently, regardless of pressure from the great powers.

These states also considered themselves territorial states, and as such they refused to yield so much as an inch of ground in territorial disputes. According to the Shih-chi:

> The boys in Pi-liang, a border town of Wu, and Chung-li, a border town of Ch'u, disputed over a mulberry tree (between the border of two states). Both sides attacked each other in anger, and some people of Pi-liang were killed. Then Ta-fu of Pi-liang attacked Chung-li. The king of Ch'u destroyed Pi-liang with his army. The king of Wu also destroyed Chung-li of Ch'u.[12]

The passages clearly show that each state in the Ch'un-ch'iu period was an independent, territorial, and sovereign unit, with its own governing system and military force. Inter-state relationships during the Ch'un-ch'iu period were accomplished on the basis of these independent

and sovereign states, which together made up a multi-state system.[13]

In the intercourse of the states in the Ch'un-ch'iu period, the rulers of these new states were equally addressed as chün (君), the sovereign, regardless of their formal titles, i.e., duke (kung 公), marquis (hou 侯), earl (po 伯), viscount (tzu 子), and baron (nan 男), which had supposedly been conferred by the Chou royal house.[14] The Tso-chuan reports the following speech:

> My chün thanks the chün of Ch'i for his kindness in setting the temple of our ancestors at peace and also thanks the chün of Cheng for his loyalty.[15]

The statement in the passage was given by Shu-hsiang, a statesman of Chin, to the honorable guests of the marquis of Ch'i and the earl of Cheng, at a state banquet arranged by the marquis of Chin. Chin was then a great power, while Ch'i was a secondary power, and Cheng was a small state. There were great differences among these three states in size of territory and population, national wealth, and military power. Despite these facts, the same name (chün) for the rulers of the three states meant that each ruler was equal to the others, no matter the real size or power of the state he ruled. State sovereignty was also equally recognized in the stipulations of the treaties contracted among the new states. In the Ch'un-ch'iu period, many multi-party treaties were concluded among the states. In most cases, the treaties were bilateral and prescribed mutual and reciprocal obligations for the participating states.[16] The Tso-chuan provides an example of this in the covenant of K'uei-ch'iu of 651 B.C. It says:

> All of our contracting parties should speak to one another only in terms of friendship after the conclusion of this covenant.[17]

Another example from the Tso-chuan provides as follows:

> All of our contracting parties should not do this or that.[18]

The obligations stipulated in these treaties, as indicated by the term of "all," were equal for all the participating states. No participating state could possibly claim that its signature carried any more weight than that of any other participating state. There was no discrimination of any kind in the stipulations of the treaties. All states in the Ch'un-ch'iu period were in theory equal when they entered into treaties, even though different results might ensue in the enforcement of the treaties. In international politics, the ultimate goal of these states was the expression of their sovereignty on a basis of equality.

However, the expansion and development of the states was possible only at the expense of neighbors. Thus the absorption and annexation of the weaker and smaller states by the stronger was the continued trend. In the process, about one hundred seventy states were reduced to thirteen by the end of the Ch'un-ch'iu period.[19] This trend continued throughout the succeeding Chan-kuo period, and ended in the eventual unification of China by Ch'in in 221 B.C. According to the study of Chou-yun Hsu, there were about 1212 wars in the period of 722-472 B.C. and only thirty-eight years of peace.[20] In this whirlpool

of continuous war and struggle, the moral law and ritual ceremonies of the Chou, while important, carried little weight unless power considerations argued in favor of adherence. Although there was the repeated insistence that the Chinese states were considered as within and the barbarians were considered as outside,[21] religious and cultural ties and the common heritage were never the decisive factor in interstate politics. When necessity demanded, states did not hesitate to form alliances with the barbarians.

In the meantime, the royal Chou had sunk to the level of a small state, and maintained its existence only by relying on the great states such as Ch'i or Chin. The royal Chou still had ritual authority; it monopolized sacrifices to Heaven, and had the exclusive privilege of investing or recognizing the rulers of states. When Ch'i or Chin controlled the hegemony, they guided the rulers of the other states into making visits to the royal Chou court. However, the ritual authority, sanction, and symbolic leadership provided by the Chou carried little weight in international politics. In the absence of the central power of the Chou, states and leagues of states fought each other in accordance with their perceptions of national interest.

War was the final arbiter of survival. The survival of the small states depended upon their ability to find allies or to pick the winning side and join it. State security and power were the exclusive concerns of the day, and this led to the formation of leagues or alliances of states in the so-called period of the hegemony, the <u>pa-cheng</u> (霸政). The league or alliance, the <u>meng</u> (盟), con-

sisted generally of several small states with a leading power, the meng-chu (盟主), such as the great powers of Chin or Ch'u, at its head. The league was made up of a series of bilateral treaties concluded for various purposes, such as mutual defense, trade, marriage, or the maintenance of traditional friendship. The treaties called for a solemn ceremony, usually held at an outdoor site. The ritual began with the reading aloud of the agreed terms in the presence of the heads of the participating states. The document, which was written on a wooden planchette or bamboo slips, was bound to a sacrificial ox. An oath sworn among the participants pledged them to friendship and good faith. The presiding ruler then cut the ear of the sacrificial victim, and smeared its blood on the treaty and on the lips of the contracting parties. One copy of the treaty was buried with the sacrificial victim to notify the god of the soil. Each of the signatories also kept a copy.[22] The formation of a league or alliance fostered a semblance of stability and peace for a greater or lesser period of time. This provided an incentive for vigorous diplomatic activity among the states, and there accordingly came into being some new rules and ceremonies pertaining to interstate relations.

According to the Tso-chuan, there were four kinds of formal interstate contacts: the outdoor conference, or hui (會); the friendly mission, or p'ing (聘), the ad hoc envoy or mission, the hsing-jen (行人), and the court visit, the ch'ao (朝).

The outdoor conference, or hui, was a pre-arranged meeting of

rulers of different states. It was a special face-to-face meeting. The conference was usually held in the open, by a lake or on hills near some sacred spots. The outdoor element of the conference suggests that the custom may have originated in an epoch of less confident interstate relations, when rulers dared not open their capitals to other rulers who were accompanied by their retainers. The business discussed at such conferences included joint war plans; consultations on defense or intervention into other states; the making of peace; the reaffirmation of friendly relations; and the arrangement of marriages between ruling families. The mission (p'ing) was a friendly inquiry sent by the ruler of one state to another. It was a kind of deputized communication among the states. It was practiced more frequently than personal contact among rulers or nobles. There were courtesy missions and the diplomatic missions. Courtesy missions were sent to marriage and funeral ceremonies along with certain gifts, while diplomatic missions were used to request the extradition of a usurper and his accomplice, to ask foreign aid in domestic troubles, or to report to a friendly ruler the conclusion of a peace. A conference of rulers was pre-arranged by dispatching this sort of mission.[23] The ad hoc emissaries were messengers used to carry on most of the preliminary work in any matters of importance. They were selected from among officials of high rank, and they enjoyed diplomatic immunity while carrying out their missions. There was another term, hsing-jen which could be rendered as "envoy." He had about the same function as the shih (使).[24] The court visit involved

the visit of one ruler to another. In this case, in contrast to the outdoor conference, the visiting ruler went into the capital of the host state, and the meeting was held in the ancestral temple or the palace of the host ruler. In the ceremony, courtesy was paramount and any discourtesy was taken seriously. The court visit was the supreme expression of friendly relations and good will among the states.[25] Among all these practices, the friendly mission and the court visit were the most important in international affairs during the hegemony period. To understand the friendly mission and the court visit, it is necessary to pay close attention both to the political tensions and struggles among the states, and also to the internal organization of the league system.

As was mentioned above, the formation of a league or alliance consisted mostly of the small states lined up behind a leading power. However, the relationship of the leading power with its smaller allies was clearly one of superior and inferior. According to the Tso-chuan:

> After the covenant of today, if the state of Ch'ing hear any commands but those of Tsin, and incline to any other, may there happen to it according to what is (imprecated) in this covenant![26]

Another example in the Tso-chuan says:

> The reason why the states acknowledge the supremacy of the ruler of Tsin lies in the rules of propriety, by which are (here) to be understood the service of a great state by a small one . . . . The service appears in obedience to the commands which are given from time to time.[27]

The examples indicate that in the league system, the leading power, or meng-chu, could command the allied small states and the small states were supposed to obey the leading power, acknowledging its supremacy. As to the reason why the small states acknowledged the supremacy and followed the commands of the leading power, the Tso-chuan states as follows:

> In the covenant of Sung, your lordships' commands were for the benefit of the small states, and you also ordered us to seek the repose and stability of our altars, and the protection and comfort of our people.[28]

As indicated in the passage, the small states accepted the lordship and command of the leading state for the protection and benefit of their own states. In return for protection and security, the allied small states were responsible for making certain payments. For example, in the case of the state of Lu, which was an ally of Chin:

> In its relation with Tsin, Loo contributes its due without fail; its valuable curiosities are always arriving; its princes, ministers, and great officers come, one after another, to our court. Our historiographers do not cease recording. Our treasury is not left empty a month.[29]

The passage indicates that the state of Lu sent its contributions periodically to the court of Chin, and that its rulers and ministers often visited the court of Chin. The state of Cheng was also one of the small states which allied itself with Chin:

> Through the orders of your great state

> coming not at an irregular time, our state has been wearied and distressed; at anytime some unlooked for requirement might come.[30]

According to the indication of the passage, the state of Cheng sent its regular contribution or offerings to the court of Chin but also had to render additional contributions at the sudden demand of the leading power. Because of this, Cheng was on the edge of ruin. The state of Ch'u, which was another great state in competition for control of the hegemony with Chin, was as quick as Chin in exploiting its small state allies. The state of Ts'ai was one of the small states allied with Ch'u:

> At an earlier period, Duke Wan of Ts'ae had wished to serve Tsin, . . . through fear of Ts'oo, however, he died without being able to carry his purpose into effect. After this, the people of Ts'oo laid their requirement on Ts'ae without regard to any rule.[31]
>
> P'aou, the viscount of Hoo still refused to do service to it, saying "preservation and ruin happen as appointed; why should I incur the numerous expenses connected with serving Ts'oo?"[32]

The passages indicate that the states of Ts'ai and Hu paid heavy contributions at the frequent demand of Ch'u. According to the indications above, in the hierarchical relationship of superior and inferior, the small states by agreement or demand paid heavily for the security and protection of their states, while acknowledging the superiority of the great power. On the other hand, when one of the allied small states was threatened or invaded by other states, the leading power was required to mobilize its own army and those of

the other allied states to protect its ally. The Tso-chuan stylizes this relationship with the terms hsiao shih ta (小事大) and ta tzu hsiao (大字小), which meant the serving of the great by the small, and the cherishing of the small by the great.[33] The way this relationship was intended to work is discussed in the Tso-chuan:

> When a great state visits a small one, it should do five good things; be indulgent to its offenses, pardon its errors and failures, relieve its calamities, reward it for its virtues and laws, and teach it where it is deficient. There is no pressure on the small state. It cherishes (the great state's) virtue and submits to it . . . when a small state goes to a great one, it has five bad things to do. It must explain its trespasses, beg forgiveness for its deficiencies, perform governmental services, and contribute its proper dues, and attend to its various offerings, felicitate (the great state) on its happiness, and show its condolence with it in its misfortunes.[34]

The passage seems to advance a doctrine that the great states were responsible for the maintenance and protection of the small ones through its kind guardianship and advice, while the small states should happily submit themselves to the great ones. The peaceful co-existence of all states should result from the observance of these hierarchical rules. The small states should extend good faith (hsin 信), and the large one benevolence (jen 仁).[35] These reciprocal obligations among the states reflected in a new way the moral law of the feng-chien system of the Western Chou. In fact, in many ways rulers of the states were bound in their actions by the old rules of propriety. Excessive contributions were protested on these grounds by the small states.[36] Actions of rulers that violated

the rules of propriety were remonstrated against by ministers. There were punitive expeditions to punish the disobedient.[37]

However, as the stronger states gradually annexed and absorbed the weaker, the sense of solidarity based on good faith and benevolence in the multi-state leagues began to disappear. Continued military pressure and threat was imposed on the small states. The Tso-chuan records this situation as follows:

> Through the smallness of our state . . . whose demands upon it come we know not when, we do not dare to dwell at ease, but collect all the contributions due from us.[38]

This was the case of Cheng, which was located between the great powers of Chin and Ch'u. The state of Cheng was often invaded by Chin and Ch'u as those big states fought each other for control of the hegemony. In the alternate invasions of the two great powers, the only thing Cheng could do was to make huge offerings to both the states. Another example of this kind is the case of T'ang:

> T'ang is a small kingdom. Though I do my utmost to serve those large kingdoms on either side of it, we cannot escape suffering from them. What course shall I take?[39]

In the Ch'un-ch'iu period, the state of T'ang was located between the states of Ch'u and Ch'i. In order to survive, the ruler of T'ang sent payments to both of the great powers. Yet the state of T'ang still suffered military threat from the great powers. To get some idea of how to escape the situation, the ruler of T'ang sought advice

from Mencius. Mencius said "dig deeper your moats, build higher your walls, and guard them along with your people. In case of attack, be prepared to die in your defense, and have the people so that they will not leave you. This is the proper course." An idea Mencius suggested here was that people will respond happily to a benevolent government and will even die for it.[40] The advice of Mencius proved impossible to follow, however. The Tso-chuan indicates another way in which the small states might hope to survive:

> . . . the way in which a small state escapes (being incriminated by) a great one is by sending to it friendly missions and making various offerings, with the hundred things set forth in the court-yard. . .[41]

The small states' best survival strategy was to listen to the demands of the great power and send the required offerings, in accordance with the idea that "the great are served by the small." According to the Tso-chuan:

> A great state commands, and a small state obeys. I know nothing but to obey.[42]

But there came a point when the small states could no longer meet the demands the great powers laid upon them, and when they could no longer pay, they were extinguished. The reciprocal obligations between great and small states changed into a one-sided obligation laid on the small. This international situation called for the great powers to assume the lordship in the absence of the central power of the Chou, but since the small states were not created by the great as

part of an effort to control a large realm, the moral obligations that bound them all together were much weaker than in the case of the feng-chien system of the Western Chou.

In the heyday of the system, the obligations inherent in the hsiao shihta relationship were often discharged through friendly missions and court visits. The Tso-chuan says:

> I have heard that the way in which a small state escapes (being incriminated by) a great one is by sending to it friendly missions and making various offerings, on which there are the hundred things set forth in the court-yard. Or if the prince go himself to the court (of the great state) to show his service, then he assumes a pleased appearance, and makes elegant and valuable presents, even beyond what could be required of him.[43]

As to the frequency of these friendly missions and visits, the Tso-chuan states as follows:

> When Dukes Wan and Seang of Tsin led the states, the rule was that the other princes should appear in the court of Tsin once in five years, and send a friendly mission once in three years.[44]

This refers to the time when Chin assumed control of hegemony under the leadership of Dukes Wan and Hsiang. According to the commentary of Cheng I, the frequency was the same as that observed by the holders of dependencies toward the royal court in the Western Chou period.[45] This is the frequency mentioned in the Li-chi.[46] However, the frequency of missions and visits in the Ch'un-ch'iu period seems actually to have depended upon the desire of the leading state:

> The duke was at the meeting of Wei the month before this . . . . He went to Tsin, says Tso-she, on a court visit, and to hear how often such visits, and visits of friendly inquiry, should be paid.[47]

> In the 9th month, Yew Keih of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to inform that court, that the earl was going to the court of Ts'oo in compliance with the covenant of Sung.[48]

This shows that the number of visits of the small states to the great powers might be a matter stipulated in a treaty. The numbers of friendly missions and court visits seems to have increased whenever the international situation deteriorated, as happened when Chin held the control of the hegemony again in the thirteenth year of Duke Ch'ao of Lu. The Tso-chuan discusses this:

> . . . . the king required the princes every year to send a complimentary mission, that they might be kept in mind of the contributions they had to pay; after the interval (of a year), they went themselves to court for the practice of ceremonies; when the time for a second visit to court came, there was a meeting for display of (the king's) majesty; when the time for a second meeting came, there was a covenant for the exhibition of his clear intelligence. The keeping of their duties in mind was to secure the (continuance of) friendly relations . . . . From antiquity downwards, these rules, we may say, were never neglected. The principles of the preservation or the ruin (of states) depended on them. It is the rule for Tsin to be lord of covenants . . . .[49]

The speech in the passage was delivered by Shu Hsiang, statesman of Chin, when he went to the state of Ch'i to explain the reason why Chin was trying to renew its relationships with the other states. As indicated in the passage, Chin tried to set forth the practice of

friendly mission every year and a court visit once in two years. As to the reason, Shu Hsiang went on to say

> if they observe the ceremonies, but do not have a feeling of awe, then order comes to be without respect; if they have a feeling of awe, but do not declare it, their respect is not sufficiently displayed. The want of that display leads to the casting away of respect; the various affairs of business are not brought to a successful issue, and there ensue downfall and overthrow.[50]

Then he suggested that increasing the frequency of the friendly missions and court visits, based upon proper rules handed down, from ancient times, would cover up these deficiencies and bring about harmony and concord among the states. However, Ch'i rejected the Chin proposal, because it did not want to increase the exchanges to the benefit of Chin. Knowing that there was also disaffection among the other states, Chin enlarged its military forces.[51] Then the states grew afraid of it, and submitted to its wishes. What all this shows is that visits and missions to Chin increased as a direct result of its demonstration of military power. The smaller and weaker states had no choice but to listen to the demands of the great power.

Another example in the Tso-chuan seems to suggest that the court visit was carried out only by the small states:

> On the accession of any prince, smaller states appeared (by their princes) at his court, and larger ones sent friendly missions for the continuance of their friendship, and cementing their good faith . . . .[52]

The Tso-chuan says nothing about great states paying court visits to

small ones during the period of the hegemony. This leads to the supposition that a friendly mission might be sent by a great power to a small state, while the court visit was made only by the small states to the large ones. This must indicate that the ceremony of the court visit, which meant a visit of the ruler of a small state to the court of a great one, included special functions and had a subservient connotation in the hierarchy of international relationships.

However, concerning the practical function and meaning of the ceremony of the court visit, the Tso-chuan has nothing recorded directly. The records about court visits in the Tso-chuan show them to have been highly ceremonial affairs directed or affirming good relationships among the states. As has been stated, the court visit was a visit of one ruler to another. The courtesy of the host ruler toward the visiting one was all-important, as it was an expression of the highest friendship between the two countries. Yet such a visit might be prompted by fear. The Shih-chi states:

> In the summer of the twenty-seventh year, the Duke of Cheng made a court visit to Chin. In the winter of the same year, he made a court visit to king Ling of Ch'u because of fear of Ch'u's strength.[53]

The passage discloses that a court visit from the small states might be motivated or forced by military threat. In this regard, Han Fei-tzu correctly characterizes the nature of the ceremonial court visit as follows:

> Thus whoever has great strength sees others visit his court; whoever has little strength visits the court of others.[54]

The passage indicates that the smaller and weaker states were expected to make court visits to the stronger ones. Although Han Fei-tzu lived in the Chan-kuo period, his statement reflects the realities of inferior-superior relationships among states in the previous Ch'un-Ch'iu period. As to one function or purpose of the court visit, the Tso-chuan says:

> In the 7th month, my ruler further appeared at your court to complete the business of (the submission of) Chin.[55]

This concerns the situation where the state of Cheng, which was one of the allies of Ch'u, took sides with Chin and made a court visit to the ruler of Chin to offer submission. Another example in the Tso-chuan also indicates this:

> The year after (the meeting at) Keih-leang, Tsze-keaou being old, Kung-sun Hea attended our ruler to your court, when he had an audience at the summer sacrifice, and assisted in holding the offerings of flesh.[56]

This example indicates that when a ruler of a small state made a court visit, he not only attended at the court but also offered a sacrifice at the ancestral temple of the superior power. As previously discussed, this practice was carried out in Western Chou times, when the holders of dependencies made court visits to the Chou royal house and also offered sacrifice at the royal ancestral temple. Much later,

in the Han Dynasty, it was similarly the practice to have subjugated barbarians participate in the sacrifices at the imperial ancestral temple.[57] Participation in such ceremonies meant political submission in primitive times. It must have meant much the same in the Ch'un-ch'iu period.

According to an indication in the Tso-chuan:

> In summer, the people of Tsin summoned (the earl of) Ch'ing to appear at their court, when the people of Ch'ing employed the Shaou-ching, Kung-sun K'eaou (Taze-ch'an), to reply. . . .[58]

The summons of the ruler of Cheng by Chin happened when the earl of Cheng took his departure before completing his court visit to the Chin, because Chin did not behave courteously to him.[59] When Chin summoned him, the Earl of Cheng sent two of his ministers to explain the matter. The Tso-chuan also records a court visit by the ruler of a small state, during which certain military matters were discussed.[60] This might mean that the leading power could summon the ruler of a small state for certain political or military reasons. The political situation of the small states is more clearly seen in the Han Fei-tzu. It says:

> The ruler of men, if his country is small, has to serve big powers, and if his army is weak, has to fear strong armies. Any request by a big power the small country always has to accept; any demand by a strong army the weak army always has to obey.[61]

Han Fei-tzu simply indicates that the small and weak states had to accept any demands from the strong ones. According to the indications,

it seems likely that the ceremony of the court visit of the small states to the great one was an expression of submission mainly in a ceremonial but also often in a more practical sense.

However, the political submission of the small states through the ceremony of the court visit was not fixed permanently. Leagues or alliances rose and fell frequently according to the changes in the power balance, and shifts in each nation's interests. In accordance with this trend, the attitude of the small states also changed frequently:

> Tsze-l'eng said "Tsin and Ts'oo make no effort to show kindness (to smaller states), but keep struggling for the superiority; there is no reason why we should not take the side of the (first) comer. They have no faith--why should we show good faith?[62]

Another example also discloses the resolution and will of the small states:

> After the covenant of today, if the state of Ch'ing hear any commands but those of Tsin, and incline to any other, may there happen to it according to what is (imprecated) in this covenant! . . . after this covenant of today, if the state of Ch'ing follow any other but that which extends propriety to it and strength to protect its people, but dares to waver in its adherence, may there happen to it according to (the imprecations in) this covenant, Seun Yen said, "Change (the conditions of) this covenant." Kung-sun Shay-che said, "These are solemn words in which we have appealed to the great Spirits. If we may change them, we may also revolt from your great state."[63]

This exchange between Chin and Cheng took place while they were making

a covenant together, with Cheng submitting to Chin, which was the leading power at the time. As indicated in the passage, Chin demanded that Cheng obey it, and it tried to make this condition a stipulation of the covenant. The state of Cheng insisted that it would follow the way of protecting its people. When Chin tried to change this condition, then Cheng threatened to secede from the covenant. In fact, the state of Cheng took sides with either Chin or Ch'u depending on how its national interest was affected, and would not bind itself to either side. It chose which of the two it preferred to serve as a "small power serving the great." Therefore, it can be said that court visits by small states to the great ones followed a principle of national interest, even though the visit was a ritual expression of political submission, and acceptance of certain political obligations and duties to the great power. The court visits ended whenever the small states' national interests were jeopardized thereby, even though their relationship was a ritually permanent one of superior and inferior.

In comparison with the ceremony of the court visit during Western Chou times, it can be said that the same terminology (<u>ch'ao</u>) continued in use in Ch'un-ch'iu times. However, the function and nature of the ceremony of the court visit in each period were different in nuance. As was mentioned, the <u>feng-chien</u> system of the Western Chou consisted of numerous dependencies which were mostly established by the royal house of Chou after the conquest of Shang. In most cases, these dependencies were politically autonomous units and self-sufficient

in economy, although they were organized and interacted together according to their place in the kinship hierarchy, at the apex of which stood the Chou royal house. To control these numerous dependencies, the king of Chou developed a number of control devices such as the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven, the proto-bureaucratic system, the title Son of Heaven, and the vision of one world, the t'ien-hsia. Among these control devices, the ceremonial court visit of the holders of the dependencies to the royal house of Chou was one important means by which the royal house of Chou renewed the sentimental and religious ties that bound them all together in the same kinship group. In this regard, the practice of the court visit of the holders of dependencies to the royal house of Chou was also an expression of their subordinate place in the framework of the feng-chien system.[41]

By contrast, the Ch'un-ch'iu period consisted of numerous independent, territorial, and sovereign units loosely associated together in a multi-state system. In the multi-state system, the ceremony of the court visit was the means through which small states dealt with large ones, but their political submission in a ritual relationship of superior and inferior was only temporary and contingent upon short-term shifts in the larger interstate power balance. The political elites of the states of the Ch'un-ch'iu period expressed their mutual relationships in a moral and religious vocabulary that could not quite capture the new realities of power.

CONCLUSION

Until modern times, international relations in East Asia were established on a tributary basis with China as suzerain over all the rest. This tributary system originated in the Western Chou times and the first step in its ultimate development into a system of international relations took place during the Ch'un-ch'iu period. After the conquest of the Shang, the royal house of Chou developed a series of devices to control its huge territory. The feng-chien (tributary) system was one of the most important of these devices. The system was made up of numerous territorial dependencies established by the royal house of Chou. The holders of these dependencies included close and distant relatives of the royal house of Chou, and the heads of some twenty-one tribal groups who were allied with the Chou in conquering Shang. In character they were divergent and heterogeneous.

The royal house of Chou established dependencies at strategic points throughout the territory, along both banks of the Yellow River, and stretching from southern Manchuria to the middle and lower valley of the Yang-tzu River. In each territory granted from the Chou royal house, the dependencies built local settlements, walled cities, and towns. These cities and towns, which were referred to as kuo, pang, or feng, consisted of a walled urban area and a surrounding agricultural area. The walled urban area included religious and ceremonial centers, granaries, garrisons, and residences for the elite. Each dependency had independent judicial and tax authority, but all were linked in

various ways to the royal Chou court.

To control the numerous and heterogeneous dependencies, the royal house of Chou developed various practical and ideological techniques. However, even though these devices and techniques played important roles in consolidating and maintaining Chou royal power, they were not aimed at the direct control of internal affairs in each dependency. The royal house of Chou, which had only recently emerged from a tribal level of development, did not have any experience of bureaucratic rule, and used another complex of techniques to control the dependencies -- that is, the tributary system. According to the information in the classical texts and in the bronze inscriptions, the tributary system provided for the court visit, the ch'ao, and the tribute, the kung. It is likely that the holders of the dependencies were supposed to make the court visits in person to the royal house of Chou at certain fixed times. During the court visit, the holders made reports to the king, and received instructions from him. They also expressed their filial duty as one of the descendants of the common ancestor by offering sacrifice at the royal ancestral temple. The court visits of the holders were an expression of their vassalage in the framework of the feng-chien system.

Eventually, however, fully independent and sovereign states emerged out of the breakdown of the feng-chien system. They contracted treaties among themselves on a basis of equality. However, in the process of increasing confrontation and struggle among the states, international relationships gradually became hierarchical,

with relative status based on national wealth and military force. The great powers assumed the hegemony in the absence of the central power of Chou, and demanded the submission of the small states together with heavy material contributions and payments. This situation was called <u>shih-ta</u> which meant that the small states must serve the great. "Serving the great" in its ceremonial form demanded that the small states pay court visits and make substantial offerings. This symbolized the temporary political submission of the small states. However, the relationship was not permanent, but changed in response to changing national interests and power. It was a kind of cynical diplomatic practice carried on by the states in a multi-state system, and lacked the permanent kin ties and religious overtones of the tributary system in the Western Chou.

Comparing the practice of the court visit of the Western Chou with that of the Ch'un-ch'iu period, one finds that the same terminology persisted in use. However, the nature and actual meaning of the court visit in the two periods were quite different. In Western Chou times, the court visit was an expression of long-term vassalage on the part of the holders of the dependencies to the king of Chou within the framework of the <u>feng-chien</u> system; in the Ch'un-ch'iu period the purely coercive dimensions of the practice were most in evidence.

Chapter 1

Footnotes

[1]Cho-yun Hsü, "The Rise of the Chou People and the Basis of the Chou Culture," Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica, Vol. XXXVIII (1968), p. 442.

[2]The definition of tribe is still controversial among scholars, because there are no tribal groups that meet all of the defining criteria which have been suggested. Recently, Morton H. Fried has gone so far as to suggest that tribes have never existed except for groups organized under the influence of recent acculturation (See his The Notion of Tribe). In this paper, I choose the concept of tribe advanced by Gertrude E. Dole, who regards a tribal group as an autonomous unit politically, territorially, and militarily. For a detailed discussion of the concept of tribe, see Essays on the Problem of Tribe, ed. by June Helm.

[3]The relationship between Shang and Chou in race and culture is also controversial. Wang Kuo-wei and Kaizuka Shigeki insist that the shift from Shang to Chou was more than a change in ruling clan and capitals. It signifies the fall of old institutions and culture and the rise of new ones which could be called revolutionary in terms of system (see "Yin chou chih-tu lun," Wang kuan-tang heien-sheng ch'üan-chi, Vol. 2 [Taipei: Wen-hua Press, 1968], pp. 433-464; Kaizuka Shigeki chosakushu, Vol. 8 [Tokyo: Chuō kōron sha, 1968], p. 76). K.C. Chang says that the shift from Shang to Chou was no more than an internal struggle for power, according to the archaeological evidence. See The Archaeology of Ancient China (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 298.

[4]Arthur Waley, trans., The Book of Songs (New York: 1937), p. 275.

[5]N.E. Fehl, Rites and Propriety in Literature and Life (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1971), p. 21.

[6]Marshall Sahlins, Tribesmen (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Ha-l, 1968), p. 26.

[7]Ibid., p. 97.

[8]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), pp. 189-190.

[9]Takigawa Kametarō, ed., Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan), 4:7.

[10]Morton H. Fried, The Evolution of Political Society (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 113.

[11]Ibid., p. 114.

[12]Henri Maspero, China in Antiquity, trans. by Frank A.Kierman, Jr. (Chatham: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), p. 32.

[13]Kuo Mo-jo, Liang-Chou chin-wen tz'u ta-hsi lu-pien (Tokyo: 1939), 127a, 135a.

[14]Yamada Jun, "Shūdai no kenseido to ketsuzoku shūdansei," Shakaikeizashigaku, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1951), p. 38.

[15]Chin Chao-tzu, "Feng-yi pang-kuo fang-pien," Li-shih Yen-chiu, No. 2 (February 1952), p. 79.

[16]Dr. H.G. Creel translates the terms "feng" and "chien" as "enfeoff" in The Origins of Statecraft in China, pp. 326-327. I would like to render it more generally as "establish."

[17]Chou-I chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh-shu-chü, 1963), 2:12. Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, Vol. 2, 52:8a.

[18]Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, Vol. 1 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), 15:28a.

[19]Mao-shih chu-shu chi pu-cheng, Vol. 2 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), 24:40a.

[20]Ch'i Ssu-ho, "Hsi-Chou ti-li k'ao," Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao, No. 30 (June 1946), p. 96.

[21]For the details, see pp. 18-19.

[22]Takigawa Kametarō, ed., Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng (Taipei: I wen yin-shu-kuan), 4:29.

[23]Whether two inspectors or three is a much debated question. Concerning the problem of whether there were three or two inspectors, see Shih-chi, 4:9-30. Ch'en Meng-chia gives the locations of three fiefs, belonging to three brothers, from which they are supposed to have supervised the Shang people. See his study, "Hsi-Chou T'ung-ch'i Tuan-tai," K'ao ku hsüeh pao, No. 9 (1955), pp. 143-144.

[24]Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 15:28.

[25]Mao-shih chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 22:31b.

[26]Ch'i Ssu-ho, op.cit., p. 99.

[27]Ibid., p. 101.

[28]Ibid., p. 101.

[29]As to the number of the dependencies, the Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao, a Sung work, says that there were 1,800 dependencies. The Hsun-tzu mentions a figure of seventy-one, of which fifty were granted to the Chou royal kinsmen. The I-Chou-shu says that the Chou rulers conquered ninety-nine city states, and imposed their authority on 652 other states. The Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu lists figures of 400 or 800 states. None of these figures is very trustworthy.

[30]Hsün-tzu chi-chieh, 4:73.

[31]Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, Vol. 2, 52:28b.

[32]Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng, 17:2-3.

[33]Ma Tuan-lin, Wen-hsien, t'ung-k'ao, Vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shang-wu Press, 1936), pp. 2065-2093.

[34]Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng, 31:2.

[35]See the chart.

[36]See the chart.

[37]Henri Maspero, op.cit., p. 58.

[38]Li Tung-fang, Ch'un-ch'iu chan-kuo p'ien, Chung-kuo li-shih t'ung-lun (Ch'ung-ch'ing: Shangwu Press, 1944), p. 65. Cited from Wheatley's The Pivot of the Four Quarters.

[39]Ku Tung-kao, Ch'un-ch'iu ta-shih piao (preface dated 1748), table 5, pp. 1a-15a. Cited from Wheatley's The Pivot of the Four Quarters.

[40]Paul Wheatley suggests that the different figures for the number of the Western Chou dependencies varied according to each state's proximity to the Chinese culture-realm. Consequently, some of these were counted or omitted arbitrarily. Se The Pivot of the Four Quarters, p. 195.

[41]Li Tsung-t'ung has an intensive study of the totemic features of ancient Chinese society with special attention to the origin and significance of surnames. He suggests that certain surnames represent certain tribes which have similar totemic features in the totemic society of ancient China. See chapter one, Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui-shih, Vol. 1 (Taipei: 1955).

[42]Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng, 4:32.

[43]Ibid., 38:22. 40:5.

[44]Ibid., 5:9.

[45]Ibid., 42:1a.

[46]James Legge, trans., The Ch'un-Ts'ew; with the Tso-chuan, Vol. 6, Pt. I (Hong Kong: Lane, Crawford & Co., 1871), p. 717.

[47]My study of the names, locations, and origins of the dependencies of the Western Chou dynasty depends heavily on Ch'en P'an's "Ch'un-ch'iu ta'shih piao lieh-kuo chueh-hsing chi ts'un-mieh piao," Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Vol. 26, pp. 59-93; Vol. 27, pp. 325-370; Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 393-440; Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 513-544; Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 35-98. Besides Ch'en P'an's study, there are some studies on the same subject such as the Ch'un-ch'iu ti-ming by Tu Yü in Han times; Ch'un-ch'iu lieh-kuo t'u-shuo by Su Shih in Sung times; and Ch'un-ch'iu ti-ming k'ao-lüeh by Kao Shih-ch'i in Ch'ing times. I refer to Ch'en P'an's study because his study is a recent work and is based upon the broadest range of sources.

Chapter 2

Footnotes

[1]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 28:5a; see also Shih-chi, the biography of Kuan-chung.

[2]K.C. Chang, Early Chinese Civilization (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 61.

[3]Ibid., p. 62.

[4]Shuo-wen chieh-tzu (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 6:6b, 7a.

[5]Chin Chao-tzu, "Feng-yi pang-kuo fang pien," Li-shih yen-chiu, No. 2 (February 1952), p. 61.

[6]Shang-shu chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 11:6b.

[7]K.C. Chang, op.cit., p. 63.

[8]Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 10:30b.

[9]"The Book of Changes," Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Vol. 5 (1933), p. 121.

[10]James Legge, The Four Books (Reprinted. New York: Paragon Book Corp., 1925), p. 23.

[11]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 13:17a.

[12]Yoshiro Inoue, Shina genshi shakai keitai (Tokyo: 1939), p. 138.

[13]Paul Wheatley, op.cit., p. 186.

[14]Chin Chao-tzu, "Feng-yi pang-kuo fang pien," Li-shih yen-chiu, No. 2 (1952), p. 80.

[15]Kaizuka Shigeki, Kaizuka Shigeki chosakushū, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: 1968), p. 164.

[16]Bernhard Karlgren, trans., The Book of Odes (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), p. 259.

[17]James Legge, trans., The Ch'un Ts'ew with The Tso Chuen, Book IX (Hong Kong: Lane, Crawford & Co., 1872), p. 754.

[18]Shigeki Kaizuka, Confucius, trans. by Geoffrey Bownas (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), pp. 24-25.

[19]James Legge, op.cit., p. 754.

[20]Ch'eng Te-k'un, Archaeology in China, Vol. III, Chou China (Cambridge: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 293.

[21]Ch'eng Te'kun's Archaeology in China, Vol. III and K.C. Chang's Archaeology in China provide more detailed archaeological evidence on the sites of the Western Chou cities and towns.

[22]Oshima Riichi, "Chūgoku kodai no shiro ni tsuite," Tōhōgaku, No. 30 (December, 1959), pp. 40-43.

[23]Marcel Granet, Chinese Civilization (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1957), pp. 238-240.

[24]K.C. Chang, op.cit., p. 62.

[25]Ibid., p. 166.

[26]Joseph R. Levenson and Franz Schurmann, China: An Interpretive History (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), p. 32.

[27]Paul Wheatley, The Pivot of Four Quarters (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1971), p. 115.

[28]Hsü Fu-kuan, Chou Ch'in Han cheng-chih she-hui chieh-kou chi yen-chiu (Hong Kong: Hsin-ya Press, 1972), p. 307.

[29]Tan Ching-fan, Hsien-ch'in ssu-hsiang shih-hui lun-lueh (Hong Kong: Wen-ch'ang Press, 1959), p. 9. As to the status of the commoner in Western Chou times, many scholars disagree on its definition. The Marxian scholars regard the commoners of the Western

Chou period as slaves, while non-Marxian scholars treat them as just local population. For the Marxian side, see Chung-kuo ku-tai shih fen-ch'i wen-t'i t'ao-lun chi, ed. by Li-shih yen chiu pien chi pu. Hsü Fu-kuan recognizes that there existed some slaves who were mostly captives of war, but not a slave society. See his Chou ch'in Han cheng-chih she-hui chieh-kou chi yen-chiu, pp. 2-16.

[30]Wolfram Eberhard, Conquerors and Rulers (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952), p. 9.

[31]Ibid., p. 10.

[32]L. Bilsky, The State Religion of Ancient China (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Limited, 1971), pp. 88-89.

[33]Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), pp. 394-396.

[34]Wolfram Eberhard, op.cit., p. 10.

[35]Glenn T. Trewartha, "Chinese Cities: Origins and Functions," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. XLII, No. 1 (March, 1952), p. 21.

[36]Paul Wheatley, op.cit., pp. 176-177.

[37]Noah Edward Fehl, Rites and Propriety in Literature and Life (Hong Kong: Cathay Press Limited, 1971), p. 72.

[38]Glenn T. Trewartha, op.cit., p. 72.

[39]Ibid., p. 72.

[40]Ibid., p. 72.

[41]K.C. Chang, op.cit., p. 68.

[42]Ibid., p. 64.

[43]Owen Lattimore, op.cit., pp. 393-394.

[44]Yang Hsi-mei, "A Study on the Systems of the Genealogical Linkage Name and the Surname," Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Vol. XXVIII (1957), p. 714. See also Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, Part I (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 24b, 25a.

[45]H.G. Creel, "The Beginnings of Bureaucracy in China: The Origin of the Hsien," Chung-kuo Shang kushih lun-wen hsüan-chi, Vol. 2 (Taipei: Kuo-feng Press, 1966), p. 82.

[46]K.C. Chang, op.cit., p. 64.

[47]Ibid., p. 70.

[48]Paul Wheatley, op.cit., p. 176.

[49]Marcel Granet, Festivals and Songs of Ancient China (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1932), p. 181.

[50]Ibid., p. 186.

[51]Kaizuka Shigeki, Kaizuka Shigeki chosakushū, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: 1968), p. 157.

[52]Noah Edward Fehl, op.cit., p. 21.

[53]Yamada Jun, "Shū dai no kenseido to ketsuzoku shūdansei," Shakaikeizaishigaku, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1951), p. 39.

[54]Li Tsung-t'ung, Chung-kuo ku-tai sh'e-hui shih, Vol. I (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua Publishing Co., 1954), p. 105.

[55]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 12a.

[56]James Legge, trans., The Book of Rites, Vol. II (reprinted New York: New Hyde Park, 1967), p. 206.

[57]Utsugi Akira, "Yashiro ni korosu toko ni tsuite," Chūgoku kodaishi kenkyū (Tokyo: 1969), p. 172.

[58]Ibid., p. 172.

[59]*Ibid*., p. 174.

[60]*Ibid*., p. 169.

[61]James Legge, *op.cit*., pp. 465, 711, 769, 321.

[62]*Ibid*., p. 514.

[63]Paul Wheatley, *op.cit*., p. 175.

Chapter 3

Footnotes

[1]Ting Fu-pao. Shuo-wen chieh-chi (1928), 6: 12-14.

[2]Li Hsiao-ting, Chia-ku wen-tzu chi-shih, No. 1 (Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan, 1965), p. 0013.

[3]Wang Kuo-wei, Wang Kuan-t'ang hsien-sheng chuan-chi, Vol. 1 (Taipei: 1968), p. 264.

[4]H.G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft in China, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 502.

[5]Bernhard Karlgren, trans., The Book of Documents (Stockholm: 1950), p. 60.

[6]Bernhard Karlgren, trans., The Book of Odes (Stockholm: 1950), p. 60.

[7]James Legge, trans., The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuan, Vol. 5:2 (Hong Kong: De Souza & Co., 1871), 0. 590.

[8]James Legge, trans., Li-chi, Vol, 1, p. 430.

[9]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 9.

[10]Ibid., p. 9.

[11]Ibid., p. 60.

[12]Ibid., p. 9.

[13]Ibid., p. 36.

[14]Ibid., p. 39.

[15]James Legge, Li-chi, Vol. 2, p. 347.

[16]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, pp. 39-40.

[17]Ibid., pp. 62-64.

[18]H.G. Creel, The Birth of China (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1937), p. 371.

[19]It is hard to believe the insistence of H.G. Creel that the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven was the creation of the Western Chou royal house to control only the Shang people who possessed a more advanced and sophisticated culture. As indicated in the To-fang section of the Shang-shu, it is likely that the doctrine was handed down to the Western Chou from the Hsia and the Shang dynasties. As H.G. Creel pointed out, the Western Chou was successful in winning the Shang people over to their side by using the doctrine. I think that if the doctrine did not exist in the Shang, the Shang people, who were more advanced culturally, would not have followed the Chou in their sudden insistence upon it.

[20]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 56.

[21]Ibid., p. 64.

[22]Ibid., p. 22.

[23]After the conquest of Shang, the Shang people were transported to various places. The State of Lu was given six clans of Shange (T'ao-shih, Hsü-shih, So-shih, Chang shao-shih and Wei shao-shih), while seven clans (T'ao-shih, Shih-shih, Fan-shih, I-shih, Hsü-shi Fan-shih, Hsü-shih, and Chung K'uei-shih) were distributed to the Wei state. After the great rebellion of the Shang had been crushed, all of the former Shang officials were removed to the new capital, and put under supervision of the Chou. The transportation of the Shang people was intended as a means of destroying their solidarity. See The Book of Documents, p. 33.

[24]See page 26.

[25]Fu Ssu-nein, "Chou tung-feng yü Yin i-min," Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academic Sinica, IV (1934), pp. 286-289.

[26]H.G. Creel, The Birth of China (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1937), p. 372.

[27]Tso chuan chu shu chi pu cheng, Vol. 1 (Taipei: Shu-chieh Press, 1962), 19: 28a.

[28]Ibid., 32:11b.

[29]James Legge, The Four Books (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966), p. 791.

[30]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 32.

[31]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, pp. 157-158.

[32]The Shang-su cheng-i, 4:2a. Lun-yü chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 7:4a. Hsiao-ching Meng-tzu chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 1:2a. Chou-i cheng-i, 1:10a.

[33]Abe Takeo, Chūgokujin no tenka kannen (Tokyo: 1956), p. 19.

[34]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 197.

[35]Bernhard Karlgren, "Some Sacrifices in Chou China," The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 40 (1968), p. 8.

[36]Ch'en Meng-chia says that in Shang times, the king and the high god Ti did not have the relationship of father and son. See his Yin-hsü Pu-tz'u Tsung-shu (Peking: 1956), p. 581.

[37]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, pp. 32, 67, 73; The Book of Odes, p. 234.

[38]A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 74.

[39]D.D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Vol. II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 183 and 203.

[40]Hugh Nibley, "The Hierocentric State," Western Political Quarterly, Vol. IV (June, 1961), p. 234.

[41]Henri Maspero, China in Antiquity (Chatham: W. & J. Mackay, 1965), p. 53; Also see Cheng Te-k'un's Archaeology in China, Vol. III, Chou China, p. 295.

[42]Cheng Te-k'un, Archaeology in China, Vol. III, Chou China (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1959), p. 220.

[43]Ibid., pp. 238-246.

[44]Ibid., pp. 266-268.

[45]H.G. Creel, The Birth of China, p. 152.

[46]H.G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft in China, p. 270.

[47]Magdalen von Dewall, "New Data on Early Chou Finds," In Symposium in Honor of Dr. Li Ch'i on His Seventieth Birthday, II (Taipei: 1967), pp. 546-548.

[48]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 86.

[49]Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1954), p. 112.

[50]Ibid., p. 127.

[51]Ku-liang chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 3: 10a.

[52]Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 3: 20b.

[53]Kuan-tzu shang-chün shu (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 8: 123. For details of the terms and practice of hunting, see chapter C, pp. 30-39, Die Drsprünglichen Jagdmethoden der Chinesen, by Walter Böttger.

[54]Ibid., 22: 74.

[55]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 98.

[56]Ibid., pp. 123-124.

[57]H.G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft in China, p. 286.

[58]Kuo-yu yu-shih chieh (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), pp. 99-101.

[59]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 73.

[60]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 19.

[61]Cheng Te-k'un, op.cit., pp. 294-295.

[62]Kuo Mo-jo, Liang-Chou Chin-wen Tz'u Ta-hsi Lu-pien (Tokyo: 1936), p. 27a.

[63]Ulrich Unger, "Chou-konig oder Usurpator?" Toung Pao 52 (1966), pp. 233-246.

[64]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu cheng (Taipei, 1962), 28:1a. The authenticity of the Chou-li is still questionable. See the detailed discussion on the authenticity of the Chou-li in note 87. However, the statement in the Chou-li seems to be supported by the passage in the Tso-chuan. The Tso-chuan says that the Son of Heaven had six armies, and large dependencies maintained three armies. See Hsiang 14, 32: 11ab.

[65]H.G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft in China, p. 316.

[66]Ibid., p. 260.

[67]Ibid., p. 316.

[68]Cheng Te-k'un, op.cit., p. 295.

[69]Takigawa Kametaro, Shih-chi Hui-chu K'ao-cheng (Taipei: I-wen Press), 4:7.

[70]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 36

[71]Ibid., p. 67.

[72]Ibid., p. 73.

[73]H.G. Creel, Origins of Statecraft in China, p. 109.

[74]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 73.

[75]Ibid., p. 73.

[76]Torajirō Naitō, Shina shigaku shi (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 3-7.

[77]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 73.

[78]H.G. Creel, op.cit., p. 109.

[79]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 1: 1a-23a.

[80]Ibid., 9: 1a-23a.

[81]Ibid., 17: 5a-30b.

[82]Ibid., 33: 5a-16a.

[83]Ibid., 38: 5a-32a.

[84]Ibid., 39: 1a-28a.

[85]Sven Broman, "Studies on the Chou-li," The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 33 (1961), p. 54.

[86]In analyzing and classifying the administrative system and in translating official titles into English, I follow Sven Broman.

[87]The authenticity of the Chou-li has been a subject for different opinions. Those who are against the authenticity of the Chou-li insist that it was forged at the end of Western Han times. This group of scholars includes O. Kümmel, W. Perceval Yetts, Ed. Chavannes and A. Conrady. Other scholars, such as Henry Maspero, are against this idea and accept the Chou-li as a work of Chou times. Some Japanese and Chinese scholars such as Utsugi Akira, U. Nake, and T'ai Hsi-sheng accept the Chou-li as the source of Chou origin in their studies. For more detailed discussions and studies see Bernhard Karlgren's "The Early History of the Chou-li and the Tso-chuan Texts," BMFEA, No. 3 (1931), and H.G. Creel's "The Sources" in the Origins of Statecraft in China.

[88]Bernhard Karlgren, "The Early History of the Chou-li and Tso-chuan Texts," The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 3 (1931), p. 57.

[89]Sven Broman, "Studies on the Chou-li," The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 33 (1961), pp. 73-74.

[90]H.G. Creel, op.cit., pp. 479-480.

[91]Ibid., pp. 148-153.

[92] Ibid., pp. 115-119.

[93] Ssu Wei-chih, "Liang-chou chih-kuan K'ao," Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu hui-k'an, No. VII (1947), p. 23.

[94] Paul Wheatley, The Pivot of the Four Quarters (Edinburge: The Edinburgh University Press, 1971), p. 196.

[95] Elman R. Service, "The Origins of Civilization in China," Origins of the State and Civilization (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), p. 256.

Chapter 4

Footnotes

[1]Ch'i Ssu-ho, "Chou-tai tz'u-ming li k'ao," Yen-ching hsüeh-pao, No. 32 (June, 1947), pp. 203-205.

[2]Kaizuka Shigeki, Confucius, trans. by Geoffrey Bownas (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 20.

[3]Ch'i Ssu-ho, op.cit., pp. 205-207.

[4]James Legge, trans., Li-chi, Vol. I (New York: New Hyde Park, 1967), p. 430.

[5]Ibid., p. 31.

[6]Chang Hsin-cheng, Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao (Changsha: Commercial Press, 1939), pp. 316-327.

[7]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 175.

[8]Ibid., pp. 175-176.

[9]Ch'en Meng-Chia, "Hsi-chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai," K'aoku hsüeh pao, (1955), p. 102. Also see Liang-Chou chin-wen-tz'u ta'hsi k'ao-shih, p. 143. It records tribute from non-Chou in the east.

[10]James Legge, op.cit., p. 216.

[11]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 18: 8a.

[12]Ibid., 37:23.

[13]Ch'ü Wan-li, "On the Date of the Yü-kung," The Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Vol. XXXV (1964), p. 59.

[14]Kaizuka Shigeki, Kaizuka Shigeki chosakushū, Vol. 4 (Tokyo: Chūō koronsha, 1967), p. 291.

[15]Kuo Mo-jo, Yin chou ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i ming-wen yen-chiu (Peking, 1954), p. 38.

[16]Kuo Mo-jo, Liang Chou chin-wen ts'u ta-hsi k'ao-shih (Peking: 1935), pp. 15a, 51b.

[17]James Legge, trans., The Four Books (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966), pp. 913-914.

[18]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 37: 23a.

[19]The Shang-shu, or "Book of Documents," contains documents that are believed to date from Western Chou times. It exists in two versions called the modern text, the chin-wen, and the ancient text, the ku-wen. It is generally agreed that the ancient text is a late forgery of about the third or fourth century A.D. Some critics also say that all of the modern text can not be regarded as a reliable source for the Western Chou period. H.G. Creel accepts twelve chapters only as reliable sources for the study of the Western Chou (see "The Sources" in Origins of Statecraft in China). As far as the Yü-kung section is concerned, Ch'en Meng-chia claims that it cannot be as early as Western Chou (see Shang-shu t'ung-lun [Shanghai, 1957], p. 112). Ch'u Wan-li says that the section probably was written in the Ch'un-ch'iu period in his study, "On the Date of the Yü-kung," The Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Vol. XXXV (1964), p. 59. On the other hand, Henri Maspero claims that the Yü-kung is one of the genuine sources in the Shang-shu. Bernhard Karlgren translated twenty-eight authentic chapters from the Shang-shu into English. The Yü-kung section is included in this version. I would like to accept the authenticity of the Yü-kung section on the basis of Bernhard Karlgren's study of the Shang-shu.

[20]Bernhard Karlgren, trans., The Book of Documents, pp. 14-15.

[21]Shang-shu chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 13: 14a.

[22]James Legge, The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso chuen, Vol. 1, part 2 (London: Henry Frowde, 1893), p. 140.

[23]H.G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft in China (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 223.

[24]Henri Maspero wrote that tribute, which was relatively light, consisted especially of the characteristic products of each region which were necessary for the various ceremonies (China in Antiquity, p. 62). Also see note 28 on page 11.

[25]Kaizuka Shigeki, Kodai in teikoku (Tokyo: Misuzu Press, 1962), p. 287. In this book, Professor Kaizuka says that the term "royal affair" (王事) meant offering sacrifice to the ancestors, and that in ancient China the political submission of certain tribes was expressed by their participation in the sacrifices to the gods of the leading tribe which they politically obeyed.

[26]Yasumoto Hiroshi, "On Tzu Ch'an of the Cheng State and Shu Hsiang of the Chin State," Tōhōgaku, No. 44 (July, 1972), pp. 4-5.

[27]James Legge, trans., The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso chuen, Vol. V, Part 2 (London: Henry Frowde, 1893), p. 652. Legge translates the term kung (貢) as "contribution." But Bernhard Karlgren renders the character kung (貢) as "tribute" in his translation of the Yu-küng section of The Book of Documents, and H.G. Creel also does likewise in his study of "The Royal Government Finance" in his The Origins of Statecraft in China, p. 153. Creel translates the character fu (賦) as "contribution." Although it seems that there is need of more study on the nature of the fu (賦), the kung (貢), and the cheng (征), I would like to adopt the translation of Bernhard Karlgren and H.G. Creel.

[28]Ibid., p. 652.

[29]Ku-liang ch'un-ch'iu chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 4: 13b.

[30]James Legge, The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen, Vol. V., Part 1 (London: Henry Frowde, 1893), p. 64.

[31]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 37: 24a.

[32]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 254.

[33]James Legge, op.cit., p. 239.

[34]Ibid., p. 239.

[35]James Legge, trans., Li-chi, Vol. II (New York: New Hyde Park, 1967), pp. 216-217.

[36]James Legge, trans., The Four Books (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966), pp. 912-913.

[37]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 242.

[38]James Legge, op.cit., p. 101.

[39]Ibid., p. 101.

[40]James Legge, Li-chi, Vol. I, p. 216.

[41]Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 18: 9b.

[42]James Legge, The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen, Vol. V, part I, p. 271.

[43]James Legge, Li-chi, Vol. II, p. 460.

[44]Ibid., Vol. I, p. 258.

[45]James Legge, The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen, Vol. V, Part I, p. 105.

[46]I-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), 27: 10b.

[47]James Legge, op.cit., p. 260.

[48]Ibid., p. 260.

[49]The subject of the chao-mu system has been much debated among the scholars. Recently, K.C. Chang suggests that the system was universal in Chou times and was initiated by the royal sib, by the surname (hsing) of the Chi. The purpose of the system was "to distinguish the order of father-son, far-near, elder-younger, and near-distant relationships and to avoid confusion." See "Lineage System of the Shang and Chou times," Early Chinese Civilization, pp. 88-89.

[50]Henri Maspero, China in Antiquity (Chatham: The University of Massachusetss Press, 1965), pp. 123-124.

[51]Hsü Fu-kuan, Chou ch'in han cheng-chih she-hui chieh-kou chih yen-chiu (Hong Kong: Hsin-ya Press, 1972), pp. 12-13.

[52]Kuo-yü Yü-shih chieh (Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962), pp. 88-9.

[53]Takigawa Kametaro, Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng, Vol. 1 (Taipei: I-wen Press, 1961), p. 45.

[54]Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 246.

[55]Mao-shih chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 19: 2b.

[56]Ibid., 19: 9b.

[57]Bernhard Karlgren, op.cit., p. 244.

[58]Mao-shih chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 19: 9b.

[59]Bernhard Karlgren, op.cit., p. 246.

[60]Mao-shih chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 19: 11b.

[61]Barnhard Karlgren, op.cit., p. 244.

[62]Mao-shih chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 19: 15a.

[63]Bernhard Karlgren, op.cit., p. 247.

[64]Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1954), p. 215.

[65]Henri Maspero, op.cit., p. 109.

[66]Arthur Waley, op.cit., p. 203.

Chapter 5

Footnotes

[1]Richard L. Walker, The Multi-State System of Ancient Time (Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, 1953), p. 22.

[2]Paul Wheatley, The Pivot of the Four Quarters (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh Press, 1971), pp. 114-115.

[3]In classifying the status of states in the Ch'un-ch'iu period, Professor Richard L. Walker makes a three-fold classification of the great, the secondary, and the attached states. (See The Multi-State System of Ancient China, p. 38). And he assigns the States of Lu, Ts'ao, and Sung the status of secondary powers. In my case, I would like to classify the states into the great, the secondary, and the small ones, as indicated in the Tso-chuan. The great states would consist of Chin and Ch'u, the secondary ones include Ch'i and Ch'in, and the small ones would be the states of Lu, Sung, Ts'ai, and other states in the central area. In case of the attached fu-yung or shu, I would not regard them as states because they were not independent.

[4]The attached states and colonies were much smaller. According to the description of Mencius, these states were less than fifty square li in size and did not have access to the Chou royal house. They continued their existence only by relying on the large states. See James Legge, trans., Mencius, Vol. II, p. 250.

[5]Barry B. Blakely, "Functional Disparities in the Socio-Political Traditions of Spring and Autumn China," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol. XX, Part III (October, 1977), pp. 336-337.

[6]Mei Ssu-p'ing, op.cit., p. 178.

[7]H.G. Creel, "The Beginnings of Bureaucracy in China: The Origin of the Hsien," The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2 (1964), p. 181.

[8]Hiroshi Yasumoto, "On Tzu Ch'an of the Cheng State and Shu Hsiang of the Chin State," Tōhōgaku, No. 44 (July, 1972), p. 30.

[9]Cho-yun Hsü, Ancient China in Transition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), p. 21.

[10]James Legge, trans., *The Ch'un Ts'ew; with the Tso-chuen*, Vol. 5, Pt. I (London: Henry Frowde, 1893), p. 324.

[11]*Ibid*., pp. 673-674.

[12]Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Takigawa Kametarō, comm., *Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao cheng*, chuan 5, pp. 39-40.

[13]Richard L. Walker, *op.cit*., p. 99.

[14]As to the system of *Wu-teng chüeh chih* (五等爵制), there are many debates among the scholars. Traditionally it has been said that the five ranks were established in Western Chou times to keep order among the holders of dependencies. However, Fu Ssu-nien suggests that the titles *kung*, *hou*, *nan* and so on existed in the Ch'un-ch'iu period, but not in any rank order. See "Lun so-wei wu-teng chüeh," *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-k'an*, No. 2, Pt. 1. Kaizuka Shigeki also claims that the theory of the system originated at the end of the Ch'un-ch'iu period. Refer to his *Kaizuka Shigeki-chosakushū*, Vol. II, p. 221.

[15]James Legge, *op.cit*., Pt. I, p. 311.

[16]Richard L. Walker, *op.cit*., pp. 82-85.

[17]James Legge, *op.cit*., Pt. I, p. 133.

[18]*Ibid*., p. 101.

[19]See *Shih-chihui-chu k'ao-cheng*, Vol. 5.

[20]Cho-yun Hsü, *op.cit*., p. 56.

[21]*Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng*, 11: 1a.

[22]Roswell S. Britton, "Chinese Interstate Intercourse Before 700 B.C.," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 29 (January 1935), p. 627.

[23]*Ibid*., p. 623.

[24]Chang Yü-fa, Hsien-ch'in shih-tai te chuan-po huo-tung chi ch'i tui wen-hua yü cheng-chih te ying-hsiang (Taipei, 1966), pp. 148-149.

[25]Roswell S. Britton, op.cit., p. 621.

[26]James Legge, op.cit., Pt. II, p. 440.

[27]Ibid., p. 734.

[28]Ibid., p. 540.

[29]Ibid., p. 549.

[30]Ibid., p. 495.

[31]Ibid., p. 486.

[32]Ibid., p. 791.

[33]Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 53: 18a.

[34]James Legge, op.cit., p. 541.

[35]Ibid., p. 814.

[36]Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng, 35: 29b.

[37]James Legge, op.cit., Pt. I, p. 87.

[38]Ibid., Pt. II, p. 564.

[39]James Legge, trans., Mencius, p. 504.

[40]Ibid., pp. 504-505.

[41]James Legge, op.cit., Pt. I, p. 324.

[42]Ibid., Pt. II, p. 576.

[43]*Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 324.

[44]*Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 434.

[45]*Tso-chuan chu-shu chi pu-cheng*, 30: 33b.

[46]James Legge, trans., *Li-chi*, Vol. I, p. 216.

[47]James Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew*, Pt. II, p. 434.

[48]*Ibid.*, p. 541.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 651.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 651.

[51]*Ibid.*, p. 651.

[52]*Ibid.*, p. 413.

[53]*Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, 42: 32.

[54]W.K. Liao, trans., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, Vol. II (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1959), p. 306.

[55]James Legge, *op.cit.*, Pt. I, p. 278.

[56]*Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 495.

[57]Suzuki Chusei, "China's Relations with Inner Asia," *The Chinese World Order*, ed. by John King Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 182.

[58]James Legge, *op.cit.*, Pt. II, p. 494.

[59]W.K. Liao, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

[60]James Legge, *op.cit.*, Pt. I, p. 310.

[61]*Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 441.

APPENDIX

THE NAMES OF THE DEPENDENCIES OF WESTERN CHOU TIMES

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Chang (鄣)	Chiang (姜)			Tung-p'ing, Shantung
Ch'ao (巢)				Ch'ao hsien, Anhwei
Chen (軫)				Ying-shan hsien, Hupeh
Cheng (鄫)	Ssu (姒)	Descendant of Yao		I hsien, Shantung
Cheng (鄭)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Li	Hsien-lin	Hua-chou, Shensi
Ch'en (陳)	Kuei (媯)	Descendant of Shun	Wan-ch'iu	Huai-ning hsien, Honan
Ch'eng (郕)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Ch'eng-cheng	Wen-shang hsien, Shantung
Ch'en-kuan (斟灌)	Ssu (姒)			Shou-kuang hsien, Shantung
Ch'en-hsin (斟鄩)				Wei hsien, Shantung
Chi (紀)	Chiang (姜)			Chu-kuang hsien, Shantung
Chi (祭)	Chi (姬)	Son of the Duke of Chou		Cheng-chou, Honan
Chi (冀)	Chi (姬)			Ho-chin hsien, Shansi
Chi (極)				Yü-t'ai hsien, Shantung
Ch'i (齊)	Chiang (姜)	T'ai kung shang fu	Ying-ch'iu	Lin-tzu hsien, Shantung
Ch'i (杞)	Ssu (姒)	Descendant of Yao	Yung-ch'iu	Ch'i hsien, Honan
Ch'i (岐)				Ch'i-shan hsien, Shensi

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Chia (賈)				Man-cheng hsien, Shensi
Chin (晉)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Ta-hsia	Yüan hsien, Shansi
Ch'in (秦)	Ying (嬴)	Descendant of Po I	Ch'in	Ch'ing-shui hsien, Shensi
Chiang (江)	Ying (嬴)			Cheng-yang hsien, Honan
Chiao (焦)				Shen-chou, Honan
Chiao (絞)				Yü-yang fu, Hupeh
Chia-fu (甲父)				Chin-hsian hsien, Shansi
Ching (耿)	Chi (姬)			Ho-chin hsien, Shansi
Chiang (蔣)	Chi (姬)	Son of the Duke of Chou		Ku-shih hsien,
Chou (州)	Chiang (姜)		Ch'ün-yu	An-ch'iu hsien, Shantung
Chou (州)				Yen-li hsien, Hupeh
Chou-lai (州來)				Yin-huai hsien, Anhwei
Chu (邾)	Ts'ao (曹)	Descendant of Chuan hsü		Tsou hsien, Shantung
Chu (鑄)	Ch'i (祁)	Desdendant of Yao		Ning-yang hsien, Shantung
Chung-li (鍾離)				Yin-huai hsien, Anhwei
Chung-wu (鍾吾)				Su-ch'ien hsien, Chiangsu

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Chü (莒)	Chi (己)		Chü	Chü-chou, Shantung
Chuan (鄟)				T'ang-ch'eng hsien, Shantung
Ch'üan (權)				Tang-yang hsien, Hupeh
Ch'u (楚)	Mieh (芈)	Desdendant of Chuan hsü		Hsing-chou, Hupeh
Ch'üeh-kung (闕鞏)				
Ch'un (麇)				Pai-ho hsien, Shensi
Ch'ung (崇)				
Erh (貳)				Ying-shan hsien, Hypeh
Fan (凡)	Chi (姬)	Son of the Duke of Chou		Hui hsien, Honan
Fan (樊)		Chung shan pu		Ch'i-yüan hsien, Honan
Fang (房)				Sui-p'ing hsien, Honan
Fei (肥)				
Feng (逢)	Chiang (姜)			
Feng (酆)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		Hu hsien, Shensi
Feng-fu (封父)				Feng-ch'iu hsien, Honan
Han (韓)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wu		Han-ch'eng hsien, Shensi

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Han (寒)				Wei hsien, Shantung
Ho (霍)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		Ho-chou, Shansi
Hsi (息)				Tsi hsien, Honan
Hsi-kuo (西虢)		Brother of King Wen		Shen-chou, Honan
Hsiang (向)	Chiang (姜)			
Hsiao-chu (小邾)	Ts'ao (曹)	Descendant of Chu wen kung		T'eng hsien, Shantung
Hsiao (蕭)				Hsiao hsien, Chiangsu
Hsien (弦)	Wei (隗)			
Hsien (姺)				P'ei-chou, Chiangsu
Hsien-yü (鮮虞)	Chi (姬)			Chen-ting fu, Hopeh
Hsing (邢)	Chi (姬)	Son of the Duke of Chou		Hsing-tai hsien, Honan
Hsü (舒)	Yen (偃)			Hsu-ch'eng hsien, Honan
Hsü (許)	Chiang (姜)	Descendant of Po I		Yeh hsien, Honan
Hsü (徐)	Ying (嬴)	Descendant of Po I		Ssu-chou, Anhwei
Hsü-chü (須句)	Feng (風)	Descendant of T'ai hao		Tung-p'ing chou, Shantung
Hsün (荀)	Chi (姬)			Chung chou, Shansi
Hu (胡)	Kuei (歸)			Ying-chou fu, Anhwei

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Hu (扈)	Ssu (姒)			Hu hsien, Shensi
Hua (滑)	Chi (姬)		Fei	Yen-shih hsien, Honan
Huang (黃)	Ying (嬴)			Huang-chou hsien, Honan
Hui (檜)	Yün (妘)	Descendant of Chu-jung		Mi hsien, Honan
I (夷)	Yün (妘)		Chuan-wu	Chi-mo hsien, Shantung
Jen (任)	Feng (風)	Descendant of T'ai hao		Ch'i-ning chou, Shantung
Jeng (仍)				
Jo (鄀)			Shang-mi	Nei-hsiang hsien, Honan
Ju (儔)		Descendant of T'ai hao		
Jui (芮)				Tung-chou fu, Shensi
Kao (郜)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		Ch'eng-wu hsien, Shantung
Ko (葛)				Ning-lu hsien, Honan
Ku (鼓)	Ch'i (祁)			Chin-chou, Hopeh
Ku (穀)	Ying (嬴)			Ku-ch'eng hsien, Hupeh
Kuan (管)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		Cheng-chou, Honan
Kuan (观)	Ssu (姒)			Kuan-ch'eng hsien, Shantung
Kuei (夔)	Mieh (芈)	Hsiung		Kuei-chou, Hupei
K'un-wu (昆吾)	Chi (己)			Hsü-chou fu, Honan

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Kung (共)				Hui hsien, Honan
Kuo (郭)				Tung-ch'ang fu, Shantung
Kuo (過)				Pa hsien, Shantung
Lai (萊)	Chiang (姜)			Huang hsien, Shantung
Lai (賴)				Shang-ch'eng hsien, Honan
Liao (蓼)				T'ang hsien, Honan
Liao (蓼)	Yen (偃)	Descendant of Kao-t'ao		Liao hsien, Anhwei
Li (黎)				Li-ch'eng hsien, Shansi
Li (厲)	Chiang (姜)	Descendant of Li-shan		Shui-chou, Hupeh
Liang (梁)				Han-ch'eng hsien, Shensi
Liu (六)	Yen (偃)	Descendant of Kao-t'ao		Liu-an chou, Anhwei
Liu (劉)	Chi (姬)	Son of King K'uang		Yen-shih hsien, Honan
Lo (羅)	Hsiung (熊)			I-ch'eng hsien, Hupeh
Lu (魯)	Chi (姬)	Son of the Duke of Chou	Ch'u-fu	Fu hsien, Shantung
Lü (呂)	Chiang (姜)			Ch'eng-hsi, Honan
Mao (牟)				Lai hsien, Shantung
Mao (毛)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		I-yang hsien, Honan
Mao (茅)	Chi (姬)	Son of the Duke of Chou	Mao-hsiang	Chin-hsiang hsien, Shantung

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Mi (密)	Chi (姬)			Mi hsien, Honan
Mi-hsü (密須)	Chi (姞)			Ling-t'ai hsien, Shensi
Nan-yen (南燕)	Chi (姞)	Descendant of Huang-ti		Tsu-ch'eng hsien, Honan
Ni-Man (顓臾)	Feng (風)	Descendant of T'ai-hao		Fei hsien, Shantung
Ni-man (鄋瞞)	Ch'i (姬)	Descendant of Fang-feng	Feng	Wu-k'ang hsien, Chechiang
Pa (巴)	Chi (姬)			Pa hsien, Szechwan
P'ei (邳)				
P'ei (邶)				Wei-hui fu, Honan
Pei-yen (北燕)	Chi (姬)	Chao kung shih		Ta-hsiang hsien Honan
Pi (偪)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Pi-yüan	Hsien-yang hsien, Shensi
Pi (偪)	Chi (姞)			Shan-I hsien, Shantung
Pi (薛)	Jen (任)	Descendant of Huang-ti		T'eng hsien, Shantung
Pi-yang (偪陽)	Yun (妘)			
Po (柏)				Hsi-p'ing hsien, Honan
Pu-keng (不羹)				Hsiang-ch'eng hsien, Hunan
P'u-ku (蒲姑)				Po-hsing hsien, Shantung
Shan (檀)				Ch'i-yüan hsien, Honan
Shen (沈)		Descendant of T'ai-t'ai		

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Shen (沈)	Chi (姬)			Ju-ning fu, Honan
Shen (申)	Chiang (姜)	Descendant of Po I	Hsieh	Nan-yang fu, Honan
Shih (邿)				Ch'i-ning chou, Shantung
Shu-chiu (舒鳩)	Yen (偃)			Shu-ch'eng hsien, Anhwei
Shu-liao (舒蓼)	Yen (偃)			Shu-ch'eng hsien, Anhwei
Shu-yung (舒庸)	Yen (偃)			
Ssu (姒)		Descendant of T'ai-t'ai		
Sui (遂)	Kuei (媯)			Ningyang hsien, Shantung
Sui (隨)	Chi (姬)			Sui-chou, Hupeh
Su (宿)	Feng (風)	Descendant of T'ai hao		Tung-p'ing chou, Shantung
Sung (宋)	Tzu (子)	Wei tzu ch'i	Shang-ch'iu	Shang-ch'iu hsien, Honan
Tai (戴)				K'ao-ch'eng hsien, Honan
T'ai (駘)	(姬)			Wu-kung hsien, Shensi
Tan (聃)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Na-ch'u	Hsing-men chou, Hupeh
T'an (譚)	Tzu (子)			Chi-nan fu, Shantung
T'an (郯)	Chi (己)	Descendant of Hsiao-hao		T'an-ch'eng hsien, Shantung
T'ang (唐)	Ch'i (祁)	Descendant of Yao		Shui-chou, Hupei

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Tao (道)				Ch'ueh-shan hsien, Honan
Teng (鄧)	Man (曼)			Teng-chou, Honan
T'eng (滕)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		T'eng-hsien, Shantung
Ting (頂)				Ting-ch'eng hsien, Honan
Tsu (胙)	Chi (姬)	Son of the Duke of Chou		Tsu-ch'eng hsien, Honan
Tsung-i (鬷夷)	Tung (董)			
Tsung (宗)				Hsü-ch'eng hsien, Shantung
Ts'ai (蔡)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Ts'ai	Ts'ai hsien, Honan
Ts'ao (曹)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	T'ao-ch'iu	Ting-t'ao hsien, Shantung
Tu (杜)	Chi (祁)	Descendant of Yao		Hsi-an fu, Shensi
Tun (頓)	Chi (姬)			Shang-shui hsien, Honan
Tung-kuo (東虢)	Chi (姬)	Brother of King Wen		Fan-shui hsien, Honan
T'ung (桐)	Yen (偃)			T'ung-ch'eng hsien, Anhwei
T'an (譚)	Tzu (子)			Chi-nan fu, Shantung
Wei (衛)	Chi (姬)			Jui-chou hsien, Shansi
Wei (魏)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Ch'ao-ko	Hsin hsien, Honan

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Wen (溫)	Chi (己)	Su kung		Wen hsien, Honan
Wu (吳)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Mei-li	Wu-hsi hsien, Chaigsu
Yang (陽)	Chi (姬)			I-shui hsien, Shantung
Yan (楊)	Chi (姬)			Hung-t'ung hsien, Shansi
Yeng (奄)	Ying (嬴)			Ch'u-hu hsien, Shantung
Ying (應)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wu		Su-shan hsien, Honan
Ying-shih (英氏)	Yen (偃)	Descendant of Kao-t'ao		Li-an chou, Anhwei
Yu (鄀)				Hsiang-yang fu, Hupeh
Yu-hsin (有莘)				
Yu'ch'iung (有窮)				
Yu-li (有鬲)	Yen (偃)			Te-p'ing hsien, Shantung
Yu-min (有緡)				
Yu-yü (有虞)	Yao (姚)			Yu-ch'eng hsien, Honan
Yü (郇)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		Yen-chin hsien, Shansi
Yü (鄅)	Yün (妘)		Ch'i-yang	Chin-chou fu, Shantung
Yü (邘)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wu		Huai-ch'ing fu, Honan
Yü (虞)	Chi (姬)	Descendant of Chung Yung	Yü-chung	P'ing-lu hsien, Shansi

State	Tribe (Surname)	The Founder	Ancient Location	Modern Place
Yüeh (越)	Ssu (姒)		Hui-chi	Shan-yin hsien, Chechiang
Yüan (鄖)				An-lu hsien, Hupeh
Yüan (原)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen	Yüan-hsiang	Ch'i-yuan hsien, Honan
Yung (庸)				Chu-shan hsien, Hupeh
Yung (雍)	Chi (姬)	Son of King Wen		Hsiu-wu hsien, Honan
Yü yü-ch'iu (於餘丘)				
Yung (庸)				Hsin-hsiang hsien, Honan

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abe Takeo (安部健夫). Chūgokujin no tenka Kannen (中國人の天下觀念. Tokyo, 1956.

Bilsky, L. The State Religion of Ancient China. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1971.

Britton, Roswell S. "Chinese Interstate Intercourse Before 700 B.C." The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 29, 1935.

Broman, Sven, "Studies on the Chou-li." Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 33, 1961.

Chang, Hsin-cheng (張心澂). Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao (偽書通考). Changsha: Commercial Press, 1939.

Chang, K.C. The Archaeology of Ancient China. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1977.

__________. Early Chinese Civilization. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Chang Yü-fa (張玉法). Hsien-Ch'in shih-tai te ch'uan-po huo-tung chi ch' tui wen-hua yü cheng-chih te ying-hsiang (先秦時代的傳播活動及其對文化與政治的影響). Taipei, 1966.

Ch'en Meng-chia (陳夢家), "Hsi-Chou T'ung-ch'i tuan-tai" (西周銅器斷代). K'ao-k'u hsüeh-pao (考古學報), No. 9, 1955.

__________. Shang-shu t'ung-lun (尚書通論. Shanghai, 1957.

Ch'en Pan (陳槃), "Ch'un-ch'iu ta-shih piao lieh-kuo chueh-hsing chi ts'un-mieh piao Chuan i chung," (春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表譔異(中)). Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yu-yen yen-chiuso chi-k'an (   ), Nos. 26, 27, 28, Pt. 1, 29, Pt. 2, 30, Pt. 1, 31, 32, 33.

Ch'eng Te-k'un, Archaeology in China, Vol. III, Chou China. Cambridge: University of Toronto Press, 1963.

Ch'i Ssu-ho (齊思和), "Hsi-Chou ti'li k'ao" (西周地理考. Yen-ching hsüeh-pao (燕京學報), No. 30, 1946.

__________. "Chou-tai tz'u-ming li k'ao" (周代錫命禮考. Yen-ching hsüeh-pao (燕京學報), No. 32, 1947.

Chin Chao-tzu (金兆梓). "Feng yi pang kuo fang pien" (封邑邦國方辨), Li-shih yen-chiu (歷史研究), No. 2, 1956.

Chou-li cheng-i (周禮正義). Taipei: Chung-hua Press, 1965.

Chou-li chu-shu chi pu-cheng (周禮注疏及補正). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Creel, H.G. The Birth of China. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1937.

__________. "The Beginnings of the Bureaucracy in China: Origins of the Hsien." The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1964.

__________. The Origins of Statecraft in China, Vol. 1. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Ch'u Wan-li, "On the Date of the Yü-kung." The Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Vol. XXXV, 1964.

Eberhard, Wofram. Conquerors and Rulers. Leiden: E.T. Brin, 1952.

Fairbank, J.K. and Teng, S.Y. Ch'ing Administration. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Fried, Morton H. The Notion of Tribe. Menlo Park: Cummings Publishing Co., 1975.

__________. The Evolution of Political Society. New York: Random House, 1967.

Fehl, N.E. Rites and Propriety in Literature and Life. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1971.

Fu Ssu-nien (傅斯年). "Chou tung-feng yü yin i-min" (周東封與殷遺民), Kuo-li Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yu-yen yen-chiuso chi-k'an (國立中央研究院历史語言研究所集刊), Vol. 4, No. 3, 1934.

__________, "Lun so-wei wu-teng chüeh" (論五等爵). Kuo-li chung yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yu-yen yen-chiu so chi-k'an (国立中央研究院历史語言研究所集刊), No. 2, Pt. 1, 1930.

Gardiner, A. Egyptian Grammar. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Granet, Marcel. Chinese Civilization. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1957.

__________. Festivals and Sons of Ancient China. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1932.

Helm, June. Essays on the Problem of Tribe. Seattle & London: The University of Washington Press, 1968.

Hiroshi, Yasumoto. "On Tsu-Ch'an of the Cheng State and Shu Hsiang of the Chin State." Tōhōgaku, No. 44, 1972.

Hsio-ching meng-tzu chu-shu chi pu-cheng (孝經孟子注疏及補正). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Hsü Chou-yun. Ancient China in Transition. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965.

__________. "The Rise of the Chou People and the Basis of the Chou Culture." Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Vol. XXXVIII, 1968.

Hsü Fu-kuan (徐復觀). Chou Ch'in Han cheng-chih she-hui chieh-kou chih yen-chiu ( ). Hong Kong: Hsin-ya Press, 1972.

Hsün-tzu chi-chieh (荀子集解). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

I chou-shu chi-hsün-chiao-shih (逸周書集訓校釋). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Ise Sentaro (伊瀬仙太郎), "Seiiki Shokoku ni suru kibi" (西域諸国に対する羈縻政策), Toyo Shigaku nonshu (東洋史学論集), No. 4 (1955).

Kaizuka Shigeki (貝塚茂樹). Kaizuka Shigeki chosakushū (貝塚茂樹著作集), Vols. II, IV. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1967.

__________. Kodai In teikoku (古代殷帝國). Tokyo: Musuzu Press, 1962.

__________. Geoffrey Bownas, trans. Confucius. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956.

Kao Chih-ch'i (高士奇). Ch'un-ch'iu ti-ming k'ao-lüeh (春秋地名考略). Taipei: Shang-wu Press, 1973.

Karlgren, Bernhard, trans. The Book of Documents. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin 22. Stockholm, 1950.

__________, trans. The Book of Odes. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Stockholm, 1950.

________________. "Some Sacrifices in Chou China." The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 40, 1932.

________________. "The Early History of the Chou-li and the Tso-chuan." The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 39, 1931.

Ku-liang chu-shu chi pu-cheng (穀梁注疏及補正). Taipei: Chih-chieh Press, 1962).

Ku Tung-kao (顧棟高). "Ch'un-ch'iu ta-shih piao (春秋大事表)," Huang-Ch'ing ching-chieh hsu pien (皇清經解續編), 1886.

Kuan-tzu shang chün shu (管子商君書). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Kuo, Mo-jo (郭沫若). Liang-Chou chin-wen tz'u ta-hsi k'ao shih (兩周金文辭大系考釋). Tokyo, 1935.

__________. Yin Chou ch'ing-t'ung ch'i ming-wen yen-chiu (殷周青銅器銘文研究). Peking: 1954.

Kuo-yü wei-shih chieh (國語韋氏解). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Lattimore, Owen. Inner Asian Frontiers of China. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.

Legge, James, trans. The Ch'un Ts'ew: with the Tso-chuen, Vol. 6, Pts. I, II. Hong Kong: Lane, Crawford, 1871.

____________, trans. Li-chi, Vols. I, II. New Hyde Park, 1967.

____________, trans. The Four Books. New York: Paragon Book Corp., 1966.

Li Tung-fang (黎東方). Chung-kuo li-shih t'ung-lun (中國历史通論). Ch'ung-ch'ing: Shang-wu Press, 1944.

Li Tsung-t'ung (李宗侗). Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui shih (中國古代社会史), Vol. I. Taipei, 1955.

Li Hsiao-ting (李孝定). Chia-ku wen-tzu chi-shih (甲骨文字集解), No. 1. Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu yuan, 1965.

Li-shih yen-chiu pien-chi pu (历史研究編輯部). Chung-kuo ku-tai shih fen-ch'i wen-t'i t'ao-lun chi (中國古代史分期問題討論集). Peking, 1957.

Liao, W.K. The Complete Works of Han Fei tzu, Vol. 1. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1959.

Luckenbill, D.D. Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Vol. II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Lü-shih ch'un ch'iu (呂氏春秋). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Ma Tuan-lin (馬端臨). Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao (文獻通考), Vol. II. Shanghai: Shang-wu Press, 1936.

Mao-shih chu-shu chi pu-cheng (毛詩注疏及補正). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Maspero, Henri. China in Antiquity. Chatham: W. & T. Mackay, 1965.

Mei Ssu-p'ing (梅思平). "Ch'un-ch'iu shih-tai ti cheng-chih ho K'ung-tzu ti cheng-chih ssu-hsiang" (春秋時代政治和孔子的政治思想). Ku-shih pien (古史辨), Vol. II, reprint. Hong Kong: 1962.

Naito, Torajiro (内藤虎次郎). Shina shigaku shi (支那史学史). Tokyo, 1961.

Nibley, Hugh. "The Hierocentric State," Western Political Quarterly, Vol. IV, 1961.

Ōshima, Riichi (大島利一). "Chūgoku kodai no shiro ni tsuite" (中国古代の城について). Tōhōgaku hō (東方学報), No. 30, 1959.

Service, Elman R. "The Origins of Civilization in China," Origin of the State and Civilization. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975.

Shang-shu cheng-i (尚書正義). Taipei: Chung-hua Press, 1965.

Shang-shu chu-shu chi pu-cheng (尚書注疏及補正). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Takigawa Kametaro, comm. Shi-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng (史記会注考證). Taipei: Chung-hua Press, 1965.

Suzuki Chūsei, "China's Relation with Inner Asia," The Chinese World Order, ed. by J.K. Fairbank. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Ting Fu-pao, Shuo-wen chieh-tzu (說文解字). Taipei: Shih-chieh Press, 1962.

Tsiang, T.F. "Chinese and European Expansion," Politica, Vol. 2, No. 5 (March, 1936).

Unger, Ulrich. "Chou-konig oder Usurpator?" Toung Pao, 52, 1966.

Utsugi, Akira (宇都木章). "Yashiro ni korosu, koto ni tsuite" (社に戮すことについて). Chūgoku kodaishi kenkyū (中国古代史研究). Tokyo, 1969.

von Denwell, Magdalen. "New Data on Early Chou Finds," In Symposium in Honor of Dr. Li Chi on His Seventieth Birthday, II. Taipei, 1967.

Waley, Arthur, trans. The Book of Songs. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1937.

Walker, Richard L. The Multi-State System of Ancient China. Hamden, Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, 1953.

Wang Kuo-wei (王國維). Wang Kuan-t'ang hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi (王觀堂先生全集), Vol. II. Taipei, 1968.

Wheatley, Paul. The Pivot of the Four Quarters. Edinburgh: The Edinburgh University Press, 1971.

Yamada Jun (山田統). "Shudai hōken seido to ketsuzoku shudansei" (周代封建制度と血族聚団制). Shakaikeizaishigaku (社会経済史学), Vol. 17, No. 2, 1951.

Yü Ying-Shih. Trade and Expansion in Han China. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.